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**Alan Greaves. *The land of Ionia: society and economy in the Archaic period*. pp. xvi+269, 33 b/w illustrations, 5 maps, 8 tables. 2010. Chichester, England, and Malden (MA): Wiley-Blackwell. ISBN 978-1-119-02556-6 paperback £22/\$29.70.**

Ionia has been a key region in the political history of the ancient Greeks throughout the Archaic period. Although geographically it was peripheral to mainland Greece, located across the Aegean, it has been the epicenter of most events that have shaped ancient Greek culture. The region, more specifically the central part of the Western Anatolian coast and the islands of Chios and Samos, has been one of the focal points of Classical Archaeology practice since the 19th century. However, since then most of the effort has been confined to the excavation of temples and large town centers as well as the reconstruction of monumental buildings. In other words, Ionian archaeology mostly just fleshed out the past as offered by the literary sources. Michael Shanks in his book dedicated to a criticism of Classical archaeology,<sup>1</sup> blames Pausanias for misguiding Classical Archaeologists. For the case of Ionia also, the bias is mostly owing to the lacking of criticism towards the history offered by the literary sources. Archaeological data and evidence were mostly placed into the available historical scheme, contributing to the macro-history of Ionia. Since the late 1970s when in mainland Greece the focus of archaeological practice shifted from sanctuaries and town centers to rural landscapes, not much has been done along these lines in Anatolia. Regional approaches and the practice of landscape archaeology arrived even later in Ionia and have yet to achieve widespread appeal. Anatolian archaeology has long legitimated its lack of development in new archaeological approaches and theoretical archaeology through a discourse mostly based on embracing German traditions, and it is not possible to isolate Ionian archaeology from that general approach. With few exceptions, all the Ionian sites are being excavated by the German or Austrian institutions or by Turkish scholars who were educated within the German school. Therefore a great deal of data remains to be re-evaluated to shed light onto specific problems of Ionian archaeology as well as to provide a holistic study of the region's history and archaeology.

It is a difficult task to reveal the hidden landscapes of Ionia, which is namely the pre-classical landscape. This is owing to several reasons, ranging from the dynamic geology of the region to archaeological traditions, or from state sponsored neo-liberal developments to well-preserved Hellenistic and

Roman settlements sealing the earlier archaeological deposits. The geology of the region is hallmarked by erosion, coastal progradation and alluvial deposits that dramatically reduce the visibility of prehistoric mounds. Therefore this portion of Anatolia has been ignored by the prehistorians for a long period, but thankfully the number of projects focused on the prehistory of the region is increasing. However continuity and rupture at those sites is one of the main issues for discussing Ionian identities. Here we can revisit Pausanias' misguidance, writing (VII.3.8.9) that most of Ionia was not really inhabited prior to the arrival of the Greeks at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. However, excavations and surveys have revealed Bronze Age deposits and dated the settled history of the region back to the Neolithic period. The cultural identities of Ionian communities is another challenging subject to be discussed in relation to the legendary Ionian Migration. Recently the reality or otherwise of the Ionian Migration, that has been offered as a foundation myth by the ancient sources, is under debate,<sup>2</sup> but the discussions remain very feeble due to the absence of widespread archaeological evidence that could be integrated with the textual evidence. Unfortunately, although settlement continuity and the formation phase of Ionian poleis are the most enigmatic parts of Ionian history, there are still very few projects that design their field work to focus on the early history of Ionia.

In the preface to the book, Greaves quotes J.M. Cook,<sup>3</sup> where he says that the history of the 'Eastern Greeks' still remains to be written. It is still a difficult task to bring together the evidence and offer a general assessment on Ionia. This is not only due to the abundance of data accumulated over the past two centuries, but also the reluctance to publish the archaeological data. Greaves indeed undertook a difficult duty by producing a text for the whole of Ionia. It is a region, which has specific complexities that hamper a thorough study of the evidence, particularly for certain themes. In this sense Greaves' book is a highly provocative one, attempting to stimulate debate on Ionian archaeology and soundly reminding us that Ionian archaeology should begin to utilize new archaeological approaches, theories and methodologies. He clearly underlines that he is aimed at presenting new perspectives and to provoke discussion.

