

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

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Mediterranean studies. Many economic, sociopolitical and cultural developments created an ancient (proto) global world which connected both seas. Global developments can only be understood in their local appearance, however, the study of the local negotiation of global developments profits from a consideration within a broader framework. This review will outline the overall picture that is drawn by the volumes as a whole, in a comparative perspective, and discuss some selected ideas and research problems—rather than dealing extensively with each and every contribution individually. Given the large amount of papers in both volumes combined (26 for Kistler *et al.*'s and 63 for Tsatskheladze *et al.*'s) such would be difficult, with the limited space available.

Erich Kistler *et al.*'s original objective of the conference was to 'trace protoglobal complexities of circumstances, people and their activities along the coastlines and within the indigenous hinterland areas' (p. xi) by looking at 'things in motion' and how local contexts connected to this flow. The organisers proposed to consider sanctuaries as hubs in Mediterranean networks, functioning as scenes for the formation of elites, through consumption and power. The gathering aimed especially at dissecting the western Mediterranean as location of an elite network, a region which is sometimes considered a 'koine', possibly an Etruscan one.

However, as the short preface, functioning as a sort of disclaimer for the organisation of the rest of the volume, expounds, the organisers received extensive critique from the participants during the conference, and drawing on Hans-Georg Gadamer's idea of the hermeneutic circle, they see the publication as a continuous dialogue between the conference participants and themselves. Thus, the various papers are grouped in three different sections, '*Things in motion and western Mediterraneanisation*', '*Coastal and inland sanctuaries as centers of a western Mediterranean elite network*' and '*Sanctuaries and the formation of elites: power of consumption—consumption of power*', and the volume closes with two concluding papers. In the first one, originally read as the conclusion of the conference, the whole idea of studying elite networks is rejected. In the second concluding paper, the organisers reflect, in the sphere of the hermeneutic circle, on the critique they received in the first conclusion. Because of this linear organisation, and to facilitate this review's readers' understanding of the sequence, the discussion in the following paragraphs respects the order proposed by the organisers (part 1–2–3–conclusion 1–conclusion 2).

In '*Things in motion and western Mediterraneanisation*', the contributors offer views on interaction and exchange, activities which were conducted sometimes

in terms of formal trade, sometimes embedded in elite relations of gift giving. In Antiquity, well-established ideas about hospitality and exchange existed (M. Mauersberg), and complying with these expectations in behaviour resulted in very durable relations with peers, locally and overseas. Along the networks that were thus established, a large variety of objects and practices moved: writing (P. Amman, M. Steger), images (C. Russenberger), metal (H. Baitinger), the Silphion plant, exclusively connecting Cyrene to Naucratis (Y. Gönster), or amphorae (S. Vasallo). More difficult to trace than the mobility of objects, is the mobility of people. The presence of objects does not necessarily mean a stable 'colonial' presence of people: more than pots, a change in practices can be informative for non-local involvement. Within changing material cultures, the aspect of native agency has been greatly overlooked, for Greek 'colonisation', as well as for Phoenician 'colonisation' (V. Sossau, E. Pappa).

The original aim of the conference was to look at sanctuaries, as loci for overseas elite interaction and consolidation of local power relations. As the papers of part 2 and 3 – '*Coastal and inland sanctuaries as centers of a western Mediterranean elite network*' and '*Sanctuaries and the formation of elites: power of consumption—consumption of power*' demonstrate, overseas and intercultural contact in a sanctuary is more easily defined in terms of exotic pottery—found in numerous contexts—than as the strategies that bolstered local power claims. Not unsurprisingly, therefore, many contributions discuss recent research carried out in sanctuaries, in terms of their architectural features, pottery and cultic meaning (M. Fabbri, L. Fiorini, M. Baglione *et al.*, A. Corretti *et al.*, C. Parra, M. de Cesare, C. Marconi *et al.*, J. Bergemann).

