though scarce because of Roman disturbance, allow the boundaries of each *kômê* to be traced and suggest that the four settlements expanded to fill the space between them only after the city walls were built. Each *kômê* continued to bury its dead at its margins even after the city was walled; early Hellenistic (but not earlier) Sparta was thus untypical in allowing burial *intra muros*. Only in late Hellenistic times was burial relegated to large cemeteries outside the city wall.

The ancient agora on Palaiokastro was bounded on the south-west by the recently excavated Roman stoa and on the west by the Choros, which K. identifies as the circular building south of the acropolis (others have interpreted it variously, e.g. as the Skias). The Persian stoa (which K. keeps distinct from the Roman stoa) may have formed the north-west side of the agora. The agora's position between the two most important *kômai* reflects, in K.'s view, the eighth-century B.C. reorganization of the *polis*.

The line of Pausanias's Aphetaïs road can now be reconstructed, from its starting point south of the acropolis via the sanctuary of Poseidon Tainarios (see below) to the Magoulitsa bridge. Its alignment, on K.'s plan, deviates significantly from that of the north–south streets of the modern town. K. is able to trace Pausanias's other roads with greater or lesser certainty. A regular street plan does not pre-date the first century B.C., but may partly reflect earlier arterial roads.

An early fourth-century votive throne inscribed to Alea, found at the north-east edge of the modern town though not *in situ*, gives the location of the sanctuary of Athena Alea, and by association Xenophon's bridge and the north-east gate. Inscribed figurines reveal that in the first century B.C. the cult of Artemis Kyparissia was brought from the main sanctuary of the Lakedaimonian league, the Hyperteleaton in south-eastern Laconia, and placed within an existing sanctuary of Artemis. Research in the Sparta land registry has shown that the late Hellenistic inscriptions of the Tainarioi were found north of the modern *plateía*. Thucydides' references to the 'curse of Tainaron' (1.128.1) and the death of Pausanias the regent (1.133–4) relate not to Cape Tainaron but to the urban sanctuary of Poseidon Tainarios, pushing its existence (archaeologically unconfirmed) back into the fifth century. K. also establishes locations for the Phoibaion and for the sanctuaries of Dionysos Kolonatas and Artemis Issoria.

This painstaking exercise is a masterly integration of historical, archaeological, and topographical analysis, and deserves a wide readership. It represents the most important contribution to the topography of Sparta since the British campaigns of the early twentieth century, and embodies real progress in our understanding of this still under-explored *polis*.

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TWO CYCLADIC ISLANDS

L. G. MENDONI, A. I. MAZARAKIS AINIAN (edd.): *Kea–Kythnos: History and Archaeology. Proceedings of an International Symposium, Kea–Kythnos, 22–25 June 1994*. (*Μελετήματα*, 27.) Pp. 766, ills. Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation/Paris: de Boccard, 1998. Paper, €116. ISBN: 960-7905-01-6.

This handsome volume in the *Meletimata* series contains fifty papers from the

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symposium held on Kea (ancient Keos) and its slightly smaller neighbour Kythnos in 1994. Inevitably it does not amount to a comprehensive coverage of the history and archaeology of the two islands, but the range of work in progress is impressive and the papers can be clearly grouped under larger themes. Half of the papers are in Greek, twenty in English, the remainder in French; most are preceded by an abstract in another language. Many are generously illustrated, and there are only occasional typographic errors. (There are, unfortunately, no indexes or lists of illustrations.)

The two editors open the batting with excellent overviews of previous research on each island. Keos occupies the greater space. Cherry and Davis revisit their survey in the light of subsequent data from nearby regions, while Whitelaw theorizes about changes in settlement data with respect to possible differences and similarities between the four *poleis* of Keos, and between Keos and other places. The exploitation of the rural landscape is a recurrent theme. Mendoni considers ancient rural towers and their possible functions, Doukellis the evidence for terracing in different periods (including classical), Papadimitriou and Mairota the phenomenon of land abandonment in modern times. Fittschen urges legal protection for the territory around Karthaia, arguing that it represents an uncommonly well preserved ancient landscape. The limited occurrence of lead-bearing ores is discussed by Davi, who points out the contrast with nearby Laureion. Three papers confront the implications of sea level change for the archaeological record: Mourtzas and Kolaiti on the prehistoric and classical–Hellenistic periods, Caskey and Toundas on newly found structures at Ayia Irini, Spondylis on classical harbour remains at Otziá.