The Ionian *dodekapolis* has commonly been accepted as a cultural and political extension of mainland Greece and the homogeneity of the poleis has not been questioned, either with regard to other Ionian poleis, or with the mainland Greece centers. In the past two

<sup>1</sup> Shanks, M. 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Mac Sweeney, N. 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, J.M. 1962.

decades the criticism of Athenocentric perspectives has become a hallmark of the scholarship of Classical archaeology, but Ionia has never been part of this debate on the polis model or on the regional analysis of polis landscapes.<sup>4</sup> Greaves' book sets a milestone in Ionian archaeology for offering a very useful compilation of the work that has been undertaken so far, together with a detailed bibliography and examination of various aspects of Ionia using an *Annaliste* perspective. Therefore the book fills an important scientific gap for Ionian archaeology and simultaneously points to the problems in Ionian research that need to be discussed.

The book is focused on the Archaic period of Ionia, which is indeed the core period of its history, from 700 to 494 BC. In other words, the period from the formation phase of Greek *poleis* to the Ionian Revolt that ended up with Persian rule. The geographical definition of Ionia is very much based on Herodotus, but depending on the material culture it is not possible to distinguish Lydia from Ionia. Therefore Ionia as a cultural region still has fuzzy borders. Although Greaves keeps his content restricted to the *dodekapolis* of Herodotus, he examines Ionian identity in a wider context by discussing its position between Anatolia and mainland Greece.

The book is divided into ten chapters, following a short prologue, and it concludes with an epilogue. In each chapter he introduces a certain theme of Ionia and examines the related evidence with alternative approaches and analyses. Chapters open with a brief introduction where he explains his aim on a particular aspect of Ionia and ends with either a conclusion or a box including useful information on a subject related to the theme of the chapter.

Chapter 1, 'Finding Ionia' presents a well-written discussion on the nature of the evidence relating to Ionia. Greaves explains how difficult it is to put together the fragmentary evidence to make a subtle analysis of the Archaic period. He emphasizes how it is not possible to come up with general inferences on certain aspects, due to the patchy and incompatible nature of the evidence. Therefore the chapter is also a good introduction for the reader for expressing the general concern of the book. It includes a box on British Excavations at the Artemision, offering the history of the brief Anglo-Saxon mission in Ionia. Even then Ionia was already the backyard of German expeditions, which stemmed from the great tradition of Classical scholarship.

In Chapter 2 entitled 'Constructing Classical Archaeologies of Ionia', Greaves rightly advocates

the use of an *Annaliste* perspective for examining the archaeology of Archaic Ionia as an alternative to traditional approaches. In this sense the second chapter of the book forms, for the reader, an introduction to the rest of the chapters that each focus on a certain theme. The chapter explains why and how the *Annaliste* perspective should be embraced as an alternative to the traditional approaches of Classical archaeology as well as the German/Turkish schools that have dominated Ionian archaeology. In a way, Greaves examines the identities of archaeological scholarship in Ionia in order to create a background for discussing the identities of Ionian communities. Thus, he clears off the smokescreen that has disguised the cultural variety of Ionia and sets a good starting-point for discussing the subject through the lens of archaeological traditions as well as archaeological evidence.

Chapter 3, 'Dynamic Landscape' is an overall description of Ionian landscapes and its topography and geology. Greaves places emphasis on the dynamic nature of the landscape as well as the geographical diversity of the region. He explains various morphologies of the given landscape and how each site existed in that environment. The significance of environmental processes such as coastal progradation, alluvial deposition, rising sea level, seismology that shaped settlement systems and their impact on historical events are explained with case-studies. The chapter includes a box about the alluviation of the gulf of Latmos, which has been the setting of the Lade War during the Ionian Revolt. Dramatic changes to the landscape may be followed by any viewer looking at the alluvial plain that was once the sea where the warships of Ionia could have been viewed from Miletos or Priene. In Chapter 4, 'The Wealth of Ionia' Greaves presents a survey of the evidence related to the agricultural economy and local industries. He argues that the diversity of the landscape provided good sources for the Ionian economy. By making use of trade amphorae production and its distribution, together with coinage, he presents an economic model for Ionia that is mostly dependent on agriculture, local industries and trading. Different networks, such as that for bulk goods, the political military network, the prestige goods network and the information network are examined through World System Theory and yield generic conclusions about the Ionian economy. Simple methods depending on carrying capacity or historical records of ships possessed by poleis are used to make population estimations as well. The execution of those estimations is extremely schematic and offers static figures, which need to be modified for more realistic results. In fact what the chapter reveals most is that we need

