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PEETERS

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (23)

Reference Books and Textbooks

The World of the Oxus Civilization[1] falls among the handbook class in the Routledge Worlds series of some 30 volumes: 29 chapters, arranged into five parts, plus Introduction and Appendix, and 35 contributors (drawn from France, primarily, and Russia, Germany, the United States, Italy, Central Asia, India and Iran – far from the usual Anglo-Saxon mixture). The editors, Bertille Lyonnet and Nadezhda Dubova, provide an Introduction and a lengthy overview of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Culture (BMAC) (pp. 7–66), followed by 'The Oxus Civilization and Mesopotamia', 'Environmental changes in Bactria and Sogdiana…' from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age and interactions with human intervention, and 'The rise of the early urban civilizations in southwestern Central Asia' (the Middle Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age in southern Turkmenistan). Part II offers 14 chapters on the 'Core Area': architecture, imaginary representation, myths and gods, glyptics (pp. 215–91), chlorite containers, Gonur Tepe and its 'Royal Necropolis' (plans, construction, rituals, polychrome inlayed and painted mosaics, animal burials, animal exploitation), funerary rituals at Ulug Tepe and Dzharkutan, bioarchaeology of the BMAC population, the rural archaeology of the Sapalli culture, 'Redefining the interaction between BMAC people and mobile pastoralists in Bronze Age southern Turkmenistan' and 'The end of the Oxus Civilization'. Part III has eight on the 'Surrounding Area' – presence and relationships of BMAC eastern Iran, the Indo-Iranian borderlands, South Asia, the Arabian Gulf, south-western Tajikistan, the Zeravshan variant of BMAC, the 'classic' Bronze Age Vaksh culture of southern Tajikistan and 'The Oxus Civilization and the northern steppes'. Part III, on metals, houses 'Archaeometallurgical studies on BMAC artifacts', tin and copper sources, 'The acquisition of tin in Bronze Age Southwest Asia'. There is an appendix on radiocarbon dating of BMAC, etc. (pp. 863–911). Thoroughly illustrated. Indexed. Transliterations not of the best for English, and H. Parzinger becomes G. Partsinger.

What new can be said about Herodotus? There will be no lack of attempts to do so because of his centrality to Greek history and historiography. But surveying the overall scene is necessary. The aim of *The Herodotus Encyclopedia*,[2] three volumes with over 2500 entries from 180 scholars, all under the editorship of Christopher Baron (who has already written about and edited other ancient authors), is to bring together the current state of knowledge and understanding of Herodotus' work, and consider past, present and emerging approaches to it. Many of the authors will be familiar: 'C' opens with Nicholas

[1] B. Lyonnet and N.A. Dubova (eds.), *The World of the Oxus Civilization*, The Routledge Worlds, Routledge, London/New York 2021, xxxi+932 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-72287-3.

[2] C. Baron (ed.), *The Herodotus Encyclopedia*, Wiley Blackwell, Hoboken, NJ 2021, 3 vols., lii+xxxii+xxxii+1653 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-118-68964-6.

Cahill, Douglas Cairns, Chris Carey and Paul Cartledge, but then Aideen Carty and other comparative newcomers, all well spread through the English-speaking world and Continental Europe. My former colleague Hyun Jin Kim writes on the Scythians and Sauromatians; Caspar Meyer on Maeotis and Olbia; Alison Lanski on many nomadic groups. Baron himself has filled in numerous entries (including those for the Cimmerian Bosporus and the Euxine Sea). A useful Preface ('Using this Encyclopedia' and 'A Note on Orthography', where traditional Latinsation is the comforting norm) and a 'Synopsis of Entries' serve as hors d'oeuvres; the feast concludes with 84 pages of index. The meat in between is as promised on the cover: all individuals, peoples and places named in the *Histories* are covered, the composition of the work and its central themes are considered, the contexts (historical, social, intellectual and literary) are examined, reception from antiquity to the present is considered, etc. Indeed, it does meet its claim to offer 'students and faculty of all levels an easy-to-use reference tool while providing Herodotean scholars [with] an up-to-date collection of recent work in the field'. It hangs together, not least thanks to a single editorship and, to repeat: entries have context. Maps and illustrations. Welcome and timely.

Welcome too is Stanley Burstein's slim *The Essential Greek Historians*,[3] which provides students with an unintimidating introduction to the core of Greek historiography: well-considered extracts from Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aristotle, Polybius, Menon and Plutarch, plus the Parian marble. All translations have been chosen for readability, and Burstein himself has translated the last-mentioned. Maps, a well-measured Introduction (pp. xv–xxxii) full of insight, buttressed by short editorial prefaces to each chapter and explanatory footnotes round out the texts. Indexed. Does admirably what it sets out to do.

Two themed volumes have appeared of *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture* (*EDPC*),[4] focused on 'Historical Characters', not just individuals or peoples and dynasties, but with suitably long entries on the Punic Wars (pp. 203–11) and Rome (pp. 213–20); and 'Deities and Mythical Characters', as part of 'Religion' with 'Cult and Ritual' to follow. Larger format, two-column layout with a decent type-size, Lemmata and cross-references and appropriate illustrations. The first volume contains a lengthy introductory piece on the *EDPC* project, which grew out of the *Dizionario Enciclopedico della Civiltà Fenicia* on which work commenced in 2008. 'The overall purpose of the work – which comprises about 2000 entries written by *ca.* 200 contributors from 20 different countries – is to provide a complete and up-to-date account of our knowledge of the culture of the Phoenicians (understood in a wide sense)…' (p. ix), with the print version running in tandem with the progressive publication on line (see *www.decf-cnr.org*) – the former in English, the latter in French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish as well. It also acknowledges Edward Lipiński's *Dictionnaire* of 1992 (from another Belgian publishing house). And pp. x–xiv

[3] S. Burstein (ed.), *The Essential Greek Historians*, Hackett Publishing, Indianapolis/Cambridge 2022, xxxii+255 pp., 3 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-64792-040-1.

[4] A. Ercolani and P. Xella, in collaboration with U. Livadiotti and V. Melchiorri (eds.), *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture*, I: *Historical Characters*, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2018, xli+252 pp., illustrations, 5 map plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3680-5; H. Niehr and P. Xella, in collaboration with D. Kühn, V. Melchiorri and G. Minunno (eds.), *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture*, II.1: *Religion – Deities and Mythical Characters*, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2021, xxxvi+252 pp., illustrations, 3 map plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-4417-6.

tackle head on '"Phoenicans" and "Punics": do we really know what we are talking about?' A welcome and well-presented enterprise. I look forward to the appearance of the remaining themed volumes.

Greeks

With *Societies in Transition in Early Greece*[5] we are marching into lighter Dark Age, taking a long view of socio-political transition in Greece, from roughly the 15th to the 7th century BC (not quite palaces to *poleis*), via 'Introduction: An Archaeology of Early Greece', 'Landscape, Interaction, Complexity' (communities in context; networks and technologies; societies in transition), 'Articulating Landscapes in Central Greece' (sites, communities and regional datasets; archaeological landscapes; network models in geographical space; territorial models in dynamic landscapes), 'Confronting Hegemony in Mycenaean Central Greece', 'Reconstituting Polity in the Postpalatial Bronze Age', 'Transforming Village Societies in the Prehistoric Iron Age' and 'Expanding Horizons in the Protohistoric Iron Age' (which bring us to colonisation, not a term favoured by the author, and has a 'Coda: From Villages to Poleis', a title echoing one of my long-running courses in Melbourne). The Conclusions, via debunking those old saws of the collapse of the Mycenaean Bronze Age polities and an 8th-century BC renaissance as traditional formative moments, conclude with 'Why Early Greece Matters', viewed with a cautious scepticism towards the simplistic 'foundations of Western Civilisation' approach. Appendix listing all sites, their periods, mapping them, etc. The focus on the archaeology of social complexity introduces techniques from Mesoamerica; other tools are social network analysis and geographical information systems. The chronology is divided into Palatial and Postpalatial, but then Prehistoric Iron Age (Early Protogeometric to Middle Geometric I) and Protohistoric Iron Age (Middle Geometric II to Late Geometric) rather than the traditional Protogeometric versus Geometric. Data rich, analytical and stimulating, but not for beginners.

A distant doctoral dissertation underpins *Oil, Wine, and the Cultural Economy of Ancient Greece*,[6] buttressed by plenty of fresh ingredients (ceramic, architectural and archaeobotanical). It is arranged as a lengthy Introduction and five chapters covering successive periods of 150–300 years from Protopalatial Crete through to the middle of the Archaic era, with an emphasis, despite rapid systemic collapse, on the continuities in the value of wine and oil as 'cultural commodities' embedded in the Greek experience, enabling them to evolve into large-scale industries in the Classical period. The Introduction considers the production of grapes and olives, the technology of pressing and surviving archaeological evidence for it, and the human factor: how human entanglements with oil and wine may have shifted over time in response to varied socio-political circumstances, systems of value, modes of exchange and change in climate. Fundamental to the organisation and presentation of the material is the definition of oil and wine as 'cultural commodities', i.e. 'products

[5] A.R. Knodell, *Societies in Transition in Early Greece: An Archaeological History*, University of California Press, Oakland 2021, xv+364 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-520-38053-0.

[6] C.E. Pratt, *Oil, Wine, and the Cultural Economy of Ancient Greece: From the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021, xiv+409 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-83564-0.

that become indispensable for proper social and economic exchanges well beyond economic advantage'. They were value-added commodities, but the value was not purely economic, and the forms of exchange were variously commensal, gift and commercial. And consumption reveals how the socio-political elite was defined by its control of the surpluses of these commodities. Haphazard index, sometimes mediocre illustrations. CUP should have done better (as too in reconciling citations with the bibliography and hunting down typos). Two on-line only appendices. Food for thought as well as for the pot.

Excavations

The benefits of long-term commitment to a site continue to reveal themselves at Miletus with the publication of Laconian and Chian fine ware, in the experienced hands of Gerald Schaus.[7] Uniformity of presentation; continuity in publisher and publication (handsome, two column, large format), now with a digital version of the catalogue available at *https://arachne.dainst.org/projet/milet_V4*. It is almost a pity that such volumes now appear in English since only the Germans (institute and publishers) issue them with any frequency (below a few exceptions). Miletus offers the largest body of Archaic Laconian pottery found on an overseas site, even surpassing Samos. Painted pottery informs us of all manner of aspects of local life, culture (material and otherwise), values and religion/myth. The work of different painters and workshops is disentangled and attention paid in particular to the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletus and the shapes and uses of vessels there. And pottery is also a tool for tracing trading links and flows, and distribution patterns (within the Aegean). The quantity of Chian fine ware falls short of that at Naukratis but is roughly equal to Berezan's, though less well preserved. Its abundance seems to indicate good relations with Chios, just as its sparsity on Samos may indicate the contrary. The volumes has brief introductory matter and is then divided into Laconian – discussion, then catalogue (Laconina II cups, decorated/black-figure cups further divided (as far as possible) by painter and/or workshop, and other shapes (open; closed) – and Chian (discussion then catalogue, of chalices by style, and then other shapes, open, closed and sphinx and lion style).

To Lydia (not an encyclopaedia, *cf.* G. Marx), where Sardis benefits from the same continuity and attention, issuing Report 8: *Ordinary Lydians at Home*[8] in a similar format, with the depth and scope of an established excavation behind it (and a Turkish summary and a chronology in front). The main text falls into an introductory overview if Lydian pottery (pp. 1–18); Part I, the Lydian trench in sector HOB, arranged as Introduction, Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, Lydian IV Iron Age, Lydian III: the destruction level, Lydian II, Lydian I and Conclusion (p. 19–108); Part II, the Lydian levels at Pactolus Cliff, comprising Introduction, stratigraphy and finds, and Conclusion; (pp. 109–30); and

[7] G.P. Schaus, *Funde aus Milet, Teil 4: Laconian and Chian Fine Ware Pottery at Miletus*, Milet Bd V.4, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, x+291 pp., illustrations, 27 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11428-8.

[8] A. Ramage, N.H. Ramage and R.G. Gürtekin-Demir, *Ordinary Lydians at Home: The Lydian Trenches of the House of Bronzes and Pactolus Cliff at Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Report 8, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2021. Vol. 1: Text, xxi+273 pp., illustrations (some in colour); vol. 2: Plates, xvi+264 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-24853-3 (text); 978-0-674-24854-0 (plates).

a catalogue of finds (pp. 133–224 for sector HOB, partly by Gül Gürtekin-Demir and pp. 225–41 for Pactolus) The volume concludes with NAA analysis of Lydian pottery from the two sectors (by Nicholas Cahill, who also provides an Editor's Preface) and concordances of Sardis inventory numbers and Manisa Museum numbers. Excellent standards all round. An impressive second volume contains large-scale plates.

Thence to Gordion, where Gül Gürtekin-Demir publishes the Lydian painted pottery from Rodney Young's 1950–73 excavations in the first major study of Lydian material culture there.[9] The pottery found at Gordion was produced mainly in centres other than Sardis, though Sardian imports began to influence Gordion's material culture as early as the 7th century BC, while a more limited range of Lydian ceramics continued in use at Gordion beyond the fall of the Lydian kingdom and into the Achaemenid era. Opening with 'Visual Aspects of the Fabric of Gordion's Lydian Pottery', the volume proceeds through 'Painting Conventions', 'Shapes', 'An Analysis of Lydian Pottery According to Its Findspots at Gordion', 'Eating, Drinking, and Perfuming in Lydian Style at Gordion', 'Graffiti on Lydian Pottery at Gordion' and 'Lydian Material Culture at Gordion: Investigating Lydian Culture through Pottery Remains' (and placing the pottery in a Phrygian and Anatolian context). The catalogue follows (pp. 124–50), then a Turkish summary, a concordance of catalogue and inventory numbers, and an index. Extensive in-text illustrations and 131 plates. Overall, a thorough examination of the Lydian ceramics based in stylistic, archaeological and textual evidence combined with thorough documentation of stratigraphic contexts.

The welcome first volume of publication of the spectacular Early Hellenistic Documaci Tumulus at Callatis,[10] investigated by an international and interdisciplinary research team, is brought to us by Archaeopress, published under the auspices of the Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy (where the editors, Valeriu Sîrbu and Maria-Magdalena and Dan Ştefan, and several more of the other 15 contributors are based – all Romanian except for three scholars from the Institute of Mineralogy and Crystallography at Sofia and one from Rzeszów) and with the late Alexandru Avram as one of the 'scientific reviewers'. Between Introduction and the concluding remarks come 14 chapters, the first three grouped to provide a history of research of the tumulus, an account of objectives and methodologies and the 'Broader Context' of Callatis in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (politics, landmarks, burial grounds, etc.). Eleven chapters on the tumulus itself move from the location via the enclosure wall to the mound, the *sema* and the painted tomb, then plasters and pigments, analysis of the stones found in the funerary complex, use of the Hellenistic tomb in the tumulus as a cult space in mediaeval times, small finds and analysis of faunal remains found in the ritual deposits. A catalogue of ceramic finds, contributed by Livia Buzoianu, forms Chapter 12 (pp. 282–303). Thoroughly and extensively illustrated.

[9] R.G. Gürtekin-Demir, *Lydian Painted Pottery Abroad: The Gordion Excavations 1950–1973*, Gordion Special Studies 9, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2021, xvii+177 pp., illustrations, 132 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-949057-13-3.

[10] V. Sîrbu, M.-M. Ştefan and D. Ştefan (eds.), *A Monumental Hellenistic Funerary Ensemble at Callatis on the Western Black Sea: The Documaci Tumulus, Vol. 1*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2021, viii+330 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-436-9.

I cut my archaeological teeth on the cemeteries at Pichvnari. The volume on the Takhtidziri cemeteries by Gagoshidze *et al.*[11] (reviewed by Paul Everill below) is a useful demonstration of how far we have come in bringing Georgia and its archaeology into the mainstream, thus before a wider audience.

To conclude this section we have the impressive three volumes of Küne *et al.* on Dūr-Katlimmu in eastern Syria.[12] Sixteen authors, mainly German by origin or domicile, but also three from Japan. It completes the publication of the citadel mound of Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad, excavated between 1978 and 1988. Although conceived in 2011–12, it was only when a subvention from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications became available in 2016 that work on it was able to continue and for significant revisions and enhancements to be made (p. xiii). The 22 (illustrated) main chapters, each with a summary or abstract in English, open with Hartmut Kühne's on the 'Topography and Environment at the Dawn of Excavation', Part 1 (four chapters) examines 'The excavation record of the Middle Assyrian period' (Building P, cuneiform artefacts, graves), Part II (five chapters) 'Selected object groups from the Middle Assyrian excavation context' (clay safety devices and Egyptian seal impressions from Building P; Early Iron in Assyria; glass beads and glazed pottery; Middle Assyrian pottery), while Part III (three chapters) delves into 'Aspects of city and administration at Dūr-Katlimmu in the Middle Assyrian period'. Part IV, 'Archaeological record and objects of the Neo-Assyrian Period' offers levels 27 to 17, stratigraphy and architecture of level 27, fragments of a Neo-Assyrian sculptured orthostat and Dūr-Katlimmu in the Neo- and Post-Assyrian periods. Vol. 2, contains the catalogues (Chapters 18–22), with preliminary remarks by Kühne: the archaeological record of excavating Building P, clay safety devices and Egyptian seal impressions from Building P, small finds of the Middle Assyrian level 28 at Building P, goods of the Late-Middle Assyrian graves in Level 27c, small fins of the Neo- and Post-Assyrian levels 27b–17. Fifty-seven loose plans in a slip case. Indexed.

Conference Proceedings, Festschriften, *etc.*

Perhaps one day the Black Sea Congress will get its history, echoing the Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, commemorated in the latest of Archaeopress's *Archaeological Lives* series:[13] an account of the Sixth International Congress of Archaeology in Berlin (1939), then short chapters breeze through the two dozen Limes congresses, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1949) to Viminacium (Serbia) in 2018, leading to 'Reflections on the Congress'. All are very

[11] I. Gagoshidze, M. Vickers, D. Kacharava and D. Gagoshidze (eds.), *Two Cemeteries at Takhtidziri (Georgia): Late Achaemenid–Early Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic–Early Roman* (Oxford 2022).

[12] H. Kühne (ed.), with contributions by Y. Abe, J. Bussiliat, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum *et al.*, *Die Zitadelle von Dür-Katlimmu in mittel- und neuassyrischer Zeit*, Berichte der Ausgrabun Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu (BATSH) 12.1–3, 3 vols., Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021. 1. Text: xl+439 pp., illustrations; 2. Catalogue, xi+311 pp., illustrations; 3. Beilagen, 57 in slip case. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06168-1 (abstracts in English; summaries in Arabic).

[13] D.J. Breeze, T. Ivleva, R.H. Jones and A. Thiel, *A History of the Congress of Roman Frontier Studies 1949–2022*, Archaeopress Archaeological lives, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, viii+185 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-302-0. A volume on Gocha Tsetskhladze is in preparation.

well illustrated (what would a 'fashion' writer make of them?). Like so many events, the intended 2021 congress in Nijmegen had to be postponed, but the next will catch up – in Batumi in 2024 (with inclusivity and decolonisation on the *smorgesbord* of offerings).

Borders in Archaeology[14] has its focus on that/those between Anatolia and the South Caucasus, growing out of seminars at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, in 2013 and 2014. The 13 contributions are divided in five parts: 'Borders in Archaeology', 'Borders and the Emergence of Political Borders in Anatolia and the South Caucasus', 'Borders and Political Machines. Anatolia and the South Caucasus in the 2nd Millennium BCE', 'Borders in an Age of Transition. Anatolia and the South Caucasus at the Turn of the 2nd–1st Millennia BCE' and 'Towards Supra-Regional Political Entities: Anatolia and the South Caucasus during the 1st Millennium BCE'. The editors, Lorenzo d'Alfonso and Karen Rubinson open the batting for the home side at ISAW with a piece on 'Borders and Archaeology' that brings us up to the last century and the various problems thrown up by its political instabilities and imbecilities; they are followed by Roderick Campbell 'On Borders as an Archaeological/Historical Problem', Mehmet Işıklı considers 'The "Border, Frontier and Boundary" Concept within the Kura-Araxes Cultural Phenomenon', d'Alfonso 'Borders in the Archaeology of the Hittite Empire', Jessie Birkett-Rees '… The Middle Kura River Valley in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age' and Ayşe Tuba Ökse *et al*. 'Cultural Borders at the Northern and Eastern Edges of the Central Anatolian Plateau in the Second and Pre-Classical First Millennia BCE'. Brian Rose investigates 'Troy and Phrygia during the Iron Age' and Paul Zimansky the boundaries of Bianili (preferred to Urartu). Plenty of Sagona, some Russian-language bibliography, some Georgian. A mixture of site-based investigations and landscape archaeology. Theory kept at bay. A handsome, large-format production.

SOMA volumes vary considerably in length, *SOMA 2016*,[15] proceedings of the meeting held in St Petersburg, is one of the shorter: eleven contributions, several with an underwater focus, running from 'Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United Kingdom' via the northern Black Sea (the main theme of the meeting as stated in the cover 'blurb') to Cyprus and beyond. Lihi Habas offers 'Trade and Transportation in the Light of the Mosaic Floors of the Holy Land' (pp. 51–72), though the lengthy bibliography omits Andrew Maddens's work.[16] Aynur Özfirat, who has published in this journal, provides a hefty and well-illustrated account of 'The Uratian Kingdom in the Mount Ağrı (Ararat) Region' (pp. 7–34); Alexander Butyagin examines 'New Results of Excavations at Ancient Myrmekion' (pp. 1–6); and Sergey Solovyov considers 'Relations Between the Northern Black Sea and Western Anatolia in the Archaic and Classical Periods' (pp. 97–106), looking not just at Miletus but other west Anatolian Greek cities and their relations with Lydians, Carians

[14] L. d'Alfonso and K.S. Rubinson (eds.), *Borders in Archaeology: Anatolia and the South Caucasus ca. 3500–500 BCE*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 58, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2021, viii+357 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-4373-5.

[15] H. Önzi and S. Fazlullin (eds.), *SOMA 2016 : Proceedings of the 20th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Saint Petersburg, 12–14 May 2016*, Access Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, 126 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-199-6.

[16] A.M. Madden, *Corpus of Byzantine Church Mozaic Pavements from Israel and Palestinian Territories* (Leuven 2014) and his Melbourne PhD thesis of 2011.

and Phrygians through evidence from Berezan/Borysthenes and Olbia (epigraphic and ceramic). Keywords; no index.

The Destruction of Cities in the Ancient Greek World[17] has two immediate attractions, its subtitle of integrating archaeological and literary evidence being close to my own interests, and a chapter on Miletus. This is the prompt publication of a conference at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in May 2019. The editors' 'Introduction: Destruction, Survival, and Recovery in the Ancient Greek World' makes points of broader application or applicability, though it drifts off into 'modern paradigms': after military destruction, it is surprising how far and quickly a place might pull itself together and back up. 'Destruction, Abandonment, Reoccupation: What Microstratigraphy and Micromorphology Tell Us' (Panagiotis Karkanas) also has breadth. The other ten published chapters – 'The Persian: Destruction of Athens: Sources and Archaeology', Diodorus and archaeology with reference to Selinus, Methone, numismatic evidence for destruction in Classical and Hellenistic northern Greece, Eretria, Rhodes, the Roman arrival in Epirus, Corinth, Sukka and the siege of Athens, the Herulian invasion of Athens – focus, like most of the on-line appendix (*www.cambridge.org/gachard-harris-appendix* covering Athens, Euboea, Boeotia, Phocis, the Peloponnese, Epirus, northern Greece and Thrace, the Aegean islands and Western Asia Minor) on the mainland. John Bintliff offers an Epilogue comparing Classical Greek and Roman experience of survival of cities after military devastation. Hans Lohmann's 'Miletus after the Disaster of 494 B.C.: Refoundation or Recovery' was an invited extra.[18] In one bibliography (p. 107) a former colleague (James Harvey Kim On Chong Gossard) has been bisected.

Two volumes grew from a February 2020 international conference in Auckland (just before the country entered purdah): here, Jeremy Armstrong and Sheira Cohen's *Production, Trade, and Connectivity in Pre-Roman Italy*,[19] a collection of a dozen contributions from scholars based in North America, the Antipodes, continental Europe and Britain. An introductory 'Communities and connectivities in pre-Roman Italy' leads on to Christopher Smith on 'technicians and the city' (Finley, Polanyi, Broodbank, Manning, Douglass North, Braudel, 'from gift to market', '2008'), Seth Bernard ('Metallurgy and connectivity in northern Etruria'), Armstrong on Hephaestus' workshop, Ted Robinson's 'Potters and mobility in southern Italy (500–300 BCE)', 'a producer-centred approach to regionalisation in the South Italian matt-painted tradition' (Leah Barnardo-Cidio), bronzesmiths and the construction of material identity in central Italy (Cristiano Iaia), tombs, trade and identity in Peucetia (Bice Peruzzi) and 'Etruscan trading spaces and the tools for regulating Etruscan markets' (Hilary Becker). Chrstian Heitz provides 'A Mobile model of cultural

[17] S. Fachard and E. Harris (eds.), *The Destruction of Cities in the Ancient Greek World: Integrating the Archaeological and Literary Evidence*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021, xiv+361 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-49554-7.

[18] And see now R. Senff, 'Miletus – the Ionian Metropolis in the Archaic Period'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation: Continuing an Account of Greek Colonies and Settlements Overseas* (Leuven 2024), 487–552.

[19] J. Armstrong and S. Cohen (eds.), *Production, Trade, and Connectivity in Pre-Roman Italy*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies, London/New York 2022, xix+311 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-63793-4. The other is yet to appear.

transfer in pre-Roman southern Italy' and Cohen the latticework of connectivity and interaction that provides 'Mechanisms of community formation in pre-Roman Italy'. The Epilogue by Elena Isayev, composed in 2021, is on 'writing of connectivity at a time of isolation'. Combined bibliography. Indexed.

A hefty, well-produced and well-illustrated volume commemorates the work of Margaret Cool Root.[20] There are 16 contributions, some exceedingly substantial, many from authors of note. To give a flavour: Pierre Briant ('The Discovery of Persepolis in the Eighteenth Century: From the Accounts of Travellers to the "Érudits de Cabinet"'), Rémy Boucharlat ('Arriving at Persepolis, an Unfortified Royal Residence'), Alexander Nagel ('Preserving the Achaemenid Legacy: Aspects of Conservation, Technology, Polychromy, and Material Culture in Persepolis') and Ann Gunter ('Revisiting the Imagery of Gift-Giving' at Persepolis, Egypt, in the Neo-Assyrian empire, at Khorsabad, and the iconography of empire 'foreign artisans and the role of the king'), among others, focus on Persepolis itself. Then to seals: Garrison and Henkelman ('Sigillophobe suppliers and idiosyncratic scribes…': pp. 167–286, using the Persepolis Fortification archive), Henry Colburn ('Seal production and the city of Persepolis', also using the archive), Deniz Kaptan (re-contexualising a group of seals from south-western Turkey) and Christopher Tuplin ('Sigillography and soldiers: Cataloguing military activity on Achaemenid seals': pp. 329–449, human combat). Via Maria Brosius's 'A Brief Note on the Children of the Empire' on to Jacobs and Rollinger's 'Kunst- und kulturhistorische Anmerkungen zur Schale aus Arǧān', Margaret Miller's 'Of thrones, griffins and seals: the iconography of the throne of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus, Athens' and Karen Lawrence's 'Reading Persepolis in Delphi' (architecture). Then to Persian Arabia (Björn Anderson: boundary questions), Achaemenid Armenia (Lori Khatchadourian and copy to proxy, purpose and meaning in the material record) and briefly Amélie Kuhrt's piece reviewing the impact of Root's work on the discipline (broad and reshaping).[21] Alas, no index.

The dismal science was not present in antiquity. Debt was. But what was debt? What did it mean in worlds with values and social norms far different from our own? – and the work is permeated by discussions of norms and values ('mentalities'), and their influences on the social and legal framework and on the creation and development of economic institutions. Ironically, one spur to the 2016 workshop (supported by the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung – 'the opposite of the "box tickers" and "task masters" who… dominate so many organizations of higher education'), now published in *Debt in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East*,[22] was the events of 2008 – when disastrously stupid 'clever' folk with dumb algorithms brought ruin, and equally bright fools, ineffably self-regarding, pulled the policy lever of 'quantitative easing' but never eased up. The late David Graeber, commemorated here, was an anthropologist not an economist, as prominent in the 'Occupy Wall Street' movement

[20] E.R.M. Dusinberre, M.B. Garrison and W.F.M. Henkelman (eds.), *The Art of Empire in Achaemenid Persia: Studies in Honour of Margaret Cool Root*, Achaemenid History 16, Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden/Peeters, Leuven 2020, xxii+640 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3921-9.

[21] Alas, Amélie, a good friend to this journal and to Gocha, has since died (2 January 2023: *JFH*).

[22] J. Weisweiler (ed.), *Debt in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East: Credit, Money, and Social Obligation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2023, xi+277 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-764717-2.

as he was through his *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (2011), who brought a new and broadening perspective to the study of the ancient economy (continued here): his view was that the roots of the current socio-economic order should be sought in antiquity, not in Early Modern Europe, in a transition across Eurasia of relationships of social obligation into quantifiable and enforceable debts. John Weiswelier, the editor, opens with 'The Currency–Slavery–Warfare Complex: David Graeber and the History of Value in Antiquity' and also provides 'Monetizations, Marketization and State Formation: The Later Roman Empire as an Axial Age Economy'. Inbetween are Pirngruber ('… Markets and Morality in First-Millennium BCE Babylonia', using literary texts, letters and business archives – communal values *vs* the 'ethics of reciprocity'), Hinsch ('Private Debts in Classical Greece…' – with sections such as 'Must One Pay One's Debts? A Question of Trust and Power', and 'The Absence of Debt Crises in the Classical Period', the latter explained for Athens via city-state imperialism, commercialisation, civic self-government, etc., with elites and commoners both invested in an imperial project to underpin their joint prosperity), Eberle ('Debt, Death, and Destruction in Ancient Rome') and Morley ('The Poetics and Politics of Exchange in Roman Agronomy'), etc. Other chapters take us to India, Zoroastrian materialism, the Early Islamic and the Early Mediaeval. Throughout, contributors reference Gaebler and bounce their ideas off his work – elevating it alongside Polanyi, Finley *et al.* There are some cheers for Substantivism, fewer for the New Institutional Economics, but more typical, in line from Graeber, is pondering what debt was incurred in asymmetrical, hierarchical gift-exchange (Eberle). No need for the spurious exactness of fancy equations piled on foundations of sand of which Stamp's Law warns us, but perhaps time to revisit Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law* (from status to contract, etc.). End notes. The individual bibliographies are set at the end. Indexed.

Miscellaneous

A view from the trenches. *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent*[23] concentrates on the local labourers without whom excavations could not function, as I know from my own excavation at Pessinus. What do they know? What knowledge do they acquire? What do think about the artefacts, the archaeologist and others? Allison Mickel is an anthropologist/ethnographer (with some jargon to match) who has spent six years with such workers at Petra in Jordan and Çatalhöyük in Turkey. One of her paradoxical revelations is that there is a financial incentive for workers to be less knowledgeable than they are – lest they lose their jobs! Arranged as Introduction, Conclusion and six chapters – 'Local Communities, Labor, and Laboratories', 'Site Workers as Specialists, Site Workers as Supporters', 'Access to Interpretation', 'Lucrative Non-Knowledge', 'Lucrative Identities in Global Archaeological Labor' (Africa, Latin America, India and the Middle East) and 'Inclusive Recording'. A corrective to other studies of the history and politics of archaeology by engaging with the 'poor bloody infantry'.

[23] A. Mickel, *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent: A History of Local Archaeological Knowledge and Labor*, University Press of Colorado, Louisville 2021, xiii+203 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-64642-126-8. In my experience at Pessinus, a few have been (too) far from silent.

Some manage broad-brush better than others. Greg Woolf is in the former category. *The Life and Death of Ancient Cities*[24] does not overstretch things (the volume is rooted in his teaching on comparative urbanism and a long-felt desire to marry an environmental perspective with an historical one: p. xvii); and he retains his knack for readability as he guides us through the rise and fall of cities from the end of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Middle Ages. Four parts ('An Urban Animal', 'An Urban Mediterranean', 'Imperial Urbanisms' and 'De-Urbanization') house 20 chapters. We have Alexandria and Athens, Carthage, Çatalhöyuk, Hattusa, Huelva and Marseilles (happily spelt thus), but also the dugout dwellings of remote Berezan (p. 201) and other references to the Black Sea, although the overall focus is the (Greek and Roman) Mediterranean, with Etruscans and Phoenicians, Gauls, Persians and Egyptians moving across the stage. Some consideration of 'colonisation' and the terminology debate, but the thrust is on creation, survival and extinction. Broad-brush, but using high-quality paint and pigments.

Josette Elayi, the distinguished and prolific French Phoenician historian, has recently produced a string of biographies of Assyrian rulers in English – Sargon II, published in 2017; Sennarcherib, 2018; and Tiglath-pileser III, 2022.[25] A trilogy, since supplemented by a work on Esarhaddon. A dozen brisk chapters lie between the Introduction and Conclusion (an assessment of his reign), buttressed by a chronology, select bibliography and indexes. Her experienced hand melds archaeological and textual evidence to examine the man often considered the true founder of the Assyrian empire, certainly a major figure in Assyrian expansion, but the 'dissymmetry in its extension' left an empire that was 'surel powerful, yet fragile' (p. 188). All of her volumes serve as solid, well-researched introductions to their subjects, their campaigns and conquests, their physical imprint, and their legacies.

Udo Reinhardt[26] provides an overview of the study of ancient myth since 1918/20, divided into three chronological sections – to 1960, 1960–2000, since 2000 – each considered in terms of core areas of research, the history of reception and 'narratology', with an excursus on myth and modern myth theory, and an epilogue drawing up a balance sheet and looking at future prospects. Thoroughly indexed.

Llandrindod Wells, UK Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (†) with James Hargrave*

[24] G. Woolf, *The Life and Death of Ancient Cities: A Natural History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020, xviii+498 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-966473-3.

[25] J. Elayi, *Tiglath-pileser III, Founder of the Assyrian Empire*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 31, SBL Press, Atlanta 2022, xiii+211 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-62837-429-2.

[26] U. Reinhardt, *Hundert Jahre Forschungen zum antiken Mythos (1918/20–2018/20: Ein selektiver Überblick (Altertum–Rezeption–Narratologie)*, Mythological Studies (MythoS) 5, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, xii+374 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-078634-7.

* Sadly, but inevitably, all good things come to an end. This series of annual review articles concludes here, a lasting monument to the wide scope of the interests of my distinguished co-author and dear friend, the late Gocha Tsetskhladze. References to his work appear in many of the volumes here reviewed. An occasional successor piece will be published if the circumstances require it and a worthy author be found [*JFH*, 18 January 2023].

CURRENT RESEARCH IN EGYPTOLOGY

M. Arranz Cárcamo, R. Sánchez Casado, A. Planelles Orozco, S. Alarcón Robledo, J. Ortiz García and P. Mora Riudavets (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2019*, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 17–21 June 2019, Access Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, xii+231 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-907-4

E. Apostola and C. Kekes (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2021*, Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Symposium, University of the Aegean, 9–16 May 2021, Access Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, xvi+249 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-376-1

The *Current Research in Egyptology* symposia are an international postgraduate conference series, taking place annually, and bringing together mainly younger scholars, from PhD students in all stages of their studies to early post-doctoral researchers. The series was originally established by students at the University of Oxford in 2000, and for the first ten years it was held annually at one of the major centres for the study of Egyptology within the United Kingdom, such as Oxford, Cambridge, London and Birmingham. As gradually more international researchers started to participate, in 2010 it was decided to internationalise and have other European universities also host the event in order to promote and facilitate research on all aspects of ancient Egypt on a more universal level. Following conferences in Leiden (2010), Cracow (2016), Naples (2017) and Prague (2018), the two volumes with proceedings currently under review represent the latest outcomes of this conference series. The twentieth and twenty-first symposia were held respectively at the Colegio Major of San Ildefonso at the University of Alcalá (2019) and the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean, Rhodes (2021). The latter had been planned to take place in 2020 but had to be postponed due to travel restrictions arising from the ongoing Covid pandemic.

The proceedings are, as has been the tradition from the very start, edited by the students and scholars responsible for the organisation of the conference. Both volumes under review contain 15 contributions each, but also include a list of all papers and posters presented. The 30 articles, which were all submitted to a double blind peer review, deal with topics that cover all periods of ancient Egyptian history, from prehistorical times to the Late Antique/Islamic period, as well as a very wide variety of different themes and subjects, with a main focus on archaeology, history, religion and language. Within the scope of this review, it is utterly impossible to provide in-depth information and remarks on every single article. In what follows, I will hence highlight a few contributions that might be of interest to subscribers to *AWE*. This includes articles with either a focal point on interdisciplinary research, or contributions that break through the spatial boundaries of ancient Egypt and explore its position within the wider world, whether in connection with the Near East and/or the (eastern) Mediterranean world.

In the first volume, *Current Research in Egyptology 2019*, three articles deserve attention as they fit the aforementioned parameters. Nonverbal communication, and specifically a comparison of a vast array of gestures, postures and movements with symbolic meaning

within a wide range of ritual activities as portrayed in both Egyptian and Aegean art of the Bronze Age lie at the core of the doctoral research of Christos Kekes ('Speaking bodies: An Approach to the Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures of the Bronze Age [preliminary remarks]', pp. 1–11). The author delves into the many problematic issues related to the methodology and terminology when investigating representations portrayed on diverse carriers, whether objects or walls, from two distinct cultures. Based on previous studies and his own research, Kekes proposes an interesting typological classification for describing and categorising individual gestures in an objective manner. This includes first and foremost focusing on the morphology of the gesture, but also taking into account the iconographic and archaeological context. The resulting table of interpretive criteria thus provides a clear framework for classifying, comparing and studying ritual gestures not only in Egypt or the Aegean in the Bronze Age, but for the entire ancient world.

The contribution of Marco De Pitri and Elena Urzi ('Evidence for medical relations between Egypt and Hatti: A brief overview'; pp. 114–29), provides a fascinating overview of the exchange of medical knowledge between Egypt and Hittite world during the second half of the 1st millennium BC. From the evidence of the royal Egypto-Hittite correspondence, it is well-known that Egypt dispatched both physicians as well as medical ingredients and medication to Hatti, while raw materials, such as vegetable products, to prepare the remedies travelled in the opposite direction. In their contribution, the authors focus almost exclusively on various aspects of the knowledge-transfer from Egypt to the Hittite lands. Two main topics are treated in more detail: the evidence regarding the dispatch of Egyptian physicians, and Parimakhu in particular, and (partially magical) remedies to heal the eyes, as known from Egyptian medical papyri, and their application to treat ocular diseases afflicting both the Hittite king Ḫattušili III and his vassal Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša.

Lonneke Delpeut and Hylke Hettema provide a captivating reconstruction of how the horses depicted upon reliefs and wall paintings from ancient Egypt came to be mistakenly identified as a variety of the Arabian horse, the so-called 'Straight Egyptian' also known as 'The Pharaoh's horse' ('Ancient Arabian horses? Revisiting ancient Egyptian equine imagery'; pp. 168–82). In their contribution, the authors demonstrate that the still vivid notion that it is possible to establish an ancient Egyptian ancestry for the Arabian horse, is in reality based on a 19th-century, orientalist misinterpretation of scenes and reliefs depicting horses. Delpeut and Hettema indicate very clearly all the pitfalls involved when interpreting idealised image of horses on Egyptian wall reliefs as truthful naturalistic representations, in case one does not consider numerous other contributing factors, such as the image's function and overall context of the scene in which it features, fluctuating periodical trends, as well as individual preferences of both artist and commissioner.

The second volume, *Current Research in Egyptology 2021*, also offers three articles that deserve closer attention. The contribution of Nicola Reggiana and Alessia Bovo presents a selection of previously unpublished texts studied, with intervals, at the University of Parma since 2006 ('Unpublished Greek and Demotic papyri from Graeco-Roman Tebtunis: A research project at the University of Parma'; pp. 159–72). The 70 texts in question all originate from the site of Tebtunis in the Fayum oasis, and currently form part of the collection of the Center of the Tebtunis Papyri of the University of California-Berkeley. In their contribution, the authors present a few texts in more detail. This include several Greek literary texts, especially fragments of Homer, but also the first verse of Euripides'

Bacchae (part of an exercise from Ptolemaic times) as well as a fragment of an anonymous philosophical prose. Among the documentary texts, most aspects of daily life at Tebtunis are represented, such as letters, deposits of money, expenses for a feast, petitions related to legal cases over land disputes from Ptolemaic times, and documents related to tax management from the subsequent Roman period. The authors hence add one more piece to the large mosaic of diverse texts that over the years have been uncovered at the site of Tebtunis.

Dafni Maikidou-Poutrino investigates in detail the nature of the *Navigium Isides* or Πλοιαφέσι festival in the region of the Aegean and the Greek mainland during Hellenistic and Roman times ('The Πλοιαφέσια in the Greek landscape: A local expression of a global festivity'; pp. 173–89). The feast took place annually to honour the goddess Isis at the beginning of the sailing season, to celebrate her maritime supremacy as well as to obtain safety for the seafarers about to set out. The author provides a detailed overview of the available evidence, from literary works (for example, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*) over iconographic and epigraphic material (such as coins and stelae), as well as archaeological remains. In this manner, a vivid, captivating picture emerges not only of the festival itself, but also an interconnected, dense network of people (officials, associations and participants) and sites (cities and harbours), evidencing cultural exchanges between Egypt and Greece in a first instance, but eventually within the entire Mediterranean world.

The final article I would like to highlight is that of Beatriz Jiménez Meroño and Francisco Borrego Gallardo ('Iconographical and iconological study of the snake-footed Anubis in Alexandria: Connections and new creations'; pp. 190–202). The authors present an iconographic and iconological analysis of the image of the traditional Egyptian god Anubis depicted as snake-footed or *anguipede* in the Roman era catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa in Alexandria. The contribution concentrates both on the Egyptian background of the image, focusing on the relation between Anubis and serpent (deities and guardians), but also on the concept of the Alexandrian *Agathos Daimon* (the serpentine protector of Alexandria). The close connection to chthonic deities such as Isis-Thermuthis and Dionysus is also taken into account. The overall picture that emerges is of a syncretic deity who functioned as the protector of the necropolis of Alexandria, while also having very distinctive earthly and regenerative characteristics. On the basis of a single case-study, the authors provide a remarkable insight into the impact of external influences and stimuli (Greek and Roman) upon the traditional belief system in Egypt. The continuous exchange of ideological, religious and cultural ideas and notions incessantly resulted in processes of modification and transformation. These developments were continually reflected upon as well as expressed in a tangible manner, in architecture, text and imagery. In the development of the snake-footed Anubis in an Alexandrian context, one can clearly observe the creative redefinition of traditional imagery to remain pertinent against the backdrop of major (political, social and economic) changes within Egypt and without during Roman times.

Both volumes are very well edited, in a similar style and layout. The overall quality of the illustrations, whether photograph, drawing or plan, is rather inconsistent and varies vastly from one contribution to the next. One major, and rather unfortunate, omission in both volumes is indexes. Their absence encumbers easy access to the individual contributions and certainly does not facilitate scholarly research. Overall, the volumes provide a fascinating insight into scholarly research underway on a large variety of different topics related to

ancient Egypt in all of its aspects and periods. Hence, they offer a significant means to keep a finger on the 'Egyptological pulse' and stay up to date with current quality research at a postgraduate level.

Charles University, Prague Filip Coppens

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMPLEXITY FROM 'MIDDLE' TO 'LATE' ANTIQUITY

A. Wilson and A. Bowman (eds.), *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018, xxi+656 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-879066-2

I. Jacobs and H. Elton (eds.), *Asia Minor in the Long Sixth Century: Current Research and Future Directions*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2019, viii+245 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78925-007-7

E. Manders and D. Slootjes (eds.), *Leadership, Ideology and Crowds in the Roman Empire of the Fourth Century AD*, Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2020, 200 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12404-1

Books that bring together multiple authors, each contributing a chapter in what is notionally a collaborative volume, are a mixed bag. It is occasionally all too obvious that a volume is a mere miscellany: those that assemble papers in alphabetical order of the contributors' names with little or no editorial comment, even when intellectual organising principles could be found, are perhaps the most egregious. Then there is a large middle ground: editors display organising principles of greater or lesser coherence; papers correspond to a book's stated purpose with greater or lesser aptness; editorial introductions reflect the arguments of the papers themselves with greater or lesser fidelity.

Among the best of the breed, however, are those volumes whose editors maintain a rigorous conception of what their volume seeks to achieve; whose contributing authors are conscious participants in that project; and in which the editors, having due respect for authorial arguments and evidence, sum up their volumes productively but not dogmatically. It might be unkind to suggest that this achievement is rare; but in the present reviewer's judgment, it is certainly far less of a given than it should be.

It is, then, a happy occasion to be able to salute three collaborative volumes on the study of the Roman imperial world – particularly in the 'high' empire and late antiquity. The editors and authors have set an exemplary standard across a broad range of subject matter. Taking these volumes together, a wealth of original argument and insight is offered on the political, economic, social and cultural history of the age; textual and material evidence are skilfully brought together; and the Roman world is treated, not only in terms of the empire's own wide expanse, but also in terms of interactions beyond its frontiers in multiple directions. Appearing between 2018 and 2020, these books are not immediately recent;

but the opportunity to consider them collectively might perhaps add to what has already been said by their individual reviewers. Above all, and taken together, it is the economy and society of a long sweep from the 2nd century to the 6th that they most strongly illuminate in new and tantalising ways.

Andrew Wilson and Alan Bowman are the chaperones of a landmark volume. Their 'Introduction: Trade, Commerce, and the State (pp. 1–24) is not only an alert and well-balanced summary of contributions but also a substantive discussion of the state of the question. The remaining 18 chapters – each sole-authored by one of a luminous cast that includes the editors and 16 others – are substantive in every sense. Averaging 33 pages (pp. 27–624), individual bibliographies included, and consistently rigorous, these chapters bring considerable heft to their respective subject matter. Frankly put, the volume is a magisterial collection of major papers.

Briefly, the book is divided into three parts. Part I, 'Institutions and the State', offers five wide-ranging essays (Chapters 2–6, pp. 27–208). We have Bowman on fiscality and taxation; Boudewijn Sirks on law, commerce, and finance; Elio Lo Cascio on market regulation and transaction costs; Philip Kay on the financial institutions and structures already visible in the Late Republic; and Colin Adams on Nile transport. Part II, 'Trade within the Empire', presents eight topical and regional studies (Chapters 7–14, pp. 211–440). William Harris addresses the economy of wood in the Mediterranean; Ben Russell turns to stone use and the economy; Danièle Foy surveys the circulation of glass; Michael Fulford explores Gallo-Roman sigillata in Britain; Michel Bonifay revisits the distribution of African pottery; Paul Reynolds examines supply networks and the origins of the Byzantine economy; Ivan Radman-Livaja researches prices and costs in the textile industry, with special reference to the evidence of lead tags from Siscia; and Emanuele Papi investigates exports and imports in Mauretania Tingitana in the light of evidence from Thamusida. Finally, Part III, 'Trade beyond the Frontiers', leads in five directions (Chapters 15–19, pp. 443–624). David Graf takes us down the Silk Road; Roberta Tomber considers Egypt and eastern commerce; Dario Nappo examines money circulation in the Red Sea trade; Barbara Davidde highlights the port of Qana' as a junction between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean; and Andrew Wilson closes with trade across the Saharan frontier.

Wilson and Bowman note that, while ancient testimonies are short on statements about economic policy *per se*, they are repeatedly clear about 'the political and economic importance of trading links and activities within and beyond the boundaries of the Empire' (p. 2). As they therefore put it, 'In this volume, we approach the subject from the point of view that the state was very actively and self-consciously involved in this aspect of empire' (p. 2). The point of departure is of course the firm repudiation of the Finley–Jones orthodoxy about the minimal importance of trade, a repudiation triggered in the 1980s and 1990s by unprecedented attention to the archaeology of the age (pp. 2–6).

This reviewer would suggest that we have ended up, as a result, not with a singular 'antiquity' but, rather, with three broadly delineable antiquities: early, middle and late. 'Broadly speaking', the editors remind us, 'Roman archaeologists and most ancient historians would now agree that Mediterranean trade increased during the Hellenistic period to reach a peak under the Roman Empire, sustained at least until the end of the second century AD, when long-distance trade was abundant', noting crucially that this was true 'even in agricultural staples and in such apparently low-cost items as pottery cooking vessels' (p. 5).

That is to say that, while the Finley–Jones paradigm might remain a matter of legitimate interest in the study of earlier antiquity, the age of empires from Alexander until the end of the Antonine period brought about a profound transformation in which the scale and complexity of economic and social life passed out of recognition. Though Wilson and Bowman do not expressly do so, one might well delineate this as a 'middle antiquity'.

But this, the editors note, still leaves major 'structural questions' (p. 6): first, about the precise extent to which we are dealing with a market economy; and secondly, about the impact of the state on distribution, whether through requisition, purchase, the creation of infrastructure or incentives.

Naturally also, such advances simply throw into higher relief the problem of what happened in *late* antiquity. On this, the formulation by Wilson and Bowman is oddly conservative. They note that 'the evidence suggests a mixed picture of the development of patterns of trade across the Empire, especially in the third and fourth centuries, and no definitive or widely applicable conclusion about "economic collapse"' (p. 17). Yet we can certainly go further.

Turning to the much leaner volume compèred by Ine Jacobs and Hugh Elton, we benefit from a concentration of effort that helps to take the question forward. Jacobs, Elton and their contributors zero in on the 'long' 6th century and on Asia Minor. Within its short compass, the editorial Introduction (pp. 1–8) notes some promising areas that the volume largely overlooks, while also drawing well-balanced attention to what the volume does offer. Twelve chapters follow, each sole-authored by a collective cast that includes the editors and ten other experts in the field (pp. 9–245). The lack of an index is a pity; but the range of illustration, some of it in colour, is very welcome. The chapters, averaging about 19 pages on a somewhat generous format, individual bibliographies included, are sturdy and focused research papers that coalesce to make a substantial contribution on the economy and society of Asia Minor in late antiquity.

Again briefly, we have Inge Uytterhoeven on the changing appearance of urban housing; Jacobs on pagan-mythological statuary; Efthymios Rizos on ecclesiastical power and institutions in city and countryside, with special reference to hagiographical evidence; Kristina Terpoy on methodological considerations for studying the economy; Emanuele E. Intagliata on the north-east Anatolian frontier region; Elton on the rural south; Angela Commito on the urban south; Hugh Jeffery on aspects of urbanism; James Crow on 6th-century Constantinople; Owen Doonan on the intensification and collapse of the agricultural economy in the territory of Sinope; Andrew Wilson on Aphrodisias; and Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan on the prosperity of Assos.

As Jacobs and Elton point out, 'many of the contributions in this volume argue for a lively and prosperous long sixth century, in urban centres … as well as in the countryside' (p. 5). In particular, as they note, 'the prosperity of cities cannot be equated with the number of buildings constructed anew. Most monuments underwent decorative, structural and technical alterations. … Many activities, such as day-to-day maintenance of bath buildings or passive preservation of statuary, have left no material traces at all' (p. 5). Yet the constant, ongoing care of such structures was, as contributors variously note, one manifestation of continuing prosperity. Extension of research interest, in recent years, to a more systematic study of rural settlement patterns, as the volume shows, has further underlined the sense of continuing prosperity in the 6th-century eastern Mediterranean.

The social implications of our changing understanding of the economy of 'middle' and 'late' antiquity, and, indeed, of the transition from one to the other, are of course protean. One important thread, however, emerges from these volumes. Wilson and Bowman remark of the Late Empire that, 'in the east at least, the state appears, in collaboration with the elite holders of wealth, to have adapted the mechanisms of taxation, both direct and indirect, to support its need for revenue. On the other hand', as they go on to note, 'the price of that collaboration, which was in effect a fiscal partnership, in slightly different forms in east and west, in the longer term fundamentally changed the political character of the Empire' (p. 17). This of course means that we cannot seriously understand the later empire without remaining attuned to the most up-to-date insights on the character and impact of 'elite' behaviour. In particular, by the 4th century, this means both the provincial aristocracies – in their own right, as the leaders of local and regional society, and as the recruiting ground for the imperial bureaucracy and higher aristocracy – and also the Church.

We finish, therefore, more or less in the middle of our main sweep of centuries with the volume organised by Erika Manders and Daniëlle Slootjes on leadership, ideology and crowds in the 4th-century empire. The Introduction, in which Jan Willem Drijvers joins the editors (pp. 9–18), provides a succinct account of the historical context, followed by a very clear and methodical statement about the volume itself. Eleven chapters follow, each sole-authored either by Manders or one of ten other specialists (pp. 19–197). The chapters, averaging about 16 pages each, bibliography included, are at the briefer end of the range for substantive historical research papers; but the pieces benefit from overall concision, individual focus and collective coherence, making this a valuable volume on the social history of the 4th-century empire. In particular, it illuminates an important aspect of what the 'fiscal partnership' (in Wilson and Bowman's formulation) between state and elites looked like when translated into the broader issue of social control.

Briefly once more, we have Verena Jaeschke on architecture, power and Tetrarchic residences; Adrastos Omissi on the role of imperial panegyric in providing civilian elites with access to power; Manders on the later coinage of Maximinus Daia and its relationship, or otherwise, to the persecution of Christians; Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto (in German) on the evidence of the Theodosian Code for Constantine's use of morality and rhetoric to influence the population; John Curran on attitudes towards Jews and the language used of them; Gerda de Kleijn on the leadership of Constantius II; Marianne Sághy on the marshalling of charioteers by Damasus, bishop of Rome, to orchestrate violence; Carmen Angela Cvetković on episcopal leadership in Illyricum, with special reference to Niceta of Remesiana; Julio Cesar Magalhães de Oliveira on crowd mobilisation by episcopal leaders in North Africa; Martijn Icks on the visibility, or otherwise, of emperors; and Meaghan McEvoy on the leadership, such as it was, of Arcadius.

In the case of the Manders and Slootjes volume, it is self-evidently the state and the Church, more than the local and regional aristocracies, who hove into view. In this respect, the volume retains some of the conceptual conservatism of Late Roman research, which has long tended to cherish courts and bishops to a point that is, if not exactly fetishist, certainly more tenderly attentive than is fair to the wider world of late imperial society as a whole. This is not a criticism of specific papers in the slightest, as one would hardly suggest that we should give up the study of courts and bishops. It is an observation, rather, about balance. Nevertheless, there is important movement and subtlety here. For example, Curran

on the language used about Jews, coupled with some hard-nosed realism about the ugliness of episcopal behaviour (Sághy on Damasus most notably but not alone), orient us very fruitfully towards a historical treatment of the Church, and the attitudes it propagated, that refuses to 'airbrush' the more violent, cynical and hate-propelled aspects of its rise. If one were perhaps to highlight a single bridge from Wilson and Bowman to this particular aspect of Manders and Slootjes, it would probably be Peter Brown's *Treasure in Heaven*, a lean volume that makes abundantly clear, with its author's characteristic sense of irony, that the Church was big business and calculatedly so.[1] Nor does the position change, fundamentally, if we vault ourselves again into the sixth century: Rizos's paper in Jacobs and Elton, which expressly addresses ecclesiastical and secular institutions in a provincial setting that was both urban and rural, is, for example, one particularly clear case of the way in which we can fold in the role of the later Roman 'elites', to whom Wilson and Bowman pointed.

A reviewer cannot help but come away from this triptych of volumes without a strong sense that ancient history is growing up as never before. First, one simply cannot any longer hang on to a sense of 'antiquity', still less 'Classical antiquity', as a monolithic epoch. Ancient empire-building was transformative of the complexity both of economic exchanges and social structures. Though there has been little inclination to spell it out, this unequivocally demarcated a 'middle antiquity' from Alexander to the Antonines, in which a radically different world was forged from anything that remotely resembled what Finley and, in some respects, Jones thought they were describing. But then again, as 'middle' antiquity gave way to late antiquity, we cannot escape the obvious: east and west diverged. They diverged in governance, in the nature and efficacy of the compact between state and elites, and in outcomes.

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A. Abdo, *Alexandria Antiqua: A Topographical Catalogue and Reconstruction*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Oxford 2022, x+372 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-943-2

This book is a remarkable work in all senses. Amr Abdo presents in great detail Alexandria's extremely rich and colourful topographical history which is, except of unusually abundant written sources, significantly enlarged by the results of numerous systematic or salvage archaeological excavations not only terrestrial but even (extensively) underwater.[1] Building dispositions of many Alexandrian palaces, temples, houses and funerary complexes show indisputably the extraordinary high level of cosmopolitanism in the city, so vital and flowering during its long history. This handsome production contains a good complement of maps and plans of excellent quality.

In the Introduction, A. is clear about what the book is: '… a comprehensive, up-to-date topographical catalogue and reconstruction of Alexandria in antiquity, from the time of city foundation in the 4th century BC to the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th century AD:

[1] *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity* (Charlottesville 2016).

[1] F. Goddio, *Trésors engloutis d'Égypte* (Paris 2007).

a millenary of occupation'. Chapter 1 ('Context of Foundation') is quite short (pp. 7–9) and concentrates on a description of the historical context of the famous foundation of Alexandria by the young but ambitious Macedonian king Alexander the Great, fully in accordance with the layout of a modern Hellenistic city (so-called Hippodamian grid plan).

Chapter 2 ('Urban Layout', pp. 10–51) is, in essence, a well-arranged picture of the Hellenistic city – or better its specific edifices – based on the mix of archaeological investigations and classical textual sources. The latter are fairly rich (in comparison with other cities not only in Egypt but also in a broader Hellenic world), certainly due to the almost permanent interests of respected classical intellectuals – Plutarch, Diodoros, Strabo, Arrian, etc. Fascinating in this respect is the fact that A. thoroughly and, it seems, naturally works with 168 archaeological sites spread not only within but also without the ancient city's walls. Without doubt, the systematic collection of such innumerable information would have been a really gargantuan task. However, the state of preservation of ancient buildings is very, very different, frequently horrible, due to intensive modern rebuilding activities, as well as intensive pillaging of the stonework. Fortunately, there are several still nicely preserved, for example Kom el-Dikka or Sidi Gabar. Considerable attention is also devoted to the crucial waterways and the infrastructure of both harbours, i.e. Megas Limen and Eunostos, certainly because they created a vital heart for all commercial activities of ancient city orientated both to the abroad and hinterland.

Chapter 3, 'Cityscape', creates the real backbone of the book. Each object, secular or religious, is set precisely into its urban and suburban sections. A. provides detailed description, references and citations, commentaries, etc. He brings together material and debate from a wide range of archaeological and epigraphical sources. Especially interesting are Site 43 (submerged archaeological material of Qaitby), Site 53 (south-western corner of the ancient enclosure), Kom el-Shuqafa necropolis (unique funerary structures/galleries with violating rock-cut loculi) and Site 145 (el-Chatby/Necropolis), which together with the el-Hadra necropolis, both dated to *ca.* 325–250 BC, belong to the earliest funerary complexes in Alexandria, closely connected with the first Macedonian inhabitants. It is worth mentioning – as A. does frequently – that our knowledge of the topography of Alexandria is absolutely inconceivable without the enthusiastic efforts of many excellent scholars and specialists of former times: Mahmoud el-Falaki, T.D. Neroutsos, A. Adriani, G. Botti, E. Breccia, J.-Y. Empereur and numerous others.

In the Conclusion, A. summarises the most important results of the history of city on the basis of material and textual evidence and offers four phases of city-scape development: 1. Foundation of Alexandria/331 BC–Caesar's Alexandrian War of 48–47 BC; 2. The reign of Cleopatra VII (51–30 BC)–the repressions of Aurelian AD 272) and Diocletian (AD 297); 3. A transitional phase to late antiquity (3rd–4th century AD); 4. The earthquake of AD 365 and Theophilus' sectarian unrest in the 390s–the Byzantine-Sasanian-Arab wars in the 7th century AD. 'Epilogue: A Holistic Approach to Topographic Reconstruction', closes this deep plunge into the past of Alexandria. Much appreciated by the reviewer is the fact that the book is very well provided with a wide range of illustrations (346), as the subject demands, and an extensive bibliography (pp. 182–97).

This book will be an indispensable tool for anyone working with ancient Alexandria and its impressive architectural heritage.

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N.T. Arrington, *Athens at the Margins: Pottery and People in the Early Mediterranean World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2021, xiv+328 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-17520-1

Nathan Arrington writes a fine book on Protoattic pottery, and more generally on the culture of the world that this pottery produced in the 7th century BC, built on the integration of an art-historical approach within a sociological reading key, according to the canons proper to contemporary Anglo-Saxon archaeological research. This operation – in the reviewer's opinion virtuous in itself but at the same time requiring some critical clarifications – leads A. to consider and discuss a series of historiographical concepts and paradigms, some old, others new and certainly fashionable, which have become inescapable in any self-respecting discourse on the Archaic Mediterranean: Orientalising; mobility; intercultural encounters; connectivity; networks; social analysis; ancient elites; margins; subjectivity. We will proceed here to an analysis of these points by following step by step the research path presented in the successive chapters.

The title, in itself, appears significant: *Athens at the Margins*. What does it really mean? The stated aim of the work can be read on p. 2: 'I work to loosen Protoattic from an Orientalizing paradigm and to recover the importance of the margins and the marginalised.' In this, more or less declared, willingness to embrace 'ideologically' the cause of the margins of the worlds (ancient as well as, evidently implied, modern), A. develops this concept along three main axes of research (p. 5): 'I look at historiography to see how periodization occurred and what sites and objects it places at the margins of analysis. Next, I consider how Attica initially lay outside of the main seventh century Mediterranean currents but belonged to unexpected networks, and how it gradually entered a more global world. From the geographical margins we move to the social margins, where I develop a framework that accommodates the marginalised as social actors and agents of artistic and cultural change.' In order to develop an analysis inscribed within this 'triptych of marginalisation', the A. employs a series of key methodological concepts to argue how (p. 5) 'a remarkable Protoarchaic style of vase-painting emerged and operated within networks and practices in which the geographic and social margins played an intrinsic but overlooked role, and that this style had an impact on the way people thought of themselves and connected with one another'. Here, I will try to highlight how A. employs these epistemological patterns, both in terms of method and content.

In the second part of the first chapter and in the whole of the second, he presents and discusses the stylistic features founding Protoattic pottery, in an approach that tackles historiographical, chronological, contextual and production issues and aspects, without ever forgetting the stylistic components of the argument: the essential elements of these phenomena, let us not forget, as they are the fruit of a language, a figurative language. In this sense, the operation performed in this research turns out to be important, as it recovers, in an intentional and programmatic manner, a dimension too often neglected by more recent works, often limited to a sociological and/or contextual approach. In defending the correctness of the use of the concept of 'style', A. defines it (p. 14) 'as an affective mode of making and doing that participates in a system of meaning', proposing, I believe very rightly, a global analysis that 'aims to probe the relationship between formal (including stylistic) change and both the production and consumption of vases'. The methodological observations in this regard developed on pp. 107–11 turn out to be very good indeed.

The third chapter deals with the topic of the insertion of the Attic world into the Mediterranean 'networks' of the 8th and especially of the 7th century BC. In this framework, the contribution of the near-eastern world is considerably reduced, through a fundamentally pragmatic approach, based on the primary consideration that the known routes, understood moreover unilaterally as commercial, do not allow us to confirm a 'deep and sustained interaction between Greece and the Levant and Egypt in the seventh century, and even less when we look at Attica in particular' (p. 73). In this approach – typical of the Anglo-Saxon academic milieu – the great absentee is a broader historical-cultural and ideological reading of the phenomenon. In this sense, A. embraces (more or less indirectly) the critical revisions of the concept of 'Orientalising' currently undergoing intense development, which the reviewer – as the reader will have understood – shares very partially.

This premise makes it possible to develop, in the same chapter, one of the key themes of the book: that of the demonstration of the 'marginal' role of Athens in the Mediterranean networks of the 7th century BC. This well-known phenomenon is underlined here by a particularly emphasised consideration of Athens's relations with Western Greece. The reasoning is based on the examination of some famous painted pottery records, which are, moreover, quantitatively very limited: the Late Geometric pyxis from the Timpone della Motta with cultic scenes, the dinos with Bellerophon and the Chimera from Incoronata, the krater of Aristonothos, the stamnos from Megara Hyblaea with Centaurs, the krater from Syracuse with horse and Sphinx, some Etruscan products. By means of a clearly insufficient stylistic analysis, which does not consider enough the role of the other stylistic components of these productions, which are extremely varied in terms of style and shape of the pottery, these products are considered to bear stylistic elements of a fundamentally Attic type. The very notion of Western eclecticism – today widely studied and finally brought back to analyses that are not limited to aesthetic reasons alone, but to much deeper historical-cultural phenomena, often connected to relations with indigenous contexts – is tackled through the more traditional recourse to the entirely formalistic notion of 'stylistic influences' (p. 84). The reasoning leads, through an obvious intellectual forcing, to an emphasising of the connections between the Attic world and the Mediterranean West, which is archaeologically unattested, stylistically completely disproportionate and historically irrelevant, and which ends up assuming, in this reading, the role of a true 'Oriental West' (p. 94): 'Trade, artisan mobility, and sustained cross-cultural interaction were more pronounced to the west than to the east, and notions of the exotic were as western as they were eastern in orientation' (p. 220). The role of the Greek component in Italy and Sicily, rightly ascribed to a series of 'multicultural contexts', results in the creation of an interpretative model that is historically abstract, through an over-generalising approach that is not sufficiently in-depth case by case, in space as well as in time, in which the components of differentiated networks are reductively and confusingly placed on the same level: 'In this model, there is a place for the Neo-Assyrian empire, the Levant, Egypt, and the Bronze Age past, but the west, especially Italy and Sicily, played a critical role' (p. 105).

The fourth chapter provides the reader with an extremely useful point in our current knowledge of the insertion of Protoattic pottery within known funerary contexts, and is the premise for addressing the third *volet* of the notion of 'margin' underlying the construction of this book. This is discussed through the examination of the archaeological record of the Phaleron cemetery, in which the deceased showed situations of disease and hardship, and the few grave-goods are marked by characters that can be considered qualitatively 'inferior'

to the more celebrated products of Protoattic pottery, such as to lead A. to interpret them as the prerogative not of the highest rank of society, but of what he calls a 'subelite': if 'the Kerameikos cemetery is an elite context, and the Phaleron marginal' (p. 145), the result is a series of observations and conclusions on the sociological level, brilliantly but at the same time dangerously intertwined with the understanding of the stylistic outcomes of Protoattic pottery, proposing interesting new issues and lines of research, which can be summarised in the following arguments: 'The presence of Protoattic in a sub-elite context would only testify to the power of conspicuous consumption and extravagant display, which compelled imitation, emulation, and derivation. The motor of innovation and cultural change would remain at the top of the social echelon' (p. 147); did 'a so-called Orientalizing style in Athens and Attica started at the margins, among whom [are those] buried at Phaleron? Chronological contexts suggest this is possible. Not only is Protoattic pottery present in Phaleron, but the cemetery also has some of the earliest Protoattic vases from secure contexts' (p. 148). The discussion developed here is based on what is intended to be a sociological reading of the value scales (stylistic as well as iconographic) characterising Protoattic pottery production, whereby the outcome of 'inferior' quality or considered 'strange' with respect to the canons necessarily ends up depending on a clientele of lower social level: an option that is certainly possible, but perhaps not always necessary and/or verifiable.

The fifth chapter deals with the technical and figurative production practices of Protoattic artists – who are never referred to as 'artisans', very rightly so – within the collaborative processes and interactions active in the sphere of production, insisting on the performative value of the activity of individual artistic personalities, according to the conceptual pattern of 'subjectivity'. This interpretative model is finally applied, in the sixth chapter, to the study of the contextualisation of our pottery within the ritual moments of the aristocratic banquet and the sacred spaces.

A.'s work thus constitutes a useful tool for historiographically updating the current horizon of studies on one of the most significant cases of the culture of pottery production centres in the Aegean world in the 7th century BC. This is treated through the dual point of view of art history and sociology, whose exegetical tools are continuously used in a reciprocal and dialectical relationship. The value of this research therefore lies in offering the scientific community a series of heuristic paths that will be verified from time to time, both in the specific case of the Protoattic world, and with regard to the other productive spots of Protoarchaic Greece (Corinth, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades, East Greece…). At the end of this interesting read, the reviewer came out with more doubts than before (as is appropriate in any scientific research process) and a few perplexities, perhaps unlike the author, more convinced of the rightness of his findings. As, for example, in the conclusions of the book, expressing a firm and mechanically optimistic belief in the ability of a stylistic reading of the pottery record to allow us to understand the functioning of social systems in the ancient world, when, speaking of the Phaleron (p. 219) we read that 'a marginalised, multicultural port settlement may have been the very place that a new style could develop, from which it was appropriated by the elite. […] The absence of cultural hegemony along with evidence for horizontal and vertical mobility, in which the Protoattic style participated, helped explain the social conflict that emerged at the end of the seventh century, and to which Solon responded.'

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M. Auer and C. Hinker (eds.), *Roman Settlements and the "Crisis" of the 3rd Century AD*, Ager Aguntinus 4, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, viii+216 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11593-3/ISSN 2567-7764

With its high print quality and the detailed colour figures throughout its pages, this edited volume offers an invigorated approach to the study of urban change in the Roman empire in and around the 3rd century AD. The volume's 13 articles, in English (six), German (six) and Italian (one), do this by engagingly problematising the traditional narrative of Mediterranean-wide urban decline that still persists in Late Antique studies. Using archaeology to counterbalance this narrative, each article is a case study that promotes the need for more regional, sub-regional and local outlooks on changing urban life and settlement patterns across an increasingly decentralised Roman world.

The volume's minimalist organisation highlights this case study approach. It begins with a two-page Preface in which the editors, Martin Auer and Chrisoph Hinkler, explain that it publishes proceedings of the 4th Aguntum Workshop held at the University of Innsbruck in November 2018.[1] Like the papers at this workshop, the volume's articles directly follow these brief introductory remarks (in no particular order), and a short list of image credits concludes the book. Structurally, then, the volume's contributions stand much on their own. Given their authors' shared goal to reconsider blanket assumptions associated with what has traditionally been called the Third Century Crisis, this approach is not only understandable but also a strength.

At the same time, this approach to the volume's organisation can make it difficult for readers to connect the articles' disparate datasets and so to draw wider conclusions for urban change in particular (sub-)regions. The articles' authors do not always fully connect their specific arguments to broader implications for Late Antique urbanism either. More therefore could have been done to frame the volume's case studies so readers could better derive big-picture concepts from their datasets. For example, although the preface addresses the volume's aims and scope, a full introduction could have more fully contextualised for readers how its articles further enrichen the study of the 'Third Century Crisis' and Late Antiquity. Grouping articles by theme or geographical region could have helped in this regard as well.

This criticism aside, the volume's articles are presented in a way that encourages readers to consider each in-depth and make connections between them. Each article begins, for instance, with an English abstract and a box of keywords. Perhaps most conducive to reader engagement are the high-quality colour photographs, plans, maps, graphs and tables frequently found throughout the volume. Most articles have subheadings as well, but the approachable average article length of *ca*. 17 pages means that even the articles without them are easy to navigate.

While such features readily attract readers, the diverse datasets of the volume's case studies offer a substance-rich exploration of the many factors at play in urban change in the 3rd-century Roman empire. They not only cover various settlement types (cities, villas, *vici* and forts) but also a wide area of the Mediterranean. Northern Italy, Gaul, Spain and the

[1] Programme at *https://www.uibk.ac.at/fsp-kultur/events/2018/downloads/4th_aguntum_workshop_program.pdf.*

Rhine provinces are best represented, but other regions such as Greece, Asia Minor and North Africa receive attention, too.

A rundown of the volume's articles will suffice to convey their rich geographic and topical range. The first paper, by Luca Arioli and Andrea Breda, analyses evidence for disruption in three areas (intra- and extra-urban) of Brescia in northern Italy in the 3rd century. They conclude that climate change, consolidation in land ownership, and trauma not linked to historical events led to change in and around the city. Sarah Beal considers reasons for the abandonment or reoccupation of residences around the Athenian Agora after the Herulians' attack on Athens. Next, Simone Benguerel makes sense of scattered wood construction (for example, building additions, channels and bridges) at Tasgetium on the Rhine in Switzerland to suggest that life at this *vicus* shifted to a nearby fort in the later 3rd century. In the following article, Marta Bottos and Giovanni Tasca use the Villa of Gorgaz near Iulia Concordia in northern Italy to discuss the 3rd century reorganisation of agriculture and trade around larger rural settlements to better serve the military.

The volume's fifth article, by Ralf Grüßinger and Alice Willmitzer, returns to the northwestern provinces to argue that life at Colonia Ulpia Traiana/Xanten in Germania Inferior was not ended by the Franks *ca.* 275 but continued at a reduced level for a time after. Markus Handy then considers the development of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in the 3rd century, especially among soldiers, by analysing material from sites in Asia Minor and on the empire's frontiers. Article seven more narrowly concerns life at the civilian settlement at Vindobona (Vienna); Ingrid Mader and Sabine Jäger-Wersonig detail new residential, industrial and funerary evidence that suggests a reduction in the town's eastern half between the mid-2nd and early 3rd centuries. The volume's eighth article turns to nearby Flavia Solva/Wagna. Summarising recent archaeological evidence from the city and diverse sites around it, Patrick Marko suggests that activity in this part of Noricum was generally but not consistently reduced in the 3rd century.

In the volume's ninth entry, Antonin Nüsslein discusses changing patterns of urban and rural settlements between the Meuse and Rhine rivers in France in the late 3rd–4th centuries. Challenging the traditional attribution of change to military events, he concludes that multiple political and economic factors were responsible instead. Javier Andreu Pintado (article ten) similarly challenges the idea that decreased urban complexity across the Spanish provinces was due to 3rd-century military and political troubles. He blames this downturn on factors that began late in the previous century, such as overspending on public buildings. Ursula Schachinger, Raimund Kastler and Felix Lang (article eleven) return to Noricum and through numismatics explore how rural centres show disruption to commerce around Iuvavum between the 230s and late 3rd century. The volume's penultimate entry bridges Late Antique and Mediaeval times through Giulia Somma, Christoph Faller and Hubert Steiner's account of recent excavations at four areas around Littamum (San Candido–Innichen). They find no evidence for 'crisis' in the 3rd century (although perhaps in the later 4th), but attribute urban change to mundane processes. The volume ends with Karl Strobel's criticism of scholarship's traditional insistence on Roman imperial military and economic failure in the 3rd century.

As much as these articles have to offer, their geographical scope is not as inclusive as possible to best highlight the different experiences of the empire's urban and rural communities in the 3rd and following centuries. Still, a focus on (north-)western regions is

certainly sufficient for the volume's purposes since wavering Roman imperial influence affected all settlements here in the 3rd century, especially in the Rhine provinces where urbanisation depended on the military. The volume is thus inclusive in another way: by accenting provinces not often represented in international scholarship on Roman urbanism, as recently emphasised by the editors of *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Roman Germany* (2020).