Some of these sanctuaries were closely related to exchange with other cultural groups, and in their spatiality and attachment to the cultic sphere, they constituted contexts that were meant to facilitate this exchange of objects. The sanctuaries of coastal emporia, such as Gravisca or Pyrgi make up some better-studied examples, but smaller sanctuaries inland seem to have fulfilled similar functions. In their providing of a set of new behaviours and objects, these sanctuaries created arenas for elite behaviour—arenas that did not exist in previous indigenous performative contexts, e.g. burial. As a result, the assemblages of the sanctuaries are often much more 'international' in composition than in other contexts. A good example is the site of Garaguso (Basilicata), at the Greek-indigenous Ionian frontier region (S. Bertesago and V. Garaffa). However, some other sanctuaries provide clear evidence for resistance to foreign values, for example, through the continued

use of the indigenous circular architecture for sacred buildings, for which evidence was found in inland southwestern Sicily (F. Spatafora). At Monte Iato (E. Kistler and M. Mohr), different cult sites seem to have witnessed differentiating practices: the practices conducted at one cult site were clearly carried out with the aim of attaching it to archaizing native ‘invented’ traditions—thus rejecting the Greek values that seem to have surrounded the other cult site nearby. However, such a spatial differentiation is not always clear, and is even more difficult to distinguish chronologically: when a traditional round structure was replaced by a ‘Greek’ rectangular one, the cult activities that took place did not necessarily change dramatically. This observation might indicate that it was more the form, rather than the content, of cult practices that changed (B. Öhlinger).

Consumption of objects, but also of food and drinks, using the appropriate vessels to do so, yielded the most successful strategy in the construction of power for local elites. The consumption, sometimes also production, of luxury objects, such as exotic cauldrons (J.P. Crielaard) or textiles (M. Gleba) were exclusive elite prerogatives. Other distinctions could be created by differentiating the vessels used in communal consumption (M. Osanna also R. Graells i Fabregat), a common practice which was limited in some regions, such as Latium, presumably as the result of sumptuary laws, installed to limit elite power (G. Zuchtriegel).

The contributions in this volume offer a very rich and wide array of contexts, materials, but also scholarly views on elites, sanctuaries and interaction in the Archaic Mediterranean. Not unsurprisingly, contrasting opinions were expressed, and the conclusion of the conference was particularly harsh for this perceived heterogeneity. In his concluding paper, Hans Peter Isler firmly rejects all scholarly reconstructions of ancient societies. Reason is the absence of a true epistemological base that would allow for a verification of theoretical assumptions. Isler doubts the heuristic value of concepts such as ‘elites’, ‘networks’, ‘consumption’—the three axes along which the conference was organised—and instead, pleads for the continuation of the long-standing historical traditions, in the footsteps of Bianchi Bandinelli, and the study of archaeological material as it has always been done.

Whereas this short final contribution may appear marginal in a theoretically-aimed book, the contribution is important in that it explicates critiques that are frequently expressed in more conservative scholarly corners: archaeological theory is considered to be optional. Isler voices an observation, made by another participant during

the conference (F. Spatafora): theory is not always supported by evidence, and it is often forgotten that the evidence at hand is partial; pre-definition of concepts is, therefore, dangerous.

Regretfully, the organisers have not formulated a reply to this critique in their lengthy and heavy theoretical paper, with which they conclude the volume. This omission creates the wrong impression that it is acceptable to state that ‘theory equals speculation’ and that the rejection of theory represents a true, objective scientific approach. This is not the case. Theory is used to outline more clearly why certain conclusions are drawn. Theory makes a line of thought explicit, and attempts to overcome limitations of personal observations. Most scholars emanate from a Christian and Western education, but it is wrong to assume that all commonly used categories, classifications and interpretations are objective and universal values. *All* scholarly classifications are arbitrary constructions and even our ways of measuring time and space are simple conventions, invented to facilitate social interaction (in the broadest sense). They are not universal, nor the only valid way to approach physical reality. Inevitably, all reconstructions are subjective, based on a personal understanding of the physical and social realities that surround us. It is only by engaging critically with theory that we can become conscious of the limitations of our own perceptions.

One of the theoretical bodies aimed at by Isler and the organisers, in the concluding papers, is network theory. Networks, Isler claims, are difficult to reconstruct with only objects at hand, and, as Peter van Dommelen stated (a paper which was presented at the conference but which is regretfully not included in the volume), ‘networks’ is a top-down concept.