<sup>4</sup> Hansen, M.H. (ed.) 2005.

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more place-based approaches for Ionian sites to define their heterogeneity.

Chapter 5, 'The Cities of Ionia' presents a brief survey of the twelve Ionian cities and other settlements. By 'other settlements' Greaves refers to secondary settlements situated within the *chorai* of the poleis. Unfortunately he could only give examples about the settlement types and settlement hierarchy from the Milesian *chora*, since regional and systematic archaeological surveys are very few in number.<sup>5</sup> The most part of the rural landscape of Ionia remains *terra incognita*. He discusses the size and distribution of poleis in the given region and reveals that economically they were far from being equal, due to the size and the quality of their *chora*. Considering that most Ionian poleis' economy was mainly based on agriculture and local industries the topographic and geological features of the *chora* determined the political power of each polis. Greaves reserves special mention for François De Polignac for advocating the significance of landscape for the formation of polis. Also, cult was an important component of Ionian identity and De Polignac's perspective on the distribution of cult places with their proximity to polis centers is useful for defining the ritual network over Ionia.

Chapter 6, 'The Ionians Overseas' is about colonization, which is an important economic and cultural feature of Ionian history, that also contributed in a major way to Ionian identity. Greaves presents a two-phase model for the colonization, which suggest that trading posts (*emporion*) were then transformed into permanent settlements (*apoikia*). Location of the colonies as well as archaeological sources are used to interpret the relevant data. The diversities in the nature of their presence overseas are explained using the well-known cases of Naucratis and Al-Mina.

In Chapter 7, 'The Ionians at War', Greaves focuses on the subject of the cultural identity of Ionians using warfare as an expression of this identity, and instead of going through the historical events he explains Ionian warfare through material culture and landscape. He begins with landscape and discusses with several examples how geographical setting could either be an advantage or vice versa. The rest of the chapter is confined to archaeological contexts and remains related to warfare and defense issues. In contrast with the literary sources, traces of warfare are faint in relevant archaeological contexts: e.g. tombs, burials, artifacts, votive deposits and destruction deposits. The chapter includes a section about the city walls in Ionia, offering several examples from Klazomenai, Teos, Miletos, Samos,

Phokaia and Ephesos. Archaeological information on city walls needs to be updated. Undoubtedly this may be possible if the excavators of Ionian poleis publish more. Greaves ends the chapter with a discussion of the Ionian Revolt, which is indeed the first major war that Ionians engaged in, but also marks the time-frame of the book. He does not go into detail about the Ionian Revolt, which is in fact one of the few historical events that gives us the clear hints that Ionians were far from being a political unity or block against the threat of the Persians.

'The cults of Ionia', is the following chapter which takes cultural identity as a subject, like the previous one. Both the practices of cult and archaeological deposits of cult places are as expected the richest sources for defining identity in Ionia. Greaves puts emphasis on the Anatolian influences by discussing the cults of Ionia in a broader context. Ionian contact with the Egyptians is noted as well, but put forward as a social phenomenon rather than a cultural interaction; it was part of the discussion in the previous chapter concerning Ionians being mercenaries in Egypt. The location of cult places and their proximity to urban centers, integrated with sacred ways, is used to showing how a ritual network was present over the Ionian region. He also demonstrates continuity of cult places from the Bronze Age, with two examples from the Ephesos Artemision and the Temple of Athena at Miletos, which is crucial for Ionian identities. Greaves also examines burial practices as part of cult activity, which is also critical to our understanding. He offers a brief survey of tumuli, graves and tombs; emphasizing their significance for the debate regarding cultural identity. Within the *longue durée* perspective, temples and other sorts of cult places are long term activities, but burial practices and tombs gives us the short term activities that should be integrated in order to understand how Ionians perceived their environment and life.

