

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), Cıngirt 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.

LIEVE DONNELLAN

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM
lieve.donnellan@gmail.com

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.

REVIEWS

Age, for a *long dureé* view on Greek responses to Eastern communities. In this sense Morgan wisely places the debate within a wider context, seeking the beginnings of the East-West duality, which has shaped the world that we live in. Thus, she also gives paradigms to be recognized during the reading of her text, which thoroughly discusses the subject of cultural receptivity and cultural interaction, in a world of binary oppositions.

The Graeco-Persian Wars are widely accepted as key events in ancient history, owing to the abundant ancient texts dealing with the narratives of political events that took place during the wars after the Archaic period. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch and Aeschylus have written on the Graeco-Persian Wars and their aftermath at different times, and without any exceptions from the Greek viewpoint. The Greek victory over the Persians after a series of wars that lasted for fifty years, was essential to the cultural and political identities of Greece. It was physically and culturally embedded in Athens, most notably through its Acropolis that was rebuilt during the reign of Pericles, leaving a lasting image until today. The Athenian Acropolis crowned with the Parthenon is the stereotypical visualization of Greek identity, a monumental symbol reflecting the victory of civilization over the 'others'. However, the beginnings of world politics that became shaped through such dualities and alterity remains to be investigated. Translation of Greek texts beginning with the Renaissance showed its impact during the Industrial Revolution, when ancient Greek history was embraced as an organic part of European history, and one that continues to influence the Western block of the world. In this world of duality the West continued to evolve from ancient Greece, where the East remained as a static part of world history.³ The Graeco-Persian Wars as a key phenomenon found a place also in 17th century art, for example, where Handel's opera *Serse* was based on a part of Xerxes' life. Aeschylus's *Perses* hardly lost its popularity on stage despite the fact that it is one of the first art pieces promoting xenophobia. In this sense, Morgan re-investigates the Western perspective towards the East by discussing the Greek perspective on the Achaemenids, to demonstrate that politicized perspectives are usually distorted by shifting ideologies. Therefore the discourse of the book has a much wider scope and encourages the reader to question standard perspectives through the lens of political agendas.

The book features an interdisciplinary approach by utilizing 'agency' as well as 'thingy' theories to investigate the historical, political and social

parameters that manipulated the shifting identities of Persia and the Persians from a Greek perspective, on the basis of material context and literary sources. By re-analyzing the material culture related to Greek engagement with the East, she exercises a deconstruction of the archaeological evidence. Thus she offers a unique insight into the way that the Greek elite class emerged and what sort of role they took in creating their own identity by using the shifting representations of Persians.

Persians are not alone in being introduced to the world history scene through a Greek lens. We know Phoenicians, Lydians and other Eastern communities primarily through Greek narratives. In this sense, Irad Malkin's 'Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity' should be mentioned for being a work dedicated to breaking this routine of perceiving the Classical world from Greek perceptions.⁴ Those *ex-parte* narratives have inevitably come with a vast amount of bias. Morgan's work clearly demonstrates that textual evidence is always to be questioned in the light of archaeological evidence, whilst the material context also requires to be re-examined for a more factual explanation of past political and cultural systems.

The book is divided into six chapters following an introduction and ends with a final chapter of concluding remarks. The introduction opens with the words of a full-featured aristocrat, George Nathaniel Curzon, who was also a statesman and a traveller as often within the *Zeitgeist* of the late 19th century. His quoted words are on the remains of Persepolis that he has seen during his visit to Iran. Morgan intentionally begins the text with Curzon's view to put emphasis on how perspectives are shaped by political agendas and socio-political dynamics at all scales from individual basis to communal. She takes Curzon's shifting reactions towards Achaemenid art as an analogy for demonstrating to the reader how Greek perspectives have transformed the Persians and how our perception changes with shifting academic approaches that stem from political agendas. In the introduction she draws out the framework of the text and provides the reader with the theoretical background that would be required during the 'journey of the mind, to the hall of mirrors'. She gives hints that her discourses upon the subject will certainly avoid the standard explanations.

The first chapter of the book focusses on the period before the rise of the Achaemenid Empire, and explains how Greek communities were engaged with the East during the time they were going through a social transformation following the 'Dark Age'.