This rejection of ‘networks’ is rather curious, given that not a single paper in the volume uses networks as an analytical concept, not even as a metaphor. Some of the authors, indeed, concluded that a network existed in their area of study, but they did this without engaging actively or systematically in some sort of network analysis. The rejection of network theory as a heuristic concept is thus rather thin and unsubstantiated. In archaeology, as in other sciences, the concept of networks is used both formally and as a metaphor, but either way, the correct application of the network concept should make it a bottom-up analytical concept. The whole point of network analysis is understanding *if* a network existed and what shape it took, how it was formed and how it evolved. The past years have indeed seen some top-down applications of the ‘network’ concept, e.g. Irad Malkin’s *A small Greek world: networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2011). Without wanting to doubt the valuable contribution Malkin

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made with his book, nor the thought-provoking conclusions he offered, it must be stated that there are methodological problems with imposing a very specific network structure, such as the small world, on a historical reality, such as the Archaic Aegean world. We still lack a systematic analysis which would confirm that it, indeed, constituted a network with the specific mathematical characteristics of a small world network. However, if correctly applied, network analysis offers powerful ways to analyse and visualise datasets, and when combined with anthropological theories, network analysis can be a useful part of an archaeology of interaction.¹

The supposed limited validity of network theory and the ultimate rejection of the other concepts formulated in the call for papers, led to the decision to add an extra paper to the volume. Drawing heavily on Arjun Appadurai's concept of the social life of things, the organisers now propose to study the protoglobalisation of the Mediterranean along a new analytical grid: 'circulation of forms and forms of circulation'. With this grid, they reinterpret the various contributions to the volume, in order to outline the creation of this new protoglobal world. Circulating 'forms'—'forms' being defined as all objects and practices in the broadest sense—are identified as hospitality, kraters—being a marker of a specific form of hospitality (they speak of a process of 'kraterisation' of the Mediterranean), name inscriptions on banqueting vessels, textiles, non-monumental *temene*.

By tracing 'forms', Kistler *et al.* identify distinct geographical spaces. A specific Etruscan seascape would have been marked by the Etruscan pearl rim basins and scrap metal. The iconography of oxhide ingots made up another, specific southern Mediterranean, space. The Silphion coins also circulated in a restricted geographical area, between Cyrene and Naucratis. Attic red-figure vessels appear to display another specific form of circulation: in Central and Western Sicily, they are only found in non-monumental *temene*. These trans-maritime circulation of 'forms', led, according to the authors, to new geographies, cultural practices and social institutions, ultimately resulting in what Ian Morris called 'Mediterraneazation'. A central instrument in acquiring and consolidating local power would have been the access to these Mediterranean forms of circulation.

Apart from a horizontal circulation of 'forms', Kistler *et al.* also identify two instances of vertical circulation of 'forms', circulation happening through

time rather than through space: the use of stone axes and *ceramica incisa ed impressa*, were used consciously as archaising forms, in order to forge links with the past. Negotiation of globality, called, after Appadurai, the 'production of locality', is found in the combination of horizontal and vertical circulation of forms.

In the end, Kistler *et al.* break down their analysis into 'eight points to an alternative archaeology of protoglobalisation'. With these points they hope, eventually, to establish a firm historical basis for comparison with Appadurai's book 'Modernity at large', which would 'assist in finding a common denominator for analysing and explaining the heuristic interaction between the then and now in the context of globalisation phenomena'. The eight points of this new archaeology are: 'forms' (the archaeological material, social institutions), 'circulation' (the spatial movement of forms), 'space' (a translocal space formed by combination of 'forms' and 'circulation'), 'geography' (additional spaces defined by circulation of forms), 'consumption' (registers of consumption and consumptionscapes), 'history' (vertical circulation of forms), 'locality:' (vertical and horizontal circulation as locus for identity).

Space, regrettably, poses limits to the exhaustive discussion these 'eight points to an alternative archaeology of proto-globalisation' merit. Only some cursory thoughts can be offered here. The paper touches upon many real issues, however, the answers formulated are not always satisfactory. The analytical distinction between the eight different points is far from clear: how are consumptionscapes different from circulation or space? What is the analytical value of 'circulation' versus 'space' versus 'geography'? How is the rejection of an integrated framework compared to an analytical grid going to contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms of interaction itself or elite formation? Also, the focus on the role of sanctuaries in the formation of elites and as a location for trans-Mediterranean interaction in the Archaic period is completely lost in this new 'archaeology of protoglobalisation'. The identification of specific forms and circulation (consumptionscapes), such as the idea of a 'kraterisation' of the Mediterranean, or the identification of invented traditions in Sicily, are very original, and provide novel ways to think about Mediterranean interaction. On the other hand, not in the least in the light of the second part of this review, it can be questioned if these objects and practices delineate a truly and specifically *Mediterranean* space: the Black Sea region witnessed very similar phenomena and processes. There are no grounds to assume that the Black Sea constituted a radically different cultural space: it was a full and integral part of the protoglobal

¹ Cf. Carl Knappet's *An archaeology of interaction*. 2011. Oxford.