Overall, this volume successfully accomplishes its task and in a way that promotes enthusiasm for what has traditionally but unfairly been seen as a lacklustre period of Roman urban development. It would be a worthwhile addition to the bookshelf of any advanced undergraduate, graduate student, or professional interested in Late Antique Roman provincial archaeology.

The College of William and Mary, VA Matthew Schueller

J.A. Baird and A. Pudsey (eds.), *Housing in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Material and Textual Approache*s, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2022, xvii+499 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-84526-7

This book publishes papers delivered at a conference which was held in London in 2013 entitled 'Between words and walls, material and textual approaches to Ancient Housing', that is, combining the evidence of texts relevant to the understanding of houses in the Greek and Roman world in combination with archaeological discovery. It also includes papers developed subsequently by scholars who participated in the conference but did not actually present papers at it.

It begins with a general introduction by the editors, discussing the purpose of the conference and giving résumés of the individual papers included. They range in time from the world of the Homeric poems and Mycenaean archaeology and continue through Classical Greece to the Roman period and, geographically, from Greece and Italy to Egypt (Tebtynis in the Fayyum) and Mesopotamia (Dura Europos).

The first paper, by Emily Varto, is entitled 'Kinship "in the halls": Poetry and the Archaeology of Early Greek Housing'. This looks at the evidence for housing – in particular, palaces – contained within the Homeric poems and subsequent interpretation and analysis in the light of excavation and the discoveries of Mycenaean Archaeology. She includes plans of the 'Homeric House' which attempted to reconstruct their arrangements, including elements introduced as a result of the archaeological discoveries. Her discussion focuses on the phrase 'en megarois' as a term for the household in the context of the central element in the plans of the Late Bronze Age palaces which archaeology was revealing. From this she investigates the association between families and the developments of domestic architecture which is itself reflected in the terminology and descriptions in the poetry of the epics.

The next paper, by Caspar Mayer, is entitled 'Domesticating the Ancient House'. In this he focuses 'on the role of preconception in the study of houses in the Ancient World', through their evolving representation as sites of domesticity in museums. He begins with the Museo Ercolanese at Portici which housed finds from Herculaneum and Pompeii resulting from excavations in the 18th century and based on the detailed history of the

arrangement of the exhibition made by Agnes Allroggen-Bedel and Helke Kammerer-Grothaus on the basis of (unauthorised) accounts of it, especially those made by Winkelman. Next, he considers the Greek and Roman room at the British Museum which was inaugurated in 1908, and thirdly the galleries at the Getty Villa in Malibu related to 'men in Antiquity' and 'women in Antiquity'. He also looks at representations of 'daily life' on vase paintings.

The third paper, by Janett Morgan is entitled 'Mind the gap'. She aims to look more closely at the history of words and walls in the Classical Greek house. That is, she studies the relationship between the ancient written sources which tell on domestic architecture and the modern archaeological descriptions of the actual remains. She begins with an account of Vitruvius's description of a Greek house. She then turns to the actual houses discovered in the 19th century at Athens and Piraeus (generally smaller and less complex in their plan than Vitruvius describes). Then the more complex and regular (and extensive) revelations of larger scale excavations at Priene and Delos. She then considers the 'little house' of Euphiletos, described by him in the speech written for him by Lysias when he was accused of murder, a crucial element in this house being that it had an upper floor. She follows this with a discussion of Demeas in Menander's play Samia. In conclusion, she shows that the archaeological discovery of actual houses over a wider area than the Athenian examples known from the literary evidence gives a fuller understanding of the houses of Classical Greece – i.e. the 'gap' between text and actual walls.

Next, Katerina Volioti considers lekythoi as archaeological material relevant to their actual use in houses and the significance of scenes depicted on them. This covers their use as containers and the depictions on them as well as their actual occurrence in the archaeological record. She gives a useful list of early 5th-century BC vase scenes (some 77 in number) which include representations of lekythoi. This leads to a discussion of the actual place and use of lekythoi within the building.

Amy Smith's 'Textiles in Alkestis' Thalamos' is concerned primarily with the rituals of marriage, the traditional sequence of events that lead to the bride being escorted to the house of the groom, and the marriage bed with its textiles. She looks at literary accounts and representations of marriage on vase paintings. This centres on the thalamos as an element in the groom's house, the room containing the marriage bed. The archaeological evidence provided by the excavations of houses demonstrate the different rooms within the usual house plans, but cannot of itself identify the actual thalamos, so here the literary accounts fill in details not provided by the remains of the houses themselves.

Lisa Nevett writes on 'Architectural Rhetoric and the Rhetoric of Architecture: Athens and Macedon in the Mid-4th century BC'. In this she points out that the interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the arrangement of domestic architecture has depended on the evidence of literary texts and she seeks here to reverse the process, using the architectural evidence for the understanding of the texts. This looks at the evidence from Athens where texts describe the relative modesty of the houses of prominent individuals. She contrasts this with the evidence from Macedon and considers the 'palace' at Vergina as an example of the much more spectacular architecture of the Macedonian kings, as well as the quire substantial houses of ordinary people revealed by the excavations at Pella.

I am not sure whether the building at Vergina gives a fair contrast and comparison with the modest domestic architecture of Athens. The 'palace' at Vergina is not really an example

of domestic architecture, the greater part of it having rooms round the substantial courtyard which seem to have been arranged as rooms for ritual feasting, including examples of standard eleven-couch rooms as well as larger or even much larger which would have housed much greater numbers of couches. To my mind the comparison here is more with buildings such as that in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus with a similar variety of rooms. So this is a ritual rather than a domestic building. Lisa Nevett has not considered the paper I gave at the first symposium on ancient Macedonia held in Thessalonica in 1968 when I suggested the Vergina arrangement to be the result of accommodating the different categories of 'friends' recognised by the Macedonian kings.

The next paper, by Maeve McHugh, is entitled 'The reconstruction of a rural landscape' – specifically the Akte Peninsula in the southern Argolid. The primary evidence for this comes from surface survey rather than actual excavation and she points out that though this leads to the identification of places which provide the material evidence of artefact finds it does not include actual architectural material. She considers the use of the term Farmstead to denote these sites and the resulting limitations. She points out how all this is linked to the identification of roads, to the communications of these sites with the urban centres of the Peninsular, Hermione, Halieis and Mases.

McHugh gives detailed calculations of journey times to and from the farmsteads and the relevant urban centres. For the full picture one would need to know the extent to which people living in the urban centres would have been involved in agricultural work on land holdings not immediately adjacent to the centre. Here I think of the scene described in Xenophon's *Hellenica* of the conspirators slipping into the city of Thebes by joining the crowd of agricultural workers returning to homes in the city before the city gates were closed for the night.

Another complication is that land might well be held by individuals in scattered parcels depending on its character and the different crops and usage for which it might be suitable.

The next paper takes us well away from Greece. Inge Uytterhoeven, on Mud bricks and papyri from the desert sand writes on housing in the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyum. She combines the archaeological evidence of the houses themselves with that from the papyri which survive with them thanks to the particular circumstances of the location, the exceptionally dry conditions of the Fayyum. This facilitates the understanding of the functions performed in the houses and in particular the individual rooms and gives information about the actual inhabitants.

This is followed with a paper by April Pudsey, also on the Fayyum, its housing and community, again relating the archaeological evidence of the structures with that of their inhabitants in the Tebtynis region during the time of the Roman empire. She points out the changes which develop in the actual structure of the houses from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period. She looks at the allocation of space within the house. This involves a section on the relationships within the continuing family, with the practice of endogamy, brother and sister marriages and the allocation of space and function within the structure of the house.

Simon Speksnijder looks at the literary evidence for the entrances into Roman houses, the Vestibulum, their location relative to the house plan and details of their form and

function. He then turns to the actual archaeological evidence. He stresses the need for care in the identification of vestibula within the plans of the domestic architecture which survives from Roman Italy.

Crysta Kaczmarek's paper 'Living in the Liminal' discusses Lares Compitales – shrines, freedmen and identity in Delos, the remains of altars outside the entrances to houses in the residential areas of Delos which have been interpreted as shrines to the Roman cult of the Lares Compitales. In her table 11.1 she gives a full list of examples with the house location and their identifying characteristics. This is illuminated with examples of paintings of sacrifice and related scenes. She relates this to its significance for slaves and freedmen attested in inscriptions.

Next, Hannah Platts writes on 'Experiencing Sense Place and Space in the Roman Villa'. She considers the methodology of sensory interpretation of the actual experience of living within the context of the architecturally attested form of housing and its function, looking at the literary evidence and its interpretation in the context of the archaeological evidence. She looks specifically at the Villa of Diomedes at Pompeii.

Then J.A. Baird discusses, in a paper entitled 'Housing and Time', the differing temporal status of the actual remains of houses which have extended availability and significance and the various written documents relating to their occupation, habitation and status which necessarily refer to specific moments in time. She looks at this with reference to Dura Europos, where the remains of houses which extended over time have been uncovered but which relate to the different phases of Dura's history, first as Hellenistic, subsequently as Parthian. She considers this in the light of the idealised plan of a Dura house drawn by H. Pearson who was one of the architects for the original excavations at Dura. She then looks at the written evidence which in turn relates to specific times in the history of Dura. This leads to an analysis of the Dura houses and their architectural form through the successive phases of its history. She summarises this history as a palimpsest – successive phases of a continuous documentary base.

Richard Alston's paper is entitled 'Spaces of Desire – houses, households and social reproduction in the Roman world'. He starts with social structures to understand the processes that lead to the production of domestic space. This means use of documentary (historical) evidence for the interpretation of the material remains and thus the relevance of the actual space to the society that produces and utilises it.

The final paper, by Penelope Allison, forms not only a summing up of the discussion presented in the conference but refers also to the paper she published two decades ago on using material and written sources in approaches to Roman domestic space, and then relates the discussion of her former publication to the ideas and arguments presented in the various papers included in the present conference. She sees how the material record stands on an equal footing with the textual. She sees housing in the ancient Mediterranean world as one of the most fruitful areas where different types of evidence inform on different aspects of domestic life in different ways.

This book gives an excellent analysis of the importance not simply of the individual papers and arguments it presents but also, significantly, of their contribution to the understanding of what is, after all, the very basis of history, its development over time and geographical extent. The evidence is, inevitably, fragmentary. In addition it is scattered especially

in the sense that it refers within the general temporal context to an extensive and therefore varied area. This is a most valuable series of studies and contributions to understanding the real nature and experience of the ancient world.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

A. Balbo, J. Ahn and K. Kim (eds.), *Empire and Politics in the Eastern and Western Civilizations: Searching for the 'Respublica Romanosinica'*, Roma Sinica 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, vi+289 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-073533-8

Der Untertitel dieser Tagungspublikation (Seoul 2019) mit vierzehn Beiträgen in drei Sektionen ist Programm: Denn „searching for a *Respublica Romanosinica*" fragt explizit nach möglichen Vergleichs- wie auch Kontaktpunkten zwischen östlichem und westlichem Denken und Handeln, den zugrundeliegenden Konzepten und Referenzpunkten sowie den Translation- und Aneignungsprozessen. Die kurze Einleitung der Herausgeber stellt das Projekt in den Rahmen der gerade auch durch die verschiedenen Seidenstraßen-Initiativen forcierten Beschäftigung mit Austausch- und Verflechtungsphänomenen innerhalb des Afro-Eurasischen Großraums, definiert allerdings nicht, wie die ganz unterschiedlich gelagerten Beiträge methodologisch hinsichtlich Fragen nach Komparatistik respektive globalhistorischem Ansatz grundiert wie fundiert sind. Wie in vielen anderen Publikationen dieser Couleur unterbleibt damit eine Auseinandersetzung mit den epistemologischen Grundlagen dieser Trends in den historischen Wissenschaften, die doch mehr als Sprachrohr aktueller politischer Diskurse sein wollen.

Der Eröffnungsbeitrag zur Sektion „History and Politics in the Eastern Thought" von Gościwit Malinowski (S. 5–22) erweist in nuce die Stärken und Schwächen einer vergleichenden Herangehensweise. Einerseits vermag er Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede in der konzeptionellen Fassung des Herrschers in antiken Gesellschaften aufzeigen, andererseits ist gerade seine geraffte Darstellung der römischen Herrschaftsmanifestationen von Republik zum Prinzipat mit einigen Ungenauigkeiten gespickt. So ist etwa die Beschreibung des sogenannten ersten Triumvirats zwischen Caesar, Crassus und Pompeius 60/59 v. Chr. mißverständlich, da es hier – anders als im Zweiten Triumvirat zwischen Antonius, Lepidus und Oktavian 43 v. Chr. – keine gesetzliche Grundlage gab, ergo „assigning to each an *imperium* in individual provinces" (S. 10) die historische Chronologie und komplexen Aushandlungsprozesse überdeckt. Dies gilt auch für die Entwicklung der Nomenklatur und Machtstellung Oktavians, der sich nach seiner testamentarischen Adrogation durch Caesar eben gerade nicht „Octavianus" nannte, und es ist fraglich, ob „he was commonly referred to as Octavianus" (S. 12) zutrifft – zumindest seine Anhänger werden das vermieden haben. Dieser und andere mögliche Kritikpunkte machen den Beitrag natürlich nicht wertlos, gerade hinsichtlich der Frage nach der westlichen Konzeptionalisierung und daraus folgenden Übersetzung des chinesischen Titels *huangdi*, entweder in der Frühen Neuzeit als *rex* oder später allgemein als *imperator Sinarum*, worin sich mehr die westliche denn chinesische Idee der Herrschaft zeitigt.

Die weiteren drei Beiträge beziehen sich jeweils auf den Imperien-Diskurs. Sung-Won Lee beschreibt die Qin und Han Dynastien als ein sich schrittweise entwickelndes Imperium (S. 23–36); neben bekannten strukturell-geographischen Faktoren dürfte vor allem

der Aspekt der „historical experience of empire“ als Ansporn zur Nachahmung und „Sehnsuchtsort“ auch für den Westen eine fruchtbare Analysekategorie darstellen. Ein solcher „Erinnerungsort“ sind auch die „Seidenstraßen“, deren gegenwärtige durchaus imperialdiskursiv konnotierte „Wiederbelebung“ Juping Yang bezüglich der antiken „Maritime Silk Road“ spiegelt (S. 37–47). Dabei sind die wesentlichen „player“ Römisches, Parthisches, Kuschan und Chinesisches Reich und deren Interagieren ein unerläßliches Studienobjekt, wie Yang anhand einiger Beispiele vorführt. Indes sind allerdings Grad der ökonomischen Partizipation der einzelnen Imperien[1] umstritten und die in Quellen marginalisierten Akteursgruppen (meist unter „nomadischen Völkerschaften“ firmierend) ebenso in Anschlag zu bringen. Maurizio Riotto weist anhand von realen respektive fiktiven Geschichten von koreanischen Reisenden entlang der „Seidenstraßen“ schlüssig nach, daß und in welchen Formen Austausch stattfand und Korea in dieses Kommunikationsnetz eingebunden war (S. 49–64).

In der zweiten Sektion kommen Traditions- und Translationsphänomene zur Sprache. Während Attillo Andreini sich der Rekonstruktionsschwierigkeiten zum „originalen“ Konfuzius und seiner *Analekten* (das *Lunyu*) annimmt (S. 67–82) und damit moderne textkritische Verfahren auf die Konfuzius-Textforschung anwendet, zeigt Michele Ferrero, wie der frühneuzeitlich Jesuitenmissionar Michele Ruggieri bei seiner lateinischen Übersetzung konfuzianischer Terminologie bezüglich Regierung und Herrschaft eigene westliche Konzepte verwendete, damit allerdings weniger, wie oft in der Forschung kolportiert, simplifizierte und „verwestlichte“, sondern relevantes Wissen über China in Europa, das diesen Teil der Welt damals (wenn auch meist gewaltsam) wiederentdeckte, vermitteln wollte (S. 83–109). Andrea Balbo widmet sich sodann der einleitenden Epistel des *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, einem Werk des späten 17. Jahrhunderts, das konfuzianisches Wissen der literarischen Elite in Europa bekannt machte (S. 111–30). Seine These ist, daß sich im Brief rhetorische Versatzstücke der antiken Vorbilder Cicero und Seneca spiegeln. Es ist allerdings schwierig nachzuweisen, ob bestimmte Formulierungen einen bewußten Rückgriff auf die Vorbildtexte darstellen oder eher den lateinischen Stil und Bildungshintergrund des Autors Philippe Couplet spiegeln. Aldo Setaioli widmet sich der Verbreitung und möglichen Rezeption der antiken Androklus-Löwen-Episode (u.a. Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 5, 14, auf Apion zurückgehend) in ähnlichen chinesischen Geschichten (S. 131–44). Auch hier bleibt spekulativ, ob es sich hier um analoge Narrationsentwicklungen handelt, wie wir diese oft für solche ikonischen Moralepisoden finden, oder ob tatsächliche Vermittlung, etwa in christlicher Ausgestaltung der Geschichte, über die wohl nestorianischen Mönche stattfand, die unter Justinian angeblich das Geheimnis der Seidenproduktion nach Byzanz brachten. Francesco Stellas Beitrag zur Entwicklung der kommunikativen und performativen Codes in der preisenden Literatur der karolingischen Zeit überzeugt durch das Aufzeigen der Unterschiede zur antiken Tradition (S. 145–61). Dieser hätte ein chinesisches Pendant verdient gehabt, das sich mit den kommunikativen Brüchen in der oft als Kontinuum dargestellten Dynastienfolge beschäftigt.

[1] Vgl. etwa kritisch zur Zollabschöpfung durch die Parther: U. Hartmann, ‘Wege durch Parthien – Straßen, Handelsrouten und Kommunikation im Arsakidenreich’. In B. Woytek (ed.), *Infrastructure and Distribution in Ancient Economies* (Vienna 2018), 445–72.

Die dritte Sektion zu „Eastern and Western Perspectives in Politics and history of ideas (sic)“ kreist ganz um Herrschaftskonzepte. Der Überblicksbeitrag von Mortimer Sellers zum Verhältnis von Macht- und Gemeinwohlterminologie (S. 165–71) hätte gut und gerne auch in der ersten Sektion plaziert werden können. Die letzten vier Beiträge widmen sich dem Friedensbegriff: Weolhoi Kim und Kihoon Kim vergleichen die historische Entwicklung von *Pax Romana* und *Pax Sinica* und die zugrundeliegenden machtpolitischen Aspekte (S. 177–90). Ob gilt, daß „Augustus never violated the order of Roman law“, das umgekehrt das langlebigste Produkt dieses Friedens gewesen sei (S. 187), sei ob der Propaganda um den Übergang von Republik zum Prinzipat allerdings dahingestellt.[2] Ermano Malaspina macht hernach deutlich, wie Seneca moralisches Verhalten des Herrschers zwischen Strenge und Milde konzeptionalisiert (S. 191–210); auch hier wäre ein chinesisches Gegenstück wünschenswert gewesen. Rezeptionsgeschichtlich wichtig sind die Beobachtungen von Philippe Rousselot zur rechtfertigenden Nutzung römischer Karthago- und Afrika-Narrative während der französischen Kolonialherrschaft, als *Pax Gallica* verbrämt (S. 211–38). Derlei war, vor allem in Ikonographie und Architektur, ebenso in Französisch-Indochina der Fall.[3] Zuletzt macht Jaewon Ahn noch einmal deutlich, daß *pax* im Lauf der Geschichte meist ganz und gar nicht „Friede“ im modernen, oft romantisierend-pazifistischen Diskurs bedeutete, umso mehr die „Declaration for the Peace of Asia“ durch Ahn Junggeun im chinesisch-japanisch-koreanische Konfliktgemenge zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts stärkere Aufmerksamkeit verdiene, da sie realistische und idealistische Elemente für eine globale Weltordnung miteinander verbinde, in welcher letztlich die „Schwachen die Starken ersetzen“ (S. 238–54).

Dieser letzte Beitrag darf als der stärkste Ruf nach der im Untertitel deklarierten *Respublica Romanosinica*, derweil ohne Beschränkung auf die Kerngebiete des Imperium Romanum und des chinesischen Kaiserreichs, gelten, deren Grundlage ein vertieftes Verständnis der konzeptionellen Vorstellungen sein muß. Hierzu leistet der Band trotz einiger Monita im Detail einen lesenswerten Beitrag.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun Sven Günther

M. Baumann and V. Liotsakis (eds.), *Reading History in the Roman Empire*, Millennium Series 98, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, x+266 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-076378-2

Assessing the audience of and audience reaction to ancient historical texts is notoriously difficult. Proper assessment of the issue is hindered by a lack of information on a number of fronts, including how works were published and disseminated, whether they were read or heard (and for the latter, how frequently or under what circumstances), and ancient literacy rates, just to name a few.

[2] Vgl. H. Zhang und S. Günther, ‘… *ad pauciores iuris constituendi uias* (Pompon., Dig. 1.2.2.11). Alternative Ways in the Legal Framework of the Late Roman Republic and Early Principate through the Eyes of an Imperial Jurist’. *Latomus* 76.1 (2017), 127–39.

[3] Vgl. S. Günther und E. Günther, ‘Augustus in Saigon!? Die Rezeption westlicher Antike in der kolonialen Bilderwelt und post-kolonialen Gesellschaft Vietnams’. *Gymnasium* 129 (2022), 453–90.

The essays in this volume take a few different approaches to how Roman histories were read. The first, and perhaps most traditional, is an appeal to texts that discuss the audiences of these histories, primarily through the works of Cicero and Lucian. Suffice to say, there is not a large number of voices here, and we must ask how well each author knows of the readership of history in his own day and how well that knowledge is expressed in the texts in question. This issue is further complicated by the unevenness of textual survival. Thus, when Shaw tries to contextualise Sallust in his historiographic milieu, we must question how satisfactorily this can be done, since so much of the historiographic record from that period is missing.

Attempts to define or delimit audiences is also a frequent topic of conversation. In general, the authors are in favour of expanding the audience of Roman history, from the end of the Republic onwards. Thus, Pausch, relying primarily on Cicero, sees Livy playing to this expanded audience, and Liotsakis argues that Arrian tried to please anyone and everyone with his *Anabasis* (though this essay strains under the idea that Arrian simply wanted to be a crowd pleaser and was not motivated by other considerations). Shaw, however, argues that Sallust attempted to intentionally restrict his readership by creating 'barriers of entry' (p. 16) through his style, subject and expectations of his reader.

Another approach is an attempt to gauge reader response through the historical texts themselves. Several authors discuss the emotional valence of particular scenes. For example, Baroud examines the (less emphasised) emotional aspects of narrative vividness as a means of interaction between author and reader, while Leidl focuses on narrative space and the emotional experience of the reader. Gauging readers' emotional responses almost necessarily results in speculative conclusions (see especially p. 190, 'may carry a message' and 'may become problematic').

A final question is why people consumed history. Pausch argues that in the Late Republic, people (or at least, some people) read (or heard?) history for pleasure only and uses Livy's description of Hannibal crossing the Alps as a section of text that does not provide any examples that might be employed by a political or military man (p. 75). The general idea that some read history for pleasure only is generally unobjectionable; it is well known that these texts aimed to please – this was an issue even from Thucydides, if not before. It seems, however, overly reductive to suggest that even if an author intended his work to be useful that he would feel the need to shape every single part of every story to such an end, and one can think of other examples in Livy (for example prodigy lists) that also do not seem to serve the goal of 'utility'.

A general criticism is that many of these essays do not provide sufficient time for both theoretical discussion and textual analysis. Pausch's chapter is a good example of attempting to support ideas with an appeal to only a small number of passages or examples (sometimes even a single example) from their target texts. Likewise, Shaw only analyses one passage (Sall. *Jug*. 4) in any detail, and similar approaches can be found in the chapters by Miquel and Baroud.

In addition, some essays do not fully elaborate on important ideas that they put forth. For example, Liotsakis insists that it was dangerous for Arrian (or anyone else) to write under the Roman monarchy, but cites examples from the reigns of Tiberius and Domitian. Did the same danger exist in the 2nd century? Baroud argues that Tacitus, writing about the accession of Tiberius, captures the atmosphere of the period. As Tacitus was not a contemporary

of the reign, how is that possible? Or, perhaps, should we consider Tacitus' own experience of both Roman historiography (i.e. his sources) and his own political age as informing his depiction of these events?

A few papers do not deal with historical texts at all, and their conclusions about ancient readership are mixed. Duchêne discusses Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, a history-adjacent satire, concluding that methodological statements were a readerly expectation (to build authority) but that the implicit agreement was that there would be pleasure for the reader (p. 126). Indeed, Seneca may play with these expectations, but it is hard to see how this shines a light back onto historical texts. Equally puzzling is Zatlin's essay on Pliny's letters, which spends most of its time problematising certain aspects of the collection rather than drawing conclusions about the readership of Roman history. Pulice's paper presents a very interesting papyrus fragment that preserves a commentary on part of Thucydides' history. The author sets out to prove that the papyrus was intended for readers who had a rhetorical interest in Thucydides' text, in line with what we see in other sources. So this paper, while fascinating in many ways, strengthens what we see elsewhere and does not really take the idea of Thucydidean readership in a new direction.

An exception to these trends is Kemezis's contribution on the ancient readership of the *Historia Augusta*, which does an excellent job introducing the authorial problems of this text and taking careful consideration around issues such as intended vs. actual readership and the methodological underpinnings of the investigation. The overall approach here, with its call to more attention on the topic, is more expansive and successful than some of the more narrowly focused papers in the collection.

The format of the volume is a bit strange. Part of De Gruyter's *Millennium-Studien/ Millennium Studies* series, the volume is open access and feels like a printed version of a book intended primarily for digital dissemination. There is little of the usual front matter (for example, notes on contributors) and the chapters are not numbered. Copy editing could also be improved (for example, 'Samnit' [p. 36]; Usener 1889 not in bibliography [p. 85]; 'circonstances' [p. 118]; Damon 2012 not in bibliography [p. 155]; 'in oppositions' [p. 180]; 'later' should not be italicised [p. 185]; etc.)

The essays in this collection are bit uneven: some have the feel of a highly revised and polished conference paper, while others give the impression that they are perhaps only lightly touched up versions of the original. Many raise important issues and may prompt further conversation, but in general almost all need to move further toward ideas or models of how we can recover the ancient audience of these texts.

Villanova University, PA Andrew G. Scott

R. Pierobon Benoit, C. Coppini, R. Palermo and R. Pappalardo (eds.), *Exploring 'Dark Ages': Archaeological Markers of Transition in the Near East from the Bronze Age to the Early Islamic Period*, Studia Chaburensia 10, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, 160 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-11755-5/ISSN 1869-845X

This work has been published by Harrassowitz as *Studia Chaburensia* 10, an interdisciplinary academic series encompassing geographically northern Syria and Mesopotamia and

devoted to the study of regional as well as supra-regional themes of macro- and micro-history, material culture, environment, settlement dynamics, socio-economy, administration, etc. It contains seven chapters and the contributions gathered here are based on papers presented to a workshop organised by Costanza Coppini, Rocco Palermo and Raffaella Pappalardo, the editors, at the 11th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (ICAANE), held in Munich in April 2018. In the Introduction (pp. 1–13), the editors outline how to define the evolution, through 'Dark Age' periods, of societal systems from rural to urban and *vice versa*, and contextually from the transitional phase that led to the establishment of many urban centres in Upper Mesopotamia between the Middle and Late Bronze period, to the tangible ruralisation and subsequent demographic crisis of the periods that followed the collapse of the Assyrian empire.

The idea of a collective volume specifically focused on the transitional phases of ancient Near Eastern history stems from the editors' shared experience at Tell Barri, a multi-period site in the rolling plains of north-eastern Syria, where Prof. Paolo Emilio Pecorella directed the Italian Archaeological Mission of Florence, from 1980 to 2005. Tell Barri/Kahat, along the Wadi Jaghjagh, a tributary of the Khabur river, offered the perfect field context for the exploration of several cycles of expansion and contraction of an ancient settlement. Indeed, excavations conducted from 1980 to 2010, interrupted by the major disaster of the war, show that the site has been almost continuously inhabited from the end of the 4th/early 3rd millennium BC to the Islamic period. As to Tell Barri and its position in the Upper Khabur basin in relation to the other sites in the 3rd millennium BC, especially in the period between the fall of the Akkadian empire and the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, the Middle Bronze Age, a detailed study has been carried out by Valentina Orsi in Area G,[1] showing a substantial continuity in the pottery assemblages. From this analysis it is evident that the site experienced a continuity of occupation, even though there was a partial crisis that led to a regeneration of the settlement's life. A different interpretation has been widely explained by Harvey Weiss in numerous contributions, especially concerning the site of Tell Leilan in the Upper Khabur basin.[2]

It is therefore one of the major aims of the present volume to determine how the implementation of the archaeological research, together with a multi-proxy approach, can help to bring these transitional phases out of the 'darkness', and firmly posting them on the global archaeological agenda. The seven case studies collected in the volume give integrated and complementary views and the archaeologically elusive early Islamic period, discussed in two papers, brings to the table some very relevant information on the formation of the rural oriented material culture and its connection with the local and regional context.

The first chapter, by Coppini deals with the problems of transitions in 2nd millennium BC northern Mesopotamia: according to previous analysis, the data from the excavations in Tell Barri show a strong continuity of settlement from the Middle to Late Bronze Age, thus offering a new understanding of this so called 'Dark Age', which has apparently been replaced by evidence of transition. Next, Dominik Bonatz debates the identification of Waššukanni, the Mittani capital, with Tell Fekheriye, assuming that the site was the seat of

[1] V. Orsi, *Crisi e Rigenerazione nella valle dell'Alto Khabur (Siria)* (The Hague 2011).
[2] H. Weiss, *Megadrought and Collapse: From Early Agriculture to Angkor* (New York 2017).

the Mittani state during the earlier part of the Late Bronze Age and consequently became a seat of governance for the Middle Assyrian state. The piece reviews the actual political and administrative status of the site, which changed from a capital city to a provincial centre and finally disappeared from the political landscape. The third chapter, by Cinzia Pappi, beginning with the stratified data from the site of Satu Qala, seeks to contextualise the so-called 'squatter phases' (or 'Dark Age') the better to define the drastic impoverishment of local economies which mark the transition from a rich and productive rural periphery of Assyria into a deserted land. The fourth chapter, by Palermo, presents the evolution of the landscape of the Assyrian heartland after the fall of Nineveh at the end of the 7th century BC until the formation of the Seleucid empire (3rd century BC), with a major focus on the so-called Post-Assyrian phase between the early 6th and the late 4th century BC. It explores patterns of variation and durability in the settlements system as well as in the ceramics assemblages, collecting and integrating the geo-data and the pottery sequences from the Kurdistan region of Iraq obtained by the Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project and the Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey.

Johannes Koehler, in the fifth chapter, deals with the Seleucid period in northern Mesopotamia, exploring the data from the North Jazira Survey and Tell Hamoukar Survey to gauge whether their material culture displays signs of imperial integration. The sixth chapter, by Pappalardo, aims to pinpoint specific ceramic markers of the Early Islamic period in Tell Barri and, from there, in northern Mesopotamia. The Islamic ceramic assemblage of the 11th–14th century is well known in Tell Barri, where various domestic structures have been discovered, but it is still unclear those related to the 'transitional phases', for instance from the Late Sasanian to the Umayyad period.

University of Rome Marco Ramazzotti

J. Bermejo Tirado and I. Grau Mira (eds.), *The Archaeology of Peasantry in Roman Spain*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, viii+299 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-075720-0

As is repeated throughout this work, the archaeology of the Roman rural world has given an overstated importance to the study of the slave village, following the model proposed by Carandini in 1985.[1] This book is created with the purpose of exploring alternative models of occupation of the environment complementary to that of Carandini. The double objective is to try to find archaeological proxies for the definition of peasant societies in Roman times and to deepen the study of their economic and social structures. To achieve these goals the editors have opted for the interrelation of remarkably diverse methodologies ranging from the ideological analysis of mosaics to the most innovative techniques of non-invasive survey The chronological and spatial coordinates are equally broad, analysing

[1] A. Carandini (ed.), *Settefinestre. Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana* (Parma 1985). There are certain exceptions such as P. Garnsey (ed.), *Non-slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1980) or P. Erdkamp, 'Agriculture, underemployment, and the cost of rural labour in the Roman world'. *Classical Quarterly* 49.2 (1999), 556–72.

different cases from the entire Iberian Peninsula (see Fig. 1 in the Introduction),[2] with *longue durée* studies, even reaching mediaeval times. These ten chapters are framed by the introduction and conclusions of the editors of this work, who have been developing some of the lines of research embodied here for decades.[3]

The book is divided into three parts, of three chapters each (the last one contains four). The first part is the one that shows the least close correlation between its three chapters, taking as a uniting element the diversity of methodologies that can be applied to the study of the rural world. In fact, such a broad conception means that any chapter could have fit here, since one of the successes of this work is precisely its mosaic of methodological approaches. The possibilities of preventive archaeology are presented (by Bermejo Tirado), as well as the study of mosaics (by Neira) and archaeozoology (by Colominas and Gallego-Valle). The second and third parts, focused on landscape archaeology and on the comparison between the *villae* model and the habitats of the peasantry respectively, do maintain a cohesive line of argument. Even, in the third part there seems to be a premeditated desire to finish the work with the chapters by Vigil-Escalera and Quirós Castillo respectively, which go beyond the chronological line of the Roman empire and reach mediaeval times.[4] However, it is precisely these two works that most discuss the conceptualisation of the peasantry and the peasant from a theoretical point of view. It would have been more appropriate to include such digressions in a chapter at the beginning of the work, and not in its final pages.

Regardless of this structure that aims to give a plot cohesion to certain chapters without much success, this book proposes a myriad of possibilities to solve the problem posed by the study of a social group – the peasantry – that has barely left remnants traceable archaeologically. The solutions range from spatial archaeology and off-site survey (chapters by García Sánchez and Herrera *et al*.) to the reinterpretation of traditional villages thanks to the new archaeological data of their environments (Sánchez-Simón).

Another element through which one chapter and the other are interrelated is the constant – and perhaps excessively repetitive – emphasis on denouncing the over-attention that has been paid to Carandini's model of slave village. This has prevented the Roman rural world from being studied for years beyond its monumental buildings and its striking

[2] However, it is necessary to indicate that there are large spatial gaps that are not analysed in this book – which tells us that this type of study is still at an early stage.

[3] *Cf.* J. Bermejo Tirado: 'Household Archaeology y el análisis de las sociedades antiguas en la península ibérica: definiciones, aplicaciones y posibilidades'. *MATerialidadeS: perspectivas actuales en cultura material* 2 (2014), 47–92; 'Roman peasant habitats and settlement in central Spain (1st c. B.C.–4th c. A. D.)'. *JRA* 30 (2017), 351–71. I. Grau Mira: 'El santuario en el paisaje rural romano'. In I. Grau Mira, I. Amorós and J.M. Segura (eds.), *El santuario ibérico y romano de La Serreta. Prácticas rituales y paisaje en el área central de la Contestania* (Alcoi 2017), 183–219; 'Settlement and landscape in the Iron Age of Eastern Iberia'. In D.C. Cowley, M. Fernández-Götz, T. Romankiewicz and H. Wendling (eds.), *Rural Settlement. Relating Buildings, Landscape, and People in the European Iron Age* (Leiden 2019), 59–67; I. Grau Mira and J.M. Segura, *El Cabeço de Mariola (Alfafara-Bocairent). De la formación del oppidum a la dominación romana (ss. IX-I a.n.e.)* (Alcoi 2021).

[4] Quirós Castillo participates as well in a recently published work related to rural archaeology in mediaeval Spain: S. Prata, F. Cuesta Gómez and C. Tente (eds.), *Paisajes, espacios y materialidades: Arqueología rural altomedieval en la península ibérica* (Oxford 2022).

mosaics, which has ended up imposing the vision of a model of economic and social organisation of slave. According to the editors of the work in the conclusions, the reasons that have led to the imposition of the model of *villae* are three: the influence that the model published by Carandini has had on historiography, the monumentality of the excavated buildings – a decisive factor in the choice of the archaeologist – and the future economic use of these sites through tourism.

This work was born in part as a reaction to this model, opting for a study, that of peasant societies, which 'can allow us to glimpse forms of economic development that could be environmentally sustainable and socially fairer' (p. 282). However, it should be noted that there is no attempt to discriminate against one model in favour of another. All the authors advocate the possibility of coexistence between different models such as the slaveholder and the peasant, whose formulation would vary greatly in time and space. At the same time, it is a response to archaeology that has focused its study on the urban world, and to centre-periphery models. On the contrary, this book defends the need to reinterpret the historical dynamics of evolution and survival in a more complex and interrelated sense (special emphasis on this aspect in the chapter by Grau Mira).

All this argument is accompanied by an important critical apparatus, especially useful in its bibliography, which serves at the same time as an update of the latest works about the study of the rural world. However, it is necessary to point out that the choice to print the figures only in black-and-white does not help the correct visualisation of some graphs and maps as in the cases of Fig. 5 in the chapter by Bermejo Tirado or Fig. 3 in that by Herrera *et al.*

In summary, despite aspects outlined here such as the structure or the excessive denunciation of the overexposure of certain socioeconomic models, it can be concluded that this work is a fruitful starting point for the study of the peasantry in the Roman Spanish rural world. A study still incipient but that, as demonstrated here, will force us to rethink the study of the Roman economy and society, leading them towards a complexity that can only be achieved through the joint study of multiple microregional analyses such as those embodied in this work.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid Diego Suárez Martínez

G. Biard, *La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (BEFAR) 363, École française d'Athènes, Athens/Paris 2017, xii+573 pp., illustrations, 52 plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-277-4

La statuaire honorifique est un domaine de recherche qui, depuis le XIX^{e} siècle, attire souvent l'attention des chercheurs, en particulier des philologues, des épigraphistes et des spécialistes de l'art antique. Se penchant sur ce sujet, Guillaume Biard offre une synthèse sur les représentations honorifiques dans le monde grec aux époques classique et hellénistique; son ouvrage est une version remaniée de sa thèse de doctorat, soutenue en 2012 à l'Université Paris Nanterre. Il comprend trois parties: la première propose une étude historique de la question, la seconde une étude matérielle, tandis que la troisième partie nous livre une analyse iconographique.

On apprend dans l'introduction les difficultés des auteurs antiques et des spécialistes modernes à fournir une définition précise et unanimement acceptée de la statuaire honorifique, un genre qui n'apparaît dans les sources qu'à la fin du V^e^ siècle av. J.-C., et qui entretient des liens étroits avec les représentations votives et funéraires. Après avoir passé en revue les différents classements proposés par les Anciens et les Modernes, l'auteur choisit une définition large des représentations honorifiques, qui englobe plusieurs formes d'*eikones* (œuvres sculptées, peintes ou en relief) et émanant de différents groupes (publics, privés, associatifs). L'analyse exclut les statues d'athlètes, consacrées par ces derniers dans les sanctuaires panhelléniques (comme à Olympie), mais s'intéresse en revanche aux statues honorifiques d'athlètes, ainsi qu'aux représentations commémoratives. Les périodes étudiées sont les époques classique et hellénistique, même si, comme l'auteur le note, les frontières chronologiques sont poreuses pour ce type d'enquête.

B. se penche dans la première partie de l'ouvrage sur la représentation honorifique publique, sa genèse et ses bénéficiaires. Il étudie en détail les différents groupes et individus à l'origine des honneurs: la cité, les subdivisions civiques, les collèges de magistrats, les associations, les confédérations, les souverains (et leur entourage), les groupes familiaux plus ou moins larges.

Les bénéficiaires de statues publiques sont nombreux dans les cités: des magistrats, des prêtres, des prêtresses, des artistes, des athlètes, des bienfaiteurs, des juges étrangers, des rois, des reines et des gouverneurs royaux. Fait important, les monuments honorifiques servent à tisser des réseaux d'alliance entre les cités elles-mêmes ou entre les cités et les dynastes hellénistiques. À cet égard, nous aimerions rappeler que le refus d'ériger une statue peut être utilisé par un dynaste comme une raison de déclarer la guerre à une cité grecque. C'est par exemple l'une des causes invoquées par le roi Prusias I^er^, afin d'entrer en guerre, aux côtés des Rhodiens (vers 220 av. J.-C.), contre les Byzantins. L'objectif principal de ce conflit était d'obliger Byzance à abandonner la taxe supplémentaire qu'elle avait imposée aux commerçants pour le passage du Bosphore Thrace (*cf.* chez B., p. 83). Selon Polybe (4. 49. 1), le roi bithynien reprochait aussi à la cité de la rive européenne du Bosphore de ne pas avoir réalisé toutes les statues qu'elle lui avait octroyées.

B. remarque, et à juste titre, qu'il est parfois impossible de dissocier entre les fonctions votive, commémorative et honorifique de certaines œuvres. Il cite comme exemple, entre autres, la célèbre offrande de Marathon, consacrée dans le sanctuaire de Delphes, probablement à l'initiative de Cimon, et qui accorde une place centrale à Miltiade, aux côtés des dieux et des héros de la cité. Dès le début du IV^e^ siècle av. J.-C., les Athéniens intègrent la statuaire honorifique, à l'origine liée à des pratiques oligarchiques, dans un cadre démocratique, sans pour autant mettre fin à la pratique privée de représentation individuelle. Les rapports que les représentations honorifiques entretiennent avec les représentations cultuelles, les statues honorifiques privées, les monuments funéraires et commémoratifs font également partie de l'analyse.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage fournit une étude matérielle des monuments honorifiques et s'intéresse à l'emplacement des représentations sculptées et peintes dans les sanctuaires et l'espace public. On y trouve également des développements fort intéressants sur les matériaux utilisés (marbre, bronze), les supports de statues (bases, colonnes, piliers), les modes de fixation des statues sur leurs bases, ou encore sur le remploi et la destruction des monuments honorifiques.

B. propose, dans la dernière partie du livre, une analyse iconographique poussée de plusieurs types statuaires – le groupe des Tyrannoctones à Athènes, les statues royales et celles de magistrats (notamment militaires), les statues équestres, les représentations d'athlètes, d'orateurs (Démosthène, Échine), de bienfaiteurs et de prêtres. Les statues honorifiques de femmes, d'enfants et d'adolescents font aussi l'objet d'enquêtes particulières. Pour finir, l'auteur se penche sur les rapports des œuvres honorifiques au réel, sur la notion de *mimesis* chez les philosophes (Platon, Aristote), ainsi que sur le réalisme des portraits à la fin de l'époque hellénistique.

L'ouvrage est complété par une conclusion générale, des *indices*, des annexes réunissant les données et par une riche bibliographie. Le lecteur tire aussi profit des illustrations de bonne qualité, qui facilitent la compréhension du texte. Nous signalons ici quelques études récentes que l'auteur n'a pas eu le temps d'intégrer à son ouvrage, notamment le recueil publié par S. Kansteiner *et al.*, *Der Neue Overbeck (DNO). Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen*, vol. I–V (Berlin/Boston 2014), qui réunit les signatures des sculpteurs grecs. De même, sur les généraux romains honorés dans les cités hellénistiques, on lira la synthèse de C. Rödel-Braune (*Im Osten nichts Neues? Stiftungen und Ehrungen römischer Magistrate im Osten des römischen Reiches vom Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis zum Ende der Augusteischen Zeit* [Heidelberg 2015]).

Au terme d'une analyse poussée, B. arrive à faire dialoguer différentes disciplines et produit une étude sur un sujet très étendu et qui concerne à la fois la vie politique, militaire et religieuse des cités grecques, de même que les rapports entre les cités et les dynastes hellénistiques. Cet ouvrage sur les représentations et les pratiques honorifiques rend sans nul doute service à la fois aux historiens, aux archéologues et aux épigraphistes spécialistes des différentes périodes de l'Antiquité.

Université Paris 8 Vincennes Saint-Denis Adrian Robu

L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba and I. Dumitrache (eds.), *Persevera lucere: Studia in memoriam Octaviani Bounegru*, Philippika 155, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, xxii+360 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11687-9/ISSN 1613-5628

The late Prof. Octavian Bounegru made an invaluable contribution to the history and archaeology of the Black Sea region and of the Dobrudja in particular. His research was directed towards the economic and social history, epigraphy and material culture of the region from the Hellenistic period to Late Roman/Early Byzantine times. This book is dedicated by his colleagues and friends to his legacy and memory.

The volume is divided in four thematic parts, each corresponding to Bounegru's main areas of interest: 'Histoire économique et sociale', 'Épigraphie et papyrologie', 'Archéologie et histoire de l'archéologie', 'Numismatique et sigillographie'. It comprises 27 articles, most of them in English and a few in French and German, while the language chosen for the edition is French.

The eulogy is followed by the most voluminous section of the book. It starts with K. Ruffing's quest for Greek merchants in the East by the means of written accounts, a study that poses many questions to which in-depth analyses of archaeological record might provide more answers. By looking into the private commercial correspondence from

the North Pontic area, M. Dana offers new data regarding the organisation of trade and the involvement of women and non-Greek people in this activity, among others. An equally thorough study of the economy in the Pontic region is G.R. Tsetskhladze's analysis of the typology, production and exchange of Colchian amphorae, the results of which, combined with the information extracted from written records, allow him to make suggestions about the local usage of these vessels. L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba researches whether the *beneficiarii* from Moesia Inferior were co-operating with the staff of customs stations and, despite the absence of direct proof, makes some interesting observations regarding their double presence in certain cities. M. Fischer reveals new aspects of the regional maritime networks in the Roman empire by analysing capitals from three different areas connected by marble quarries from Asia Minor. I. Dumitrache evaluates the state of research of salted fish production and consumption in the Pontic region, and points various approaches that could be undertaken in the future. S. Nemeti and F.-G. Fodorean discuss the configuration of a western Dacian *limes* sector by corroborating various data, without offering, however, any remarks that pertain to this section's topic. Investigation of epigraphic records from Moesia Inferior allowed A. Odochiciuc to make compelling observations about the mechanisms through which euergetism was used by the local aristocracy and other members of the society for political ascension.

By using the 'social network analysis' method, A.I. Pázsint and R. Varga try to recreate the networks *conductores publici portorii Illyrici* were involved in, but the scarcity of epigraphic sources impedes them gathering more information. Much less fruitful is L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba and M. Alexianu's exploration of the connection between salt exploitation and the Roman army in Dacia, as they express a lot of certainties, even though none of the provided evidence supports their arguments. However, Ș. Honcu and L. Munteanu go beyond the simple interpretation of the archaeological data from the rural area of Ibida and theorise about the effect of political changes in the 4th century AD on the rural economy of the Dobrudja. The last two articles describe realities from the modern period, as L. Pilat examines the sophisticated diplomatic entanglement that forced the Moldavian princes of the 16th century to look for ways to remain in power, while I.-A. Guriță tells a less compelling but equally useful story of a 19th-century professor from Iași.

The second part of the volume begins with a presentation of Greek inscriptions on various materials from a modern collection of antiquities by A. Avram, S. Hălmagi and A. Streinu. It is followed by P. Reinard's intricate and original examination of the correspondence between Dacian soldiers from the Roman units stationed in Egypt, in which the author throws some light on their personal and military lives. In contrast, R.-G. Curcă's article is a compilation of Cato's mentions regarding uses of salt, the paper lacking a commentary. C.H. Opreanu (re)interprets three inscriptions discovered in the construction believed to be the customs building from Porolissum, and uses them to assign a religious function to the edifice. Lastly, F. Mitthof publishes a new Egyptian papyrus representing a specific type of land-lease contracts from the 6th–7th centuries AD and comments on the juridical, economic and social information these documents express.

Almost all studies from the third part of the volume focus on various types of artefacts from Moesia Inferior. M. Mocanu looks for Western terra sigillata with a potter's stamps, to find that they are scarce both because of the state of research and the historical context. G. Nuțu studies a head-vase from Aegyssus imported from Athens and searches rigorously

for the contexts where these artefacts are usually found to identify their function. Chest hasps in the image of Venus from Ibida are described by D. Aparaschivei, who tries to identify their chronology and centre of production, which proves to be rather difficult for the same reasons as in the previous studies: either the context of discovery is missing or the state of the research is at fault. F. Topoleanu discusses the chronology and the meaning of two lamps belonging to an unusual burial from inside the basilica of Halmyris, contextualising them in a foolproof manner. An exhaustive study is that of S.-P. Boțan, who examines 6th-century AD glass fragments belonging to goblets and windows, discusses their production technique, which is especially important as many come from recycling dumps, and reflects on their usage in the period. In the last article from this section, A.-B. Ceobanu presents the Romanian participants at the first international archaeological congresses, revealing the attitude of Romanian state officials towards the discipline at the beginning of the 20th century.

The last part of the book consists of three studies. G.M. Talmațchi analyses a small number of monetary signs found during recent excavations in Histria, discussing their production and the meaning of the figural representations. He also mentions the rest of the signs coming from the same site, which allows him to comment on the economic development of this *polis*. R. Ardevan gives a succinct description of a coin from Dorylaeum and explains its idiosyncratic nature by pointing out the historical context (the tumultuous second half of the 3rd century AD) in which the coins were minted. In the final paper of the book, P. Zahariuc presents his discovery of a new seal of Câmpulung Moldovenesc and makes sound observations regarding the administration and territory of the Moldavian districts of the 17th–18th centuries.

The majority of the authors have contributed to this volume with original and useful studies, either by publishing new data or by reinterpreting known facts or by doing both. The papers were edited meticulously, except for one or two texts in English that abound with errors. Most of the articles revolve around subjects explored by Bounegru, while the few that examine other time periods do not necessarily disturb the balance of the book, as it is heterogeneous nevertheless. I believe that the authors have graciously fulfilled their purpose of honouring Bounegru's memory.

Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj Nica Ciubotaru

M. Blömer and E. Winter (eds.), *Exploring Urbanism in Ancient North Syria: Fieldwork in Doliche 2015–2020*, Doliche Urban Excavations 1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, 411 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-074405-7

The subtitle of this book is its real subject; the small font is undeserved. This book is the first of a planned series of reports on the urban excavation of Doliche. It is devoted largely to the results of the intra-urban survey conducted between 2017 and 2019 but has a substantial section that deals with material beyond the limits of the survey. It is this section that begins the book and is introduced by a chapter by Michael Blömer on the aims and outcomes of the Doliche Project, a German-Turkish collaboration, between 2015 and 2020. The main aim is 'to develop a fine-grained urban biography of Doliche from the Hellenistic period to the Middle Ages, to shed light on local history and local living conditions, but

also to test assumptions about urban development in the wider region'. The latter aim, in particular, justifies the rather ambitious title 'Exploring Urbanisation in Ancient North Syria'. To that end, excavation was carried out in two areas, revealing in the first a substantial Roman bath of the Imperial period and a possible archive room, where over 4000 sealings were found. In this chapter Blömer describes the discovery of the swimming pool with its mosaic floor, heating system and hypocausts, noting the use of traditional Roman building techniques and materials. Excavation on a terrace of the south slope of Keber Tepe revealed a Late Antique or early Byzantine basilica, with three aisles and a *bema* in the central nave, a feature typical of the Antioch area but unexpected in Doliche.

The 'archive' is treated in the next chapter, by Torben Schreiber. Since it is not certain that the sealings did constitute an active archive, as any documents are lost and the stratigraphy was disturbed, the sealings have to 'speak for themselves'. They were found (albeit in fill) in a large rectangular room with massive foundations. Only the 'official' seals are tackled here. A summary chronology dates the earliest at 100 BC, and the latest to the 2nd century AD, suggesting any active archiving took place between those dates. Schreiber gives a clear account of the sealing process and these small objects are well illustrated.

A short but interesting chapter by Facella reconstructs the inscription on a fragment of marble that refers to *Boule kai Demos*, the only reference at Doliche to those significant civic institutions. A date in the Imperial period is adduced from certain palaeographic characteristics and the presence of a *hedera* (ivy leaf) at the end of a line.

This is followed by Yaprak Tanriverdi's chapter on 'Variations in Shape and Colour of Tesserae in the Mosaics of the Terrace Basilica at Doliche'. This church has mosaic floors belonging to different time periods. The author employs a study of the differing colours and morphology of the tesserae in these mosaics to order those phases. This is a relatively new approach. For example, stylistic factors date the apse mosaic, with its Nilotic motifs, to the 5th–6th centuries AD, but the colours, size, material and density of the tesserae there differ markedly from those in the (earlier?) central nave, while resembling those in the Porticus mosaic suggesting this was a 6th-century addition or renovation. This is a promising research technique.

This section of the book ends with a comprehensive report, by a co-operative team of Constanze Höpken, Blömer, George McGlynn and Eva Strothenke-Koch, on a rock tomb situated in the Necropolis of Doliche. The tomb consists of a central rectangular room with three alcoves: to east, west and south, the latter being a later addition. A total of 101 individual remains were found in the dozen graves, presenting a range of ages and both sexes. The authors suggest they were family members and socially elite, since the bones exhibited no signs of malnutrition, dental caries, or injuries due to hard labour. Most chronological evidence pointed to the Roman Imperial period prior to the Persian conquest in AD 253. Although the tomb had been robbed, probably in the Early Byzantine period, some finds were still in the graves, their position marked on an excellent map, using symbols to represent the different types, including nails, hobnails, glass bowls and flasks, beads, bangles, rings, lamps, spindle whorls and other metal finds. The finds are then discussed by category and at the end of the chapter catalogued by grave number. This chapter is a model report, covering every aspect of the excavation results.

The second half of the book is devoted specifically to the survey carried out between 2017 and 2019. The heart of this is the lengthy chapter by Sebastian Whybrew on

'Methods and Results of the Urban Survey'. This covers everything one needs to know: aims, the history of the site, its modern usage and current knowledge. Of the 60 fields surveyed, only about one third of the finds have been processed. An interesting section on 'What to Expect? Urbanism in North Syria' looks at other sites for comparative features to be expected at Roman Doliche: fortification walls, a grid system, an agora, public amenities such as baths and theatre, religious and domestic buildings. The answer as to their presence in Doliche is generally 'no evidence', except for the baths found and the possibility of an agora adjacent to the archive room. However, a north–south and east–west axis seems an original feature, (Hellenistic?) arguing for a grid system.

The section on methodology provides a model for reporting on survey methods, with attention paid to geomorphology, field boundaries, use of satellite imagery, field characteristics such as vegetation and visibility of finds. At first, artefacts were counted and not collected but then a sampling strategy was used, involving total collection in selected areas. This data has been interpreted in meticulous detail. For each category of material (pottery, tiles, tesserae, marble, glass, metal, slags, flint), there are detailed tables and maps showing the location of the finds, with a heatmap showing the density. Results show that most of Keber Tepe was occupied, although the eastern and western physical boundaries are not found. The lithics suggest an extensive prehistoric occupation. Hellenistic material is scanty but present. In Roman Doliche, the eastern plateau was the 'focus of urban life', with a possible extension west in the Mid- to Late Imperial period. For the early mediaeval period, it is possible to say that the eastern plateau retained its importance, with some industry developing to the east. There is however, only a small sample of mediaeval pottery and glass.

The following chapters expand on some find categories from the survey. Margherita Facella discusses the inscribed material (a stamped tile) and the coins, which range in date from AD 192 to the 5th or 6th century, i.e. mainly Late Roman. Werner Oenbrink catalogues the architectural fragments. These include two rare Hellenistic finds: a fragment of a Doric geison and a tiny fragment of Ionic capital, a few from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, the majority from the 2nd to 3rd centuries, and a significant number from the 4th to 6th centuries. Their field contexts are discussed with relation to possible buildings. Survey material is of necessity fragmentary and damaged and this restriction is referenced in the next four chapters. The metals are discussed and catalogued by Höpken. They include the slags. The catalogue is brief but succinct. Höpken also catalogues the glass finds, only 20% of which were identifiable, with vessel fragments predominant but also some window glass (possibly from the baths), bangles, beads and tesserae. The chronological span is from Early Roman to the Islamic period.

In the field, special attention was given to glazed pottery because of its association with the medieval period, when literary sources claim Doliche was a fortress. Strothenke-Koch discusses, illustrates and catalogues 97 fragments, which she dates to the Abbasid period, when Doliche had been reconquered by the Byzantine empire. Lastly, the marble fragments, an 'essential part of any urban environment in the Roman period', are discussed by Jesper Jensen. These are mainly fragments of wall revetment and paving; no larger columns or capitals were found. The marble used was white (probably Proconnesian, grey (*bigio antico*), and more rarely coloured (*cipollino verde* or *rosso*). Jensen notes the cheapness of the white and grey marbles and makes an interesting comparison with the nearby sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus, where far more expensive coloured marble was used.

In summary, this is a valuable publication. Its researchers and surveyors have turned a visually unpromising site, with its 'scarcity of visible markers', into a site with the potential to re-assess both Roman and mediaeval urbanisation in ancient North Syria. It is superbly illustrated with maps, drawings and photographs. Granted that many searches conclude with an honest 'no evidence' judgment, each has contributed considerably to greater knowledge of the hidden city of Doliche.

University of Melbourne Heather Jackson

O. Bobou, A.C. Miranda and R. Raja (eds.), *Archival Historiographies: The Impact of Twentieth-Century Legacy Data on Archaeological Investigations*, Archive Archaeology 3, Brepols, Turnhout 2022, xii+178 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-60018-5

Once upon a time… I was an archivist. One never really knew what would pop up in a collection. In a letter of 1857, a Catholic clergyman and landowner of distinguished recusant pedigree wrote to his local, small-town solicitor about coal discoveries near Hartlepool on former family-owned land. Then follows a discussion of the death of the 3rd Lord Alvanley: 'They put him under with the chloroform, took his bowels out, washed them and put them back, but alas…'. The best medical science had to offer at the time. How much Benjamin Disraeli, sometime British Prime Minister, owed the Bentincks (dukes of Portland) who financed his political career, appears as literally back of an envelope calculations in an obscure corner of one of the many Portland archive collections – yes, the Portlands of the Vase; and the same collection that included the costs for moving the Harleian Manuscripts round to the proto-British Museum – it was the Harley heiress who bought the Vase). Was a future leader of Zambia caught *in flagrante* in the late 1940s and did he then try to do away with himself? (pencil note from B de Q of FISB, Box 683 Salisbury, to Fedprime – Sir Roy Welensky). These may have relevance to the otherwise unedifying dispute between A. Lownie and Southampton University.

The problem of personal archives, writings, working papers and excavation materials, intermixed but in need of some disaggregation (how much, and where should the dividing line be placed in regard to Pessinus, for example), and what to do with them (will one institution take all?) is one that I have been facing as executor of our late Editor-in-Chief. A repository suited to one class of material might not have an interest in promoting another, even if it accepted it. Thus the intentions behind the Archive Archaeology series are entirely to be welcome. One wants archives to be used (in this context it is well to say that excess closures and redactions are manna from heaven for conspiracy theorists – *cf.* Lownie/Southampton). In a small way, *Colloquia Antiqua* 15 – republishing material from the Mandatory period in Palestine – was in the vanguard.[1] As the blurb on the volume under review puts it: 'Archives held in institutions around the world hold a wealth of material but traditionally the fields of Classical and ancient near Eastern archaeology have been slow to make use of such legacy data in their investigations.' Careful and intelligent use of archives, in

[1] A. Fantalkin and O. Tal, *Tell Qudadu: An Iron Age IIB Fortress on the Central Mediterranean Coast of Israel* (Leuven 2015).

context, allows us to determine what people were doing, what they thought they were doing, and what they wanted others to think they were doing, etc. (a feature of correspondence and minutes, not of logs and reports). A bit like foundation stories – always look between the lines and be aware of the context and audience.

This volume grew out of a session (a 'virtual panel') at the Archaeological Institute of America's annual meeting in January 2021. It comprises an Introduction and ten chapters: provenance of pottery from the House of Frescoes at Knossos, the Yale-French excavations at Dura-Europos (1920s–30s), matters digital (two chapters), the Gerasa Archive at Yale (1920s–30s), Harald Ingholt's fieldwork diaries and his archives (1920s–30s: three chapters on Palmyra, unsurprising in view of two of the editors' involvement: impact of archives, legacy data, perspectives on funerary sculpture), 'The Untapped Potential of the Dörner Archive' (1950s–60s) at the University of Münster, the archive as a substitute archaeological site, etc. The theme of cultural heritage preservation and 'restitution initiatives' are also addressed.

The industry of Rubina Raja, the Series Editor (and multiple contributor), is to be applauded. Let us see where future volumes in the series lead. Indexed.

Llandrindod Wells, UK James Hargrave

A.K. Bowman and C.V. Crowther (eds.), *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020, xxvii+353 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-885822-5

Ce recueil qui renferme les actes d'un colloque tenu à Oxford en avril 2016 est une publication complémentaire du très attendu *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions from Egypt*.[1] Abrégé *CPI* par ses éditeurs,[2] il est basé au Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (Faculté des Lettres de l'université d'Oxford); un premier volume (Alexandrie et le Delta) est entre temps sorti.[3] En parallèle avec les trois tomes du corpus, riche de 650 inscriptions, un site web (*http://cpi.csad.ox.ac.uk/*) fournit une partie des données (dont des illustrations), y compris des corrections (*http://cpi.csad.ox.ac.uk/inscriptions/CPI-corrigenda.html*).

Ce colloque a occasionné une série de douze études contextuelles, signées par les membres du projet et par d'autres savants, en mesure d'illustrer le potentiel du *CPI* – et le pari est fortement réussi. L'*Introduction* programmatique des deux éditeurs (p. 1–8) invite à explorer l'« epigraphical landscape » du royaume lagide dans toutes ses diversités et discontinuités, et part des réflexions de Jean Bingen – en particulier son étude « Normalité et spécificité de l'épigraphie grecque et romaine de l'Égypte » (1989), plusieurs fois citée par les contributeurs – sur l'« intermezzo ptolémaïque ». Alors que l'Égypte a livré une documentation épigraphique beaucoup plus pauvre que le reste du monde hellénistique, la foule de papyrus permet la connaissance d'autres pans de la société, dont les interactions entre Grecs et Égyptiens. On apprend que le noyau du *CPI* (650 numéros) est constitué par

[1] *Cf.* déjà A.K. Bowman, C.V. Crowther et K. Savvopoulos, 'The "Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions from Egypt" Project: Unpublished Texts'. *ZPE* 200 (2016), 100–08.

[2] Alors que D. Rousset, *Bulletin Épigraphique* (2022), 586, propose *I. Ptolemaic.*

[3] Compte rendu de A.K. Bowman *et al.* (*infra*).

l'édition manuscrite de 364 inscriptions par Peter Fraser (1918–2007), qui avait commencé à rassembler la documentation en 1953, en lien direct avec la somme *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, parue en 1972 en trois volumes; la documentation laissée par Fraser contient ses propres examens, ainsi que des photos et des estampages. Les éditeurs ont ajouté d'autres inscriptions, toute une catégorie omise (les textes poétiques), ainsi que les inscriptions bilingues et trilingues comportant des textes en langue égyptienne (démotique et hiéroglyphique). Les enjeux sont multiples: mettre en évidence les différences régionales (Alexandrie, Delta, Fayoum, le reste de l'Égypte); explorer le paysage biculturel de la *chôra* égyptienne, dont la mobilité sociale de l'élite égyptienne, les Grecs qui adoptent des traits de la religion égyptienne, ou des indigènes qui s'adaptent à l'introduction du culte royal. La coexistence de plusieurs cultures épigraphiques est manifeste: des institutions civiques grecques (Naucratis, Alexandrie, Ptolémaïs); l'importance de l'élément militaire, entre autres à Memphis ou les garnisons d'Hermopolis Magna; l'épigraphie qui se développe autour des sanctuaires égyptiens, dont la question de l'asylie (après 100 av. J.-C.); la présence de communautés juives, dont l'identité corporative se manifeste également par l'épigraphie (associations et *politeumata*). À l'intérieur d'une culture du pouvoir, plusieurs contributeurs insistent sur l'emploi dans les dédicaces de la préposition ὑπέρ (« for/in favour of ») afin d'introduire les monarques, indice de la conscience d'une relation personnelle, à l'instar des auteurs de pétitions sur papyrus qui s'adressent directement au roi.

L'obélisque de Philai arrivé à Kingston Lacy (Dorset), inscrit en grec et en hiéroglyphes (*CPI* III 424, pétition des prêtres), a été étudié et photographié pour le corpus (RTI et images 3D) (J. Masséglia, p. 9–19). Le chapitre suivant évoque les inscriptions plurilingues, le commerce d'antiquités et la compétition pour le déchiffrement de l'égyptien, après la pierre de Rosette (*CPI* I 126), dans le contexte de constitution des collections modernes et de l'égyptologie (R. Mairs, p. 20–34).

Un premier chapitre signé par W. Clarysse (p. 35–58) s'intéresse aux textes grecs présents sur des monuments et des objets égyptiens, en tout 227 inscriptions grecques avec un « background égyptien », partant de la différence entre les stèles (funéraires) grecques, à fronton triangulaire, par rapport aux stèles égyptiennes à fronton arqué et ornées d'une iconographie spécifique. La typologie des monuments égyptiens (stèles, statues, éléments de sanctuaires, momies et sarcophages) et des textes grecs officiels (décrets honorifiques, décrets d'asylie) ou privés (dédicaces, constructions, épitaphes) s'accompagne d'exemples pertinents, telle la famille d'Aphodisias/Hathor-ity, connue par deux épigrammes grecques (*CPI* II 403–404) et un texte en hiéroglyphes, grâce à l'identification faite par J. Yoyotte. Clarysse pose la question importante des ateliers et des monuments disponibles, tout-faits, réalité qui relativise ainsi les connotations identitaires ou d'autres spéculations auxquelles aiment s'adonner les modernes. Il montre aussi que les prêtres égyptiens n'avaient aucun scrupule à utiliser le grec pour la publicité de leurs cultes et sanctuaires.

A. Bowman analyse l'épigraphie et les institutions des « cités grecques » (Naucratis, Alexandrie, Ptolémaïs dans la Thébaïde), qui représente presque 20% du *CPI*, dont deux tiers proviennent d'Alexandrie (p. 59–75). La vie religieuse à Alexandrie lagide d'après les inscriptions fait l'objet du chapitre de K. Savvopoulos (p. 76–93), qui présente en particulier le Sarapieion et ses dieux, la Divine Triade Alexandrine (Sarapis, Isis, Harpocrate), ainsi que le Boubastieion connu depuis peu. D.J. Thompson étudie les dépôts de fondation de sanctuaires des III^{e}–II^{e} s. av. J.-C., rassemblant les plaques avec des dédicaces, en grec ou

bilingues (hiéroglyphes), inscrites sur des supports divers (verre, faïence, boue, or, argent, bronze) (p. 94–113). S. Baralay donne un aperçu général des dédicaces sacrées (p. 114–26), et observe que dans le Fayoum le grec apparaît comme la *lingua franca* de la communication écrite.

Le chapitre sur l'épigraphie des soldats (p. 127–58), qui livre une excellente analyse du potentiel du *CPI* pour l'histoire sociale, culturelle, militaire et économique de l'Égypte ptolémaïque, est signé par de C. Fischer-Bovet.[4] Ces textes étaient destinés à un affichage public, alors que les papyrus nous renseignent sur d'autres secteurs de la vie des soldats: la correspondance administrative (lots de terre, paiements), les comptes publics et privés, les documents privés (contrats, lettres). Les soldats sont bien représentés dans le *CPI*, soit individuellement (en particulier les officiers), soit par des groupes de militaires, qui ont laissé des dédicaces, mais aussi des signatures et des *proskynèmata* (signe aussi de leur mobilité), et un nombre très réduit d'épitaphes. Le rôle des militaires dans la construction et l'embellissement des sanctuaires égyptiens, ou leur intervention privilégiée – en qualité de membres de l'armée – par des pétitions au roi (ainsi pour la question de l'asylie des sanctuaires égyptiens), superposent le plan religieux et l'implication au niveau local. On assiste ainsi au développement d'un milieu gréco-égyptien, y compris par l'intégration des soldats dans les villages, de même que l'incorporation de l'élite égyptienne des villages dans l'armée, reliant culture locale et idéologie royale. Dans ce cas aussi, l'épigraphie complète les sources papyrologiques. L'augmentation avec le temps des dédicaces des soldats et des officiers est perçue comme un moyen d'accroître leur « capital social », sans doute à la recherche d'une promotion, et de renforcer leur image d'individus ou groupes loyaux à l'intérieur de la communauté.

La deuxième contribution de Clarysse revient sur les inscriptions et les papyrus, en tant que deux mondes qui s'intersectent dans une certaine mesure et qui ont l'avantage d'offrir des points de vue différents (p. 159–78). Trismegistos permet désormais un aperçu quantitatif de la documentation égyptienne – *ca*. 11,000 inscriptions grecques (les graffiti constituent toutefois presque la moitié) et *ca.* 70,000 papyrus et ostraca – qui s'accompagne de substantiels écarts géographiques et chronologiques. Il est intéressant de constater que les *proskynèmata*, la plus notable spécificité égyptienne, sont illustrés par des graffites à partir du milieu du II^{e} s. av. J.-C., alors qu'ils n'apparaissent dans les lettres sur papyrus qu'à la fin du I^{er} s. ap. J.-C. Les deux types de sources, d'audience différente, présentent des dissemblances et des complémentarités. Des croisements existent, y compris des inscriptions citées dans les papyrus, et inversement des papyrus cités dans les inscriptions. Encore plus intéressant est de constater des recoupements prosopographiques dans les deux types de documents, à l'appui de quelques exemples dans les milieux des prêtres éponymes et des officiers éponymes (ainsi l'Acharnien Lichas fils de Pyrrhos), ou le cas d'une famille biculturelle d'Edfou, connue par des sources grecques et égyptiennes. On ne peut qu'adhérer à la conclusion: « Studying inscriptions alongside the far greater number of papyri can enhance our understanding of the texts and of the people who are mentioned in them in many ways, and has the potential to be as illuminating as studying Greek and Demotic side

[4] *Cf.* sa monographie *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2014).

by side. As yet, neither epigraphists nor papyrologists have exploited these possibilities to the full » (p. 178).

Au sujet des usages épigraphiques des associations privées dans la *chôra*, dans le cadre du projet *Inventory of Ancient Associations* (Copenhagen Associations Project), M.C.D. Paganini présente la typologie (décrets, dédicaces, consécrations de *topoi*), la place des inscriptions dans le paysage visuel de la *chôra* et leur rôle de « recognizable landmarks » de l'épigraphie rurale (p. 179–207). Un excursus est consacré à l'association religieuse de la garnison d'Hermopolis Magna, dont le noyau est constitué par des soldats iduméens, autour d'un sanctuaire d'Apollon.

S. Hornblower traite des inscriptions métriques, à savoir une cinquantaine de textes d'époque ptolémaïque (p. 208–25). Alors que les épigrammes ne figuraient pas dans le corpus projeté par Fraser, il insiste sur la nécessité de republier les textes inclus par É. Bernand dans *I. Métriques* (1969): non seulement pour les nouveaux textes connus depuis, mais aussi en raison de l'augmentation de la bibliographie sur les épigrammes hellénistiques et le besoin d'actualiser les commentaires. Quelques dossiers illustrent l'apport de ces témoignages particuliers sur la littérature et l'histoire hellénistiques: la digression sur les épigrammes de la communauté juive de Léontopolis; l'épigraphie sonore de Pan; le dossier du poète Hérôdès d'Edfou, oublié ou méprisé par les savants modernes (« eine schlechten Poeten » selon Wilamowitz).

Enfin, le chapitre de C. Crowther est une contribution importante sur la paléographie des inscriptions d'époque lagide en Égypte (p. 226–67);[5] des études de cas et des descriptions détaillées sont illustrées par un grand nombre de photos, couronnées par un tableau avec l'évolution des lettres (p. 265–66, pl. 13.1). En parallèle avec les types d'écriture (civique, de chancellerie, cursive), et un repère chronologique identifié à l'époque de Ptolémée IV, qui laisse la place à une écriture plus stylisée, la variété typologique des 650 inscriptions du *CPI* donne un aperçu des cultures épigraphiques du royaume des Ptolémées: 315 dédicaces, 118 *proskynèmata*, 53 dédicaces honorifiques, 48 épigrammes funéraires, 19 décrets civiques et autres, 16 décrets sacerdotaux, 14 catalogues et listes. On retrouve les considérations de J. Bingen sur l'intentionnalité de l'écriture sur pierre, ce qu'on appelle l'écriture épigraphique standard (style et présentation, à savoir la lisibilité), ou des recoupements entre des systèmes d'écriture (inscriptions, papyrus).

Une longue annexe (p. 269–312) donne la liste de toutes les inscriptions incluses dans les trois volumes du *CPI* par site, avec les concordances, la date et une brève description: I (Alexandrie et le Delta, n^os^ 1–206); II (Le Fayoum, Moyenne et Haute-Égypte, n^os^ 207–409); III (confins méridionaux, Oasis et *incerta*, n^os^ 410–650). La bibliographie commune est suivie de plusieurs index, des sources (littéraires, épigraphiques et papyrologiques), des lieux, des noms et des sujets.

Une question centrale pour un corpus épigraphique demeure, car il est étonnant de constater un double choix opéré par les éditeurs du *CPI*. D'un côté, on déplore l'exclusion volontaire des épitaphes, à l'exception des épigrammes funéraires, alors qu'il s'agit d'un corpus, et non d'une sélection; cette absence, partant peut-être de l'état incomplet du

[5] À partir d'un manuscrit fraserien pour un séminaire du début des années 1980, sur la paléographie des inscriptions hellénistiques, qui traite de l'Égypte jusqu'à la fin du III^e^ s. av. J.-C.

manuscrit fraserien,[6] est surprenante pour un corpus qui est, par essence, exhaustif. D'autre part, les éditeurs ont inclus une partie des graffites, ainsi des *proskynèmata*, pour leur apports religieux ou historiques. L'un des éditeurs, Crowther, explique: « Graffiti and simple epitaphs, which are often difficult to date closely, have, with a limited number of exceptions, been omitted from the Corpus » (p. 227, n. 6); tandis qu'un autre éditeur, S. Hornblower, justifiait ainsi l'inclusion des textes métriques – s'il en était encore besoin –, absents du corpus projeté par Peter Fraser: « But *OGIS* was a selection, whereas Fraser planned a corpus, and this word implies completeness » (p. 209). L'exclusion des épitaphes, en particulier d'Alexandrie, avec des publications datées et très dispersées, diminue les grandes qualités d'un corpus comme le *CPI* et entrave la meilleure connaissance de la population du royaume ptolémaïque (statuts, structures familiales, onomastique, ethniques, usages funéraires et épigraphiques…).[7]

Un petit mot aussi sur la qualité des éditions. Fischer-Bovet commente longuement (p. 137–40) une inscription découverte en 2009 dans le Boubastieion d'Alexandrie, dont l'*editio princeps* a été corrigée dans le *SEG* LXIV 1894 et améliorée dans le *CPI* I 55 par Ch. Crowther, qui lui avait fourni sa lecture avant la parution du corpus oxonien. Il s'agit d'une dédicace inscrite sur la base de statue d'un dignitaire lagide (« Pseudo-Mégamédès »), honoré par un *koinon* de plusieurs groupes de soldats (*ca.* 174–145). Ce texte important, qui a déjà fait couler beaucoup d'encre et dont l'édition dans le *CPI* « remains provisional until an examination of the stele itself is possible » (p. 137) – alors que c'est une exigence de tout corpus moderne –, sera rééditée par des collègues égyptiens et français, sur la base d'une documentation renouvelée, et avec nombre de lectures différentes. D'autre part, une dédicace perdue de Sébennytos (Delta central), de la dernière période ptolémaïque, dans laquelle plusieurs groupes de militaires honorent un dignitaire dont le nom est perdu, est magistralement commentée par Fischer-Bovet (p. 147–49). Or, si elle discute plusieurs conjectures proposées en 1984 par E. Van't Dack, tout en rejetant celles qui lui paraissent problématiques, il est regrettable de constater que le texte retenu aux ll. 5–6 par les éditeurs du récent corpus (*CPI* I 136) marque un retour en arrière:[8] certes, l'inscription est perdue, mais à la place de οἱ συνπόσιον | γευόμενοι,[9] séquence impossible de plusieurs points de vue, C.F.-B. a reconnu après Van't Dack une expression typique de l'épigraphie des soldats ptolémaïques, οἱ συνπολι|τευόμενοι, qui est manifestement la bonne solution. Or, cette lecture

[6] Les éditeurs écrivent (p. 2, n. 7): « Funerary monuments are barely represented in the manuscript, other than by a small number of Hadra vase inscriptions, and this section seems not to have been systematically attempted ».

