

lated its identity through religion. If *poleis* were unitary, she says, then 'one might expect their domestic religious organizations, and codes governing access between *poleis* (*xenia*) and between *poleis* and inter-state sanctuaries, to have been relatively simple. *Ethne*, by contrast, are multi-tiered'. 'Simple'? I wonder. Religion, after all, had other functions besides the expression of identity.

Confronting particular kinds of communities may elucidate major aspects of the *polis*, which is what John-Paul Wilson tries to do in his examination of *emporion* and *apoikiai*. Wilson nicely illustrates the difference between Athens' fourth-century *emporion* of the Piraeus (a very good analysis; add to the late classical desire to separate functions in the *polis* the calls for two kinds of *agora*) and archaic *emporion* whose status is less clear. The terms applied to the latter (e.g., by Herodotus) are function-, not status-oriented. The same place may be called either an *emporion* or a *polis* according to what the historian wishes to say about it. In short, any settlement (*apoikia*, *polis*) involved in commercial activity could have been called an *emporion*. This is a good and convincing observation. From here one should proceed (but this is outside the scope of Wilson's article, although he should have mentioned the issue) to distinguish among archaic *emporion*, a term that includes 'enclaves' of Greeks (e.g., Gravisca), non-Greek *emporion*, and others.

The book closes with a comparison between Servius Tullius and Cleisthenes by Christopher Smith, who starts with a clear-headed discussion of the emergence of the *polis* in Central Italy, seeing Greek influence more in terms of stimuli than as models for precise copying. He reminds us of Carmine Ampolo's formulation of Italic 'open society': 'society at the top level was permeable'. As for Rome, Smith accepts the essential historicity of sixth-century events (unlike eighth-century ones). He sees the relationship between *pagi* and tribes as essential, especially with a view to the military aspects of the reforms, both in Athens and in Rome. The issue of 'comparability of a Greek and Italian experience of urbanization' may be in need of further discussion, but this is an excellent starting point for such a project which needs to be applied, as Smith rightly says, to the entire ancient Mediterranean.

Rhodes and Mitchell have given us a very good, well-edited collection of essays. Most of the papers could have been equally well placed in academic journals, and the question remains, why do we have all this in book form? True, we are dealing here with aspects of the *polis*, but not with any particular theme. However, since many scholars find themselves committed more and more to publishing articles in specialized volumes, perhaps this has simply become the dominant trend of publication.

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Jeremy McInerney, *The Folds of Parnassos, Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999. xvi + 391 pp. + 8 maps + 20 b/w plates. ISBN 0 92 75229 6.

'Clearly "ethnicity" ... has taken the place of "nationality" as a historian's tool for interpreting Greek history and trying to understand how Greeks saw themselves'.

This verdict of Frank Walbank<sup>1</sup> resumes one of the major conceptual advances of classical scholarship over the last two decades, when scholars have argued convincingly that the identities of the branches of the Greek community are to be regarded as essentially changing, flexible and negotiable, and at times as relatively late constructs rather than relics of a tribal past. Recent *ethnos*-studies, most notably by Catherine Morgan, Jonathan Hall and Thomas Heine Nielsen, have thus focused on the political process by which tribes such as the Achaians or Arkadians were establishing a regional identity through the creation of common identity and alterity vis-à-vis other *ethne*.<sup>2</sup> This tribal commonness as reflected in regional myths and heroic genealogies has been detected as a major tool of integration in 'developed' federal states as well; consequently, the sharp distinction between tribal state (*ethnos*) and federal state (*koinon*) has become more fluid.<sup>3</sup> Jeremy McInerney (McI.) is well in line with this trend; in fact, the resolution with which he applies ethnic categories and concepts makes clear — this can be said straight away — that his monograph is not simply following a prevailing trend, but will in itself become an important contribution to the recent ethnicity debate.

McI.'s territory is rocky Phokis, a somewhat under-researched area, and it is the discrete political identity of the dwellers of Mt. Parnassos which he seeks to elucidate. As set forth in the 'Introduction' (pp. 1-7) — an emphatic prolegomenon, supported by authorities such as Fustel de Coulanges, Weber and Foucault, against *polis*-and/or Atheno-centric perceptions of Greece — the book is intended as a work of synthesis, beginning with the environmental conditions necessary for *la longue durée* and exploring the human settlement of this natural environment (p. 6). The study examines the political penetration of the spatial order, not in the teleological sense of the foundation of the Phokian federal state, but from the genetic perspective of the development of proto-political structures and practices and their emergence into politics. After some general thoughts on ethnicity ('Race, Tribe, Ethnicity' pp. 8-39), the first chapters outline the physical and human topography of Phokis ('Topography and Settlement' pp. 40-85; 'Settlement and Society' pp. 86-119). This sets the stage for an investigation of the Phokian tribe ('Heroes, Myths, and Ethnicity' pp. 120-53). Proceeding from topography to demography and mythography, McI. moves on to the organization of the Phokian Koinon ('Phokian Desperation' 154-85) and to a political