Ancient World, part of one connected seaborne space, culturally, economically, politically. This problem, however, has been insufficiently addressed in current protoglobal (and other) research, including Kistler *et al.* As a result, claims of the existence of specific Mediterraneanising phenomena, need additional verification.

For historical and political reasons, the Black Sea area has received much less scholarly attention. However, as the extremely rich conference volume, edited by G. Tsatskheladze, A. Avram and J. Hargrave illustrates, research in the area is thriving. The second volume discussed in this review results from the fifth Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, held in Belgrade in 2013. The title of the book, *'The Danubian Lands, between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas'*, somewhat misleadingly generates the idea that the focus lies on the Danube region, whereas in reality, the aim, as the subtitle states, is the study of the entire Black Sea area, in a broad sense—including the Adriatic Sea and Balkan peninsula.

The publication contains 63 papers, divided over four sections: *'The Black Sea Greek colonies and their relationship with the hinterland'* (section 1), *'The Danube and the Black Sea region'* (section 2), *'Roman and Byzantine Limes, Varia'* (section 3), *'New excavations and projects'* (section 4). Given the number of contributions, most texts are short, elaborate abstract-like papers. The advantage is obviously that information is contained, outlining scopes of a study and listing the essential bibliography for further reading. The disadvantage is that, in some cases, the presented arguments cannot be fully developed. The summary nature of the texts is, in this sense, and especially to a Western readership, a loss, given that most people do not possess sufficient language skills to read the authors' original work. It is, of course, difficult to strike a balance between inclusiveness, in terms of number of papers, and costs and size of a publication. There is no doubt, however, that the volume constitutes an absolutely splendid contribution to Black Sea history, in its offering of a vast panorama, chronologically, geographically and culturally.

The organisation of the texts in the volume is loose, and papers could have easily fit under another title than the session in which they are presented. Therefore, the discussion in this second part of this review is also loose, and aims at identifying thematic trends and common approaches.

A frequently recurring theme in the volume is historical geography, with five papers discussing how Classical authors perceived Black Sea geography (R. Popova, A. Podossinov, A. Dan, I. Balena, M.

Vitelli Casella). That physical geography could become intertwined with myths, is demonstrated by the case of the island of Leuce, where a sacred topos of afterlife and the cult of Achilles, was created (R. Popova). Ancient representations of Danube and Balkan mountains influenced early modern, and ultimately modern, perceptions of the region (A. Dan). Current ideas about isolation and remoteness often derive directly from the, very subjective, past perceptions of unknown lands.

The volume's contributions further cover most aspects of Black Sea history, from the arrival of the Greeks, to the early Middle Ages. A conspicuous thematic absence, however, is Athens' involvement in the area—a theme that received exhaustive attention from the earliest Western scholars interested in the region. Current Black Sea research seems to have shifted away from this kind of imperial history, and moved towards the history of other empires instead. Successive empires, or at least groups aspiring overseas domination, attempted to exercise control in the Black Sea. That these enterprises were not always successful, is demonstrated by the Theban case (J. Vela Tejada). Evidence in the Black Sea region further points to the involvement of the Achaemenid empire (Ş. Dönmez), Phrygia (M. Vassileva), the Seleucids (A.G. Dumitru), but only the Roman empire (L. Zerbini) and Byzantine empire (V.V. Maiko; also O. Şpehar) caused long-lasting and transformative changes. The rise and decline of regional powers within the area, notably the Bosporan kingdom, also changed power balances regionally (S. Gallotta). Apart from interaction and control on the political and military level, looser cultural connections existed, reaching as far as the Adriatic (M. d'Ercole).

The dynamics of intercultural interaction were peaceful, and often affected local practices, such as cults in the Greek West-Pontic cities in Roman times (L. Ruscu), or the (localised) appropriation of Latin in the Balkans (V. Nedeljković). Sometimes, however, culture contact could be violent. Invasions of Cimmerians constituted a real threat, however, the invasions appear also to have been partially invented, in a process of creation of a cultural geography of the region (I. Xydopoulos). The Cimmerian invasions are one of the earliest cultural encounters attested historically. Similarly, the later phenomenon of Celtic invasions, manifested themselves in various ways archaeologically (J. Bouzek), but the evidence points at significant integration of groups.

