BOOK REVIEWS

P. Funke and M. Haake (eds.), *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identities and Integration*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 244 pp. ISBN: 978-3-515-10307-7.

The study of Greek history has traditionally focused on the polis, and primarily on Athens, the most powerful and best-attested in our surviving sources. The Greek world of *ethnē* and *koina* was normally conceived as conservative and a far less interesting "sidekick". In the last three decades, however, new ways of approaching the poleis, as well as a growing interest in regional studies, ethnicity and federal states, are gradually redrawing the map of our understanding anew. Back in the 80s, a seminal study of Francois de Polignac stressed the role of space and its religious articulation for the emergence and formation of Greek poleis. A crucial function in the articulation of poleis communities, the shaping of their identities and the definition of their territories was played by the construction of temples and sanctuaries both in the poleis' centres and in the periphery of the landscapes, as well as the processions and other links, that connected them.

The present volume originates in a conference organised in Münster in 2010, and examines the relationship between Greek federal states and their sanctuaries. It includes 12 chapters, in English (8), German (2) and French (2), contributed by well-respected scholars in the field. This highly stimulating collection ranges very widely, both chronologically (from the archaic period to Roman times) and spatially (covering the whole of mainland Greece and the Aegean, as well as South Italy. It is somewhat unfortunate that the Greek *koina* of Asia Minor are not represented. I shall provide a brief summary of the chapters, before discussing more general issues raised by individual contributions.

One of the reasons for the traditional focus on Athens is the availability of source material resulting in the relative neglect of many other areas of the Greek world. Accordingly, some of the chapters deal with cases where there is very limited evidence for the federal state and its nature, as well as its sanctuaries. Michael Fronda (pp. 123-138) examines the lacunose sources for the *koinon* of Achaean cities of South Italy and the later Italiote League, in order to establish the nature of these federations; he also discusses the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios founded by the Achaean *koinon*, and the various sanctuaries that served the later Italiote League. Kostas Burazelis (pp. 173-183) examines the fragmentary evidence for three Hellenistic *koina*: the *koinon* of the Islanders, successively centred on Delos and Tenos, the *koinon* of the poleis of Lesbos, and finally the *koinon* of the poleis of Crete. Klaus Freitag (pp. 65-83) discusses the problem of the numismatic evidence for the Acarnanian *koinon* and its main deities in the classical period while using the more illuminating epigraphic evidence for the later *koinon* of the Hellenistic period.

Three papers focus on the significance of one particular sanctuary as the focus of a regional identity and the regional state. Athanasios Rizakis (pp. 13-47) examines the role of the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios for Achaean identity and the Achaean *koinon*. In assessing the extent to which the sanctuary of Poseidon at Helike may have played an equivalent role before its destruction in 373 BC, Rizakis stresses the crucial function of Zeus Homarios in the reconstituted Achaean *koinon*. The case of Macedonia is explored by Miltiades Hatzopoulos (pp. 163-171): while no ancient source explicitly states that Dion was the federal sanctuary of the Macedonians, Hatzopoulos uses epigraphic and literary evidence to show how Dion played a role equivalent to that of Thermos and Dodona for the *koina* of the Aetolians and Epirotes respectively. Strictly speaking, Olympia was not a federal sanctuary, but James Roy (pp. 107-121) examines how it functioned in the intersection between the polis of Elis, its hegemonic alliance in the wider region of Eleia, and its role as a Panhellenic sanctuary and arena of display. Roy shows how Elis used Olympia in order to strengthen its position vis-à-vis its subordinate allies in Eleia, on the one hand, but generally allowed other Greek states to make dedications and monuments irrespective of the interests of great powers like Athens and Sparta.

A number of papers focus on a comparison between two aspects or places. Thomas Heine Nielsen (pp. 227-244) concentrates on Triphyllia and Arcadia, two short-term federal states that appeared in the fourth-century Peloponnese. Nielsen stresses two significant issues to which we shall return: the difference between Arcadia, where regional identity pre-existed the creation of a federal state — and Triphyllia, but he also examines the extent to which it is possible to identify federal sanctuaries for either of these two *koina*. Giovanna Daverio Rocchi (pp. 139-161) examines the similarities and differences between the western and eastern Locrians, focusing on the significance of the myth of Ajax for Locrian ethnic identity, as reflected in the prominence of the federal sanctuary of Athena Ilias in the West, and the role of the genos of the Aianteioi in the provision of Locrian maidens in the East. Peter Funke (pp. 49-64) contributes a very stimulating comparison between Thermos as the federal sanctuary where the original Aetolian *koinon* held a major festival alongside the election of its magistrates — and the festival of Panaitolika, created in the course of the Hellenistic expansion of the Aetolian *koinon*, and held in various sanctuaries in its newly incorporated regions as a means of integrating them into the Aetolian federation.

Finally, the remaining three papers focus on diversity: the diversity of federal sanctuaries, as well as the diversity of interests within a *koinon*. Angela Ganter (pp. 85-105) persuasively points out the need for stressing diversity and conflict in the case of the Boeotian *koinon* and its sanctuaries. Instead of the dominance of one federal sanctuary like Thermos, Boeotia possessed a number of very significant sanctuaries, each normally run by the local community, while at the same time observing a regional and Panhellenic significance: Ganter discusses the cases of the sanctuaries of Ptoion at Acraephia, Athena Itonia and Poseidon at Onchestos. A city such as Thebes tried to dominate the federal state both by putting its own spin on Boeotian myths, as well as by creating new festivals like that of the Basileia in Lebadeia. A similar case of diversity is presented for Thessaly by Richard Bouchon and Bruno Helly (pp. 204-226). They discuss the case of the mythical figures of Thessalos and Aiatos in the articulation of Thessalian identity, and the role of the sanctuaries of Athena Itonia near Kierion and of Zeus Olympios — Eleutherios at Larissa. Finally, Jeremy McInerney (pp. 185-203) examines the role of the three sanctuaries of Athena Kronaia at Elateia, of Kalapodi, and of the oracle of Apollo at Abai for the Phocian *koinon*. McInerney stresses both the wealth and international connections of these sanctuaries, as well as their location at the intersection between Phocis, Locris and Boeotia: as he argues, the process of claiming control over these sanctuaries sharpened regional boundaries and shaped Phocian identity and the federal structure.

