Review
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Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 102, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), pp. 629-630
Published by: Archaeological Institute of America
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/506416
Accessed: 19-06-2016 13:40 UTC

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of the undertakings of "Courby" since the 1960s. It also explains the academic approach as long advocated by Robert and his disciples; the end product is intended to be the constitution of a new type of epigraphic corpus, in this case for the cities of Thessaly. This new concept of corpus is a holistic approach to the ancient world in which the results of fieldwork, both producing new topographic and epigraphic material and reevaluating old observations of both categories, are confronted with the more strictly "historical" record of Greek literary texts—so lacunary in most areas of the Greek world; to this picture is added the result, where appropriate, of numismatic study of related coinage. It might seem that there is little original in this, but the originality lies in both the application of it to as vast an area as that of Thessaly *and* in the further application of the theories of spatial analysis, particularly central place theory.

Many aspects of the total project, especially the overall concept and the geographic approach, can best be appreciated by reading a collective work of the team (I. Blum et al., *Topographie antique et géographie historique en pays grec*, Paris 1992). The enormous territory of Thessaly has been divided into geographically coherent subunits, of which the author has taken responsibility for the upper valley of the Titaresios, just as his colleague Decourt dealt with the valley of the Enipeus (*BCH* Suppl. 21, 1990), and it is hardly surprising that the two volumes follow similar methods and presentation and that both are subtitled "studies in topography and historical geography." The present work formed part of Lucas's doctoral thesis; the epigraphic dossier that was also included in the thesis will appear separately. Other publications by the author (e.g., in *ZPE* 1991 and 1995) show that his work has also extended to the south and east of the area treated here.

The aim of these topographic studies is first to present the actual geography of each area, with its limits clearly defined; next comes the collection of ancient and recent testimonia; the third part consists of the results of the fieldwork itself, with a description (and appropriate illustrations) of each site, followed by attempts to identify the sites, especially the major ones, with their ancient names; finally, a synthesis of what can be said about the history of each city is drawn up.

Given the conservation value of such projects, some readers may be disappointed—as this reviewer was at first sight—by the comparative rarity of site plans and even photographs; but it must be remembered that this monograph is not intended as the final word on this area of Thessaly. Fuller documentation of each site has been collected by the author and is on file in Lyons; it is thus available for incorporation in further publications and study by him and other members of the team. What is more, the permanency of this sort of documentation is enhanced by the system used by the team of storage on CD-ROMs and in the image bank (SGBI) developed at the Université de Lyon 2; the latter gives different levels of access to such documentation, according to its publication and copyright status. In fact, the book does contain plans of the major sites, but not of the minor ones; it is the latter that are on file.

Those maps and plans that are in the book are of great clarity and good conception, but the few plates at the end of the volume are mostly lacking in contrast. This is a common enough problem with photographs taken in summer heat in the Mediterranean, but proper use of filtration on the camera itself could have enhanced the appearance; on the other hand, given the rightful emphasis on computerization of the whole project, one is left to wonder whether some improvement could not have been made by scanning and treating the images by a graphics application. One misses the sharpness of the plates in the companion volume by Decourt already cited. This comparison leads to another question: why was the present study not accepted in the same series of *BCH* supplements that housed Decourt's book? Not that this is intended to decry the value of the publication series put out by the Maison de l'Orient, but presentation in the same series as the previous volume might have ensured greater consistency in the quality of illustrations.

Apart from several inconsistencies in bibliographic presentation (pages missing; sometimes place of publication is given, other times publisher only), there is little to criticize in this book. It is a very valuable treatment of a part of Thessaly and forms an important portion of the results of this team investigation of a hitherto largely neglected, major area of Greece. Thessaly, apart from some important work on its prehistory, has not been fully treated since the monograph of F. Stählin (*Das hellenische Thessalien: Landeskundliche und geschichtliche Beschreibung Thessaliens in der hellenischen und römischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1924), which dates back to the early years of the 20th century.

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GREECE IN THE MAKING, 1200–479 B.C., by *Robin Osborne*. (Routledge History of the Ancient World.) Pp. xx + 396, figs. 88, tables 7. Routledge, New York 1996. $24.95. ISBN 0-415-03583-X.

In writing the book that several others previously undertook to write, Robin Osborne acknowledges that "this book has been a long time in the making" (xvii). This is true even beyond the author's immediate meaning: an understanding of the depth of Greek antiquity has been centuries in the making and only very recently has the continuity between once-divided "periods" been recognized. Osborne reconstructs the development of Classical Greece out of the chaos that ended the Bronze Age Aegean civilization.

Both author and publisher are to be congratulated on the accomplished way the story unfolds of how "the impoverished and relatively isolated groups of ninth-century Greeks grew into the flourishing and vigorous Greeks of the fifth century" (17). Divided into eight chapters and a short epilogue, the narrative proceeds chronologically. The study is not for beginners; although basic definitions regularly accompany technical terms, readers must have some knowledge of early Greece to follow the sweep of the narrative and to understand the evidence.