Chapter 9, entitled as 'Ornaments of Ionia' is aimed at explaining the context in which the visual 'art' of Ionia was created. This chapter is very revealing on the subject of Ionian archaeology, the way that it has been practiced in the past and how the methodology of Ionian archaeology should be transformed. In Ionian archaeology, material culture was the focus of archaeological research but so little has been done to make use of the pottery, architecture, metalwork or other elements of the material context to explain cultural identities. In this chapter, after a brief survey of the material culture of Ionia he concludes by following the viewpoint of Anatolian and Near East synthesis, which is in fact claimed for Archaic Greek art in general and commonly accepted.

The final chapter, 'Who were the Ionians?' sets up the ground for a debate focusing on recent hot topics

<sup>5</sup> Lohmann, H. 1999: 439–473; Koparal, E. 2014: 125–145.

like ‘Ionian Migration’ and the identities of the Ionians. In the final part of the book he concludes that although it seems that there is abundant evidence for Ionia, including material culture, architecture, literary sources etc., the data sets are extremely fragmentary and incompatible with reaching any general conclusions. The difficulty also stems from the fact that Ionia was formed of places that hardly shared a political or a cultural unity. Therefore it is a trap to attempt to make general definitions or conclusions on the basis of the few Ionian poleis that have been excavated more thoroughly than the others. This would not be any different than the Athenocentric approach that deduced results from a supposed central position.

As the title of the book indicates, the text is fundamentally about the society and the economy of the Ionian communities during the Archaic period. In a wider scope Greaves places the landscape, archaeology and history of Ionia within a ‘longue durée’ perspective for defining Archaic Ionia, but also reveals the missing parts of the picture. Greaves’ book is so far the only work that offers a general assessment of the available evidence and makes use of it to explain cultural Ionian identity. The book accomplishes its aims by creating a provocative call for the employment of alternative archaeological approaches and methodologies. Greaves’ book is well produced, including a very detailed bibliography and a glossary of terms that is useful for a general audience and it is still impressive for experts on Ionia for pointing out the patchy nature of the archaeological evidence as well as aspects that must now be focused on.

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### Connected Seas: Mediterranean networks and Black Sea regionality

Erich Kistler, Birgit Öhlinger, Martin Mohr and Matthias Hoernes (eds). *Sanctuaries and the power of consumption. Networking and the formation of elites in the Archaic western Mediterranean world. Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th–23rd March*. pp. XXXII + 554, 213 ill., 18 diagrams, 13 maps, 3 tables. 2012. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2015. ISBN 978-3-447-10507-1 hardback €120.

Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze, Alexandru Avram and James Hargrave (eds). *The Danubian lands between the Black, Aegean, and Adriatic Seas (7th centuries BC–10th century AD). Proceedings of the fifth international congress on Black Sea antiquities, Belgrade, 17-23 September 2013*. pp. xx+563, illustrated throughout in b/w. 2015. Oxford: Archaeopress. ISBN 978-1-78491-192-8 paperback £75; e-publication £19.

Last year saw the appearance of the eagerly-expected acts of two conferences on the archaeology of seas, or connected seascapes: physical spaces joined together by interaction and exchange over sea, rather than over land. The first volume’s aim is more narrow, with a focus on sanctuaries as a stage and instrument of elite interaction and the maintenance of power in the Archaic western Mediterranean, whereas the second book’s much broader theme is the Danube region and its wider geographical context, of the Black Sea between the 7th centuries BC–10th century AD. Whereas the first volume actively engages with the new paradigmatic ‘connectivity’ shift, the second does so only implicitly. However, there are good grounds to compare both seas and the ways scholars approach their study: both regions were intimately connected and offer comparative value. For historical reasons, the Black Sea region has been of secondary interest to Western scholars—unjustly so, for the region has an extremely rich cultural history, as the second volume discussed here, demonstrates. Black Sea history should be fully integrated in what is considered the field of