As the above summary should make clear, this is a highly stimulating volume, which makes a number of significant claims, while raising some very important questions for future study. In this respect, it is somewhat regrettable that the volume lacks an introduction and a conclusion for drawing out the major threads and arguments. It is also to be regretted that most of the papers lack cross references even when they discuss the same cult or sanctuary as in the case of Zeus Homarios (discussed by Rizakis, Fronda and Nielsen), or Athena Itonia (discussed by Ganter and Bouchon-Helly). I offer a few comments below, in the hope of encouraging future discussion.

The first major issue concerns the extent to which a federal sanctuary could be considered an essential aspect of a Greek federal state. As discussed by Burazelis for the case of Hellenistic Crete, Freitag for classical Acarnania, and Nielsen for fourth-century Triphyllia, there seems to be little or no evidence that in these cases a federal sanctuary ever existed; these were all federal states that emerged late, were weak, or lasted for only a limited period. More complex is the case of Arcadia, and the role of the Lykeia festival in articulating a regional identity before the emergence of the federal state in the fourth century, as well as the role of the federal synoecised capital of Megalopolis for later developments. We cannot simply assume the existence and significance of a federal sanctuary for all federal states — this is an important question for future research.

The second point concerns the issues of diversity and conflict. While some federal states appear to have a dominant federal sanctuary, like Thermos in Aetolia, Athena Ilias in Ozolian

Locris and Zeus Homarios in Achaea, other regions like Boeotia and Thessaly appear to have a number of sanctuaries of regional significance and experienced major conflicts about the control of the federal state and its sanctuaries. But perhaps the most significant issue emerging from this volume is the crucial role of historical change and major differences between periods. Freitag shows how the difference between the classical Acarnanian *koinon* centred on Stratos and the later Hellenistic *koinon*, in which Action emerges as a major federal sanctuary; Funke explains how the expansion of the Aetolian *koinon* led to the emergence of the federal Panaitolika festival, in addition to the central role of Thermon for the original *koinon*; Bouchon and Helly explain the difference between the classical multipolar Thessalian *koinon* and the centralised Hellenistic *koinon* based on Larissa. In conclusion: not only will this volume be of interest for scholars in various fields of Greek history, it also raises major questions for future research.

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Corinne Bonnet, *Les enfants de Cadmos: Le paysage religieux de la Phénicie hellénistique*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2015. 606 pp. ISBN 978-2-7018-0371-5.

In this insightful and brilliantly written study, Corinne Bonnet (henceforward CB), a senior member of the Institut Universitaire de France who teaches ancient history in Toulouse, offers a remarkable synthesis of the transformation of the religious landscape of Phoenicia in Hellenistic times. None of the parameters of such a study is easily defined: Phoenicia was never a single, unified political entity, and its ethnic and linguistic character may be found in a very broadly spread diaspora all around the shores of the Mediterranean. In her study, CB goes North up to the island of Arados, near the shore of Antarados (modern Syrian Tartus), and South down to Oumm el-Amed, just north of Rosh ha-Niqrah. Byblos, Sidon and Tyre are the other main sites analyzed in depth, together with the Phoenician sites in Athens and Delos.

By referring, in the title of her book, to the idea of "religious landscape", CB highlights the fact that she did not intend to write a full-fledged history of Phoenicia in the Hellenistic age, a history which the dearth of contemporary written sources (if we exclude the lapidary inscriptions — some of them bilingual), renders an almost impossible task (Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, while obviously a key text, dates from a later period). But what exactly is a religious landscape? This locution, which seems to be particularly prized by French scholarship (see for instance John Scheid and François de Polignac, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un 'paysage religieux'?', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 227 [2010], 427-434), reflects the space dimensions of public cults in societies: temples, grottoes, etc. Religious landscapes, then, constantly transform themselves in some fundamental way. In a land such as ancient Phoenicia, which has left us only sporadic texts from the Hellenistic period, the religious landscape remains perhaps the most tangible witness of the drama ignited by Alexander's conquests and continued by the initial clash and eventual accommodation between different cultures and religions. For CB, religious landscapes are the result of multiple interactions and include political, social and economic dimensions.

The complex contacts between Greece and Macedonia, on the one hand, and Phoenicia, on the other, are but a chapter of the long saga of the relations between East and West in the ancient world, a saga extending from the time of the Achaemenids to the Islamic conquests. However, it is a particularly interesting one, as it tells of the people who had given the Greeks the alphabet, and whose diaspora, spread throughout the Mediterranean, eventually including Rome's arch enemy, Carthage.

In its first part, the work follows the coastal cities and their hinterland, analyzing the various temples and other archaeological remains. In those chapters, the author deals with some of the most famous aspects of the *interpretatio*, such as Eshmoun/Asclepios, Baal Hammon and Tanit, Hadad and Athagartis, Adonis, or Melqart/Herakles. After this rich, detailed and lively *tour d'horizon*, CB reflects on what one might call the *translatio* of Greek religious landscapes to the