[7] Voir déjà R. Ast, compte rendu dans *ClRev* 72 (2002), 89–90: « CPI is not exhaustive, nor was it meant to be. It passes over many graffiti, dipinti and brief funerary inscriptions; however, the editors aim to provide lists of this material in the future on the CPI website (*http://cpi.csad.ox.ac.uk/*) ». *Cf.* aussi les remarques critiques du compte rendu de R.S. Bagnall, *Topoi* 24 (2021), 777–92, en particulière p. 791 (« Fraser's vision was limited in the omission of funerary epigraphy »).

[8] *Cf.* aussi R.S. Bagnall, compte rendu dans *Topoi* 24 (2021), 785: « A more difficult conundrum is posed by **136**, where *CPI* reverts to the readings of Sayce in the ed. pr., even though some of them pose problems ».

[9] Transcription diplomatique par A.H. Sayce, d'où *SB* I 1106; traduite « those who partake the symposium ».

alternative figure uniquement dans l'apparat critique du *CPI*, n'étant pas jugée digne d'être discutée dans le commentaire!

Je ne peux pas m'empêcher de noter quelques perplexités. – La mention étonnante de « two Thracian names in lines 62 and 66 » (Bowman, p. 67) dans un décret honorifique des technites dionysiaques (*OGIS* I 51, futur *CPI* II 357) n'a pas lieu d'être, car les deux anthroponymes sont grecs: Θραικίδης (sans lien direct avec la Thrace) et le banal Βάτων. – Des projections anachroniques, malgré la présence des guillemets: le Sarapieion comme la « cathédrale » d'Alexandrie, ou encore le fait de « confesser » sa croyance (Savvopoulos, p. 83 et 92). – L'évergésie de Lysimachos fils de Bastakilas, *Thraix*, et de ses deux fils (*OGIS* II 734, futur *CPI* II 325, vers 172–169 av. J.-C.), n'est pas inscrite sur un linteau de porte du gymnase à Assiout (Lykopolis) (Fischer-Bovet, p. 150–51), mais d'un sanctuaire de Zeus Sôtèr à Koussai (nome hermopolite), comme précise la dédicace, offrant un *propylon* et un *thyrôma*. – Les *xenoi Apollôniatai* d'Hermopolis Magna (Paganini, p. 204–06) sont connus par deux dédicaces émanant des membres de la garnison, mais dans le cas du passage mutilé de *I. Hermoupolis Magna* 6, le seul qui donne le début du second terme, les éditeurs oscillent en réalité entre les restitutions ξένοι Ἀπολλω[νιᾶται] (F. Zucker) et ξένοι Ἀπολλω|[νιασταί] (U. Rapaport);[10] un appellatif cultuel est préférable à un ethnique. – Au sujet du bénéficiaire d'une épigramme de Térénouthis, il est surprenant de lire que « The usual view that Diazelmis is a Thracian name is precarious; it rests only on the similarity of the ending to that of the Odrysian king Hebryzelmis in a fourth-century BC inscription from Athens » (Hornblower, p. 211); on retrouve le même commentaire confus dans *CPI* I 173 (p. 404). Qui plus est, le défunt Diazelmis apparaît dans l'épitaphe *SEG* XXVIII 1492 (provenant du même site), précisément datée en 31 av. J.-C., mais non incluse dans le *CPI;* or, rares sont les occasions quand les historiens peuvent comparer l'épitaphe et l'épigramme funéraire du même défunt. Pour revenir à Diazelmis, il s'agit d'un composé thrace (*cf. Onomasticon Thracicum* 127, avec un autre exemple du même nom à Thasos), sans oublier la très riche série de noms thraces en -ζελμις.

De très nombreuses illustrations, en particulier des photos d'inscriptions (en noir et blanc),[11] d'assez bonne qualité, et divers tableaux, font du recueil un instrument de travail désormais incontournable. De manière systématique, les contributeurs donnent le numéro *CPI* des inscriptions commentées, ainsi que les références TM (Trismegistos). Complément programmatique du *CPI*, *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt* contient plusieurs études de très grande qualité, qui feront date pour l'épigraphie et l'histoire du royaume lagide et constitueront des points de comparaison ou des modèles à suivre pour des projets similaires.

CNRS/Centre HISOMA, Lyon Dan Dana

[10] Voir le commentaire d'É. Bernand, dans *I. Hermoupolis Magna*, p. 47–48.

[11] Tirées des archives de Peter Fraser, mais aussi des archives photos d'Étienne Bernand, grâce au regretté François Kayser.

A.K. Bowman, C.V. Crowther, S. Hornblower, R. Mairs and K. Savvopoulos (eds.), *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions. Part I: Greek, Bilingual, and Trilingual Inscriptions from Egypt*. Volume 1: *Alexandria and the Delta (Nos. 1–206)*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021, xxviii+539 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-886049-5

The *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions* (*CPI*) from Egypt is a welcome addition to the essential tools for studying Hellenistic Egypt (323–30 BC) and Greek epigraphy. The project was led by Alan Bowman and Charles Crowther in the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in the Ioannou Centre, Oxford. The three volumes extend Fraser's unpublished corpus of 346 dossiers to 650 Greek, bilingual and so-called trilingual inscriptions from Egypt, i.e. in Greek, Demotic and Hieroglyphs, and a few with some Latin but no *inedita*. To include inscriptions in all languages would have been too large a task, and some sites benefit from recent publications to which the editors refer.[1] The organisational principle of the volumes is geographical, from north to south, then chronological and, for well-represented sites, by types of document. Volume 1, reviewed here, contains the 206 Greek inscriptions from Alexandria and the Delta, while 2 will include the 202 inscriptions from the Fayyum and Middle Egypt, and 3 the 240 inscriptions from Upper Egypt, the oases, and texts of uncertain provenance or date. An on-line catalogue of the corpus, unfortunately in a reduced form, is available at *http://cpi.csad.ox.ac.uk*, which will also incorporate simple funerary monuments with graffiti, for example, from the *Memnoneion* at Abydos, the *Paneion* at El-Kanais and the Theban necropolis. The web-site contains a detailed table of contents of the inscriptions, with hyperlinks to *Trismegistos*. For now, only the translations and most pictures of Volume 1 are available, and an *addendum*. The on-line catalogue should become a powerful research tool for combining several criteria and searches of Greek or Egyptian words across the corpus, so we encourage the editors to encode and mark up the inscription in xml with EpiDoc editorial conventions, as initially planned (*http://cpi.csad.ox.ac.uk/inscriptions/*).

Volume 1 is divided into five sections: (1) lists with figures, tables, inscriptions and abbreviations; (2) introduction; (3) inscriptions from Alexandria (1–83) and Delta sites (84–206), half of them illustrated by high-quality pictures, many provided by the late François Kayser, who curated the valuable photographic archive of the late Étienne Bernand; (4) concordances to Volume 1; (5) bibliography. However, there are some desiderata. There is no index in this volume, but one must wait until the publication of Volume 3. Meanwhile, it would be helpful to have an index for this volume, at least on the web-site (planned but not available), and a glossary with technical terms. The map of Egypt is nicely drawn, but many sites mentioned in Volume 1 are not on it for lack of space; thus, a map devoted to the Delta with all the identified sites would have been welcome. Yet each geographical subheading in the corpus indicates coordinates and ID numbers in *Trismegistos Places* (*https://www.trismegistos.org/geo/*) and *Pleiades Gazetteer*. Ideally, a detailed map for each volume could be provided on the web-site in the future.

[1] For example, J.D. Ray, *Texts from the Baboon and Falcon Galleries. Demotic, Hieroglyphic and Greek Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara* (London 2011).

The Introduction (pp. 1–20) is very informative on the origin and shape of the project and provides concise summaries of the Ptolemaic dynasty, chronology, titles and metrics. The editors are explicit about their choices, such as Egyptian transcriptions according to the English system (rather than German) or the exclusion of the Hadra vases, and note the inevitable caveats. Above all, the Introduction compiles an extremely useful and concise guide to Ptolemaic palaeography on inscriptions with a chronological table of letter forms (Table 1) and an extended discussion is given in Crowther 2020.[2] Maybe the *CPI* web-site could make available all the pictures of inscriptions in chronological order, as papyrologists have done on PapPal (*http://www.pappal.info/sample/list*).

The choices regarding the format of the inscriptions' editions (pp. 17–20) are judicious: Trismegistos number, location, description, dimensions/layout, handwriting, provenance, date and main editions. The introductions and line-by-line commentaries are pertinent, highlighting historical and philological issues, former scholars' hypotheses, editors' choices and references to related inscriptions. The editors are rightly conservative about earlier restitutions and relegate the most conjectural ones to the *apparatus criticus* while indicating restitutions in the translation. Many inscriptions are contextualised and analysed more in-depth in the 2020 companion volume to *CPI*.[3] The survey below can only highlight some aspects.

Almost half of the inscriptions in Volume 1 come from Alexandria, whose main features are presented on pp. 25–29. The editors offer some revisions and additions (*CPI* 13, 40 and 55 on the recently discovered *Boubasteion*, for which new revisions are in preparation by Csaba La'da and Dan Dana) to Bernand's 2001 publication and exclude inscriptions of uncertain provenances and dates, and too small fragments.[4] They concede that more is known about civil structures from papyrological evidence, yet they consider safe the restitution of *boule* in *CPI* 1 and thus the existence of a council when the city was founded, which was abolished by Ptolemy VIII or later. The civic offices of *exegetes* and gymnasiarch are securely attested in *CPI* 58, as are pre-ephebic groups (*CPI* 49), while the members of the *gerousia* in *CPI* 5 must be a body linked to the gymnasial elite. The bulk of Alexandrian inscriptions (*CPI* 8–38) are dedications by, for, or to the royal house. Sarapis and Isis are overwhelmingly represented in the 3rd century, notably in Greek and Egyptian dedication deposits by the royal family (for example: *CPI* 12, Sarapeion; *CPI* 18, Harpokrateion). Different ethnic groups are visible in Alexandria through dedications to Greek and Egyptian gods by ethnic associations (*CPI* 55, Thracians; *CPI* 56, Lycians), by Judeans of *proseuxai*, which could be translated as 'prayer house' rather than with the debated term 'synagogue', and by Egyptians to Anoubis, Isis, Serapis (*CPI* 22; *CPI* 27, a remarkable example of Greek texts and Egyptian iconography; and *CPI* 41). Honorific inscriptions for high-ranking officials on statue bases appear in 2nd-century Alexandria (*CPI* 55–60), and in general, the same epigraphic habits developed in the Delta.

[2] C.V. Crowther, 'The Palaeography of Ptolemaic Inscriptions from Egypt'. In A.K. Bowman and C.V. Crowther (eds.), *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford 2020), 226–67.

[3] A. Bowman and C.V. Crowther, *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford 2020) – reviewed above.

[4] E. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque* (Cairo 2001). Abbreviated as *I. Alex. Ptol.*

Funerary inscriptions complement the picture, most often epigrams (*CPI* 61–72 in Alexandria and ten in the Delta), notably for soldiers such as Ammonios, who died saving his fatherland (*patrida*, *CPI* 69), and Diazelmis, born in Apameia (Bithynia?) but stressing that 'it was the land of Egypt that nurtured me' (*CPI* 173, Terenouthis). A reference to Barbantani's work would be useful here.[5] In the animal necropolis of Memphis, Saqqara, even a sacred cobra speaks 'with a good command of Alexandrian meter' (*CPI* 203)!

In the Delta, about half of the inscriptions come from the largest cities of Memphis, Kanopos and the *polis* of Naucratis, for which evidence is meagre (see a possible list of *bouleutai*, *CPI* 151 and typical *polis* buildings, *CPI* 145, 146, 165). Dedications to Egyptian deities are numerous in the Delta, notably a sanctuary to Isis and Anoubis by the admiral Callicrates for Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, which is entrusted to the priest Pasis (*CPI* 92). Dedications to Egyptian or Greek gods on behalf of the royal family are common, especially by associations such as members of *thiasoi* (altar and persea trees in *CPI* 88 and a dining area in *CPI* 121), *politeumata* (*CPI* 115, Boeotians; *CPI* 200, Idumeans) or a gymnasium (for example *CPI* 172, a statue base to Hermes and Herakles, back reused for a funerary inscription of AD 10). Several *proseuxai* are dedicated on behalf (*hyper*) of the royal couple, without their divine epithets, to follow Judean practices. Cleopatra VII and a Ptolemy confirmed a grant of *asylia* for a prayer house, with the order corroborated in Latin (*CPI* 125). Its provenance is unknown, but the editors kept Leontopolis (Tell el-Yahoudia, 727147 in *Pleiades*, not 727146) as a possibility, where other inscriptions attest Judeans. The corpus also records legal matters, from an intriguing petition, possibly from Alexandria (*CPI* 74), to two dedications by panels of *chrematistai* (royal judges) in villages, which show that by the 2nd century BC they held fixed courts in the nomes (*CPI* 143 and *CPI* 184).

This series of volumes is the first to include the fragments of all the trilingual decrees voted by the Egyptian priests to honour the Ptolemies for their benefactions. It is not a small task and represents one-fifth of Volume 1. A short introduction and bibliography are given with the best-preserved copy of each decree, for example *CPI* 119 (Tanis stele) in the case of the Kanopos decree, with references to the other fragments (*CPI* 129 and 176). For the hieroglyphic and demotic texts, high-quality images are available on line – for example, through the Projet Rosette: *https://www.projetrosette.info/page.php?Id=1* – therefore only the transliterations are provided. Usually, only the best-preserved copy is translated based on existing texts and translations. When elements are missing on that copy, such as the hieroglyphic captions in *CPI* 129's lunette, they are translated there, while the commentaries and *apparatus criticus* record the relevant variations. It is very helpful to have together the versions recorded in the three scripts. It would be an excellent addition to be able to juxtapose the texts and translations on the *CPI* web-site since the printed format is not user-friendly for close comparisons. Such a possibility exists elsewhere for the Rosetta Stone (*CPI* 126 with minor copies in *CPI* 122 and *CPI* 413), for which the editors refer to the Digital Rosetta Stone Project (*http://rosettastone.hieroglyphic-texts.net/sections/*) and the Projet Rosette for comprehensive treatment of the document. Finally, the Raphia decree of 217 BC, celebrating Ptolemy IV's victory over Antiochus III, provides an informative

[5] For example, S. Barbantani, '"Déjà la pierre pense où votre nom s'inscrit". Identity in context in verse epitaphs for Hellenistic soldiers'. In R. Hunter, A. Rengakos and E. Sistakou (eds.), *Hellenistic Studies at a Crossroads. Exploring Texts, Contexts and Metatexts* (Berlin/New York 2014), 303–38.

commentary (*CPI* 144) on the linguistic features of the three copies, new readings by Klotz (*CPI* 190 and *CPI* 396), and compares key terms in the different scripts.[6]

We can thank the editors for this publication of the Ptolemaic inscriptions from Egypt in only three volumes. The many volumes by André and Etienne Bernand (1960–2001) were not widely available in libraries worldwide, did not contain any Egyptian language, and the oversized books on the Delta (*I. Delta*, 1970) deserved a re-edition. Ancient historians can now easily integrate inscriptions from Egypt into their research and teaching. Once completed and searchable, the on-line version will undoubtedly be the most used since no equivalent tool exists, and smaller libraries may not afford the three volumes. Then scholars will be able to benefit fully from the fruits of all this work.

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H. Bru, A.G. Dumitru and N. Sekunda (eds.), *Colonial Geopolitics and Local Cultures in the Hellenistic and Roman East (3rd Century BC–3rd Century AD)*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, vi+218 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-982-1

This collection of 17 papers from an international group of scholars (they hail from 11 different countries) on a broad – and sometimes eclectic – range of topics is held together by thematic and geographical parameters. Most papers focus on the Hellenistic period, though all consider the eastern Mediterranean region from the point of view of cultural relations between indigenous peoples and newcomers. The majority of the papers originated from a conference panel, entitled 'Colonial Geopolitics and Local Cultures in the Hellenistic and Roman East', held at the Celtic Conference in Classics in Edinburgh in 2014, though some others were added from a previous conference panel, entitled 'Les relations entre les Balkans et l'Asie mineure de époque classique à la période byzantine', at Mamaia in 2012 (part of the Symposium international Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe). The book has thus been a long time in press, and a quick scan through the various bibliographies seems to reveal references no later than about 2016. But that is certainly not meant as a criticism of the authors involved: in each case they have produced original and important contributions that advance the field. This is largely due to the thematic approach, which focuses attention on the cultural relationships in the region using various perspectives and methods, from archaeological to philological. In spite of the delay, it remains a timely collection, given the contemporary re-evaluation of settler/colonial and indigenous relations, especially in the Americas and Australasia where the issue is very much present.

The introductory text by Hadrien Bru reproduces his opening remarks to the 2014 conference in Edinburgh. Bru naturally champions the continued study of ancient societies but presents his argument as a call to arms in the face of political hostility to the humanities in general and ancient history in particular. He also encourages ancient historians and archaeologists to make their work accessible, reminding them that they have much to say

[6] D. Klotz, 'Who was with Antiochos III at Raphia? Revisiting the Hieroglyphic Version of the Raphia Decree (CG 31008 and 50048)'. *Chronique d'Égypte* 87 (2013), 45–59.

not only about the ancient world, of course, but about social interactions in general, especially in the areas of geopolitics, acculturation and cultural identities. Bru's message was welcome in 2014, and it is all the more so now as we face greater domestic and international strains and struggles, many derived from the after-effects of colonialism and asymmetrical social relations. Humanity has been here before and, as Bru suggests, it is helpful to know this. It goes both ways: recent understanding of the effects of colonialism on indigenous peoples can help us to look back with fresh insights on antiquity.

The book has been divided into four parts. Part 1 ('Territories and Colonial Settlements') houses five papers that explore colonial settlements in Anatolia during the Hellenistic period. Margherita Facella investigates the Hellenistic colonisation in Commagene and northern Cyrrhestice and the difficulties in studying the survival of indigenous cultures due to a lack of evidence. Here the study of toponyms is especially interesting, showing both the expected colonisers' use of Macedonian place names or royal names, but also the survival of indigenous place names. Guiseppe Scadozzi's fascinating paper employs satellite images in support of archaeological field surveys to reconstruct Hellenistic land divisions imposed by setter communities in Hierapolis, as well as at Nikaia and Apollonia in Pisidia, in comparison. From this data the author and his team are able to show the use of Greek land measurements, suggesting that the settlers had occupied and redistributed land for their own purposes.

The third paper in this section by Adrian Dumitru explores the controversy around the border between Seleucid and the new Attalid territories in Anatolia after the Treaty of Apamea. It is an extremely well researched paper that ultimately revives the argument in favour of a literal reading of the terms of the treaty that specified the Tauros Mountains and the Tanais river (the Don in southern Russia) as the 'border'. Of course, many scholars have tried to emend Tanais, but Dumitru argues that it represents the ideological border between Europe and Asia, implying that Antiochos III ceded all claims to Lysimachios' old kingdom and so with it all claims to Europe. Following the Attalid takeover of most of Anatolia after Apamea in 188 BC, settlers (*katoikoi*) moved into many communities, settlers who typically carried military obligations. Nikolas Sekunda's paper here explores the nature of Attalid *katoikoi* at this time, drawing primarily on two new inscriptions. In one we see Eumenes II forming a new *polis* from scattered settlements of *katoikoi*, and notable is the importance of the gymnasium for a *polis*, perhaps as a place for ongoing military training (among other social functions). In the final paper in the first part, Hadrien Bru studies the settlement of Thracian and Lycian *katoikoi* in Phrygia Paroreia, specifically at Apollonia in Pisiadia, Neapolis in Phrygia and Pisidian Antioch. He demonstrates the profound influence that Attalid colonists had in these regions.

Part 2 ('Economics and Imperial Domination') contains four papers. In the first, Rolf Strootman discusses the creation of an imperial Seleucid landscape in northern Syria and the role that religious stories played in the Seleucid foundations of Antiochia and Seleucia. For example, Seleucus I was supposedly inspired by Zeus to found Seleucia, through either an eagle or a thunderbolt, with a sanctuary for Zeus Keraunios (Thunderbolt) on Mt Kasios, though this might also remember the pre-Greek sanctuary to the storm god at the same place. That is, the Greek god did not simply replace the pre-existing one. Strootman rightly takes issue with the current trend to see Hellenistic kingdoms as quasi-modern nation-states and would move the discussion beyond the (simplistic) juxtaposition of foreign colonial

powers and indigenous 'subalterns'. The three remaining papers in this section all explore coinage in the eastern Mediterranean, in particular with reference to the growing power of Rome. Adrian Robu explores the networks established between Thracians and the Greek cities of the Black Sea during the Hellenistic period which continued into the Roman. Lucia Francesca Carbone investigates cistophoric coinage from the 1st century BC and argues that this coinage, in spite of its Attalid past, reflected a province-wide monetary policy tied to Roman power. Finally, Gilles Branbourg likewise explores Roman colonialism in the East through monetary policy and reveals the large degree of local political autonomy.

In the first paper of Part 3 ('Indigenous Cultures and Colonial Contacts'), Richard Wenghofer re-examines the history of the 'Indo-Greeks' in an effort to 'decolonise' our understanding of this region (northern India) in the Hellenistic period. This is an important paper that takes apart our traditional understanding of the rather limited evidence, literary, archaeological epigraphic and numismatic. Moreover, the approach shows how more contemporary concerns can direct us to reconsider the past with such fruitful results. In the next paper Julien Demaille studies the evolution in the relationship between Roman colonists and the original inhabitants (*incolae*) of Dion, between 44/3 BC, when the colony was established, and the 3rd century. As is the case throughout the empire, from the 2nd century it becomes increasingly impossible to distinguish between the two groups. Following this, Oleg Gabelko tackles an apparently confusing reference in Pausanias (10. 23. 14) describing the (re)crossing of the Galatians into Anatolia in 278/7 BC. In the final paper, Attila Jakab studies the role played by Christians from Asia Minor in the evangelisation of the Balkans. He shows that the Christianisation of the region, as elsewhere in the Roman empire, was not a linear process, but was interrupted by the setbacks suffered by the empire. Earlier Christianisation was more built from below, while the later efforts were imposed from above.

The final section, Part 4 ('Forms of Military Presence'), includes papers on Hellenistic and Roman military in the region. The first by D.J. Houle adds to the curiously understudied form of recruitment into Hellenistic armies, with particular attention to the Seleucid armies. Houle argues for a much greater ethnic mix, even in 'Macedonian' units. Katharine Low then explores the date of the composition of Tacitus' *Annales* (1–6) by considering Tacitus' discussion of Germanicus' voyage to the East in AD 18–19 and possible parallels to Trajan's eastern campaign in 113–117. The discussion stays Roman for Oleg Alexandrov's investigation of two military camps on the Roman *limes*, at Dura Europa and Novae (on the Lower Danube). In particular he examines the religious calendar (the *Feriale Duranum*) employed at Roman military camps by which soldiers were able to demonstrate their loyalty to the emperor. The final paper by Ivo Topalilov reveals the extent of the influences of Asian provinces on the political culture of Thrace during the Roman period.

Though held loosely together by shared themes, this is a diverse collection and clearly reflects the sort of mix that one typically sees at most conference panels. One minor criticism is the lack of a conclusion to tie the papers together. This missing conclusion is all the more unfortunate given Bru's call to arms at the outset. Still, it is useful for both scholars and students and indeed I intend to assign several papers in my courses.

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C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (eds.), *Using Ostraka in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies*, Materiale Textkulturen 32, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2020, vi+245 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-071286-5/ ISSN 2198-6932

Ce recueil est une autre publication bienvenue qui revalorise ce qui apparaît désormais comme limpide, à savoir l'omniprésence et la banalité de l'écrit dans certaines sociétés antiques.[1] Il s'agit de la publication des actes d'une rencontre à Heidelberg (2017) d'un centre de recherches « Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies » de la Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Dans leur introduction programmatique, les éditrices du recueil font le bon choix de partir des acceptions du mot grec *ostrakon*, jusqu'à l'usage moderne de « tesson inscrit », et insistent sur le rapport entre le texte, longtemps le seul à être pris en compte, et le support céramique qui distingue les ostraca (généralement peints) des inscriptions sur céramique – ordinairement des textes incisés, mais aussi des *dipinti* ou *tituli picti*; en effet, le texte noté sur des ostraca est secondaire à la fonction première du vase. Les intentions de prendre en compte les contextes social, culturel et historique, et d'étudier les ostraca afin de mieux comprendre les sociétés anciennes, ainsi que la question centrale de l'emploi des ostraca comme une pratique culturelle, sans oublier des approches à la mode – telle la notion de matérialité –, sont opportunément illustrées dans ce livre par l'appel à des spécialistes issus de domaines variés: archéologie, papyrologie, céramologie, égyptologie, études sémitiques, technologies de l'image. Les neuf études, reparties en trois sections, concernent principalement l'Égypte.

La première section est consacrée à la documentation et à l'interprétation des ostraca en tant qu'objets archéologiques. P. Davoli montre l'utilité d'étudier les ostraca comme des objets archéologiques, par leur contextualisation culturelle, et soulève une question importante: les ostraca étaient-ils trouvés et utilisés fortuitement, ou reflètent-ils un choix intentionnel? De ce questionnement découle tout l'intérêt à combiner les données textuelles et les données archéologiques, par une « archéologie des textes », ou des « textes en contexte », y compris dans le domaine archéologique. Deux parallèles sont exploités pour illustrer le dynamisme d'un complexe résidentiel, ayant livré à la fois des papyrus et des ostraca: les exemples de Soknopaiou Nésos (dans le Fayoum) et de Trimithis (dans l'oasis de Dakhla); pour ce dernier cas, la maison de IV^{e} s. ap. J.-C. de Sérénos, qui a livré plus d'un millier de textes grecs, en particulier des ostraca, nous renseigne sur les différentes « vies » des ostraca, fruit de la collaboration multidisciplinaire de la série consacrée aux fouilles d'Amheida. C. Caputo s'attarde sur les types de tessons employés comme supports d'écriture, mettant en évidence la nature plus complexe des ostraca, et propose de comprendre ce type d'objet, comme tout autre artéfact, en tant que *memory storage tool*; exemples à l'appui, elle conclut que les scribes avaient très probablement à leur disposition des morceaux plus larges de vases brisés, prêts à être utilisés comme support d'écriture, ce qui ressort, entre autres, de la pratique de préparer les marges des fragments céramiques. A. Bülow-Jacobsen fournit une contribution particulièrement utile sur les techniques de l'image adaptées

[1] Pour ne citer ici que la monographie de R.S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Los Angeles/Londres 2011), le recueil édité par J.A. Baird et C. Taylor, *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (New York/Londres 2011) ou l'ouvrage collectif *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life* (Berlin/Boston 2018), édité par A. Kolb.

à l'exploitation des sources écrites, capables d'augmenter fortement la lisibilité (en fonction de la typologie des papyrus, des ostraca et des encres), en particulier la photographie infrarouge – avec l'exemple merveilleux des ostraca photographiés immergés sous l'eau – et la RTI (*reflectance transformation imaging*).

La deuxième section concerne les pratiques et les contextes culturels. Dans une étude sur l'Égypte pré-hellénistique, B. Haring aborde la question de la survivance des ostraca d'époque pharaonique, en particulier à Thèbes du Nouveau Royaume. Analysant les ostraca littéraires grecs, J. Lougovaya utilise un outil comme le catalogue Mertens-Pack 3, fruit de la base de données CEDOPAL, afin d'explorer les goûts littéraires de couches plus larges de la population. Entre autres, elle insiste sur la séparation artificielle entre les documents trouvés en Égypte et ceux provenant du reste du monde méditerranéen antique, et s'intéresse aux textes à caractère magique, médical et oraculaire dans un contexte éducationnel, grâce au concept de *letteratura sommersa* (*cf.* Luigi Enrico Rossi); en appendice, elle donne l'édition d'une scène bucolique sur un tesson du désert Oriental (Didymoi), du III^e^ s. ap. J.-C.

La troisième section (Ostraca in Context) renferme quatre études de cas. Au sujet des lettres araméennes sur ostraca, M. Folmer exploite la documentation d'époque achéménide d'Élephantine, où se trouvait une colonie de soldats judéens, qui avait érigé un temple sur l'île, dédié à YHW; au terme de son enquête, elle conclue que ce genre de documents, peu privilégiés par les savants, était destiné à une communication sur des distances plus brèves, entre des gens qui se connaissent bien et qui sont motivés par des affaires urgentes, alors que les lettres sur papyrus, sur un support plus coûteux, se révèlent plus élaborées. M.-P. Chauffray et B. Redon donnent un aperçu du site minier de Samut Nord (en rapport avec l'exploitation de l'or) et de la forteresse ptolémaïque de Bi'r Samut, qui constituent désormais des témoins privilégiés du contrôle militaire lagide de la route commerciale menant d'Edfou dans la vallée du Nil au port de Bérénice, à la mer Rouge; 1230 ostraca en démotique, grec et araméen livrent des données variées sur l'exploration et l'administration des ressources naturelles du désert, et nous renseignent sur les groupes concernées par l'exploitation de l'or. S. Lippert et M. Schentuleit s'intéressent aux ostraca démotiques de Soknopaiou Nésos (dans le Fayoum) et de Hut-Repit (Moyenne-Égypte), plus diversifiés sur le dernier site. Enfin, J. Cromwell s'occupe de Thèbes occidentales dans l'Antiquité Tardive, grâce à une documentation principalement copte, et revient sur la question des connotations sociales de la matérialité, du moins idéalement (ainsi, le rapport au papyrus).

De nombreuses illustrations (noir et blanc, et parfois en couleur) ornent ce recueil rigoureux et de grande qualité conceptuelle, qui se clôt par des index (ostraca et papyrus, par langues; sujets, personnes et toponymes).

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A. Cazemier and S. Skaltsa (eds.), *Associations and Religion in Context: The Hellenistic and Roman Eastern Mediterranean*, Kernos Suppl. 39, Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, Presses Universitaires de Liège, Liège 2022, 381 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-87562-304-1

The volume edited by Annelies Cazemier and Stella Skaltsa gathers 13 contributions on the associative phenomenon, being the proceedings of the conference 'Associations in Context: Rethinking Associations and Religion in the Post-Classical *Polis*', that took place at the

Saxo Institute of the University of Copenhagen in October 2012. The conference was organised as part of the remarkable Copenhagen Associations Project, its objective being 'to go beyond so-called religious associations in order to assess more generally the role of religion in ancient associative life. The papers focused on the eastern part of the Mediterranean, from the late 4th century BC to the early 4th century AD' (p. 5), the authors being notable specialists in the field.

The Introduction (pp. 9–20) by the two editors brings into focus a case study, that of the *koinon* of *Asklepiastai* from Notion, recorded through a decree, which is the sole attestation of the worship of Asklepios there in the Hellenistic period (p. 10). Through this example, the editors illustrate the approach of the papers in the volume, namely 'to advance our knowledge about associations beyond the first appearances created by the traditional taxonomies of "religious" or "professional associations"' (p. 11), as the association generally fulfilled multiple roles and carried out a variety of activities, beyond what their nomenclature leads us to believe. While there is no general conclusion, the Introduction aggregates the contributions and the perspective they bring to the wider topic.

The studies take the reader to Athens, Delos, Kos, Thera, Roman Macedonia, but also farther away to Hellenistic and Roman Egypt and Palmyra, and bring into focus a wide range of associations and of research questions related to their functioning in the respective societies.

Sara Wijma's paper ('Between Private and Public: *Orgeones* in Classical and Hellenistic Athens', pp. 21–43) opens the volume with a focus on the *orgeones* worshipping the Thracian deity Bendis at Athens. It sustains and demonstrates that they 'functioned as mediators in Athenian *polis* religion' (p. 312), as their involvement went beyond the private space, with a more surprising element compared with other *orgeones*, respectively the membership of some non-Athenians, explained through the right of *enktesis* that the Thracians had.

Next, Christian Thomsen ('The Place of Honour: Associations' Sanctuaries and Inscribed Honours in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Athens', pp. 45–56) brings another case study from Athens, this time approaching the honorific practices of associations in relation to their sanctuaries. It results that the sanctuaries of associations were important places for the display of financial involvement and social recognition of the benefactors.

Paschalis Paschidis ('Civic Cults and [Other] Religious Associations: In Search of Collective Identities in Roman Macedonia', pp. 59–78) directs our attention to Roman Macedonia, and convincingly proves that the structural differences between civic cults and religious associations there were not fundamental, stressing that these were different religious expressions of 'communal identity' (p. 76).

Claire Hasenohr ('The Italian Associations on Delos: Religion, Trade, Politics and Social Cohesion [2nd–1st c. BC]', pp. 79–91) assesses the evidence concerning associations in Delos and concludes that there was only one association of Italici, which had several sub-groups. Discussed is their political, economic and social role, the association being one of the most important associations of foreigners in Delos. However, 'religion played an important role in their self-representation and social cohesion' (p. 307), as the members came from different social backgrounds.

Monika Trümper ('Cult in Clubhouses of Delian Association', p. 93–124) continues the discussion on the associations in Delos, analysing the 'cultic facilities and sacred space in seats of associations' (p. 94), focusing on two buildings: the Perfumery (GD 79) and the

Maison de Fourni (GD 124), which are considered in the literature either as clubhouses pertaining to associations, or as private houses (p. 94). To set light on the issue, the author compares the evidence from the clubhouse of the Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos (GD 57) and some Delian houses. While the Perfumery (GD 79) is likely identified as a clubhouse, the Maison de Fourni (GD 124) is considered to most probably be a private house. It is inconclusive whether the Delian grottoes functioned or not as shrines (p. 121), but they are certainly attested in both private houses and in clubhouses of associations, and it results that their presence does not represent a criterion in the identification of the function of a building (p. 122).

The paper of Stella Skaltsa ('Associations in Ptolemaic Thera: Names, Identity, and Gatherings', pp. 125–47) looks into the five associations of locals and foreigners (*basilistai*, *koinon* of the *andreios* of *syggeneis*, *koinon* of Antister Pythochrestos, *Bakchiastai*, *aleiphomenoi*), attested in Ptolemaic Thera in order 'to assess to what extent associations carved their own space, responding to and engaging with developments in the religious and sociopolitical landscape' (p. 126). The identification of associative seats is not possible due to the scarce evidence; however, associative activities did take place in spaces that were and were not exclusively associational. The terminology used to name the associations does not refer to the ethnicity of members, their identity and self-representation being centred upon religious and social appurtenance (p. 146).

Next, Stéphanie Maillot ('Associations and Death: The Funerary Activities of Hellenistic Associations', pp. 149–68) tackles the evidence on the Hellenistic *koina* (mostly from Rhodes and Kos, but also from Athens and Delos) with regard to their diverse funerary activities (setting up monuments, organising funerary ceremonies, purchase of burial plots, commemorations of the deceased). It turns out that these activities were pragmatic, religious, but they also reflected a hierarchy and represented a symbol of identity.

Jan-Mathieu Carbon ('Funerals and Foreigners, Founders and Functionaries: On the Boundary Stones of Associations from Kos', pp. 169–206) researches complementary aspects related to associations. More precisely, addressed are those associations attested in Kos as owners of burial plots (p. 169), coming from boundary stones (58) and tomb markers (five). The paper shows the diversity of associations in terms of denomination, deities worshipped, wealth, durability, membership (origin, juridical and social status) and purpose (cultic *vs* mostly funerary).

Philip Venticinque ('Dying to Belong: Associations and the Economics of Funerals in Egypt and the Roman World', pp. 207–25) approaches the funerary component of associations from an economic perspective, but focusing on the social capital resulted from it, as well as the trust networks established and the enforcement of the association's reputation.

Continuing with evidence coming from Egypt, Mario Paganini ('Religion and Leisure: A Gentry Association of Hellenistic Egypt', pp. 227–47) discusses the association of farmers/landowners (συγγέωργοι/ ἡ τῶν γεούχων σύνοδος) from the village of Psenamosis attested in *I.Prose* 40 = Bernard 1970 I, 445–62. The author highlights the role played by religion and the royal cult for this association, respectively it represented an opportunity for networking, self-presenting, as well as for obtaining social recognition.

Ilias Arnaoutoglou ('Cult and Craft: Variations of a [Neglected] Theme', pp. 249–70), approaches the associations from a novel perspective, differentiating between craftsmen

associations (those who exercise a craft) and professional associations (those who provide a service) (p. 253), not as a means of implementing a new taxonomy, but as it 'may be helpful to the extent that it could reveal (or not) different attitudes towards the sacred' (p. 253). The varied examples from all over the ancient world point to the fact that in the case of occupational associations, their religious manifestation 'seems firmly embedded in the dominant set of socio-religious relations, in the wider social context of ancient Graeco-Roman religiosity' (p. 262).

Matt Gibbs ('Artisans and their Gods: The Religious Activities of Trade Associations in Roman Egypt', pp. 271–85) focuses on Roman Egypt, and more particularly on the religious activities of solely the trade associations (ironworkers, cattle-herders, weavers, stonecutters, *probatoktenotrophoi, halopolai, apolysimoi*), as well as on their relationship with the Egyptian temples (pp. 271–72). As religious expressions, sacrifices, dedications, 'pilgrimages', votive, dedicatory inscriptions/graffiti were made, but specific was also commensality. Trades associations also made contributions to temples, as a regular activity (p. 285). As such, trade associations certainly incorporated religious activities, which represented an important and defining component.

Michał Gawlikowski ('The Marzeha of the Priests of Bel and Other Drinking Societies in Palmyra', pp. 287–99) assesses the fragmentary archaeological and epigraphic evidence on associations in Palmyra. The sources reveal elements such as commensality, sacrifices to gods, or honouring various members of society who were or were not part of the association, the drinking and feasting component being especially representative, even though their denomination render a religious or professional facet.

At the end of the volume are abstracts of each contribution, alphabetical by author (pp. 305–12); these are followed by a list of abbreviations, bibliography, a very useful index of ancient sources (literary, inscriptions, papyri and ostraca) and an index of associations. Considering the variety of locations mentioned, a geographical index would also have been useful. The illustrations are of very good quality and the volume is well edited.

To conclude, the proceedings are extremely valuable: they bring a new perspective on associations from the Mediterranean and their complex role in society. Considering the extent of the geographical coverage of the project, the volume includes inevitably only some areas and associations.

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj Annamária-Izabella Pázsint

V.M. Closs and E. Keitel (eds.), *Urban Disasters and the Roman Imagination*, Trends in Classics Suppl. 104, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2020, xi+286 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-067469-9

Already the title of this volume will excite potential readers – urban disasters and the Roman imagination. Who would be able to keep their hands off a book promising to bring together actual calamities and fantasies about them? The edited volume pivots around the theme of urban disasters in the Roman period with a point of departure in the statements that 'For authors in the Roman world whose works react to disaster – or even to the prospect of it – the image of the destroyed city became the focal point for a wide range of emotions and memories', and that 'the destruction of cities constitutes the quintessential

disaster not only in real terms, but also in literary ones'.[1] The editors rightly remind us already in the Introduction to the volume that the earliest narratives of disasters speak to us about the fall of famous cities, in this case Troy in the Iliad. Urban centres made perfect backdrops for describing disasters and their impacts on people – unlike anything else a ruined city could incite the imagination and vivid imaginary pictures could be painted through textual descriptions of urban disasters. While on the one hand reminding us about the fact that the ancient Graeco-Roman world was a world of cities, this on the other hand also reminds us that whether people lived in cities or not, they would have known of them and their fabrics, and the image of the urban must have lived in their minds and shaped their imaginations – which we certainly see in the texts analysed in the volume.

The focus of all contributions in the volume is almost exclusively on the way in which urban disasters were described in ancient texts and the impact that such disasters had on authors' writing about cities in the ancient world. No archaeologists have contributed to the volume, but since it is also clearly stated in the Introduction that the focus is on texts, the volume should not be faulted for this, despite the fact that it would have been a low-hanging fruit to have brought in at least some of the material evidence pertaining to this theme through a few extra contributions. However, as the title says, the focus is on the Roman imagination – the way in which Roman authors wrote about urban disasters and not necessarily the material reality.

The editors ask hugely important questions in the Introduction, such as what constitutes a city – its buildings or its citizens? What lingering effects of civil war ultimately shaped imperial ideology concerning disasters? To what extent can disastrous events in the life of the city be blamed on failed leadership or on general moral decline? These are indeed absolutely key questions touching upon extremely central themes to the overall study of ancient urban societies – themes which are partly very much in vogue and reflected in much scholarship being published these years. Scholars are still grappling with the question of what constitutes urban societies – people or the spaces which they created – and how we might most fruitfully study them through the evidence – be it material or literary.[2] Therefore, it would also have been wonderful if the editors had addressed these questions in more detail, fleshing out for us how the ancient texts and the readings of them might, in fact, when examined through the lens of urban disasters, contribute to a better understanding of exactly what constitutes a city, the shaping of imperial ideologies or failed leadership. While there are underlying notions of tackling these questions in the various papers, these questions do not guide the overarching approach of the volume, which in turn in some places makes the reading somewhat incoherent. Nonetheless, what is clear is that the contributions take as their point of departure the people, the individuals and the groups – be it the ancient authors or the people the ancient authors wrote about or the audience their writings were intended for – bringing the human aspects and the human tackling of disasters impacting urban spaces to the very forefront. Through the texts analysed and discussed, it

[1] Introduction, p. 1 and E. Keitel, 'The Art of Losing: Tacitean Disaster Narrative'. In C.S. Kraus, J. Marincola and C. Pelling (eds.), *Ancient Historiography and Its contexts: Studies in Honour of A.J. Woodman* (Oxford 2010), 331–52.

[2] G. Woolf, *The Life and Death of Ancient Cities. A Natural History* (Oxford 2020); or R. Raja and S.M. Sindbæk, 'Anomalocivitas'. *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 5 (2022), 13–18.

becomes painstakingly clear how frightening the thought of damage to the urban fabric must have been to the ancient mind – whether caused by military intervention, natural disasters or diseases. The insecurity that people in the ancient world lived with is conjured with numerous vivid examples leaving us without doubt that both ancient and modern imaginations have been at play here.

The volume consists of an Introduction and ten contributions divided into three sections. Part 1: 'Literary Elaborations of the Urbs Capta Motif'; part 2: 'The Causes of Urban Disasters'; and part 3: 'Commemoration of Disasters'. Five of the ten contributions stem from a conference held in 2015, the rest seems to have been later invited papers. While the sections that the papers are divided into do make sense on paper, they also seem a bit artificial upon closer reading – since numerous papers touch upon several of the three main themes. It would be too easy to criticise a volume for including 'only' ten contributions on a topic as important and as broad as the one it intends to tackle; instead I prefer to highlight some of the positive aspects, namely the focus on bringing to the forefront a variety of writings which we all know well, but which have not been considered within the context of urban disasters and the Roman imagination until now. In this way all contributions consider more or less well-known writers, such as Cicero (Köster), Lucan (Joseph), Lucretius (Nethercut) and Pliny (Bromberg) and tease out new perspectives on their writings about urban catastrophes of various kinds, spanning from the eruption of Vesuvius (Bromberg), across Rome-focused narratives of civil wars (Clark) and the AD 64 fire(s) in Rome (Closs) as well as the sacks of Jerusalem (Chapman) and that of Veii (Kraus) – both by the Romans.

Three contributions are singled out here, simply to display the volume's diversity. 'One city captures us…' by Timothy Joseph, focusing on the writing of Lucan, in fact takes us on a *tour de force* of the *urbs capta* motif, which goes back to Homer. Focusing on Lucan's narrative about Rome and Pharsalia, the contribution argues an inverted disaster narrative in which Caesar stands as a central figure, reminding us about the autocratic life under imperial rule in general. Jessica Clark's 'Winning Too Well …' concerning Pompey's victories takes another approach pulling together a range of sources – epigraphic and literary – to show how the physical environment and various descriptions and representations of it could be manipulated to set the scene of narratives of victory in the Late Republican period. Honora Howell Chapman's 'Josephus' Memory of Jerusalem…', while dealing with events later than the two highlighted above, takes its point of departure in events in Rome – reminding us that the fire of AD 64 together with the fire in AD 69 would together have conjured to something potentially beginning to resemble what Jerusalem went through in AD 70. Since many know the topography of Rome better, this image does conjure the horror of the sack of Jerusalem.

The contributions are welcome additions to the topic of ancient urban disasters. It would have been welcomed, however, to have seen some further concluding sections – in the Introduction, in a summary in each paper or in a concluding chapter by the editors – in particular on the three important questions brought up in the Introduction: what constitutes a city – its buildings or its citizens? What lingering effects of civil war ultimately shaped imperial ideology concerning disasters? To what extent can disastrous events in the life of the city be blamed on failed leadership or on general moral decline? These are the absolutely pivotal questions in the volume – questions that the editors might have used

a bit more throughout the process of putting the volume together to guide their authors. This would have brought the volume together in a more comprehensive way. Overall, the volume brings fresh perspectives on ancient texts, whose topics are no less relevant today than when they were written, and shows that the editors were well ahead of the research trends with their 2015 conference. So while not being comprehensive – and how could it be? – I recommend this volume for inspiration and further research on the topic of the textual representations of urban disasters.

Aarhus University Rubina Raja

H.P. Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt*, Edinburgh Studies in Ancient Persia, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2020, xxi+318 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4744-5236-6

Henry Colburn, an author of innumerable excellent articles devoted to diverse facets of the Achaemenid empire, is eminently qualified to present a wide range of archaeological material on Achaemenid Egypt as the westernmost satrapy of the new political hegemon from the Near East. To do this, he provides seven chapters of about 260 pages. In his extensive Chapter 1, 'The Study of Achaemenid Egypt', he establishes in great detail the historical context of the quite different approach of Egyptologists and Classicists to the period of the Persians in Egypt during the Late Period/pre-Ptolemaic era. Moreover, the presence and rule of the Persian kings in Egypt (27th and 31st Dynasties/526–404 BC and 340–332 BC) was not seen in a positive light in antiquity; it is also true that in more modern times little has changed.

As C. states at the outset: 'This book examines the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule in Egypt in a holistic manner that eschews rigid divisions between Persians and Egyptians, conqueror and conquered, through the analysis and interpretation of a corpus of archaeological remains assembled here for that purpose'.

This he has achieved in a series of well-organised chapters that introduce Achaemenid Egypt and discuss the character of the evidence, looking at Egypt as a part of a huge empire. Last but least, he evaluates meticulously the impact of Achaemenid rule on the country, its institutions, population and environment.

Chapter 2 ('Urban Experiences: Memphis') looks at the place where the traces of Persian presence both military and administrative are well documented since the beginning of the archaeological excavations undertaken mainly by Sir Flinders Petrie at the area of the Palace of Apries. However, a significant part also considers the surviving remains from the cemeteries in the nearby Abusir and Saqqara; both were used intensively as burial grounds by the Saite elite quite deep into the Achaemenid period.[1] Numerous stelae from the Saqqarian Serapeum also prove that opulent cultic activities continued and were widely supported by the Achaemenid kings.

[1] K. Smoláriková, 'Late Saite-Early Persian Assemblages of Pottery from Abusir'. In B. Bader, C. Knoblauch and E.C. Köhler (eds.), *Vienna 2 – Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century* (Leuven 2016), 545–55.

In Chapter 3, 'Rural Experiences: The Western Desert', our attention is shifted from the urban to the desert, more precisely to the Western Oases of Kharga and Dakhla, which, thanks to new irrigation technology from south-western Iran – *ganat* – significantly extended the hitherto sporadic settlement. This transfer of unique Persian know-how to the satrapy clearly demonstrates how important for the central power was the connection with a seemingly distant part of empire. Hand in hand with the new settlements came increased building activities, especially constructions or reconstructions of small or larger temple complexes all around the oases: in Ain Manawir, Kysis-Dush, Qasr el-Ghuweida, etc. Unique in this respect is the decoration programme in Hibis: especially a winged god with falcon's head and tail wearing the double crown of Egypt and spearing a serpent representing the demon Apop. This Horus/Seth is an excellent reference to the foreign king/Darius who commissioned the temple.

Chapter 4 ('Representation and Identity') is based on the surviving sculptural materials, mainly statues, which mirrored the attitudes of high-ranking Egyptians towards the ruling foreign dynasty. This phenomenon is very well illustrated by the examples of Ptahhotep (*ḫppš* – a very high Persian administrative position), who accepted through his 'Persian garment' affiliation to the international elite of the Achaemenid empire; while the Horwedja (*senti* – 'finance minister') preferred a simple Egyptian kilt and a bag wig. Nevertheless, both of them were loyal to the empire. Those of Udjahorresnet belong to the assemblage of sculptures of paramount importance, so too does the statue of Darius from Susa, widely discussed and analysed by C. The reviewer hopes that this brilliant chapter completely displaces the hypothesis about the artistic 'poverty' of the 27th Dynasty and its 'invisibility' in Egyptian art.

Chapter 5 ('Social Practices: Drinking Like a Persian') focuses on the drinking manners of ancient Persians and the luxurious tableware used in the royal banquet: Achaemenid phiale and rhyton/drinking horn as well as the more common deep bowl. These types were accepted in the Egyptian milieu rather positively, the more so that they manifested close connection with the high social status of their users. Indeed, they have been discovered across Egypt, made of a wide range of materials: a limited number from silver or gold, but ceramic or faience versions dominate. From Tell Timai and Tell el-Mashuta come nice silver phialai, and there is a ceramic rhyton from Suwa, among others. The third type, in the form of deep ceramic bowls has been unearthed in great number at Tell Dafana, Buto, Heracleion/Thonis, Tell el-Herr, Dra Abu Naga, Karnak, etc. Thus their impact on the Egyptian drinking practices was more than eloquent throughout society.

'Coinage and the Egyptian Economy' (Chapter 6) examines the successful process of the monetisation of the Egyptian economy, so far widely based on the re-distributive system. The backbone of this process created – at that time widespread and accepted – Athenian tetradrachms. In Athens the lack of grain was always vast and exchange of coins for grain served excellently both Egyptians and Athenians (for what remains, in a lower degree also the Saite kings used the Athenian coins), the more so that for Egypt these coins perfectly satisfied the empire's demands for tribute.

The final chapter, 'Experiencing Achaemenid Egypt', assesses the crucial impact that the 27th Dynasty had on Egyptian society during its more than a century of rule. From all the facts here assembled it is apparent that 'For some it represented a grave interruption

of everyday life, for others it provided new opportunities, and for others still it had comparatively little effect. People of seemingly similar stations could construct their identities in noticeably different way.' And with such a conclusion we can agree in all the way in all respects.

This handsome publication contains a good complement of maps, line drawings, photographs and tables. There is an extensive bibliography as well as a thorough index.

Without doubt, this book has ambitions to move beyond a narrow audience of specialists and is also likely to become the standard work on the subject. Thus, it fulfils its purpose admirably.

Charles University, Prague Květa Smoláriková (†)

A. Colonna, *Religious Practice and Cultural Construction of Animal Worship in Egypt from the Early Dynastic to the New Kingdom: Ritual Forms, Material Display, Historical Development*, Archaeopress Egyptology 36, Archaeopress, Oxford 2021, x+228 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-821-3

This book sets out to cover an interesting area of research into animal worship from the Early Dynastic to the New Kingdom. This timespan, or at least parts of it, are generally overshadowed by the prevalence of material from the Late Period through to the early Roman era. Angelo Colonna deserves credit for having attempted to bring together a synthesis of this earlier material.

The book derives from C.'s doctoral thesis presented at Sapienza University of Rome in 2014 and parts of it read very much like a doctoral thesis; in this and several other respects it would have benefited from the oversight of a professional editor. C. clearly has fluency in several modern languages but has neglected to provide any translation of the numerous foreign language quotations which he provides, though some specific terms are translated. This makes parts of the book difficult to follow for those who lack his wide linguistic knowledge and is likely to render it inaccessible to many undergraduates who might otherwise have used it.

The first chapter, 'Introducing Animal Worship', is perhaps the most difficult in terms of its style and seems to have come direct from his doctoral thesis. Whilst it introduces some important themes they tend to be rather lost in the numerous quotations. I am unclear what C. means by a 'coral effort' when setting out the chronological limits of the work. The work of Diane Flores is flagged as important, but does not feature in the bibliography and in the text the reference given is to work by Hornung (p. 3).

The second part of the book 'Presenting the Evidence' is divided into chronological chapters: (2) 'The Early Dynastic', (3) 'The Old Kingdom', (4) 'From the First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom', (5) 'The New Kingdom'.

The chapter on the Early Dynastic (2) provides a useful and succinct summary of the evidence for sacred animals which, as C. notes (quoting Wilkinson 1999) is 'piecemeal and often difficult to interpret' and largely confined to finds from Abydos and Saqqara and is heavily focused on the Apis bull. The chapter has useful illustrations showing key pieces. The Old Kingdom chapter (3) is able to draw on more evidence, and it is clear that bovids

remain the focus of animal cult activity, though an interesting case is made for the role of Pelicans as solar-birds as represented in the Sun Temple of Niusserre.

The First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom (4) notes that 'Compared to both earlier and later times, there is a larger darth [dearth?] of readily identifiable evidence for modes and contexts of religious action and display that might be understood as "animal worship"…' (p. 89) not least due to the lack of surviving royal monuments. Cattle are again the most prominently represented animals but there is also firm evidence for crocodiles.

Oddly there is no mention at all of the Second Intermediate Period, which does not even feature in the index to the book. Even if evidence for animal worship is limited or non-existent at that time, this ought to be made clear and the reasons for such lack should be discussed. Instead, the text jumps from the Middle Kingdom straight to the New Kingdom (5) where, as one might expect, the evidence is more abundant.

The New Kingdom saw the development of necropoleis specifically planned for the burial of 'sacr(alis)ed animals' (p. 111) along with votive stelae dedicated to them. Accordingly, the chapter examines the Apis bull at Memphis, the Mnevis bull at Helipolis, bulls in the Theban region, fish at Mendes and at Gurob and canids at Asyut and crocodiles in the Gebelein region. An interesting observation is that some of the dedicatory stelae do not seem to be those of priests but rather of other individuals, sometimes with their names and titles left uninscribed. C. suggests that this might indicate that they 'were made for stock and then sold as required, thus reaching larger parts of the population' (p. 153). In this respect they foreshadow the development of the animal cults as a part of 'popular' or 'private' religion during later times.

Although this second section of the book deals with chronological periods there is no table giving the dates for dynasties and periods as used by C. It may be that he has chosen to be deliberately vague in this respect rather than attempt a more detailed chronological overview but some explanation would have been welcome.

The third and final part of the volume is titled 'Synthesis and Reconstruction' and features only one chapter (6) Modelling Animal Worship. Here the important point is made that we must distinguish between the etic, Egyptological and the emic, ancient Egyptian, definitions of sacred animals. For C. the sacr(alis)ed animals are agents which can 'exert, mediate and extend religious power in order to produce changes that are deemed as real is significant, at both individual and social level, by the ancient Egyptians' (p. 175). This emphasis on agency goes beyond the work of Fitzenreiter which saw the sacred animals as an aspect of fetishism. There is useful discussion of the characteristics of state versus private religion and the role of the sacred animals in this section.

The volume ends with an extensive and useful bibliography and an index. There is no map to show the location of any of the sites discussed in the text.

Overall, C. deserves credit for examining under-researched periods within the study of animal worship in Egypt and for introducing some interesting concepts into the study. It is, however, a great pity that the book was not subject to greater editorial supervision, which might have resulted in a much more readable and readily accessible volume.

Cardiff University Paul T. Nicholson

C. Columbi, V. Parisi, O. Dally, M.A. Gugisberg and G. Piras (eds.), *Comparing Greek Colonies: Mobility and Settlement Consolidation from Southern Italy to the Black Sea (8th–6th Century BC)*, Proceedings of the International Conference (Rome, 7.–9.11.2018), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, xvii+596 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-068232-8

Literally hundreds of Greek settlements were founded from the western Mediterranean to the eastern Black Sea from the 8th to the 6th centuries BC, so it is not surprising that scholarship concerning this migration is a central theme of contemporary Greek historiography, especially since the end of the Cold War made possible co-operation between historians and archaeologists in Eastern and Western Europe. Because of the rapid increase in archaeological evidence concerning Greek colonisation, much of it still unpublished or published in multiple languages in hard to obtain journals. Collective volumes, either of essays organised around central themes such as those in the series Black Sea Studies published by Aarhus University Press or conference proceedings, have become the preferred form of publication of scholarship in this area.

Comparing Greek Colonies is a notable addition to this scholarship, containing the proceedings of a conference devoted to the comparison of Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean and the Black Sea, particularly those on its western and northern coasts, held at Rome between November 7th and 9th, 2018. Although the potential rewards of such comparison were pointed out more than 60 years ago in a remarkable article by A. Wasowicz,[1] *Comparing Greek Colonies* is the first serious large-scale attempt to accomplish such a project. The delay is understandable, since the obstacles standing in the way of its success are formidable. Besides the already mentioned linguistic and evidentiary problems, different interpretative paradigms hinder the production of syntheses covering the two regions. Examples in the volume are the use of culture historical methodology and the lack of concern for the problematic aspects of the term 'colony' common in the contributions of the East European and Russian scholars in contrast to those of Western colleagues. The problems indicated above do not, however, lessen the interest of *Comparing Greek Colonies*.

One thing, however, is clear. *Comparing Greek Colonies* is a truly massive volume, containing 32 papers organised around three themes: 'Construction of the Economic System', 'Relationships and Forms of Contact with the Indigenous Populations' and 'The Definition of Social and Territorial Systems'. A round table consisting of an additional four brief papers summarising and discussing the implications of the conference conclude the volume. Interestingly, reflecting the increasing dominance of English as the *lingua franca* of scholarship, although the participants came from a wide range of countries including the United Kingdom, France, Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Romania, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and the United States, 20 of the papers are in English, followed by 14 in Italian with one each in German and French. In view of the large number of papers in the volume, however, not all of them can be discussed in this review.

The 11 papers in the first section contain like those in the other two sections a mixture of broad interpretative studies and detailed studies of individual sites. The highlight of

[1] 'À l'époque grecque. Le peuplement des côtes de la Mer Noire et de la Gaule méridionale'. *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations* 21 (1966), 553–72.

the group is M. Giuseppetti's deconstruction of the biographical tradition concerning Archilochus as evidence for the colonial activity of Paros, emphasising the late development of the tradition and the influence of Critias' anti-democratic bias on it. Several of the papers address fundamental issues in the study of colonisation. So, for example, evidence from Megara Hyblea and Selinus enables S. De Vido to demonstrate how the advantages enjoyed by first settlers fostered the development of aristocracies. F. Frisone likewise explores a too little studied aspect of Greek colonisation, the foundation of secondary colonies by already existing settlements, illustrating both the extent of the phenomenon and how it fostered networks that extended the mother city's influence over neighbouring regions. Finally, K. Riehle interestingly reinterprets the old question of what attracted Greeks to the western Mediterranean, using as examples pottery production and stock raising to argue that the region offered more opportunities to potential settlers than the acquisition of raw materials emphasised in earlier scholarship. Turning to the Black Sea, A. Butyagin and A. Kasparov provide a valuable summary of the evidence for the economic development of Myrmekion during the Archaic period gathered over half a century of excavations beginning in the 1930s, identifying the principal grains grown and tracing changes in the importance of fishing and hunting as food sources and comparing the results with other Black Sea sites.

The second group of 11 papers deals with one of the oldest and most discussed topics in the history of Greek colonisation: relations between Greeks and non-Greeks. The use of 'indigenous' to characterise local populations instead of 'non-Greek' points to the distinguishing feature of the papers in this section, the replacement of the diffusion of Greek culture framework characteristic of earlier studies of colonisation by post-colonial approaches in which Greeks and non-Greeks are treated as equal agents. M.A. Guggisberg and C. Colombi open the section with a thematic overview of the papers in it and their implications. G. Zuchtriegel complements the opening paper with a convincing demonstration that viewing identities as constructed in response to different social conditions is a more profitable approach to interpreting such relations than the assumption that relations occurred between sharply defined ethnic groups. As an example, L. Altomare shows that recent excavations conducted by the University of Calabria concerning the territorial landscape of the Gulf of Taranto revealed significant Oenotrian influence in its formation instead of local subordination to Greek dominance. In a significant contribution to understanding the topography of cultural contact, F. Lerosier identifies the important role played by the *proasteion*, the transitional zone between a city's walls and its *chora* as a neutral zone in which contact between different ethnic groups could take place. On the basis of evidence provided by excavations by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the University of Milan, C. Marconi revises earlier reconstructions of Selinus' early history, showing that there is no evidence for a native village on its site prior to its foundation. A different view of Greek and Indigenous relations is offered by O. Belvedere and A. Burgio, who argue that at Himera that local populations concentrated their activities on higher terrain suitable for herding which the Greek colonists exploited flat land at lower levels that were suitable for agriculture while practicing pastoralism to a lesser degree. C.B. Fantauzzi studies religious interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks, highlighting the role in indigenous elites in the development of the cult of Aphrodite at Eryx. Finally, two papers shift the focus from the Greek cities of Sicily and South Italy. In the first, L. Nigro provides a useful survey of the early history of the development of the Phoenician port city of Motya; while in the second, M.Y. Vakhtina tackles one of the most difficult problems in Black Sea

archaeology, the presence of large quantities of Archaic Greek pottery in prominent non-Greek interior sites, arguing that such finds – primarily amphorae and East Greek pottery – at the hill fort of Nemirov are best explained as evidence of ties with Greek settlements, probably Berezan and Olbia and not 'pre-colonial' contact.

The ten papers in the final section of the volume address a topic that has attracted considered interest in recent scholarship: the development of the territories of Greek colonies. A particularly valuable feature of this group of papers is the recognition that territorial development in the western Mediterranean and Black Sea differed because of the peculiar geographical conditions of each region.

After a general introduction to the section by O. Dally, four papers deal with the western Mediterranean. It opens with a valuable paper by R. D'Oriano, summarising excavations at Olbia, the sole Greek colony in Sardinia, highlighting the fact that Phoenicians were not the only eastern Mediterranean population on the island in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. In the next two papers E. Mango suggests that Archaic Himera was polycentric, developing around several isolated sacred sites; while S. Helas similarly shows that the agora at Selinus was defined relatively late, being initially available for use for burials. The final paper in the group traces the transformation of Metauros from a Sicul settlement to a Locrian colony.

The emphasis shifts to the Black Sea with the final five papers in the group, specifically to its western and northern coasts. Two papers deal with Histria. In the first, V. Lungu contrasts the histories of Histria and Orgame, the first being an 'open' colony, expanding its territory rapidly through exploitation of its favourable harbour and receptivity to new settlers while Orgame remained a 'closed' colony dominated by a handful of aristocratic families and limited urban development. In the second paper, I. Bîrzescu highlights the role of Propontic cities such as Cyzicus in pioneering exploration of the Black Sea and identifying promising potential colonial sites such as that of Histria. Two papers treat north coast settlements, that of Y.A. Vinogradov arguing that Artyushchenko-1 on the Taman Peninsula was a seasonal Maeotian agricultural settlement, while that of A. Bujskikh suggests that the identification of Aphrodite as the deity worshipped in the southern *temenos* at Olbia combined with similar cults at Borysthenes and Histria reflect common trends originating in Miletus in the cultural development of these colonies. The survey closes with a typically magisterial survey of the state of classical archaeology in the Black Sea by G.R. Tsetskhladze, identifying future problems and current results such as the recognition that Greeks were the first settlers on the north coast and that finds of Archaic Greek material in hinterland sites such as Nemirov and Belsk are evidence of Greeks living in indigenous settlements.

As the four papers in the concluding round table indicate, collective volumes like *Comparing Greek Colonies* always raise problems and suggest questions needing further study. So, although a post-colonial approach has clear advantages over the old diffusion of Greek culture framework, it can also suffer from vagueness. For example, the concept of hybridity recurs throughout the volume, but a clear definition of what constitutes hybridity is lacking. Also, desirable would be more attention to the indigenous cultures the Greeks encountered and to the impact colonial growth, fuelled by *epoikoi*, had on relations with them. Still, the fact the remains that *Comparing Greek Colonies* with its extensive chapter bibliographies and numerous useful maps and illustrations is and will remain a valuable resource for the study of Greek colonisation for years to come.

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G. Cruz Andreotti and F. Machuca Prieto, *Etnicidad, identidad y barbarie en el mundo antiguo*, Temas de Historia Antigua 31, Sintesis, Madrid 2022, 276 pp. E-book. ISBN 978-84-1357-690-9

The rise of studies on ethnicity in antiquity in recent times is evident, although it is not always adequately addressed for various reasons. Ethnicity, a complex subject in itself, is perhaps one of the best examples of the overuse and sometimes misuse of a term among researchers of the ancient world, something that can make bibliographical searches quite arduous, to say the least. In this sense, the great merit of Cruz Andreotti and Machuca Prieto's work is to have brought order and clarity to the subject. The language chosen for the publication should not prevent it from becoming one of the books of international reference, especially for those students or specialists in ancient history and archaeology who are interested in the identities of the Graeco-Roman world, the core of the work, and the relationship with the otherness represented by the barbarian. An important point to note is that Christianity and late antiquity are not discussed, nor is Byzantium.

To begin with, the strength of the book is probably the clarification of the concepts at stake through arguments supported by a solid theoretical basis and avoiding ambiguities to a large extent. The first chapter addresses the issue of human identities, which are understood as the result of a social construction, while highlighting their multiform character, and the second chapter deals extensively with ethnicity as a category of analysis. Particular emphasis is placed on showing the historiographical evolution of the debates, from the original essentialism to the current constructivism. The main conclusion is that the development of ethnicity is extremely dependent on specific historical circumstances. It is therefore something contingent and constructed, which may or may not happen (p. 44). When it happens, the basic principle is ethnogenesis, that is, the process by which an ethnic group is formed. The group is defined primarily by the use of an ethnonym and the idea of a common ancestry that is expressed in myths of origins and conveyed to some extent through a shared history and territory. Perhaps some comment on the interaction between endogenous and exogenous ethnonyms would have been welcomed. The authors also note that ethnic identities are multiple, shared and overlapping, and that ethnicity is a matter of degree, both collectively and individually. The role of elites is important.

In the third chapter, the reader is introduced to the peculiarities of the ancient world. The framework is the civilisations of Greece and Rome, in which the idea of the city is central in terms of identity. The authors, who are particularly interested in ancient geography and archaeological documentation for the study of ethnicity, are right to note the drawbacks of the sources, especially the incompleteness or bias of the information available. This is very true when analysing data from literary texts in the Graeco-Roman tradition. The debate on ethnicity and its possible reflection in material culture, illustrated by the example of the Vettones (pottery and granite sculptures called 'verracos'), is sure to delight archaeologists. However, convincing everyone that objects with ethnic significance exist will depend very much on the case study. The last part of the chapter lays the theoretical foundations for understanding the ethno-cultural diversity throughout the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean from the local/global perspective, which has been so fruitful in recent years.

The rest of the book consists of three chapters that provide an overview of ethnicity and identity in the Greek world, the Roman world and barbarism beyond borders. Among the many topics covered by the authors in these pages, the reader will be introduced to some episodes of crucial importance for identity issues, such as the Graeco-Persian War that began in 490 BC, or the key debates surrounding the so-called 'Romanisation' and the 'becoming Roman' process. It is also worth mentioning the incorporation of the so-called 'symbolic ethnicity'[1] into the study of ethnogenetic phenomena perceived among ancient populations under the influence of Rome and Hellenism. This symbolic ethnicity refers to the consumption and use of ethnic symbols in circumstances that do not involve "compromised" modes of ethnic bonding and do not generate threats or disruptions to dominant power and culture (p. 188).

The volume closes with an epilogue reflecting on the purpose of knowing ancient identities. The following is a selection of texts, some by modern but most by Graeco-Latin authors, all in Spanish translation. Each of these texts is accompanied by a short introduction and a series of questions that can be very useful for teaching.

As for the bibliography, it is recommended to consult the complete and updated list available on the publisher's web-site.[2] An expert in the field might notice that some relevant titles are missing,[3] yet a few omissions in no way detract from the bibliographical research carried out by the two authors of the volume, which is clearly considerable.

To conclude, the nuances and edges in such a broad and complex subject are important, but the authors proceed wisely and fulfil their aim of providing a conceptual and methodological 'scaffolding' with which to approach identities in general, and ancient identities in particular (p. 11). In addition, numerous literary sources are cited throughout the book (an index is perhaps lacking here) and many examples are discussed, especially from the Iberian Peninsula, which can be useful for comparison with other ancient regions and communities.

The volume is well edited (the e-book version available in the publisher's on-line viewer has been used for this review). In case of any error,[4] it is excusable considering the amount of data included in this work.

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[1] H.J. Gans, 'Symbolic ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2.1 (1979), 1–20.

[2] *https://www.sintesis.com/libro/etnicidad-identidad-y-barbarie-en-el-mundo-antiguo* [last consulted 06/06/2024].

[3] Such as I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge, MA 2001); or P. Ruby, 'Peuples, fictions? Ethnicité, identité ethnique et sociétés anciennes'. *REA* 108.1 (2006), 25–60.

[4] It seems that the following sentence should refer to Herodotus: 'aunque se rompe esa ficticia identidad étnica común ya avanzada por Hesíodo' (p. 125).

T. Daryaee and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Iran and its Histories. From the Beginnings through the Achaemenid Empire. Proceedings of the First and Second Payravi Lectures on Ancient Iranian History, UC Irvine, March 23rd, 2018, and March 11th–12th, 2019*, Classica et Orientalia 29, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, ix+386 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11683-1/ISSN 2190-3638

The present volume represents the proceedings of the first and second Payravi series of lectures.[1] Programmes of the remaining. I cannot write too highly about this series and the efforts of its editors. Each contribution is well documented, often providing new approaches to old problems, thus inspiring others to use these lectures as a basis for further examination.

Touraj Daryaee and Robert Rollinger (p. 17) offer an introductory section outlining the problems and challenges of undertaking the study of pre-Islamic Persia. Emphasis is placed on Iran as 'dynamic and fluid' (p. 1). A region subject to 'multiple wave-like movements of smaller groups' marked by a steady process of integration and assimilation. In the next three contributions Josef Wiesehöfer (pp. 21–30) emphasises the value of Henkelman's view (p. 24) that elements of various origins could be used to establish an identity – the Achaemenids, Parthians, and Sasanians all took steps to secure a peaceful realm, the state supporting heterogeneous religious and linguistic backgrounds (p. 28); Daryaee (pp. 31–44) indicates that the Iranian past underwent a number of iterations, mixing the legendary and the historical, hence a 'balkanization' (p. 32) of historical memory persisting into the present time; and Dan Potts (pp. 45–61) examines the Zagros as a physical feature, cultural boundary and political dividing line. He notes that in antiquity areas belonging to the Zagrosian sphere were often under Assyrian and Babylonian influence.

Iranian prehistory to early state formation consists of three studies. Georg Neumann (pp. 65–97) discusses the Iranian plateau from the Palaeolithic to Bronze Age beginnings. Here is a detailed account of excavations with a well-documented bibliography (pp. 88–97). Hunter and forager camps gave way to longer-term habitations, pottery enabling storage, thus settlement outside mountain valleys. Technological advancements led to more complex and specialised settlements. In the second half of the end of the 4th millennium the growth of metal working and larger trading networks existed until an ecological disaster, at the 3rd millennium, caused settlement abandonment. Hans Neumann (pp. 97–110) discusses western Iranian relations with Mesopotamia in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium based on cuneiform sources which outline 'the complexity of political-diplomatic and economic-commercial relations', often involving the exchange of Mesopotamian agricultural and textile products for Iranian precious stones and metals. Elizabeth Carter outlines with care how Anshan developed from an ally of the Ur III state to the outpost of Elamite kings (pp. 111–29). Weakening Mesopotamian dynasties led to a highland power holding Susa. Anshan's growth (p. 126) can be attributed to the Ur III decline.

Focus now turns to the Assyrians through the Achaemenids. Giovanni Lanfranci (pp. 133–48), in a discussion of 'training for empire', describes how the western Iranians participated to reduce resources available to Urartu, although some decided to support both

[1] Contents, including third series, listed at *https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/pdfjs/web/viewer.html?file=/ddo/artikel/82446/978-3-447-11683-1_Table%20of%20Contents.pdf#pagemode=thumbs*. Programmes of the remaining: *https://sites.uci.edu/canepa/research/*

Assyria and Urartu. Those supporting Assyria became partners in the imperial army and were involved in dynastic politics. Members of this Assyrian ruling class joined with the Babylonian king to topple Assyria proper. Thus Cyaxares (in Assyrian service) and the Babylonian Nabolassarus (p. 145) plotted together, making Polybius 30. 10 applicable the translatio imperii. Matt Warters (pp. 149–61) highlights the Achaemenid debt to Assyrian imperial thought (epithets, images, palace reliefs). The Parsagadae reliefs are reflective of direct borrowing from Assyria. That state placed a distant second to Cyrus' achievements, but remained a solid foundation for such. Hilmar Klinkott (pp. 163–88) offers a long discourse on the Achaemenid 'world system' and how to approach it, focusing on source problems and their level of flexibility, offering a summary of his approach on pp. 176–79. Although the empire was not known for 'cultural imperialism binding the ruled together' (p. 177), a successful Weltreich is not devoid of such. Ask the British.[2] Margaret Cool Root (pp. 189–237) presents a learned discussion of Queen Irtashduna and her seal (PFS 38), examining visual evidence and texts, thus highlighting the 'integrated special economies' in the empire. The seal 'recalls' Neo-Assyrians glyptic traditions, especially in its main designs, but the presence of the infant Horus in a papyrus thicket and hints at a silphium image evoke Egypt. The hero in the seal's 'lush symbolic landscape' (pp. 226–27) plus echoes of dynastic fertility points to Darius' extension and stabilisation of Achaemenid Egypt. Julian Degen (pp. 239–87) presents a thoughtful examination of Alexander's use of the figure of Dionysius in claiming a Macedonian world empire, i.e. transforming the Achaemenid perception of empire to Graeco-Macedonian myth. Dionysius' deeds provided a model for Alexander's own expansionist aims (given the 'absence' of an Achaemenid India), including crossing the Syr Darya, visiting Nysa (with its Dionysiac echoes) and his acceptance as legitimate ruler of both Macedonians and Asians.