³ Vlassopoulos, K. 2007.

⁴ Malkin, I. (ed.) 2001.

The material context, in particular the imported artifacts are used to explain how social roles were established in Greek society and how the elite class made use of them. Unlike the following period, there is no textual evidence for the Early Iron Age, and this leaves the author to de-construct archaeological perspectives derived from material contexts. Morgan rightly discusses how narratives of ‘renaissance’ and ‘orientalisation’ have shaped our perspectives of Greek interaction with East. She makes an analogy between the 18th–19th century habits of creating elite identity and the use of oriental objects found in 11th–8th century graves and temples for exercising power. There is already a large amount of work relating to the social transformation of the Greeks that took place from the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, and that is commonly explained with their interaction with the East through trade, employing the archaeological evidence based on the oriental objects used by the Greek elite. On the other hand the Archaic period is reflected in sources dealing with the Graeco-Persian Wars, where the literary evidence is also available. In this chapter Morgan emphasizes the uniqueness of socio-political structures in which power was exercised by the use of external objects and ideas in various ways.

In Chapter 2, entitled as ‘Journeys through the Looking Glass: Early Perspectives on the Achaemenid Empire’, Morgan focuses on the period from the reign of Croesus and the Lydian Empire to Xerxes. She makes use of the archaeological evidence for discussing Greek interaction with the Near East and the emergence of the Achaemenids as a hegemonic power, by building up her debate upon two contradictory concepts; rupture and continuity. She re-examines the archaeological evidence to demonstrate that histories of Greek-Persian engagement were later created synthetically for purely political aims, that were useful for the ancient Greek community as well as the modern world both of which shaped themselves through alterity and orientalism. She investigates if the Achaemenid expansion actually created a rupture in Greek history and comes up with an alternative answer by demonstrating continuous interaction of Greeks and Persians through a detailed examination of the archaeological and textual evidence. She provides us with an explanation of how the Persians created their imperial identity by placing themselves into Near Eastern imperial routines and context, as well as mentioning the role of Greeks in this process. She paints a political landscape that we would hardly comprehend with our current political biases. Greek city-states could have never become a political union against the imperial powers of the Archaic world, such as the Lydians and Persians. Dispersed power amongst the various elite groups, led to close contacts with the Eastern

courts in a continuous way from the Early Iron Age to the end of the Archaic period. She offers three case studies from Anatolia, Ionia and Athens in order to illustrate the common patterns for expressing power by using external ideas and artifacts. Even though here she attempts to present a comparative study amongst those three geographies, the incoherence in the quantity and quality of archaeological evidence from those contexts creates an obstacle for her aims. A considerable part of the chapter is confined to Athens, where she discussed how external images were employed to reinforce authority amongst the elite groups and how it shaped local politics. For Anatolia she gives a brief but solid explanation of how power was expressed through materiality and how Achaemenid features were used by elites once the Achaemenids placed themselves into that imperial pattern adopted from the Near East. Finally she presents the case of Ionia, which remains highly generalised due to the nature of the archaeological evidence. She explains the position of East Greek, or more appropriately what we term Ionian city-states within these political dynamics. I must admit that the situation of Ionia requires a rather closer inspection in order to fully explain the cultural receptivity and identity issues of ancient Greek communities. Even though geographically Ionia exists at the periphery of the Greek *koine*, Ionian poleis played a key role first during the Early Iron Age, which is the first phase of creating Greek identities and then played a key role during the Graeco-Persian wars. However I cannot blame Morgan for not presenting an equally detailed and conscious analysis of Ionia due to the scarcity of published material. Moreover, approaches to Ionian archaeology are still rooted in highly traditional practices far from breaking routines and re-examining the archaeological evidence. Recently Alan Greaves’ ‘Land of Ionia’ presented a holistic view of Ionian archaeology,⁵ but there is still a long way to go in order to discuss the political and social position of Ionia within the Aegean network from the Bronze Age to the Classical Period. In this sense, Crielaard’s chapter in ‘Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition’ sets a good background specifically for the case of the Ionians.⁶

Chapter 3, ‘Facing the Gorgon: Reactions to the Achaemenid Empire in Classical Athens’ turns the looking glass to Athens and focuses on the plethora of perspectives in the post-war era. She uses the Gorgon Medusa on the shield of Athena, the ruler goddess, as a metaphor for revealing that the process of constructing Greek identities was disguised by the reactions to Persians and the Persian Empire after the ‘Great Event’. Her discourse is again based on

⁵ Greaves, A. M. 2010. See review, this Volume.