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The book's range is sweeping: the making of Classical Greece occurred within a Mediterranean context that is duly acknowledged in interactions of peoples and influences. Beyond discussing obvious examples such as colonization, trade, and conflict, the author asks more subtle questions such as: "Did the centralised structures of Etruscan society stimulate social developments among Greeks?" (127). In addition to their intrinsic interest, these questions are a fine guide to readers through the complex story.

Osborne is frank about the nature of surviving evidence, as expected from a former student of Anthony Snodgrass; problems arising from the data are an underlying theme. Archaeological material, scarce for much of the time under review, flattens out history (17), while literary texts are the product of special interests, *not* what actually happened (xvii, 7). Moreover, the two categories of evidence "almost always pull against one another" (16; cf. 199). Recognizing this situation is not a counsel of despair, but it does demand concerted effort in separating what Osborne defines as the actual history of the past from its constructed history. Yet he is not a severe constructivist. One of the book's greatest virtues is the data it provides in abundant illustrations, maps, valuable tables, textual excerpts, and 22 pages of bibliographic notes offering further references to topics treated in the study.

Some readers will take exception to this view of the evidence, especially as it serves to diminish great events, such as the Persian Wars (328–43), and heroic figures, such as Solon (224–25). Events and figures yield to process, specifically the role of the elite in the development of both political society and cultural identity. Concrete "windows" on the changing world are opened through attention to particular places, where the author's earlier scholarship is used to fine advantage. But the account is not devoid of a human element; especially effective is the treatment of women's life in the Archaic period (226–32). Balancing divergent evidence, Osborne locates the social space inside and outside the family circle in which women functioned.

Given his view of the evidence, as well as the focus on the elite and the emergence of political communities, it is not surprising that the bulk of the account centers on the late Dark Age: only a 10th of the book's narrative pages deal with the early Dark Age, a disappointment to those who find continuous development throughout the Dark Age. Perhaps the imbalance stems from Osborne's ambiguity about the extent of continuity; while he states that "the debt in material culture [of Greeks from the 10th century] to the Mycenaean world is small" (3), he later writes "although change is manifest in very numerous areas of the material record, the element of continuity is very strong" (19). Discounting—as Osborne wisely does—the invasion/replacement theory of change, we must account for the culture of those who did survive into and through the early Dark Age.

To do so enriches even the story of the elite. While communities of this time were tiny, demanding cooperation among members to ensure the continued existence of all, the slightly larger structures at Nichoria and the 45-m building at Lefkandi indicate difference in status far earlier than the ninth and eighth centuries. Appreciating the difficulties for those who survived casts a different light on more specific aspects of the Dark Age too. If following the Mycenaean collapse "things [were] reduced to an individual level" (32), one can understand the need of superhuman aid in the struggle to simply stay alive. From this perspective, there are good reasons for taking, along with I. Malkin, the "more credulous line" about Delphi's role of providing counsel to petitioners (371).

A heightened sense of ongoing development throughout the Dark Age may also modify the view of the sources, especially the literary texts. In asking "what can tradition remember?" it is surely essential to consider the working of oral tradition from Mycenaean times well into the fifth century. While accounts must be preserved anew by each generation, and thus undergo change, the structured form of remembrance and the importance of their contents enhance their memorability. It was, after all, the remembrance of an age of heroes that rescued the Minoans and Mycenaeans from what was once regarded as the "fabulous age of Greece which must have no place in history" (S.E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* [Berkeley 1938] 244).

A higher valuation of oral tradition surely explains the emphasis on accomplished speech as early as Homeric society. While the seeds of Classical deliberative oratory may be detected in the Homeric epics, it is unnecessary to envision an institutional background suited to the development of such skills in the eighth century (154). A member of the Dark Age elite must be one accomplished in word as well as deed.

It is to be expected that differences of opinion remain. After all, only in 1980 did Snodgrass apply then-untraditional methods and a new attitude to the sources on Archaic Greece to understand the period in its own right, rather than as simply a prelude to the Classical age. Though he claimed his study to be only "a preliminary step," so fruitful was the approach that the ongoing work of Snodgrass and his students is known as "the Snodgrass school." The present study shows its impressive momentum: Osborne has added yet another dimension to Archaic Greece in showing its roots.

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NEW LIGHT ON A DARK AGE: EXPLORING THE CULTURE OF GEOMETRIC GREECE, edited by *Susan Langdon*. Pp. xii + 247, figs. 69. University of Missouri Press, Columbia and London 1997. $34.95. ISBN 0-8262-1099-6.

A day-long colloquium at the University of Missouri in Columbia in 1993, held in conjunction with the opening of the exhibition "From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer," is published in this volume. It complements the exhibition's catalogue (also edited by Langdon), and several of the papers stand out for their richness and complexity, as well as their provocative positions.

The first paper by Ian Morris reviews the uses of Orientalizing forms of poetry and material culture throughout Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries. He articulates

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