The final section discusses the empire and its borderlands. Henry Colburn (pp. 291–36) treats the African periphery, making use of Wallerstein's 'world-systems analysis' and its application to the Roman empire by Woolf (especially pp. 292–94), a 'useful framework'. Herodotus does not consider questions from a core-periphery stance.[3] Susa, Ecbatana and Babylon all possess feature of a core. Core and periphery connected by roads and sailing routes. Military domination was an Achaemenid feature with a number of garrisons. Political domination was exercised with the Great King as pharaoh, supported by the local Battiad dynasty in Cyrene, while the Kushite rulers worked through the satrap of Egypt as a means of maintaining autonomy. The Achaemenids encompassed all earlier types of kingship and ideology (pp. 316–21). Kush was valued for its 'exoticness', there was nothing to rule beyond. Conquest of this periphery was expensive, administering it certainly less so. Potts (pp. 337–48) discusses the Indian holdings of the empire. No explicit foreign policy goals are presented in the Persepolis tablets for India. The empire was (pp. 339–40) an 'unintentional facilitator of the transmission of mathematical, astronomical and astrological knowledge'.[4] It was

[2] Begin with D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford 2001).

[3] On core-periphery, see the Mauryan study by R. Thapar, 'The State as Empire'. In H.J.H. Claessen and P. Skalnik (eds.), *The Study of the State* (The Hague 1981), 409–26. It is regrettable that this study has passed from memory.

[4] Now see K. Stevens, *Between Greece and Babylonia. Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge 2019).

reasonable for Indians to seek technical data from Babylonian realms; most journeys done by land. Pott argues for the 'presence of few, if any, institutions of Achaemenid governance in the region' (p. 348). However, the purpose of a Weltreich is to make available a world of physical and intellectual treasure to those competent enough to achieve it. Kai Ruffing (pp. 349–67) discusses the Achaemenids and the Mediterranean. It was Achaemenid control which exercised influence on how the Greeks later perceived Athenians activities in the years after the major battles with Persia. Ruffing offers a comparison between the Herodotean account and the Athenian activities in the Aegean during the Pentecontaetia (especially pp. 355, 357). The motif which prompted Greeks to withstand Persia were the same inspiring resistance to a Hellenic enemy. Cara al sol, an Achaemenid admiral could press on westward, but 'bye-bye empire, empire bye-bye; shallow water, channel, and tide …'.[1] Stanley Burstein (pp. 369–78) discusses the Black Sea as an Achaemenid frontier, focusing on *I Sinope* 1 (published in 2004), a treaty of alliance between Sinope and the ruling family of Heraclea in the 350s–340s. Here the Great King acts as ultimate arbiter lest cities here go to war and damage the empire (especially pp. 373–76).

Although this lecture series and accompanying publications will end with the Sasanians, there are a number of elements which are common to all the dynasties. Perhaps a final series to deal with these overarching themes?

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L. de Blois, *Image and Reality of Roman Imperial Power in the Third Century AD*, Routledge Studies in Ancient History, Routledge, London/New York 2019, xvi+312 pp., 6 maps. Paperback 2020. ISBN 978-0-367-66573-9

Das dritte Jahrhundert n. Chr. läßt die Forschung trotz der mittlerweile zu bewältigenden Literaturmasse nicht los. Zu divers und damit spannend in ihrer Analyse sind die über alle Quellengattungen hinweg vorzufindenden Zeugnisse, zu verführerisch daraus resultierende Stellungnahmen, meist entlang der traditionellen Interpretationslinien von reichsweiter „Krise", regionalen „Krisen(phänomenen)" oder einsetzenden Transformationsprozessen. Der ausgewiesene Kenner der Quellen, Forschung, Debatten wie (antiken wie modernen) Diskurse zu dieser Periode, Lukas de Blois, hat mit seiner dicht geschriebenen Monographie nicht allein eine Synthese vorgelegt, sondern offeriert eine die „Krisenfraktion" stärkende Argumentation, indem er insbesondere die Formationen, Praktiken, Repräsentationen und Effekte kaiserlicher und vor allem auch militärischer „power" in den Blick nimmt.

Hierzu entwickelt er in seiner Einleitung (= Kapitel 1) neben einem Überblick zur historischen Situation um 200 n. Chr. und den zur Verfügung stehenden Quellengattungen seine Leitfrage nach den Realitäten und Imaginationen von Macht, indem er angelehnt an Michael Mann einen ausdifferenzierten Machtbegriff bezogen auf politische, ökonomische, militärische und ideologische Aspekte annimmt, der sich in sozialer Praxis und Kommunikation manifestiert (S. 9–12); hierbei unterscheidet er mit MacGregor Burns zwischen ‚transactional' und ‚transforming leadership', wobei letzteres ein stärkeres Band zwischen Herrscher und beherrschten Gruppen hin zu einem höheren Ziel und damit eine leichtere

[1] 'One of Our Submarines' (T. Dolby).

Durchsetzungskraft von herrschaftlichen Akten meint. Implizit wird hier schon angedeutet, wie de Blois vor allem zur Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts das Pendel gen ‚transactional leadership' schwingen sieht, d.h. die Erhöhung der Abhängigkeit des Kaisers von den ihn tragenden Bezugsgruppen, insbesondere dem Militär.[1]

Insofern sind seine folgenden, jeweils sehr detaillierten Durchgänge durch die militärischen Konflikte (Kapitel 2), die ökonomisch-fiskalischen Ressourcen (Kapitel 3), die Quellen militärischer und politischer Macht (Kapitel 4) und die ideologisch-repräsentativen Herrschaftsmittel (Kapitel 5) im Prinzip Aspekte einer Storyline, die mit den umfassenden Umgestaltungsprozessen der Severerdynastie, vor allem der Stärkung des Militärischen, beginnt, sich dann langsam während der ersten Soldatenkaisern zur Krise hin steigert, die von 249–268 n. Chr., also von Decius bis zum Tode des Gallienus, andauert, während die Jahre danach eine langsame Erholung, v.a. auf dem militärischen Sektor, darstellten. Gegen allein regionale Effekte der Kriege setzt er die ökonomisch-fiskalische Mehrbelastung als Konsequenz andernorts durch den Wegfall von derlei leistungsfähigen und damit wirtschaftlich beeinträchtigten Territorien, einen daraus folgenden größeren Durchgriff der kaiserlichen Verwaltung auf lokaler Ebene und damit letztlich eine Stärkung von administrativ wie militärisch spezialisierten *equites* zu Lasten der hauptstädtisch-italischen Senatoren und (ritterlichen) Juristen, die ihren Status ohne tatsächliche Macht außerhalb der *urbs* und Italien allerdings behielten. Paradoxerweise habe diese „Lokalisierung" kurzfristig zur Stärkung der Loyalität zum Reich(sgedanken) und Kaiser vor Ort geführt, langfristig allerdings im Verein mit dem angesprochenen fiskalischen Zwang, ungerechtfertigter Bereicherung und militärischer Herausforderungen zusätzlich zur senatorischen auch zur lokalen Entfremdung mit dem meist fernen Kaiser – was dann Usurpationen ausgelöst habe, die letztlich jedoch gerade im ideologisch-repräsentativen Bereich auf traditionelle Motivik gesetzt hätten, jedoch zur Stärkung ihrer Macht das Militär entlohnen mußten, was neben den bereits beschriebenen fiskalischen Auswirkungen gerade auch zu einer Abwertung des Edelmetallgehalts der Münzen geführt habe.

Diese hier notwendig stark gerafften Argumentationslinien untermauert de Blois mit zahlreichen Quellenbeispielen und einer Fülle von herangezogenen Untersuchungen, die allerdings en detail immer in den Endnoten nach jedem Kapitel nachgeschlagen werden müssen. Es steht somit außer Frage, daß hier ein englischsprachiges Referenzwerk vorliegt, das von jedem konsultiert werden sollte, der sich ernsthaft mit dieser Phase der Römischen Kaiserzeit beschäftigt. Doch seien einige Punkte hervorgehoben, die in der weiteren Diskussion sicherlich eine Rolle spielen müssen:

1.) Verflechtung: de Blois hebt zu Recht hervor, daß die Regionen des Reiches, zumindest zu Beginn des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., noch stark miteinander verbunden waren, was (negative) Interdependenzen und Effekte zeitigen konnte, wenn eine Provinz etwa von kriegerischen Ereignissen betroffen war. Anstatt hier allerdings ‚reichsweit' zu denken, sollte man in der zukünftigen Forschung eher die stärker miteinander verschalteten und verflochtenen Räume in den Blick nehmen, woraus sich etwa auch Phänomene des gallischen und palmyrenischen „Teilreichs" erklären ließen.

2.) Steuerdruck und Finanzverwaltung: Es ist gerade in den literarischen Quellen schwer auszumachen, wie stark Topoi die Darstellungen über fiskalischen Druck und Einzugswillkür

[1] Zu ergänzen wäre hier die Studie von M. Handy, *Die Severer und das Heer* (Berlin 2009).

bestimmen;[2] Quantifizierungen, auch unter Einbezug von Papyri, sind problematisch. Das Verfügbarmachen und Requirieren von Ressourcen und Menschen vor Ort scheint ein wichtiger Ansatz zu sein,[3] der konzeptionell weitergedacht werden und auch die Jurisprudenz und Jurisdiktion verstärkt einbeziehen sollte.

3.) Währung: Neben der unbezweifelbaren Entwertung des Edelmetallgehalts wäre es naturgemäß notwendig, die im Umlauf befindliche Geldmenge abzuschätzen, um ein einigermaßen realistisches Bild der monetären Situation im Reich zeichnen zu können. Wichtig sind in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Rekonstruktion von Geldkreisläufen, die etwa interessante Ergebnisse für das gallische ‚Sonderreich' und dessen Effekt auf andere Regionen in der späteren Entwicklung unter Aurelian ergeben,[4] und ebenso sind zukünftig die verschiedenen Aspekte des Vertrauens in Geld weiter auszudifferenzieren.[5]

4.) Intentionalität der Quellen: Nicht allein Münzen, Statuen, Reliefs, Bauwerke usw.[6] sondern gerade auch die literarischen Quellen sind diesbezüglich kritisch in den Blick zu nehmen. Hier wird man sicherlich noch die eine oder andere Feinarbeit leisten müssen, um die jeweiligen Perspektiven auf die historischen Realitäten angemessen herausarbeiten zu können.

Mit dem Werk von de Blois (und den anderen Referenzwerken wie Johne, Gerhardt und Hartmann 2006; Johne 2008)[7] sowie den hier vorgetragenen hoffentlich weiterführenden Gedanken gewappnet, lassen sich hoffentlich viele weitere Erkenntnisse zu diesem immer noch (er)forschungswerten Saeculum gewinnen.

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[2] Vgl. S. Günther, s.v. Steuern. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 31/Lfg. 242/243 (2021), 114–66, hier: bes. 133–34 u. 153–65.

[3] Vgl. P. Eich, 'Die Normierung imperialen Raums: Zur Verfügbarkeit von Menschen und Gütern unter dem Einfluss der tetrarchischen Reformen'. In P. Derron (ed.), *Économie et inégalité. Ressources, échanges et pouvoir dans l'antiquité classique* (Vandœuvres 2017), 235–69.

[4] Vgl. dazu J. Chameroy, 'The Circulation of Gallic Empire Coins in Western Asia Minor in Light of Excavated Coins'. In O. Tekin (ed.), *Proceedings: Second International Congress on the History of Money and Numismatics in the Mediterranean World* (Antalya 2018), 389–411, abrufbar unter: *https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02451239* (15.07.2022).

[5] Vgl. dazu P. Reinard, '›Altes Ptolemäisches‹ und ›neues kaiserliches‹ Geld in den Papyri des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Beobachtungen zum Verlust der Geldillusion'. In B. Eckhardt und K. Martin [eds.], *Eine neue Prägung: Innovationspotentiale von Münzen in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Wiesbaden 2016), 119–54.

[6] Dazu jetzt B.N. Beressem, *Die Repräsentation der Soldatenkaiser. Studien zur kaiserlichen Selbstdarstellung im 3. Jh. n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 2018) bergen Intentionen (der jeweiligen Autoritäten).

[7] K.-P. Johne, T. Gerhardt und U. Hartmann (eds.), *'Deleto paene imperio Romano'. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 2006); K.-P. Johne [ed.], *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser. Krise und Transformation des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235–284)*, 2 Bde. (Berlin 2008).

M. Dorka Moreno, *Imitatio Alexandri? Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen Götter- sowie Heroenbildern und Porträts Alexanders des Großen in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 29, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2019, 248 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-920-5/ISSN 1862-3484

Did visual representations of gods and heroes imitate Alexander III (the Great) in Graeco-Roman times? Martin Dorka Moreno tackles the old scholarly dispute about the *imitatio Alexandri* in a shortened and slightly revised version of his PhD thesis submitted at the University of Freiburg in 2015/16; the book is well-equipped with illustrations. D.M. combines a long-standing German tradition of *Kopienkritik* and his sharp eye for portrait types with a new methodology to describe different levels of similarities between the portraits of Alexander and Achilles, Hercules, Helios and the Dioscuri. This serves as basis for re-evaluating the concept of *imitatio Alexandri* and for problematising its mostly uncritical use in archaeological scholarship and ancient studies in general.

In a rather extensive introduction (pp. 11–44), D.M. unfolds the theoretical and methodological background (especially pp. 27–42). He favours a semiotic approach and understands portraits as sign systems, defining the different parts of Alexander's portrait as icons with a specific visual code. This enables D.M. to step back from the immediate but uncritical impulse to identify each and every portrait with either Alexander, or a hero, or a god, and acknowledges ambiguities and polyvalences in the reception process ('Sinnpotenziale').[1]

This is a sophisticated turn which helps to better understand the complex relationship between the visual representations of Alexander and the equally lion-like appearances of some heroes, for example Hercules, and various gods from the 4th century BC until the Late Roman empire. For this objective, D.M. adopts the (mathematical) term 'Ähnlichkeitsrelationen' (pp. 32–35), which describes a relation between two visual representations based on similarities. The substitution of the term *imitatio* with 'Ähnlichkeitsrelationen' a (kind of *similitudo*, as it seems to the reviewer) sensitises for the ideas hidden between the term *imitatio Alexandri*, i.e. an intentional imitation of Alexander. An investigation of the term *imitatio* and its implications as understood by different scholars, and especially of the concept of 'similarity' with respect to visual culture, would have been a thought-provoking and enlightening final of this theoretical section and would have certainly sharpened the line of argument in the subsequent analytical part.

D.M. further develops the model by differentiating 'Einzelbildreferenz' (a reference to a specific work of art or portrait type) and 'Systemreferenz' (similarities on a very general level: for example, distinct lion-like hair) as the two anchor points of his analysis. He rightly states that both concepts cannot be differentiated clearly in some cases (p. 39), and rather than two helpful categories, they seem to be the two poles of a continuum, depending on both the sculptor's and the viewers' familiarity with the visual language in a certain region and period of time. Only on this ground, we may discuss the images' polyvalences and political instrumentalisation of ambiguities, for example, the overlapping of Alexander's and Hercules' appearance. Anyway, a clear definition (or list) by D.M. which elements

[1] For the concept of ambiguity and its application to ancient art, see now E. Günther and J. Fabricius (eds.), *Mehrdeutigkeiten. Rahmentheorien und Affordanzkonzepte in der archäologischen Bildwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden 2021).

of Alexander's portraits he understands as relevant visual elements, such as *anastolé*, youth, turn of the head (are they all to be seen on the same level? are they separated or interdependent?) would have been extremely helpful for the reader to follow the line of argument and to fill the general and theoretical remarks on visual similarity with precise meaning.

Chapter 2 (pp. 45–64) is devoted to Alexander's early portraits (Erbach-Acropolis, Azara, Schwarzenberg). The comparison of the 'Alexander Schwarzenberg' and a doorknob shaped like a lion-head with *anastolé* from Vergina, which dates to the end of the 4th century BC, points to the fact that the *anastolé* was, at least in this period, understood as a lion-like feature, and was not exclusively linked with Alexander (pp. 56–62).

The following chapters explore the visual correlations between Alexander's portraits and gods/heroes from Archaic Greece to late antiquity, not only examining sculpture, but also vase paintings, coins, etc., mainly based on the huge collection of images by the *LIMC*. D.M. starts with Achilles in Chapter 4 (pp. 65–103). To him, the depictions of Achilles do not copy specific portraits of Alexander in Hellenistic and Roman time, although coins from Thessaly (dating to 302 BC) transfer the *anastolé* and a lion-like hairstyle from Alexander's iconography (presumably type Schwarzenberg) to Achilles (pp. 79–85). However, such direct links can only rarely be reconstructed, also due to the incomplete archaeological record (p. 103). The next chapter focuses on Hercules (pp. 105–48), especially on Hellenistic tetradrachms by Alexander and the Diadochoi (pp. 119–40). Yet the question is, how and to what extent did the ancient users of the coins recognise Alexander 'behind' Hercules? D.M. rightly alludes to the difficulties we as modern scholars have in reconstructing the viewers' understanding; however, an intended uncertainty which provides the possibility to play with different frameworks by the audience should, at least in the eyes of the reviewer, not be ignored. A difficult question is whether the depiction of Hercules' statue in the painting of an Apulian calyx krater in the Metropolitan Museum (inv. 55.11.4) alludes to Alexander due of its long hair (pp. 114–16), since such a hairstyle is not uncommon in naiskos vases (see, for example, a volute krater by the Iliupersis painter in the British Museum inv. 1849,0518.4, *https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1849-0518-4*).

Chapter 6 (pp. 159–75) sheds light on the relation between Alexander's portraits and the depiction of Helios/Sol. Similar to the two heroes examined in the former chapters, the *anastolé* was integrated in the depictions of the sun-god without providing clear references to a specific Alexander portrait. Again, Hellenistic coins (tetradrachms from Rhodes) are the main sources (pp. 153–56). Chapter 7 (pp. 177–98) takes a look at the Dioscuri, who take over the *anastolé* in the 2nd century BC. The analysis concludes with two interesting case studies (pp. 199–211): a marble head of Dionysos in Venice that slightly varies the hair scheme of 'Alexander Schwarzenberg', and the head of Apollo Karneios on coinage from Teios which correlates with the iconographic scheme of Alexander's portraits on Lysimachos' coinage from 297 BC on (p. 209). A concise summary (pp. 213–21) completes the volume.

This well-structured monograph brings into the readers' minds that the exact relationship between Alexander's portraits – as preserved in Roman copies – and the depictions of specific gods and heroes is much more complex than the term *imitatio Alexandri* suggests. The rather mathematical approach opens a door for a re-assessment of interpictoriality in ancient sculpture. It also raises the question at which point scholars have to leave

formalistic thinking and consider the people, the audience of these images, who certainly interpreted them according to their respective *frames*, which must have varied in this huge and diversified Hellenistic (and, later, Roman) world.[2] Finally, the readers may complete their thoughts on Alexander's portraiture by consulting a further monograph which was recently published in the same series by Martin Kovacs.[3]

University of Heidelberg Elisabeth Günther

W. Eck, *Gesellschaft und Administration im römischen Reich: Aktualisierte Schriften in Auswahl*, ed. A. Kolb, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, viii+572 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-074665-5

Werner Eck is a household name for anyone with the least interest in Latin epigraphy, Roman society, prosopography, administration and army, and Roman history generally. This is one of several volumes including papers by E.,[1] mostly selected and grouped thematically.

The book includes 26 papers, divided into two equal parts (Society and Administration), originally published between 1995 and 2018, with the bulk formed by more recent texts. Except two (nos. 13 and 24, translated here), all were originally published in German, and all were updated and partly revised. The criteria for selecting these papers out of E.'s vast body of work were on the one hand their centrality/importance, on the other availability: as quite a number of them were initially offered in less widely circulated publications, the present volume makes them more accessible to readers.

The individual papers belong to several of the topics which have been pursued by E. throughout his research. One such is the reign of Augustus and the various ways in which the first emperor reshaped the machinery of the state and the fabric of Roman society. The papers here (nos. 5, 14, 15, 20) examine such topics as Augustus' marriage legislation, which encountered resistance mainly from the senatorial class, the novelties in the senatorial career, the integration of new offices and the evolution of an equestrian career, the place of the army within the structure of the Augustan Principate and within society, and the army's financing. The latter is discussed repeatedly: the creation of the *aerarium militare*, the *vicesima hereditatium*, their impact especially on the senatorial elite and the reactions this engendered. The changes in the administrative system of the empire under Augustus are examined beyond the division into Imperial and senatorial provinces: there were no fundamental changes in the governing of provinces, entrusted still to senators, no regional

[2] For the potential of frame and framing theories for Classics, see E. Günther and S. Günther (eds.), *Frames and Framing in Antiquity I. Selected Papers from the first Frames and Framing in Antiquity Conference, 16–18 October 2020* (Changchun 2022).

[3] *Vom Herrscher zum Heros. Die Bildnisse Alexanders des Großen und die Imitatio Alexandri* (Rahden 2022).

[1] *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia. Scritti scelte, rielaborati ed aggornati*, ed. S. Panciera (Rome 1996); *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* I–II, ed. R. Frei-Stolba and M.A. Speidel (Basel 1995–98); *Monument und Inschrift. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur senatorischen Repräsentation der Kaiserzeit*, ed. W. Ameling and J. Heinrichs (Berlin 2010).

specialisation for them, autonomous communities were stimulated, financial procurators were employed instead of quaestors and were to be found in senatorial provinces also, for the administration of the *patrimonium Caesaris*, while Imperial slaves and freedmen, present in the administration, had as yet not very clear competences (**14**).

Another such focus is on the military (nos. 7, 8, 16, 18–20), mainly against the background of the soldiers' place within the framework of Roman society and their role in the administration of the empire. Much of this is based on the evidence of military diplomas, which were for many years one of E.'s foremost preoccupations. Here, they are employed in order to examine the place of their issuance within the emperor's workday (**16**; arriving at an average of one *constitutio* per year and province) or to achieve an interim synthesis on the evolution of auxiliary units within the Roman army during the Principate (**19**). The latter refers to the necessary distinction between local, regional and outside-the-province recruitment (this having occurred more frequently than is generally supposed), and to the incidence of conscription. While veterans returning home brought with them a strong awareness of their roots, it was precisely the most pacified and civilised provinces, such as Greece and western Asia Minor, which contributed least to the army's manpower. The general imprint of the militarised provinces was determined also by the proportion between legionary and auxiliary units – the latter being less integrated into the Roman culture; there was also a strong difference between the origin (often Mediterranean) and cultural outlook of the officers of senatorial and equestrian rank and, not only the soldiers, but also the officers of lesser rank originating in the Western provinces (**7**). The place of the soldier in Roman society was defined by the distinction between military and civilian, an identity of interests separating and sometimes opposing them. This was a result of the Imperial legislation starting with Augustus and of later legal regulations concerning soldiers, most importantly the ban on marriage (**8**).

A recurring topic in E.'s work is social status, the building of identities and the projection of the public image, especially among the (senatorial) elites (nos. 1–3, 6, 10, 11). It is here illustrated through issues such as the public presentation of the intellectual side of the Roman senator's life, the consequences of the (sometimes obligatory) mobility of Roman senators for their home communities, for themselves and for others, the use of a certain language as a tool of power, where the constraint to plurilinguism was felt also by the Roman elite, or the evolution of the franchise as a relevant part of Roman identity. The influence of Imperial freedmen in Roman society is exemplified by such personages as Claudius Etruscus and his father, *a rationibus* under Vespasian, Mazaios and Mithridates at Ephesus, C. Iulius Licinius, procurator in Gaul, or Epaphroditus, Nero's *a libellis*. Their imposing funerary monuments, the distinctions bestowed upon them which were otherwise the preserve of the senatorial-equestrian elite and the latter's resentments against them are shown to remain important even as emperors starting with Vespasian and Trajan gradually replaced freedmen with equestrian office-holders (**10**). The reflex of women in inscriptions of Rome and Italy during the Principate shows that honours for them were mainly understood as honours for their family and, in accordance with the traditional views of Roman society, they were visible in the private sphere, much less in the public one (**11**).

Roman law is mostly regarded through its impact on society and administration, such as collective and individual grants of the franchise, the influence of Roman legal provisions over local ones (**12**), or the involvement of the Senate in the law-making process, but

especially the role of the emperor, through his edicts, letters and *mandata* (**13**). However, there is also a discussion of Latin funerary inscriptions as juridical sources (**9**). The question of the moment from which a funerary monument was considered as *locus religiosus* is examined on the basis of several inscriptions of Imperial-age mausolea in the city of Rome, discussed within their archaeological context.

The fruitful topic of the administration of the provinces is repeatedly addressed (nos. 4, 17, 21–23), highlighting issues such as embassies directed at the emperor and the provincial governors, the support of provinces in Asia Minor for Vespasian and their reorganisation under the Flavians, or a comparison between the careers of senators and knights under the Principate and the situation after the reforms of Diocletian/Constantine. Communication through symbols of rule and ritual actions focuses on office-holders in the provinces, namely in Iudaea/Syria Palaestina: such symbolic forms of communication (official residences, military standards, lictors, statues, inscriptions, the use of Latin etc.) only worked against the background of military might, which was perceived as fundamental (**17**). The political-administrative definition of the province is concerned with the phases of the formation of the provincial system, their division and governance, the differences between the provinces, which as far as administration was concerned were likely less perceived by the population (except for the taxation system); a provincial identity likely did not exist (**21**). A study of offices and administrative structures in autonomous entities of the Principate examines the subordination relations on the provincial level, the wealth, status and cults practiced by the provincial governors, the autonomy, status and language of the communities themselves and the provincial *concilia*, concentrating on the administrative evolution of Iudaea and the early Christian milieu as salient examples (**23**).

The editor's choice here fell less upon in-depth discussion or reconstruction of epigraphic texts, otherwise one of the hallmarks of E.'s work, than upon examinations of issues of wide historical purport. The papers were selected to complement each other and cohere into a comprehensive image of Roman society and administration, and as the author based his interpretations upon explanations of the fundamentals, some repetitions within texts initially published wide apart in time and space were unavoidable. They were written in a clear, beautifully logical, slightly didactic manner, meant to elucidate and not to obscure the author's meaning. This is a most useful collection, enlightening for many aspects of Roman society and administration and illustrative for E.'s work generally.

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj Ligia Ruscu

B. Eckhardt, *Romanisierung und Verbrüderung: Das Vereinswesen im römischen Reich*, Klio 34, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2021, viii+348 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-075186-4/ISSN 1438-7689

After a remarkable series of articles on the associations from the ancient world,[1] the efforts of Benedikt Eckhardt have culminated in the present volume on the same subject. The

[1] B. Eckhardt, 'Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations, Systems Theory and Societal Evolution. Preliminary Perspectives'. *CAS Sofia Working Papers* 6 (2014) (on-line publication: *www.ceeol.com*); 'Romanization and Isomorphic Change in Phrygia: The Case of Private Associations'. *JRS* 106 (2016),

work (a *habilitation* thesis defended at Bremen University in 2020) discusses, based on literary (Greek and Roman authors, Biblical writings, juridical sources), epigraphic and papyrological sources, the ancient associations from the Roman empire, continuing the research done by other specialists in the field in the last decades.[2]

While some of the authors studying associations have concentrated only on a specific geographical area (city, province), period (Hellenistic, Roman) or type of association (professional, Dionysiac etc.), E. addresses the phenomenon and its evolution at the level of the empire. The study represents a 'structural history of associations under Roman rule' (p. 1), having as its goal to 'examine how associations contributed to the development of Imperial identities in the Roman empire and under which framework this happened' (p. 14). As such, the associations across the Roman empire are seen in the light of Romanisation.

For this purpose, E. addresses a series of interconnected issues throughout the nine chapters. The first chapter ('Romanisierung und Verbrüderung', pp. 1–16) is an introductory one, including key elements concerning associations during the Roman period. It focuses on the way in which the associations evolved and, on their contribution to maintaining Roman rule, and their subversive potential (p. 1). Right from the beginning, the author explains the two concepts that are central for the investigation *Romanisierung* and *Verbrüderung*, underlining the main evolution of the former in the current historiographical debate. In relation to associations and Romanisation, the concept of *Verbrüderung* (fraternisation) is analysed in reference to Max Weber (pp. 3–4).

After introducing the reader to the main concepts, in the following chapter ('Die Ordnung der Vereine', pp. 17–35) E. reviews the Roman legislation that concerned the associations (up to Marcianus), debating the principles behind the *collegia licita* and *collegia illicita*. Endorsed is the idea that there is uncertainty regarding the possibility of being promoted or demoted from one category to the other, depending on the threat the associations posed (p. 35).

Chapter 3 ('Die nützlichen Vereine im Westen', pp. 36–69) analyses the implementation of this legislation, mostly in Rome, Italy and the western provinces. More precisely, E. brings into discussion some specific associations, namely the professional associations of *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* (pp. 37–45) that are considered as semi-state organisations (*halbstaatliche Organisationen*) due to their role in society, respectively to their *utilitas publica*. Similar to them regarding their public utility are considered to be the groups of veterans and Jews (pp. 53–55), as well as the *Augustales* (pp. 56–62) and those persons grouped for the worshipping of Antinous (pp. 63–66).

1–25; 'The Eighteen Associations of Corinth'. *GRBS* 56 (2016), 646–62; 'Who Thought that Early Christians Formed Associations'. *Mnemosyne* 71.2 (2018), 298–314; *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (Leiden 2018).

[2] To mention only a few: O. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Romans East* (Amsterdam 1997); I. Dittmann-Schöne, *Der Berufsvereinen in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens* (Regensburg 2001); C. Zimmermann, *Handwerkvereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum* (Mainz 2002); N. Tran, *Les membres des associations romaines. Le rang social des collegiati en Italie et en Gaules, sous le Haut-Empire* (Rome 2006), J. Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum. The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden 2009); R.S. Ascough, P.A. Harland and J.S. Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World. A Sourcebook* (Waco, TX 2012).

Next, E. discusses 'Privates Vereinswesen: Grenzziehungen' (pp. 70–101), the associations that did not belong to the previous category (mostly household associations, private foundations, or cult associations). These were considered as *collegia licita* as long as they did not represent a particular threat, taking into consideration for example their resources and number of members, as opposed to the previous category.

After this, the emphasis is on the associations from the East ('*Ubique res publica?* Römische Vereine im Osten', pp. 102–38), so as to see how the Roman order is received here, and whether there is a correspondence with the typology present in the West. As such, attention is given once again to legislation – the evidence being much thinner (pp. 103–12), terminology (pp. 113–26) and internal structure (pp. 127–35). Even though there is a certain variability, E. concludes that the associations from the East follow the same pattern as the ones in the West.

The analysis continues ('Der Rat, das Volk – und die Vereine?', pp. 139–70) with a focus on specific sets of associations: the professional associations (relatively diverse and numerous in this part of the empire, pp. 103–12), as well as the associations of *neoi* (pp. 149–57), and the *gerousiastai* (pp. 158–66), the latter two inevitably modelling Roman practices (p. 139).

Close attention is given also to mostly religious associations from Africa, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace and the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Levant and Egypt ('Organisierte Vergangenheiten', pp. 171–242). It shows that they mirrored Roman associations, but they were diverse and had their own local specificities: 'However, one wants to imagine the influence of the Roman order on the development of associations in the Imperial period, associations remained primarily a local affair…', '… locality as an organisational principle characterises both the process of institutionalised isomorphism and the counter movements…' (p. 347).

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions, which are taken into consideration in the next chapter on 'Translokale Organisationen' (pp. 243–80). These represent a new form of organisation, that is not in accordance with the Roman order, their activity taking place across cities, or even provinces, and therefore they are not attached to a local community. To this category belong the actors and athletes, who 'serve as an example for at least rudimentary networks without state support, but also without potential danger' (p. 244), but also the groups built around mystery cults (Mithras, Isis, Sarapis). Early Christianity is taken also into consideration at this point as an opposing example, as their model does not replicate that of the empire (p. 244). The Christian groups had a different organisational model and they do not represent an example of isomorphism, as the association did (p. 282). The author does not include in this category associations such as the *corpus mercatorum Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum*, and the *corpus nautarum Rhodanicorum et Araricorum*.

Last of all, in the ninth chapter ('Christianisierung und Verstaatlichung', pp. 281–88), E. makes a brief inquiry on late antiquity, more precisely with the onset of Christianity. The chapter closes the study by bringing forward the Christian groups, who initially were not considered within the understanding of associations, but who in the end obtained a significant role (p. 282).

The study includes a comprehensive bibliographical list, as well as very useful indexes of places, names, objects and sources (literary, epigraphic and papyrological).

In conclusion, this work makes an important contribution to a topic that has been intensely scrutinised in the last decades, by contextualising the association in relation to the

process of Romanisation. In order to do so it addresses key aspects, such as legislation, the concept of *collegia licita* and *illicita*, *utilitas publica*. It represents a work of reference for anyone interested in studying the associative phenomenon in the Roman empire.

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L. Edmunds, *Greek Myth*, Trends in Classics – Key Perspectives on Classical Research 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2021, xxix+213 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-11-068233-5/ISSN 2626-1030

In 'keeping with the goal of the series', *Trends in Classics*, Lowell Edmunds's intention is not 'to settle the matter' of Greek myth, but to offer 'a *mise au point* from which others will continue' (p. vi). For this task, he can rely on his broad knowledge of the ancient sources and the scholarly debates on the topic. The book is organised in nine chapters followed by the appendix '*Muthos* and Myth', a bibliography of the works cited and two indexes (*nominum et rerum* and *locorum*).

The Introduction starts with the question, central for the book: 'What is a Greek myth?' Surprisingly, the response lies behind the immediately following second question: 'What are the sources for Greek myth?' (p. xv). For a better understanding of E.'s reasoning, the reader is recommended to go first to the appendix dealing with an overview about the shifting meanings of *muthos* and *logos* from Homer to Aristotle. It seems to be best to continue with Chapter 4 'Mythography'. Here, E. emphasises two stages in the course of Greek history where myths were systematically collected, centred upon Hecataeus at the end of the 6th and Palaephatus at the end of the 4th century when a 'taste for collections' (p. 55) was developed. Hecataeus gathered genealogies from oral tradition, Palaephatus was interested in myths containing *Incredibilia* which he, by rationalising, linked with deeds primary to the accounts and characters of the stories. From this time onward the collections of myths had become the norm and comprised 'the entire corpus of Greek myths' (p. 63). These collections are important as they allow for the understanding of allusions in ancient texts and to bridge gaps in our knowledge of ancient Greek myths.

From this last statement it becomes clear why understanding what a myth is derives directly from the sources: myth is part of tradition and tradition is part of the collective memory. Since myths are included in tradition, an incompletely narrated myth did not hamper its understanding: 'The ancient audience of a myth already knows the basic story, no matter what today's variant may be' (p. 41). E. does not present his argument systematically. Instead, in the first two chapters, he deals with the visual media and the oral narratives. He maintains that the meaning of the pictures presenting myths were self-evident, since 'these myths belonged to a common and oral domain' (p. 6). E. follows this path further in Chapter 3 dealing with the relationship between story and characters. He assumes the priority of action to names and characters. Therefore, characters can differ from one myth to another. This leads to the question of 'Belief in Myth' (Chapter 5). E. argues for the differentiation between 'Christian belief in god' and what 'belief' was in Greek antiquity. At least from the 6th century onwards, the worship of the gods was only a matter of cult and ritual. E. links myth with the belief that some action took place. In the next chapter he argues that myths were only later explanations of still existing rituals. That means that religion preceded myth.

Chapters 7–9 are about the various scholarly attempts to explain the existence of myth. For as it is said in the 'Conclusion': 'As for interpretation, the etic is inevitable', but he immediately cuts back on this statement: 'No Archimedean position is available' (p. 155). He presents 'Great Theories' first, containing myth-ritual school, psychoanalytic interpretations, and structuralism. Here, he focuses mainly on structuralism and its possibilities for the analysis of texts. This becomes more obvious from the question asked after the description of the 'Comparative Approaches: Indo-European, Near East, Folklore' (Chapter 9) if a classification of myths can be developed. There is no answer to it in the subchapters 'Typology' and 'Morphology' but in 'Segmentation'. E. discusses at length the possibility to break myths down to their smallest possible units. Only in this context does E. state what he thinks is still missing in research: 'a definition of the minimal narrative unit' and 'a standard name' for these units (p. 144).

This is not the answer to the introductory question the reader might expect. Instead, it is the demand for the development of a generally accepted tool for the analysis of the presupposed corpus of Greek myths. Here, E. comes very close to an ontological understanding of myth from which he distances himself (p. xv, n. 1). He draws a parallel between 'langue' in the sense of de Saussure and 'myth' (pp. xxii–xxiii). When commenting on the Indo-European he connects language with people and culture, including myth and poetry (p. 111). Obviously, this kind of argument goes back to the time of Romanticism.

However, E. touches a different strand when he picks up the term to which Robert Fowler refers: 'social nexus' (p. xviii), i.e. the relationship between story-teller and group. This fits well with E.'s own statement: 'Myth are stories that can be told, in principle, by anyone, as the circumstances require' (p. 15). For the societal and political circumstances where and when people employ the 'mythical' past to explain and legitimate present social and political relations by telling old stories and inventing new ones, have been very successfully investigated in historical research. Yet to deal with this position would have meant taking a critical look at the construct of the alleged Greek tradition. This analytical approach is hindered by E.'s concept that the etic cannot be separated from the emic, since the 'etic emerges from the emic' (p. 75). Even though he acknowledges the necessity of etic terms for structure and description of a myth, he argues that the etic is only an 'always contestable basis'. In consequence, he opposes 'the lure of higher-order description of myth' (p. 149). However, how then could the reader know what the *mise au point* might be from which further research should continue – the declared goal that the book wants to achieve?

University of Innsbruck Christoph Ulf

S. Elliott, *Ancient Greeks at War: Warfare in the Classical World from Agamemnon to Alexander*, Casemate UK, Oxford/Philadelphia 2021, 288 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-61200-998-8

As stated in the opening paragraph of its Introduction (p. 7), *Ancient Greeks at War* is 'a tour de force covering every aspect of warfare in the ancient Greek world from the beginnings of Greek civilization through to its assimilation into the ever-expanding world of Rome. It covers military strategy, tactics and technology as they evolved over three millennia, from the beginnings of organized conflict in the eastern Mediterranean through to the denouement of the Hellenistic military tradition.' Against a flourishing literature on the

subject, this prefatory claim is indeed a bold one, and given the comparatively slim size of the volume, it should be taken as providing the reader with an up-to-date overview of a crucial aspect of life in the ancient Mediterranean world, with implications going well beyond tactics and strategy – one of Simon Elliott's main research interests, having received a degree in War Studies from King's College London – and heavily impacting the environment, the economy and, of course, the culture of the Greeks and their neighbours.

Chapter 1 ('Minoans, Myceneans and the Sea People', pp. 25–49) focuses on what we might call the background – and, or, perhaps more appropriately, the context(s) – of what would have become the worlds, and especially, given the content of the book, the military environment, in which the Greeks moved. It starts with the Minoan culture flourishing in the 3rd millennium BC on Crete and the Aegean islands. Then, the attention shifts towards the Mycenaean world (especially the Peloponnese and Attica, an emphasis which seems to be caused by the role later played in the Greek scenario by Sparta and Athens) and its wider Mediterranean connections. The chapter ends with a discussion of the events around the half of the 2nd millennium BC (and especially the impact of the so-called Sea People on the networks built over the previous centuries in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean), paving the way to the Geometric period of Greek history, which E. sees as particularly crucial for the understanding of future developments of warfare in the societies considered in the volume.

Chapter 2 ('Classical Greece', pp. 52–103) covers the 5th and 4th centuries down to the rise of Philip II to the Macedonian throne. It is, for the most part, a (very compressed) political history, tackling at the same time major developments in both landed and sea warfare, from hoplite tactics and weaponry, with its background in the Geometric period, to the transformation of Athens and its surroundings into a networked maritime power, and from the impact of the Achaemenid empire over Aegean polities (well beyond the Persian Wars) to the establishment of Sparta's hegemony onto mainland Greece and its demise at the hand of Thebes, an event which even the contemporaries (especially Xenophon) recognised as a turning point, not only in the political but also in the military history of the area.

Chapter 3 ('Philip II and the Kingdom of Macedon', pp. 104–39) focuses on the rise of Macedon in the context of its Hellenic and wider near eastern framework, the former contributing, in the context of the increasing skirmishes with Athens, to develop the Argead navy. While covering the main political events that after the Peloponnesian War reshaped the landscape of mainland Greece, the discussion focuses on the Argead court, its lifestyle, and its military tradition, particularly the career of Philip II, whose Theban sojourn, and the acquaintance with some leading Achaemenid representatives, proved momentous for his bid for the throne, the outcome of which was the creation of a major geopolitical power.

Chapter 4 ('The Age of Alexander', pp. 140–85) is devoted to Alexander's campaign across the Persian empire, accounting both for the major battles which won the king Darius' realm as well as the well-known, and widely discussed, changes in the settings of both the army and the court of Philip's heir following his slipping into the shoes of his Achaemenid adversary.

Notably, despite recent major developments in the field (nicely summarised by Julian Degen's recent monograph on *Alexander III. zwischen Ost und West. Indigene Traditionen und Herrschaftsinszenierung im makedonischen Weltimperium* [Stuttgart 2022]), the narrative

of the chapter is still heavily dependent on a Graeco-Roman perspective and its resulting discourse, thus perpetrating long-standing interpretative perspectives which have, however, been long-since challenged: to mention but two examples, the idea of a broken king setting sail to Anatolia in order to resupply his treasury has been disproved by Frank Holt,[1] while the picture of the conqueror as an explorer is dramatically oblivious of the Achaemenid and broader speaking Near Eastern context to which the Argead world was so heavily indebted.

Chapter 5 ('The Hellenistic Age and the Rise of Rome', pp. 186–239) addresses the timespan stretching from Alexander's death in 323 BC to the Roman conquest of Corinth. While broadly teasing out the main political and cultural events of the period, the discussion hinges on the military clashes first among the Successors and then between – and within – the empires born out of the partition of the conqueror's inheritance. Space is devoted to the main improvement in military technology (especially siege machines) across the wider Hellenistic world, including, notably, the Graeco-Bactrian empire.

Finally, Chapter 6 ('The Military System of Classical and Hellenistic Greece', pp. 241–71) aims at detailing 'the military establishments' of Classical Greece and the Hellenistic period, discussing origin, main features and development of, first, hoplite warfare (pp. 242–52), turning then to the Hellenistic armies (pp. 253–68) and, finally, scrutinising the siege strategies and technologies in both periods (pp. 268–71).

A short Conclusion (pp. 272–75) sums up the main lines of arguments developed through the volume, to which a glossary, bibliography, index and (painted with a very broad brush) chronology are to be added.

In the face of the breadth of analysis boasted of in the Introduction, some observations of merit and method do not seem out of place. The work is totally devoid of notes, which makes it impossible to verify the origin of many of E.'s assertions. Secondly, even though E. has a doctoral degree in archaeology, the only sources taken into consideration (called, for that matter, primary sources, which is notoriously wrong, at least in the case of authors such as Arrian, Diodoros or Curtius Rufus) are literary ones. Moreover, the methodology of the investigation is often flawed, as it is easy to demonstrate in the treatment of the Persian Wars and of Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid empire (Chapters 2 and 4): in both cases, the numbers relating to the soldiers fielded are taken at face value, with the result that the discussion is reduced, in large measure, to a summary of the account of the *Histories* or of the *Anabasis*, according to an approach that was in vogue, perhaps, in the historiography of the 18th century.

Moreover, in the course of the volume, at several times we encounter interpretative positions that research has long since passed by. Among the most striking examples are the revival of the so-called Dorian invasion in the Peloponnese; a crude contrast between Sparta and Athens in terms, on the one hand, of an eminently maritime power with tendencies to monopolise trade (which seems to be modelled on the British East India Company), on the other, of an archaic, rough but virile land power (being oblivious, among many other things, to the Aegean campaign of Lysander in the late 5th century); the comeback – with tones not heard, at least, since the heyday of Tarn's monograph – of Alexander the Great shrouded in the mythical glow of the civilising hero and founder of cities; and, last but not

[1] F.L. Holt, *The Treasures of Alexander the Great* (Oxford 2016). Reviewed in *AWE* 17 (2018), 402–04.

least, a depiction of Darius III's court as populated by nefarious intrigues and hostage to bloodthirsty eunuchs, to which Pierre Briant did justice almost 30 years ago.

On the whole, *Ancient Greeks at War* can be considered, at best, a work of popular science. Those who are interested in an authoritative introduction to a complex, fascinating topic, and around which an endless and authoritative bibliography has been published, would do better to turn, for example, to works such as *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* by H. van Wees (London 2004) – let it be said in passing, a good touchstone on which to test many of the bolder claims of E.'s volume – or the more recent L.L. Brice (ed.), *New Approaches to Greek and Roman Warfare* (Hoboken, NJ 2020) and W. Heckel *et al.* (eds.), *A Companion to Greek Warfare* (Hoboken, NJ 2021), which can all be read against the background of S. Manning's *Armed Force in the Achaemenid Teispid Empire* (Stuttgart 2021),[2] the latter providing a rich and reliable picture of that Near Eastern context in the absence of which it is not possible to understand the development, to quote E. himself, of the culture of the Helleni(sti)c world 'from Agamemnon to Alexander'.

University of Trento Marco Ferrario

M. Flohr (ed.), *Urban Space and Urban History in the Roman World*, Studies in Roman Space and Urbanism, Routledge, London/New York 2021, xix+327 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-40622-6

Setting out with a title such as Urban Space and Urban History in the Roman World is grand. There is no theme as large, central, attention-grabbing and prominent as ancient urban studies these years. The market is sprawling with literature, and a revival of addressing 'the urban' and its place in the history of humanity is taking place on a currently 'bloody' battlefield. *Urban Space and Urban History in the Roman World* is a welcome addition to the field. Despite classical studies' attempts to break free of the urban chains with all its theoretical ponderings and bundle criteria set up by scholars over more than the last century, from Weber and Childe to counting features, buildings, sizes, mapping expansions and contractions, looking at language used in urban contexts, rehashing and reinventing the bundle criteria in different shapes and forms, we tend to pivot right back to the 'city' as a topic, since the legacy of the ruins of cities and all that they entail are our most direct reflections of the urban societies in the Graeco-Roman period, luring us directly back into the straitjacket of studying the expressions of past urban societies.

Numerous large-scale attempts at rehashing the urban have been made recently – for better and for worse – and therefore it is central to be reminded that what it comes down to is the data – the no-nonsense, but also not straightforward, evidence from urban settings of the past – be it archaeological or textual.[1] And recently numerous new attempts at

[2] Reviewed in *AWE* 22 (2023), 420–22.

[1] See D. Graebner and D. Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (London 2021). *Contra* M.E. Smith, 'Early Cities in The Dawn of Everything: Shoddy Scholarship in Support of Pedestrian Conclusions'. *Cliodynamics: The Journal of Quantitative History and Cultural Evolution*, special issue: Leading Scholars of the Past Comment on Dawn of Everything (2022): review 2 <*https://doi.org/10.21237/C7clio0057262*>.

rehashing old data and applying new methodological and theoretical approaches have been undertaken. The edited volume under review is one of these, which provides new insights into known and less known material evidence, reminding us that in order to do large-scale comparative studies and the overarching theoretical pushes, one must in fact know one's evidential basis well enough to say something new and useful that allows an escape from the trap of bundle criteria.[2]

The present volume, edited by Miko Flohr – one of the current leading scholars on the city of Pompeii in the Bay of Naples and aspects of Roman urbanism in general – is the second in the new series founded by Ray Laurence, *Studies in Roman Space and Urbanism*. Flohr's profound overview of the discourses on Roman urbanism – past and present – is commendable, showing his dedication to the field and to pushing it forward, and that is also the intention with this volume, reintegrating urban space into the writing of urban history. According to him, there has been a disintegration of the way in which we study urban space and urban history due to the rise in studies of the urban fabric on its own. This is certainly a correct observation in many ways, but we must also remember that the archaeology of urban sites is the essence of the history of urban sites, offering the richest data that we have.

The volume consists of an introduction and 14 contributions focusing on a variety of urban spaces in the Roman world, with a focus on Roman Italy and sites in the Bay of Naples with excursions to both Asia Minor, Greece and North Africa. Like many edited volumes, it grew out of a conference on a different theme, namely on *tabernae* – shops usually lining streets – in the Roman world (I would have enjoyed reading that volume, too). The published volume falls into four parts: 1) 'Experiencing the City' (papers by Amy Russell, Annette Haug and Flohr), 2) 'Community, Identity, and Urban Space' (Patric-Alexander Kreuz, Christopher Dickenson, Cristina Murer, Marlis Arnhold), 3) 'Commerce and the Urban Landscape' (Elizabeth Fentress, Flohr, Touatia Amraoui, Candace Rice) and 4) 'Urban Life beyond the City Walls' (Saskia Stevens, Sandra Zanella, and Stephan Mols and Eric Moormann). The themes align with the three dimensions set out in the introduction: 1) dense landscapes of civic memory and identity, 2) commercialisation of urban space and 3) semi-urban zones.

The introduction is clearly structured and is rich in references to relevant literature on cities in the Roman empire. However, a few concerning sentences have also slipped in, such as '… the first real sign that Ostia was developing into a true city…' (p. 1) and 'As cities grew, they began to develop zones of a semi-urban character around their original urban cores…' (p. 7). Let us stay with these two statements for a moment: 'true city' and 'semi-urban character'. Both clearly imply that urbanism in these contexts is viewed as evolutionary – something with a beginning, a middle and an end (my words). The statements imply that urbanism could have had counterparts such as 'untrue cities' or 'not semi-urban'. While any of us could have fallen into this trap of using the straitjacket evolutionary language that underlies so much of our everyday language and structures our way of viewing the world – and it certainly was not the intention of the editor to fall into this trap – the language used here underlines just how difficult it is for scholars studying the urban to

[2] R. Raja and S.M. Sindbæk, 'Anomalocivitas'. *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 5 (2022), 13–18.

escape the linear evolutionary way of thinking and, therefore, way of writing urban history. While the various contributions do not overall reflect such evolutionary thinking, it is thought-provoking to think about what would have happened if there had been more striving towards specifically not viewing urbanism as evolutionary in a strictly linear manner, not looking at it as something with a beginning and an end or as something that is 'true' as opposed to untrue. It is within settings such as these that we may look beyond the structural developments and truly begin to reintegrate the evidence into the narratives we want to tease out and re- and deconstruct.

Unfortunately, not all 14 contributions can be given equal attention here, and I highlight only five, whose selection does not reflect anything about the quality of the other contributions.

Flohr's contribution on urban life and the natural environment is a welcome reflection on a still overlooked theme and reminds us how much work is still to be done in bringing together the literary sources and the archaeology when it comes to understanding urbanism and its surrounding environment. Flohr gives some poignant examples of urbanism gone wrong, for example, which underline even more the efforts which went into urbanism going right. Murer focuses on evidence for women in the fora of Italy and North Africa, and turning to gender in a new light, which has seen a surge lately in archaeology and ancient history, is a welcome focus. Fentress revisits archaeological and textual evidence on North Africa, which tells us about religion and markets, underlining the fact that the ancient economy and urban religion were closely related and intertwined and that this mixing needs careful disentangling in order for us to understand the relationship between urban spaces and urban religion. With Amraoui's contribution we stay in North Africa, which focuses on the evidence for workshops, reminding us that the evidence at best is very scattered and full of lacunae due to the focus of archaeology on large-scale excavations of urban monuments – an ongoing problem to furthering our understanding of urbanism in a more nuanced light. Stevens takes us to the border-scapes of urban landscapes in Italy in her strong contribution, which shows deep methodological reflections on how to push forward our understanding of the variety of zones within and outwith urban landscapes, with a particular focus on zones that could be understood as being in between.

Overall, this is a strong and well-edited volume with a good mix of established and younger scholars, who all know their archaeology and literary sources very well. The volume can certainly be recommended both for presenting inspiring outlines of new lines of enquiry, profound research overviews of various themes within Roman urban studies as well as pulling to the forefront numerous case studies – more and less well known.

Aarhus University Rubina Raja

H.I. Flower (ed.), *Empire and Religion in the Roman World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021, xiii+277 pp., illustrations. ISBN 978-1-108-83192-5

This collection of papers composed in honour of Brent Shaw's retirement from the Department of Classics at Princeton University in 2017 is a fine tribute to that scholar's breathtakingly broad range of interests and, more importantly, his data-driven, from-the-ground-up, method. Each contribution in its own way pays homage to, and illustrates, this approach.

Besides the formal unity provided by the occasion, the papers do show thematic commonalities. As editor Harriet Flower summarises in her introduction, three themes emerge: boundaries and networks; religious change; and violence – all areas in which Shaw has produced pioneering work. Of these topics perhaps the first and second emerge most strongly, and this is reflected in the editor's bipartite division of the essays into 'Empire' (Part I) and 'Religion' (Part II). One strong principle illustrated by the collection is that apparent certainties and orthodoxies need to be examined on a regular basis and that the official line or what authoritative texts appear to be saying always needs to be read against other evidence.

This can be seen in the contributions of Clifford Ando ('The Ambitions of Government: Sovereignty and Control in the Ancient Countryside'), Erich Gruen ('Contingency and Context: The Origins of the Jewish War against Rome') and Mark Vesey ('Ausonius at the Edge of Empire: Consular Poetics as Cognitive Improvisation'). In contemplating the nature of Roman control of areas outside city-states Ando considers among other things the validity of a traditional view that the Romans in administering their empire made use of pre-existing institutions, and complicates the idea that they governed through cities and the co-option of local elites. Gruen re-examines the much-debated question of the causes of the Jewish War and what made the Jews of Judaea engage in such a hopeless struggle against a vastly more powerful adversary. His task is to question 'the deceptive cloud of inevitability' (p. 106) that has dominated the discussion and he demonstrates that both traditional and more recent explanations all rely on a narrative of long-simmering and mounting tensions steadily moving toward unavoidable eruption. Rather than attempting to find an answer in an investigation of intention and motivation, Gruen invokes the notion of contingency: 'accident may be more important than intention, miscalculation more important than motivation' (p. 110). One must understand the context, the 'incendiary climate' and the players, the increasing resorts to violence as expression of displeasure and exasperation. Vesey argues boldly – but in a way I at least find hard to follow – for an Ausonius that is no imperial hack but 'a highly original cognitive technologist, whose improvisations helped launch a boom time of Roman high-tech start-ups' (p. 206).

Another key theme to emerge from the collection is an appreciation for interconnectedness and networks, both on large and small scale, and their surprising persistence under changing dominations, a subject dear to Shaw's heart, as the beautifully written appreciation of his work and approach by Peter Brown at the end of the collection ('Brent Shaw: An Intellectual Profile') shows. The contributions of Kyle Harper ('Germs and Empire: The Agency of the Microscopic'), Carlos Noreña ('Imperial Integration on Rome's Atlantic Rim') and Éric Rebillard ('Missionaries, Pious Merchants, Freelance Religious Experts, and the Spread of Christianity') consider very different types of network and transmission: disease and microbes, trade in the Atlantic rim, Christianity. They are testaments to the influence of Brent Shaw in that they rely on careful gathering of data, sometimes on the granular level (see, for example, charts of fish-salting production and amphora distribution in Noreña's piece), together with exploration of wider trends. An interconnectedness between these different studies can be seen in their consideration of theories of transmission and diffusion, so that Rebillard's re-examination of the agents behind the spread of Christianity, for example, both considers the literal involvement of merchants and traders and invokes the metaphor of disease transmission (the topic of Harper's paper) when he talks of 'the

diffusion of complex contagions' in the context of the spread of religion (pp. 148–49). Metaphor generally, and specifically the metaphor of *peregrinatio* in the works of Augustine, particularly the *Ennarationes in psalmos*, forms the subject of Catherine Coneybeare's thoughtful contribution ('Peregrinationes in Psalmos').

Rebillard's paper, with its rejection of previous theories about Christianity's diffusion in the early empire by missionary and merchant and its reliance on network thinking, finds connections with the other papers on religion. Claudia Rapp's investigation of monasticism ('Christian Piety in Late Antiquity. Contexts and Contestations') in late antiquity problematises the inherited narrative of a linear development by taking a closer look at the statements about monastic organisation made by Church Fathers Jerome, Cassian and Benedict together with a consideration of other types of evidence. Her exploration of the context behind their normative statements that only two kinds of monasticism should be recognised, the eremitic and the cenobitic, reveals their anxiety over the correct path of asceticism and competing claims to it. Other groups, whether the *remoboth* (communes living in twos or threes without being subject to a set of rules or the authority of elders) or the *philoponoi* or *spoudaioi*, organised lay groups devoted to pious works, leave their traces in the record but are marginalised in the inherited narrative.

Glen Bowersock ('Muḥammad's Rivals. Prophets in Late Antique Arabia') is also concerned to rescue a group from oblivion, in this case the prophets who competed with Muḥammad and who appear in the tradition as 'liars', and shows the religious diversity of Arabia of the late 6th and early 7th centuries. Bowersock's study emphasises the tribalism of these competing prophets, contrasting this with the series of nativist prophets in Iran a little after Muḥammad, and the fact that this ultimately prevented them from successfully creating alliances.

All papers are of a high standard and have been well edited. Each in its methodology forms a fitting tribute to the honoree and in content touches on areas and ideas that he himself has worked on. The final profile by Peter Brown of Shaw's works and the trajectory of his scholarship, written with his characteristic wit and talent for creating incisive and illustrative metaphor, forms an especially fitting and useful end to the collection.

University of Washington Alexander Hollmann

I. Gagoshidze, M. Vickers, D. Kacharava and D. Gagoshidze (eds.), *Two Cemeteries at Takhtidziri (Georgia): Late Achaemenid–Early Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic–Early Roman*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, iv+293 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-243-6

For Western scholars of Georgian/South Caucasian archaeology, this lavishly illustrated volume represents a very welcome addition to the available literature.

The excavations at Takhtidziri in the 1990s, like many in the archaeologically rich territory of Georgia, are a story of challenges overcome during the difficult first years of independence from Soviet occupation. The funding for these excavations was, by necessity, *ad hoc* and sometimes opportunistic and Georgian project directors in this period had to be creative advocates for their sites and their craft, and of the importance of both to potential funders in the municipality, the region, or the newly independent state. Often in this

period, as was the case at Takhtidziri, excavations were only possible because of the unpaid efforts of a significant number of specialists, and this publication stands testament to their commitment and professionalism despite these challenges.

Beginning with the sudden change of course of the River Prone in 1994, which eroded its left bank and exposed part of the cemetery complex at Takhtidziri, permission for formal excavations was granted in 1996. Excavations were undertaken in July and November 1996 and July 1997, and revealed 24 graves of the Late Achaemenid–Early Hellenistic period cemetery, and 11 graves of the Late Hellenistic–Early Roman period. The investigations and analysis reported in this volume are prefaced with a brief but useful introduction and overview of the history of the work (Section 1). In Section 2, the Late Achaemenid–Early Hellenistic period cemetery is then described in terms of the structure of the graves and the burial practice (2.2), considering the extent to which external cultural influences appeared to impact burial practice, and the implications for the status of the burials revealed by the associated material. The description of the grave-goods (2.3) is subsequently organised largely by material (for example, pottery, glassware, metalware), with classes/ types (for example, jewellery, horse harness, bells) discussed separately, and accompanied by a good number of photographs. This is followed by a conclusion (2.4) which concisely summarises the information and considers the results of the investigation. The final section of the report on the earlier cemetery (2.5) presents a catalogue of the material by grave, incorporating a good number of very nicely executed illustrations. Section 3 presents the investigation of, and results from, the Late Hellenistic–Early Roman-period cemetery, and primarily consists of descriptions of the burials and catalogues of the grave goods, accompanied with illustrations of the finds. The volume is concluded with a technical report on the investigation of the composition of the metal finds, and the nature of the alloys revealed by this work.

By far the bulk of this edited volume is set aside for the Late Achaemenid–Early Hellenistic-period cemetery, of which this is a major publication of results, with the second period (Late Hellenistic–Early Roman) represented by an inventory which occupies far fewer pages. For the earlier period, the contributors generally provide short but informative specialist reports on aspects of the burials/burial practice, the associated material culture, or the technical process of conservation – often in the form of sub-sections rather than discrete chapters – and present a descriptive catalogue of the material culture found within the graves. This text is accompanied by a significant number of high-resolution photographs of some of the key finds, which will undoubtedly prove incredibly useful as reference material. If a constructive criticism might be made, however, it is that the absence of conventional plate/ figure numbers makes it rather harder for the reader to associate text with individual images than might normally be the case. In addition, while the finds illustrations in the catalogue of material from the earlier graves are of a similarly high standard, and therefore undoubtedly useful to those interested in the archaeology of the region, this section predominantly differs from some of the preceding descriptions only in terms of theme (i.e. by grave rather than by find type) and in execution (illustration rather than photograph). Nonetheless, this should not detract from what is a very useful reference text, demonstrating the quality and variety of material culture in this area, and evidence for the burial of reasonably high status individuals.

This is a fascinating overview of the archaeological investigation and analysis of the cemeteries at Takhtidziri, and it is wonderful to see work such as this becoming available

outside Georgia. It is hugely important for Western scholars studying this period, who might be unfamiliar with the current evidence from Georgia, to be able to access it.

University of Winchester Paul Everill

W. Gauß (ed.), *Forschungen im Bereich des Theaters von Aigeira 2011 bis 2018*, Aigeira 3, Arete: Publikationen des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen 1, Verlag der Österriechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2022, 496 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-8461-4

This is the third volume in the series *Forschungen im Aigeira*, and has been chosen as the first to be published in a new series *Arete*, the publications of the Austrian Institute of Archaeology in Athens. The Austrian excavations at Aigeira in Achaea, with an acropolis giving views over the Gulf of Corinth, were begun by Otto Walter in 1916. Excavations in the area of the theatre were carried out by Wilhelm Alzinger between 1972 and 1988. After Alzinger's death the excavations were directed by Walter Gauss, and the present volume contains the results of this, together with an article by Alzinger on the Tycheion, left unpublished at his death.

The present volume concerns the structures found in the excavations adjacent to and below the theatre. They comprise a row of small naiskos-type structures labelled (from north to south) Building A, B1 and C, together with B2 which partly covered B1. Then there is Building D which also partly covered Building C. Finally, immediately south of Building D and parallel to it, Building E.

To the other side of the area in front of the Theatre, continuing on a curving line is another naiskos, Building E and then, slightly further away to the North east of the Theatre, is another naiskos-type building, this time contained within a courtyard structure and identified as the Tycheion. Finally, a little further away in an area to the north below the Theatre, a building identified as a banqueting complex.

All these structures were excavated as separate groups and there is no overall plan of the area in which they were situated and no indication of the functional links between them, though the naiskoi A to E, together with F are in close association with the Theatre and were obviously placed on a relationship to it.

The present volume contains detailed studies of particular aspects of the excavations. It begins with an overall account by Gauss and Rudolfine Smetana of the work carried out in the area of the theatre, the naiskoi and the Tycheion. These were re-examined with plans of the individual structures giving additional details, and photographs, especially stone-by-stone drawings of their walls made in the 2011–18 investigation. The chapter includes an account of the finds made in the excavation of these structures listed by the date of their excavation, from the previous excavations as well as those of 2011–18.

The next chapter gives an account of geophysical investigation by Katharina Rusch, Harald Stumpel, Christina Klein, Wolfgang Rabbel and Gauss. It contains a magnetic overview mapping complemented by ground-penetrating radar and resistivity topography. Indication of structures – as well as trenches from earlier excavations – were planned.

This is followed by a chapter by Gerhard Forster Pointner, Gerald Weisengruber and Alfred Galik on faunal remains from the area studied in the 2011–18 excavation. The area

of the Tycheion produced the greatest number of examples, dominated by porcine bones. It is suggested this might be the result of specific traditions of consumption, possibly in a context of commercial meat distribution.

Next, a chapter by Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, Manfred Hainzmann and Nikolaus Schindel on the coins found in the excavation of the theatre – 120 pre-Imperial Greek, 79 Roman (as well as indeterminate examples), while Byzantine and Mediaeval examples are almost completely absent.

The next chapter, by Gauss, gives an account of pre-Classical pottery from the area, together with two Mycenaean stirrup jars found in the earlier excavations by Otto Walter which are now in the National Museum in Athens.

This is followed by Alexandra Tanner in a chapter on the Naiskoi D and E. Her detailed study demonstrates that these were in use from Hellenistic to Roman times. She shows that Naiskos E is in close relationship to the theatre and was built before Naiskos D. She suggests differences in building technique show that the two buildings were constructed at different times and that differences in internal design suggest that Naiskos D was a building with multiple functions, a point picked up by Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail in her account of the mosaics.

Manuela Hoffmann writes on the wall-paintings in Naiskos E, relatively well preserved examples of the 'masonry' style of design. She includes a reconstruction of the system, based on the surviving fragments.

Maria Aurenhammer describes and discusses the sculpture found in the area. She argues that the sculpture found in the so-called Tycheion demonstrates that this is a misnomer. Identification of the fragments with particular deities, she argues, is not possible, though the armoured statue from Naiskos D may represent the emperor Hadrian.

Gudrun Klebinder-Gauss (with a contribution by Hans Taeube) discusses metal finds, some 130 objects mainly from Naiskos E with an inscribed metal plate pointing to the worship of Kore.

This is followed by a paper on the Tycheion written by Alzinger in the 1990s and found among his papers after his death.

Smetana writes on the Late Classical and Hellenistic terracottas from Aigeira, specifically the terracotta fragments found in the excavations of Alzinger from 1972 to 1988. These were found in later fill rather than contemporary stratigraphy. Most come from Tanagra statuettes of the period 330–200 BC.

Manuel Hoffmann gives an overview of grey ware of Hellenistic and Roman date.

Scheibelreiter-Gail discusses the mosaics found at Aigeira. These comprise a pebble mosaic of the 4th century BC in the 'Banqueting House' consisting of marine creatures, pairs of gryphons and plant scrolls. She connects this to examples found at Sikyon. Another example is in the second andron of this building, an extension dating to the 3rd century BC. Thirdly, another pebble mosaic in the main part of Naiskos D, depicting an eagle and a snake. She suggests the surrounding smoother area was intended for dining couches (but there are no traces of fixtures for these comparable with, for example, those in the feasting rooms at Brauron or those for the tables at Perachora. These mosaic areas certainly denote particular functions for the rooms in which they were created. It is, perhaps, uncertain whether the smooth floors to the sides of the mosaics in Naiskos D were intended for couches. Certainly, if they were, they are unlike the lay-out of couches in the general run

of feasting buildings. Perhaps, here, the context is a special feasting in the presence of a deity or deities in the presumed form of cult statues along the sides of the room mosaic opposite the entrance.

The mosaics in the banqueting building, along with the whole complex of the building, suggest a more secular version, with the building, in its original and the expanded form being similar to the club-house building of the Boukoloi at Pergamum, though of course on a much smaller scale reflecting the different size of the cities concerned.

Finally, Gauss sums up the architectural and archaeological sequence of the theatre area at Aigeira from Neolithic to late antiquity. He points to the particular development of the area with the theatre, cult buildings, the peristyle courtyard building and the banqueting structure in the period from the 3rd to the 1st century BC. He suggests this might have been due to the accession of Aigeira to the Achaean League and the influx of inhabitants from Aigai, with the creation of what in effect becomes a public centre for the city. He points to a general refurbishment of the area and, in particular, of the theatre, in the 2nd century AD, especially the period of Hadrian. This public image, he suggests, declined in late antiquity, and by the beginning of the 7th century the whole area seems to have been abandoned.

Thus this area, with the results of the painstaking and careful Austrian excavations, gives a clear focus to the history of an ancient Greek city, perhaps a less spectacular but nonetheless illuminating place.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

B. Geißler and U. Wulf-Heidte (eds.), *Aspekte von Unfertigkeit in der kaiserzeitlichen Architektur*, Ergebnisse eines Workshops am Architekturrefereat des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 26. und 27. September 2016, Tagung und Kongresse 1, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, 109 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-11739-5

This is the first in a new series promoted by the German Archaeological Institute entitled *Tagungen und Kongresse*. It gives papers presented at a workshop promoted by the Institute's Architektur Referat and organised by Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt in her capacity as Director of the Architectural Department of the DAI. It was inspired in the first instance by the Institute's recent research at the Porta Nigra of Trier. The workshop was held in September 2016. This publication, edited jointly, appeared after her most unfortunate accidental death.

By *Unfertigkeit* – incompletion – the workshop was concerned not with structural non-completion of a building but rather the failure to apply and carry out elements of the planned final embellishment and details of its projected appearance. In the introduction the editors point out that although much research has been carried out on Hellenistic examples of this (particularly by Theodore Kalpaxis in his book entitled *Hemiteles* (half-finished)[1] there is a lack of comparable investigation into Roman architecture.

[1] *Hemiteles: akzidentelle Unfertigkeit und "Bossen-Stil" in der griechischen Baukunst* (Mainz 1986).

The present volume begins with a section on bosses as a phenomenon of non-completion, with studies by Jürgen Giese and Matthias Grawehr. These look at the elements of finish that might be applied to individual blocks from which a building might be constructed. This involves different stages in the work, in particular the provision of reference workings for later final completion, where the eventual intention would be a perfectly smooth finished block, but where the greater part of the surface was left in projection, with a non-finished surface (though they do not include the pulvinated surfaces which became quite popular in Hellenistic structures). Here, of course, there is a distinction between building and support or fortification walls, where a rough or even quarry face treatment gave a required impression of strength and which are achieved in the actual construction work.

In superstructures, however, there may well be distinct stages; blocks, first of all, finished where contact with the rest of the structure is essential, then surfaces or elements roughly treated with the intention of the final work only being undertaken when the building is structurally complete, and involving not merely the final appearance of the wall blocks but other architectural elements, the final fluting of columns or the carved details of mouldings, capitals and other decoration.

The account of actual examples of unfinished work forms the second part of the book, beginning appropriately with a discussion of the Porta Nigra of Trier by Birte Geisler. This gateway building dates to the second half of the 2nd century AD. Birte Geisler notes that it shows traces of further work on it over the centuries which has to be recognised in assessing the original unfinished state. Appropriately, though, photographs 5a, b and c show examples of blocks with unfinished central bosses, but bands at the bottom give a finished indication. Other blocks have completely unfinished surfaces, while the arches on the southern side are completely finished.

She looks at the unfinished elements in the embellishment of walls with attached half-columns. What is remarkable in this structure is that, although the obviously planned finished work was not completed in the original construction, the subsequent massive Imperial building programme at Trier, which resulted in the late 3rd-century establishment of the city as one of the seats of the Tetrarchy, the Porta Nigra was left in its unfinished state as though this was considered historically appropriate for it.

The next example is the 'Monument of the Ubii' at Cologne, the surviving part of the city wall constructed along the bank of the Rhine in the initial foundation of the city before it was further developed as the Colonia Augusti in AD 50. This is discussed by Alfred Schäfer. For the original foundation the greater extent of the walls was timber laced mud brick, but the section along the river bank was stone, and part of this has been excavated, with the lower section surviving. Here, again, wall blocks survive with unfinished bosses above bands marking the intended final form.

Gabrielle Kremer discusses unfinished work on blocks which were bases for monuments or altars at Carnuntum. Of a total of 357, many examples show unfinished surfaces with only the inscribed face completed. Hilke Thür then describes unfinished work in the architecture of Carnuntum. This particularly refers to capitals where the carved decoration consists of unfinished blank elements on which the finished work was to be based.

Markus Trunk looks at similar unfinished capitals and column shafts from Gaul and Spain. Particularly noteworthy here (and significant for comparison with the Porta Nigra)

is the Porte d'Arroux city gate at Autun, where the side facing the outside is fully finished, with engaged pilasters carrying Corinthian capitals with completed entablatures above them while the side facing the interior of the city itself remains unfinished.

Georg Plattner looks at unfinished state and 'efficiency' in Roman architectural ornament in Asia Minor. He takes up the point made by Theodore Kalpaxis in his book on unfinished work in Greek architecture (Hemiteles) suggesting that unfinished architectural ornament in funerary buildings is intended to symbolise an unfinished life. He points to a contrast in the architectural completeness of a tomb monument at Milas, the Gümüskesen of the 2nd century AD. He then considers unfinished decoration, including Roman period work at Didyma. He then discusses the so-called Serapeion at Ephesus, of late Hadrianic/Antonine date where imported high-quality Proconnesian marble shows working by local masons, with evidence of unfinished detail. Finally he considers architectural elements in the 'hanging houses' at Ephesus, made up from fragments and finished with plaster.

Burkhard Emme considers the 'altar of Augustus' in the Bouleuterion of Miletus uncovered in the early years of the German excavations under Theodor Wiegand where there are elements of unfinished detail, especially on general surfaces between finished decorative sections. Ursula Quatember considers the element of finishing and its connection with unfinished work in the buildings of Roman Imperial date in Asia Minor, including major temples (such as Apollo Didyma) where work extended over a very considerable period. This involves consideration not only of public expenditure but also the funding of buildings by individuals. She looks at the Library of Celsus at Ephesus which included the monumental grave of Tiberius Julius Celsus Ptolemaeus and then the Nymphaeum Traiani there financed for Tiberius Claudius Ariston.

Finally Jürgen Giese considers incompletion as an element in the basic structure of a building, with reference to the link between basic structure and the completion of a building of the Imperial period at Alexandria Troas, the relationship between the basic structure and the final finished appearance. This particularly refers to a rather unusual 12-sided building of Hadrianic date where a basic structure was embellished with half columns. Here the walls were built of rubble, with original door openings filled in with rubble walling.

This is followed by an Epilog by Birte Geisler.

This volume provides a wide spectrum, from the Rhine frontier to Asia Minor, of buildings where different stages in the construction are noticeable, and with a resulting possibility of interruption which (whether intended or not) became permanent in their conspicuousness. This is particularly noticeable where construction of substantial building projects is necessarily extended over a long period and where external interruptions – particularly, of course, financial – may leave buildings unfinished. This may be subject to wider, local or even individual interruption – more often than not unknown to historical record. This is a fascinating and stimulating book even if, for the most part, it would seem to be the result of chance, of external factors rather than involving symbolic or deliberate non-final elements or surfaces of the sort argued for the Theseum Architect and the Temple at Rhamnous by Trevor Hodge and myself after a memorable and most enjoyable excursion there back in 1968.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

J.M. Hall and J.F. Osborne (eds.), *The Connected Iron Age: Interregional Networks in the Eastern Mediterranean 900–600 BCE*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London 2022, ix+263 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-226-81904-4

The outstanding contributions in this collection of conference papers provide a prospectus on how interaction in the Mediterranean from *ca.* 1000 to 600 BC might be modelled and interpreted. Summarising old finds and presenting new data, the chapters offer stimulating perspectives on a time and place that increasingly draw scholarly attention but that demand expertise in multiple regions and sub-specialties. While previous tomes have provided overarching narratives of the Mediterranean, this book, by design, instead offers multiple perspectives. Like many conference proceedings, however, the publication might be more useful were the editors, Jonathan Hall and James Osborne, to have made more connections across chapters through editorial intervention or a more substantive introduction. Rather than attempt to make sense of the disparate and sometimes contradictory perspectives presented in the book, their introduction ('Interregional Interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age') often skims over the secondary literature and engages lightly with the book chapters, all the while emphasising some topics, like ethnicity and environmental determinism, that rarely reappear.

