

touched upon either, but this is understandable because the movements were not permanent and as an upcoming phenomenon it was more of a feature of Hellenistic times. However, a narrower, better defined focus would have left no room for pining after such social and intellectual reasons for moving around the Mediterranean and would have helped to leave out unnecessary material from the book.

Even if analytical clarity is not always apparent, this book gives a valuable outline of the character of Greek colonisation, migration and repatriation and the political and economic reasons behind these phenomena. It is thus a valuable contribution to its field.

Ulla Rajala

Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean. Edited by IRAD MALKIN – CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU – KATERINA PANAGOPOULOU. Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-415-45989-1. XIII, 321 pp. EUR 82.90, USD 115.

Based on a conference held in May 2006, in Rethymno, Crete, and initially published as two special issues of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* (vol. 22, 2007), this book – a collection of 18 individual papers – aims to take the notion of Mediterranean "networks" "beyond its descriptive value" (p. 2), and to apply Social Network Analysis and theories of connectivity to historical questions being posed about the Mediterranean in antiquity. Keeping in mind F. Braudel's *longue durée*, the authors state that the aim is "to qualify networks, to understand their duration, function, scope, overlapping, and historical implications." (p. 2). The papers offer a selection of themes to which network analysis can be applied to enhance our understanding of history of the Mediterranean. The papers all consider "network-related historical questions" (p. 8), regardless of whether they explicitly apply Network Analysis or not.

In the first paper, "Beyond and Below the Polis: Networks, Associations and the Writing of Greek History" (pp. 12–23) Kostas Vlassopoulos looks at the role of networks and their associations in the writing of Greek history. Rejecting Greek history as written through the polis "unified history based on the rise, acme, and decline of the polis," Vlassopoulos instead applies networks to look at "social, economic, political, and cultural interaction" at the levels below the polis and beyond the polis. The level below the polis constitutes *koinônai*: subgroupings within the city that includes not only the demos and the various professional guilds, but also foreigners in the city (there by virtue of networks?). This then hints at the level beyond the polis – the interactions (commercial, military, and artistic) and between the different poleis and other Mediterranean powers that together formed a Classical "world-system" which allows for an interpretation of the period of the Classical polis on a global, mobile, fragmented level.

Ian Rutherford's contribution ("Network Theory and Theoric Networks", pp. 24–38) hinges on a play on words, the theory of networking, and the networks of *theoria* – religious delegations sent from city to city. By employing Social Network Analysis to graphically represent relationships of cultic centres and cities sending delegations, it becomes possible to chart nodes, clusters, and even the "prestige" of some centres over others.

Simon Hornblower's paper ("Did the Delphic Amphiktionion Play a Political Role in the Classical Period?", pp. 39–56) considers whether the league's punitive actions could be considered stepping outside the bounds of "essentially" religious affairs. Condemnation of the

Spartans and of Astykrates in the mid-4th century BCE may have been manifestations of the political ambitions of the cities that were dominant at the time, rather than direct response to religious outrages, which was the stated remit of the Amphictiony. It appears that while the Amphictiony itself might have been apolitical, its network and authority could be exploited and used as a weapon for dominance and retribution by members against one another.

J. K. Davies' "Pythios and Pythaion: the spread of a cult title" (pp. 57–69) also considers networks stemming from Delphi, in this case the "distribution of the cult epithet 'Pythios'" and its "connotations, or reflections of function". Davies considers alternatively the generic "'mechanisms' of transfer" (of which he identifies eight variants), and also the "psychological" implications of the cult itself – its particular oracular tradition or association with purification or punishment of murderers as factors in its dissemination.

Hugh Bowden's essay ("Cults of Demeter Eleusinia and the Transmission of Religious Ideas", pp. 70–82) also considers the issue of cult distribution. He argues that the cults formed networks of information transmission. He poses the question of whether the writings of well-travelled "religious experts" such as Herodotus or Pausanias might have over-emphasized the commonalities between cults, or whether they even prompted them, and that the shared heritage reflected in the accounts of these authors may not reflect a genuine transmission of ideas from the mother cult to its subsidiaries.

Robin Osborne poses the question: "What Travelled With Greek Pottery?" (pp. 83–93). Does the distribution of Greek pottery (black- and red-figure vases of the 6th–5th centuries BC) outside the Greek mainland represent the distribution of Greek "cultural practice and knowledge" or are they exotic luxury items dissociated from their original cultural significance and usage? Osborne initially argues not from iconography but from function– to him the absence of *aryballoi* suggests the absence of gymnasia, or the presence of a full set of sympotic vessels suggests that the customs of the symposia may have been acquired as well, whereas assemblages where only certain items (such as kraters but no cups) are found may be indicative that Greek items were incorporated into indigenous practices as novelty items. Osborne concludes that the latter scenario is more common: that pots did not carry practice. Furthermore, the imagery from mythological scenes on pots found in Etruria likely reinforced, rather than imparted, a knowledge of Greek mythology.