A group of closely related papers is offered by those working on the Bronze Age site of Ayia Irini: Schofield on town planning, Caskey on religion, Marthari on griffin jars, Gillis on the numbers of conical cups, Hershenson on the LH II B period, Hitchcock on Minoan architectural features, and Morgan on frescoes. These are complemented by C. Morris and R. Jones on the site's wider contacts in early LBA III, and by studies of Aegean-wide phenomena: Aslanis on early fortifications, Schallin on peer polity interaction in late LBA, and Georgiou on the nature and modality of maritime contact. Other papers concern the evidence for metallurgical technology in prehistoric (Gale) and historical times (Papastamataki).

Keian art and material culture receive a range of treatments. Triandi assembles the archaic statues, while Vlassopoulou and (separately) Machaira discuss marble reliefs from Ioulis. Caskey presents relief pithoi from Ayia Irini, Simandoni-Bournia decorated pithoi of later date from the south-east of the island, and Zachos cooking-ware from a surface survey around Karthaia. The buildings on the acropolis of Karthaia are analysed by Papanikolaou, who in another paper reviews the 'medley' of stone types used in the late archaic temple of Athena. While he reconstructs its roof, Touloupa identifies its sculpted decoration as an Amazonomachy. Ancient historiography and philosophy also feature, with papers by Lévêque on the originality of mythic representations of the island, by Pharaklas on Xenomedes' collection of historical legends, and by Nikolaidou-Kyrianidou and (separately) Vasilaros on the philosopher Prodikos. Specific historical contexts are examined by Kalligas (Hellenistic Ioulis), Reger (the disappearance of Koresia and Poiessa), Bresson (Rhodian relations with Keos), and Zoumbaki and Mendoni (Roman ruler-worship).

Kythnos (deemed too insignificant for a separate entry in *OCD*[3]) forms the slighter thread through the volume, but it is pleasing to see the intensity of research on even this scrap of land, which clearly had its own culture. Mazarakis Ainian's overview is neatly augmented by Philippa-Touchais's collation of the evidence of early modern travellers. Survey work is presented by Chatzianastasiou (various periods and site

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types), Mazarakis Ainian (the main town), and Gounaris (its urban form and city walls), the last two essentially forming a single report with one set of illustrations. Stos-Gale provides the counterpart to Gale's study of prehistoric metallurgy on Keos, while Themelis tracks the Hellenistic sculptor Damophon of Messene as far as the proud *polis* of Kythnos. Sheedy and Papageorgiadou survey the (until now) under-researched coinage of the island, while Brun picks out long-term continuity and change in the economy.

Despite the inevitable gaps in coverage, the scale and range of this volume are such that for many themes and periods it will be an indispensable reference point for anyone embarking on research in the Aegean.

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ANCIENT PHOKIS

J. McInerney: *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis*. Pp. xvi + 391, maps, ills. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999. Paper, $24.95. ISBN: 0-292-75230-X.

Ancient Phokis extended further north-east and east, and less far west, than the modern *nomós* of Phokída. The Phokians are regarded as bit-part players in history, yet their strategic location embroiled them in great events. Like other regions, they illustrate the interplay between settlement, environment, and culture and the variety of Greek state forms.

This book, based on the author's 1992 doctoral thesis, aspires to identify different 'narratives' and establish the character of Phokis's ethnic identity. The main part (pp. 1–262) is structured by thematic issues in a broadly chronological sequence. After a brief introduction, Chapter 2 discusses the Phokians as an ethnic group, particularly with reference to the early Iron Age. Chapter 3 describes the landscapes of different sub-regions and Phokis' shifting boundaries. Chapter 4 moves on to settlement numbers and diachronic changes, explaining the absence of a dominant *polis* by the rise of Delphi (though earlier it was explained by the landscape). Fortified sites are interpreted as refuges rather than towns, and the settlement pattern is categorized as non-nucleated because of the likely predominance of pastoralism, invoked to explain the dearth of datable pottery. Chapter 5 examines local myths and identifies a tendency for Phokian communities to trace their ancestry from almost anywhere but Phokis; being Phokian, it is claimed, involved asserting local difference within an overarching ethnic unity.

In Chapter 6 the alleged Phokian connection with Ionian Phokaia is found plausible, and the origins of the Delphic Amphiktyony are traced. Though unconvinced by modern reconstructions of the first sacred war (600–590), M. prefers not to dismiss it as fiction and sees it as a local affair in which Delphi's wealth provoked its neighbours into an attempt to take it over. Thessalian aggression in the sixth century provoked more formal unity, the common threat bringing the Phokians together to earn two famous victories, in the 'battle of chalk' and the 'battle of the amphoras' (Hdt. 3.27–8). The introduction of a common coinage in the late sixth century reflected a further move towards statehood. Chapter 7 examines the political history of the fifth and early fourth centuries, when Phokis was at the mercy of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. By the mid-fourth century, we can see a Phokian élite set apart by education and property. The absence of 'synoicism' (M.'s spelling), and the late date at

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