Caroline López-Ruiz ('Phoenicians and the Iron Age Mediterranean: A Response to Phoenicoskepticism') stridently defends the existence of Phoenicians as a cultural group already in the early first millennium, summarising arguments that have appeared elsewhere and responding to critics. She speaks of an Orientalising 'kit' marketed by Phoenicians and widely consumed by Greeks seeking prestige. But any such kit is absent from the next chapter ('Mediterranean Interconnections beyond the City: Rural Consumption and Trade in Archaic Cyprus'), in which Catherine Kearns treats finds east of Amathus, primarily from pedestrian surface survey. Kearns offers a close reading of how rural communities may have connected to urban sites, to inland communities and to the coast. Long-range trade in commodities did not necessarily entail the type of elite display evident in cities.

In 'Connectivity, Style, and Decorated Metal Bowls in the Iron Age Mediterranean', Marian Feldman correctly notes how an uncritical use of style underlines analysis of Mediterranean connectivity. She offers a practice-oriented approach to style, which emerges from learning and doing in social contexts. It requires humans to engage with past traditions, with each other and with a range of materials. This chapter offers some of the theoretical insights that the introduction to the book lacks. So, too, does Sarah Morris's chapter ('Close Encounters of the Lasting Kind: Greeks, Phoenicians, and Others in the Iron Age Mediterranean'), which opens with insightful critiques of networks, the middle ground, colonisation and what she terms 'alphabetization' (seeking types of contact that might have led to the emergence of the alphabet). To move forward, she favours Catherine Pratt's notion of 'transnationalism' as well as Marian Feldman's 'communities of style', and she adopts an approach that is both diachronic and at times highly localised. What these allow her to do is to survey in detail how mobile fighters could be transformative participants in the practices of cross-cultural change. In addition to examining some well-known sites, like Eleftherna, she also discusses new results from Methone. The types of shared practices that are signs of close and persistent encounters include burial practices, worship and the deployment of writing in feasting contexts.

Susan Sherratt returns to more of a world systems model in 'The Mediterranean and the Black Sea in the Early First Millennium BCE: Greeks, Phoenicians, Phrygians, and Lydians', where she considers when and how the Black Sea was folded into a wider Mediterranean. She assumes the pursuit of silver drove connectivity. This results in a puzzle: for all of the metal resources near the Black Sea, the Phoenicians do not penetrate, and Greek material does not appear until the late 7th century BC. Sherratt suggests that the Bosporus may have been in the hands of Phrygians hostile to Greek activity, finding echoes in Homer's description of the geopolitics of the Trojan War. Miletus later entered into the Black Sea with the encouragement of the Lydians. In the seaborne quest for metals, Milesians were to Lydians as Phoenicians were to Assyrians. John Papadopoulos keeps our eyes on the north and on groups that have been left out of many narratives of the period in 'Greeks, Phoenicians, Phrygians, Trojans, and Other Creatures in the Aegean: Connections, Interactions, Misconceptions'. After a deft overview of the state of knowledge about connectivity at Knossos, Lefkandi and Athens, he turns north, where a traditional colonial framework does not fit most of the evidence. He reviews the evidence for Greek and Levantine connections, but in most places they are slight. At a site like Abdera, whose graves have been extensively excavated, there is only one Cypriot or Levantine amphora. Methone has more evidence, and is perhaps exceptional. Our interpretation of the imports in the north depends upon whether or not we accept that this is merely the tip of the iceberg. Much also depends upon what we do with the literary sources and etymologies that point to extensive Phoenician engagement in the north. In any event, Papadopoulos's argument that the northern Aegean was the place where Greek, Phrygian, Phoenician and Trojan letters may have 'coalesced' is appealing, not least because it adds different population groups to the story of alphabetisation.

Ann Gunter maintains a focus on Phrygians in 'Anatolia, the Aegean, and the Neo-Assyrian Empire: Material Connections'. She offers a close analysis of Phrygian connections to the Aegean and to Assyria, taking into account the new dates for Phrygian contexts as well as textual evidence. Between Phrygia and Assyria, there was more interconnection than often assumed, with shared goods and practices. In the Aegean, texts tell a different story, describing dedications of Midas. Archaeology complements the textual record, with sanctuaries acting as spaces for the consumption of Phrygian wares as well as the production of local imitations. Ritual uses, the movement of artists and the transfer of customs can explain some of the distribution of Phrygian goods.

In the next chapter, 'Egypt and the Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age', Brian Muhs offers a detailed but more conventional approach, surveying Egyptian exports to the Levant and, to a lesser extent, the Aegean. These consist primarily of exported statues (many of them gifts) and stone vessels (with multiple uses, from oil containers to cinerary urns), on the one hand, and imported Phoenician storage jars (for wine) and silver, on the other.

The penultimate chapter, 'Globalizing the Mediterranean's Iron Age', reads as a type of conclusion to the whole book. Tamar Hodos argues for the applicability of 'globalisation' as a heuristic tool for this place and time, recapping much of her earlier scholarship and explaining how each chapter in the book could fit her model. Unlike Hodos, the final chapter in the book, by Michael Dietler, makes no specific reference to the previous chapters. This is unfortunate, because in 'Six Provocations in Search of a Pretext', he has a lot to say that is relevant. The chapter could stand alone as an article, and it should be

mandatory reading for anyone working on the question of interaction in the Iron Age Mediterranean. With refreshing candour he pleads for greater care and awareness in how we discuss the Mediterranean as a cultural unity, and he calls into question the value of using networks or discussing connectivity at all.

Despite the reservations Dietler and the editors express about networks, I still think they could be useful for describing and explaining some of the connections that appear in this book. (Presumably at some point the editors thought so, too, for 'networks' appears in the sub-title.) Networks require specificity about nodes and links, accommodate multiple scales, and are subject to change over time. They may contain a spatial element, too. They force us to ask what was being connected, when, where and with what significance. In this book, authors discuss connections in terms of sites, people and objects, all of which could lend themselves to network thinking. Sarah Morris's apt phrase, 'close encounters of a lasting kind', describes one type of transformational connectivity, which could co-exist with wider-scale trade in commodities. A notable feature of this volume is not only to show the co-existence of these networks – even if their interrelationships and implications are rarely probed – but to move the discussion of connectivity in new geographic directions. Anatolia, the Black Sea, Cyprus and the northern Aegean littoral are not always integral to discussions of the Mediterranean, and rural spaces are usually left out. Several of the chapters offer perspectives on how these regions could be approached. Relatedly, while movement by sea dominates the discussion of connectivity, in several chapters there are signs that land routes matter, too. What remains unclear is how the geographical focus of this book, the eastern Mediterranean, offers a perspective that might be applied to the rest of the sea.

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C. Harlaut and J.W. Hayes, *Pottery in Hellenistic Alexandria: Aux origines d'Alexandrie et de sa production céramique*, Hellenistic Pottery Deposits from Alexandria, Études Alexandrines 45, Centre d'Études Alexandrines, Alexandria 2018, 361 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-2-490128-01-3

Pottery in Hellenistic Alexandria discusses Hellenistic pottery that was excavated at various localities in and around ancient Alexandria. Chronologically, the book covers the later fourth to mid-second century BC, the latter *terminus* marked – among others – by the arrival of early types of Eastern Sigillata A. It consists of two parts, the first (in French) written by Cécile Harlaut, the second (in English) essentially by John Hayes but which was completed with editorial support by Harlaut. The tableware aspects in particular should be read in conjunction with Sandrine Élaigne's important research on tablewares from Alexandria within an eastern Mediterranean context.

The *Avant-propos* summarises the development and content of the book, underlining the complexities of excavation and research in one of antiquity's metropoleis. These introductory pages set the tone with a lucidity that is maintained throughout the first part. This part is in fact the more elaborate, with extensive discussion and comparative referencing of pottery types. Such aspects are largely missing from the second part which is more summarily in character. Although Hayes's admirable knowledge obviously is not downplayed, nor

Harlaut's for that matter, this contrast does lend the book a somewhat unbalanced character, strengthened by the limited cross-referencing.

Harlaut's part is rich in observation and discussion and displays a strong undercurrent regarding diachronic continuity and change in clay use, typology, decoration as well as directions of influence that operates as a heuristic framework throughout. Arguably one of the more prominent aspects is the important role of Attic tableware and cooking vessels, both as actual imports as well as the influence these exerted on categories manufactured locally and elsewhere. This aspect relies (too?) strongly on the extensive research on Athenian pottery by Susan Rotroff. These influences, however, are most evident in Phase 1, which spans the last third of the 4th century BC. On the one hand, these influences underline the relationship between historical and cultural developments and material culture at Alexandria; on the other hand, such ties are neither historically nor methodologically straightforward. This, in turn, also raises the question whether, and if so, to what extent the case of Early Hellenistic Alexandria offers a template that can be (partly) transposed to study and understand the dispersion and absorption of ceramic styles – or material culture more generally for that matter – at other places and times. This might apply to a certain degree; rather, Alexandria formed a unique geographical and chronological setting that requires to be studied on its own terms and within its specific context.

During Harlaut's Phase 2, the early 3rd century BC, there were fundamental changes. Not only was local manufacture of tablewares initiated, also (and plausibly related to this) was that the role of imported tablewares (especially from Attica) shrank quantitatively, and typologically now displayed a more limited repertoire. Furthermore, there was a near-complete change in the typological repertoire as well as the use of raw clays for local cooking and common wares. These changes reflect a society in development, one that was moving away from its origins – albeit partly – in search of a social, artisanal, and material-cultural identity, which can be understood implicitly (p. 92). This phase of experimentation continued during Phase 3 (270/260–end of the 3rd century BC), after which relatively little further development seems to have taken place except for another significant shift in the source of raw clays, now calcareous clays from Lake Mareotis (p. 85) which was possibly related with contemporary amphorae manufacture to the south of the lake (p. 110). A 'make-over' of the repertoire of cooking vessels also took place during Phase 3. This is thought to have tied in with a shift to the use of alluvial clays, considered to be more suitable for such vessels, and potentially hints at a deliberate technological choice. By this time, the presence and influence of Attic pottery had further dwindled. In fact, in her diachronic discussion, Harlaut underlines the complexity of distribution and influence of both table- and cooking wares throughout the Hellenistic period, and points to a multitude of sources that included Cyprus, Rhodes and Italy.

Two aspects deserved a fuller treatment. The first concerns the incomplete study of the excavated pottery, and the extent to which this impacted interpretation; the second is the near lack of archaeometrical analyses, desirable in order to confirm or to reject assumptions regarding identification and provenance, and particularly relevant given the diachronic shifts in raw clay quarrying and use during this formative period. Laboratory analyses could shed light on (some of the) motivations behind these efforts by looking into matters of clay properties and preparation, firing technology, etc. There are methodological drawbacks too, a significant one being the confidence with which numismatic evidence is used at face value

throughout. Also, there appears to have been limited consideration for residual and intrusive fragments, yet the illustrated pottery suggests various states of preservation within contexts, ranging from complete vessels to mere fragments. In addition, while summary quantitative tables showing local and imported pottery are given for Phases 1 (p. 20) and 2 (p. 62), such a table is missing for Phase 3. A separate discussion of these quantities – however general they are – and the longer-term trends they signify, would have formed an interesting elaboration.

The second part of the book is, as mentioned, summarily in its descriptions of the individual deposits and their corresponding catalogue entries. Moreover, it lacks a concluding section. All deposits presented in this part are from the Cricket Ground (pp. 164–65; each deposit catalogue is introduced briefly) and represent a limited functional variety: refuse pits, backfills (for subsequent construction), an occupation level, an abandonment level, and robbing trenches. The chronological sequence of deposits starts around 300 BC and ends in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC, and covers this entire period (i.e. there are no real stratigraphical-chronological gaps). The dating of a number of these deposits partly relies on numismatic evidence and/or stamped amphora handles.

There are small(er) quantities of long-distance imported pottery throughout (tablewares, cooking wares, amphorae), and whilst a number of these identifications are mere suggestions, they are nonetheless a display of Hayes' invaluable knowledge. The lower end marks the arrival of the first series of types in Eastern Sigillata A (ESA), first observed in Deposit K (pp. 227–28). It is noteworthy that the so-called Black Slip Predecessor (BSP) – a term first coined by Kathleen Slane in 1997 – of ESA was not identified (however, see the book by Élaigne).[1] Harlaut does discuss fragments (p. 49) that could be earlier Hellenistic exponents of tableware manufacture from the same region where BSP and ESA would be developed around the third quarter and middle of the 2nd century BC respectively. This, as well as Early Hellenistic tablewares whose composition is tentatively considered to be similar to that of Eastern Sigillata D (p. 45), underlines the complex background of terra sigillata as a technological and stylistic innovation that would emerge in the Middle Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean. The extensive restudy program of the finds from the 1930s excavations at Antioch is worth mentioning here, which should bring interesting new evidence and insights concerning longer-term ceramic trends at one of the Hellenistic (and Roman, for that matter) Mediterranean's metropoleis.

Minor inconsistencies are observed. For example, the date of Deposit C is given as '*c.* 300 BC, or early 3rd century BC' (p. 166) as well as 'Early 3rd century BC (even later 4th?)' (p. 167), thus on two facing pages. Also, two lids in Deposit H (pp. 203–04) and one in Deposit H' (p. 209) are considered to have been for Lamboglia 2 amphorae (no. H37 for 'Lamboglia type 2, or similar'; no. H'36 is tentative). As this type does not appear until the late 2nd century BC, this is at odds with the deposit dates of about 200–180 BC (Deposit H) and 200-150/140 BC (Deposit H'). A similar lid occurs in Deposit K dated to 130–120 BC (p. 231); plausibly, the lids in Deposits H and H' belong to other amphora types or are intrusive.

The book concludes with plates (pp. 237–97), abbreviations (p. 299), bibliography (pp. 301–13), indexes (pp. 317–55) – best seen as concordances – and the Table of Contents

[1] S. Élaigne, *La vaisselle fine de l'habitat alexandrin* (Cairo 2012).

(pp. 357–61). One notable omission from the bibliography is the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplement on Tel Anafa (1997). Tel Anafa was a relatively small – obviously in comparison to Alexandria – inland settlement in the Upper Galilee and is an anchor point for the emergence of BSP and the early phases of ESA. The evidence from Tel Anafa also illustrates that small quantities of long-distance imported slipped tablewares and cooking vessels also reached smaller, inland settlements. Despite the various (minor) shortcomings and the unbalanced character, this book is significant for its rich evidence and for shedding further light on a formative period of one of antiquity's metropoleis that deserves to be compared with other large(r) urban (harbour-)cities.

Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna Philip Bes

A. Haug, A. Hielscher and M.T. Lauritsen (eds.), *Materiality in Roman Art and Architecture: Aesthetics: Semantics and Function*, Decorative Principles in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy (Decor) 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, viii+286 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-076290-7

This book publishes papers presented at a colloquium which took place remotely because of the Covid epidemic. It was arranged by Decor, an organisation which declares its aim is to provide 'a holistic analysis of the decorative principles employed in Roman Italy during the Late Republic and Early Imperial periods'. The colloquium was funded by the European Research Council with a grant, and devoted to the topic Materiality as Decor: Aesthetics, Semantics and Function. The editors are based at universities in Kiel and Munich, and to judge from their names and given biographical details the majority of the contributors are German. The papers are presented, nevertheless, in impeccable English, presumably on the insistence of the funding body which was founded by the European Union.

The book is divided into four sections beginning with an introduction comprising papers by Annette Haug and Adrian Hirscher on 'Materiality as decor: aesthetics and function'; by Monika Wagner on 'Surface matters, "true" and "false" gloss in architecture', and by Anna Anguissola on 'Ethical matters: Pliny the Elder on Material Deception'.

The second section is headed 'Materiality of Aesthetics', the third section is 'Materiality of Architecture: Semantics' and the final section is 'Materiality of Objects'.

Thus the book is concerned with what the blurb on the back cover puts forward, that 'Materiality is the substance of the World of Things', with materiality as part of aesthetic perception, loaded with meaning and bound to function even in antiquity, while 'to date, this complex reading of material has not been adequately represented in archaeological research'.

This theme is spelt out clearly in the opening paper by Annette Haug and Adrian Hielscher. This refers to 18th-century theories of aesthetics and later developments of aesthetic theory, followed by a discovery of the semantic of materials and then the functions of materials. This leads to an analysis of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* as a work including an analysis of material in antiquity, the social value of material in terms of luxury and decadence, that his discussion provides an outwardly specific framework of interpretation, that the iconology of the materials refers to a critical system where Pliny reports that Italian cult images and architectural ornament applied to temples were normally made from

terracotta, returning virtues and emphasis. Even later when gold and silver were available these virtues were retained, with marble of all types having to be imported.

This introductory section concludes with brief accounts of the various papers presented at the colloquium.

The next paper, by Monika Wagner, looks at 'true' and 'false' gloss in architecture, based on an analysis of the interaction of marble and glass in architecture of the 20th century, specifically the work of Mies van der Rohe. This is followed by Anna Anguissola on Pliny the Elder's discussion of material deception, particularly the use of gold and gilding on walls, vessels and statues.

Then papers discussing materials used in architecture begin with Tobias Busen on masonry and meaning, where he argues that even when a structure was intended to be covered with a final form made from stucco it had significance of itself and in this reflects the contribution of the person responsible for its execution. He cites the example of a wall in the casa del Citarista at Pompeii, finally covered with now largely missing painted plaster but where the underlying *opus incertum* wall has an aesthetic value of its own.

Simon Barker considers the application of stone revetment on walls in Central Italy dated to the 1st century AD, where coloured marble revetment replaced painted plaster as the surface decoration despite the fact that the marble used had to be imported. Here the influence of practices already established in the areas which acted as sources for the marble need to be considered. He gives examples (well-illustrated with colour photographs) of marble revetment systems found in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Oplontis, and discusses the types of marble employed.

Thomas Beck also considers the use of coloured marble in the eastern Mediterranean, but for columns rather than revetment. He points to the earliest evidence for imported marble to be in the second half of the 2nd century and sees the combination of white marble bases and capitals with coloured shafts in the second half of the 1st century BC in the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome. He also notes walls where elements are painted to imitate coloured marble.

Jessica Plant discusses stucco ceilings as a developed technique with, for example, the vaulted ceilings of the Villa della Farnesina in Rome.

Arne Reinhardt looks at terracotta decoration, the so-called Campanian plaques, the use of colour on terracotta elements, and the development of terracotta in façades with coloured brickwork, particularly in tomb structures, including the tomb of the so-called Deus Rediculus at Rome.

The section on 'Semantics' in architectural materials begins with a paper by Dominik Maschek on the meaning of building materials in Late Republican architecture – moving from semantics to pragmatics. This looks at the way materials were handled in construction, with the expertise of the builder in assembling structures being the basic factor.

Matthias Grawehr looks at the use of travertine at Rome, specifically its 'style and meaning'. He considers this as equally significant to the use of marble. He discusses its physical properties and the ancient knowledge of travertine as a material. He looks at plastered travertine and then the use of uncoated travertine in the Imperial period.

The final section considers the material used in the manufacture of objects in an architectural context. This begins with a paper by Adrian Hielscher on four-legged marble tables in Pompeian houses, with the development of the type illustrated by a series of examples.

Ellen Swift looks at materials in the context of design, with examples of objects made from glass, metal and organic materials (bone, wood, amber and jet). This is followed by Jörn Lang on Roman cameos, on their materials and actual examples, their form and significance. Benjamin Engels discusses Basket Urns, urns with the form and appearance of basket wickerwork but in fact made of stone, marble or limestone. The final paper, by Manuel Flecker looks at the period of the objects described and discussed in the book as an age of 'intermateriality' – marble as décor, Arretine sigillata as a successor following the end of painted pottery decoration around 300 BC. Then marbled sigillata, multi-layered cameo glass and glazed ceramics.

In the preface to this book the editors state that the aim of the conference and therefore the papers presented to it and recorded in this volume was to focus on the decorative potential of materials in the context of the Late Republic and Early Imperial period of Rome, the 2nd century BC to the late 1st century AD. This, of course, is the period of the great expansion of Roman power and control which gave Roman architecture and art access to the differing resources available within that area, with the political power and economic strength to manage and exploit what it contained. All this points to the significance of the description of the emperor Augustus' achievement in the middle of this period, and its architectural contribution, that he 'found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble'. To the archaeologist of Rome it is clear what this involved.

Yet in this respect I found the present volume something of a disappointment. Its emphasis on 'three qualities of materials, aesthetics, semantics and function' somehow falls short of what was achieved. To me the most significant aspect of this lies in the architectural development, obviously with the ability to import and employ materials from wide and diverse sources, and the growth of trading potential which brought materials into Italy from inherently such a wide area. Crucial elements of this involved the decoration of walls and ceilings and a much fuller account of the marble wall revetments, coloured marble columns and entablatures, the treatment of details and ceilings, ultimately with the constructive development of concrete, cries out for fuller treatment which would be of greater significance than the marble versions of wooden furniture and stone imitations of wickerwork.

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E. Hussein, *Revaluing Roman Cyprus: Local Identity in an Island in Antiquity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021, xxvii+155 pp., 7 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-877778-6

Ausgehend von „lokaler Identität", legt die Verfasserin eine Neubewertung des römischen Zyperns vor. Dabei kommt der Bedeutung des römischen Bürgerrechts in Zypern und der auf einzelne Städte der Insel bezogenen Identität Ersin Husseins besonderes Augenmerk zu.

In Kapitel 1 (S. 1–22) nimmt H. das römische Zypern als Insel geographisch in den Blick. Sie tut das schon hier mit dem Ziel, Identitätsbildung auf der lokalen Ebene zu erforschen. Aus der „Marginalisierung" des römischen Zyperns in der Forschung seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert zieht H. unter Berufung auf neueste Literatur die Konsequenz, geographische Aussagen in antiker Literatur, die stets nicht-zyprisch ist und daher ausschließlich Blicke von außen her präsentiert, im Hinblick auf Inselsituationen als reale und imaginierte Landschaften vorzustellen und zu hinterfragen. Letzteres gilt vor allem der in

den antiken Werken dargebotenen Rolle Zyperns gegenüber Rom und dem Reich, die unter den Gesichtspunkten der Romanisierung oder der Zentrum-Peripherie-Polarität lange Zeit die Forschung einseitig bestimmt hat. Dem stellt H. lokale Identität gegenüber, die sie indes nicht als strikte Theorie, sondern als schmiegsames Interpretament anwendet.

In Kapitel 2 (S. 23–56) über Zyperns römische Annexion und Verwaltung sowie die Verwalter bearbeitet H. traditionelle Forschungsgebiete römischer Provinzialgeschichte. Dennoch bietet H. Neues mit einer von ihr revidierten Liste mit 28 datierten Prokonsuln Zyperns vom Jahr 30 vor der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis in die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts christlicher Zeitrechnung (S. 40–45). Dass fast ebenso viele, nämlich 27 Inhaber dieses Amtes sich nach wie vor nicht chronologisch einordnen lassen (S. 45–48), ist H. nicht anzulasten. Wichtig für dieses, aber auch die folgenden Kapitel ist Hs. Bewertung der einschlägigen inschriftlichen Überlieferung nach Aufstellungsort, Gelegenheit und beteiligten Personen (S. 48–51), ebenso ihre Feststellung, dass Zyperns relativ einfach zu bewerkstelligende Verwaltung dazu führte, dorthin eher unbedeutende Senatoren als Verwalter zu entsenden, so dass die zyprische Elite kaum mit einflussreichen Personen in Kontakt kamen (S. 56).

Das römische Bürgerrecht geht H. in Kapitel 3 (S. 57–91) hinsichtlich der Frage nach der Identität der bürgerlichen Elite zyprischer Städte an und stellt dann das Kapitel 4 (S. 92–125) ausdrücklich unter das Thema der „bürgerlichen Identität", die sie als „kollektive Identität" versteht. Die von H. nur kurz behandelten außerhalb Zyperns nachgewiesenen Zyprer werfen ein Licht auf die Teilhabe Zyperns, das ja keineswegs nur griechisch war (S. 128), an griechischer Kultur (S. 86–89). Ausgiebiger behandelt H. die Frage nach der (Selbst-)Romanisierung von Zyprern, die oder deren Vorfahren das Bürgerrecht erhalten haben (S. 71–89). Als Grundlage bietet H. eine Tabelle von rund 80 mehr oder weniger genau datierten Frauen und Männern auf Zypern, die offensichtlich das römische Bürgerrecht besessen haben und durch lokale oder auf den Kaiser bezogene Ämter und Ehrenstellungen bedeutend gewesen sind (Tabelle 3.1: S. 74–78, Interpretation S. 73, 79–84). Hochrangige oder wirtschaftlich bedeutende römische Bürger als Besucher Zyperns oder, wichtiger, als zeitweilige dortige Residenten (S. 59–71) erweisen sich vor allem unter dem Gesichtspunkt ergiebig, dass römische beziehungsweise italische Überseekaufleute auf die provinzialen Städte, in denen sie ihrem Gewerbe nachgingen und lebten, einigen Einfluss ausübten sowie den lokalen Eliten Verbindungen zu den höchsten Kreisen der (stadt-) römischen Gesellschaft verschaffen konnten und diese so in eine für ihre Identität veränderte Situation bringen konnten (S. 61).

Als methodischer roter Faden durchzieht eine – längst selbstverständliche – kritische Haltung zu Mitfords Umgang mit Inschriften das Kapitel 3 (S. 57–58). So widerlegt H. anhand des inschriftlichen Materials und dessen Datierung die von Mitford vielfach beschworene Enttäuschung von Bürgern zyprischer Städte über Roms weitgehendes Desinteresse an ihnen und ihren daraus folgenden Rückzug auf ihre eigenen Städte samt dem Schwinden ihres Interesses am Erwerb des römischen Bürgerrechts. Vielmehr demonstrierten Zyprer mit römischem Bürgerrecht ihre zwei Identitäten als Römer und als Bürger ihrer jeweiligen Stadt auf „flexible" Weise (Zitat S. 127–28), so dass man den im Hinblick auf die Haltung von Griechen anderswo im Römischen Reich keineswegs selbstverständlichen Schluss ziehen könnte, Konfliktpotential zwischen den beiden Identitäten sei in zyprischen Städten nicht vorhanden gewesen. Die doppelte Identität ging über öffentliche Ehrungen für führende Bürger durch ihre Städte in deren „kollektive Erfahrungen und kulturelles

Gedächtnis“ ein (zusammengefasst S. 89–91). Für letztere zieht H. in Kapitel 4 die Gründungsmythen von vier ausgewählten Städten in literarischen Versionen heran, die in römischer Zeit erstellt worden sind. Auch verfolgt sie Manifestationen dieser Mythen in der materiellen Kultur und der Topographie derselben Städte. Das nutzt sie, um Unterschiede im Verständnis von Identität zwischen der Sicht von außen, der lokaler Gemeinschaften und der unterschiedlicher (gesellschaftlicher) Gruppen herauszuarbeiten (S. 94).

Zwei Eigenheiten von H.s Abhandlung seien abschließend kommentiert: Bisweilen folgen bei H. auf allgemeine Darlegungen keine Anwendungen auf Zypern. So bietet das Unterkapitel über „Ancient and Modern Imaged Islandscapes“ (S. 17–19) keinen Bezug auf das antike oder gar römische Zypern. Gleiches gilt im Besonderen für die von H. aus der isolierten Lage von Inseln gefolgerte Verwendung für Verbannungen (S. 4–5 und 18).

Für die Untersuchung in Kapitel 4 wählt H. die vier Städte Paphos (Palaia und Nea), Kourion, Amathous und Salamis aus – nicht aber Kition (S. 93), das sie jedoch in Kapitel 3 (S. 61, 89–90) berücksichtigt –, weil sie damit ein Gebiet vom Südwesten bis zum Osten der Insel erfasse und aus diesen Städten genug Quellenmaterial vorliege, das Vergleiche erlaube. Dieses Vorgehen ist deswegen fragwürdig, weil in H.s Auswahl Städte der zur kleinasiatischen Südküste und zu Kilikien hin gelegenen Nordküste der Insel sowie Städte des zyprischen Binnenlandes mit ihren möglicherweise eigenen lagebedingten Bedingungen fehlen (siehe jedoch S. 93, freilich ohne Konsequenz für die von H. unmittelbar zuvor präsentierte Städteauswahl). Hier wird deutlich, dass H., abgesehen vom Koinon der Zyprer (S. 51–55), das allerdings nicht durch zyprische Initiative geschaffen worden ist, die gesamtzyprische Ebene nicht für ihren Gegenstand thematisiert und dass sie zwischen zyprischer Stadt einerseits und Provinz beziehungsweise Insel Zypern andererseits terminologisch unscharf ist. H. gebraucht zwar immer wieder ‚lokal‘ für die einzelnen Städte Zyperns (etwa S. 55, 61, 89–91, 94), doch mehrfach bedeutet ‚lokal‘ bei H. wie auch in manchen anderen englischsprachigen Werken ‚regional‘ und ist im vorliegenden Buch auf Zypern als Ganzes bezogen (etwa S. 21, 24, 51). Daher kann der Leser keine Vorstellung von Unterschieden zwischen Identitäten gewinnen, die entweder auf einzelne Städte oder auf Regionen innerhalb Zyperns oder auf die Insel insgesamt bezogen sind, zumal H. abschließend die zyprischen Städte in ihren kulturellen Manifestationen zwar strikt voneinander unterscheidet, aber allgemein auch von Verbindungen zwischen ihnen spricht (S. 124).

Dennoch bringt H.s an Quellenarbeit und Literaturdiskussion reiches und zugleich wohltuend kurz gehaltenes Buch dem am antiken Zypern interessierten Leser Gewinn. Dieser besteht darin, prinzipielle Positionen der zyprischen Stadtbürgereliten zu erkennen und auf diese Weise dem römischen Zypern geschichtliche Dimension zu geben (zusammenfassend S. 126). Ebenso dürfte H., auch wenn in ihrer Untersuchung systematische Vergleiche mit anderen Provinzen und Regionen des Römischen Reiches keine Rolle spielen, ihr allgemeineres Ziel, Zypern als lohnenden Gegenstand für Fallstudien lokaler Erfahrungen und Identitätsbildungen in den römischen Provinzen herauszustellen (S. XIV), erreicht haben.

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B. Jacobs (ed.), *Ancient Information on Persia Re-assessed: Xenophon's* Cyropaedia, Proceedings of a Conference Held at Marburg in Honour of Christopher J. Tuplin, December 1–2, 2017, Classica et Orientalia 22, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2020, xxxii+407 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11283-3/ISSN 2190-3638

This volume is a very important contribution to the ongoing rehabilitation of Xenophon not only as a witty historian and an ingenious writer, but also as a fully-fledged Socratic philosopher. It also follows recent efforts in reframing, or perhaps one should say 'expanding', the scope of the *Cyropaedia*. And for those two main reasons, it will definitely become a great reference in Xenophontic studies.

The detailed indexes, the great variety of topics and its division in thematic sections, make this book a great tool of research for students and scholars of Philosophy, History and Classics.

The main guiding thread of the book is the development of an interplay between fiction, to be understood as the product of Xenophon's own inventions and philosophical motivations and theories, and historical facts about ancient Persia. This evidently raises many interesting questions, though some of them will never get a definitive answer. Nevertheless, this interplay makes the analysis of the *Cyropaedia* all the more interesting since they unlock new perspectives on how to address Xenophon's *magnum opus*. For instance, F. Pownall deals with Xenophon's engagement with historiographical tradition to create his own version of Cyrus' birth and upbringing, which shapes the rest of the narrative. We also find an interesting study on the question of genre by I. Madreiter. The author intelligently argues that the *Cyropaedia* should perhaps be labelled as a 'historiographic metafiction', where fact and fiction are consciously played by Xenophon in order to create a hybridisation of forms able to embrace all kinds of subjects and themes. R. Bichler analyses the problem of geographical space in the *Cyropaedia*, emphasising the difficulty in distinguishing historical reality from fiction; as the author rightly observes, the narrative becomes progressively more abstract, especially because geographical references become meagre and generic. There are also two detailed studies regarding the *Cyropaedia* as an historical source and the extent to which it helps us understand Near Eastern history. In his paper, J. Degen argues that Xenophon had most of his information on Persian kingship from Greek literature of the 5th and 4th centuries, notably Herodotus and Ctesias, which seems to me a reasonable *via media* between two extremes: (i) Xenophon made up everything he wrote in the *Cyropaedia* or (ii) he is faithfully describing things he saw during his travels in Asia. B. Jacob's contribution deals with one of the most important themes in the *Cyropaedia*: gift-giving as the material expression *par excellence* for the establishment of social relationships and power structures; it is, in other words, a *conditio sine qua non* in forging military alliances, friendship bonds and, when it manifests itself as munificence (*polydoria*), it becomes an indispensable tool to establish political authority over one's subordinates.

Indeed, many chapters focus on the historicity of Persian elements and its relationship with Greek elements. Nearly all of them conclude that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine precisely what is an historical fact and what is a product of Xenophon's own creation, which seems to confirm the impossibility to clearly distinguish history from fiction. Perhaps, instead of trying to identify philosophical ideas in an historiographical text,

one should invert the order and see historical features in an eminently philosophical text, a perspective that we gladly find in the volume. Such a perspective is, by the way, corroborated by Diogenes Laertius, who asserts that Xenophon was the first philosopher to write history (2 .6. 48; see also p. 302 in the volume). Indeed, L.-A. Dorion's article allows us to dive into a more philosophical aspect of the *Cyropaedia*, since it proposes an important discussion on Xenophon's ethics, notably the relationship between *enkrateia*, politics and the qualities, skills and duties that make a good ruler, either in the household, in the army, in the city or in an empire. In the same vein, a close reading of G. Danzig's and M.A. Flower's respective contributions, both concerning the contrast between the younger Cyrus and the elder Cyrus, allows us to explore even further Xenophon's ethical and political thought, such as the portrait of the ideal leader, without leaving aside the historical aspect of both the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia*. Differing in their arguments and conclusions, both articles complement each other beautifully and provide valuable insights for further discussion on the subject.

In the last section of the volume, dedicated to Xenophon's literary reception, the diversity of themes indicates that there is still a lot of ground to cover on this topic and confirms the fact that we are still unable to assess clearly Xenophon's influence on later authors. This last section provides then an interesting outlook on this subject and should serve as an inspiration for those who want to pursue the same task. For instance, D.L. Gera makes an interesting comparison between the *Cyropaedia* and the Books of Esther and Judith from the point of view of the concepts of luxury and authority; S. Müller's paper on Xenophon's influence on Alexander historiographers provides a detailed table of obvious and potential borrowings from the *Cyropaedia*; S. Asirvatham's contribution charts the *Cyropaedia*'s reception in imperial Greek literature – which presents, among other things, an interesting analysis of the praise of deception in the *Cyropaedia* and its interpretation by later Greek authors; finally, R. Stoneman's and N. Humble's articles assess, respectively, some readings of the *Cyropaedia* in early modern Europe and during the Renaissance.

M. Tamiolaki's article on the Straussian readings of the *Cyropaedia* provides an interesting overview as well as a complete bibliography on this subject. I am personally skeptical regarding the soundness of this key of interpretation, since it is in many ways "anti-philological" in the sense that it is often grounded on the interpretation of omissions in the text and frequently based on modern prejudices; for instance, the idea that manipulation and trickery are intrinsically bad. Perhaps we should see such measures as an integral part of Xenophon's theory of leadership, which makes it even more interesting and complex than we might initially conceive. Unlike the ironical reading of the *Cyropaedia* (and of Xenophon's corpus in general), a methodologically sounder approach is found, for instance, in J.E. Esposito and N.B. Sandridge's article in which they analyse the concept of *prostates*, but also in Danzig's and Flower's articles, both proposing a comparative study on Cyrus the Younger and Cyrus the Elder. Esposito and Sandridge intelligently argue, without reading between the lines, that the activities of a *prostates* could potentially lead to tyranny and other kinds of political abuse. Besides, they are careful to highlight that Cyrus refuses all behaviour connected to tyranny, such as robbery, violence and the unjust confiscation of his subjects' material wealth. Both Danzig and Flower provide, despite the differences in their interpretation, an accurate analysis of the *Cyropaedia* 8. 8, showing that Xenophon

gives all the information needed in the epilogue itself to explain the progressive corruption of the Persian empire. Hence, the seeds of this corruption are not to be found in the previous chapters of the *Cyropaedia* nor in the supposed wicked character of Cyrus. Besides, it is worthy of note that Xenophon explicitly states his objective in the prologue: his intention is not to show the permanence of Cyrus' institutions after his death, but his ability to govern a vast empire with willing subjects (1. 1. 3). It is also worth remarking that the structure and the proper functioning of Cyrus' empire depends directly on the competence and the virtuous character of the king, who occupies the highest rank in the hierarchical chain of command (8. 1. 7–9; 8. 8. 5). And since no other king that succeeded Cyrus was as competent and virtuous as he was, it is all the more natural that the orderly structure of the empire starts to dissolve after Cyrus' death. Furthermore, the well-known Xenophontic principle according to which the laws themselves are insufficient to enforce obedience (*Lac. Pol.* 14 *passim*) explains why the empire progressively falls apart when its 'Seeing Law' (*Cyropaedia* 8. 1. 22) was no longer there to ensure compliance not only to the laws and the hierarchical structure of the Persian state, but also to the virtuous way of life (*diaita*) implemented in the imperial court (7. 5. 70–86; 8. 1. 17–42).

I should add, in conclusion, that I would have wanted to see a few comparative studies between Xenophon and other texts on political philosophy more or less contemporary to the *Cyropaedia*, such as Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, Aristotle's *Politics*, and even some of Isocrates' works. We should not forget that the *Cyropaedia* was part of a lively intellectual debate in the 4th century BC on various topics regarding the political life, such as the role and the duties of the citizen and of the politician, in a time where Athens was losing its hegemony and, in parallel, the features of the Classical *polis* were progressively changing. The volume would have been then even more complete than it already is.

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B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *A Companion to The Achaemenid Persian Empire*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Wiley Blackwell, Hoboken, NJ 2021, 2 vols., xviii+xviii+1706 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-119-17428-8

This two-volume edited work not only offers a detailed introduction to the Teispid-Achaemenid empire, but also promises to serve as an important research tool. The individual contributions are of uniformly high quality, and, although I cannot comment on each in detail, they are commensurate with efforts displayed by the managing editions, Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger. While most handbooks offer only a *Suda*-like set of references, this work presents detailed bibliographies, documenting on-going work and future publications – both physical and ethereal – with the 'Further Reading' highlighting present and sometimes unsolved issues. One will note that source materials are presented from different perspectives, as if the empire is a crown-jewel in which facets are examined to elucidate both structure and flaw.

The editors' Introduction (**Section I**, pp. 1–10) highlights the empire as the 'center of an interrelated network' which led to new intercontinental connections. This year of my writing, as the Germans say, is 2023 (my ill-health created delay), but the work was announced

no later than May 2014, at which point contributions were in existence.[1] Thus, many of my comments will be in notes adding very recent works. I note that the *Provincia Hispania* and its successor states have also advanced the field.

Section II: 'Geography and Demography'. Potts (pp. 13–26) presents a clear overview of the empire's geographies, note that hydraulic works were both centrally-mandated and local investments. Wiesehöfer (pp. 27–38) and his bibliography facilitate an excellent introduction to subjects (demoscopy, demography) whose evidence is difficult to control. Tavernier (pp. 39–52) in his account of peoples and languages emphasises that the imperial mind made the enumeration of such 'one of the central axes of royal Achaemenid ideology' (p. 45). Rossi (pp. 53–59) highlights Aramaic as a *vehicular language* for the empire (p. 52). Schmitt (pp. 61–70) makes sense of onomastic evidence, the focus of his extensive work.

Section III: 'Sources'. The empire was hardly a fount of illiteracy, jibber-jabber and junk. In 'Written Sources', Rossi (pp. 75–85) presents a clear picture of a difficult problem, Achaemenid inscriptions, enhanced by his suggestions for further reading (pp. 80–85). Stolper (pp. 87–100) holds that Elamite, 'a linguistic isolate', was widespread for administrative use. Jursa (pp. 101–16) places a proper focus in the 484 BC event for Babylonian sources, while pointing to future works by Hackl as *Achaemenid History* 17 (Peeters) and by C. Waerzeggers. Gzella (pp. 117–31) indicates that highly mobile speakers were a key to Aramaic's success. Kratz (pp. 133–48) discusses Biblical evidence, literary and epigraphic (especially p. 142, *cf.* Gruen, p. 1478). Elayi (pp. 149–54) in her account of Phoenician sources points publications to appear in *achemenet.com*. Vittmann (pp. 155–62) outlines Egyptian sources, aptly interweaving the printed and on-line; Hajnal (pp. 163–68) outlines Lydian, Carian and Lycian sources. Bichler and Rollinger (pp. 169–85), with excellent 'further reading', emphasise the change in the 21st century in the application of a more critical approach to Graeco-Roman sources. And now the difficulty in managing such extensive volumes appears: Rollinger, like Homer, nods (pp. 184–85).

The subsection on 'Archaeological Sources' should be used with foresight in the knowledge that the archaeological record (and related fields) is subject to constant change and concomitant reinterpretation. Boucharlat (pp. 189–212) outlines the sources for Persia and Khuzestan, and should be supplemented with on-line sources, such as *achemenet.com*. Persepolis' palaces served as an archetype for Darius' successors, while related irrigation projects are well documented. Jacobs and Stronach (pp. 213–20) wrangle with the existence of Median evidence. Media's focus remained in northern Iran, at least in the first half of the 6th century BC – without the world of forgeries. Kuntner and Heinsch (pp. 221–32), with further reading in p. 232, indicate that imperial archaeological remains often challenge interpretation, remaining 'unentwinable from the Late Babylonian horizon' (p. 227). Nunn (pp. 233–44) discusses Syria, most finds on the coastal area, displaying a 'multiplicity, diversity, and eclecticism' (p. 241). Cannavò (pp. 245–58) argues that on Cyprus remains are scanty, scattered and ambiguous for Achaemenid installations. Wasmuth (pp. 259–75) points to the need for further investigation into Egyptian evidence; little data on how the Persian population was represented (*cf.* fig. 20.6 on p. 270). Kaptan (pp. 277–96) presents an excellent introduction to evidence from Asia Minor (in spite of illicit and

[1] See *achemenet.com*, 'sous presse' for the earlier version of Madreiter and Schnegg (pp. 1121–34).

plundering investigations). Here the empire 'emerges as the connector of diverse communities across the region, notable in the archaeological record' (p. 277). Knauss (pp. 297–310) indicates that archaeology is the foremost evidence of the Achaemenid presence in the Caucasus (site map, p. 299). The local elite's desire for luxury items caused local artisans to produce 'imitations'; Pasargadae inspired the Karacamilri complex. Rapin (pp. 311–23) places sedentary and nomadic residents at the centre of the imperial north-east. Afriasab and Koktepe display continuities between Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid times, the latter, a Sogdian city, is given a detailed account. Both of the last two render Cyrillic sources in the Latin alphabet. Boucharlat (pp. 325–32) discusses the imperial southeast, offering a reliable summary of the sporadic archaeological investigations.

Section IV: 'History'. This opens with 'Predecessors, Empire's Rise'. Rollinger (pp. 337–50) again grapples with the 'Median Dilemma', pointing to the path-breaking work of clear-sighted Sancisi-Weerdenberg which cast doubt on a pretended 'imperial' structure. It was at best a loose 'confederation' situated in the Zagros. Salvini (pp. 351–63) presents a clear account of the evidence from Urartu, noting that Xerxes placed his inscription at the old Urartian royal site, Tuspas. Rollinger (pp. 365–88) records events from Assurbanipal to Cambyses, highlighting the role of periphery regions in setting the idea of empire against 'new backgrounds' (p. 376). Álvarez-Mon (pp. 389–401) rightly argues that one should not underestimate the influence of Elamite traditions on the empire (p. 390, *cf.* p. 401). Kuhrt (pp. 403–13) treats the Teispid conquests, evaluating the evidence dispassionately and with the best accuracy possible. The Teispids garnered support from local elites and respected ancestral traditions.

Then 'From Gaumata to Alexander'. Schwinghammer (pp. 417–27) discusses the imperial crisis following Cambyses' death in clear, measured tones (note Kipp's 2001 extensive treatment).[2] Rollinger and Degen (pp. 429–56) outline imperial events through the reign of Artaxerxes I, emphasising that the army and navy worked together in the maintenance of order. Constant expansion of the realm was not fixed policy. Binder (pp. 457–71) outlines the realm through to the time of Darius III. It is worth noting his statement of p. 463: 'The quality of an account does not improve merely because it is repeated and reworked significantly later.' Nawotka (pp. 473–82) discusses Alexander, noting that after Darius' death he competed with Artaxerxes V (Bessus) in winning over Achaemenid aristocrats, hoping to unify the elite.

'Under Persian Rule' (or "Eight Corners of the World Under One Parasol") opens with Mousavi and Daryaee (pp. 485–93) discussing Parsa and Uja, the two names for the heartland. The problem remains filling in specific events (pp. 486–88). Jacobs (pp. 495–501) successfully discusses that fount of modern (and ancient) imaginations, Media. Rollinger (pp. 503–17), on Babylon, indicates the problems fostered by earlier studies and the *translatio imperii*. The 'end of archives' be the result of Xerxes' administrative reforms and ensuing replacement of old temple archives. Potts (pp. 519–28) believes Maka (i.e. Oman) did possess a satrap, that the Persian Gulf served as a highway for the transmission of

[2] 'Franz Hampl, Herodot und die Thronbesteigung des Dareios'. In P.W. Halder and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Althistorische Studien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Universal- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Stuttgart), 158–265.

knowledge (p. 525).[3] Graf and Hausleiter (pp. 529–551) try to make sense of Achaemenid hegemony in Hakor, the Egyptian term for Arabia. The Persepolis tablets refer to Maka (approximately Oman). Quack (pp. 553–66) carefully outlines the disparities between Egyptian and Achaemenid-era accounts of Mudraya. Lohwasser (pp. 567–73) discusses Kushiya (Nubia), never under long-time Achaemenid control, and Heller (pp. 575–81) the sporadically Achaemenid-controlled Cyrenaica. Kaelin (pp. 583–93), on the Levant, points to 'asymmetries in information' (p. 583) and uncertain chronologies.[4] Dusinberre (pp. 595–611) discusses the importance of the well-documented Asia Minor: '… Achaemenid ideology emphasises a sense of "e pluribus unum"' (p. 606), combined with tolerance in matters religious and linguistic, allowing 'freedom to express personal taste' (p. 608). Mehl (pp. 613–22), on Cyprus and the Mediterranean, indicates that the Greek and Phoenician populations, both with mixed attitudes toward Achaemenid influence, for the most part managed to coexist; Meier (pp. 623–37), on the Greek world, that the division 'civilised' and 'barbarian' had a long history beyond the empire, although the reality was more nuanced , unaided by the Greek lack of political and territorial unity.[5] Zarnt (pp. 639–48) discusses Macedonia, focusing on Herodotus' occasional flights of fancy, although Alexander fashioned for himself an excellent *Persilschein*.[6] Boteva-Boyanova (pp. 647–56) indicates the difficulty in assigning a name to the Thracian sector, in which the depth of control varied over time. But Thracian craftsmen continued to produce their interpretation of Achaemenid luxury ware. Tsetskladze (pp. 657–70) in discussing the Black Sea sector believes Darius' expedition did take place, although details, extent and importance remain uncertain (p. 658). The Achaemenid presence remains largely archaeologically invisible (p. 661). Messerschmidt (pp. 671–79) indicates that the Achaemenids campaigned there and drew troops from the Caucasus, although the specifics of control remain uncertain. Jacobs and Gufler (pp. 681–93) consider the definition of Steppe nomads, their sphere marked by a variety of methods of Achaemenid control and influence. Stark (pp. 695–704 – the Cyrillic appears without Latin letter forms) discusses the Iranian East, offering a measured approach implemented by a regional overview (pp. 702–06). Ruffing (pp. 711–15) points

[3] On the Achaemenid successor state, the Seleucids, now see the recent presentation by T. Prussin (Berkeley), the results of whose inquiries may be found in her dissertation (in progress, 25 April 2023): *This Land is Ours: Financing Empires Before and After Alexander.*

[4] Now add S. Honigmann, C. Nihan, and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Times of Transition: Judea in the Early Hellenistic Period* (University Park, PA 2021), especially chapters 8, 10, 12.

[5] For the activities of Artaphernes and Mardonius, see also M.N. Weiskopf, 'The System Artaphernes-Mardonius as an Example of Imperial Nostalgia'. In S. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Athens 2008), 83–91.

[6] On the *akinakes*, which appears on Alexander's coins, see J. Heinrichs, 'Coins and Constructions. The Origins of Argead Coinages under Alexander I'. In S. Müller *et al.* (eds.), *The History of the Argeads. New Perspectives* (Wiesbaden 2017), 79–98. For the period when Achaemenid nobility was present at the court of Philip II: D. Kienast, *Philipp II. von Makedonien und das Reich der Achaimeniden* (Munich 1973). J.O. Hyland, 'Artabazos and the Rhodians. Marriage Alliance and Satrapal Politics in the Late Achaemenid Aegean'. *Ktema* 47 (2022), 121–43. Other contributions in this issue will prove of interest here.

out that control over sections of India enabled Darius to claim universal kingship (pp. 712–13).[7]

Section V: 'Structures and Communication'. Henkelmann and Jacobs (pp. 719–35) point out that while the Greeks reported one imperial road, the Persepolis tablets report a network (in place by the time of Cyrus) of expansive nature. Most communication was based upon written, sealed letters.[8] Glassner pp. 737–47), on the interplay of languages and communication, indicates that the survival of local languages was an imperial decision and that the 'same group can adopt several different anthroponomies' (p. 739).[9] Jacobs (pp. 749–67) focuses on 'court art', primarily architectural sculpture. One should examine its context and intended audience. He has minor objections to Root's view that Achaemenid rule 'was immovable and everlasting' (p. 756). Garrison (pp. 769–91), on seals and sealing, offers an excellent summary of evidence. As to the imagery it possessed, there is no accounting for the owner's taste. Huernes (pp. 793–814) indicates that coins tend to 'float' as an archaeological object. The monetary system was complex (p. 794), but served to communicate an imperial ideology.[10] Rollinger (pp. 815–30), on 'Empire, Borders, and Ideology', indicates that the Cyrus Cylinder reflects the ideology of early rule: Marduk supports a non-Babylonian ruler, who having taken the city without strife is now king over the four quarters (p. 818). Darius stresses Aryan and Persian descent, legitimacy guided by Ahuramazda, and a 'mythical worldview' (p. 821), a 'mental map' changing over time.[11]

Section VI: 'Administration and Economy'. Opening the 'Imperial' subsection, Jacobs (pp. 835–57) offers a clear and succinct account of satrapal administration, along with an excellent definition of the office. The hierarchical structure gave the Empire cohesiveness. Basella (pp. 859–70), starting from the terms used by Briant, hierarchy and *ethno-classe dominante*, argues that loyalty to the Great King was a matter of upholding family honour. There was a clear emphasis on personnel variety, combined with respect for the existing social structure and for pragmatic behaviour. Persians held the balance of power, unless successfully deceived by already existing power struggles. Wiesehöfer (pp. 870–78) discusses deportation, relying on the recent inquiries made by Chiara Matarese.

Within 'Local Administration', Henkelmann (pp. 881–904) classifies the basis upon which one may build a portrait of local administration in Parsa. His extensive bibliography (pp. 897–904, especially 904) will help foster new work. Kleber (pp. 905–22) presents Babylonia in clear fashion,[12] accounting for the transition from Assyrian to Neo-Babylonian

[7] For the Zambrini reference on p. 715 add A. Zambrini, 'Gli *Indika* di Megesthene, II'. *Annali della Schuola Normale Superiori di Pisa: Cl. Di Lettere e Filosofia* 15 (1985), 781–853.

[8] Also see the detailed work J. Velazquez Munoz, *Los caminos reales del Imperio Persa Aquemenida* (Madrid 2016).

[9] See also, with excellent bibliography, M.C. Benvenuto and F. Pompeo, 'Linguistic Representations of Identity in the Achaemenid World. Case Studies'. In J.A. Alvarez-Pedrosa, M.C. Benvenuto and F. Pompeo (eds.), *Del Indo al Egeo. Relaciones culturales y linguisticas en el interior del Imperio aquemenida* (Madrid 2017), 17–41.

[10] See also J. Bodzek, *Ta Satrapika Nomismata: Mennictwo Satrapow W Okresie Panowania Achemenidow (Ok. 550–331 A.C.)* (Cracow 2011).

[11] *Cf.* for the Japanese empire: M.A. Tamianoi, *Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu 2008).

[12] Now add K. Kleber (ed.), *Taxation in the Achaemenid Empire* (Wiesbaden 2021).

to Achaemenid practices (with a slight disorder in northern Babylonia in 484, affecting a portion of local nobility). Agut-Labordère (pp. 923–33), on Egypt, points to the need for reassessment based on continually published Demotic and Aramaic evidence. The Achaemenids were responsible for deep local administrative reforms. He urges caution in using onomastic evidence.[13] Marek (pp. 935–50) offers a concise presentation of Asia Minor, clarifying the many problems in reconstructing the specifics of administration. Gzella (pp. 951–64) argues that Achaemenid control was integrated mostly into local traditions. The 'Khalili Documents' remain subject to further investigation.

'Economy' (see my note 12) comprises Hackl and Ruffing (pp. 967–79), who indicate that it is 'difficult to give a coherent idea of the tax and tribute system' (p. 967), especially in view of inconsistencies empire-wide; Wunsch (pp. 981–91) showing how Babylonian temples 'interacted with and depended upon the outside economy' (p. 981); and Waerzeggers (pp. 993–1004) offering a welcome summary of the results of her inquiries into Babylonian entrepreneurs, highlighting difficulties in interpretation.

Section VII: 'Society and Politics'. Jacobs (pp. 1007–34) on residences distinguishes between new foundations and older centres of governing, with a summary of sites, archaeological record, and written sources.[14] Llewellyn-Jones (pp. 1035–46) offers a summary of the court, replete with the usual suspect terminology (*cf.* Madreiter and Schnegg below). Basello (pp. 1044–62) on kings, elites, etc. as an impetus for others (p. 1060): 'The social impact of Achaemenid control, both at high levels … and local levels, is one of the most promising topics for future research. … The interactions between Persian and local elites and the contacts between different ethnic groups were the main engine of social changes.' Wright and Hollman (pp. 1065–74) argue that gift-exchange and feasting helped centralise the empire in the figure of the Great King. Messerschmidt (pp. 1075–86), pointing to the popularity of Achaemenid style among the elite, presents both descriptions and illustrations. Pirngruber (pp. 1087–97) on jurisdiction discusses the problem of 'imperial authorisation' (p. 1096), whose existence is questionable. Knippschild (pp. 1097–1106) offers an excellent summary of evidence with a valuable bibliography on diplomacy. I appreciate his use of the term 'soft power' (p. 1099) which I have seen applied to the Incan realm. Almagor (pp. 1107–20) provides an excellent account of leisure and hunting with valuable comparative data and bibliography (note dice parallel with India, pp. 1115–16, and Daryaee's board game studies, pp. 1118, 1120). Madreiter and Schnegg (pp. 1121–37) have rewritten their 2014 presentation on gender and sex. A common feature: all these are dependent on the king (p. 1122). An excellent synthesis of previous studies, leaving behind the sometime noxious influence of Graeco-Roman sources.[15]

[13] Add G. Vittman, 'Arameans in Egypt'. In A. Berlejung *et al.* (eds.), *Wandering Arameans: Arameans Outside Syria. Textual and Archaeological Perspectives* (Wiesbaden 2017), 229–79.

[14] Add S. Balatti *et al.* (eds.), *Paleopersepolis. Environment, Landscape and Society in Ancient Fars* (Stuttgart 2021).

[15] *Cf.* D. Lenfant, 'Le "harem" du Grand-Roi est-il une invention des Grecs? Les enjeux de traductions "orientées"'. In D. Agut-Labordère *et al.* (eds.), *Achemenet. Vingt ans après: Études offertes à Pierre Briant* (Leuven 2021), 247–56. In general, for the section 'Society', add M. Garcia Sanchez, *El Gran Rey de Persia: Formas de Representacion de la Alteridad Persa en el Imaginario Griega* (Barcelona 2009); L. Thomas, *Der 'reiche Orient': Imagination und Faszination. Darstellungen des asiatische Wohlstands*

Section VIII: 'The Persian Empire at War'.[16] Konijnendijk (pp. 1141–50), on the legitimisation of war, successfully builds upon comparative Assyrian material to indicate 'war served to restore order' (p. 1143), about which more should be said. Hassan (pp. 1151–59) presents an excellent summary of war and logistics.[17] Tuplin and Jacobs (pp. 1161–81) offer an excellent summary of literary and archaeological evidence for the organisation and equipment. Tuplin (pp. 1183–95) discusses mercenaries and notes (p. 1184) 'in Achaemenid contexts "mercenary" is not coterminous with "Greek mercenary"'. The reference to Rop 2019 (p. 1195) is valuable for further study.[18]

In **Section IX: 'Religion and Worship'**, de Jong (pp. 1199–1209) outlines the 'meager and fractious' material (p. 1200) for the Great King's religion. Kellens (pp. 1211–20), on the Achaemenids and the Avesta warns (p. 1212): 'All that we can affirm is that no *known* Achaemenid document *directly* cites a *known* Avestan Text.' Continuing in the realm of 'diffuse reality' (p. 1218), Henkelman (pp. 1221–42), on the heartland pantheon (in a loose sense), indicates there was a range of local pantheons and offers a census of those based on the Persepolis tablets and those missing. He then (pp. 1243–70, especially 1270 for his future work) discusses cultic personnel, sacred spaces, and specific rites. Royal involvement in the funerary realm is noted. In sum (p. 1262), 'cultic behavior was interwoven with everyday life'. Callieri (pp. 1271–84), on funerary customs, indicates a variety of customs showing a continuity from pre-Achaemenid times into post-Achaemenid times. Hutter (pp. 1284–1302), on religions in the empire, accepts (p. 1284) that the rulers practice a non-monotheistic interpretation of Zoroastrianism.[19]

Section X: '"Geistesgeschichte", Science and Technology'. Niesiołowski-Spanò (pp. 1304–14) makes sense of the diverse, multi-form, but scarce sources, on education, reporting that both the more common oral transmission and the written transmission (Elamite, Aramaic). Steele (pp. 1315–24), on astronomy and astrology, reports contemporary sources remain cuneiform tablets. Fink and Wiesehöfer (pp. 1325–41) report on what they term as the Persian 'Enlightenment': that peoples and ideas would benefit from multi-directional influences, with a 'Eurocentric view' of history (p. 1329). Again, a field worthy

in griechischen Quellen des 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Wiesbaden 2021). And to the dismay of Hellenists, one might examine the visual evidence (especially pp. 204–14: administrators; pp. 229–38: monarchs) presented in J.E. Lips, *The Savage Hits Back* (New Haven 1937). Lips was driven into exile by the National Socialists from his post at Cologne (*cf.* his pp. vii–ix, xix–xxxi).

[16] For the military in general, see now S. Manning, *Armed Forces in the Teispid-Achaemenid Empire. Past Approaches, Future Prospects* (Stuttgart 2021). For military archaeology one might begin with the study of Mexica (Aztec) supervised by M.A. Cervera Obregon at the Universidad Anahuac in the *Associacion Mexica de Arqueologia e Historia Militar*. An English presentation of his work: 'Mexica War. New Research Perspectives'. In D. Nicols and E. Rodriguez-Alegria (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs* (Oxford 2017), 451–62.

[17] Add P. Briant, 'L'approvisionnement de l'armée macédonienne: Alexandre le Grand et l'organisation logistique de l'empire achéménide'. In S. Gondet and E. Haerinck (eds.), *L'Orient est son Jardin. Hommage à Rémy Boucharlat* (Leuven 2018), 55–70. T. Daryaee. '*Männerbund* Aspects of Old Persia *Anušiya-*'. In D. Agut-Labordère *et al.* (eds.), *Achemenet. Vingt ans après: Études offertes à Pierre Briant* (Leuven 2021), 73–78.

[18] *Greek Military Service in the Ancient Near East, 401–330 BCE* (Cambridge).

[19] Add R. Achenbach (ed.), *Persische Reichspolitik und locale Heiligtumer…* (Wiesbaden 2019).

of further examination (note S. Clark on p. 1341). Heeßel (pp. 1343–53), on medicine, indicates Assyrian-era data permit some insight into doctors and the continuity of local practices into Achaemenid times. Nagel (pp. 1355–73) focuses on the practice of constructing and manufacturing art and architecture, offering an excellent bibliography.[20]

Section XI: 'Perspective of Art'. Root (pp. 1377–94), on statuary and reliefs, provides an exposition of the scope and nature of the evidence, with multiple approaches to the above (p. 1374: 'an informed product of the court'). She offers a summary of major sites; her bibliography looks ahead to forthcoming publications (pp. 1393–96). Garrison (pp. 1397–1415), on the minor arts, notes the variety in styles, and a precision in defining the 'Persepolitan Court Style' (p. 1400). His full research bibliography (pp. 1408–15) points to *desiderata*. Jacobs (pp. 1417–22) points to the absence and uncertainty of evidence relating to poetry, music and dance.

Section XII: 'Reception and Heritage'. 'Modes of Perception' is opened by Bichler (pp. 1427–46), with full bibliography, presents an excellent account, highlighting scholarly debates, the manner in which the Great King was portrayed (including stereotypes), and the ambivalence in Graeco-Roman views of Achaemenid military and economic resources (snobbery and decay?). Miller and Paspalas (pp. 1427–47) discuss with extensive bibliography '*Perserie*'. Miller holds that receptivity to Achaemenid culture in Greece served as a hallmark of individuals' social superiority. In Macedonia, as Paspalas argues, most traces appear in the time of Philip II, but not all follow the 'international court style', but were designed to enhance the owner's status. Gruen (pp. 1461–78) outlines the Jewish perspective (which does hold some dark criticism) on the Achaemenids, beginning with the positive image of Cyrus. His contribution and bibliography encourage all to follow the example of Artaxerxes on pp. 1462–63. Müller (pp. 1476–94) indicates there was 'no monolithic perception' (p. 1479) of the Achaemenids in the Middle Ages and modern era, rather constant use as shorthand for contemporary enemies or as moral examples.[21]

'Local Heritage' combines Luther (pp. 1497–1508), focusing on the 'structural legacy' (p. 1495) and continuities in administration in the Achaemenid successor states,[22] with Stronk (pp. 1509–23), on Persia mediaeval and modern perceptions, who points out that in spite of the existence of the 'Cyrus Cylinder', reflective of a long tradition in Mesopotamia (p. 1510) and today creating (mis)conceptions, Islamic rule meant continuity with the oral past (*cf.* pp. 1512–18, written works). In the modern era the king remained the focus of narratives with a renewed interest of the Achaemenid past, so indicated by the recent translation into Persian of Western academic accounts.

'Contemporary Perception' is provided by Kofler and Rollinger (pp. 1531–43), who note that in popular culture the Achaemenids often figure 'as completely ahistorical and

[20] One might also consult, for comparative purposes, R. Schorta (ed.), *Central Asia Textiles and Their Context in the Early Middle Ages* (Riggisberg 2006). Here 'Middle Ages' refers to Sasanian and post-Sasanian times, the volume detailing physical and artistic presentation.

[21] Add K. Dross-Krüpe, *Semiramis, de qua innumerabilia narrantur: Rezeption und Verargumentierung der Königin von Babylon…* (Wiesbaden 2020).

[22] Add C. Lerouge-Cohen, *Souvenir de passé perse à l'époque hellénistique* (Brussels 2022). M. Blömer *et al.* (eds.), *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods. Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Contexts* (Stuttgart 2021).

decontextualized cyphers' (p. 1534); Schmitt (pp. 1545–50) discusses forgeries of Old Persian, a testimony to imagination and greed; and Rehm (pp. 1551–60) that other imaginary use of intelligence, forged material culture: demand created by interest must be met, at the expense of veracity.[23]

Section XIII: 'History of Research'. Degen and Manning (pp. 1563–1608) offer an illuminating discussion of influential works from the West, which will prove of value to English-speakers who will find major works now extant in English translation. Root (pp. 1609–28) offers an excellent summary of American scholarship, perhaps providing an impetus to non-English speakers to try reading academic English. Dandamayev (pp. 1629–36) on Eastern Europe: since most readers are not competent in Cyrillic, here is a valuable account of scholarship, some of which has also appeared in the Latin alphabet. Mousavi (pp. 1637–47) offers a dispassionate summary of Iranian research, most results also published in modern Indo-European languages. Wiesehöfer (pp. 1649–67), who has researched the study of the Achaemenids during National Socialism, poses the modern(?) question of whether the empire was 'tyranny' or 'forerunner of human rights' (*cf.* Stronk above). He argues for neither an uncritical glorification nor for dismissal as an antithesis of 'Hellenic freedom' (p. 1661). But I must add that now going onto 50 years of disorder, presided over by those oblivious to the principles of humanity or international law,[24] there remains a sole corrective by civilized and Indo-European peoples: a *Mullahbefehl.*

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J. Kamlah and A. Lichtenberger (eds.), *The Mediterranean Sea and the Southern Levant: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives from the Bronze Age to Medieval Times*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (ADPV) 48, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, vi+366 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11742-5/ISSN 0173-1904

The Mediterranean Sea and the Southern Levant originates from a conference held in 2016 in Mainz by the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas (The German Society for the Exploration of Palestine). As a collection of papers, its primary aim is to amplify the intersection of Mediterranean and southern Levantine studies (pp. 1–2). As such, the papers, which span from the Bronze Age to the Mediaeval period in chronology, are overwhelmingly devoted to analysing some aspect of the southern Levant by placing it in a broader Mediterranean context. As the editors of the volume write in their short introduction, one of its main purposes is to situate the southern Levant within a broader field of research that focuses on the Mediterranean and the connectedness of its cultural life. In their view, this line of inquiry has been relatively absent from scholarship in Germany until very recently,

[23] For the last two, see now P. Callieri, 'Falsi moderni e antichici nell'archeologia e nell'epigrafia dell'Iran di epoca achemenide'. In H. Klinkott *et al.* (eds.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Iran und benachbarter Gebiete. Festschrift für Rüdiger Schmitt* (Stuttgart 2021), 93–109.

[24] *Cf.* above n. 14, in Lips p. xxvi: 'men with a diseased ambition'.

despite the enduring interest that it has attracted elsewhere ever since the pioneering work of Fernand Braudel and the influential volume of Horden and Purcell.[1]

In the Table of Contents, the book is divided into a part on 'Concepts' and another on 'Coastal Sites', though this division is never signposted again in the body. In light of the vast chronology and broad Mediterranean scope under consideration, the papers (nine in English; one in French) tend to be eclectic and not very conversant with one another. But they generally offer material of interest for those with a conceptual investment in the enduring features of Mediterranean societies or their connections. A cluster of them highlights the immense value of the site of Tell el-'Ajjul for our understanding of the Bronze Age coastal Mediterranean, the tenuous situation of archaeological remains in the Gaza Strip, and important work done by Palestinian archaeologists or in collaboration with them amid the violence and political volatility of recent decades. Another unique feature of the volume is that a focus on Judaism and Christianity is largely absent despite their centrality to many scholarly conversations about the ancient southern Levant and its Mediterranean networks.

The first section ('Concepts') explores how to conceptualise ancient Palestine as part of a broader, connected Mediterranean world. One article focuses on how the Levantine traditions of the Bronze Age, and subsequently the Hebrew Bible, integrated the Mediterranean Sea into their mythic cosmos (Joanna Töyräänvuori, pp. 7–26). Another treats the flaws in how the excavator Flinders Petrie, active in the 1920s–1930s, understood the relationship between Tell el-'Ajjul and the Bronze Age Mediterranean on the basis of misconstrued ceramic assemblages (Rachael Sparks, pp. 29–58). Another provides a minimalist revision of the destructive impact, or lack thereof, of the Sea Peoples widely associated with the collapse of Bronze Age societies (Jesse Millek, pp. 59–98). With a shift to including subsequent periods, Gil Gambash (pp. 99–120) investigates the evidence for long-standing harbour installations and their connected activity in coastal Palestine from the Bronze Age to the end of antiquity. Achim Lichtenberger (pp. 121–40) similarly frames 'the Holy Land' of Graeco-Roman periods as embedded within a broader Mediterranean context on the basis of ceramic and marble imports. While analysing continuities and long-distance connections in ways that are informed by parallel scholarship on the Mediterranean or its regions, he concludes that Biblical scholars to some degree have already been implementing similar formulations while working in relative isolation from such scholarship.

The second part ('Coastal Sites') addresses particular places or local contexts, with some emphasis on their broader Mediterranean connections. The first treatment, by Peter Fischer, is a detailed discussion of the fieldwork conducted in 1999–2000 at the important site of Tell el-'Ajjul (pp. 141–84). One of its aims is to address the relationship between the stratigraphy established in earlier excavations by Petrie and the findings of the more recent team to clarify the chronology of the Bronze Age site. The paper of Jean-Baptiste Humbert explores the structures and finds from various zones, representing many different centuries, of the excavations conducted at Gaza between 1994 and 2012 (pp. 185–244). In his contribution, Joseph Patrich provides a synopsis of the notable remains of Caesarea Maritima and its Mediterranean connections (pp. 245–68). The less celebrated but valuable remains of

[1] *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris 1966); P. Horden and N. Purcell: *The Corrupting Sea: a Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford/Malden, MA 2000); now followed by *The Boundless Sea: Writing Mediterranean History* (London 2020).

Roman Ascalon are given similar treatment by Antonio Dell'Acqua (pp. 269–336). The final paper, co-authored by seven people involved in fieldwork from 2012 to 2016 and the only one to address periods after antiquity, focuses on the mediaeval remains of the Crusader town of Arsur-by-the-Sea (located near Tel Aviv) and emphasises how European settlers adapted to local building processes and styles during the 12th–13th centuries (pp. 337–60).

A fascinating aspect of the papers by Fischer and Humbert is their treatment of the finds from seasons of fieldwork undertaken jointly with Palestinian archaeologists in the Gaza Strip at times when the political and humanitarian situation has posed serious challenges (even before the atrocities of 2023 and after). Difficulties with entering the region, the effects of military confrontations, and the inhabiting of archaeological sites by people seeking a place to live in adverse, trying circumstances come to the fore. These highlight the complicated relationship between cultural heritage and humanitarian needs that generally characterises excavation in the Middle East and is especially acute in the Gaza Strip. Fischer co-directed a joint Swedish-Palestinian excavation at Tell el-'Ajjul, located 8 km south-west of Gaza, in 1999–2000. When it was interrupted by military conflict, Fischer was only able to return briefly in 2011 with the aid of Palestinian archaeologists amid discoveries that the site was being increasingly inhabited. More enduring were the French-Palestinian excavations co-directed by Humbert between 1994 and 2012 with great tenacity at Gaza, which has been continually inhabited from the Bronze Age to the present day. In light of the high profile of Israeli archaeology, which also figures prominently in the volume, it is impressive to learn more about the efforts of Palestinian archaeologists in the Gaza Strip that have been undertaken in the face of seriously challenging conditions.

In general, the papers are informative and well researched. Some focus on the southern Levant's Mediterranean connections more than others, and the conclusions made about these connections are sometimes what one would expect on the basis of existing scholarship. I found myself wondering whether an opportunity to include the publications or testimonies of Palestinian archaeologists had been missed, especially in light of the fact that they have played pivotal roles in the excavations at Tell el-'Ajjul and Gaza. Specialists of the southern Levant in antiquity will certainly gravitate to some chapters more than others depending on their own chronological foci. But in accretion the chapters paint a consistent picture of Palestine as a Mediterranean-facing region with its own enduring particularities throughout antiquity.

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S. Klinger, with contributions by N. Bookidis and G.S. Merker, *Corinth. The Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. XVIII.8: *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Miscellaneous Finds of Terracotta*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, NJ 2021, xxx+179 pp., 32 plates, 5 plans. Cased. ISBN 978-0-87661-188-3

This is the eighth volume in the series publishing the results of the American School's excavation of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. It includes those terracotta items which are more usually presented in publications as et ceteras appended to the main publication of pottery or other major terracotta items. It is useful to have these 'also rans'

collected in their own volume. The list of contents gives a fair indication of their range and variability. It begins with 'Votive Furnishings', objects presumed to have been dedicated as offerings to the Deities. The list illustrates their diversity. First come protomes and masks, followed by altars, 'tray or model of coffer(?)', 'plaques'. These are followed by models of furniture, vehicles, boats. Then models of food, cakes and then fruit and other plant materials. The next category is Personal Adornment, jewellery, sandalled feet, mirrors. Next come toys – spinning tops, rattles, phormiskoi, astragals and snakes. Finally, 'other objects' – a mould, grills, loom-weights and other textile tools (a large group, including some 65 separate examples).

To introduce these, Sonia Klinger gives an assessment of their manufacture, the question of dedication and their place within the cult, and then their chronology and conclusions. An appendix after the description and listing of finds gives the contexts, a concordance to the catalogue, which is followed by indexes of comparanda, museums and ancient sources.

All these objects are, of course, spread over a considerable period of time within which the sanctuary functioned – the original Greek city state, the interlude following the sack of Corinth by Mummius and then the city's resurrection as a Roman colony.

There are problems in dating the various objects discussed in this volume. K. points out that generally they were not found in datable or in a closed sense the related chronological context. When they can be dated it is by comparison with similar examples found elsewhere in Corinth, such as the excavation of the Potters' Quarter. A date range for these finds begins with one of the loom-weights, dated tentatively in the late 7th or early 6th centuries BC. Dateable finds are more frequent from the 6th century and onwards through the 5th and 4th and on into the Hellenistic period. The destruction of Corinth by Mummius in 146 BC is marked by a noticeable absence of dateable offerings in the sanctuary and there are relatively few from the period of its eventual renewal.

K. notes that one of the most popular dedications in the sanctuary was of loom-weights of conical (i.e. properly, biconical) profile. There is a selection of 16 of these illustrated with photographs in plate 25 with profiles illustrated with line drawings in plates 29 and 30. Again, these can be compared directly with examples found elsewhere in Corinth in addition to those found in the Potters' Quarter or Tileworks. K. seems to assume the examples from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore represent dedications or offerings, presumably as one-offs, though I wondered whether the examples I found in my excavations at Perachora might not rather have originated from a single loom. It is perhaps puzzling to see why a single weight might be dedicated, but the fact remains that they were found in a sanctuary rather than a domestic context, and the presence of a complete loom in a sanctuary would itself be rather baffling.

This book illustrates carefully the range of minor terracotta objects found in the sanctuary. Even if they cannot be related in a meaningful way to the sequence of buildings in the sanctuary area (particularly the number of buildings recognisably constructed for ritual dining within the religious context), they do appear to have been deliberately deposited and as such represent a religious impetus from the individual worshippers, and therefore a relevance to the cult of the female deities to whom the sanctuary was dedicated.