Michael Sommer brings us beyond the Greek world to consider Iron Age networks ("Networks of Commerce and Knowledge in the Iron Age: The Case of the Phoenicians", pp. 94–108). Despite the continuity into Late Antiquity of a "Phoenician" national identity, Sommer argues that the networks exploited by the Iron Age Phoenicians should not be characterised by ethnic identity, but as a "composite Mediterranean network", in which participants of different regions contributed to differing degrees and at different periods.

Riet van Bremen's paper ("Networks of Rhodians in Karia", pp. 109–28) looks at the presence of Rhodians who were in Karia not for military/administrative reasons, but for reasons of commerce, etc. Relying on evidence from epigraphy and the distribution of the designator "*Rhodiums*", she questions whether the individuals represent "incorporated" natives of Karia (granted the title as a privilege), or instead are natives of the island of Rhodes who owned property in Karia. Considering the evidence for each model, van Bremen rejects the former hypothesis, arguing that instead of indicating a two-tiered citizenship with privileged local elites, the evidence instead suggests "distance and inequality" – "relations of patronage rather than of citizen honoured by his fellow citizens" (p. 112); ossified social structures rather than internal

social mobility.

Isabella Sandwell ("Libanius' Social Networks: Understanding the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire", pp. 129–43) applies social network theory to the 4th century Antiochene rhetor and epistolarian. Scott Bradbury² has already considered the networking implications of Libanius' correspondence. These indicate that he had an extensive friendship group that spanned the cities of the Roman Empire. Sandwell picks up this torch. She argues against the traditional view of Late Antique society as rigidly categorized, with tension between the imperial centre and civic elites. The restructuring of the imperial administration in the 3rd and 4th centuries (not to mention the legitimation of the Christian clergy) created new upwardly mobile opportunities for the well-educated and ambitious provincials. Libanius' social network includes both the civic elite and the imperial administration – widely distributed throughout the provinces. Libanius' used his extensive network of friends, colleagues, students, and family to further his own aims, but also to obtain favours for other friends – Libanius thus forms a nodal point in the social mobility that characterized Late Antique society.

Anna Collar's paper ("Network Theory and Religious Innovations", pp. 144–57) looks closely at the underlying principles of network theory. She illustrates how the theoretical mechanisms of network theory manifest variously in the worlds of physics, biology, and, eventually, human societies. She makes the observation that network theory can be applied to historical study as a means of providing an alternative to the narrative written by the victors. "Assessing network structure rather than 'stimuli' of historical events leads to a different way of understanding the past. Instead of viewing historical success as a measure of inherent merit, using networks means the observed outcomes of historical situations not be 'superior'. They are survivors." (p. 154).

Dimitris Paleothodoros' paper ("Commercial Networks in the Mediterranean and the Diffusion of Early Attic Red-figure Pottery (525–490 BCE)", pp. 158–75) picks up on themes from Osborne's paper by asking what prompted the innovation of red-figure ware at the expense of black-figure ware in 6th century Attica. Much like Osborne, Paleothodoros concludes that the impetus did not come from the Greek mainland. Rather, the driving force behind the change was the taste of overseas consumers, which in turn was reflected in the desire of Greek potters to maintain the prominence of their product (particularly in the face of imitations).

Vincent Gabrielsen ("Brotherhoods of Faith and Provident Planning: The Non-public Associations of the Greek World", pp. 176–203) examines the "networking capabilities" of the non-public speaking associations of the Hellenistic period. The non-official nature of these associations meant that they admitted those typically outside the normal political discourse – foreigners, women, slaves – providing them with a "societal space". "Associational proliferation and activity created a huge repository of institutional potential, whose special properties were to connect, communicate, and energize." (p. 181). They were capable of rejuvenating the polis by what Gabrielsen terms an "industrious revolution". Religion not only created cohesion between members of the group, but expressions of piety and shared cults were one way that these associations networked with one another as well.

Maria Stamatopolou's paper "Thessalians Abroad, the Case of Pharsalos" (pp. 204–29) forms part of a larger project looking at attestations of natives of Thessaly beyond the boundaries

² S. Bradbury, "Libanius' Letters as Evidence for Travel and Epistolary Networks among Greek Elites in the Fourth Century," in: L. Ellis – F. Kidner (eds.), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane*, Aldershot 2004, 73–80.

of that territory. The present paper makes a case study of the city of Pharsalos in southern Thessaly, from the 5th century BCE through to the second and third centuries. By tabulating the evidence, Stamatopoulou looks not only at the geographic spread, but changes over time. This leads her to conclude that Pharsalians had their greatest connections abroad in the 4th to 5th centuries, when their skill as horsemen was in great demand. However, in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries their stance became introverted, and the networks of the previous centuries were no longer maintained, and Pharsalos was even superseded as an urban hub in Thessaly by other cities.

Selene Psoma ("Profitable Networks: Coinages, *Panegyreis* and Dionysiac Artists", pp. 30–248) looks at the coins minted by the association of Dionysiac artists and their role as units of currency and as markers of networks. In particular, the weight standards adopted at different times emulate the weight standards of different cities. This can be indicative of cities where the Dionysiac artists were active: where they were either doing most of their work or where they were doing most of their commercial transactions.