More balanced political interactions in the region seem to have existed between Greeks and natives. A significant part of the book is dedicated to these various Greek-native exchanges in broad cultural terms (G. Tsatskheladze, L. Gallo, J. de Boer, M.

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Manoledakis, A. Gabelia, V.P. Kopylov, V. Zinko and E. Zinko). The mechanisms of interaction between these groups varied: feasting and gift exchange seem to have been successful strategies to secure peaceful relations with smaller groups (I. Faulkner), whereas more formal diplomatic relations existed between the Greek cities and the native kingdoms (A. Dimitrova).

Black Sea women, especially indigenous women, had, according to ancient writers, the reputation of being dangerous, free and actively enjoying military and political powers. Textual representations do not coincide with reality, although it seems that women did indeed participate in public life and trade activities, as inscriptions from Olbia show (M. Oller). Antonia Tryphaina, daughter of Polemon I, and great-granddaughter of Mark Anthony, was indeed able to wield considerable political power in Thrace, not in the least because of the powerful link between Rome and Pontus she impersonated (V. Cojocaru). Women also figured in other contexts, such as cult, as is testified by rich iconographical evidence from Late Antique tombs in the Balkan (J. Anđelković Grašar). Late Antique times further witnessed far-reaching changes in political, military, economic and social organisation. However, this was a gradual process, as the disintegration of the Scythian limes in the 7th century AD shows (G. Custurea and G. Mircea Talmăţchi). The changing institutions were intertwined with changing beliefs, as evidenced in the ecclesiastical networks in the western and northern Pontic region (D. Ruscu).

Media, used by political powers, cultural and religious groups, as well as affluent individuals, takes various forms in the Black Sea region. Most notable are inscriptions, coinage, and rock carvings. A substantial corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions is known from Tomis (discussed by A. Avram and S. Ferjančić respectively) and Latin inscriptions from Noviodunum (L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba). Coins, used in transactions (for Roman Bulgaria discussed by S. Lozanova), sometimes assumed new meanings and new uses, as is testified by the coinage of Eumelos and its imitations (P. Burgunder). Also other media could assume political meanings. As much is argued (by L. Roller) for rock-cut monuments and evidence for feasting in the Rhodope mountains and Phrygia.

Economically, the Black Sea constituted a regional network, connecting the entire region, but, simultaneously, also forming important links with the Mediterranean. Aquileian families traded actively far beyond their home town (L. Gregoratti), whereas along the same Adriatic coast, the port of Rimini was the focus of commercial rather than military activities (F. Ugolini). Links were forged in various ways, for example, imports of stone, as supplement to local

materials, connected Marianopolis (Z. Dimitrov) to other regions, far beyond its own hinterland.

But wine probably constituted one of the most frequently traded products, in Greek times—as testify the distribution of Rhodian amphorae from Tomis to Cetățeni (D. Măndescu). Also in Roman and Byzantine times, wine was traded widely, as testified by the ‘Colchian’ amphorae (A. Opait), and amphorae in the Danube provinces (B. Magomedov). Wine trade reached even as far as the Carpathian basin in Avar times (Csiky and Magyar-Hárshegyi).

Apart from wine and container imports, local production of table, cooking and other wares, was flourishing in the Black Sea region. Scholarly appreciation of these ‘lesser’ wares is of more recent date: apart from typological studies, such as those of painted vessels in Roman Romania (D. Bondoc) or cooking devices in Apollonia Pontica (L. Claquin), archaeometric analysis of clays contributes significantly to our understanding of production and distribution of vessels, for example in the Greek West-Pontic area (P. Dupont). Interesting is that ceramic vessels, which are often perceived as cheap and disposable objects, were considered valuable: there is ample evidence of repair and re-use even of ordinary ceramic vessels (M. Matera).

Diet in the Black Sea region seems to have been affected by urban life and political structures. A study of faunal remains at Berezan has shown that the inhabitants’ food consumption fluctuated significantly between periods when the island was densely inhabited and urbanised versus when there was only sparse settlement (A. Kasparov).

For historical reasons, not all parts of the Black Sea have been studied to the same extent as the Mediterranean. Many recent research projects aim at improving our knowledge of local topography and settlement lay-out, as well as chronology and material culture. A large part of the conference volume is dedicated to reports of this work-in-progress. Recent research was conducted on the acropolis of Istros, and the results allowed to reassess the old idea that a temple for Apollo was located under the Roman basilica (V.V. Bottez). Nearby, in Orgame, accumulating evidence points to settlement continuity throughout the Early Iron Age and Greek period. Furthermore, it seems clear that Greek presence at Orgame predates Istros (A. Baralis and V. Lungu). Possibly, similar processes in terms of settlement and interaction with Greeks might have existed at Berezan and Olbia. Recent excavations have demonstrated that Berezan/Borysthenes possessed monumentalised public spaces (D. Christov). This means that, even though the early settlement was soon outgrown and probably under some form of control by

Olbia, it was able to develop as a political community as well.