⁶ Crielaard, J.P. 2009: 37–84.

REVIEWS

the re-examination of visual media that depicted the Achaemenids in the 5th century BC. She rightfully claims that the identification of Persians in Athenian pottery and architecture as well as on stage with the of Aeschylus and Aristophanes is reflected to us through modern political and academic agendas. The Eurymedon vase is a good example for questioning the gap between the perspectives of the past and today. Although she mentions it as a humorous depiction of a Persian archer, the scene may easily be taken as offensive, an image reflecting sexualized violence today. She gives a long and detailed history of Athenian politics in the 5th century BC, while offering an analysis of visualized ideologies through public works. She claims that the rise of the *demos* in Athens was manipulated by the elite through those public works that exploited the energy of the *demos*. Her approach is a standard Marxist one, in relation to pre-capitalist societies which have been exploited excessively by the discourses of other social sciences, using the Classical Athenian social systems as a test-case.⁷

I must admit that I admired the metaphors used by Morgan in naming the chapters. They give the perfect hint of what you will be reading, for example Chapter 4 is called: 'What the Butler Saw: Intimate Perspectives on King and Court in Classical Ionian Texts'. This chapter is based on the perspectives of the Achaemenids created by Ionian historians. It is not a new thing in Classical archaeology to explain the socio-politics of a certain era solely on the basis of literary evidence. It is even perhaps the main defect of it, where the archaeological evidence is mostly placed into the picture painted by the literary evidence. However, this chapter shows us that a critical re-reading of literary sources within the context of archaeological evidence still has great potential to contribute to our understanding of past societies and political systems. Recently Mac Sweeney's 'Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia' emphasized that textual evidence needs to be re-read in the light of archaeological evidence, which also needs to be re-examined.⁸ And I find it very useful particularly for encouraging the researchers on Ionia to re-examine the archaeological evidence in the light of new perspectives. Morgan's chapter takes that aim even further where she avoids the overreliance on standard sources like Herodotus or Xenophon, opening a brand new niche by putting Ctesias' *Persica* into focus. The *Persica* presents us with a variety of narratives based on individual experiences at the Achaemenid court from a highly personal perspective. Yet her use of Ctesias' *Persica* is a highly controversial one when we remember her

point on shifting perspectives and how subjective or artificial they could be through the filter of political agendas.

Chapter 5, 'The Mirror Crack'd: Spartan Responses to the 'East' and to the Achaemenid Empire' is based on the evidence from Sparta. Morgan decided to present us with studies from different geographies of the Greek *koine*: Corinth, Ionia and finally Sparta, in order to break the stereotypical Athenocentric perspective. Such a comparative approach for examining the material culture and literary sources reveals that the Greek communities had no homogeneity and each had unique social structures and material culture. However, the quality and the quantity of evidence amongst those geographies are incompatible. For the case of Sparta, the scarcity of the archaeological evidence, particularly in terms of the unvarying context, and the fact that the textual evidence available is gained only through the filter of Athens, creates an obstacle for a full comprehension of Sparta's position within the political network of the era. Against all odds, Morgan offers a detailed study of the available evidence and comes up with the result that Spartan identity remained isolated from Achaemenid impact, probably due to their unique social structure that diverged dramatically from Athens'.

The final chapter of the book, Chapter 6 'Entering the Hall of Mirrors: Macedonia and the Achaemenid Empire' is confined to Macedonian engagements with the East and the Achaemenid Empire. Morgan makes use of archaeological evidence from the 10th century to the 4th century for demonstrating how Macedonia has interacted with Persia while transforming itself into a unique political power that changed the ancient world, after defeating the Great King. In this chapter, the position of Macedonia within the political network of the Archaic and Classical periods is explained on the basis of material context and literary evidence, where Morgan clears the smokescreen created by the narratives of Hellenization and modern politics. She puts Macedonia in a different position through the engagement of Greeks with the East during the Graeco-Persian Wars and demonstrates that the Macedonians' interaction with the Achaemenids was a mutual one that transformed both of them, in contrast to the other Greeks.