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- 1 F.W. Walbank, 'Hellenes and Achaians: Greek Nationality Revisited', in: P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Historia Einzelschrift 138 = Papers from the CPC 5), Stuttgart, 2000, p. 19.
  - 2 C. Morgan, 'Ethnicity and Early Greek States: Historical and Material Perspectives', *PCPS* 37 (1991), pp. 131-61; C. Morgan, J. Hall, 'Achaian Poleis and Achaian Colonisation', in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis (Acts of the CPC 3)*, Copenhagen, 1996, pp. 164-232; J. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1997. Cf. T.H. Nielsen, 'Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism', in *Acts of the CPC 3*, pp. 117-63; id., 'Triphylia. An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organization', in id. (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Historia Einzelschrift 117 = *Papers from the CPC 4*), Copenhagen, 1997, pp. 129-62; id., J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia (Acts of the CPC 6)*, Copenhagen, 1999.
  - 3 H. Beck, *Polis und Koinon* (Historia Einzelschrift 114), Stuttgart, 1997.

narrative of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods ('State and Society' pp. 186-230; 'The Lictor's Axe' pp. 231-61). The book contains three appendices, a rich bibliography and an index; it is comfortably equipped with maps and plates.

Laying out his conceptual basis, McI. stresses that the evolutionary model which sees the Greeks developing in a linear ascent from (backward) *ethnos* to (modern) city-state is 'fundamentally flawed' (p. 9) and does not reflect the reality of Greek social organization. Such views are a 'Legacy of a Misunderstanding' (pp. 18-22), the roots of which are traced back to Humboldt, Hölderlin and Hegel (another set of authorities) and which culminated in the somewhat 'romantic' picture of the Greek *Stämme* by Karl Otfried Müller and Ernst Curtius. McI.'s dispute with the old authorities is persuasive, and he stresses that the conceptualizations of 19th century *Altertumswissenschaft* were misguided (pp. 12-7). His arguments are clear; yet what is unclear is the degree to which they are meant to be innovative. For instance, no one nowadays seriously subscribes to the traditional belief that the tribal groups of Greece were ultimately linguistic — let alone racial — entities (cf. p. 18). Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, Peter Funke and Christoph Ulf have presented important contributions which shed some light on the transformation of segmented Dark Age societies into socio-political groups of the Archaic Age. The conceptual approach towards Greek tribalism has greatly profited from their innovative studies, and it is very regrettable that they have not been considered by McI.<sup>4</sup> The legacy of misunderstanding and misconceptualizing *ethne* might therefore not be quite as lively as the author suggests.

The vivid description of the physical environment of small Phokis (only some 1615 km<sup>2</sup>, i.e. the smallest of the later federal states) naturally underlines the domination by Mt. Parnassos, which divided the area into small and smaller subregions. This in turn favoured the characteristic pattern of dispersed communities in segments of discrete valleys and on fortified hilltops — at times merely *Fluchtburgen* to which the scattered population could flee in case of emergency (pp. 48f.). Just like neighbouring Boiotia, 4th-century Phokis saw an extensive building program that resulted in a uniform fortification of some 20 sites, often at intervals of less than a few kilometers (pp. 111-4; cf. also App. 3). The noticeable difference from Boiotia is that these 4th-century sites, as McI. remarks, appear to have been the first fortified urban centers throughout the region, which implies that the Phokians strongly (and successfully) resisted urban *synoecism* in the 6th and 5th centuries (hence 'The Kyklops'

4 P. Funke, 'Stamm und Polis. Überlegungen zur Entstehung der griechischen Staatenwelt in den dunklen Jahrhunderten', in *Colloquium A. Heuss*, ed. J. Bleicken, Kallmünz, 1993, pp. 29-48; K.-W. Welwei, 'Ursprünge genossenschaftlicher Organisationsformen in der archaischen Polis', *Saeculum* 39 (1988), pp. 12-23; C. Ulf, *Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität. Die Bedeutung der früharchaischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1996 (the latter is cited but twice on marginal aspects); cf. already R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen gentes*, Cologne, 1961; and now H.-J. Gehrke, 'Ethnos, Phyle, Polis. Gemäßigt unorthodoxe Vermutungen', in *Polis and Politics*, ed. P. Flensted-Jensen et al., Copenhagen, 2000, pp. 159-76.