This is altogether an excellent and illuminating publication and maintains the importance and relevance not only of the sequence of volumes concerned with this particular

sanctuary but with the whole range of studies of Corinth achieved now over a considerable period of time by the American School of Classical Studies.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

H. Klinkott, A. Luther and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Iran und benachbarter Gebiete. Festschrift für Rüdiger Schmitt*, Oriens et Occidens 36, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2021, 263 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-13027-1

The Schmitt *Festschrift* begins with an introduction outlining his life and career, his influence on colleagues in the field, and his continuation of the work of Manfred Mayrhofer and Karl Hoffman. Pages 11–12 can list only a fraction of his academic output and it seems unlikely that one can use the term 'kleine Schriften' for any of these. As is customary, the contributions are arranged by the author's last name using the Latin alphabet. I will attempt to group some of them as a means of emphasising Schmitt's many interests. Note that each of the papers possess an extensive research bibliography and requires familiarity with the sources – and patience. It is my hope that his dour expression on p. 7 was brightened by these offerings.

Extending the Field. Schmitt, building upon his predecessors, set in order Iranian onomastics. Alemany (pp. 13–27) is now able to document Hunnic and Turkic evidence from Bactrian documents. His presentation is clear and enhanced by his inclusion of possible Chinese records for title forms (especially p. 24). Schmitt also held that epigraphic and other archaeological finds possess more than a modicum of reality. Callieri (pp. 93–109) sums up the results of recent inquiries into the suspect. The lion rhytons, displayed in the 2016 Aquileia exhibition, are supposedly from Ecbatana only in imagination. The term 'late Dilmun' is used to avoid mention of an Achaemenid presence at Bahrain. And the Achaemenids themselves enhanced their family with 'additions' in inscriptions. One needs to be circumspect with Graeco-Roman evidence as Müller (pp. 155–69) explains in her consideration of Hermeias, tyrant of Atarneus, a *Gift* that keeps giving, both in antiquity and in modern scholarship. The 'power of suggestion' in Demosthenes' *Philippic* 4 finds the transformation of 'Idee zu einen Fakt' (p. 158). Supposed planning between the city-boss and Philip should be set aside, and emphasis fall on the reality of Artaxerxes' efforts to maintain stability in the empire's far west. For Demosthenes and his followers, as in Risankizumab, 'Nothing is Everything'.

A Major(?) Motion Picture.[1] Bichler offers an extensive analysis of Cyrus' last battle (pp. 49–92), about which many tales appear. He sets in order the various traditions, all the subject of reshaping (p. 49). The major narratives: Herodotus 1. 214 emphasises the role of Tomyris, widowed queen of the Massagetae (*cf.* below Rollinger and Degen). Hellanicus of Lesbos' *Atossa* may have shaped Ctesias' narrative, but in which Cyrus is fatally wounded in battle against the Derbici (and their elephants) and later buried in Persis. Xenophon used Cyrus as a 'politisch-philosophische Paradigma' (p. 57). Including deathbed advice to

[1] At least for the Khazaks: *The Legend of Tomiris* (*https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Abmmo5gHxvU*).

Cambyses in Persis. In other narratives Cyrus' death in enemy lands is covered up or only hinted at (pp. 61–71). A number of sources highlight Tomyris' victory (pp. 72–80), as in Lucian's *Charon* 13. In Christian universal histories (pp. 81–88), Eusebius is mostly impartial, Orosius dependent on Justin's account. In the High Middle Ages Otto von Freising based his account on Orosius, but with added insults directed at Tomyris (pp. 87–88).

'**I see a ship in the harbour … I can and shall obey…**' (New Order, *'Blue Monday'*, 1983). While it is doubtful that Pharnabazus or his admiral Conon ever uttered these words in their hunt for a Spartan *General Belgrano*, a number of the papers focus on the Achaemenids and the sea. Klinkott (pp. 111–36) begins with Xerxes' plan to terraform Thessaly (Herodotus 7. 128–130) as a reflection of Achaemenid control over both land and sea, as claimed by his father. Naval improvements followed, *imitatio Assyriae* (p. 113). Royally ordered explorations paved the way. As reflected in Darius' inscriptions (for example, DPg lines 3–12) the sea was viewed as a network binding together the realm; so in the eyes of Xerxes. Thus a new concept (p. 121): 'einer achaimenidische Herrschaft in weiten, oder um es gemaess der koeniglichen Ideologie zu formulieren: weltweiten in maritemen Raeumen'. Use would be made of existing infrastructures to which were added imperial projects (pp. 127–30). The sea would become part of the Great King's realm. Rollinger and Degen (pp. 187–224) offer 'considerations on the Persian Achaemenid worldview' (p. 187). The Bisutun inscriptions offered a 'conceptualization of universal rulership', leading one to consider Achaemenid 'mental maps' of Darius' empire which included areas beyond the sea. Skunkha and his Saka were located on the northeast border. But what was the 'tree-trunk' used to cross into Sakaland? The authors suggest that the Araxes is the *draya* crossed by Darius (p. 211) – a shallow sea, a boundary flipped by raft – to attack the *Saka tigraxauda* (i.e. the Massagetae). Darius 'cloaked his lack of genealogical connection to the former dynasty by legitimizing his rule by outperforming Cyrus' deed on a completely new level' (p. 213).[2] Finally, Wiesehöfer (pp. 253–63) warns that nothing good happens to the Achaemenids or their successors by sitting on a high point and watching military activity. He begins with Chosroes at the Roman fortress Petra, his forces, led by the statutorily competent Aniabedes, are scattered by the Romans (Procopius *Bell.* 2. 17. 9–11, AD 540). He then places this episode into a wider ideological and historical context, parallel to Xerxes' observation of events at Salamis (Herodotus 8. 90. 3) before falling into one his many Herodotean *Ausschreitungen*. Herodotus' account may rely on Near Eastern models (royal hero sitting on a throne), which find echoes in Sasanian art.

Other Offerings. Panaino (pp. 179–89) discusses the use of the seven priests introduced into service and their dialog with the chief priest as they announce their readiness (Avestan Wispad). The role of the priest is discussed: the liturgy represents a true incarnation of the divine on two levels bound together ('die menschliche und die goettliche', p. 185). Salvini (pp. 225–40) examines the Urartian precedents for royal Achaemenid inscriptions. Darius' attempt to embellish his ancestry is found paralleled in Zivistan texts in which Minua claims descent from the earlier Ishpuini. Balatti (pp. 29–47) discusses the role of the Medes in the early empire and why they were positioned next to the Persians. Common in Bisutun is the expression 'Persia and Media and the other lands', evidence of their military importance

[2] Add C Rapin, 'Aux origines de la cartographie. L'empire achéménide sous Darius I et Xerxes'. *ACSS* 24 (2018), 1–67.

to the empire. Luther (pp. 137–53) turns to Bactria and the Khalili documents, in which one bears the date 'year one of the *karanos*'. Once Bessus/Artaxerxes V was killed the *karanos* Hystaspes was tolerated by Alexander in spring 329, pending administrative reorganisation. Schuol (pp. 241–52) examines the faults in Tablet Segments 10 and 11 of the *Tabula Peutigeriana* in which Susa is missing and the placement of 'Ecbatanis Partiorum' is wrong. Repetitious and shoddy copying left the Iranian lands infected with a poison.

In sum, this is an excellent *Festschrift*, for it will inspire others to follow the paths first trodden by Schmitt.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

P. Kobusch, *Der Innenraum hellenistischer Tempel: Ein Ort rituellen und sozialen Handelns*, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, 320 pp., 46 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7520-0009-2

This book is a (slightly) revised version of Philipp Kobusch's doctoral thesis submitted to the Christian Albrechts University of Kiel in the session 2019–20. It is devoted to a consideration of the internal arrangement of Greek temples of the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, defined as the years from *ca.* 350 to *ca.* 30 BC. This obviously involves a separation from the earlier development and functioning of Greek temples in the preceding centuries, a time which saw their creation and establishment in the architecture of Greek city states, a crucial starting point which K. leaves to the attention of other scholars, but which, of course, had a defining impact in the subsequent years with which his study is concerned.

He begins with an essential discussion of who, normally, had access to the interior of Greek temples. A crucial focus of the temples both of the preceding years and the period covered by K.'s research was their presence as the normal dominating architectural element in the sanctuaries, where the focus was the participation of crowds of worshippers at the defined festivals which centred on the external altar which the temple overlooked, the concept of the temple as the abode of the relevant deities who watched the festivities and sacrifice through the open door from the interior of the building in which they dwelt. The question thus arises of limitation of access to the temple for the general community. K. considers earlier arguments that entry into the temple was restricted specifically to the priests of the cult, but in place of this looks at literary evidence which suggests, at least for the period covered by his study, a wider access, though he also suggests that any early rules were still further relaxed in the succeeding years when, for example, Pausanias seems to have been able to enter temples quite easily.

From this, K. considers the actual evidence for what might have been placed inside the temple. He begins with ramps facilitating access, which are a particular element of Hellenistic temples. (My feeling is that ramps indicate processions particularly to buildings other than temples, but where they exist in temples they indicate something more than facilitating access for other than individual worshippers or functionaries.) As a concomitant to this K. adds louteria and perirrhanteria, for ritual or necessary cleaning for those, whoever they may be, who are permitted access. He then considers the evidence for restricting access – barriers, doors, internal barriers especially to the cult image.

From this he proceeds to look at what the actual cella room might contain – curtains, floor coverings, wall paintings and then (as the central element) the cult image of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. He discusses the different characteristics of the cult statues, their material, form and position within the cella, though the actual evidence is often little more than the positioning of the base on which they were placed.

This is followed by a section discussing statues and portraits other than the cult statue. Examples include statues of other deities as well as portraits of individuals. Then follows an account of furniture – chairs and thrones, benches. Next come tables, then altars and places for sacrifices, incense burners, pieces for the deposit of treasure, tripods, then 'other finds' and dedications, locations for the deposit of money, treasures and banking, hoards and deposit of rocks, elements for building, remains of earlier structures and, finally, inscriptions.

The next section deals with spaces, rooms and activities – in other words, parts of the superstructure of a temple in addition to the actual cella space. This includes the base or platform, the surrounding colonnade and porches as well as the cella itself and opisthodomus and finally the temple as a place for private activities.

There then follows a catalogue of the relevant information on which discussion is based – first of all, quotations from texts which give information relevant to the functioning of temples (which include quotations from sources dating before and after the stricter chronological limits on which the discussion is based). Finally, a catalogue of the temples dated to the period of discussion, with accounts of individual buildings and (most useful) plans of all of them marking the position and plans of elements within the cella. This in itself is a most useful reference compilation and includes a total of 91 individual temples, listed alphabetically from Aigai (Vergina, the temple of Eukleia) to Xanthos (the Letoon).

This is altogether a most comprehensive and illuminating discussion which forms a most useful reference source for the understanding of the functions of temples of the period. As K. himself observes, it presupposes a similar account of the preceding Archaic and Classical periods. There is, of course, an inevitable limitation of survival. Most of the temples discussed survive principally as their platforms, with variable evidence for the exact form of their super structure, and, inevitably the general disappearance of whatever they actually contained, often leaving only the traces on their floors of their position. Given these limitations K.'s book is a comprehensive and useful account of temples as functioning buildings, rather than just examples of architecture in a religious setting.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

P.J. Kosmin and I.S. Moyer (eds.), *Cultures of Resistance in the Hellenistic Near East*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2022, xiii+305 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-286347-8

In 1961, Samuel Eddy published a pioneering work that opened up a new approach to the study of relations between Greeks and non-Greeks in the Hellenistic Period: *The King is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334–31 B.C.* (Lincoln, NE). Eddy identified nationalism expressed in religious terms as the key to understanding resistance movements in the Hellenistic Near East. Over half a century of research has called into question Eddy's identification of ethnic nationalism as central to non-Greek resistance to

Hellenism, but not the existence of such resistance. A full assessment of the results of that scholarship has long been a *desideratum*, and *Cultures of Resistance in the Hellenistic East* is the first step toward filling that need.

Today, of course, no single scholar could treat the whole subject of resistance to Hellenism in the Hellenistic Near East as Eddy did in 1961. Not surprisingly, *Cultures of Resistance in the Hellenistic East* contains the proceedings of a conference devoted to the topic of resistance in the Hellenistic kingdoms, 'The Maccabean Moment' conference held in January 2016 at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC. The organisation of the volume is simple. A general introduction surveying scholarship on resistance to Hellenism since the publication of Eddy's book in 1961 and an overview of its contents is followed by nine papers, which are divided into three thematically organised groups: big events, grounds for resistance, edges of resistance.

The first section consists of two papers analysing what are usually considered to be the two signature examples of Hellenistic ethnic resistance: the Maccabean revolt in Judaea during the 160s BC and the Great Theban revolt in Egypt during the 20 years from 206 to 186 BC. These two papers set the theme for the volume by reconsidering the common interpretation of these revolts as primarily resistance movements to Greek rule. In the first paper Erich Gruen persuasively argues that the goal of the Maccabees was never to overthrow Seleucid rule in Judaea but to free the Jews from the influence of *ta ethne*, their non-Jewish neighbours, undo the anti-Jewish policies of Antiochus IV, and restore the *status quo ante* established by Antiochus III after the Fifth Syrian War. Similarly, Anne-Emmanuelle Veïsse maintains that the Great Theban Revolt also was not a nationalist movement but a reaction to economic and administrative innovations imposed on the Thebaid by the Ptolemies that took the form of the creation of a new state based on a revival of archaic pharaonic models.

The second section consists of four papers which treat purported evidence of resistance in texts from Babylon, Judaea and Egypt. Johannes Haubold considers Babylonian historical memory as reflected in the fragments of the *Babyloniaca* of the 3rd-century BC historian Berossus. Instead of resistance to Hellenism, however, he finds that Berossus and Seleucid period Greek historians shared a view of Babylonian history marked by a negative assessment of Assyrian rule, followed by a positive view of the Neo-Babylonian empire, and the return of hostile foreign rule under the Persians, a phenomenon he suggests may be connected to the common interest of Babylonians and the Seleucids in resisting a resurgent Elam. In the second paper of this group, while Kathryn Stevens likewise finds little evidence of generalised resistance to resistance to Hellenism in Babylonian chronicles and astronomical diaries, she does find clusters of entries indicating negative assessments of the same Seleucid kings criticised in Greek and Roman texts, namely, Seleucus I and Antiochus IV.

The focus shifts from Babylonia to Judaea and Egypt in the third and fourth papers of this section. Sylvie Honigman offers two possible interpretations of differences between *First Maccabees* and *Second Maccabees* and the so-called 'Animal Apocalypse' preserved in *1 Enoch* 85–90 that are based on recent studies of the date of that text, either viewing it as composed between 167 and 165 BC and reflecting the views of a Jewish group opposed to the Maccabees or, if written during the reign of John Hyrcanus, presenting a critique of the pro-Hasmonean ideology formulated by the authors the books of Maccabees. In the final paper of this group, Ian Moyer scrutinises one of the most familiar categories of Ptolemaic

Egyptian texts, the trilingual decrees honouring 3rd- and early 2nd-century BC Ptolemies passed by synods of Egyptian priests, for evidence resistance, plausibly citing the deliberate defacement or destruction of two copies of the 'Canopus Decree' as evidence of hostility by some groups to the Ptolemies and their priestly supporters. More subtly, he also finds evidence of a type of critique of Greek 'political discourse' that he characterises as 'sly civility' (p. 167) in the selection of Egyptian terms with juridical overtones to translate the Greek term *psephisma* in the hieroglyphic and demotic versions of the decrees.

The focus shifts again in the final group of three papers from the well-studied Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms to the peripheries of the Hellenistic world, Anatolia and Central Asia. In the first and most challenging paper of the group, Laurent Capdetrey considers whether or not one can find evidence of cultural identity and resistance in the populations of south-western and southern Anatolia, particularly Caria and Lycia, in the 2nd century BC and answers the question in the negative. Instead, he finds a pervasive tendency to adopt Hellenic forms of *polis* and *koina* organiation with native cultural elements surviving primarily in religion and architecture but in hybrid forms that privileged their Greek aspects. Daniel Tober examines in the second paper the role of local history as an expression of Greek *polis* resistance to Seleucid rule with particular reference to the history of the North Anatolian city of Heraclea Pontica by the 3rd-century BC historian Nymphis. Preservation of Heraclea's autonomy through astute diplomacy while avoiding open confrontation with the Seleucids was Nymphis' theme, Tober argues, a strategy that succeeded against the Seleucids but whose abandonment led to disaster when Heraclea sided with Mithridates VI against Rome in the view of Nymphis' late 1st-century BC or Early Imperial-period successor, Memnon. The volume concludes with an historiographical study of the role of synchronisms in Justin by Rachel Mairs, who argues that, while Justin's synchronisms between Seleucid weakness in the west and decline in the east, should not be viewed as causal links, the Graeco-Bactrian kings exploited such incidents to gain local autonomy while the Seleucids increasingly 'cut their losses' in the east to concentrate on their efforts on maintaining control of the Mesopotamian and Syrian core of their kingdom.

Like all good books, *Cultures of Resistance in the Hellenistic East* raises more questions than it answers. Resistance to Hellenism unquestionably existed as evidence not considered in these papers clearly demonstrates. So, for example, the fact that the Greek texts of the Ptolemaic synodic decrees are placed where they are hard to read – at the bottom or on the narrow sides – or omitted entirely as in the new copy of the Alexandria decree suggests irritation among the Egyptian priesthood at this Hellenic intrusion in their affairs. At the same time, as these excellent papers indicate, even the most familiar supposed examples of resistance to Hellenism like the Maccabee revolt reveal on analysis complex cross currents with resistance being as often against opposing Jewish factions or neighbouring non-Jewish populations as against their Seleucid overlords. In other words, one comes away from reading this volume with the question whether or not it is time to replace the binary model of opposition between Greek and non-Greek cultures in the Hellenistic Near East proposed by Eddy with a new model that reflects the more complex reality uncovered by scholars since the publication of his book in 1961, but that is question for the future.

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M. Krueger and V. Moreno Megías (eds.), *The Iberian Peninsula in the Iron Age through Pottery Studies*, Access Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, iv+135 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-213-9

Identity is one of the subjects most studied by scholars focused on the Early Iron Age of the Iberian Pensinsula. This is due to the plural contexts developed during that period when local people (each community with its own particularities) met and interacted with Phoenician and Greek agents. Usually it is difficult to measure the impact of these multiple types of interactions that took place and created diverse cultural realities, hence researchers must combine the scarce written sources with data offered by archaeology. Although there is just one paper included in this volume that reflects that kind of effort, referring to the relationship with the Greeks, it demonstrates the complexity of the Iberian Peninsula during the Early Iron Age that depends almost exclusively on archaeological evidence. Therefore, to reconstruct the historical processes, it is mandatory to focus on the material and the contexts.

Pottery has been the most studied archaeological material given that it is the most numerous find in every site. The ways of analysing pottery are many and they have increased along the years. Thus with this book the editors and authors aim to put under the spotlight the necessity of compounding archaeometric with technological analysis and concluding with an intercultural interpretation.

The aim of going deeper into the technological and cultural definition of the diverse Iberian populations through pottery is the common matter that links all the contributions to the volume. It can be divided into two parts based on the methodological approach to the material applied by the authors: the first composed of four chapters combining the chemical analysis and typological studies of pottery that leads to a social explanation; the second comprises three papers which are centred on the cultural and commercial contacts that can be detected through a typological analysis of the ceramic repertoire.

The first two essays complement each other: the deep study of typology and research of parallels by the authors offer an homogeneous classification of the pottery. unifying the diverse typologies established by previous researchers. In addition, while the first contribution focuses on characterising the specific use of the ware attending to the context, the emphasis of the second is on knowledge of the *chaîne opératoire* and its technological and social implications, which leads to measuring the agency of the local communities of the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula. This same purpose, for the south-western part of the Peninsula, is the concern of a third contribution. Therefore, those papers provide an interesting overview of local agency and the different dynamics that were developed as the result of the interactions with exogenous elements. Nevertheless, the fourth essay exemplifies the limitations of chemical analysis: a narrow set of samples owing to restricted access to the archaeological material and the difficulty of comparing the results with those of other laboratories given the divergence between the analysis patterns.

The fifth chapter examines the confluence of certain ceramic types and products that have been recovered in remote locations where it is really rare to find them. Thus, it promotes a re-evaluation conducted by the authors who highlight the fluency of commercial contacts during the Early Iron Age by linking the Iberian Peninsula with the rest of the

Mediterranean basin and the Atlantic coast of Africa. Although both contributions bring down some borders taken for granted in relation to the spread of certain pottery types, it would have been fruitful to undertake a wider study of the social matters implied by this phenomenon.

Finally, the sixth paper must be treated separately due to its condition as an historical-archaeological exercise which offers an overview of the plural interactions that took place in the Iberian Peninsula. The author establishes a periodisation of the relationships between local groups and exogenous agents, first Phoenician, then Greeks, considering their own internal differences. Thus, this essay contextualises properly all the processes studied in the rest of the book.

To conclude, this volume is an instance of the recent advance in pottery studies because of the useful integration of chemical analysis, archaeological experimentation, typological studies and post-colonial interpretations of social contacts. It brings some methodological issues up with the purpose of emphasising the new perspectives and possibilities of ceramic studies beyond numerical results and the generation of typologies. Hence, it is a really profitable contribution with certain ideas that can be applied not just to ceramic studies but to other products and the characterisation of their *chaîne opératoire.*

Even though this volume aims to offer the first steps in a new methodological approach to the pottery, it is proof of the current deficiencies of the archaeometric analysis: each laboratory uses its own chemical patterns which promotes a plural register of results that are impossible to compare with each other, impeding thereby progress in research activity, given that a lot of information is wasted because of the divergence in the patters of analysis. There is a lack of homogeneity in archaeometric studies that must be resolved by a general agreement of specialists. But currently such an agreement seems far off.

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M. Kühnemund, *Die rituelle Reinheit in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, 2 vols., Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 34, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, xi+694 pp., 5 fold-out plans. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11693-8/ISSN 2190-3646

The notion of ritual or cultic purity permeated all aspects of ancient Egyptian life throughout the millennia, from temple to town and from the world of the living to the realm of the dead, affecting one's relation to the divine in the temple, as well as within the tomb. Throughout all of Egyptian history, ritual purity was considered an indispensable prerequisite for engaging in an effective cultic interaction between god and man, and a condition *sine qua non* for the rituals about to be performed to achieve the anticipated, positive outcome.

In this thirty-fourth volume of the series *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion*, Marcel Kühnemund presents his research on the concept of ritual purity in all its aspects in a very specific context: the cult for the deities as performed on temple precincts at the very end of pharaonic Egypt, specifically during the Ptolemaic and Roman era (*ca.* 330 BC–AD 300). Notwithstanding the contextual and temporal delineation of the topic due to the vast size of textual and iconographical material at hand from all periods of ancient Egyptian history, Marcel Kühnemund, very commendably, did not restrict his research categorically to one

single era and context. Text and image describing and portraying the concept of ritual purity in a Ptolemaic-Roman temple setting represent indeed but the next step in a long-lasting tradition dating back several millennia. Throughout the study, K. continuously establishes and discusses visual and textual associations and links with past traditions, constantly indicating aspects of continuity, discontinuity and change within the relevant inscriptions and scenes upon temple walls. From the confines of the Ptolemaic-Roman temple precinct, K. thus provides an in-depth and insightful view into the concept of ritual or cultic purity in all its facets within the ancient Egyptian culture.

The study itself consists of two volumes, the first one containing the results of the research, while the second one providing an overview of the most relevant textual corpora discussed in the first volume (presented in transliteration and translation), an extensive bibliography and several sets of indices. The first major chapter in the first volume ('Grundlagen und wiederkehrende Motive der rituellen Reinheit des Alten Ägypten', pp. 16–56) is a case-in-point of K.'s overall laudable approach to the topic, as he provides an overview of the numerous older traditions that form the basis for understanding and attaining ritual purity upon Ptolemaic and Roman era temple precincts. Next to the recurrent, even persistent, combined use of water, natron and incense to achieve ritual purity in a practical, hands-on manner, he also analyses crucial passages from age-old text corpora, such as the Pyramid Texts or the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, which functioned as textual precursors and inspiration for the inscriptions of Ptolemaic and Roman times. Specific age-old expressions, such as *ỉw.w wʿb* – 'It is (ritually) pure', and *ỉw=ỉ wʿb.kwỉ* – 'I am (ritually) purified; I am in a state of (ritual) purity' – are examined in more detail. The typical iconography of scenes depicting or associated with the concept of ritual purity, from both tomb and temple, K. subsequently presents in a diachronic manner. Finally, the four deities most closely connected with this concept – Horus, Thoth, Geb/Seth and *Dwn-ʿnwy* – also receive close attention.

In ancient Egyptian, a large variety of terms occurred that one currently translates as 'pure', 'purity', 'to purify' and similar. In the second chapter ('Lexikografie zum Wortfeld "Reinheit"', pp. 57–83), Kühnemund explores various semantic fields in a thematically organised manner. Next to several subchapters focusing on related terms referring to 'purity' (for example, *swʿb*, *wʿb*, and *ʿbw*), K. also considers interconnected expressions that deal either with the manner in which cultic purity is achieved (for example, *snṯr* or 'censing (with incense)', literary 'making divine', or purification with *ḥsmn* or *bd* natron), or its complete opposite – impurity (for example, *sšt*, *bwt*, or *ḏw*).

In the following four extensive chapters, forming the very core of the volume (pp. 84–498), K. subsequently presents, discusses and analyses various aspects of the ritual purity of four distinct groups that, each in their own particular manner, partake (often, but not exclusively on a daily basis) within the temple cult – and hence need to be ritually pure. This relates to: a) the king as the ideal, if not necessarily actual, ritual actor, b) the priests as the factual performers of the ritual, c) the (statues of the) gods as the recipients of the ritual act of purification, and, finally yet importantly, d) the concrete offerings presented (such as various types of food, liquids, oils and ointments) and the specific cultic equipment used during the rituals. The temple building itself, as the stage on which all rituals (not only of purification) took place, also falls into this last category as it likewise required at regular intervals to be ritually purified.

While it is impossible to list all topics treated in these chapters within the limits of this review, suffice to say that K. has collected and examined in great detail all pertinent material to gain a better understanding of the topic of ritual purity. Moreover, it is apparent that the same key issues and research questions underlie each individual chapter, revolving around three main themes. This concerns: a) explicit rules and regulations to be adhered to in order to achieve ritual purity, b) the description of the ritual performance itself based on textual and visual remains, and c) the various reasons and aims for attaining ritual purity, whether as an individual (king or priest) or object (offering, temple building, cultic equipment).

Each individual chapter concludes with a synthesis of the main findings, while the entire first volume closes with an encyclopaedia-style entry, summarising the chief results of the research. In essence, the cultic acts of purification ensured for the deities the ritual purity of a specific temple space as well as of the people and objects present within. Hence, ritual purification thus transformed the human king into a divine entity ('*snṯr*') that allowed him to enter the heavenly realm and become the sole intermediary between men and god, while – in comparison – it permitted the priests (merely) to enter the sacred space, whether temple or sanctuary, and perform the necessary ritual actions. In the same vein, the combination of water, natron and incense purified and sanctified the stage upon which the rituals took place – first during the initial foundation of the temple and subsequently by the recurring acts of censing within its chambers and chapels. The latter concomitantly also affected the ritual purity of offerings and cultic equipment – objects that interacted with the deities. While these recipients of the ritual acts performed upon the temple precinct, the gods, were considered pure *per se*, their physical abode within the temple, i.e. the statues inhabited by the divine *Ba* of individual deities, underwent – not unlike the cultic equipment – similar acts of ritual purification. Quintessentially, these acts of cultic purification represented the essential, fundamental starting point of a large variety of rituals, as it created a ritually pure space that king and/or priest under the right circumstances could enter to perform the necessary rites for the statues of the gods in order to maintain the order of the world or *Maat*.

Overall, the study is meticulously researched, presents incredibly rich and varied sources of information and offers an exceptional study and analysis, providing an in-depth look at the nature and characteristics of rituals of purification in temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman era – and beyond. The volume will undoubtedly constitute for many years to come a fundamental reference work for any student or scholar working on the various topics of (ritual) purity not only during Ptolemaic and Roman times in ancient Egypt.

Charles University, Prague Filip Coppens

J. Kysela, *Things and Thoughts: Central Europe and the Mediterranean in the 4th–1st Centuries BC*, Studia Hercynia Monograph 1, Charles University Faculty of Arts Publishing House, Prague 2020, 439 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-80-7671-005-4

The book reviewed summarises long-standing work of Jan Kynsela on the finds of Mediterranean imports in Central Europe and their impact on the life of the local societies, which

earlier found partial reflection in his PhD dissertation and numerous *opuscula* scattered in various journals, miscellanies and proceedings. The book inaugurates the new monograph series of the Institute of Classical Archaeology at Charles University (Prague) in the most promising way.

Apart from the introductory 'Reasons for a book', the work consists of three main parts, 'The Settings', 'The Things and the Thoughts' and a Conclusion, not to mention three appendices and extensive bibliography. 'This book is about relations between Central Europe and the Mediterranean world in the Middle and late La Tène period illustrated by Bohemia' (p. 13).

In the first part (pp. 23–65), K. analyses Greek and Roman written sources dealing with the history of Central Europe during the last centuries BC ('The Historical Setting'). He remarks '… key problem for our inquiry is understanding the issue of the Boii' (p. 25), a well-known Celtic tribe, mentioned by ancient authors and considered to have represented the main population of Central Europe in the 4th–1st centuries BC, and bearers of the La Tène archaeological culture. K. reviews the vast literature of the 19th–21st centuries devoted to the problem of the Boii and concludes unsparingly that the hypotheses on their history, migrations, etc. suggested so far 'are rather palimpsests of thoughts from different times and places which entrap us in labyrinths of invented stories' (p. 33). He prefers to follow a more balanced and careful approach, which he calls 'maximalist', and according to which the term 'Boii' could have been used in the Graeco-Roman world only as 'a generic catch-all label for the central European Celts' (p. 33). Therefore, any further specific ethnic connotations in this case are barely useful for historical considerations.

In the next section, 'The Geographical and Archaeological Background', K. outlines the territories of Central Europe considered in the study and, apart from Bohemia, distinguishes two more geographical zones bordering it, which he labels with the working terms 'Western narrower Central Europe' or WnCE (modern Bavaria, parts of Upper Austria and southern Thuringia) and 'Eastern narrower Central Europe' or EnCE (Moravia, the Transdanubian part of Lower Austria and Záhorie/Erdőhát in Slovakia). All these regions belonged to the La Tène archaeological culture and thus social, economic and cultural closeness allows us to conduct comparative analysis with respect to the inflow of the Mediterranean import and its perception.

In the last section of the first part ('Chronological Setting') K. indicates chronological frames of his study, which include late phases of La Tène, the so-called 'oppida period', and considers various suggestions regarding its possible chronology. In his view, the most plausible chronological extent of the period is limited to the last quarter of the 2nd–middle of the 1st century BC.

The second part of the book, 'The Things and the Thoughts' (pp. 67–280), represents its core. The title reflects the painstaking efforts of K. to register all 'contact indicators', as he calls the material and immaterial evidence of the links existing between Central Europe and the Mediterranean world in the Late Iron Age. The result of this Herculean task takes the shape of the comprehensive corpus of imports offered by K. In shorthand form, this corpus is put at the end of the book, in Appendices II and III. The thorough analysis of the materials included in the corpus is given in the text. The scrutiny with which K. considers each entry in his corpus earns every respect, not infrequently casting doubt on the Mediterranean provenance of objects allegedly suggested by other scholars.

It would be excessive to mention each category of find. It seems more sensible to concentrate on the most important conclusions drawn by K. during his investigation of the material. Talking about structure of Mediterranean imports, K. underlines that the metal vessels are the most numerous and characteristic element, which could be considered as principal contact indicator between the areas in question. By contrast, ceramic imports from the Mediterranean were insignificant, especially in contrast to the west (Gaul) and this rather surprising fact, as K. argues, could have been a reflection of different trade strategies, depending either on demand or supply, and employed in these two parts of the La Tène world.

K. pays special attention to the analysis of the finds of Greek coins made in Central Europe as well as to the gold Bohemian coinage proper. As to the latter, numerous hoards containing Bohemian gold issues (which in fact could have been struck by the Boii) and found outside area of their production, mainly in the WnCE, in K.'s opinion could indicate the intentional export of Bohemian gold coins. Therefore, it might testify that these coins were considered by their issuers as a mere commodity and did not fulfil the monetary functions, not unlike the large-size Thraco-Macedonian silver coins exported to the Orient. Recent studies however have shown that these latter in fact participated in local monetary circulation, were countermarked and hoarded, and thus did not represent just coined silver bullion. Actually, K. to some extent contradicts himself in this respect, when later (p. 309) he considers the numerous finds of Bohemian gold coins in the WnCE as evidence that the main trade exchange between the Mediterranean and Central Europe could have been conducted in this part of the region. Analysis of coin finds allowed him as well to draw conclusions on the three main periods or horizons of the inflow of the Greek coins to Central Europe. While previous scholars derived the Boian coinage from the issues of the North Italian Boii, K. underlines the decisive role of Macedonian patterns, above all of the issues of Alexander the Great, for the start of this coinage.

K. moves on to cases of the so-called spiritual or immaterial imports from the Mediterranean, including technologies, ideas on coining as well as various everyday practices like gaming, use of cosmetics and jewellery or medical knowledges. Special attention is given to the much-debated question of the origin of *oppida*. K. is, in my view, completely right when stating the similarity between Central European *oppida* and North Italian fortifications, concluding that they are similar not because the latter inspired the former, but because they had to meet the same threat and fulfil the same function – thus, they emerge as a natural product of certain inner political and social developments of human societies.

The last part of the book (pp. 281–318) summarises the main results of the study. Analysis of the archaeological material and its distribution given in the previous chapters allows K. to specify the mechanism of incoming imports in Central Europe. He is able to distinguish two kinds of the *oppida*: ones that were affected by the Mediterranean imports only marginally, and a few which seem 'to have been hubs of the contacts, which brought these objects to Central Europe' (p. 295). There was one such *oppidum* centre in the each of the three Central European sub-regions and Bohemia that participated in these contacts through the mediation of both its neighbours, WnCE and EnCE. K. considers the Mediterranean imports composing the corpus were a result of regular trade and exchange rather than of uncoordinated individual initiative or one-off kinds of contact like migration. One can hardly talk of the wide presence of the Roman merchants in the Central Europe. Such a trade was concentrated in local hands. As against, for example, post-conquest Gaul,

objects whose spread could testify to the Romanisation of the local population were rare or absent. Regarding the questions of the functions of Mediterranean artefacts in Central Europe as well as on the effects and significance of Mediterranean contacts, K. concludes that the main function of the imported objects was to enhance the prestige of their owner and underline his social status. Both worlds, Mediterranean and Transalpine, were interacting intensively, but remained substantially independent cultural entities and 'causal links between the events in one and their manifestations in the other' were much smaller than many scholars think.

K.'s book is beyond doubt solid innovative research, reconsidering with good reason many traditional views regarding history of the Eastern Celts, the relevant evidence of ancient written sources, and the character and impact of Mediterranean imports. It can be highly recommended to everybody interested in the history and archaeology of Europe.

The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow Sergei A. Kovalenko

C. Langer, *Egyptian Deportations of the Late Bronze Age: A Study in Political Economy*, Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beiheft 13, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2021, xxii+464 pp., maps and tables. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-072667-1/ ISSN 2198-5790

Christian Langer's volume is a major advance in our understanding of Egyptian foreign relations and imperialism during the New Kingdom. The reader should be forewarned that it is dense, but not difficult. His approach appears to be aimed at providing a comprehensive outlook concerned with the seemingly simple issue of deportees to Egypt during the period of Egypt's empire in Asia and Nubia. This has been done, and highly successfully in this reviewer's opinion.

Significantly, L. is not merely interested in such first-level questions as: how may deportees were they, where did they come from, and were there any changes in pharaonic policy during the Late Bronze Age. These most certainly are proposed and answered effectively. Almost immediately he turns to the situations surrounding the economic substructure of Egypt at this time – where he tends to follow David Warburton – as well as the related problems of *corvée* labour, the issue of dependency (of people), the problems of dealing with private versus royal inscriptions and other source material, and the vocabulary utilised in the primary documents.

The work is replete with sources and excellent translations. L. has, in fact, supplied us with a detailed list of the key *termini technici* employed by the Egyptians with regard to these transferred people. But he does not stop there. L. has additionally included a serious and painstaking approach in which foreign localities (Asia and Nubia are his macro-concerns) are analysed with respect to sea level, distance from transportational nexi (for example, highways), and the like. In addition, he has considered the variability of the data across dynasties and, to be sure, among various reigns of the pharaohs. There are some oddities when he uses the term 'reliable sources' – I overlook that – and here the background is a tad sketchy owing to the focus of his theme. By and large, he notes the differences between Egypt's imperialist approach towards the south (Nubia) and the Levant (Palestine and Syria) as it involved these deportations.

Thus questions needing statistical analysis had to be introduced and answered. For example, L. covers the still asked question of population levels, especially in New Kingdom Egypt and Western Asia. As to be expected, he followed Karl Butzer's estimates for the most part (*ca*. 2.9 or so million, which I find reasonable, but note that Butzer divided the New Kingdom into two sections: Dynasty XVIII and the Ramesside Period owing to different levels of population) and emphatically argues that Egypt pulled a lot of human resources out of Palestine and Syria. Vexed problems still remain, and to me the outstanding one is the remarkably high figures listed in the Memphis Stela of Amenhotep II at the conclusion of his second campaign of regnal year nine. He cannot resolve that problem and, in fact, seems to have ignored some earlier research on the matter.[1] This is a crucial glitz in his reconstruction as one must accept a considerably high level of deportations on which other data are not supportive. To argue that these high figures – they are remarkable – might derives from Mitannian-held territory merely returns to the unacceptable speculation of Donald Redford.[2]

To the south we re-enter the controversy of the location of the kingdom of Irem where Kenneth Kitchen is clearly opposed to David O'Connor's assumptions, at least for the Ramesside Period.[3] Nubia, by the way, is not as deeply analysed geographically as Western Asia, no doubt owing to our voluminous source material and archaeological work at hand. Thus I found L.'s positioning with regard to the Sea Peoples logically vague as to number and *economic* importance (if any) within the Egyptian state. To be sure, they, and especially the well-known Sherden, formed an important sector within the administrative make-up of the pharaonic army.

L. also estimates the number of foreigners deported who ended up working as unfree labourers (*corvée*?) in the various Egyptian temples at home, especially at that of Amun at Karnak to be sure. But I noted his interesting figure – quite high! – of 16% of the deportees working at Heliopolis in the Estate of Atum. Yet it must be emphasised that perhaps the sources do distort his conclusions here and elsewhere. To take a case in point, L. feels that it was in Dynasty XVIII, and especially under Thutmose III, that the policy was highly rigorous, effective and demanding. Was this not merely due to his year after year campaigning and thus not an institutional policy set in motion independent of warfare? Another dichotomy (p. 227) concerns the data from the reign of Ramesses III. Here, L. feels that the written material concerning deportations are rare with respect to mainland Asia (Tunip: which actually Egypt did not hold then; the scene is fictitious) and Djahy, the general term which even L. has some difficulty in geographically explicating with precision, but Palestine

[1] Missing are J. Janssen, 'Eine Beuteliste von Amenophis II. und das Problem der Sklaverei im alten Ägypten'. *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 17 (1963), 141–47; and A. Spalinger, 'A Lost Dream Episode?'. In K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly. Magic, Dreams, and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea 2006), 227–42. Add E. Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism* (Hoboken, NJ 2018), 220 n. 87, and 222. It bemuses me that the scholarly discussion of this problem no longer goes back to earlier sources. To be sure, it now even usually overlooks P. der Manuelian, *Studies on the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim 1987).

[2] It is difficult to see the Shasu and the Apiru in the far north, in Syria.

[3] D. O'Connor, 'The Location of Irem'. *JEgA* 73 (1987), 99–136. A summary (but not interpretation) may be found in D. Kahn, 'The History of Kush – An Outline'. In F. Jesse and C. Vogel (eds.), *The Power of Walls. Fortifications in Ancient Northeastern Africa* (Cologne 2013), 19.

may as well suffice in this contact. True, he stresses the Libyans, but after all, are not the major historical records of this monarch replete with the Libyans?

According to L. deportation policies were closely connected with the control of the population size and the workforce. This point, stark in its appearance, is connected to L.'s position with regard to the population size of Canaan and Syria. Here, I feel, that the data are not sufficient for his conclusions, although his methodology is to be sure necessary. I am not convinced by Titus Kennedy's PhD thesis owing to that scholar's absence of archaeological expertise concerning Israel and Syria.[4] Basically, it is fair to conclude that for the most part the archaeological evidence is not sufficiently robust enough to determine what was the human size in these two major zones of the north, areas which he feel were roughly divided into three sectors (versus Nadav Na'man). Here, he is able to provide a ball-park figure of 2.9 million inhabitants in Egypt of which 14% were engaged directly in agriculture, but even then, how much did Egypt need farm labourers from outside? To L. (p. 322) there is nonetheless a correlation between increased deportation activity and population increase in Egypt. Yet be aware that in the vast majority of L.'s helpful figures it is the reign of Amunhotep II that stands out and this is most definitely due to those high figures of the Memphis Stela (see p. 257, fig. 38 in particular.)

L. assumes a population of 590,000 'in the southern Levant' (p. 327: Broshi, Gophna, Finkelstein and Spalinger are referred to) with an annual loss via deportation of 408 individuals a year which is a loss of 0.07% *per annum*. However, one might ask: what about the gender of these people? To be sure the author later concentrates a portion of his volume on the presence of women and children as well as men, but the issue I wish to advance still must be stated frankly. What was the gender imbalance, year by year, of these deportations? If more men than women would that adversely affect the 'Southern Levant' so much, especially if there was an equal male-female split in the transported folk? L. does indicate that there was a decided (my word) 'strain on the regional population' of this northern zone largely, in fact especially, during the first half of the New Kingdom. Indeed, he finds that there was a consistent population loss rather than the alarming 'one shot' of Kennedy who argued that it was under Thutmose III and his son that a sudden and major population loss occurred.[5] Once more, I need to have better archaeological data at hand to make those conclusions hold, at least for my way of thinking. Here, as part of a conclusion, L. feels that there was only a 1.3% population increase between Late Bronze Age I and II. In fine, he is opposed to Ahituv's conclusions, and that we have 'devastation' (p. 328). That I cannot see.

His overarching research has led him to the striking conclusion that *ca.* 160,000–300,000 men and women were transported to Egypt during the heyday of her empire (p. 405). The time frame is around 500 years. Most deportees, he noted, were brought owing to warfare, 98% in his calculations. To be sure we do not possess a reasonably sized

[4] T. Kennedy, *A Demographic Analysis of Late Bronze Age Canaan: Ancient Population Estimates and Insights through Archaeology* (Dissertation, Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2013). I have partly addressed some of the difficulties with his interpretation in my 'The Upkeep of Empire: Costs and Rations', University of Auckland Conference, Money and the Military in Antiquity (9 October 2018), to be published in a memorial volume for Matthew Trundle: D. Rosenbloom (ed.), *Money and the Great Man.*

[5] Kennedy likewise got caught in the rabbit trap of Amunhotep II.

data set that would verify his conclusion. This is, in fact, one of the stumbling blocks to such an impressive and mainly successful foray into the heart of the imperial jungle. And the reader must note that I have not turned to the reliability of any of the source material, a situation that to be sure, Larger understands and comments upon here and there, but without covering the literary nature of any of our sources, but at the least that perspective helps to explain the odd presence of the 'incredible' booty list figures on Amunhotep II's Memphis Stela. Other cases, such as Ramesses II at Kadesh, perhaps needed to be discussed further in this volume. Yet to be totally fair, such perspectives, literary and historical vectors, are secondary to his statistical *argumenta*.

The same situation arises, as I adumbrated earlier, with his assumptions concerning the population of Palestine and Syria. (Palestine is especially important in this case.) Whereas I found his pie charts in Chapter 5 excellent and worthwhile examining, and even the lexicographic charts, if not really significant, worthy of a glance, some of the core issues regarding deportation to the Egyptian homeland remain. Why?

L. writes (p. 325) that 'Egypt had food in abundance'. Here, the rather low percentage of deportees (males I hasten to add) working in the fields was expected, I claim. But his speculation that these individuals arduously worked in compulsory labour activities – the type of such hard activity is not specified – remains an open question. How wide, I add in this context, one that L. consistently stresses from a statistical-mathematical point of view, were the local Egyptian strata that benefited, as it is assumed, from this deportee activity? (There is no discussion even if, to choose one perspective, only a single tiny elite stratum was advantaged.) Did this lead to people being 'idle', to quote him again? I further wonder whether the unwarranted conclusions that the possibility remains of 'maintaining political stability' and suppressing 'internal dissent' is not overtly modern. If to the contrary, then where are the data for this politically engendered conclusion?

Thus I have wound up at the situation, the threshold in fact, of L.'s 'extensions', if I might call his extrapolations far beyond the data analyses. I suspect that here, if the reader has been able to devote full time to such an impressive volume, he or she may balk. I do, as I balk at, but not oppose, his population analysis concerning the Levant in the north. Detailed empirical archaeology of many sites is not presented in this study and firm archaeological conclusions with regard to these vexing questions are still wanting. But L. has most certainly provided a firm bedrock for future discussion of imperialism, one that relies upon quantitative statistical analysis, and he is not parroting 'social-science' discourse.

I fully recommend this study for anyone who wishes to engage in the Egyptian New Kingdom's pursuit of imperium.

University of Auckland Anthony Spalinger

J. Leone, *Musarna 4: La céramique à paroi fine*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 576, École Française de Rome, Rome 2021, ix+294 pp., 54 plates (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-7283-1443-0/ISSN 0223-5099

This volume is the fourth in a series publishing the results of the archaeological excavations at the site of Musarna in Etruria by the École Française de Rome, and it is the continuation of Julie Leone's 2014 doctoral thesis at the University of Aix-Marseille. Dealing with the

thin-walled fine wares it is an attractive volume offering a detailed and illuminating typological, technological and contextual study. The report comprises four parts with 13 chapters and Introduction and Conclusion. The introduction is a brief overview of the research steps and targets, with L. underlining the unique opportunity to investigate the production centres, forms and technology and to discuss issues of dating and distribution, due to the sheer quantity of finds (about 25,000 fragments) and the context evidence. Situated in the heart of the territory of Tarquinia and among the first sites of production of the ware, Musarna is part of a privileged regional context that included numerous other sites.

The first part has two chapters. The first describes the significant technological observations and data of the thin-walled ware, provides a list of the known workshops in Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, Gaul and Cyprus, and emphasises the vessels' exclusive function for holding liquids, mostly drinking and some serving vessels. The ware appeared simultaneously with the surge of wine production and consumption and the increase in amphora manufacture from the second half of the 2nd century to the mid-1st century BC, while the second half of the 1st century BC saw the rise of wine imports from the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula and Gaul to Rome. Chapter 2 provides an overview of previous studies and analyses the typological classifications of M.T. Marabini (1973), F. Mayet (1975) and A. Ricci (1985) on the thin-walled wares in the Mediterranean basin from the 2nd century BC until the 3rd century AD.

In the second part L. elaborates on the foundation of Musarna, the archaeological discoveries, the occupational phases, the underground structures and the water supply. She stresses that only rarely the stratigraphic contexts are explicit, with the finds assignable to one or two generations (Chapter 3). Four primary context units are presented in Chapter 4, supplemented by a table with the quantified evidence for all the fine wares recorded at the site and another for the thin-walled ware from the excavated areas.

The in-depth treatise of the vessel types (Part Three) comprises the major contribution in the volume, and it is an outstanding example of analysing ceramic fabric, form and decoration by visual inspection. Pointing out that the thin-walled ware is not a homogenous category from a technological viewpoint, L. identifies seven fabric groups (four of a non-calcareous and two of a calcareous clay, and an undetermined fabric), and illustrates them in graphs with a breakdown of vessel types and statistical data. For each group 12 characteristic features connected with fabric description, vessel type and ornamentation, workshop origin and dating are listed, and colour plates illustrate the types with photomicrographs (Chapter 5). The next chapter, the most comprehensive of the report, focuses on the classification into 50 forms (pls. IX–XXX). Two graphs of the forms and a table with their specifications and numbers recorded are particularly useful. Each form is defined and illustrated by a line drawing in a figure that includes also the attribution to the technical group as well as a list of the rim variants and decorative elements, followed by details on the prevalence in Musarna, the origin of the form, distribution, place of production and dating. A detailed rim typology (pls. VI–VIII) helps to visualise the descriptions. The decors are arranged separately (pl. XXXI). Chapter 7 explores the technical methods of decoration, including incised, applied, rouletted and mould-made ornamentation and sanded and painted surface treatment. Geometric and vegetal motifs prevail, and an anthropomorphic face (the globular beaker Type 4.12) and the applied head of Silenus (the rhyton Type 37) occur. In Chapter 8 the classification is conferred to the four context units, followed by

a fifth unit of unstratified items. For a quick orientation the reader will find a summary on pl. LIV.

Part Four (Chapters 9–13) explores the emergence and disappearance of the thin-walled ware in central Etruria. Based on the four context units presented in Chapter 4, the finds are regrouped into five 'assemblages' with simultaneously produced forms, which might have originated from the same workshops. The general timespan is from the last decades of the 2nd century BC until the reign of Tiberius, with a few forms without stratigraphic evidence from Musarna assigned to the years AD 25–75 by parallels to other sites.

In the Conclusion L. defines the function of the 50 types. Forty were used for the consumption of liquids: the beaker, bowl, cup, kantharos, skyphos and rhyton, while ten were used for serving liquids: the jug, pitcher, bottle, lagynos, aryballos, askos, trulla and lid. A matter still to be resolved is the question whether the vessels were exclusively for wine drinking or whether they could also have had a multi-functional use as fine vessels for the dining table in which delicacies and relishes prepared with fruit, vegetables, spices and herbs were served. A target for further research is the investigation of the parallel developments and changes in common wares and black-glazed ceramics, as the appearance of the thin-walled ware was not an isolated trend but occurred simultaneously with changes in the ceramic repertoire for serving and dining vessels at the end of the 2nd century BC. Another future project is the archaeometric analysis of the Etrurian thin-walled ware in order to decode the totally unknown organisation of the regional workshops from the end of the Republican period and in the times of Augustus.

Finally, the place index allows the reader to quickly find references to the relevant sites in the Mediterranean basin, a most helpful research tool for further studies.

All told, the volume is an awesome showcase for meticulous research and a fine exemplar of contextualised evaluation of everyday pottery from local, regional and supra-regional perspectives. It is user-friendly, well organised, detailed and attractive. With 31 plates of black-and-white line drawings and additional colour photographs and distribution maps it comprises a treasure trove of information. L. should be heartily congratulated for this important publication. There is no question that it will serve as a valuable and indispensable tool for future archaeological research. Furthermore, for sites in the eastern Mediterranean it provides a first-rate basis for the study of western imports and their imitations in the various production centres, with Paphos on Cyprus briefly referred to in the volume.

Berlin, Germany Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom

J.D. Lerner and Y. Shi (eds.), *Silk Roads: From Local Realities to Global Narratives*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2020, xiii+297 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78925-470-9

Die Seidenstraßen, die seit der Antike mittels verschiedener Akteure und durch unterschiedliche Handlungsräume, Kommunikationsformen und Netzwerke Osten und Westen miteinander verbanden sowie „connectivity", nicht immer jedoch „connectedness" ermöglichten, stehen im Fokus des Sammelbandes, der auf eine Konferenz an der Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina zurückgeht. Obschon der Begriff, anders als die Herausgeber vermuten (S. 2), originär nicht von Ferdinand von Richthofen stammte, jedoch durch

seine China-Studien berühmt gemacht wurde,[1] ist er seitdem in der Forschung etabliert, und momentan vor allem wegen der chinesischen Seidenstraßen-Initiative (*Belt and Road Initiative*) und diversen „Gegenprojekten" auch im politischen Diskurs fest verankert.[2]

In fünf Sektionen mit insgesamt 17 Artikeln werden wichtige der zahllosen Themenkomplexe der über 2000 Jahre währenden Geschichte dieser Verbindungen angesprochen und in meist konzise geschriebenen, den jeweiligen Forschungsstand wiedergebenden Beiträgen verdeutlicht. Unter dem Titel „Acculturation and Hybridization" setzen sich vier Beiträge mit Aufnahme-, Aneignungs- und Umformungsprozessen von fremden Kulturen auseinander. Nicola di Cosmo macht darauf aufmerksam, daß die ökologischen, besonders klimatischen Bedingungen des Nomadentums und deren in mehreren Schritten erfolgende Verknüpfung mit den chinesischen Reichen über spezifische Mechanismen des Austausches (besonders die chinesische Nachfrage nach militärischen Gütern) bereits im 4./3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zur Etablierung weiter ausgreifender, transeurasischer Netzwerke führen konnte, die u.a. Seide gen Westen brachte. Das traditionelle „Gründungsdatum" der Seidenstraßen durch die Westexpeditionen des Zhang Qian unter Kaiser Wu der Han-Dynastie wird dadurch zumindest als *creatio ex nihilo* zu Recht infrage gestellt. Qi Xiaoyan macht auf die in den Quellen attestierten Rollen von Sogdiern in der Shanxi Provinz vom 4.–7. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert aufmerksam, u.a. als Händler, Offizielle und Künstler, aber auch auf die Verbreitung von religiösen Strömungen und spezifischen Handelsgütern wie Hirse. Die abschließende Wendung hin zur Rolle Shanxis in der modernen Seidenstraßeninitiative darf man wohl als Lokalkolorit abtun. Wichtig ist der Beitrag von Shi Yunli, in dem er das Mitführen optischer Geräte durch jesuitische Missionare nach China untersucht. Er unterscheidet zwischen der Aufmerksamkeitserzeugung seitens der Jesuiten, welche diese Exotika als Anschauungsmaterial der Überlegenheit westlicher Erfindungen, jedoch auch, so möchte man ergänzen, als Ermöglichung für ihre jedoch nur ansatzweise erfolgreiche Missionstätigkeit nutzten, und der damit angestoßenen intensiveren Beschäftigung mit dem westlichen naturwissenschaftlichen Wissen in China, das sich dann nicht nur in entsprechenden Nachbauten, sondern auch Schriften niederschlug. Die verschiedenen Funktionen (Handel, Religion, Migration, aber auch Invasion) des Karakorum ‚Highways' stellt Saba Samee kurz dar, erneut verknüpft mit den Chancen und Möglichkeiten der aktuellen chinesischen Seidenstraßeninitiative.

Spannendes verspricht die zweite Sektion „Understanding Spice through Interdisciplinarity". Im engeren Sinne entlang der „Silk Roads" agiert jedoch nur Monique O'Connell, indem sie das sagenumwobene Antidot Theriak behandelt, das sowohl in West wie Ost von der Antike bis Moderne seinen literarischen Niederschlag fand. Hingegen liefern Wayne L. Silver und Cecil J. Saunders einen guten Überblick über die Wahrnehmungssinne von „spices" und sprechen die entsprechenden Theorien an, warum wir diese trotz des „schmerzhaften" Eingreifens in unsere Körperfunktionen verzehren. Eric Dursteler kontert das vorherrschende Narrativ, daß vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit ein extremer Wechsel von Überwürzung zur simplistischen Präparation von Speisen stattgefunden habe; die Befundlage spricht für eine weitaus differenziertere Nutzung von Gewürzen in beiden Epochen.

[1] Vgl. M. Mertens, 'Did Richthofen Really Coin "the Silk Road"?'. *The Silk Road* 17 (2019), 1–9.

[2] Vgl. die Webseite: *https://seidenstrassen.digital/omeka/exhibits/show/narrative-und-propaganda* [15.07.2022].

Die fünf folgenden Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit „Tradition as Continuity and Change". Bernadine Barnes beschäftigt sich mit den religiös konnotierten Holzstichen aus den Library Cave-Funden in Dunhuang, Westchina. Sie kann zeigen, daß diese nicht allein illustrativen Zwecken dienten, sondern in der religiös-rituellen Praxis ihren Platz hatten, und fragt abschließend, ob und wie dies das Nachdenken über die ein halbes Jahrtausend später einsetzende Holzstichkultur in Europa zu befruchten vermag. In einer durch zahlreiche Beispiele illustrierten Untersuchung zeigt Luo Di, wie sich die wohl über die Seidenstraßen verbreitete Struktur der Laternendecke vermutlich aus frühen offenen Dachkonstruktionen zu einer kosmisch inspirierten Deckengestaltung entwickelte, wobei der ursprünglich funktionale Aspekt immer weiter hintangestellt und letztlich vergessen wurde. Die ‚Mythologisierung' legendärer wie historischer Personen und Ereignisse zur Fundierung und Lenkung moderner Diskurse über den Hafen von Malakka (Malaysia) diskutiert Margaret Sarkissian. Sie kann insbesondere aufzeigen, wie etwa über Liedtexte ökonomische wie politische Weichenstellungen oft auf Kosten einer nachhaltig-ökologischen Entwicklung der Region erfolgen beziehungsweise mit propagandistischer Absicht begleitet werden. Ähnliche Eingriffe, hier in die akustische Tradition der mongolischen Nomadenlebensweise, spricht Jennifer Post an, besonders hinsichtlich der dauerhaften Überformung der Kulturlandschaft durch ökonomische Belange. All diese kritischen Perspektiven münden in der grundsätzlichen Kritik von Chad Haines am Begriff, Konzept und Frame der „Silk Road", die gerade in Pakistan, aber auch anderswo, den ganz verschiedenen lokalen „histories" entlang der „Silk Roads" (sic) keine Stimme gegenüber einem von verschiedenen, imperialistisch-kolonialisierten vereinnahmten wie propagierten Einheitsnarrativ der Globalisierung durch und entlang der Seidenstraßen ließ.

Die vierte Sektion zu „Cultural Transactions" hätte durchaus als zweites Attribut „economic" verdient. Denn sowohl Touraj Daryaee zu den Parthern als auch Du Dan zu den Formen des Kreditwesens entlang der Seidenstraßen greifen genuin ökonomische Aspekte auf, und auch der Beitrag von James Anderson zur unterschiedlichen Wahrnehmung und narrativen Ausgestaltung der Tributgabe von Perlen, eingebettet in ein Ritual, vom tamilischen Chola-Reich an einen Kaiser der nördlichen Song-Dynastie berührt mit dieser speziellen Form die Sphäre der politischen Ökonomie. Die Arsakidenherrscher erscheinen, bedingt auch durch die sehr fragmentarische Quellenlage, vor allem als Ermöglicher und folglich Profiteure von wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten (etwa der Palmyrener). Interessant und weiter untersuchenswert ist, daß und inwieweit die ökonomische Strukturen von Anxi/Parthien und der benachbarten Westlichen Regionen eine prominente Rolle in den chinesischen Chroniken (etwa Shiji, Hanshu, Hou Hanshu) einnehmen. Die ganz verschiedenen Kreditinstrumente in China, Indien und der islamischen Welt zeigen, inwieweit Vertrauen, entweder in die ausgebende „staatliche" Autorität oder die privaten Akteure, eine notwendige Voraussetzung für deren Funktionieren war war. Weitergehend müßten und sollten Überlegungen gehen, wie gerade über Grenzen und Systeme hinweg dieses ökonomische Vertrauen etabliert und, etwa über Instrumente wie „Gastfreunde" etc., institutionalisiert wurde.

Die letzten beiden Artikel, in der Sektion „Long-Distance Commodity Trade" verlassen den engeren eurasischen Raum der Seidenstraßen und beschäftigen sich mit einer Episode von gestrandeten „Indern" im Germanien des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts beziehungsweise den Andockungsversuchen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika am lukrativen Chinahandel Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Jeffrey Lerner diskutiert die drei verschiedenen

Versionen über die im Jahre 62 v. Chr. in Germanien gestrandeten und an den Prokonsul der Gallia Cisalpina, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer übergebenen Inder, die sie einer nicht erhaltenen Passage von Cornelius Nepos zuschreibt, rekonstruiert einen möglichen Reiseweg (zum Schluß über die Donau) und versucht, die unterschiedliche Bezeichnung der jeweils beteiligten germanischen Völkerschaft zu erklären. Bei der Konjektur der Route wären allerdings die neueren Forschungen zur Atlantik- und weiterführenden Rheinroute in der Kaiserzeit zu diskutieren.[3] John Ruddiman beschreibt abschließend, wie Samuel Shaw in den sich herausbildenden Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika nicht allein individuelle Handelskontakte zu China zu etablieren versuchte, sondern sich ganz im Sinne der *Federalists* eine staatlich getragene Agentur analog anderer *East Asia Companies* vorstellte, ein Plan, der letztlich jedoch nicht umgesetzt wurde.

Alles in allem liegt ein sehr breitgefächerter Band vor, welcher die vielen Narrative über und entlang der Seidenstraßen von der Antike bis in die Moderne angemessen spiegelt. Man wird von den oft überblicksartigen Beiträgen zwar meist keine Stimuli für die Detailforschung erwarten dürfen, aber auf jeden Fall Anregungen, in welch' unterschiedlichen Rahmen die Seidenstraßen wahrgenommen wurden und werden.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun Sven Günther

X. Liu, with the assistance of P. Brancaccio (ed.), *The World of the Ancient Silk Road*, The Routledge Worlds, Routledge, London/New York 2023, xxi+593 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-19996-8

This hefty tome of 32 essays by 28 contributors is the culmination of a pioneering project that seeks to bring together numerous scholars from across multiple disciplines and regions of the world to broaden the reach of Silk Road studies by making it part of world history. The papers span geographically across Eurasia with some attention paid to Egypt. Chronologically, the papers range from the 3rd–2nd millennium BC with an emphasis on migrations and technology to the 2nd millennium AD with the inclusion of digitised resources.

The multidisciplinary approach in the *World of the Ancient Silk Road* is intriguing, bringing the reader to a strange new world. The papers tease out the complexity of constituent elements that are inherent in debates about the Silk Roads, especially within the broader theme of globalisation. The emphasis on the multiplicity of interactions, and the integration – not partition – of overland exchanges and impacts, are insightful and thought-provoking. These issues are drawn together incisively in Liu's Introduction, which succinctly captures the interdisciplinarity of the project.

Part I, 'Landscape of the Silk Road: From the Bronze Age to the Beginning of Historical Records', consists of eight papers. The first four essays concern people. W. Binghua recounts how the Konquehe in 500 years had used up all their natural resources and were forced to migrate. X. Liu's historiographic analysis of Tocharian shows how it has failed as a discipline due to a lack of evidence of a spoken (and written) language. L. Jian surveys how the

[3] Vgl. C. Schäfer, 'Oil for Germany. Some thoughts on Roman long-distance trade'. In: C. Schäfer (ed.), *Connecting the Ancient World. Mediterranean Shipping, Maritime Networks and their Impact* (Rahden 2016), 211–48.

spread and adoption of Aramaic and its phonetic script became the *lingua franca* for administration and commerce. J. Yiken discusses the Qïrqïz who moved from the forests in the north to the steppe where they constructed an empire in the 9th and 10th centuries. The next four chapters concentrate on technology and plants. B. Genito investigates the use of horse chariots and wagons in Eurasia, followed by W. Peng's analysis of when and how the horse wagon with bronze wheel felloe evolved in China from the horse chariot that was introduced in 1200 BC from the steppe. R. Sala explores the domestication of the camel enabling deserts to be crossed and thereby connecting oases and civilisations since roads were not necessary. K. Abdullaev's inquiry involves stimulating plants, like ephedra and cannabis, in Bactria and Margiana that seem to have been integral for cult ceremonies and for use as medicinal agents.

Five essays form Part II: 'Pastoral Nomads and Agricultural Societies'. C. Benjamin's chapter on horse archery and nomadic empires concentrates on political developments in three eras. S. Kuwayama reassesses how the Kushans came to power. In their study of the city of Mingtepa in Ferghana, Uzbekistan, Z. Yanshi and L. Tao postulate that the site was a centre for breeding the country's heavenly horses of the Dayuan/Dawan kingdom, which was attacked by General Ershi. J. Yiken returns to the Qïrqïz/Kyrgyz examining their brief rise to power in the 9th–10th century before they were replaced by the Kitans. This section ends with Abdullaev's research into the development of steppe armour from shell and leather to steel, and the swift adoption of steel weaponry by pastoral nomads to wage war with one another and sedentary states.

The ten studies constituting Part III ('Silk Trade and Caravan Cities'), range from the Roman East to Dunhuang as well as some sea routes. The first three chapters are centred on the Tarim basin beginning with Y. Junshi's reconstruction of the history of the Jingjue kingdom. This is followed by A. Selbitschka's analysis of grave-goods found in Turfan during the Gaochang kingdom, then S. Xian's discussion of Turfan's role in spreading smallpox to Tang China. H. Cameron takes up the Roman cities of Palmyra and Petra as trading networks that relied on agriculture from the hinterlands for their existence. S. Kuwayana continues his investigation of the whereabouts of the five *xihou* or *yabgu* under the Da Yuezhi and the routes across the Hindukush-Karakorum. M. Inaba synthesises archaeological, literary and numismatic evidence to reconstruct the fate of three regional centres in eastern Afghanistan, while L.M. Olivieri researches the main route through the Swat Valley. P. Brancaccio investigates the trade in cotton from the Western Deccan to the Mediterranean and China along the 'Cotton Road', demarcated by Buddhist cave temples along mountainous roads. A. Winnik traces the export of Egyptian textiles from Akhmin before and after the Islamic conquest which led to new designs from outside the Mediterranean. The role of the Abbasids in fostering Sino-Arabian commerce up to the 15th century is undertaken by R. Zhang and L. Meicun.

Part IV, 'Empires and Religions', rounds out the collection with nine contributions. B. Abbott summarises some of the developments of trade and commerce in the Hellenistic period between the Mediterranean and South Asia, though he curiously omits discussing Phryni/Phuni and Seres. Following the Arab conquest of the Sasanians, L. Ying analyses documents recording transactions between the Byzantine and Tang empires in the 7th century. In the only chapter devoted to the Sogdians, Z. Xiaogui looks at their immigration into China and the brand of Zoroastrianism that they brought with them. Liu focuses on

Buddhist art and architecture on the Silk Road to flush out how Buddhism was propagated and what it may have intrinsically lost with each encounter of a new culture. The next four chapters concern commodities. L. Jinxiu returns to the theme of horses and the Kyrgyz by examining the silk-horse trade between Tang China and the Xiagasi/Kyrgyz. B. Hildebrandt considers the literary evidence of the Roman silk trade to understand the kinds of silks that were traded, where they originated, the merchants and routes involved and where goods were produced and consumed. She continues her focus on Rome in the next chapter by taking up Christian attitudes toward the use of silk and its role in the Church. A. Winnik traces the rise of *tiraz*, a cloth containing Arabic to denote the name of the caliph and the date of its production, which was appropriated by different actors as emblems of power. The volume ends with D.C. Waugh's discussion of pedagogy – how material culture about the Silk Roads can be used in an interdisciplinary course on world history drawn primarily from museum collections.

There are a few shortcomings. For example, we are told one possible benefit of the work is that it 'could provide clues for understanding how the peoples of different languages communicated with each other' (p. 1). Unfortunately, there is no contribution that takes on such a comparative philological approach. As a topic of inquiry, this must await another day. Although the volume seeks to provide an interdisciplinary focus, some of the papers fall into the inevitable tendency of being disciplinary-specific and struggle to reimagine or embody the cross-disciplinary aims of the book.

In conclusion, there is a great deal to like in this collection. It will broaden our understanding of the Silk Roads, both in antiquity and through its impact today. It challenges us not to compartmentalise specialties and invites the reader to consider the broader effects and significance of the intricacy of our interconnected pasts.

Wake Forest University, NC Jeffrey D. Lerner

L. Locatelli, É. Piguet and S. Podesta (eds.), *Constructions identitaires en Asie Mineure (VIII^e siècle avant J.-C.–III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Colloque international de Besançon, 18–19 octobre 2019, Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2021, 433 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-84867-850-4

This volume results from a conference held at Besançon in 2019 and contains, after a brief foreword by the editors, 16 papers (all with separate bibliographies). Most contributions are in French, two in English (Traina, Laflı), one in Italian (Gazzano). The book is divided into three parts: the first covers 'territorial' identities, i.e. peoples and places; the second deals with specific personalities, certain groups within society and personalised strategies of formulating identity; the third with the Roman presence in Asia Minor.

S. Podestà starts off the first section with an exploration into the Lycians' successful strategies of capitalising on their representation in the *Iliad* as 'principaux alliés des Troyens' (p. 18) when faced with foreign domination (from Achaemenid to Roman Imperial times). F. Delrieux turns towards the Carians in the Late Hellenistic period and discovers a people in fragmentation, between advanced Hellenisation and efforts to maintain indigenous roots. F. Gazzano examines the representation of the Lydians in the Greek literary

sources, from Herodotus and the Archaic poets (as a rich military power with a lifestyle worthy of imitation) down to the notion of the 'degenerate Lydians' in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (including a useful index of keywords of this work). M. Anfosso concerns herself with the rapid disappearance of the Phrygian alphabet after the Macedonian conquest and its return under Roman rule, and presents an unedited neo-Phrygian epitaph containing fragments of the well-known formula against misuse of the tomb.

L. Locatelli searches for indications of a belief in common origin or ancestry among the Pisidians in the sparse (and occasionally contradictory) sources, highlighting the Pisidian language, the emphasis on the eponymous hero Solymos in the Milyas region, and the reference to a mythical connection between the Lacedaemonians and the Pisidian cities of Selge, Sagalassos and Amblada in the context of Hadrian's Panhellenion as crucial factors for identity construction. J. Tavernier evaluates the potential influence of Achaemenid presence in Anatolia on funerary architecture and art, and on other religious practices: after careful examination of tomb monuments from Lycia, Lydia and Phrygia, as well as objects potentially hinting at Zoroastrian practices, he concludes that, while some Persian influence is indeed detectable, one cannot speak of a strong Persian identity present even under Achaemenid rule.

The role occupied by rivers in the identity construction of cities is treated by S. Lebreton, who reviews the usage patterns of hydronyms and anthroponyms as well as references to river-gods as strategies of making visible the rivers' appropriation, before examining more closely cities divided by a river (Tarsus, Amasia, Apameia-Kelainai). The book's first part is concluded by G. Traina, who – as an expert on Armenia – is interested in Strabo's account of nearby Caucasian Albania and delivers a commentary (as indicated, preliminary) on reports about the Albanians' military strength and organisation, their religion and political structure, as well as more peculiar issues such as their rejection of coinage or their seemingly poor agricultural skills.

In the second section, G. Courtieu compares key elements of Zoroastrianism with the behavioural elements of Mithridates VI Eupator that have been described/perceived as mysterious at best and monstrous at worst. By contrasting the Roman literary sources with passages from the Younger Avesta, Courtieu analyses key episodes of Mithridates' upbringing, his religious *mise-en-scène* and his political actions, proposing to see their roots and motivations in underlying Zoroastrian principles. Adding to the intense scholarly discussion on Aelius Aristides' personality, E. Piguet engages with this author's *Hieroi Logoi* and the question of sickness versus *Zeitgeist*: after assessing the general character of the work (aretalogy with heavy autobiographical elements), she examines Aristides' dreams, his travels, his communicational skills, and his relationship with his body, and detects a competent and knowledgeable patient between the constraints of his illness and the liberties of the oratory profession in the period of the Second Sophistic.

N. Beylache investigates the incorporation of Roman emperors and their families into the Ephesian pantheon and argues for their firm place within the religious canon, especially given the great amount of lobbying work undertaken by upper-class Ephesians to maintain their city's status, while stressing that the pre-eminent position of Artemis remained uncontested. G. Labarre concerns himself with the *Theoi Pisidikoi* mentioned in 15 Imperial epitaphs from the region north of Kibyra as well as the *Thea Pisidike* known from Kibyrean coinage. After providing a full epigraphical catalogue, he discusses these gods' identities, the

cult's very limited geographical distribution, and its roots in the migration of Pisidians into the region during the 4th and 3rd centuries AD. That this cult resurfaced in Imperial times after a significant chronological gap is convincingly explained with the need for maintaining a distinctive historical identity during the progressing integration into the Roman empire.

S. Montel explores patterns of self-representation through the erection of statues or statue groups in sanctuaries, focusing on examples from the Archaic (cult precinct at Kokkinolakka; votive statues at Claros), the Classical (Hekatomnid sculptures at Caunus, Labraunda and Priene) and the Hellenistic periods (Protogenes' statue group at Caunus), supplemented by cases from the civic sphere from the Imperial period (for example, the *agalmatotheke* of Apollonis at Cyzicus). E. Laflı adds to our limited knowledge of the Jewish community in Cyme through his analysis of the fragmentary epitaph *SEG* 57-1251: after presenting a reconstruction of the text, he discusses the location of ancient Kallipatrai, suggests a Cymean provenance for the honorific text *IJudOr* II 36, briefly covers the use of Jewish symbols on epitaphs (supplemented by a useful appendix) and dates *SEG* 57-1251 to the period of AD 350–400, primarily based on the tomb's prize of a million denarii mentioned in the text.

In the third section, X. Mabillard treats the phenomenon of posthumous honours granted to resident Romans and Italics: while the 11 examined examples do not stress these Romans' foreign origin, they do suggest the assistance of other local Romans in the honours' implementation. Expectedly, acts of *euergesia* by the foreign residents often precede these honours. Last of all, H. Fernoux deals with processes of socio-cultural exchange in Roman *coloniae*, with Alexandria Troas as his main example. He describes the manifest and long-lasting changes in the political and religious sphere, but also detects remaining influence of Greek tradition among the civic elite – for example, in texts pertaining to foreign relations, in epitaphs and in semi-official or private dedicatory inscriptions.

The study of identities in antiquity represents a potentially fruitful, but certainly challenging topic, especially given the scarce, inconsistent and often contradictory source material. Despite such difficulties, the volume represents a truly valuable compilation, with several thought-provoking papers. The diachronical concept, the thorough coverage of core topics expected by any reader interested in the particular geographical region, and the integration of approaches that go beyond the typical (for example, Courtieu, Lebreton) are able to underline the importance of Asia Minor in the debate. The well-balanced ratio between young and established scholars is noteworthy, as are the very few editorial lapses. With the majority of contributors coming from institutions in France, the book also constitutes a good indicator of the current state of French research on the vast subject of identities in the ancient world.

