

Overall I find myself mostly persuaded by L.'s thesis about rank. It expresses in concrete, scholarly terms a natural perspective on state behaviour that ancient historians and observers of international affairs have often resorted to without sufficiently articulating its rules or supporting it with evidence. L. does both, creating in the process an original and entirely believable account of the outbreak and fighting of the early Peloponnesian War. Even so, there are a few occasions when he injects rank into situations that are perhaps better explained in other terms. For example, I read Thucydides' account of the desperate battle of guile and engineering during the assault on Plataea in 429 not as a rank-based 'contest of one-upmanship' (pp. 151–2), but as a deadly serious struggle for control of the town and the lives of its defenders. It is also worth pointing out that in a matter as multifaceted as the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, one can easily find elements that point in different directions. While Pericles' defiant speech serves L. well in highlighting themes of status competition, the earlier speech of the Spartan ephor Sthenelaidas foregrounds different motivations – the need to protect one's allies, and considerations of justice (in that the Athenians are, quite simply, doing wrong) – with hardly a hint of rank issues. Did Thucydides misrepresent reality in composing this speech? Maybe. But then the same could be said of the words he put in Pericles' mouth.

That no one theory can perfectly explain every moment in the complex dance that led to the Peloponnesian War is no criticism of L., who has written not only an effective, entertaining narrative of the war's beginnings but a powerful interpretation of the fundamental logic driving it and its peculiar strategies – an interpretation historians would do well to take very seriously.

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THE BLACK SEA

MÜLLER (C.) *D'Olbia à Tanaïs. Territoires et réseaux d'échanges dans la mer Noire septentrionale aux époques classique et hellénistique.* (Scripta Antiqua 28.) Pp. 453, ill., maps. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2010. Paper, €25. ISBN: 978-2-35613-035-8.

doi:10.1017/S0009840X11003623

One of the main problems in the study of the Northern Black Sea region in recent decades has been the lack of communication between scholarship in the West and in the former Soviet Union. Western scholars are too often unaware of Russian and Ukrainian publications, particularly those made in provincial or museum periodicals, while Russian and Ukrainian scholars sadly have great difficulties in accessing Western scholarship, especially outside their immediate field. While the situation may be gradually improving, thanks in large part to the efforts of G.R. Tsetskhladze and of the Aarhus Centre for Black Sea Studies, and A. Avram's work in the *Bulletin épigraphique*, it is still far from perfect. M.'s fundamental monograph, the first systematic study of (almost) the whole region in a Western European language since Rostovtzeff, is fully abreast of the state of research in Russia and Ukraine, and the bridge between the two traditions of scholarship which it provides is most welcome.

M.'s work is on a smaller scale than the old syntheses of Minns and Rostovtzeff: she does not discuss anything west of Olbia, thus omitting from consideration

Niconium (which does not even figure in the index) and Tyras (a city for which a proper, if dated, numismatic corpus exists), while her treatment of the tribal world surrounding Greek settlements is mainly limited to the Scythian kingdom in Crimea. As M. herself recognises (p. 232), in certain respects Olbia may have had more in common with the West Pontic region including Odessus and Istrus than with the northern; but one has to cut off somewhere, and the scale of the enterprise, especially as regards archaeological evidence, has grown enormously since Rostovtzeff's days.

The first three chapters provide a sketch of the history of the region from the last third of the fifth century B.C. to the death of Mithridates VI, with particular attention to economic problems: the early history, treated separately for Bosporus, Olbia and Chersonesus (pp. 23–66), regional crises of the Hellenistic period (pp. 67–79), and Mithridates' activities in the area (pp. 81–103). M. rightly abstains from engaging in fanciful reconstructions of Bosporan political history prior to the establishment of Spartocid rule, and her approach to the usual *crucis* of early Bosporan history (e.g. the nature of the *ΑΙΠΟΑ* coinage) is refreshingly level-headed. On the foundation and early history of Chersonesus (pp. 58–60) she could not yet be aware of an important article by S.R. Tokhtasyev, *VDI* 261 (2007: 2), 110–25. It is now essential for evaluating the Ionian element in the initial colonisation.