Apart from these regions of early contact with Greeks, numerous minor settlements testify to a strong Greek cultural influence at a later date, with, more often than not, significant selective local appropriation of 'Greek' forms. Recent excavations explored peculiar ash hills in hellenistic Myrmekion, in the Crimea (A. Butyagin), and a probable fortification near Chersonesos (T. Egorova and E. Popova). Other work focused on the settlement at Tios, thought to be part of the 'Milesian' network of the Archaic period (S. Atasoy and Ş. Yildirim). A previously understudied region, northwestern Anatolia, has been put on the map in a large scale regional study (G. Karauğuz).

The Roman occupation and subsequent power shifts in the area resulted in the foundation of new settlements, often with a military character, or at least a strategic political importance. Recent excavations focused on Deultum—the only Roman colony in Bulgaria (H. Preshlenov), Lesale, in the West Colchian region (A. Plontke Lüning), Cingirt Kayası (eastern Black Sea region of Turkey)—probably founded as a fortified settlement under Mithridates VI (A. Erol).

With this vast thematic, geographic, and chronological panorama, the Black Sea conference volume achieves a long-term view which is most often absent in Mediterranean studies. However, as also Jan de Boer's paper in the volume very sensibly remarks: the Black Sea was a connected region, even before the Greeks' arrival, and it makes sense to consider phenomena in a broader perspective.

Pioneering works, such as Horden and Purcell and more recently, Broodbank, now study the Mediterranean as a spatial and cultural unity, but both works ignore the existence of an intricate connectivity with this other sea, the Black Sea. If the Mediterranean was increasingly joined together through shared practices, exchange and material culture, what place does the Black Sea take in this narrative? To what extent were both maritime spaces connected (or not?) and how was integration achieved?

Similarities in interaction clearly existed: feasting and gift exchange were major integrating factors in cultural and political networks of the archaic period, both in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. But, when this observation is evaluated against the background of the issues raised in the first volume discussed here, it seems as if in the Black Sea region, monumental *temena* did not develop to be foci for interaction and consolidation of elite power. Feasting in the Black Sea provided a context for political

manipulation by elites, but the occasion seems to have been funerary, rather than cult. Differences in trajectories between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea are also observable in the development of indigenous political power: in the Black Sea, various dynasties and kingdoms were formed, whereas indigenous political units in the Mediterranean were more loosely aggregated. Many of the issues raised in the volume by Kistler *et al.* could be applied to the Black Sea and many of the observations made in the Black Sea region could feed back into the hypotheses proposed for the Mediterranean. There is a huge unexplored potential for the study of both regions, theoretically, from a comparative as well as from a connected perspective, and this despite the critical voices in Kistler *et al.*'s volume.

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Janett Morgan. *Greek perspectives on the Achaemenid Empire: Persia through the looking glass*. pp. xviii+365, 68 b/w illustrations and 4 maps. 2016. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. ISBN 978-0-7486-4723-1 hardback £80.

Janette Morgan's 'Greek Perspectives on the Achaemenid Empire: Persia through the Looking Glass' is the last book published as part of the series of Edinburgh Studies in Ancient Persia. Almost twenty years after Margaret C. Miller's 'Athenians and Persians in the Fifth century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity'¹ was published, one is still in awe of the way that Miller contributed to the debate on cultural receptivity within the context of Greek and Persian engagement. Previously there have also been studies focused on how the reception of the Persians has changed continuously in various contexts.² Morgan's book carries the debate one step further by presenting a critical analysis of the archaeological evidence as well as a comprehensive study of the related sources. The text brings together the whole body of related archaeological material and all the pieces of literary evidence about the Greek engagement with Persians in the Archaic period, while offering a new perspective. Although the focus of the book is the Greeks' interaction with the Persians through the Graeco-Persian wars, the text begins with an examination of non-local objects found in Greek contexts during the Early Iron

¹ Miller, M. C. 1997..

² Bridges, E., Hall, E., Rhodes, P.J. 2007.