Morgan's text contributes immensely to the study of the Graeco-Persian wars by explaining the mutual socio-cultural impacts through the re-examination of archaeological evidence and narratives, in order to demonstrate the variety of cultural receptivity in different contexts. She offers a *long durée* view on the subject with a detailed study of available evidence, but also a comprehensive study of the archaeological

⁷ Wood, E. M. 2008.

⁸ Mac Sweeney, N. 2013.

corpus dedicated to Greek and Persian interactions, making use of it to avoid generic explanations. She scrutinizes the shifting perspectives of antiquity, as well as the modern ones, by placing the debate in a wider scope through discussing the Athenocentric and Eurocentric approaches to political and academic agendas. The book addresses a wider audience by presenting a case study to point out that archaeology can hardly be isolated from political discourses of the past and today. There are almost no print mistakes, except the wrong spelling of 'Cleisthenes' as 'Clesithenes' on page 136.

- Bridges, E., E. Hall and P.J. Rhodes 2007. *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crielaard, J.P. 2009. The Ionians in the Archaic period. Shifting identities in a changing world, in T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds) *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*: 37–84. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Greaves, A.M. 2010. *Land of Ionia: Society and Economy in the Archaic Period*. Chichester, England, and Malden (MA): Wiley-Blackwell.
- Malkin, I. (ed.) 2001. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. (Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 5). Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Mac Sweeney, N. 2013. *Foundation Myths and Politics in ancient Ionia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, M.C. 1997. *Athens and Persians in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vlassopoulos, K. 2007. *Unthinking the Greek Polis: Ancient Greek History Beyond Eurocentrism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, E.M. 2008. *Citizens to Lords: A Social History of Western Political Thought from Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages*. London: Verso.

ELIF KOPARAL
HİTİT UNIVERSITY, TURKEY
ekoparal@gmail.com

Hellenistic

Nancy Bookidis and Elizabeth G. Pemberton. *The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Greek lamps and offering trays* (Corinth, Volume XVIII.7). Princeton (NJ): The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. pp. 256, 50 pls, 2 tables. 2015. ISBN 978-0-87661-187-6 \$150.

Nancy Bookidis and Elizabeth Pemberton's *the Greek Lamps and Offering Trays* is a fine new addition to the Corinth series and another piece of the puzzle that is the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Following the six preceding volumes that detail the archaeology, inscriptions and topography of the site, *the Greek Lamps and Offering Trays* presents another detailed look at a particular aspect of material culture from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary. Focussed on Greek lamps and so-called offering trays this volume marvellously succeeds in furthering our understanding of the sanctuary and its associated material culture and is an excellent companion to the earlier volumes detailing the Greek and Roman pottery and terracottas recovered from the site. Corinth XVIII.7 is composed of five chapters and divided into two parts. Part I by Nancy Bookidis focuses on the Greek lamps and consists of 1: Introduction, 2: Catalogue: Corinthian Lamps, 3: Catalogue: Imported Lamps, Multiple Lamps, Stands and Lanterns. Part II by Elizabeth Pemberton is composed of 4: Introduction, 5: Catalogue: Offering Trays. An appendix providing an overview of the archaeological contexts utilised, various indices and the plates follow. Each individual chapter is divided into a number of subsections which provide a structured overview of a material category or present a specific type (e.g. 1, Uses of Lamps or 2, Broneer Type IV). After introductory chapters set the scene for the Greek lamps and offering trays the order of (catalogue) Chapters 2, 3 and 5 is primarily typological, the main focus being on providing a thorough overview of the various types of lamps and offering trays attested.

Chapters 1 and 4 are the most interpretative sections of the book and form a thorough introduction, respectively, to the lamps and offering trays of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Both chapters introduce each material category before discussing in detail the local chronology and archaeological context, making reference not only to the sanctuary and Corinth itself but also parallels from elsewhere. A significant part of these chapters is also devoted to an attempt at interpretation. The uses and functions of lamps and offering trays in the sanctuary are