Gary Reger ("On the Road to India with Apollonius of Tyana and Thomas the Apostle", pp. 249–263) highlights how networks are described in the fictional 3rd century accounts of the travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Apostle Thomas to lend verisimilitude to the journeys, and thus enhance the plausibility of the protagonists' miracle-working. Trading networks of merchants created routes, while diaspora communities of Jews in the case of Thomas, and the pervasiveness of Greek as a spoken language in the case of Apollonius gave them access to local populations as potential converts and audiences. Although the accounts themselves are, as stated, fictional, the networks of communities are corroborated by historical sources for the east, and mirror the communities that enabled the transmission of Christianity in the west as well.

Yannis Lolos' paper ("Via Egnatia after Egnatius: Imperial Policy and Inter-regional Contacts", pp. 264–84) examines the most physical manifestation of the network, the road itself, in this case the Via Egnatia that crosses the Balkans from the Adriatic coast to Constantinople. Lolos' paper looks at the impact of the road on the development of connectivity and settlements along its route from when it was first built in the 2nd century BCE to Late Antiquity, such as the foundation of three colonies along the route by Augustus, and the (re-)foundation of cities particularly on the eastern side in the 4th and 5th centuries (pp. 269–70). Like most Roman roads, which were initially constructed to facilitate administrative and military transport, the Via Egnatia also became a conduit for commercial, social, and cultural transport, which can be traced in distribution of trade items, and the cultural significance of cities such as Thessalonike.

Panagiotis Doukellis' paper ("Hadrian's *Panhellenion*: A Network of Cities", pp. 285–98) begins by cautioning against retrojecting a modern interpretation (network theory) onto historical circumstances. The paper proceeds to investigate networks as mechanisms of power and identity, looking particularly at the *Panhellenion* instituted by Hadrian. As membership in the *synedrion* was contingent upon demonstrable Greek origins, identity – real or constructed – played a crucial role in participation. Inscribed identity, in particular sacred sites – gave shape to the network. The aspect of imperial endorsement and limited criteria probably influenced the shape of the network more than historical reality of shared Greek heritage. However, the *synedrion* also played an active role for the cities that were members, in terms of religious, ceremonial, or judicial uniformity. In this regard, the *Panhellenion* conforms to patterns predicted by network theory.

Dominic Rathbone's paper "Merchant Networks in the Greek World: The Impact of Rome" (pp. 299–310) provides a fitting conclusion to the collection of papers, as it examines the influence of the Roman imperial and cultural structure on the networks seen in operation in some of the other articles in the collection, particularly those for maritime commerce. Rathbone teases out three points: the utility of network theory in the absence of documentary sources; second, the activity of minor or private economic activities within the activity sponsored by the Roman state; third, the role of banks in facilitating commerce, providing a legal framework and serving as nodal points "connecting the disparate economic corners of the Roman empire" (p. 307).

What this volume demonstrates is that scholars are accustomed to thinking about networks even without the application of a specifically designed theory. Very few of the papers, explicitly apply the mechanics of network theory to their data following the principles set forth in Collar's paper. Nevertheless new information about connectivity emerges from analysis of texts, epigraphy, pottery, iconography, coins, and the roads themselves. The articles are all written to a high standard and reflection of their authors' erudition. Each stands alone as an examination of its period, but for the most part they adhere to the stated theme as well. The outlier is Collar's paper, which reads like a thesis methodology chapter.³ While detailed regarding the theoretical background, its application is not fully explored. One might have considered placing this article towards the beginning, as it provides a valuable introduction to network theory which is assumed elsewhere. Overall the book succeeds in its stated aim of exploring the potential applications of addressing historical questions by thinking about networks and connectivity in different contexts and with different types of evidence. In this way, the flexibility and adaptability of the methodology has been successfully demonstrated, and readers interested in new approaches may find many of the papers of use.

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ADAM SCHWARTZ: *Reinstating the Hoplite. Arms, Armour and Phalanx Fighting in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Historia Einzelschriften 207. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2009. ISBN 978-3-515-09139-9. 337 pp. EUR 64, GBP 65.

Schwartz's dissertation is a detailed and comprehensive contribution to the hot discussion of the nature of Greek hoplite warriors and the battles they fought. Over the past 20 years, it has been increasingly claimed that typical hoplite equipment may have been lighter and allowed freer movement than previously thought, and that hoplites may have fought individually, and that the hoplite phalanx with its often mentioned push (*othismos*) might not have been such a concerted group action as suggested in earlier research. Schwartz seeks to reinstate the older, established interpretation, according to which hoplites formed a heavily equipped infantry fighting and pushing in close formation. This fighting style was determined by the large shield, *hoplon*, that gave the hoplites their name. The study emphasizes the need for a practical approach to hoplites and phalanx fighting, asking "what was physically feasible and practical under the given circumstances?" (p. 13).

³ Now published as *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire: The Spread of New Ideas*, Cambridge 2013.