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna Karin Wiedergut

C. López-Ruiz, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2021, 426 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-98818-7

Mit Carolina López-Ruiz hat sich, abgesehen von ihrem sonstigen Oeuvre u.a. zu antiken mediterranen und nahöstlichen Religionen, vergleichender Mythologie, griechischer sowie

nordwestsemitischer Sprachen und Literatur auf der Basis von interkulturellem Austausch, eine ausgesprochene Spezialistin erneut und nunmehr umfassend der Phönizier angenommen. Ihr Hauptanliegen ist, den ihnen zustehenden Anteil am „Making of the Mediterranean" – so im Titel – oder, anders ausgedrückt, an der „Integration des Mittelmeerraumes" (Hubert Cancik) am Ende der Spätbronze- und frühen Eisenzeit, vor allem aber ab dem 8. Jh. v. Chr., sichtbar zu machen. Sie konstatiert eine bereits lang andauernde Übermacht an Forschungen und Publikationen, die die Griechen und ihre unbestrittenen Kulturleistungen in den Mittelpunkt stellen, gleichzeitig aber die Phönizier schon fast marginalisieren. Dabei waren die levantinischen Phönizier (lat. Poeni / Punier), die fast 1000 Jahre im Mittelmeerraum ihre Spuren hinterlassen haben, die „active agents" (S. 15), die frühesten Träger und eigentlichen Impulsgeber der Westbewegung und der daraus entstehenden mittelmeerischen Verbindungen bis an den Atlantik. Damit wurden sie zu Wegbereitern für eine mittelmeerweite eisenzeitliche Koiné.

In der Einleitung (19 S.) werden die Zielsetzungen benannt, vor allem das Verdeutlichen, dass die Phönizier ins Zentrum der Entwicklung gehören, die üblicherweise als „orientalisierende" Epoche bezeichnet wird, basierend auf den vielen Funden außerhalb des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes, deren Transporteure Phönizier gewesen sein dürften. Eine Übersicht der Innovationen, die diesem Transfer zu verdanken sind, von der Autorin als „orientalizing kit" bezeichnet, findet sich auf S. 3f., darunter Hinweise zu den Gattungen Keramik (Technologien, Formen, Dekorationen), Elfenbeinarbeiten, Terrakotten, Monumentalskulptur, Bauwesen, oder zum Bestattungswesen, zu Entwicklungen in Land- / Seewirtschaft oder Metallverarbeitung; nicht zuletzt zur Verbreitung von Weinanbau, der Alphabetschrift sowie erschließbarer mythologischer Themen und literarischer Modelle. Aber auch der geographische Rahmen, der Zeitschnitt (Fokus auf dem 8./7. Jh.), der Blick antiker Autoren auf die Phönizier, die schmale, fast gänzlich fehlende phönizische literarische Überlieferung und weitere Schwerpunkte des Buches werden vorgestellt.

Großes Augenmerk erhält im Rahmen der Behandlung der Forschungsgeschichte (S. 44–47) die Suche nach Erklärungen, warum die Phönizier vor allem Vergleich zu den Griechen in der Forschung nicht gebührend gewürdigt wurden und werden, oder gar als eigene ethnische Gruppe Verneinung erfahren und damit keine historiographisch relevante Kategorie darstellen („Phoenicoskepticsm", u.a. bei J.C. Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians* [Princeton 2018]), den die Autorin geradezu als Trend feststellt.

Der kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit den umfassenden Arbeiten zu Griechen i.w.S. im Vergleich zur Phönizier-Forschung widmet sie den gesamten Teil I (70 Seiten, Kapitel 1–3) mit der Überschrift „Beware the Greek". Sie setzt sich mit der Art der phönizischen Expansion, eben auch eine Kolonisation, die bei der Untersuchung des Phänomens nicht nur für die Griechen reserviert sein dürfte, auseinander (Kapitel 1: Phoenicians Overseas) sowie nach ihrer Ansicht mit der von Griechen und Römern dominierten Forschungsgeschichte (Kapitel 2: From Classical to Mediterranean Models). In Kapitel 3 erläutert sie den Schlüsselbegriff der Epoche: „orientlisierend" und begründet ihren Ansatz des „Orientalizing Kit". Mit der Zuordnung von Funden / Befunden als „orientalisierend" behalfen und behelfen sich nach wie vor all die Wissenschaftler und relevanten Fächer (z.B. die Etruskologie), die nicht im Vorderen Orient tätig sind und denen eine exaktere Herkunftszuordnung daher nicht möglich ist. Das können nur verstärkte interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeiten leisten, von denen es doch zwischenzeitlich viele gibt, so dass auch der Anteil

der Phönizier, nicht nur in Bezug auf Objekte, sondern auch Urbanisierung, Landwirtschaft, Religion usw., erkennbarer wird (vgl. z.B. das laufende Projekt „Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture" (*EDPC*) mit Paolo Xella, José Ángel Zamora López und Herbert Niehr als Hauptherausgeber und mehr als 2300 Einträgen).

Eine alte Erkenntnis ist, dass das Problem auch am bisherigen internationalen Fächerkanon liegt: ein Fach Phöniziologie gibt es ebenso wenig wie z.B. Phrygologie. Zumeist werden solche Spezialdisziplinen punktuell innerhalb der Archäologien mitbehandelt, die Phönizier u.a. im Rahmen der Vorderasiatische Archäologie oder der archäologischen Forschungen zur Iberischen Halbinsel bzw. der historisch-sprachlichen Fächer wie z.B. der Altorientalistik oder sie sind Sujets von Sonderforschungsbereichen, Excellenzinitiativen u.Ä. In den letzten Jahrzehnten lässt sich allerdings eine deutliche Zunahme von Wissenschaftlern feststellen, die sich den bisher als ‚Ränder' bezeichneten Kulturräumen widmen bzw. die ‚Kulturen' / politischen Entitäten gleichrangig berücksichtigen.[1] In der deutschsprachigen Literatur setzt sich auch zunehmend die Beachtung jeweils antiker eigensprachlicher Nomenklatur durch, u.a. bei Geographika (z.B. Qart-ḥadašt / Karchedon statt des eingeführten *Karthago* bzw. im Englischen *Carthage*). Leider folgen fast ausnahmslos die anglophone Publikationen nicht solchen notwendigen und potentiell international vereinheitlichenden Konventionen, um möglichst Eigenbenennungen – ggf. auch mehrere, wenn laut Quellen z.B. ein Ort von unterschiedlichen Bevölkerungen zeitgleich benannt worden war – erkennbar zu machen und damit die dahinterstehenden Trägerschaften, und auch sonst ist das Festhalten an ‚eingeführten Begrifflichkeiten' zu konstatieren – so auch bei der Autorin, z.B. in der Anwendung griechisch basierter Terminologie für ihr hier so vehement verteidigtes Sujet.

Im Teil II „Follow the Sphinx" verfolgt L.-R. einen innovativen Ansatz, den sie bereits in Kapitel 1 anspricht. Nicht wie sonst üblich geht der Blick von Osten, vom ‚Mutterland', dem Raum der sog. phönizischen Stadtstaaten an der Levanteküste, nach Westen und folgt damit den Routen der Phönizier zu den einzelnen Gründungen und Niederlassungsregionen (Zypern, Südostkleinasien, Kreta, Nord- bzw. Nordwestafrika, Sizilien, Malta, Sardinien, Balearen, Iberische Halbinsel…), sondern sie beginnt ihre Analyse am äußersten westlichen (und Griechen freien) Areal, das nachweislich eisenzeitliche Phönizier besiedelten (vgl. Karte 1.1, S. 12), und entwickelt dann Schritt für Schritt den ‚Rückweg' nach Osten.

Untergliedert sind die mit signifikanten schwarzweiß Abbildungen sowie einigen Kartenskizzen versehenen Kapitel 4–9 in „The Far West" (28 S., Gebiete mit phönizischen Funden auf der Iberischen Halbinsel, u.a. Huelva, Tartessos, sowie Nordafrika), „The Central Mediterranean" (52 S., Sardinien, Sizilien, Malta, Italien, jeweilige Interaktionen vor Ort), „The Aegean" (53 S., Stichwort: phönizische Vermächtnisse an Griechen, u.a. „follow the sphinx"), „Cyprus" (32 S., phönizische Anwesenheit, Interaktionen, Impulse; Stichwort: ägyptisierende Plastik), um schließlich im ‚Mutterland', „The Levant" (33 S.), anzukommen. Mit den ‚westlichen' Erkenntnissen unterlegt, wird ein frischer Blick auf die bronzezeitliche Transition geworfen (von kanaanitischen Palast- zu phönizischen Stadtkönigtümern wie Tyros, Sidon etc.) sowie das genuin Phönizische im levantinischen Kontext interpretiert bzw. untersucht, was genuin als phönizisch zu bezeichnen ist und damit

[1] Vgl. als Beispiel: A.-M. Wittke, *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen* (Stuttgart/Weimar 2015); *The Early Mediterranean World, 1200–600 BC* (Leiden/Boston 2018).

seine Bedeutung, nämlich die phönizische Kultur als Rückgrat der levantinischen Koiné und darüber hinaus (S. 317). In die Betrachtung werden auch die phönizischen Kontakte in den südkleinasiatischen Raum einbezogen. Alle Kapitel werden erschlossen vorwiegend anhand der in der Einleitung formulierten Liste, die dem „orientalizing kit" zugrunde gelegt wurde (S. 3). Eingeschoben als 7. Kapitel ist die Behandlung der immateriellen Vermächtnisse („Intangible Legacies", 23 S.: Sprache / Buchstabenschrift; erschließbare Literatur, Mythologie), die jeweils aber auch in den anderen Kapiteln an relevanten Stellen zur Sprache kommen. Ein kurzer Epilog, der Anmerkungsapparat (33 S.), eine umfängliche Bibliographie (49 S.) sowie ein undifferenzierter Index (19. S.) runden das Buch ab.

Es ist L.-R. neben der umfänglichen Aufarbeitung phönizischer Funde / Befunde im Mittelmeerraum und deren Einbettung in den historischen Kontext zu verdanken, dass ihr Appell an die Forschung, den Phöniziern ihren historisch ‚verdienten' Platz bei der Erschließung des Mittelmeerraumes zu gewähren, eindrücklich vor Augen führt, wieviel interdisziplinärer Austausch insgesamt noch vonnöten ist – nicht nur in Bezug auf Phönizier! – und wieviel Voreingenommenheit, einseitige Sichtweisen etc. noch zu überwinden sind.

Universität Tübingen Anne-Maria Wittke

J.L. Mackey, *Belief and Cult: Rethinking Roman Religion*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2022, xxi+468 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-16508-0

This very worthy, extremely well-written tome 'seeks to understand pre-Christian Roman cult by way of belief'. To Jacob Mackey all Roman 'religious emotions, actions, rituals, norms, institutions and socioreligious realities' are 'inexplicable without reference to belief' (p. 3). If ever there is an exhaustive explication of texts on or expressing Roman religion as it seems to settle from the later Republican period through to the earlier centuries under emperors (*ca.* 200 BC–*ca.* AD 300), this dares to be it. The work is divided into two parts, however: one on 'theoretical foundations', endeavouring to capture a broad sense of Roman 'shared beliefs', with the collective intentionalities behind them (pp. 150–66), and then case studies, including nurturing of children into community perspectives and the 'folk theology' behind it in Roman prayers (which I must admit, after reading Cato Major on 'humbly' begging the gods to be 'gracious and merciful', sometimes sounds like parts of the Latin Missal).

M. wants us to accept that, despite lack of a uniform Latin vocabulary (which sometimes points in different directions), 'Roman religious emotions, actions, rituals, norms, institutions, and socioreligious realities depended for their very existence on religious beliefs' (p. 5). He is disappointed with an old tendency in classical scholarship to equate religion with law and daily pragmatism, with the lingering (Protestant-affected) view in religious research that Roman paganism was essentially ritualistic (like Catholicism), and with anthropologists' assertions that beliefs do not refer to any psychological state we can describe meaningfully (pp. 27–31). *Per contra*, M. holds that there is a sufficient lexicon of belief words (especially *credere*, *putare*, *opinio, fides*) to confirm that the Romans 'believed' in the way contemporary theorists of social cognition have shown about shared 'intuitions of agency' or 'pretheoretical, intuitive expectations' of agency (pp. 11–12) that congeal into the 'shared agency' of religious practice (pp. 136–71). In fact, by social cognition theory,

especially using HADD (= Hypersensitive Agency-Detection Device to spot the feedback loop whereby 'religious ideas facilitates culturally endorsed supernatural agent experiences' [p. 230]), M. contends that his explanatory model (derived from Justin Barrett, Shaun Gallagher and others) accounts not only for Roman religious beliefs but for those in any culture, and reveals the way 'religious beliefs' have been 'structuring and motivating religious practice' (p. 385, *cf.* pp. 27, 59–97). This approach perhaps avoids associations with older depreciating theories of religion as 'social conditioning', and to counter the suppression of individuality for 'collective representations' *à la* Émile Durkheim, M. interestingly prefers Durkheim's opponent Gabriel Tarde, on the effects of 'causal interactions among individual agents, notably through imitation', downplaying the power of the collective mind over single souls (pp. 169–70), even though his emphases on *shared* beliefs point in the opposite direction.

I can see the usefulness of M. taking a basically synchronic approach to the broad band of textual materials from high Republican to pre-Constantinian times, and over the great corpus of Latin literature in this period he has become a genuine master. The range of sources, helping to make his general point, are those who question pagan religion, not only Lucretius, but Christian converts, such as Arnobius (though a North African brought up more in a local cult of elephant bones than that of the Roman gods) and Lactantius (who, over the centuries, has provoked a small industry of early modern Christian scholarship pointing out the errors he made in his critique of Roman paganism). Somebody like me, of course, will always be probing deeply diachronic questions and looking for different issues. Do not expect from this book discussion of the long-term blending of Greek or Etruscan with Latin beliefs, or discussion as to whether the Delphic Oracle was consulted for the founding of Rome, or whether there are any markers between fluid Archaic conditions and the more settled period that M. covers (a transition perhaps found in the thinking of Fabius Pictor (220s BC, not mentioned). At the other end, do not expect to hear about human sacrifice continuing, apparently increasing in esoteric circles under the emperors, and allegedly banned by Hadrian in Mithraism (Pallas *apud* Porphyry *Nymph.* 15); although M. notes how appalled Caesar was that the Gauls sacrificed human victims (p. 293). We hear little, either, of the so-called 'Oriental cults', even though the Phrygian cult of Cybele, shocking for its scenes of devotees' self-castration, was urged to be introduced to Rome by the (old) Sibylline Oracle (text now lost) after the trauma of Hannibal's invasion and actually admitted as early as 204 BC.

My point is that M.'s choice of a broadly synchronic time-span may be passably long enough for working purposes, but is probably not convincingly diachronic enough to serve as a satisfactory general theory of religion. Consider an alternative method, one used, for example, by Daniele Miano on Fortuna,[1] for example, probing the disparate archaeological materials from the Archaic period and following various entanglements before anything like a standard cult of Fortuna settles under the Republic. I think also of the older paradigm presented by Rudolf Otto in his 1931 *Religious Essays* (not mentioned) that disparate elements – awe of *numina*, fear of demonic forces, shamanic impetuses, magical rites – all pre-religious or preparatory before the *unifying* and governing power of the gods, still hold on as aspects of Roman religion and affect the question of identifying belief. A much earlier

[1] *Fortuna: Deity and Concept in Archaic and Republican Italy* (Oxford 2018).

and still more brilliant analyst, Giambattista Vico, putative founder of social science, would say that virtually all M.'s sources are *reflective*. A mental dictionary of *la scienza nuova* has to be used to test to what extent older layers of consciousness, the sense of the immediacy of the divine (the primal factor from 'the age of the gods') and the readiness to speak poetically or authoritatively about the gods or heroes (from 'the heroic age'), are layered behind the outlook of high-flying Latin writers for those imperial Roman days from which M. chooses his key sources.

On a Neo-Vichian analysis, to take these thoughts further, in the history of consciousness a *knowing* precedes belief in the epistemic sense; *trusting* (or removing fear and suspicion) also sits prior to belief as a reflective intellection. Belief as a need to cast doubt aside when full knowledge is questionable, or as an opinion that is not as good as true knowledge, already presumes some reflection about different levels of cognisance. Cicero, for example, as a Neo-Pythagorean, would have a working acquaintance with Platonic distinctions (as from the parable of the cave), though at times he will just use a plain and confident *sciat* and to 'believe' will not capture the inflection (*cf.* M., p. 1, right from the start). Cato Major, by comparison, was a stern, assertive knower (akin to the proud, even 'tyrannical', possessors of truth Nietzsche found with the Presocratics). Lucretius' reflections on epistemic levels and human proclivities led him to scepticism. Arnobius' reflections on something of the same convinced him that only by *credere* (as belief in) and *fides* (as trust in) the Christ can truth be found, instead of false belief, or 'persuading himself to believe' in falsities (*cf.* p. 377). I was hoping to find commentary on such nuances and differentials, and have them considered for their own sakes, but there was always the persisting argument to establish a fall-back state of cognition, that can incorporate, for example, both pre-reflective and reflective cognitive states (for example p. 86) and clinch that Romans were typically religious believers. Still, I remain in admiration for the way Romans' thought and action, in their ritual, prayers, and deontological prepossessions are considered by M. from varied life-situations and informative case studies, to educate us into a very solid knowledge of the Roman religious scene in its heyday.

University of Sydney Garry Trompf

J. Mairat, A. Wilson and C. Howgego (eds.), *Coin Hoards and Hoarding in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2022, xviii+350 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-886638-1

Der zu besprechende Band widmet sich Münzhorten (und zum Teil Einzelfunden) sowie der Hortpraxis im Römischen Reich. Das scheint zunächst keiner großen Notiz wert, sind doch die Veröffentlichung von Münzhortfunden und daraus abgeleitete Spekulationen über den Verbergungsanlaß seit langem gängige Praxis in der Numismatik. Wozu also noch ein Sammelband, der aus einer Konferenz des „Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire"-Projekts (*https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/*) im Jahr 2016 hervorgegangen ist? Die Antwort lautet schlicht: Datenanalysetechniken und digitale Methoden. Denn im Mittelpunkt des Forschungsinteresses steht schon längst nicht mehr der einzelne Hortfund und dessen lokal-regionale Kontextualisierung, sondern das Zusammenführen möglichst vieler Hortfunddaten

aus einer Region/Provinz, das Suchen nach bestimmten Mustern (z.B. bezüglich Ort und Zeit der Verbergung oder der vergleichenden Hortzusammensetzung) und hiervon ausgehende weiterführende Fragen etwa nach Inverkehrsbringen, Zirkulation oder Akzeptanz von Münzgeld.

Zwei einführend-methodologischen Beiträgen folgen acht regionale Studien sowie fünf Beiträge zum Münzumlauf; ein allgemeiner Index mit Orten, Personen, Sachen rundet den sauber produzierten und mit zahlreichen Tabellen wie Abbildungen ausgestatteten Band ab.

Die beiden Herausgeber stellen in ihrer Einleitung (S. 3–22) nicht nur das Forschungsprojekt vor, sondern zeigen auf der Ebene der statistischen Auswertung, der Münzhorte und deren Münzzusammensetzung auf, welche Möglichkeiten, aber auch Probleme und drängende Fragen sich ergeben. Es ist beispielsweise oft angenommen worden, daß Horte in Kriegs- und Krisensituationen en bloc verborgen und dann nicht mehr geborgen wurden, was aber für jeden Einzelfall untersucht werden muß, da etwa auch Sammlung über einen längeren Zeitraum und/oder Verbergung zu ganz anderen Anlässe infrage kommen. Ebenso ist nach bestimmten wert- oder nominalgetrieben oder gar Vorlieben für bestimmte Münzikonographien zu fragen, oder auch das Verhältnis zwischen Münzhorten und Einzelfunden in einer Region in Betracht zu ziehen. Der folgende Beitrag von Kris Lockyear ist als Einführung in die statistische Korrespondenzanalyse konzipiert (S. 23–52). Nach kurzer Darstellung der Skepsis, die statistische Methoden lange Zeit in der Archäologie begegnete, vollführt er an einem gut nachzuvollziehenden Beispiel, wie die Korrespondenzanalyse helfen kann, Relationen zwischen Daten aus verschiedenen Hortfunden aufzuzeigen, obschon die dahinterstehende Mathematik komplex ist. Hilfreich ist auch der Anhang zur Nutzung der Analysemethode in der Open Source-Statistiksoftware R (*https://www.r-project.org/*).

Die acht Regionalstudien aus allen Teilen des Römischen Reiches sind ganz unterschiedlich gelagert: Manche geben einen Einblick in den Forschungsstand beziehungsweise die zukünftig zu unternehmenden Schritte, andere präsentieren detaillierte Auswertungen respektive Schlüsse aus den generierten und analysierten Daten. Diese Disparität macht zweierlei deutlich, nämlich einerseits, daß das ambitionierte Projekt, dessen weitere Fortschritte auf dem 2022 in Warschau abgehaltenen 16. Internationalen Numismatikerkongreß präsentiert wurden, von ganz unterschiedlichen Ausgangspunkten starten muß(te), und andererseits, daß schon – *quod erat expectandum* – abzusehen ist, daß es keine oder nur in geringem Maße reichsweite und auch nur mit wissenschaftlicher Vorsicht regionale Muster, noch dazu über Jahrhunderte hinweg, zu entdecken gilt. Und dennoch sind so manche Entdeckungen, aufgrund des Besprechungsumfangs subjektiv vom Rezensenten ausgewählt, anregend: So verdeutlicht beispielsweise der Artikel von Jerome Mairat zu den Münzhorten des sogenannten Gallischen Reiches (S. 89–110), daß, wenn auch in sehr geringem Maße, Geld der „gallischen" Kaiser in nicht von ihnen kontrollierten Gebieten zu finden, von daher wohl umgelaufen und akzeptiert worden ist. Ebenfalls vermag er Unterschiede in politisch-herrschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Verflechtungen durch die Kombination von Münz- und Inschriftendaten für Hispania aufzuzeigen, so daß sich ein weitaus komplexeres Bild als das eines einheitlichen „Imperium Galliarum" versus eines ebenso uniformen Gegenblocks „Restimperium" ergibt. Der heute vielfach hinterfragten These (s.o.) von vermehrten Hortverbergungen in Kriegs- und Krisenzeiten stellen sich Befunde von Joshua Goldman entgegen, der genau derlei Praktiken für Judäa/Palästina, vornehmlich für die

Zeiten der römisch-jüdischen Kriege im 1. respektive 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr., bestätigen kann (S. 208–20).

Den interpretatorisch stimulierendsten Part stellen die fünf Beiträge des dritten Teils dar. Bernhard Woytek beschäftigt sich mit restituierten (republikanischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen) Denaren seit flavischer Zeit und plädiert zu Recht dafür, nicht „historische" Erklärungsversuche (Wiederherstellung der *memoria*; Einreihung in ein bestimmtes Repräsentations- oder gar „Regierungs"-Programm; etc.) gegen „technische" (Einziehung von alten Münzen ob ihrer Abnutzung oder ihres höheren Metallwerts) zu setzen (S. 237–72).[1] Kevin Butcher und Matthew Ponting widmen sich der scheinbaren Außerkraftsetzung des Greshamschen Gesetzes nach der Münzreform Neros sowie derjenigen des Septimius Severus (S. 273–81) und machen deutlich, daß die jeweilige Ausgangsbasis, nämlich die Inverkehrsbringung von einer zunächst geringeren Anzahl „schlechterer" Münzen in eine Geldwirtschaft bestehend aus „besseren" Münzen, sich vom Szenario Greshams diametral unterschied, somit keine kurzfristigen Verdrängungsprozesse festzustellen seien. Benjamin D.R. Hellings analysiert Münzfunde (Horte und Einzelfunde) im Nordwesten des Imperium Romanum (S. 282–93) und macht auf die Fallstricke aufmerksam, etwa wenn es darum geht, aus diesen Funden die Zeitpunkte/Anlässe der Versorgung mit „frischem" Geld abzuleiten, was offenbar auch für Truppendonative nicht immer der Fall war, so daß sich weitergehend Fragen nach den Zielgruppen und Botschaften von bestimmten Münzikonographien stellen müssen. Während Johan van Heesch das schrittweise Ende der Kleingeldzirkulation, -versorgung und -ökonomie im nördlichen Gallien des 4. und 5. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts in den Blick nimmt und anschaulich die Auswirkungen des Ausebbens von Kleingeld auf das Wirtschaftsgebaren aufzeigt (S. 294–302), erweitert abschließend Richard Hobbs den Blickwinkel, indem er flache, ziselierte Silberschüsseln des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. untersucht und aufgrund von standardisierten Gewichten wie ikonographisch attestierten Nutzungskontexte ihre Funktion innerhalb der Elitenökonomie als Gefäß mit eigenem Wert für Silbermünzgeld-*largitiones* postuliert (S. 303–33).

Letztere Studie weist in eine mögliche zukünftige Forschungsrichtung, nämlich das Zusammenschauen von Münz(hort)funden mit anderen archäologischen Funden in deren jeweiligen Kontexten. Es ist dem gesamten Projekt zu wünschen, daß derlei Verknüpfungen über den rein numismatischen Sektor hinaus alsbald angegangen werden. Einstweilen ist der Band auf jeden Fall Zeugnis der Schlüsselposition, welche der Numismatik und speziell den Münz(hort)fundanalysen zum Verständnis ökonomischer Prozesse nicht nur im Römischen Reich zukommt.

Northeast Normal University, Changchun Sven Günther

[1] Man könnte hier noch die weitergehenden Beobachtungen von M. Muß, 'Gold für die Mutigen? Neue Überlegungen zu den Legionsmünzen des Septimius Severus'. *Marburger Beiträge zur antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 36 (2018), 1–48 hinzuziehen.

M. Matera and R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Research on the Antiquity of the Black Sea*, Światowit Suppl. Series C: Pontica et Caucasica vol. II, Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2021, 402 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-83-235-5560-5/ISSN 1642-4956

The volume is a rich collection of 33 essays devoted to a broad range of subjects that reach far beyond the chronological and geographical scope that is suggested in the title. One will find not only papers devoted to the north-western, southern and eastern areas (including Colchis) of the Black Sea region but also works that discuss materials from ancient Macedonia (P. Jagła), Armenia (K. Jakubiak, A. Piliposyan, H. Simonyan, S. Simonyan), the kingdom of Urartu (M. Iskra), and regions that are located some distance away from the Black Sea shore such as Resculum in Dacia (J. Rakoczy). The broad chronological scope encompasses the period from the 8th century BC up to the 18th century AD. Additionally, a couple of papers deal with the reception of antiquity in the modern period. These include N. Khrapunov's deconstruction of the image of the Crimea that was fostered by foreigners in the 18th and 19th centuries, and M. Węcowski's analysis of 19th- and 20th-century Polish literature concerning the Black Sea region in antiquity.

Most contributions consist of short reports regarding current or recent projects that are focused on a selected group of materials or on a particular archaeological site, for example: ritual vessels from the necropolis of Tanais by L.O. Basilevich, palaeographic research in Tanais by D.S. Bunin *et al.* red slip pottery from there by K. Domżalski, amphorae from there by S.A. Naumenko, a skeleton discovered in the western part of Tanais by M. Matera, the Nymphaeum plateau by O.Y. Sokolova, the necropolis of Kytaion by Khanutina and Khrshanovskiy, or Cojocaru and Grumeza's paper concerning the planned project BCOSPE III. Additionally, important research projects conducted in the past are briefly discussed, which includes Scholl's report on the expeditions conducted in Myrmekion between 1956 and 1958.

The material is arranged by various categories that appear to have no pattern, which suggests that the editors had an uneasy task sorting the essays according to a more coherent system. The first and second sections are arranged geographically and are devoted to the archaeology and history of Tanais and the Lower Don region (pp. 13–76), followed by Bosporus, Chersonesos and Olbia (pp. 79–174) respectively. An especially remarkable piece of research included in Part I is presented by Suvorova *et al.*, who investigated fingerprints that have been preserved on terracotta figurines from the Lower Don region. Interestingly, 60% of the fingerprints that were investigated belonged to females.

Part II includes the only numismatic study presented in the volume, namely a concise analysis of Olbian 'dolphin' type coins found in the city's *chora* (Papanova, Lyashko and Kaira). Other interesting studies include discussions on the name of Panticapaeum (E.A. Molev), the presence of Mithraic temples in the North Pontic region (R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski), the existence of a Roman quarry in the Crimea (Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski and Gawroński), and an interdisciplinary investigation of the town-site at Semibratneye (Goroncharovskiy, Smekalova, and Sapelko).

The third section contains papers that are devoted to the mediaeval and modern periods with test cases from areas such as the Lower Dnieper region (Belyaeva, Ievlev and Chubenko), the Lower Bug (Gospodarenko and Smirnov), south-western Georgia (Gusach

and Kamadadze), the Taman Peninsula (O.V. Kladchenko), and the whole North Pontic region (S.A. Belyaeva). This section also includes the aforementioned studies regarding reception of antiquity in modern times (M. Węcowski; N. Khrapunov).

The fourth section, entitled 'new research and projects', seems to include essays that did not fit in any of the others due either to the remote location of the material discussed (the studies concerning the archaeology of Dacia, Armenia and Urartu mentioned above) or the distinctive methodology that was adopted (underwater archaeological research conducted on Tendra Spit and Berezan Island presented by Gerasimov *et al.*; the bibliographical project of the North Pontic region by Cojocaru and Grumeza).

The fifth section deals with archaeological materials and their interpretation which again includes essays that were seemingly unsuitable for any of the other chapters. All of these papers discuss long-distance connections and interactions between various regions of the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean in antiquity. Test cases presented in this chapter include an analysis of the importation of Cretan wine to the Black Sea region in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (D. Masuta), a discussion of a passage in Zosimos' *New History* that mentions the raiding of the south and south-eastern Black Sea shores by the Borani in relation to the archaeological evidence (Myzgin and Didenko), a study on the popularity of *thymiateria* in the Black Sea region (T. Shevchenko), and an overview of new evidence regarding early East Greek pottery found on non-Greek sites in the North Pontic hinterland (G.R. Tsetskhladze).

The sixth and the final section is entitled 'written sources, texts, myths' and consists of three essays that touch upon ancient literary tradition (A. Łukaszewicz on the Argonauts and a possible Bosporan embassy in Egypt), the self-representation of rulers (a brief report of a PhD thesis by P. Jagła), and an analysis of the Verona List (Ł. Smoczewski).

The book provides a comprehensive overview of the current trends and directions of research in the field of Pontic and Caucasian archaeology. Each essay includes a useful bibliography with references to further reading and the author's previous publications. Most of the papers include high quality illustrations, many of which are in colour. Moreover, the volume is provided with open access, which provides a great opportunity for the current research output to be distributed to anyone interested in the Black Sea region.[1] There are, however, several issues that impede reading it. The choice of several languages (Russian, Ukrainian and English) would be less problematic if they were used for the essays only and not for the whole structure of the book. The English title is rather misleading as when the book is opened the reader finds that the Table of Contents is in Russian, followed by an English and Polish Preface. The language preferences are also enigmatic, as one will find Russian and Ukrainian authors publishing both in their native languages and in English, as well as Polish and Romanian authors publishing both in Russian and English. Russian and Ukrainian papers are accompanied by short English abstracts. However, the names of the authors are not transliterated, which can be especially confusing in the case of Polish surnames as they are written in Cyrillic phonetically and are inconsistent (Węcowski is written as Венцовск*ий* whereas Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski as Карасевич-Щиперск*и*).

[1] The book is available on the web-site of the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw at *https://www.www.pl/product-pol-15558-Interdisciplinary-research-on-the-antiquity-of-the-Black-Sea-Swiatowit-Supplement-Series-C-Pontica-et-Caucasica-Volume-II-PDF.html*

Revealing the authors' first names, and not just their initials, would also be helpful. Numerous grammatical, spelling and stylistic mistakes can be found in the English texts, which clearly demonstrates that they were not proofread (at least not by a native speaker). The transcription of Cyrillic in the bibliography is consistent throughout the volume. However, this is not applied to Russian/Ukrainian words that appear in the main text (for example, the name Grač in the bibliography appears as Grach in the main text).

Volumes of this size that collate vast amounts of material are inevitably prone to editorial shortcomings which, naturally, should not be used as a defining criterion to reduce the book's enormous value. However, more diligence could have been applied to make the material more reader-friendly and usable, especially for the Anglophone reader.

University of Opole Joanna Porucznik

A. Meeus, *The History of the Diadochoi in Book XIX of Diodoros' 'Bibliotheke': A Historical and Historiographical Commentary*, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 149, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, xi+625 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-074195-7

Alexander Meeus's exegesis on Book 19 of Diodoros' *Bibliotheke* constitutes an important step in the progress of reconstructing the events undertaken by the Successors (Diadochoi) of Alexander the Great in the years 317–311 BC. Since ancient works of this period are lost or are extant in fragments preserved in indirect transmission, the commentary helps to clarify this part of Diodoros' history covering a range of chronological, historiographical and political topics. He informs us in the introduction that he has not included those chapters detailing Italian and Sicilian history. One shortcoming of the work is that the 'manuscript of the dissertation on which this book is based was finished in October 2009', with the result that not all the significant literature since published has been included (p. 3).[1]

The work proper is divided into two parts: 'Diodoros and His Work' (pp. 7–105) and the 'Commentary' (pp. 107–549). These are followed by a list of abbreviations, the bibliography, a brief appendix listing 'Textual Variants' (pp. 618–19) and the 'Index Graecitatis'. Unfortunately, no maps have been included. 'Diodoros and His Work' is divided into four sections. The first is a few paragraphs detailing what little is known about the 1st-century BC author from the Sicilian *polis* of Agyrion (pp. 7–8). An analysis of the *Bibliotheke* follows in which M. delves into Diodoros' understanding of history, method and the source tradition Diodoros mined for his information, which M. notes that 'Diodoros did not make direct use of every author he cites' (p. 14). These topics form the context of the remainder of this section, in which M. details how Diodoros crafted his chronicle in terms of organisation, lending insight to the historiographical tradition that he selected, the 'storyline' that he incorporated, and how he created his own interpolations of primary sources through elaboration, language and style. The discussion ends with a succinct textual criticism of Book 19.

[1] M. was unable to draw from F. Landucci Gattinoni, *Diodoro Siculo. Biblioteca storica. Libri XIX–XX. La Grecia e l'Oriente: commento storico* (Milan 2021) as his manuscript 'was going to press' (p. 1, n. 4) just when this book, which does contain an updated bibliography, was published.

In 'The Problem of the Sources', M. focuses on the difficulties of establishing the works and the possible authors whom Diodoros may have used. The difficulty lies in the fact that Diodoros does not identify the authors whose works he drew upon for his history of the Diadochoi. The analysis begins with a brief survey of four authors known to have discussed the Successors, but whose writings are lost: Hieronymos of Kardia, Douris of Samos, Diyllos of Athens and Hecataeus of Abdera. The examination then shifts to the sources used in the *Bibliotheke* with Hieronymos serving as the emphasis of the discussion from the point of view of three criteria. The first involves methodological considerations structured around two principles formulated by Schepens and Billows regarding *Quellenkritik* and *Quellenforschung*. In the treatment of the extant evidence from fragments, the focus is directed at four authors. To the first, three groups of four fragments are attributed to Hieronymos. For the other three authors, Douris, Diyllos and Hecataeus, one fragment is assigned to each. M. concludes that Diodoros drew from all four, although he admits that the evidence is so thin that it is impossible to decide the degree to which each was employed. He concludes the examination by considering indirect evidence, the source of which is mostly directed at Hieronymos.

'The Chronology of the Years 317–311' closes the first part of the work with a proposed resolution for settling three conflicting chronological schemes used in reconstructing the history of the Successors down to 311. The problem centres on 'high' and 'low' chronologies for the conference of Triparadeisos (321 or 320), the deaths of Eumenes and Olympias (317/6 or 316/5), and the Battle of Gaza (spring 312 or late 312). A third chronology combines parts of the first two, which produces three different scenarios of 'eclectic chronologies': the low chronology is followed to the winter of 320/19, whereupon the high chronology is favoured until a lower set of dates is once again adopted 'at some point between the winter of 314/3 and the Battle of Gaza'. A helpful table listing the different schemes accompanies the discussion (p. 91). Reconstructing the sequence of events after the Battle of Gaza necessitates finding agreement with the Greek and Babylonian evidence. For M. the dilemma was long ago resolved by Beloch, who interconnected both traditions to create 'a highly compressed chronology' (p. 99). Two tables conclude this section. Table 2 highlights the chronology of Diodoros' Book 19 and serves as the basis for Table 3 in which the results of the former are used to create a chronology of the history of the Diadochoi in Book 19.

The second portion of the book is divided into 39 sections covering most of the chapters in Book 19 either individually or with others. Each is provided with a succinct introduction followed by a section-by-section commentary. Naturally, the emphasis is placed on historical events, especially biographical information for historical figures, institutions, geographical and topographical places that M. deems significant as well as Diodoros' sources. Each of these topics is reinforced with cross references to pertinent passages elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke* as well as to a wide range of ancient sources, including Babylonian texts. For modern scholarship, M. generally references a single handbook, like Cohen's volumes on Hellenistic settlements,[2] which offer more detailed studies and archaeological reports of particular places or regions.

[2] G.M. Cohen: *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa* (Berkeley 2006); *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands and Asia Minor* (Berkeley 2010); *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India* (Berkeley 2013).

Although the *Bibliotheke* has long been available in English, commentaries have largely been restricted to European languages that tend to limit their use by undergraduates and scholars without a reading knowledge of them. Diodoros' treatment of this period is extensive and complex. M.'s commentary offers valuable historical and geographical insight for the reader. The work will complement any university library and syllabus treating this period of Hellenistic history.

Wake Forest University, NC Jeffrey D. Lerner

K.M. Neumann, *Antioch in Syria: A History from Coins (300 BCE–450 CE)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021, xxvii+410 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-83714-9

The book reviewed, as often happens, began as a dissertation, but during preparation considerably outgrew its initial frames. By the chronological scope covered (over 750 years) as well as by the impressive amount of the numismatic material studied (over 315,000 coins from 80 excavation sites and 300 hoards) it could justly be considered as one of the most fundamental pieces of numismatic research of recent times. Kristina Neumann did not confine herself to the local peculiarities of Antioch's coin production, distribution and circulation, but examined all these issues in the broader geographical, political and economic context.

The book comprises an Introduction, six chapters, Conclusion and three appendices as well as lengthy bibliography and index. In the Introduction (pp. 1–18), the main goals of the work and relevant methods for achieving them are characterised. Along with the creation of the first comprehensive study of the distribution of coins produced at Antioch, the integration of numismatic material into the history of the city and tracing how political, financial and social changes were reflected in the city coinage are proclaimed the main tasks. To resolve them N. applies digital methodology and in first place, Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) as a systematic and common-sense study of datasets, which through graphic and visualisation techniques enable patterns and outliers in their distribution to be revealed.

Chapter 1, 'Counting Change' (pp. 19–42), has a rather theoretical character and is to some extent a continuation of the previous pages considering in detail EDA methodology and its advantages for the study of numismatic material. N. pays special attention to the characteristics of the latter in order to determine which variables, quantitative and categorical, could be available for such an analysis. In this regard, she deems it necessary to outline the life cycle of the coins before they became part of the assembled dataset and subject to EDA. Four subsequent stages, each of which could have had an impact on the results represented in the datasets, are distinguished and analysed: production, circulation, loss and recovery. The relevant map of excavation sites with coin-finds examined in the book as well as a map with location of the hoards containing Antioch coins are provided.

Chapter 2, 'Imperial Beginnings (300–129 BCE)' (pp. 43–94), examines the early history of Antioch and the contribution numismatic data could make to enlightening us about the process of turning the new foundation into a capital or imperial centre of the Seleucid state. N. especially underlines the role of royal coin production at Antioch, whose evolution

reflected 'the larger formation of Seleucid policy and the eventual elevation of the city as essential to the king's rule' (p. 47). She draws attention to the extreme rarity of finds of Antiochian civic coins of the period, not only in Antioch itself but also in Syria in general. As possible reasons for that quite limited scale of production the non-monetary, rather commemorative or propaganda character of the issues are considered. One should note also N.'s suggestion of the possible prevention or at least monitoring of the circulation of foreign bronze coins in Antioch as part of a deliberate Seleucid policy. Such a conclusion became possible only by the thorough analysis of the distribution of coin-finds and composition of coin assemblage of the period from Antioch. Other sources such as texts and inscriptions leave no evidence of such a practice.

Chapter 3, 'Imperial Transitions (129–31 BCE)' (pp. 95–145), is devoted to the history and coinage of Antioch during the turbulent period of the gradual decay of the Seleucid state and the establishment of the Roman power in the region. N. concludes that fiscal need at the time was the main engine for the production of the civic coins, though motivations of autonomous pride and self-identity cannot not be disregarded. During this very period, Antioch obtained the title of *metropolis*, which was being placed on the civic coins from at least 92 BC. At the same time, as the pattern of coin-finds testifies, fragmentation of the region's political structure and currency system took place. One can talk even of the formation of some closed currency zones, where their own weight standards were being used. The absence of Roman coins in Syrian hoards of the period is noteworthy as well. N. fairly concludes that the Romans rather tried to preserve and use to their advantage the local system of coin circulation than to introduce their own currency.

In Chapter 4, 'Provincial Negotiations (31 BCE–192 CE)' (pp. 146–205), N. considers the period during which Antioch fulfilled the role of the provincial capital. This was a time when the Antiochian mint was producing silver and bronze coinage not only for the needs of the province of Syria, but for Arabia, Cyprus, Asia Minor and Crete. Provincial coinage of Antioch represented by silver tetradrachms, and bronze coins with the abbreviation SC, was widely circulating throughout the entire Levant and obviously had regional importance. N. argues that apart from its use as payment for military, the introduction of such a coinage by the Roman authorities could have been aimed at facilitating the collection of customs and state taxes and at the very least in overcoming the monetary fragmentation, which was characteristic feature of the previous period. N. underlines the fact that despite Antioch's status as capital of the Roman province, its citizens continued to consider themselves as a civic body and the production of civic coins characterised by N. in detail is clear proof of that.

Chapter 5, 'Imperial Creations (192–284 CE)' (pp. 206–57), deals with the history and coinage of the city in the 3rd century. N. observes that the main change at that time was the merger of the civic coins (with city ethnic) and provincial coins (with SC) into one system. Civic issues served in this system for large and medium denominations, while the provincial SC coins played the role of small denominations, quite the opposite of the situation in the previous century. Along with civic and provincial coins the mint of Antioch was issuing Imperial radiates as well. By AD 250–260s, production of local and provincial bronze and silver coins at Antioch's mint ceased and only issues of Imperial radiates continued. As N. notes, it was the end of the financial autonomy of the city and monetary diversity, which was a distinctive feature of the city's numismatics, vanished.

The final chapter, 'Imperial City (284–450 CE)' (pp. 258–94), is devoted to the last period in the history and coinage of ancient Antioch. It is marked, as N. asserts, by the significant weakening of the civic administration, omnipresent involvement of the Imperial power and emergence of a new player, church officials. Production of the Antiochian mint, no matter of what metal, was completely aligned at that time with Imperial coin standards, and typologically reflected the values of the Imperial Roman state. N. observes with good reason that 'Antioch's mint had been … transformed into a branch of the Roman State mint' (p. 284) and became the main coin-supplier for the diocese of Oriens.

In the Conclusion (pp. 295–306) N. summarises the main results of her work, especially underlining the role of local coinage as a peculiar touchstone with the help of which the other evidence for the history of the city could have been assembled and tested.

Placed at the end of the book are three appendices: 'A Methodology for Digitally Analyzing Coin Finds', 'List of Excavation Reports' and 'Coin Hoards with Coins from Antioch' (pp. 307–53). The main data on the coin-finds used in the book is here in list and tabular form. Altogether, the appendices provide transparency and the possibility to check the results obtained by the application of EDA to the collected numismatic material, presented visually throughout the whole book in the form of numerous graphs and maps.

To sum up, N.'s book represents exemplary scholarly work, clearly demonstrating both the research potential of the numismatics and advantages of using digital methods for its study. Without doubt, it opens new perspectives in the field of investigation and interpretation of the coin-finds at excavation sites and in hoards alike and should be highly recommended to everybody interested in ancient numismatics, archaeology and history.

The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow Sergei A. Kovalenko

A. Obłuski, H. Paner and M. Masojć (eds.), *Bayuda and its Neighbours*, Nubia – Studies in the Archaeology and History of Northeast Africa 1, Brepols, Turnhout 2021, 196 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-59906-9

Nubia – the Nile Valley south of Egypt – is archaeologically the most extensively investigated region of Africa. Two factors, however, have biased the results of much of this work. First, the emphasis in much of the early archaeological work was on monumental structures and cemeteries near the Nile, and second, the motivation for many of the largest projects was to identify, excavate and record sites threatened by the construction of dams such as the UNESCO expeditions of the 1950s and the more recent excavations undertaken in the 1990s in connection with the construction of the Merowe dam at the Fourth Cataract. Salvage and not excavation intended to solve historical problems, therefore, was the primary motivation for archaeology in Nubia for much of the 20th century. *Bayuda and its Neighbours* is the first of a series of volumes intended to publish the results of a largescale project devoted to the study of the Bayuda Desert, a large arid region located east of the Nile and south of the Fourth Cataract; and contains the proceedings of a meeting of archaeologists interested in the archaeology and heritage of the region held in Gdańsk from 12 to 14 October 2017. The volume consists of a general introduction by the editors and nine chapters treating the historical and cultural geography and population of the Bayuda Desert from prehistory to the Islamic period.

After a general Introduction by the editors, the book proper opens with two introductory chapters. In the first, T. Karberg and A. Lohwasser propose a new terminology for the archaeology of the Bayuda – *ridge-tumulus period*, *terrace-tumulus period* and *box-grave period* – that is intended to separate its historical development from the Nile-based schemes that hitherto have dominated Nubian archaeology. The second article by H. Paner provides an overview of the discoveries from the palaeolithic to the end of antiquity made under the auspices of The Prehistoric Communities in the Bayuda Desert in Sudan – New Borders of the Kerma Kingdom project. Particularly notable among the findings are the extremely small number of sites dating to the Napatan and Meroitic periods and the explosion of sites dating to late antiquity, suggesting that the region was largely free of Napatan and Meroitic influence in antiquity, but that settlement expanded significantly after the fall of Meroe in the 4th century AD.

The following three articles treat various aspects of the history of the Bayuda Desert prior to the emergence of the Napatan kingdom in the early 1st millennium BC. In the first of these articles, Charles Bonnet, the doyen of Nubian archaeology, traces the alternation of African and Egyptian military and elite architectural traditions and their implications at the important site of Kerma/Dokki Gel in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC. P.L. Polkowski surveys in the next article the numerous representations of cattle in petroglyphs in the Bayuda Desert during the Kerma period, suggesting that the abundance of cattle images implies that climatic conditions in the region were less harsh than the present and draws on ethnological parallels to suggest that representations of cattle with deformed horns might indicate the existence of a 'favourite ox custom' similar to that found among contemporary Sudanese cattle herding peoples. In the final article of this group, A. Pudło reviews the evidence for the human biology of the region, pointing out that the existence of pathological lesions on the admittedly small number of preserved skeletons – the remains of 13 individuals – suggest that the ancient populations of the region led harsh lives characterised by heavy workloads, trauma and nutritional deficiency.

The final four articles discuss conditions in the Bayuda Desert from the Napatan to the early Modern periods, that is, during the 1st millennium BC and the 1st and 2nd millennia AD. Particularly interesting is the first article in the group by M.D.S. Mallinson and L.M.V. Smith, 'Meroe and the Moving Nile', which correlates the historical geology of the Nile with Meroitic activity in a now dried up branch of the Nile, the Wadi Maqqadam, which in antiquity linked the Fourth Cataract region to the Nile south of Meroe. An important bonus of this analysis is that it tends to confirm the accuracy of Hellenistic geographers' description of Meroe as being located on an island in the Nile. P. Wolf traces in the next article the impact of human settlement and use on the transformation of the Meroitic heartland – the Nile and its floodplain – from the palaeolithic to the end of antiquity. In the third paper of this group F.H. Bakiet discusses the results of a salvage campaign conducted in connection with plans for a dam north of Khartoum in the Sabaloka or Sixth Cataract region, which suggest minimal Meroitic involvement in the area despite its location close to the core of the Meroitic state. In the final paper of this group and the volume B.T. Żurawski briefly traces changes in caravan routes through the Bayuda Desert and outlines their significance for the history of the region during the Islamic period.

Bayuda Desert and its Neighbours is an important contribution to scholarship on north-east Africa in general and ancient Nubia in particular. Hitherto, the history of the region has focused on the Nile Valley and its flood plain with the desert hinterlands, particularly those east of the Nile, being largely a blank. *Bayuda Desert and its Neighbours* marks an important break with this tradition, showing that that the region was not a mere appendage of the Nile Valley kingdoms but had a long and complex history of its own. As a result, the volume will be an important resource for scholars interested in the history of ancient Nubia for decades to come.

California State University, Los Angeles Stanley M. Burstein

H. Öniz (ed.), *Dana Island: The Greatest Shipyard of the Ancient Mediterranean*, English ed. T.M.P. Duggan, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2021, xvi+206 pp., 311 illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-951-7

Thanks to persistent sleuthing, the emergence of underwater archaeology, and an interest in some puzzling textual sources, several ancient naval installations (Gr. *neôria*, Lat. *navalia*) have been discovered and excavated of late. Such buildings consisted of stone ramps that slope upward from the water's edge and tiled roofs held aloft by parallel rows of stone columns, thus protecting fleets of expensive, ram-equipped warships (especially triremes and quadriremes) from sun and shipworm damage. Ancient sources place the largest ship complexes at Carthage, Syracuse, Corcyra and the Piraeus, but several dozen smaller versions were built all over the Mediterranean. Until relatively recently physical traces of these *structures évanescentes* were little known or recognised since they were partially sunken in modern harbours or covered over by modern waterfront buildings. B. Lovén's exhaustive *The Ancient Harbours of the Piraeus* (Aarhus: vol. 1, 2011; vol. 2, 2019) helped resuscitate shipshed studies (slumbering since the age of Dörpfeld) and revealed an understudied domain of ancient Greek architecture. It was followed soon after by D. Blackman and B. Rankov's *Shipsheds of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Cambridge 2013, with contributors), whose material on the Piraeus relied in some measure on Lovén's work. A handful of other studies, particularly by K. Baika, have continued the trend. What every known ancient maritime installation shared was an association with a polity or power that built and maintained the ships stored therein. That is, until now. The maritime installations investigated on Dana Island (Dana Adası) in Rough Cilicia appears to have lacked a direct association with a local power. This small, isolated, waterless, uninhabited island measures about 2.7 km in length, less than 1 km in width and 202 m in height. It lies 2.4 km off the Turkish coast and about halfway between ancient Kelenderis to the west and Korakesion to the east. Along the island's north-west shore lies the 'greatest shipyard' of the ancient Mediterranean. Surveyed by Hakan Öniz and an interdisciplinary team between 2015 and 2017, the site has revealed the eroded remains of 294 parallel, rock-cut structures that slope down to the sea, all of which are oriented more or less perpendicular to the coastline. The large number of slipways puts the site on a scale comparable to the naval installations mentioned above. Arranged haphazardly behind them are structures presumably associated with the waterfront, including houses, tombs, cisterns and industrial areas. Ö. documented many of

these features in a preliminary article,[1] and he and his team have produced here a preliminary book that expands on those discoveries.

The book is organised thematically into 15 chapters authored by specialists in their respective fields. The chapters focus on the historical context of the region between prehistory and the Roman period (pp. 1–25), the context of possible Hittite influence (pp. 26–35), a quantification, statistical analysis and grouping of the rock-cut slipways (pp. 36–49), an additional diachronic analysis of the island and region (pp. 50–55), the archaeology of the slipways and ancillary structures (pp. 56–115), a geological characterisation of the island (pp. 116–25), geoarchaeological investigations (pp. 126–35), 3D photogrammetry of the entire island (pp. 136–47), the island's flora (pp. 148–63), tomb types investigated during the survey (pp. 164–73), water cisterns and usage (pp. 174–85), the role of the island in the Late Bronze Age collapse (pp. 186–93), the possible role of Mavikent Harbour on the mainland opposite (pp. 194–203) and a brief historical survey of early maritime activities in the region (pp. 204–05).

By far the meatiest chapters in terms of archaeological documentation are 4 (pp. 36–49) and 6 (pp. 56–115). It quickly becomes clear that dating the maritime installations is extremely problematic without full-scale excavations, which have not taken place. Operating under the assumption that at least some of the structures date to the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, it is also clear that most of the slipways were not designed to hold triremes – the ship-of-the-line in the Classical period with a length of *ca.* 40 m – and certainly not the larger ships typical of Hellenistic and Roman navies. Indeed, unlike most other large maritime installations, it appears that only a few of the slipways show evidence of having been completely roofed. Instead, the preserved lengths and widths reveal a concern for storing smaller vessels, with groupings at 5–10 m in length (total of 27 slipways), 8–13 m (133), 14–20 m (86) and 21–34 m (48). The larger slipways show some of the hallmark ramp features found elsewhere, particularly cradle grooves and perpendicular spurs to facilitate slipping and hauling operations. However, the degree and variation of shore erosion (and therefore estimates of original length) make such statistical groupings suspect. Widths were also measured, with peaks found at 4–5 m and 7.0–7.9 m. Combined with preserved length data, just a handful of slipways were deemed sizeable enough to hold a trireme (depending on the degree of shore erosion), although a case could easily be made that the same spaces held smaller vessels side by side, or one behind the other, or both. Without excavations and secure chronological benchmarks, and some notion of the development of the site over time, the power(s) responsible for building this maritime installation must remain in the realm of speculation. It is difficult to imagine why larger *polis*, royal or imperial navies would have built, much less maintain, such an isolated station capable of holding only smaller galleys. The authors' suggestion that the installation held a fleet of Cilician pirate ships may prove the right one. This is, after all, a territory notorious for pirates and piracy.

Students of these fascinating complexes will be justifiably grateful for this publication, no matter how preliminary its data and tentative its conclusions. The book is lavishly illustrated with colour maps, graphs and site images. The plans and elevations are copious and

[1] H. Öniz, 'A Shipyard on Dana Island, Cilicia. Two hundred and seventy-four slipways recently discovered'. *Skyllis* 17.1 (2017), 4–16.

crisp. The text is nearly free of errors. The book, however, does have some peculiarities. It is interesting, for example, that a book like this appears *before* planned excavations have been carried out rather than appearing after when far more data have been gathered and the foundations for interpretation have been laid. Furthermore, the book is strangely organised. In lieu of an introduction with basic facts about the site/island, the research programme and helpful maps, the book begins with a chapter on the prehistory of the eastern Mediterranean. This is followed by a chapter on historical context down to the Roman period, but Chapter 3 reverts to the Hittites. Chapters 4 and 6 discuss the archaeological aspects of the various sites surveyed, but they are bridged by yet another chapter on historical context. Much of the rest of the book treats specialised studies (geology, geoarchaeology, flora, etc.) but even so two additional chapters on historical context (13 and 15) creep in. With so many authorial voices emphasising different historical contexts at random points in the narrative, it is difficult for the reader to avoid frustration, which is compounded by the lack of any citations or an index. Finally, little effort was made to ensure the chapters communicate well with each other; there are almost no internal references to other chapters. Thus the chapters are stand-alone and unnecessarily repeat basic information. Despite these criticisms, the work will suffice until excavations reveal far more about this isolated and fascinating maritime complex.

Luther College, Decorah, IA Dan Davis

G. Payen, *Dans l'ombre des empires. Les suites géopolitiques du traité d'Apamée en Anatolie*, Suppléments francophones de la revue Phoenix 1, Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec 2020, vii+516 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-7637-4848-1

Cette monographie solide, issue d'une thèse en cotutelle (Université Laval et Université Paris-Sorbonne), analyse en détail les suites de la fameuse paix conclue en 188 av. J.-C. à Apamée de Phrygie entre Rome et le royaume séleucide, par le biais géopolitique et le modèle de la *World History* (histoire globale). Le point de départ est cet acte diplomatique déterminant pour l'Asie Mineure et l'ensemble de la région anatolienne, un espace fragmenté entre royaumes et cités autonomes. L'auteur fait le pari réussi de choisir comme objet d'étude les royaumes anatoliens, plutôt que la puissance romaine, le royaume séleucide ou les cités de l'Asie Mineure, qui ont ordinairement concentré l'intérêt des historiens.

L'Introduction insiste sur l'année 188 comme temps de rupture dans l'ordre géopolitique de la Méditerranée hellénistique, puisque le traité d'Apamée (*cf.* Polybe 21. 43) est suivi du retrait du pouvoir séleucide au-delà de la chaîne du Taurus, hors d'Europe et d'Anatolie. Alors que la plupart des historiens s'est intéressée aux clauses territoriales et au sort des anciennes possessions du roi séleucide, Germain Payen analyse les suites politiques dans une perspective chronologique plus large. Il décrit ainsi l'ordre anatolien entre 188 et les guerres mithridatiques (89–65 av. J.-C.), en tant que thème de recherche fécond, et prend en compte tous les États de l'Asie Mineure, de l'Égée à l'Arménie, partant aussi du constat d'un déficit d'intérêt des historiens pour les régions septentrionales et orientales. P. mobilise les sources littéraires, épigraphiques, numismatiques et archéologiques, mais aussi des sources issues du domaine oriental (journaux astronomiques babyloniens, sources arméniennes); de

manière originale, il se sert comme référent théorique du traité indien antique de science politique, l'*Arthaśāstra*, notamment sa théorie centrale du « cercle des rois ».

Le prologue (Chapitre I) décortique le contexte géopolitique du traité d'Apamée et les différentes structures de pouvoir en Anatolie: *basileiai*, *dynasteiai*, stratèges et satrapes, *poleis*, *ethnè*; on remarque la bonne critique au sujet des soi-disant États-sanctuaires ou États sacerdotaux. On passe ainsi de l'histoire méditerranéenne – le déclin du royaume lagide, les intérêts des Séleucides et des Antigonides, l'entrée en scène de Rome dans le monde hellénistique – à l'histoire régionale, selon une description pertinente et nuancée de l'Anatolie à la jonction des zones d'influence des trois grands royaumes hellénistiques.

Le Chapitre II, allant de 195 à 188 av. J.-C., étudie la guerre entre Rome et Antiochos III comme genèse d'un évènement catalyseur dans l'évolution de l'ordre géopolitique anatolien, puisque la défaite séleucide à Magnésie du Sipyle (190) marque le débat de l'hégémonie romaine en Méditerranée. L'expression *epi tade tou Taurou*, fixant la frontière du Taurus, traduit une ligne de partage géographique de l'œcoumène et illustre l'importance du facteur territorial. Par le traité d'Apamée, le royaume séleucide est amputé des possessions thraces en Europe et de celle de l'Asie Mineure cistaurique, alors que les alliés de Rome récupèrent des territoires. Le grand gagnant est l'attalide Eumène II, qui reçoit la Chersonèse Thrace, la Phyrgie hellespontique, la Grande Phrygie, la Mysie Olympène, la Lycaonie, la Milyade, la Lydie, et des cités importantes (Tralles, Éphèse, Telmessos); les Rhodiens sont récompensés du contrôle de la Lycie et de la Carie. On assiste ainsi à la première affirmation d'indépendance du royaume artaxiade (Arménie Majeure).

Entre 188 et *ca.* 165 av. J.-C. (Chapitre III) l'ordre anatolien est soumis à des épreuves internes et externes, dont le renouveau de l'interventionnisme romain et en particulier les stratégies attalides de prise en main des territoires séleucides. Deux documents sont principalement mobilisés: le dossier épigraphique des lettres envoyées peu après 188 par Eumène II à Toriaion (Phrygie orientale), sur la promotion de cette *katoikia* à une *polis*, accompagnée de privilèges fiscaux et administratifs, mais aussi avec une référence au garant romain (*SEG* XLVII 1745); la nouvelle lettre attalide de Pessinonte (*ca*. 183, en prenant en compte les études de M. Ricl, P. Thonemann, A. Coşkun), dans laquelle Attale, le frère d'Eumène II, s'adresse à Sôsthénès et Hérôidès au sujet des demandes faites par Aribazos, commandant subalterne à la tête des *katoikoi* d'Amorion et des Galates de Kleonnaeion, concernant cette fois l'inscription dans une stratégie.

Le IV[e] chapitre étudie l'Anatolie entre les avancées romaines et parthes, entre 166 et 129 av. J.-C., qui voit la création de la province *Asia* qui hérite de la majeure partie du royaume attalide. Après la défaite macédonienne de Pydna (168), un sénatus-consulte de 165/4 libère la Carie et la Lycie de la domination rhodienne, après la cession de l'île de Délos aux Athéniens (port franc en 166); ce coup dur pour les Rhodiens contrebalance leur poids et mène à la séparation de la Méditerranée en deux zones commerciales, dominées à l'ouest par Rome et les cités égéennes, et à l'est par Rhodes, Alexandrie et des cités d'Asie.

Le Chapitre V est consacré aux continuités et réaménagements régionaux dans l'ombre de Rome et du Grand Roi arsacide (129–*ca*. 90 av. J.-C.), avec l'essor du pouvoir de Mithridate VI Eupator, qui combine l'*imitatio Alexandri* et le modèle achéménide, et dont la politique monétaire présente les indices d'un impérialisme pontique en formation.

Enfin, le Chapitre VI traite des guerres de Mithridate et l'intégration de l'Anatolie dans un nouveau système méditerranéen (*ca.* 95–65 av. J.-C.), quand elle devient une frontière

intégrée entre deux empires mondiaux, en parallèle avec l'impérialisme arménien de Tigrane. Pompée s'attelle au processus de provincialisation qui marqua l'Anatolie et la Syrie de l'empreinte romaine.

La Conclusion reprend les principales idées, sur la frontière de l'Anatolie comme scène géopolitique cohérente, entre impérialismes mondiaux et réactions régionales, par des adaptations, emprunts et renouvellements de modèles politiques. Le traité d'Apamée, en sanctionnant le retrait des puissances hellénistiques et romaine hors des frontières de l'Anatolie, inaugure une autonomie géopolitique nouvelle après 188, dont l'équilibre interne est dominé par les royaumes régionaux. Dans cette région très fragmentée et cosmopolite on remarque le poids d'un fort substrat iranien, qui influe sur l'organisation et l'image politique des royaumes de Cappadoce et du Pont. La scène anatolienne apparaît clairement intégrée au contexte global composé du système méditerranéen, dominé par Rome, et du système asiatique, dominé par les Séleucides puis par les Parthes, dans une transition impériale. Elle est donc soumise aux pressions impérialistes, à la limite de la souveraineté romaine et de la zone impériale séleucide, puis arsacide, mais aussi bordé par trois domaines maritimes structurels, entre la Méditerranée orientale, la mer Égée et le Pont-Euxin. Entre modèles hellénistique et achéménide, l'Anatolie évolue dans la perspective d'intégration politique romaine: Rome exerce tantôt une politique d'influence, tantôt un impérialisme assumé, avec les guerres mithridatiques, mais la politique romaine laisse l'impression d'une improvisation constante.

Dans les Annexes sont données les dates de règne des principales dynasties, ainsi que des cartes en couleurs avec les changements politiques; d'autres cartes sont insérées dans le texte, ainsi que des images de monnaies (en tout 23 figures). Une très riche bibliographie suivie d'un index des sources, noms et lieux complètent le livre.

Parmi les remarques de détail, deux méritent d'être signalées: il faudrait préciser à chaque fois, à la place de « Chersonèse », « Chersonèse Taurique », afin d'éviter la confusion avec l'homonyme au sud-est de la Thrace; les Scordisques ne sont pas un peuple germanique (p. 282), mais une peuplade celtique mélangée avec des populations illyriennes et thraces (*cf.* Strabon 7. 5. 2, C. 313).

Sur un sujet dont la bibliographie est foisonnante, de même que les directions de l'historiographie (dont la question de l'impérialisme romain), P. fournit une bonne analyse et compréhension des sources, en particulier littéraires et épigraphiques, dans une monographie nuancée et prudente sur des aspects moins visités de l'Anatolie hellénistique.

CNRS/Centre HISOMA, Lyon Dan Dana

S. Pfeiffer and G. Weber (eds.), *Gesellschaftliche Spaltungen im Zeitalter des Hellenismus (4.–1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*, Oriens et Occidens 35, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2021, 222 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-13079-0

This book contains four lectures given at the 52th conference of the German historians (*Deutscher Historikertag*) 2018 whose general theme read 'Split Societies' (*Gespaltene Gesellschaften*), plus three further contributions that were not part of the conference. In the introduction, the editors consider some aspects of the relationship between the Greeks and the various local populations in the Hellenistic kingdoms. They assign to the kingdoms

a universal character, highlight the privileges hold by the Greeks, the possible socio-political advancement of the locals and the ensuing problem of multiple personal identities, and a from-now construed Greek identity. They touch the questions of globalisation and Middle Ground, and argue for avoiding the term 'cultural contact' since they think it must presuppose real cultural entities. In the Greek *poleis*, due to the urban elites' basic agonistic orientation, internal conflicts (*staseis*) were a widespread phenomenon. Regardless of the necessary briefness, the references are clearly focused on publications of scholars belonging to the editors' backgrounds. The editors then go on to five fields of research which are expected to be dealt with by the contributions: lines of conflict causing the splitting of societies, and their causes, the number of societal groups included in the conflicts, means and media being part of the conflicts, and finally the development of conflict resolutions.

The contributions of the first section deal with the 'World of the Hellenistic Poleis'. Henning Börm, whose various publications might have had a direct impact on the choice of the general topic, starts from the political framework around the Greek cities. The liberty, announced by the Macedonian rulers, only hold true for the Greeks as long as they remained loyal to the kings. Conversely, the cities' politicians sought first the support of the Macedonians, and later on of the Romans, to succeed in the internal conflicts against their opponents. From the end of the third century, the more than once outbreaking conflicts in the cosmopolitan big city Alexandria were according to Thomas Kruse not caused by different forms of citizenship for Greeks and non-Greeks but kindled by the quarrels within the Ptolemean family and kin. The urban population tended to side with the legal successor. With regard to Babylon, Hilmar Klinkott emphasises the strong support for the city by Alexander and the Seleucids. Therefore, the city's population did only marginally object to the Macedonian reign. The emerging conflicts in the second century followed actions of the Seleucids to obtain influence on the local administration. Yet never did they lead the Babylonians to expel the obviously privileged Greeks out of the city.

Stefan Pfeiffer opens the second section ('The Hellenistic Kingdoms') with an analysis of the resurrections in Egypt between 207 and 183 BC. The underlying reason was an unsolved latent opposition between Greeks and non-Greeks which Pfeiffer does not gauge a real ethnic dichotomy, since there was no coherent Egyptian population. The Ptolemies' strategy in response to the conflicts was to turn the arguments employed by the insurgents against them. They presented themselves as being able to reign chaos, supported Egyptian priesthoods and temples and also farmers and soldiers. Yet they maintained also military pressure and built new fortifications. Franz Peter Mittag sheds light on the opposition between the elite present at the kingly court and the old elites differentiating between the various regions of the Seleucid kingdom, from Armenia, to Cilicia, Babylonia, Elymais, Persis and Phoenicia. The disloyalties varied from region to region, but did not derive from ethnic feelings. They only did emerge in situations of weakness of the Seleucid power. To the weakness of Macedonian power in the 2nd century BC Andreas Hartmann also refers as the reason why internal tensions between Judaeans could turn into open conflict. Behind the Maccabean War was the latent opposition of upper-class to under-class Judaeans, known by the names Sadducees and Pharisees, but not employed by the Judeans themselves. The cultural antagonism between Hellenism and Judaism was taken as a vehicle to articulate these tensions. This Judaean conflict was solved in the narrative. Here, the enemies of the

Maccabees became traitors, Antiochus an external threat and Non-Hasmoneans were excluded from Judaism. Yet the second Maccabees sometimes diverge from this idealistic ethnic-religious isolation, as presented in the first Maccabees. The contribution of Gunnar Dumke leads to the most eastern zone of Hellenistic power. He has to deal with extremely thin source material like coins and some inscriptions to bring to light the dichotomy of Greeks and Indians. The averse of the coins shows Greek inscriptions, the reverse Prakrit ones. The inscriptions on the silver bowls imitate Achaemenid examples, the reliquaries and metal sheets remained in the Indian tradition. By the end of the Bactrian reign, the former Greek names held by the office-bearers disappeared.

As a kind of conclusion, Hans-Joachim Gehrke picks up the editor's questions. With regard to the scarcely extant sources, he thinks that solely the first question could be successfully answered, the lines along which the societal conflicts emerged. Resuming the contributions, he speaks of the necessity to bring together ethnic differentiation and cultic-religious factors, at the same time consciously avoiding the term 'national'. From his point of view, the political constellation was always decisive for the outbreak of conflicts, but never transcending into mass movements or even an uprising of the masses. Presupposing Hellenism as a kind of entity, he concludes his considerations with some thoughts for further possible research.

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S. Podestà, *Lykiaka. Frammenti*, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté 1546, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2022, 370 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-84867-776-7

This monograph on Lycian historiography has as its core the dispersed fragments of authors of *Lykiaka*, works of geographical, historical, mythological or genealogical nature centred on Lycia, authors who themselves originate from Lycia. Simone Podestà has identified five such authors (Menecrates of Xanthos; the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Lycians*; Polycharmus; Alexander Polyhistor; and Capito of Lycia) and, as the fragments in question are modest in length, the size of the book shows him successful in getting information out of a particularly stubborn stone.

P. attempts an exhaustive treatment of the chosen fragments. Beside the text with its Italian translation and a comprehensive critical apparatus including all previous treatments, he offers discussions of the date and the few biographical elements known about these authors and in-depth analyses of the later authors where the fragments in discussion are to be found, as well as of the cultural milieu of both. This contextualisation of the Lycian authors constitutes a significant step forward from the work of Jacoby.

The book starts with a chapter on geography, discussing the literary, archaeological and epigraphical sources for retracing the borders of Lycia, the commercial and military significance of its river network, its climate, its human geography with the differences between the western part, more autonomous and open towards the outer world, and the eastern, more isolated and fragmented, as well as the differences between the seaboard and the interior, and the polycentric model of its cities, where Xanthos predominated, but did not rule.

This is followed by a chapter on history. P. discusses the origins of the Greek and of the Lycian name of the country, its prehistory, connections to the Hittites and the earliest mentions in Greek sources. He identifies the strands of two different traditions in the Iliad, where Sarpedon goes back to a possibly pre-Homeric, Anatolian background, whereas Glaukos stems from a Greek one. He then follows the historical vicissitudes of Lycia, from its relations to Lydia to Persian rule and the autonomous Harpagian dynasty within the satrapy of Caria, to the Delian league and the end of the dynasty, the renewed Persian rule and the Hekatomnids, the Hellenistic age, the relations with Rhodes and the birth of the Lycian league, through to the coming of Rome and provincialisation. P. offers, not a continuous history of the region, but a view through the lens of the extant sources, which he discusses thoroughly.

The bulk of the book is formed by the examination of the fragments pertaining to the five Lycian historians. Menekrates of Xanthos has authored five, perhaps six such fragments, stemming from his *Lykiaka*, which centres on the city of Xanthos and which appears to have been ethnographic in character. P. dates his activity in the late 5th–early 4th century BC. The fragments refer to the origins and history of Xanthos; the arrival of Leto in Lycia; the flight of Aeneas from Troy; Blaundos; the flight of Daedalus from Crete. Overall, the ways in which Menekrates adapts and interprets variants of widely circulating Greek myths constitute attempts to integrate separate Greek and Lycian traditions and to introduce myths from different cultural backgrounds into the Lycian cultural heritage.

The *Constitution of the Lycians*, a work of the Aristotelian school, is preserved in two fragments. P. discusses whether they originate in one of the *Politeiai* or in the *Nomima barbarika* and argues in favour of the latter, showing that a Lycian *Politeia* never existed.

Polycharmos, for whom no biographical data are known, is the author of a single work, the *Lykiaka*, which was still read in the 2nd century AD, although its author is placed tentatively in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC. He appears to have been mostly a mythographer and genealogist. Two of the preserved fragments (to be found in Athenaios, Pliny and other authors) are concerned with the less usual divination method using fish, attested in the oracle of Syra, which allows P. a detailed discussion of the oracle, the deity, the place, the divination method and the relation between Polycharmos and the authors who used his work. The next two fragments refer to the cities of Ilaris and Phellos, while the last is the only instance here in which an author is preserved in an epigraphic source. An inscription of Sidyma reproduces passages concerned with the mythology and genealogy of the city, which allows P. to discuss in depth such connections between the cities of Tlos, Pinara and Sidyma and the stories concerned with the origins of these cities.

The most numerous fragments, preserved mostly in Stephanus of Byzantium, come from the work of Cornelius Alexander of Miletus (whom P. persistently calls Alexander Cornelius), the Polyhistor. P. offers biographical information, arguing that his family must have been pro-Mithradates; that (*pace* the *Suda*) he received the franchise not from Cornelius Lentulus, but from Sulla himself; and that he wrote a single work on Lycia (as against two in Jacoby). He dates Polyhistor's *Lykiaka* after 81 BC, discusses its title, content and method and shows him to have been a compiler, albeit a careful one, a paradoxographer with interest in local languages, rare variants of place-names, the borders of Lycia and the mythical origins of its inhabitants. The 24 brief fragments refer to various cities and islands of Lycia, their names, origins, history, legends and genealogies connected to them.

The latest author, Capito of Lycia, a Byzantine historian of the late 5th–early 6th century AD, wrote a *Peri Lykias kai Pamphylias*. P. discusses his possible origin, his works and identifies four such fragments concerned with the cities of Akarassos, Amaseia, Derbe and Pitye.

The two appendices are concerned with two authors not included in the main text: Aristainetos, who did not write *Lykiaka*, but local Lycian city history and whose one fragment concerns the foundation and mythical connections of the city of Gela in Sicily; and Leon of Alabanda, who hailed from Caria, but his historical-ethnographic works described Caria and Lycia as well; three of his fragments are preserved.

The book is shaped by the author's maximalist approach to his data. He not only sifted the evidence through an extremely fine-meshed sieve in his search for even the smallest nugget of information, he also cast his net very wide. Since the fragments under discussion are mostly short, he follows up the slightest lead to its uttermost end. (For instance, when examining the Lycian *ichthyomantike*, he discusses thoroughly the various species of fishes involved.) As such, the book constitutes a successful attempt to offer the definitive analysis of the Lycian historians.

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F. Pownall, S.R. Asirvatham and S. Müller (eds.). *The Courts of Philip II and Alexander the Great: Monarchy and Power in Ancient Macedonia*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, viii+304 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-062240-9

The volume originated from a conference of the same name held at the University of Alberta in Edmonton in May 2018. It offers a collection of selected papers originally presented there. Its aim is to 'explore the pioneering effect of the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great, who transformed Macedonia into the most important power in the Mediterranean world'. The editors hope that 'it will generate new avenues through which to assess the continuing impact of Philip and Alexander on court culture through the ages'.

The volume consists of 13 papers grouped into five thematic sections. Section I ('The Transformation of Royal Authority: Personal Relationships at the Macedonian Court') contains two papers. Anson's demonstrates how Philip II and Alexander the Great strengthened their positions *vis-à-vis* the Macedonian aristocrats. The former created a new infantry force and distributed land to the infantrymen, thus establishing a middle class loyal to him only. These 'foot-companions' counterbalanced the aristocratic cavalry. The latter continued his father's policy by both replacing Philips's old commanders with men of his age loyal to him personally and cementing his relationship with the infantry. At the same time Alexander increasingly used his Asiatic troops as counterpoises to the Macedonians. However, despite the transformations of the ruler's power, the monarchy under Philip and Alexander was still largely personal.