Choice' pp. 86-92). An obvious explanation for this is that a mixture of pastoralism and farming was predominant well into the Classical Period. Yet McI. adds another feature: given the growth of Delphi in the 7th century as a focal point in the religious landscape of Central Greece, McI. sees a negative interaction between this process and the development of the region beyond. In his interpretation, the Panhellenic sanctuary became a major obstacle to the evolution of political, social and economic patterns in Phokis, and encouraged separatism rather than unification (pp. 101-8). This is an interesting interpretation, yet it is susceptible to a number of objections. Most remarkably, the rise of Olympia had exactly the opposite influence on the development of the *polis* of the Eleians, strongly stimulating state formation and the processes of institutionalization and differentiation of political structures.<sup>5</sup>

The prerequisite for Greek regional identities taking shape was the proliferation of heroic genealogies and foundation myths, which ultimately congealed into an authoritative tribal tradition. As for Phokis, the earliest evidence for the region occupied by a group (self-)identified as Phokians comes from the *Catalogue of Ships* (Hom. *Il.* 2.517-23). McI. inclines to a low date for composition in the 8th and 7th centuries (p. 123), yet also acknowledges traces of the heroic world of the Late Bronze Age. It was thus (scattered groups of) people from the north who infiltrated the Parnassos region and brought with them first 'modules' of what was later to become a 'Pan-Phokian' myth — an elaborate tapestry of regional stories which always seems to have alluded to otherness rather than commonness: the striking thing is that the range of stories told by the Phokian communities pointed to non-Phokian origins and asserted their distinctness from the rest of the region (e.g. Panopeus and Hyampolis: 128 f.; Elateia: 133 f.), while the eponymous hero Phokos is conspicuously absent from most local heroic genealogies. It seems that 'to be part of Phokis, one had to be apart from Phokis' (p. 129). McI. explains this paradox not so much with the Phokian villages growing out of, and emancipating themselves from, their tribal origins, but with the relatively late evolution of a 'Pan-Phokian' identity itself (p. 134). It goes without saying that this reading of regional mythology challenges the traditional belief that the Phokians were unified from as early as the Submycenaean Period and evolved genetically from *ethnos* to *koinon*. To a certain degree McI. turns this process upside down: in his interpretation the *ethnos* was the platform for the emergence of the federal state, not in the sense of a renewal of an earlier tribal grouping, but as fiction which made possible the creation of a political organism. The important implication is that federalism, when finally brought about in the 6th century, was not a preliminary stage in the evolution of the *polis* — a picture framed by Thucydides and repeated by *polis*-scholars over and over again — but rather a cognitive and appropriate response to the changing circumstances of the Archaic Age (pp. 154-7). It should be added that this response was paralleled by a number of neighbouring *ethne*, such as the East and West Lokrians, the Aitolians and the Achaians, a fact that highlights the political interaction of these tribes.<sup>6</sup>

5 U. Walter, *An der Polis teilhaben* (Historia Einzelschrift 82), Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 116-25.

6 Cf. now K. Freitag, *Der Golf von Korinth*, Munich, 2000.

The ultimate stimulus to transform this sporadic association into a real confederacy came from outside, when Thessalian forces penetrated Phokis down to the plain of Krisa. McI. does not discuss the difficult chronology of these events in detail,<sup>7</sup> yet his exposition illustrates how Thessalian domination in the 6th century gradually cemented the loose ties and finally entailed the emergence — not the ‘foundation’, to be sure — of the Phokian federation. Around 510 BC, the *koinon* had officially materialized, having established both a federal meeting place, the ‘Phokikon’, and a federal coinage (pp. 178-81). Interestingly enough, this process of institutionalization did not enhance a single town’s control over federal affairs. The balance of various layers of local individuality and regional unity remained characteristic of the Phokian orbit in the 5th century and prevailed almost until the Third Sacred War.

Of necessity, McI. re-adjusts his approach when entering this period. Embarking on political history, he offers a narrative of the events from the Persian Wars to Philip II in 40 pages (pp. 186-226), including the notoriously precarious relations with Delphi and the Amphiktyony.<sup>8</sup> His discussion of the literary sources is not always convincing (note pp. 205-7 on Diod. 16.23.2 f., where he argues strongly for a grammatically untenable reading), and the connection between regional history and the dramatically accelerated interstate affairs of the 4th century is touched upon only marginally. This is also true for the Hellenistic period, maybe the weakest part of the book. After all, McI.’s special area of interest is ethnicity rather than political history, and it is therefore only fair that he finally returns to this pattern of local individuality and regional identity (cf. ‘Regional Federalism’ pp. 231 f.).

Ethnicity is the backdrop against which this book is written, and McI. demonstrates the advantage of this approach. The author thoroughly avoids presenting history as a linear ascent from the Dark Ages to the Classical Period followed then by a descent. Instead, his perspective oscillates between *la longue durée* and discontinuity, which provides a more adequate and sensitive setting for (political) history. McI.’s work contributes to a fresh mental map of Greece, in which the *ethnos* is a central feature of social and political life which elucidates the adaptability of the Greeks in the face of change.

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7 On this cf. the important article by G.A. Lehmann, ‘Thessaliens Hegemonie über Mittelgriechenland im 6. Jh. v.Chr.’, *Boreas* 6 (1983), pp. 35-43 (again not cited by McI.).

8 F. Lefèvre, *L’amphictionie Pyléo-Delphique: histoire et institutions*, Paris, 1998, seems to have come too late for McI.