The treatment of the Hellenistic period is necessarily very compressed, but it provides a good introduction to historiographic discussions, even if it is sometimes imperfectly balanced. Influence of climate change on nomadic migrations (p. 74), a subject of extensive discussion in Soviet steppe archaeology, deserved more space than, for example, the untenable theory of Saumacus, leader of a Scythian rebellion, as a household slave (*threptos*) of Pairisades V, first advanced by Zhebelev (pp. 98–9). M., who sensibly rejects Zhebelev's views, seems unaware of the fundamental article of S. Luria, *Meander* 14 (1959), 67–78, showing that the words τὸν μὲν ἐκθρέψαντα αὐτόν in the decree in honour of Diophantus (*IOSPE* I² 352, l. 34) refer to Diophantus himself, and condemn that view, known to her only from its brief re-statement by Yu.G. Vinogradov, as 'absurd' (p. 302 n. 180), opting for Saumacus as a foster-child and perhaps even heir of Pairisades. She has not proved her case. More caution was probably needed also in the discussion of Neapolis Scythica (pp. 83–8): for the damning criticisms of Zajcev's archaeological reconstructions by I.N. Khrapunov, only briefly referred to by M., see now *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavriki* XI (Simferopol, 2005), pp. 599–601.

The heart of M.'s monograph, however, lies in Chapters 4–8, dealing in detail with the economy of the region, and it is on their basis that her work should be judged. Chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 105–68) provide an excellent survey of the settlement of the *chôra* and patterns of land-holding, based on the most recent archaeological research, very rich in detail and in comparisons between different parts of the region. Of particular interest is the suggestion that absence of buildings on about two-thirds of Chersonesitan *klêroi* is to be explained by concentration of landed property, and the traditional model of a democratic Chersonesus abandoned (pp. 146–8). This does not rest easily with the survival of a seemingly democratic jury system at Chersonesus well into the Roman period (*SEG* LV 838), and will require a re-examination of the institutional history of the city. Chapter 6 (pp. 169–89) deals with the export products (above all grain and wine) and importation needs of the region. Produce of the tribal hinterland and the important testimony of Polybius (4.38.4) are treated separately in the next chapter (pp. 212–5). A discussion of the demographic estimates arrived at by M.H. Hansen (introducing

important corrections to the data used in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis*) and of difficulties involved in applying his ‘shotgun method’ to individual cases (pp. 175–80) is especially worthy of attention.

In Chapters 7 (pp. 191–217) and 8 (pp. 219–64) M. builds upon the preceding chapters to create a picture of intra- and inter-regional exchange networks respectively. These are easily the best chapters, and M.’s meticulous analysis will be of interest not only to Northern Black Sea specialists. In M.’s own words, her principal preoccupation in this monograph has been to ‘desenclaver le Pont Nord’ (p. 269), and she succeeds in that aim brilliantly without ever losing sight of the detail or resorting to vague generalisations. Her case for a common ‘monetary zone’, based initially on the Cyzicene staters (pp. 226–32), is powerfully argued, and on the wine trade (pp. 247–64) she puts to excellent use recent research in ceramic epigraphy. On the grain trade with Athens, in common with A. Moreno and other recent studies of the subject, she returns to the old orthodoxy by emphasising its central importance (pp. 232–47). One could wish that in studying external contacts of the region she had made some use of the onomastic studies of Tokhtasyev, particularly his discussion of the names of Anatolian origin in Bosphorus, *VDI* 260 (2007: 1), 170–208, which is also important for the expansion of the Bosphoran *chôra* in the fourth century B.C.

A handy epigraphic dossier (pp. 357–400) supplies texts and French translations of 23 sources, with up-to-date bibliographies and a minimal commentary. To the bibliography on M.’s no. 2 (a dedication of a *propylon* to Dionysus under Leucon I) add now *SEG* LI 961; LII 741; LIV 692, and on her no. 23 (the supposed epitaph of the Scythian king Argotas) cf. *SEG* LVI 889. The book is richly supplied with good-quality black-and-white photographs of coins and inscriptions, and has a number of useful maps and plans. Unfortunately, general maps are superimposed on the modern ones; this is particularly misleading in the case of the Asiatic part of Bosphorus (p. 23 fig. 4), where both the coastline and the course of the Hypanis (Kuban) have moved substantially since antiquity. The decision of the publisher to opt for endnotes rather than footnotes is to be regretted.

This is not an easy book, as important conclusions are often well hidden in the body of the text, but it has rich rewards for an attentive reader. Students of the Black Sea region, ancient economy and exchange networks, especially those who do not have access to the Slavonic language material employed by M., will be well advised to obtain this volume.

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TYXH

EIDINOW (E.) *Luck, Fate and Fortune. Antiquity and its Legacy*. Pp. viii + 213. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011. Paper, £12.99 (Cased, £35). ISBN: 978-1-84511-843-3 (978-1-84511-842-6 hbk).
doi:10.1017/S0009840X11003635

This volume is, at heart, about the interdependence of unseen forces and mortal responsibility in human life; it offers an overview of luck, fate and fortune in antiquity and recent times. E. describes what could be called the *field of fortune* that was prevalent among ancient Greeks, showing how it fluctuated historically in