In the second paper Heckel offers a reassessment of the motives of and the background to some of Ptolemy Ceraunus' actions. Basing his view on the current political situation (the close relations of Ptolemy I and the newly elevated Ptolemy II with Lysimachus) and on a passage of Apian (*Syr*. 62. 330), he holds that Ceraunus never sought refuge and never stayed at the court of Lysimachus. Instead, when he learnt that his father was going to leave

the kingdom to the future Ptolemy Philadelphus, he went directly to Seleucus, or first accompanied his mother and sister to Miletus (in the spring of 285 BC) and from there in one way or another (as a prisoner-of-war or seeking refuge) he appeared in the Seleucidian court. As for his stay in Lisimachea (*BNJ* 434 F 1. 5–6; Pausanias 1. 16. 2), he was confused by sources with his namesake Ptolemy, whose mother Arsinoë plotted against Agatocles, the son of her husband Lysimachus. Heckel believes that after the victorious battle of Corupedium Seleucus abandoned his support of Ceraunos and for this reason the latter conspired with the pro-Agathocles party to murder the former, that Ceraunus married Arsinoë in order to secure his position and to place her children under his control, and that he killed the two boys due to the rebellion of their elder brother Ptolemy.

Section II ('The Courts of Philip and Alexander in the Eyes of Contemporary Greeks') consists of four papers. Trevett's deals with the diplomatic activity at the court of Philip II (based on the contemporary evidence of Demosthenes and Aeschines). According to him, Philip conducted diplomacy in the traditional Macedonian style. By giving gifts and offering lavish hospitality he tried to create personal ties with individual envoys with the intention of making them 'well-disposed if not indeed indebted to him'. Trevett also notes that much of what was typical about the reception of envoys in the courts of the Hellenistic period can already be seen at Philip's court. Cooper's shows how images and descriptions of the Macedonian court (more particularly in the first two *Olynthiacs*) were exploited by Demosthenes and connected to his broader rhetorical strategy and his argument about *kairos*. In the first *Olynthiac* his rhetorical strategy was to argue that there was *kairos* (Philip II's attack against Olynthus) and the Athenians had to seize it in order to preserve their interests, while in the second by revealing the weaknesses in Philip's court he tried to convince them not to hesitate but to act quickly. Rose's is devoted to the date of Demochares' exile. In his view, the nephew of Demosthenes was exiled for convincing the Athenians to ally with the Boeotians against Demetrius Poliorcetes in 293 BC. This is based on both the opinion that the chronology of Plutarch's account (*Demetr*. 24. 5) is unreliable and on the information found in the *aitēsis* of Laches (Plutarch *Mor*. 851d–f), the latter of which Rose connects to the events of 293 BC. In the final paper Müller traces the presentation of members of Argead court in Greek Comedy. They appear as 'reckless, untrustworthy, deceptive liars, boastful and warlike', and the court is crowded with 'gluttons, fish-eaters, and effeminates'. Müller concludes that before Chaeronea these portrayals underlined that the Athenians felt culturally and politically superior, while after that, when they had already lost their political autonomy, they still felt culturally and morally superior.

Section III ('The Influence of Persia and the Ancient Near East on Alexander's Court') comprises three papers. In the first Baynham presents and further develops Brian Bosworth's revisited ideas on the Susa mass marriages (Arrian *Anabasis* 7. 4. 4–8). She believes that at the Susa weddings Alexander married more than one wife in order to consolidate royal blood lines, that he rewarded some loyal Persian nobles by giving their daughters to Macedonian generals, that in fact these marriages were not one-sided and the mark of the conqueror, since the Persian noble women brought with them money, land, resources and family alliances, and that what Alexander could not realise because of his premature death was fulfilled by Seleucis. Bosman considers the two conceptions of court at Persepolis during Alexander's sojourn there (330 BC). He thinks that the clash of the Macedonian and Persian conceptions of court led to the burning of the Persepolis citadel, which act implies

that there was friction between Alexander and the Persian nobility. At the same time, it was also a gesture to the Macedonian nobles that their relationship with the king was not in jeopardy. However, he 'soon started to implement various court practices by which to narrow the gap between the two conceptions of court'. In the final paper Strootman holds the opinion that Alexander's longing for the Ocean was a myth constructed at his court and not by Roman-era authors.

Section IV ('Raising a Prince in the Macedonian Court: Stories of Alexander's Birth and Education') consists of two papers. Ogden reconsiders his old views on the serpent sire of Alexander the Great. Analysing both evidence of Alexander's serpent sire in its own context and of other serpent sires in the Graeco-Roman world, he now reaches the conclusion that its affinities were emphatically Asclepian. Djurslev's concerns the sources for Alexander's education. He indicates that there are sources beyond Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* providing valuable information on Alexander's youth (the *Alexander Romance*, Aeschines, Aelian and Plutarch's other works), presents various stories (alternative to Alexander's Aristotle) about his teachers, developed early in literary tradition, and discusses some 'minor topics' (physical education, warfare and medicine) that corroborate the key tendencies traced throughout the paper.

Section V ('Alexander's Court in Retrospective') houses two papers. Frank discusses an inscription (1st–2nd century AD) that refers to Alexander the Great as the son of Ammon whom the god sired while in the form of a snake. He argues that the epitaph's reference provides an interpretative linchpin of the poem and that his representation 'engages directly with key themes of the popular literary portrayals of Alexander in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, in particular with regard to his filiation and divinity'. Hijmans focuses on the problem of Alexander-like portraits in Roman art. He points out that we are not able to identify portrait heads or busts of Alexander with certainty, since the facial traits and hairstyle usually connected to him are also characteristic of a group of deities and heroes. He concludes that 'the notion of a pervasive *imitatio Alexandri* in Roman art rests on untenable assumptions and circular arguments'. An index completes the volume.

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J.M. Price, M. Finkelberg and Y. Shahar (eds.), *Rome: An Empire of Many Nations. New Perspectives on Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Identity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2021, xiii+410 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased: ISBN 978-1-108-47945-5; paperback (2022): ISBN 978-1-009-25622-3

Rome: An Empire of Many Nations honours the distinguished career of Benjamin Isaac, a familiar name for anyone conversant in ancient ethnicity and race or the history of Roman imperialism in Judaea and the Roman Near East writ large.[1] It has its origins in a conference of 2015 in which most of the contributors presented earlier versions of their chapters.

[1] Notable monographs are *The Limits of Empire: the Roman Army in the East* (Oxford 1990; rev. ed. 2000); *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton 2004); *Empire and Ideology in the Graeco-Roman World: Selected Papers* (Cambridge 2017).

Not surprisingly, the chapters represent some of the many areas of research that Isaac pursued and to which he made many contributions: ethnic and cultural identities in antiquity and the mechanisms of Roman imperialism. The book's editors have succeeded admirably in organising the various chapters into a volume that addresses the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Roman empire, along with key social and cultural convergences of its populations. Most scholars of the Roman Mediterranean, I suspect, will find material of interest in the volume.

Given the immense variety of Roman peoples, it is understandable that the book cannot provide comprehensive coverage of all of them. Even so, those seeking chapters on peoples that fall outside the well-established and familiar Roman–Greek–Jewish matrices may find the title *An Empire of Many Nations* somewhat misleading. Of the 17 chapters, 16 can more or less be situated in at least one of three categories. The first category involves mainstream Roman perceptions of other peoples and regions inside or outside the empire. A second treats how Greek communities (broadly defined) engaged with the Roman imperial context or established socio-cultural commonalities within it. The final cluster confronts the shifting identities of Jews, their treatment by Roman authorities or their encounters with Roman military logistics. The chapter by Brent Shaw, which focuses on Libyans in North Africa, represents a unique focus in this regard. Otherwise most peoples and regions of the Roman empire, including the Near East to which Isaac contributed much very influential work, are absent. A consequence is that engagement with recent scholarship devoted to Arabians, Phoenicians, Syrians and Egyptians and their relationships with the Roman state is largely missing too.[2] As is the case with most edited volumes, the chapters reflect the particular research interests of the contributors and, arguably, the date of the original conference, at which most the chapters were presented as papers. Likewise, while the volume does indeed offer new perspectives on various aspects of ethnic diversity and cultural identity in the Roman empire, in general its treatment of these phenomena as areas of inquiry is consistent with longstanding patterns in the field.

Such issues aside, many will find some material of interest and novelty in the volume, and those committed to a holistic understanding of the 'empire of many nations' will read most or all the chapters. The introduction, written by Jonathan Price, provides a concise and thoughtful overview of scholarship on the Roman empire for the past half a century and maps how global shifts in politics have shaped and still inform key questions scholars ask, including the recent focus on cultural identities, ethnic self-definitions, and their individual or local manifestations. From there, the chapters are divided into four parts. Part I focuses on ethnicity and identity in the Roman empire writ large and includes the contribution of Isaac himself. It examines how Romans for centuries expressed fear that their centre of governance could be shifted from Rome to various cities of the eastern empire. Such fears circulated even before Constantine re-founded Byzantium as Constantinople in ways that set the stage for its becoming a 'New Rome'. Other chapters examine the origins of senators, their obligations at Rome, and whatever relationships they maintained with their cities of origin (Werner Eck) or the ethnic stereotypes of various peoples, predominantly

[2] Examples are N. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2013); J. Crawley Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians* (Princeton 2018); G. Fisher (ed.), *Arabs and Empires before Islam* (Oxford 2015).

eastern, expressed by Latin proverbs (Daniela Dueck). The final chapter, by Brent Shaw, is arguably the one that most places provincial ethnicity and its relationship with Roman imperial subjectivity at its centre. Starting with the bilingual Libyan-Latin epitaph for a man named both Caius Iulius Gaetulus and Keti, son of Maswalat (found at Thullium in north Africa), it probes the significance of his origins from a Libyan tribe (the Misciri), his decorated service in the Roman army, his activity as a municipal *flamen*, and the multiple identities that he and others like him embodied.[3] While focusing on questions of ethnic identity and its relationship with Roman subjectivity, the chapter also makes an interesting case for re-coining the language conventionally labelled Libyan as 'Palaeo-Tamazight' due to its ostensible relationship with contemporary Tamazight.

Part II, devoted to culture and identity in the Roman empire, treats the Romans' memories of the Trojan War and their origins from Troy and by extension how they conceptualised past relationships with Greeks (Margalit Finkelberg); Greek cities that earned and celebrated the status of *colonia* and adopted aspects of its normative institutions, especially in Asia Minor (Cédric Brélaz); the adoption and adaptation of Roman configurations of the divine by Italian and provincial communities (John Scheid); and the management of professional teachers by provincial cities (Ido Israelowich). The part concludes with an examination of how people throughout the empire increasingly crafted convergent experiences of night and its activities due to the circulation of policing, cultic, and euergetistic practices that uniformly encouraged nocturnal sacred rites, banqueting, and bathing (Angelos Chaniotis). Part III, the longest section, focuses on 'Ethnicity and Identity in the Roman Empire: the Case of the Jews'. In it, Erich Gruen adds to his array of publications that portray the Romans as governing a religiously pluralistic society that accommodated different peoples, including the Jews.[4] Similarly, Alexander Yakobson portrays the Romans as not much more oppressive to Jews in the aftermath of the first Jewish revolt than other insurgent peoples, with the exception of a punitive tax and prohibitions against rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem. In a very dynamic paper, Youval Rotman argues that the Jews of the Hellenistic and Roman periods often defined Jewish identity and community in civic terms even while using standard ethnic names. Their activity was consistent with how the authorities of the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Roman empires, as well as the Hasmonaeans, often transformed ethnic identifiers (including Greek, Roman and Jew) into juridical statuses that outsiders could and did acquire on the basis of occupation, civic engagement or the adoption of new laws and customs. In another thought-provoking piece, Jonathan Price asserts on the basis of synagogal inscriptions that Jews, even if influenced by local epigraphic practices and presumably cognisant of the origins of their local communities, communicated their identities in global Jewish terms that to some extent defied the localism that can be detected among other provincials. In the last two papers of Part III, Yuval Shahar treats characterisations of Roman emperors in Talmudic literature, and Aharon Oppheimer discusses relationships between the Severan emperors and the notable 'patriarch'

[3] This figure also features prominently in one of Shaw's prior articles on identities in Roman Africa: 'Who are You?: Africa and Africans'. In J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford/Malden, MA 2014), 527–40.

[4] Recently, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA 2002); *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton 2011); *Ethnicity in the Ancient World: Did It Matter?* (Berlin 2020).

Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi. In Part IV, which is comparatively brief and not as obviously consistent in theme with the rest of the volume, two detailed essays present the material evidence for a Roman legionary base in Legio-Kefar ʻOthnay (Yotam Tepper) and the camp of the X Legio Fretensis at Jerusalem after the first Jewish revolt (Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah).

In summary, *Rome: An Empire of Many Nations* is a very fitting tribute to the impressive career of Benjamin Isaac. All of the papers have something to offer. Unfortunately, it is exceedingly rare nowadays for researchers in the Roman empire to have profound interest in the *entire* Roman empire and its many nations, and this tends to determine who reads what. One suspects that readers will gravitate to select chapters depending on their own areas of interest.

Binghamton University (State University of New York) Nathanael Andrade

E. Priglinger, *The Enigma of the Hyksos,* vol. V: *Zwischen den Zeiten. Überlegungen zum Ende der drei Reiche im alten Ägypten*, Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant (CAENL) 13, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, 254 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11762-3/ISSN 2627-8022

In *Zwischen den Zeiten*… (Between the Times. Thoughts about the Ending of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Egypt) Elisa Priglinger examines the transformation processes at the end of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms that led to formation of what the modern historiography designates as intermediate periods. She endeavours to compare and contrast them in order to see if common elements of change can be identified. The study of these processes is not strictly limited to Egypt, the author sets out to embed them in a wider perspective of major historical developments in the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. The aim of the study is not the resolution of chronological and historical conundrums of these time periods but rather an examination of how historical and archaeological sources are being interpreted and how these interpretations may be (subconsciously) influenced by the periodisation of ancient Egyptian history currently used, which postulates a cyclical change between periods of flourishing during the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms followed by intermediate periods of decline.

The book is divided into six chapters followed by an impressive bibliography spanning 68 pages. The two initial chapters establish the theoretical and methodological background of the study. In the first, the outdated theoretical concepts forming the basis of the presently used periodisation of ancient Egyptian history and the possible problems these may cause in current and future studies are sketched out, especially in connection with the so-called intermediate periods. These concepts are embedded within the *Zeitgeist* of the period from which they stem, to showcase how our (current) social and political environment influences our interpretations of historical sources. The definitions of the terms state, foreign rule and various ethnonyms used later in the work are laid out here as well, along with a short discussion of problems connected to using modern concepts when describing ancient societies and re-constructing (ethnic) identities based on limited (and often one-sided) written and pictorial sources and material culture. In the second chapter, the development of theories and models conceptualising the evolution of a society applied in

cultural and social studies is presented. The following three chapters constitute the main part of the study. They are dedicated to the transformation processes at the end of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms respectively and all follow the same structure. First, the current state of the scientific debate concerning the chronology and historical outline of the period are presented, followed by various factors that might have contributed to political destabilisation of Egypt leading to collapses of the central government at the end of Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. In an attempt to make comparison of these processes between the periods more feasible, P. condenses them into four major interconnected themes relating to internal policy, foreign affairs, climatic changes and socio-cultural transformations. At the end of each chapter, the transformative processes are summed up. In the short final chapter, P. circles back to the initial argument questioning the validity of the current periodisation of ancient Egyptian history, arguing that neither can the complex changes in ancient Egyptian society be aligned with the currently defined chronological periods, nor do they follow a constant cycle of rise and decline.

The very wide scope of this study makes it impossible to go into much detail on individual chronological and historical problems. Instead, it provides a good overview of the current (often conflicting) historical interpretations of the events at the end of Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, showing how in the light of new discoveries and changing theoretical approaches our interpretation of ancient Egyptian history has evolved over time. The bibliographical references provide a good starting point for further, more detailed studies. Briefly presented too are major study areas and approaches on which the current research of the respective periods concentrates, demonstrating the difficulties faced when attempting to re-construct complex historical developments based on limited and ambiguous historical and archaeological sources. P. does not endeavour to resolve these problems in her work, but rather to stress the often ambiguous nature of the sources, necessitating a careful source evaluation as well as making a clear distinction between the source itself and its historical interpretation.

The discussion of the transformative processes at the end of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms clearly demonstrates their complexity and interconnectedness, making the reconstruction of the historical narrative difficult. Identifying a single tipping point that brought about specific historical change in these strings of gradual and complex societal changes is often not possible. Furthermore, these changes are often unaligned with either political events or the major historical periods defined by Egyptologists. Furthermore, P. also argues that the *a priori* negative characterisation of intermediate periods as times of decline, implied by the current periodisation of ancient Egyptian history, does not really reflect the multi-faceted historical reality. Hence, she advocates the abandonment of the current periodisation. However, the aim of the study was not to propose a new periodisation, but rather to open the discussion on this topic. By including the critical analysis of underlying methodology behind our current periodisation of ancient Egyptian history and the reception of the development of theoretical frameworks in social and cultural sciences outside Egyptology, this work introduces a much needed theory-based viewpoint to a debate that is still often neglected in Egyptological research.

University of Vienna Lucia Hulková

R. Raja, J. Steding and J.-B. Yon, *Excavating Palmyra: Harald Ingholt's Excavation Diaries: A Transcript, Translation and Commentary*, 2 vols., Studies in Palmyrene Archaeology and History (SPAH) 4.1–2, Brepols, Turnhout 2021, 1844 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-2-503-59531-3

Excavating Palmyra is the latest entry in Brepols' Palymyra series. It follows others also released in 2021 (all to be reviewed in *AWE*) including Raja *et al.*, *Production and Economy in Greater Roman Syria* and Heyn *et al.*, *Individualizing the Dead*. However, it is Bobou *et al.*, *Studies on Palmyrene Sculpture* with which this new release dovetails most relevantly. The monograph represents the first time the Danish antiquarian, archaeologist and collector Harald Ingholt's (1896–1985) seminal work on Palmyrene art, *Studier over Palmyrensk sculpture* (1928), has been translated into English. *Excavating Palmyra* sees Ingholt's excavation diaries reaching the light of publication for the first time as a perfect companion piece to his career-defining publication. The two monumental volumes are designed to accompany the greater accessibility of an archive that has been digitised as part of the ongoing work of the Carlsberg Foundation's Palmyra Portrait Project (PPP).

As ever, the project's director, Rubina Raja, Professor of Classical Archaeology at Aarhus University, makes an excellent contribution with a detailed introduction contextualising Ingholt's impact on Palmyrene history and ancient art theory. Here Raja is complemented by the epigraphic specialism and regional expertise of Jean-Baptiste Yon (Institut française du Proche-Orient, Beirut) who provides much of the commentary and Julia Steding, a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Urban Network Evolutions (UrbNet) responsible for editing the diaries and also affiliated to Aarhus University. The three navigate their way effectively through the treasure trove of archival resources, most prominently the diaries and commentary, but also the personal aspect with insight into Ingholt's connection to and interaction with Palmyra.

This is achieved through the photographs of Mary Ebba Underdown, Ingholt's daughter, who has allowed the authors access to the family's personal collection which the archaeologist amassed over three campaigns at Palmyra in 1924, 1925 and 1928. The figures are used to break up what can otherwise be the relentless page-by-page presentation of the scans of the diaries that comprise the vast majority of the two volumes' content. The photographs show Ingholt on site at times with his family and otherwise surrounded by contemporaries working on the excavations. They reveal scenes of commotion and activity, a world away from the normally sterile and two-dimensional cataloguing of monuments we customarily associate with the output of archaeological missions. Ingholt was present on site during the final years of Ottoman rule at Tadmor, situated in the *temenos* of the Temple of Bel for over a millennium. These improvised mud-brick houses were cleared out during the French mandate over Syria in an attempt to return the site to something akin to its classical state, displacing the local people to the newly constructed town adjacent to the ruins. Contemporary aerial photographs are testament to this seismic sociological shift, while Ingholt is witness to the hustle and bustle of Tadmor on the ground.

Although the Introduction is heavily illustrated with relevant visual sources revealing 'The Man behind the Scholar', it is the stand-alone chapters dedicated to the photography archive that bring the Underdown material to the fore. 'Life in Syria and a Trip to Palmyra' (pp. 70–82) provides a window on to this lost world in the Jazz Age of archaeology which

would in hindsight represent a last hurrah of the Western expedition before the onset of the Second World War shortly after Ingholt's last site visits in the 1930s. On the one hand, Palmyra is a stage set for cultural clash as the trilbies and suits juxtapose so patently with the traditional Bedouin dress of tribesmen and the car comes face to face with the camel. On the other, it is also one of harmony and synchronicity as the teams of local men work together with the mission to shore up and secure chief monuments of the site for posterity. We see scaffolding on the now destroyed *temenos* of the Temple of Bel designed to reinforce the sacred site with concrete and iron rods to transform the site into the tourist juggernaut it would become until 2011.

Whether you agree or not with the displacement that occurred during this intensive period of transformation at the ruins, we are granted privileged access to snapshots of the work undertaken. In the later chapter, 'At Work in Palmyra' (pp. 478–89), we can see the sheer blood and sweat necessary to complete such arduous endeavour in so inhospitable a climate as the Syrian steppe. Faces including Ingholt's broad smile glisten out of the black-and-white photographs as the limelight is finally shared with the manpower sourced locally who conducted much of the back-breaking dragging of boulders and chipping of bedrock. The proud face of a bare-footed man who appears to be in his 70s highlights that this life of grit and endurance was not just a young man's game, but a vital source of employment across the generations.

The issue that arises with a pair of volumes on so titanic a scale is that the impact of the photography and Ingholt's sketches can become dissipated in the drowning weight of the diaries. Perhaps more could have been done to break up the diaries with relevant imagery from Ingholt's work or illustrations of the objects discussed rather than leaving this significant supplementary material until the end of each diary. The introduction mentions the missing photographs and *estampages* (squeezes) that went 'hand-in-hand' (p. 8) with the original diaries but does not attempt to restore a sense of this more compelling presentation. If they shared a page, then the subject of the notes may be engaged with more profoundly by a non-specialist audience as no individual can sustain the interest and expertise to engage with each and every scribbled note in isolation.

Editorially, there should certainly be greater selectivity in the production as blank pages and the covers of the notebooks make it into the final publication for no obvious reason manifesting in an almost two-thousand-page work. Meanwhile, one of the diaries appears as an appendix with no commentary or transcription even though the introduction states, 'it seems to have served as the draft notebook for the larger Diary 1 from 1924 and does not add further knowledge' (p. 7). Yet, the diary entails 55 pages of the publication that could surely have been used more efficiently and effectively or cut from the piece entirely. At the time of writing, the digital scans available for the diary in question (*https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.c.5442765*) had amassed 17 views and been downloaded three times.

Such an inclusion reveals the limitations explicit in the indiscriminate publication of what can be found at the click of a button on line through modern digital archiving. At 1844 pages and €190, there is a tension between the open access element of the project and what, in truth, is rather an antiquated monumental publication. It is something the authors and editorial team make little effort to reconcile. A reader is left thinking if a pamphlet or smaller production that emphasised the most pressing elements of the diaries (such as the find site of the iconic 'Beauty of Palmyra') and prioritised the wonderful drawings of

Charles Christensen and the photography made available here for the first time, might be preferable to the reproduction of the complete diaries. Only time will tell whether the stated aim of the team to inspire further research and discovery at Palmyra through 'the importance of evaluating archival and field-diary material in modern research contexts' (p. 62) will be achieved by means of the published works or the digitised open access scans available on line.

Nevertheless, *Excavating Palmyra* ought to be celebrated for giving historians a unique glimpse into the past glory of the ancient site. This element is to be celebrated all the more in the light of the Syrian Civil War that has cost so many lives and left a lasting legacy on the region's landmark UNESCO World Heritage Site. As a result of this publication, we can live Palmyra vicariously through the eyes of the illustrious Dane and make one final voyage to the ancient city as it once was.

University of Durham Rory McInnes-Gibbons

W. Riess (ed.), *Colloquia Attica III: Neuere Forschungen zu Athen im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Dys-)Funktionen einer Demokratie*, Hamburger Studien zu Gesellschaften und Kulturen der Vormoderne 16, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2021, 288 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-13067-7

After dealing first with the Archaic period, law and magic in a series of three conferences, then with the 5th century, democracy and the fleet, Werner Riess focused this third volume of *Colloquia Attica* on an appraisal of the Athenian Democracy in the 4th century. The conference, held in Hamburg in 2019, included three papers in English (Gabrielsen, Scafuro, Lambert) and seven in German. Riess wishes to compare ancient Athens and modern society and stresses the need for a *tertium comparationis*: he therefore suggests the concept of 'crisis', linked with the theme of 'modernity' itself developed by Claudia Tiersch. He seeks to show how the Athenian democracy proved to be functional or dysfunctional in the way it overcame crises thanks to modern concepts such as bureaucracy, specialisation, rationalisation and individualism.

The first three contributions, focused on economy and finance, best manage to address the issue raised in the introduction. Dorothea Rohde, continuing the work she started with her *Habilitationschrift* study,[1] convincingly shows how the city tends to rely increasingly on private financial resources as well as technical expertise. Professionalisation is particularly visible in the case of the administrator of the *theorikon*, an office neither collegial nor annual. The increased expertise of officials and orators allows the *polis* to channel private wealth and oligarchic power into serving the needs of the State. This, according to Rohde, intensifies the shift of the Athenian democracy from deliberation to consent. Following this nuanced approach to Athenian democracy, Vincent Gabrielsen argues that 'the Classical Athenian trireme was never a school of democracy' (p. 51), but the engine driving the Athenian economy. Applying Schumpeter's concept of *Steuerstaat* to Athens, Gabrielsen contends that both the trierarchy and the *syntaxeis* of the Second Athenian Confederation should be considered as taxes. He shows how trierarchs used their office for their personal

[1] D. Rohde, *Von der Deliberationsdemokratie zur Zustimmungsdemokratie. Die öffentlichen Finanzen Athens und die Ausbildung einer Kompetenzelite im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart 2019).

advantage, acting as private-sector employers to hire crews, retaining public ship equipment for private use, and using their ships for lucrative private operations. Despite the obvious loss of State control this implies, Gabrielsen nevertheless calls the trierarchs 'the creative class of the Athenian democracy'.

Claudia Tiersch offers a nuanced investigation of this class of wealthy Athenians and its influence through *Lobbygruppen*. Underlining the positive social evaluation of wealth in 4th-century Athens, she shows that even though *hetaireiai* had recovered from their negative 5th-century reputation, grew in number and size, and never ceased to be characteristic of the upper class, the rich were only very mildly overrepresented among decree proposers. This, and the competition between lobbies, allows Rohde to assert that they only had a limited political influence on a still very participative democracy. While only Rohde uses the concept of crisis in her paper, all three contributors underline the Athenian democracy's resistance to the power of private fortunes and interests, whose development and growing imbrication with State finance remained under political control of the people.

Three contributions then focus on social and institutional aspects. Christian Mann investigates whether *pheme* (i.e. gossip, translated as *Klatsch*) played a functional or dysfunctional role in the Athenian democracy. From the well-known speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the embassy of 343 and an overview of several theories of gossip, Mann concludes that *pheme* contributed to the stability of democracy by strengthening the power of the group over the individual. Stephen Lambert investigates the relative weight of group and individuals as he draws extensively on his own previous publications on Attic inscriptions to elucidate three institutional changes that contributed to make honours more widespread: collective honours for the best Council prytany; dedications, probably publicly funded, commemorating honours awarded to officials; and decrees praising *philotimia*. Officials' personal expenses during their tenure played no explicit role, Lambert argues, in the attribution of honours, and recipients were not especially prominent or wealthy citizens. Institutional change and its social consequences are also the focus of Adele Scafuro's paper on the evolution of *eisangelia.* She interprets a series of three changes in this procedure as ways of easing the pressure on an already busy Council and Assembly. First of all, *eisangelia* hearings were transferred from the Assembly to the courtrooms in 361. Secondly, if the *Boule* failed to deliver a preliminary verdict within 30 days after arresting the defendant, he was to be brought to court for trial. Thirdly, a penalty was introduced for accusers who failed to gather a fifth of the votes or dropped their case: Scafuro argues for an earlier date than is usually suggested, as early as *ca*. 350. She situates *eisangelia* and its evolution in the context of an increasing role of 'the military', with generals working in effective pairs with influential politicians to further their own interests. According to Scafuro, these changes participated in the increased efficiency of the Athenian democracy.

These three contributions do not always live up to the expectation, heralded in the volume's title, of *neuere Forschungen*, nor do they really use the concept of crisis. Rohde, Gabrielsen and Tiersch had shown that the Athenian democracy was threatened by financial innovation and reliance on private wealth but managed to resist this threat. Mann, Lambert and Scafuro reach the conclusion that political modernisation strengthened the Athenian democracy. This divergence might arise from implicitly opposed views: while the former apparently believe, after Finley, in the *embeddedness* of the ancient economy in, and its subordination to the political and social levels, the latter seem to downplay the connection between both domains.

The last four contributions deal with philosophy, rhetoric and theatre, a choice that appears less suited to the investigation of the *(Dys-)Funktionen einer Demokratie*. Starting here, the volume wanders off its course, previously more than less focused on modernity and the concept of crisis. Karen Piepenbrink draws a comparison between Aristotle's *Politics* and the corpus of the Attic Orators. Whereas Aristotle, who does not focus on Athens, believes that only the rule of law and institutional procedures can ensure the right amount of civic participation, the orators stress the role of massive participation in tribunals and the Assembly to ensure civic equality. They always praise the Athenian democracy, whose flaws they blame on a minority of disloyal individuals. Isocrates is no exception, as Martin Dreher shows in his investigation of Isocrates' representation of the history of the Athenian democracy. Although Isocrates never explicitly theorises this, Dreher identifies seven stages: (1) The rule of Theseus; (2) the first democracy mixed with aristocracy, created by Theseus; (3) the *Idealzustand* of Solon's and Cleisthenes' democracy, interrupted by the Peisistratids; (4) the imperialistic thalassocracy of the 5th century; (5) the oligarchic turmoil and Spartan domination at the turn of the century; (6) the restored democracy in the early 4th century; (7) a prospective, aristocratic *Wunschverfassung*.

In keeping with this more philosophical approach to politics, Katarina Nebelin analyses how the institutionalisation of philosophical schools shaped the relationship of philosophers to politics. Philosophical education gave young elite members intellectual and cultural capital and allowed them to build a critique of democracy, which remained theoretical because future politicians could not afford to directly oppose democratic ideology. Lifelong philosophers acquired a metic-like status by almost completely renouncing political commitment. This did not prevent their ideas from influencing theatre, as Riess shows by challenging the idea that politics play no role in Menander's work and argues that Menander must have been influenced as a young man by Lykurgan radical democracy, and that his plays echo the Athenian faith in courtrooms. Menander, so Riess, also had oligarchic sympathies, having studied at the Lyceum alongside Demetrius of Phaleron, while his audience's horizon of expectation, more oligarchic after 322 due to the end of the *theorikon*, surely influenced his writing. These last four contributions are, on average, of lesser relevance to the volume's topic than the previous ones. They draw on a restricted corpus of sources, pay less attention to the concepts presented in the introduction, and generally manage to create at best a rhetorical connection with the topic of democracy and its functioning.

Université Paris Nanterre Jules Buffet

W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds.), *The Rediscovery and Reception of Gandhāran Art*, Proceedings of the Fourth International Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project, University of Oxford, 24th–26th March, 2021, Archeopress, Oxford 2022, ix+215 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-233-7

Rienjang and Stewart have assembled 12 distinguished international scholars who have written nine articles for this impressive volume loaded with numerous illustrations. The work is the result of the fourth international workshop of the Classical Art Research Centre's Gandhāra Connections project, March 2021. The book focuses on chronology, geography

and artistic connections between Gandhāra and other cultural traditions. The emphasis of this volume concerns historiography and reception-history. Topics range from the early 19th century to the present wherein the art continues to be a source of debate about its meaning and significance.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first, 'Archaeology and Collecting History', consists of three articles. E. Errington's, 'Reconstructing Jamālgarhī and Appendix B: the archaeological record 1848–1923', focuses on Cunningham's discovery of the site and his accumulation of materials from it with an account of others who followed. Numerous objects were deposited in a variety of museums. Their fate was not always kind. Some were destroyed in the (first) Crystal Palace fire in London (1866), others broken up and used as filler when the Hogge house in which they were stored was sold to an owner who knew nothing about their significance (p. 2). Errington's own revision of the site plan allows her to postulate a different provenance for pieces that were taken from the site (p. 7). Special attention is given to the main stupa complex (Area 1) and assorted objects taken from it. In some cases, she reconstructs reliefs now part of different collections. Cunningham's Appendix B consists of a list containing some 165 pieces which can be identified thanks to Cunningham's invention of using 'incised provenance marks' and the 'then novel use of photography for recording the finds' (p. 32).

'Gandhāran stucco sculptures from Sultan Khel (former Khyber Agency) in the collection of Peshawar Museum: a study in three parts' by Z. Khan, F. Khan and G. Shahab presents an assemblage of 46 stucco figures and detached heads of Buddhist sculptures confiscated and deposited in the museum in 1929 from the Sultan Khel village of Khyber. The archival record contains the complete acquisition history. The authors include 17 documents, many 'confidential letters' (p. 44) detailing clandestine diggings at the site, the smuggling and illicit export of pieces to different markets, and some of the military officials who enriched themselves. This is followed by a catalogue of 46 finely preserved stucco pieces housed in the museum, many which were placed in the reserve collection and have never been seen by scholars or academics. Finally, their analysis of two specimens leads them to conclude that the figures were locally produced in Khyber or nearby. M.A. Khan and T. Saeed's, 'A unique collection of confiscated material of Gandhāra (Pakistan)', details the attempted smuggling in 2013 of 1162 artefacts of which 1057 items fell into four classes of 'antiquities', consisting of pottery and Buddhist objects. Most distressing is that many are in a poor state of conservation owing to their age and lack of care. A catalogue compliments the text, consisting of 20 Buddha and *bodhisattva* heads and 34 full Buddha figures.

'Receptions', the second part, contains the remaining six articles, beginning with K.A. Behrendt's, 'Gandhāran imagery as remembered by Buddhist communities across Asia'. This ambitious article tracks the popularity of Gandhāran-inspired influence found in a multiplicity of Buddhist schools across time and space. Behrendt succinctly demonstrates how widespread Gandhāran artefacts were exported, including the earliest known image of Śākyamuni, the sandalwood Udayāna (Swat) Buddha, copies of which were brought to China, replicated, and then exported to Japan where it became integral to Buddhism (p. 114). The image of Padmasaṃbhava, likewise helped to introduce esoteric practices in the Himalayas, especially Tibet. Geographically, as 'a node of power', Gandhāra itself became sacred in Buddhist tradition.

H.P. Ray's 'Archaeology of Buddhism in post-partition Punjab: the disputed legacy of Gandhāra' discusses the effects that the 1947 Partition of the Indian subcontinent had on the cultural heritage of the Punjab. Emphasis is placed on how this art was collected and contextualised to understand the relationship of Gandhāra the region with the broader history of the subcontinent. The paper highlights the indelible influence that Alexander's Indian campaign and the legacy of the Greeks had on how Buddhist art was collected in the 19th–20th century at the expense of the eastern Punjab, and stresses the reception of Gandhāran art in the Indian Punjab.

In 'From colonial Greece to postcolonial Rome? Re-orienting ancient Pakistan in museum guides in the 1950s and 1960s', A. Amstutz proposes that the gradual development of attributing Roman influences on Gandhāran art instead of Hellenistic ones was a conscious attempt by M.A. Shakur, the curator of the Peshwar Museum. The idea was to create 'an imagined ancient past for Pakistan' (p. 136). Gandhāran art was used to show how Pakistan had a cultural heritage that had always somehow been different from ancient India. The paper explores the political and ideological circumstances of museum guides and popular publications in early post-colonial Pakistan that were used to shape 'historiographical debates' about the ancient past in modern South Asia. In favouring a perspective that emphasised post-colonial Rome from that of colonial Greece as the source of Gandhāran art, Shakur created a paradigm for the 20th-century transition from empire to independence.

'Stories of Gandhāra: antiquity, art and idol' by S. Bhatti recounts three stories about one colonial Gandhāra collection in the Lahore Museum as they inform rediscovery and reception. The first concerns the Yusafzai sculptures which served as a rediscovery of the colonial, western Graeco-Buddhist past. The second recounts the division of the Lahore Museum's collections between India and Pakistan in 1947. The problem that this split posed was to marginalise Gandhāran art in India because the sculptures were difficult to incorporate into a post-colonial, national narrative, while the problem for Pakistan was how to lay claim to a nationalist historiography of art or culture disconnected from the Indian Art canon and seemingly occupying a peripheral place. The third involves 'decoding the sculptures – some local impressions' which seeks to (de-)contextualise the sculptures from different perspectives.

S. Bhandare takes up the tricky issue of 'The art of deception: perspectives on the problem of fakery in Gandhāran numismatics', involving Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Kushan coinages as a subset of Gandhāran art. Bhandare avoids limiting the examination to problems of style, iconography and chronology, preferring to focus on the difficulty of detecting fakes and forgeries from the point of view of 'Thing Theory'. The paper surveys the historiography of unauthentic Gandhāran coins, including an analysis of the 'Utmanzai forgeries', representing "the most thorough and detailed treatment of fake coins" connected with Gandhāran numismatics (p. 178), followed by an overview of recent fakes and forgeries and why studying these kinds of 'fraudulently doctored' (p. 183) coins matter.

The volume concludes with H. Wang's 'Gandhāra in the news: rediscovering Gandhāra in *The Times* and other media'. The paper uses media as a source to explore how research about Gandhāra has changed from 1878 to 2014. As a term, Gandhāra, is used more than to refer to an historical place or people, it is found in a multiplicity of contexts, including art and archaeology, exhibits and lectures, collections – both legal and illegal, publications

and films. Most fascinating is how Gandhāran art has been classed over time as a form of Greek or Roman art or strictly as non-European.

The Gandhāra Connections project has succeeded in setting a high standard for how collaborative academic workshops should operate in benefiting a number of constituencies. This volume is no exception. It contains wide-ranging research implications by addressing the big issues surrounding the relationship between art and life, and the interaction of human beings and material culture. As with other works in this series, this volume should form part of any library (personal or public) which aspires to complete holdings on Gandhāran art.

Wake Forest University, NC Jeffrey D. Lerner

D.W. Roller, *Three Ancient Geographical Treatises in Translation: Hanno, The King Nikomedes Periodos and Avienus*, Routledge Classical Translations, Routledge, London/New York 2022, x+202 pp., 3 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-46254-3

Over the past two decades Duane Roller, Professor Emeritus of Classics at Ohio State University, has established himself as one of the leading scholars of ancient geography. Besides an excellent monograph on Graeco-Roman exploration of the Atlantic Ocean and a lucid history of ancient geographical thought, he has produced complete translations of the fragments of Eratosthenes' *Geography* and the *Geography* of Strabo. In his new work he extends the scope of his work to include two of the so-called Minor Greek Geographers – the *Periplous of Hanno*, the *Periodos of Ps. Skymnos* – and a late example of the Latin geographical tradition, the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus.

The textual tradition of these three works is complex. The *Periplous* of Hanno and the *Periodos* of Ps.-Skymnos were part of a corpus of geographical texts collected and edited by a late ancient scholar named Markianos from Heraclea Pontica that is now represented by two Byzantine manuscripts, *Palatinus Graecus* 398 and *Codex Parisinus graecus supplementi 443*, both of which, however, have been damaged in the course of their transmission. R. has coped well with the difficult problems caused by the resulting corrupt state of the texts of these works. The volume consists of three chapters, each devoted to a work and consisting of an introduction, translation and commentary, and preceded by an introduction on the development of the *periplus* form and a brief account of Carthaginian expansion and exploration. An Epilogue discussing the geographical significance of these texts, a bibliography, a list of passages cited and an index conclude the work.

The *Periplous* of Hanno is the most controversial of the three texts translated by R. This brief text – barely two pages long – purports to be a Greek translation of the Punic report of an official voyage of exploration conducted by a certain Hanno about 500 BC along the west coast of Africa that was set up in the Temple of Kronos (= Baal Hammon) in Carthage. Scholarship on the work is extensive and focuses primarily on authenticity, extent of the voyage and identification of the places mentioned in the text. While translations of Hanno's *Periplous* are relatively numerous, the distinction of R.'s work is its extensive and well-informed commentary, 18 pages of commentary on two pages of text. On the questions that dominate scholarship on the *Periplous*, his position is clear. While he recognises Greek influence on its terminology and ethnographic ideas, he maintains that the preserved Greek

text is what it purports to be, a translation of an account of an Atlantic voyage by a Carthaginian explorer, which reached somewhere just south of the Bight of Biafra, where the African coast turns south after running east along the Ivory Coast. During his voyage Hanno, therefore, passed the Senegal river and Mt Cameroon and provided, according to his plausible suggestion, the first description of simians, probably chimpanzees (Pan troglodytes) and not gorillas.

The *Periodos Dedicated to King Nikomedes*, more commonly known as the *Periodos* of Ps.-Skymnos, has the most complex textual history. It was originally intended to be a comprehensive versified geography of the *oikoumene* modelled on the *Chronika* of the 2nd-century BC grammarian Apollodoros of Athens and like this work, it was based primarily on Classical and Hellenistic sources, most notably the works of the historians Ephoros and Demetrios of Kallatis and the geographer Eratosthenes, and is particularly valuable for the often unique information it contains about the foundation of Greek colonies, especially in the Black Sea.

Unfortunately, the original size of the work and the name of its author are both unknown. The loss of the final pages of *Codex Parisinus graecus supplementi 443* and with them most likely the larger portion of the Periodos means that probably at most half the work survives, with the 747 preserved lines treating the Iberian peninsula and the north coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and an additional 278 lines recovered from the 6th-century AD *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* covering much of the Black Sea. Equally important, while its author is unknown – Ps.-Skymnos is just a conventional designation – R. convincingly argues that the work was dedicated to Nikomedes III, who ruled Bithynia until 94 BC, thereby dating its composition to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.

The final work in the volume, Avienus' *Ora Maritiama*, differs significantly from the other texts, being a late representative of the Latin geographical tradition, and the work of a well-documented author, Rufus Festus Avienus, an important political figure of the 4th century AD. Like the *Periodos Dedicated to King Nikomedes*, however, an unknown amount of the *Ora Maritima* has been lost, with the surviving 713 lines treating only the Atlantic coast of Western Europe and the Mediterranean coast as far as Massilia, although Avienus' stated goal was to describe both the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Of particular interest are Avienus' references to the account of the voyage of a Carthaginian explorer named Himilco, who seems to have explored the coasts of Iberia and Brittany and may even have visited Britain and Ireland at about the same time as Hanno travelled south along the coast of West Africa.

Three Ancient Geographical Treatises in Translation is a useful addition to the growing literature on ancient geography. R.'s new translation of Hanno's *Periplous* and his lucid prose versions of the *Periodos Dedicated to King Nikomedes* and Avienus' *Ora Maritima* make available to scholars and students up-to-date editions of three important but unfamiliar texts accompanied by excellent geographical commentaries that identify geographical features mentioned in the texts and elucidate numerous obscure toponyms. It is, however, unfortunate that a work on ancient geography is so inadequately served cartographically with only three small scale maps. Particularly poor is the map accompanying the translation of the *Periodos Dedicated to King Nikomedes*, which omits all places in the Black Sea mentioned in the fragments.

California State University, Los Angeles Stanley M. Burstein

T. Rood and M. Tamiolaki (eds.), *Xenophon's* Anabasis *and its Reception*, Trends in Classics Suppl. 134, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2022, xv+555 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-079337-6

The present volume, like the recent publication on the *Cyropaedia* edited by Bruno Jacobs, plays a very important role in Xenophon's ongoing rehabilitation in the academic world (see my review of Jacobs's volume above),

Regarding form, the detailed indexes, the great variety of topics and the division into thematic sections make this book a great tool of research for students and scholars in all fields of Classical Studies. The absence of a main thread, is not a problem *per se* since (i) we are dealing with a volume concerning the *Anabasis* in general, (ii) but also because it is a text that still deserves much attention from scholars. Besides, this proves that the *Anabasis* is much more than an historiographical work. In this lengthy text, Xenophon also presents parts of his ethical reflections, such as his conception of *philia* and *aretê*, as well as some of his political doctrines, such as his theory of leadership and, in particular, reflections on what makes a good ruler, the obstacles to good government and the means to obtain voluntary obedience. Xenophon also presents his conception of the army as a social and political organisation, where he identifies some of the issues existing in a *polis*, notably, the tension between the individual desire for prosperity and the interests of the community, which raises the fundamental problem of political stability. However, the division of the volume in three different parts is somewhat artificial: apart from the third and last section, which is specifically concerned with the reception of the *Anabasis* from antiquity to present times, it seems that the first two parts could have been merged. Nevertheless, the order of the chapters follows a clear rationale.

J. Dillery deals with the question of the *Anabasis*' prologue or, more precisely, its double prologue (1. 1; 3. 1), arguing that Xenophon deliberately restarts the narrative after the death of the Greek generals, and that he repeats the same literary technique in other works, such as the *Hellenica*. Furthermore, the author argues that not only the *Anabasis* has two main heroes, Cyrus the Younger and Xenophon, but also that the second narrative (the return of the Ten Thousand to Greece) directly depends on the first one (the failure of Cyrus' attempt to dethrone his brother).

G. Danzig's paper complements Dillery's in terms of the biographical and apologetical aspect of the *Anabasis*: on the one hand, Cyrus' attempt to kill his own brother and the moral implications of this deed; on the other hand, Xenophon's explanation of his decision to participate in this military expedition. The author intelligently argues that we find elements both in the *Anabasis* and in the *Cyropaedia* suggesting that the portrait of Cyrus the Younger is much less flattering than we could *prima facie* suppose; he also emphasises Xenophon's literary ability to justify his decision to join Cyrus, who was opposed to Athens in favour of Sparta.

C. Atack, writing on Xenophon's moral luck, provides an interesting articulation between the notions of opportunity (*kairos*) and action (*praxis*), specifically political and military action, which contributes to the discussion on Xenophon's theory of leadership, a fundamental pillar of his ethical and political thought. The author correctly argues that Xenophon's decision to join Cyrus' army in Asia and, in particular, the murder of the Greek generals, provided him the greatest opportunity (*megiston kairon*) to show not only his military talents but also his oratory skills in order to build a political community out of the disorder and the

confusion that followed Tissaphernes' trickery. Indeed, the very fact that Xenophon was able to interpret his dream (3. 1. 11–14) as an omen and his ability to seize *kairos* in order to implement a course of action and, consequently, to change the fate of the whole army, are an essential part of the portrait of the good leader. Furthermore, *kairos* and *praxis* are key notions not only to understand the tensions existing in the sphere of politics, such as the constant shift between stability and instability of the Ten Thousand as a social organisation, but also to shed light on the analogy between military and political organisation.

L.-A. Dorion's paper – on the reception of *Anabasis* 3. 1. 4–8, the dialogue where Xenophon consults Socrates on whether he should join Cyrus' expedition – contrasts the reception of Xenophon by ancient and modern authors. Indeed, taking this passage as a starting point, it provides a valuable analysis on two opposite approaches to Xenophon's corpus: on the one hand, those who advocate that Xenophon should not be considered a Socratic at all and, on the other hand, those who are too indulgent with Xenophon in their effort to rehabilitate his works. The author adopts a *via media*, intelligently arguing that Xenophon is at the same time defending Socrates – in particular, his lessons on the proper behaviour towards the gods – and openly delivering a *mea culpa*.

The volume is also very useful for those interested in Xenophon's ethics, since several papers approach this broad topic through different perspectives. For instance, E. Baragwanath artfully weaves a connection between justice, piety and friendship in the relationship between Greeks and Barbarians in Books 5 and 6, showing that those virtues serve as a 'universal morality'; it argues, furthermore, that Xenophon often depicts the Barbarians as paradigms of virtue, whereas the Greeks are often depicted as vicious, since they frequently give in to extreme self-interest. D. Thomas emphasises the breakdown of social relations and friendship bonds in the second half of Book 7, arguing that Xenophon's deficiencies as a leader – which, according to the author, he never tries to hide – were partly responsible for this erosion; in this way, Thomas, by distancing himself from the majority of scholars, who see the *Anabasis* as an unreserved eulogy of the character Xenophon, offers a thought-provoking perspective on the problem of leadership. P. Demont tackles the concept of *philia* in the *Anabasis* by thoroughly analysing its nuances: (i) guest-friendship, represented by the relationship between Clearchus and Cyrus; (ii) true friendship, based on free will and involving not only utility but also affection; (iii) political friendship, *philanthropia*, as a means to hide the asymmetry between the leader and his subordinates.

Three papers analyse different aspects of direct speeches in the *Anabasis*. R. Nicolai examines the *ethos* of Xenophon the character and some minor characters through an examination of rhetorical speeches; the author convincingly shows that Xenophon and Clearchus are two of the most complex characters in the *Anabasis*. In the same vein, S.B. Ferrario approaches the theme of falsehood and misrepresentation by analysing some of the direct speeches, arguing that Xenophon the author construed his narrative in a way that Xenophon the character progressively learns how to distinguish truth from falsehood and manipulation, developing thus his capacities as a leader. M. Tamiolaki analyses the vast vocabulary of emotions and their role in persuasion, arguing that emotional intelligence (and, specifically, the handling of the negative emotions of the subordinates) is one of the greatest attributes of the military leader. Through speech, fear, discouragement and many other negative emotions can be either eliminated or replaced by more positive ones, which is directly related to actions and decisions that saved the Ten Thousand in the most critical

moments of their journey. A. Tsakmakis provides an interesting analysis of the *Anabasis* from the concept of '*sôma*', showing that this work can be seen as an *aristeia* of the body, not only because the Ten Thousand must constantly fight and overcome everything that menace their physical integrity (for example, battles, illness, heat, cold, pain, hunger and thirst), but also because the body is the most important signifier of power, authority and social interaction.

The last section of the book is entirely dedicated to the reception of the *Anabasis*. Indeed, its content is very diverse. The reader will find two contributions comparing Xenophon's and Arrian's *Anabases* and two on the reception of Xenophon's *Anabasis* in late antiquity. N. Humble, following her recent research on the reception of Xenophon's works in the Renaissance, offers an analysis on the reception of the *Anabasis* in the 15th and 16th centuries. T. Rood, in 'The Anabasis Illustrated', sheds light on Xenophon's modern reception through an examination of visual media. P. Pontier explores Voltaire's somewhat virulent treatment of the *Anabasis*. L. Pitcher analyses the role of Scillus in Xenophon's intellectual production, whereas P. Mini compares the *Anabasis* to the 1979 film *The Warrior*, specifically from the perspective of its promotion by its production company. Last of all, M.A. Flower enthusiastically vindicates the *Anabasis*' rehabilitation as the most suitable text for teaching ancient Greek and, in parallel, the most accessible text for beginning and intermediate level students in Classics.

University of Montreal Vitor de Simoni Milione

A. Rubel and H.U. Voß (eds.), *Experiencing the Frontier and the Frontier Experience: Barbarian Perspectives and Roman Strategies to Deal with New Territories*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 76, Archaeopress, Oxford 2020, viii+231 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78969-681-3

This volume of the Archaeopress Roman Archaeology series relates to the responses of the Roman empire to the threat the 'barbarian' tribes, outside and inside the empire, during the crisis of the 3rd century AD. These tribes, sometimes already auxiliaries, became a real menace and Rome's strategies against them ranged from inclusion in the army, diplomacy, alliances or buy-offs till warfare and extermination, but also through trade.

Two sessions in the framework of the 2018 European Association of Archaeologists meeting at Barcelona, one by Alexander Rubel and Hans-Ulrich Voß under the motto 'How to beat the Barbarians? Roman practice to encounter new threats (1st–5th century AD)', together with another, organised by Annet Nieuwhof from Groningen University, 'In the shadow of the Roman Empire: Contact, influence and change outside the Roman limes', led to the publication of this volume.

The 16 contributions explore, through archaeological evidence, the situation on and beyond the borders of the empire. Roman imports, through trade, booty or colonists, in different parts of Late Iron Age Europe east of the Rhine as well as north of the Danube help us to understand the process of Roman power and influence in Europe and beyond. Seven contribution deal with the Danubian *limes*, two with the Rhine *limes*, four with the Roman material in Germany, Scandinavia and Britain beyond the *limes*, and one with the Nile Valley in Egypt.

In the first chapter, the editors, Alexander Rubel and Hans-Ulrich Voß, discuss three aspects of the results of the barbarian intrusion in the 3rd century AD. First of all, the fact that the Marcomannic Wars were probably the starting point for a complete reshuffle of the political order in the hinterland of the *limes*, giving birth to groups which began to attack the Roman empire with much more success. Secondly, the Roman empire developed diplomatic and strategic approaches to counter the barbarian threat (such as negotiating with their leaders and the foundation of 'inner fortifications'). Finally, they discuss the Roman presence and Roman influence deep into barbarian territory from the Atlantic to the Caucasus.

The situation along the Danube from the Upper Tisza region in Hungary to the Black Sea is treated by Krzysztof Narloch (fortifications, used to impose control over populations on both sites of the *limes* and as a starting point for Roman campaigns), Hüssen, Komoróczy, Rajtár and Vlach (discussing several aspects of archaeological imprints of Roman military activities north of the Middle Danube), Jan Bulas (finding evidence for co-operation between Romans and Vandals in the Upper Tisza region at the end of the 2nd and the 3rd century AD), Opreanu, Cociș and Lăzărescu (discussing the distribution of several kind of brooches at the frontier marketplace of Porolissum in Dacia/Transylvania), Munteanu and Hânceanu (the meaning of pierced Roman denarii in 'free Dacia'), Lavinia Grumeza (evidence for a so-called 'third zone' or maybe 'middle ground' which was neither a part of the empire but also different from the barbarian territory), Alexander Rubel (discussing the new Roman policy of 'inner fortifications' to counter barbarian invasions) and finally József Puskás (the Gothic presence in Transylvania after the withdrawal of the Roman administration at the end of the 3rd century AD).

The contribution of Suharoschi, Dumitrache and Curcă is concerned with the Rhaetian *limes* as a strongly militarised region where life differed on both sites of the border, pulsating commerce on the Roman and attempts to find life in the new order on the other site. Annet Nieuwhof uses the finds of terra sigillata along the northern *limes* in the present-day Netherlands, more used as gifts or payments than as imported luxury tableware. There are hardly any signs of Romanisation in this area.

Northern Europe is treated by Tove Hjørungdal (Roman metal vessels in Scandinavia as burial gifts, again as products of 'middle grounds' or third spaces, as he calls them), Jan Kegler (with a very interesting report on the excavation of an Roman Iron Age site in north-eastern Frisia, possibly a harbour and trading station of the Chauci), Luisa Di Pastena (on the massive terrets found beyond Hadrian's wall in Great Britain, probably obtained through intermediaries), and Schmidt and Voß (about the knowledge of the Roman military about inner-Germanic conditions and the use of payment under Commodus to move the war from the Danube *limes* to inner Germany).

Finally, Mariusz Drzewiecki has a contribution on Roman-like fortresses in the Middle Nile Valley, which was never a part of the Roman empire, being a combination of regional and Roman ideas.

In conclusion, relations on most borders of the Roman empire are treated although rather dissimilarly. Much attention is paid to the situation on the Danube while less goes to the Rhine *limes*; only one contribution concerns the long border of the Roman empire in Asia and Africa. The most interesting are the three contributions regarding the Roman material outside the *limes* in northern Europe, especially in Scandinavia from where less information regarding this subject is known.

In all, this volume is a welcome contribution to the study of the military and economic situation along different parts of the *limes* of the Roman empire.

Ghent University Jan G. de Boer

G. Ryan, *Greek Cities and Roman Governors: Placing Power in Imperial Asia Minor*, Studies in Roman Space and Urbanism, Routledge, London/New York 2022, xii+160 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-75684-0

This short book (160 pages) is a revised version of Garrett Ryan's 2016 PhD from Michigan, examining relationships between cities and Roman governors in Asia Minor between the Late Republic and the 3rd century AD. The focus is on western Asia Minor, theoretically the provinces of Asia, Pontus et Bithynia and Lycia et Pamphylia, though mostly concerned with Asia.

Chapter 1 starts with a short discussion of the governance of cities, with three case studies from a speech of Dio Chrysostom at Prusa, Perge and the activities of Plancia Magna, and the layout of Ephesus. Chapter 2 follows with a short discussion of the governor, his role, his expectations of the city, and stereotypes of how Romans might see Greeks, all heavily dependent on Cicero and Pliny. Chapter 3 covers *adventus*, the arrival of the governor at a city, focusing on Ephesus, Miletus and Pergamum. The ability of the city to control this part of their relationship with the governor is well brought out, with a nice sense of practicalities, of the difference between moving and stopping as the governor entered the city, of guides, and of the importance of considering statuary and not just architecture. This short chapter might, if longer, have addressed questions like how long it would take to walk from the harbour to the theatre at Ephesus and Miletus, or the decision not to use the theatre at Pergamum, perhaps to the relief of a governor staring up at the acropolis. Better use could have been made of graphics: for example, there is no plan of Perge or Ephesus, while the plan of Miletus which supports the description of the governor's moving from harbour to theatre does not include the theatre (p. 48).

Chapter 4 covers the assizes, starting by describing the various settings of judicial hearings, with good descriptions of the forest of statuary that usually adorned cities.[1] The discussion of *conventus* centres is brief, and ignores several other *conventus* centres in Asia such as Tralles, Alabanda, Mylasa and Sardis. The number of such centres varied over time,[2] but the more there were, the less time a governor might spend in each. There are some good observations on the differences between local perspectives regarding the city and the governor (p. 88), while the idea that by the 2nd century AD outstanding residents of a city might be of equal or greater rank to the governor (pp. 85, 87) deserves to be extended and prompts questions about whether any meetings were seen as interactions of equals, rivals or colleagues? Chapter 5 covers civic festivals, involving a combination of processions, religious events and competitions, with a detailed case study of the *Koina Asias* festival at Ephesus. A two-page conclusion is followed by three very short appendices with descriptions

[1] On which see also J. Stoop, 'Between City and Empire: Awarding Statues to Romans in Greek Cities', *Past and Present* 235 (2017), 3–36.

[2] G.P. Burton, 'Proconsuls, Assizes, and the Administration of Justice'. *JRS* 65 (1975), 92–94.

of monuments in Second Sophistic Speeches, a survey of Italian aristocratic villas and Greek culture that feels out of place in this volume, and statues of governors in cities. Finally, there is a very short index.

The book's strength lies in the use made of architectural and sculptural evidence, especially the different theories employed in each chapter (Chapter 3 using network language and the concept of environmental cues, Chapter 4 framing, Chapter 5 actor–network theory). The discussions of the theories themselves are brief but effective, helping the reader to think about what was happening in these situations. Literary evidence is not always well handled, with the letters of Cicero and Pliny, like the speeches from Second Sophistic writers, often being taken at face value. Change over time is sometimes blurred, so that Cicero is used to illustrate relations between the provinces and Rome generically, rather than as part of discussion of how practices had changed between his period and that of, say, Marcus Aurelius (pp. 27–28, 32). Similarly, cities are presented as fully formed, appropriate for Asia, but not the case in all parts of Asia Minor even in the 1st century AD, as Madsen's work on Pontus shows.[3] More nuancing of Pliny's letters would be possible; for example, it would be good to mention work by Woolf and Stadter,[4] which sees these letters as a constructed collection, designed to show both Pliny's closeness to the emperor and his effectiveness as an administrator. Examples are not always clearly located in either time or space which will makes this a difficult book for undergraduates, but more importantly obscures the evolving relationships between cities in western Anatolia and the Roman state. It works well to treat the Romans as intrusive when we discuss Cicero, but less so when discussing Gaius Julius Aquila, COS 110 from Ephesus and his father, Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemanus, governor at various points of Asia, Cilicia, and the sprawling Galatia-based administrative zone (pp. 87–88). In the same way, the decision not to consider variations over space deprives us of the opportunity to tell different stories of city and aristocratic response to Rome.

Finally, R.'s Roman empire is a place where 'between assizes, imperial authority was almost invisible, except in the urban fabric' (p. 119), reflecting Aelius Aristides' famous Roman Oration. Much more could be said about this theme, and the evidence of coins, roads, and milestones might be thought to tell a different story. Nonetheless, R. has presented a lot of interesting material that serves as a readable introduction to the topic of governors and cities in western Roman Asia Minor, though the work's brevity unfortunately limits its ability to discuss change over time and space.

Trent University, Peterborough, ON Hugh Elton

[3] J.M. Madsen, *From Trophy Towns to City-States: Urban Civilization and Cultural Identities in Roman Pontus* (Philadelphia 2020). Reviewed by me in *AWE* 22 (2023), 412–14.

[4] G, Woolf, 'Pliny/Trajan and the Poetics of Empire'. *Classical Philology* 110 (2015), 132–51; P.A. Stadter, 'Pliny and the Ideology of Empire: The Correspondence with Trajan'. *Prometheus* 32 (2006), 61–76.

C. Schliephake, N. Sojc and G. Weber (eds.), *Nachhaltigkeit in der Antike: Diskurse, Praktiken, Perspektiven*, Geographica Historica 42, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2020, 265 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-12733-2

Nachhaltigkeit, best translated as sustainability, is potentially *the* buzz word of recent years – a word used frequently, but which in many contexts has been moulded to mean different things. However, in particular the use of the word when applied to the ancient world remains problematic, since there is no hard evidence – as the editors of the volume under review also state – for awareness of the importance of sustainability or, subsequently, for sustainability strategies in ancient sources. While it might then seem redundant to work with sustainability as a concept applied to the study of ancient societies, it is in fact not. Rather, sustainability brings a new fresh way of thinking about topics such as reuse, recycling, spoliation, depletion of resources and limitations of access to resources. These topics can all, with good reasons, be revisited through the lens of sustainability, as long as one stays critically aware that sustainability discussions did not exist in ancient societies like they do today. It is in this critical approach, already voiced explicitly in line 1 of the introduction (*'Nachhaltigkeit' ist kein antikes Konzept*) to the current volume, where one of its strengths lies, namely in the fact that it does not pretend to apply the term directly in ancient contexts but aims at critically reassessing situations and case studies from the ancient world through methodological and theoretical perspectives.

Both in the foreword as in the dense and substantial introduction, useful insights into how the editors understand sustainability and what the advantages and challenges are when using the word in the context of the ancient world are given, and the introduction holds a solid and critical overview of current and earlier discussions on sustainability, also drawing upon the long-existing area of study 'Environmental Humanities'. First and foremost, the editors want to apply the term 'sustainability' as a heuristic instrument (*heristische Instrument*, p. 9), for which they must be credited immensely. The well-edited volume consists of an introduction in German and 11 contributions, which are not ordered into any sections: eight are in German, two in English (M. Locicero and J. DeLaine) and one in French (C. Chandezon). The contributions are varied and tackle both very different chronological and geographical frameworks as well as material evidence, spanning from archaeological evidence over textual (including papyri) and epigraphic. As such, the volume gives good insight into the wide variety of evidence available.

The first contribution by Thommen gives a solid overview and important methodological considerations on the depletion of, and the belief in the regrowth of, resources in antiquity, looking systematically at metal and stone pits, arable land, forests and water resources and then moving on to examining Theophratus' text on interrelations between the environment and living creatures. While Thommen's conclusion is that there was an awareness of depletion of resources, he also underlines that such awareness was not bound into a broader understanding of sustainability issues, and that the evidence left to us underlines that sustainability as a concept that ancient populations measured their use of resources up against did not exist.

The next three contributions all concern hydrology, water supply and water usage in a variety of contexts. Unkel tackles three case studies in a short contribution focusing on the Maya, the Nasca (Peru) as well as the Myceanean cultures and their water-usage

strategies as reflected in the archaeology. With three such diverse cases, the contribution can only be introductory and fairly superficial. Locicero and DeLaine examine the harbour of Ostia and baths, respectively. The contributions focus on Roman-period evidence, giving good insights and overviews of various strategies employed usually through technologies available.

Voigt's contribution turns to the reuse of marble elements from three case studies: the Pantheon, the Villa of Hadrian and the baths of Diocletian in Rome. These are three very diverse case studies spanning one monument, a private representative villa of an emperor and the Imperial central Roman baths of another emperor. While there is no way the contribution can be exhaustive on the topic of sustainability or 'saving measures', it does highlight through focused studies how we can get closer to understanding reuse as much more than simply spoliation, as it begins to disentangle the strategies behind reuse and recycling.

Sojc tackles evidence for 'sacred rubbish' from the extra-urban sanctuary of S. Anna, located west of Akragas, showing that trash that could not be disposed like normal rubbish in many cases had further life cycles and was, despite the fact that it should have been discarded, reused in several contexts, raising questions about awareness of resources and the importance of exploiting materials already at hand, despite their sacred contexts. Staying in the realm of the sacred, Schliephake turns to the foundational myth of ancient Athens in order to explore connections between sacred meaning-making and its concrete expression in cults and in this case the 'sacred law' described. Arguably being difficult to connect directly to actual archaeological evidence left to us, it is thought-provoking to read the conclusions about the role of religion for further ponderings on a theory and practice of sustainability in antiquity. Weber stays with the texts and addresses magical papyri as well as descriptions of dreams – admitting that at first glance such evidence might seem far away from issues of sustainability but still contained underlying strategies connected to the ways in which 'nature' worked and had to be protected. However, in the end the evidence can mostly be pushed to encourage some sparing use of water, for example, and does not indicate an overarching concern with issues of sustainability.

Chandezon moves to the issue of deforestation – which was widely addressed in antiquity and often connected to the grazing of particularly goats. While going through the anti-goat grazing sources that interestingly enough were sustained throughout antiquity and also appear in much later periods – and which make for fascinating reading – what is indeed one of the important main points of the contribution is that the evidence, in this case the written sources, is socially biased and often does not take into account the lower classes' view of the situations. While this might seem an obvious conclusion, it is in fact in the case of deforestation and goat grazing, important to be reminded that narratives were filtered by their authors.

Practical issues such as appropriate sizes of land to be farmed by one farmer are addressed through the writings of Columella, a 1st-century AD writer, in the contribution by Mielke. He subtly indicates that, by extension, such writing can be argued also to relate itself to issues of sustainability, since land-grabbing or owning more land than one could farm would have led to unsustainable situations. However, he also lays open the problematic issues with seeing Columella's text in a sustainability light. Nonetheless, the text pieces brought to the attention of the reader are highly interesting, giving us insights into the mechanisms and thoughts behind land use and farming in the Roman period.

The last contribution, by Soentgen, concerns itself with the concept of sustainability, which, according to the author, relates to the concept of usufruct in Roman law and being passed down throughout times into the Middle Ages and beyond. The contribution, however, focuses on the Romantic thinker Adam Müller's writings, exemplifying the use of the term beyond antiquity.

While all contributions in this volume clearly state that sustainability as we understand the term today cannot be said to have existed in antiquity and that no awareness of a sustainable way of living existed, the contributions still tackle important questions of resource use, recycling and awareness of depletion of resources in antiquity. The bibliographies are rich and enlightening, and the volume can warmly be recommended as a starting point for further thinking about issues of or paths to be taken when one wants to study resources and their usages in pre-modern Mediterranean societies.

Aarhus University Rubina Raja

E.H. Seland, *A Global History of the Ancient World: Asia, Europe and Africa before Islam*. Routledge, London/New York 2022, vii+160 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-367-69554-5

The text is a revised and translated rendering of the original 2008 Norwegian publication, *Antikkens globale verden*, which had been revised three times prior to the English version. As the title indicates, the book omits Australia and the Americas, except in very limited cases when *comparanda* are helpful. Coverage begins in the Palaeolithic, but really concentrates on the period *ca.* 9700 BC to the advent of Islam in the 7th century AD. The text combines a traditional account of ancient history, Greek and Roman societies, with a global history that 'emphasizes unifying and common developments and the importance of connections across political and cultural boundaries' (p. 4), which here focuses on societies that made up Mesopotamia, Persia, India, China and, to a lesser degree, northern and eastern Africa.

Between the introduction and conclusion, eight chapters compose the book. The first moves quickly from an overview of the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic, emphasising the development of agriculture in *ca.* 10,000 BC in the Fertile Crescent, then elsewhere in the world. This leads to the origin of social stratification, urbanism and state formation that seems to have originated in Mesopotamia. The city of Uruk is singled out as an early example of how this phenomenon occurred.

The survey continues with the first of two thematic chapters, 'Making sense of past societies'. The premise is to examine certain 'basic assumptions and simple models' that can serve in identifying commonalities shared by different pre-modern societies that can then be used to form general comparisons. For each of the case studies, S. draws on theories that are purposefully 'old' and arguably 'outdated', because they have left an indelible mark on scholarship (p. 16). He begins with historical ecology and demography, which is useful for ascertaining the interaction between humans and the environment in which they live. This leads to discussions about social complexity, and different forms of state formation: city-states, territorial states and empires, and how states originated. An analysis of social and economic ties, as well as patrons and clients then follow. The chapter ends with an

explanation of how models can aid in historical reconstruction. It is worth stressing that each model that S. presents stems largely from classicists.

'Metals and the first complex societies: Until 1200 BCE', consists of seven sections – six case studies and a conclusion. The overview includes summations of Mesopotamia and the Middle East (Sumerians and Akkadians), Egypt (Early Dynastic Period to the New Kingdom), India (Indus Civilisation), China and East Asia (Xia and Shang Dynasties with passing references to Korea and Japan), the eastern Mediterranean (Minoans and Mycenaeans) and various other peoples (the Olmecs of Mesoamerica and Indo-Europeans, etc.). S. concludes that the success of states formed in the Bronze Age was due to the ability to harness agricultural surplus, military and religious authority, metal technology (copper to bronze) and long-distance trade.

Two chapters are devoted to the Iron Age. The first concerns the early period, *ca.* 1200–800 BC, in which S. uses a 'system-explanations' (pp. 51–52) approach to illuminate the collapse of these same Bronze Age states that were discussed in chapter three situated along the Mediterranean coast, in the Middle East and in South Asia, save the notable exceptions of Egypt and China. Together the areas that underwent this time of crisis experienced a collective period of 'dark ages'. The discussion ends with an overview of the 'Greek Dark Ages', because from the perspective of global history this phase is 'typical of chieftains and tribal societies in other geographical and chronological contexts' (p. 53). The second focuses on urbanised regions in the Iron Age proper, *ca.* 800–335 BC. Although the chapter begins with a discussion of Phoenician trade and expansion, the focus is on the development of Greek city-states, colonisation, wars against Persia and among themselves, and economics. A few brief sections concern other areas of the world, principally: the Mediterranean, Rome, China and India, ending with a summation of the rise of cities following the Bronze Age.

Chapter 6, 'City-states and collective governments', forms the second thematic chapter in the book. Three examples serve as the kinds of governments that were current in city-states: democracy in Athens, oligarchy in Sparta and the mixed constitution of the Roman Republic containing both forms of Greek city-state governments, although S. omits monarchy as a third element. The purpose is to formulate a set of common features of the city-state model in the Mediterranean. For sake of comparison, two short sections assess how this model appeared in southern Arabia before Islam and Germania, even though knowledge of these regions remains 'limited' (p. 75).

In 'The empires strike back: 335 BCE–200 CE', we move from Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic period to the growth of Rome from its conquests of Italy to the Roman Principate (27 BC–AD 235). The discussion then turns to the history of Arsacid Parthia, followed by an overview of India under the Mauryas and their successors, and China under the Qin and Han Dynasties. It concludes with three short sections that deal with how these empires interacted with one another through war, trade and diplomacy that led to the spread of peoples, goods, ideas and even diseases. Finally, one of the factors that contributed to this interaction and the ability of these empires to flourish was a stable and favourable climate that allowed for food surplus and an increased population.

Chapter 8, 'Crisis, consolidation and collapse: 200–651 CE', marks the last chapter of the text. The focus concerns the Mediterranean world under the Romans then the Byzantines, and the Iranian plateau ruled by the Sasanians. Attention is also paid to civil wars,

uprisings and nomadic incursions in China and the Gupta Dynasty of India along with the resurgence of Hinduism. Having wrested control of Parthian Iran from the Arsacids, the Sasanians forged an empire that lasted some four centuries. Attention is paid to their relations with the Romans, expansion and settlement, and government and religious ideology. For the Romans, civil war, consolidation and collapse characterise this period punctuated by the stop-gap efforts of Diocletian, Constantine and Christianity until the stresses exacted on the empire proved too great. The survival of the empire was maintained in the east with the emergence of the Byzantine empire. The result was that two great contiguous empires were left standing: the Byzantines and the Sasanids. Ultimately, they, too, fell unable to stave off the invasions from a new group of people, the Arabs. The chapter closes with an essay on the end of antiquity. A brief Conclusion completes the book.

For those familiar with S.'s work, the text is composed in his typical laconic style. It will be a welcome addition for undergraduate courses as well as the lay reader. At times the work hurries through various civilisations rather than developing a coherent conceptualisation of each society it treats, while often many are omitted altogether. By placing perhaps too great an emphasis on models in order to establish broad assertions of commonalities between civilisations, S. sacrifices important coverage of the societies that he discusses. Grammatical problems also occur sporadically. Finally, the book would have been enhanced with a glossary, additional maps, extra illustrations and a more liberal use of dates.

Wake Forest University, NC Jeffrey D. Lerner

J. Stauber, *Repertorium der griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften aus Mysien*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 538, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 30, Vienna 2022, 2 vols., 1051 pp., illustrations, maps in end-pockets. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-8720-2

Josef Stauber, auteur en 1996 d'une monographie en deux tomes sur Adramytteion, cité de la Mysie éolienne (dans la série *IK*, n^{os} 50–51), et coauteur avec son maître Reinhold Merkelbach de l'indispensable recueil *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* I–V (Munich 1998–2004), livre ici un ouvrage monumental de tous les points de vue. Son répertoire renferme 2170 inscriptions provenant de Mysie – ou en rapport avec cette région de l'Asie Mineure –, dès l'époque archaïque et jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité Tardive. En fonction des découvertes dont le caractère est par ailleurs fort aléatoire, on compte des décrets, des dédicaces honorifiques et votives, des catalogues de noms, une grande quantité d'épitaphes sur des supports très variés, mais aussi des exemples de l'*instrumentum inscriptum* (graffites, marques d'artisans, sceaux proto-byzantins, etc.). La plupart des inscriptions sont, comme attendu, en grec, mais on note quelques inscriptions latines et même des bilingues. 1550 illustrations ornent ce recueil et s'avèrent être de qualité variable, non seulement pour les photos, mais aussi pour les plans, les dessins ou les fac-similés reproduits, dont certains auraient gagné à être de taille plus réduite, afin d'éviter des résultats médiocres.

L'auteur insiste dans son introduction sur le caractère de répertoire, et non de corpus, de son ouvrage (p. 7); chaque entrée comporte des lemmes descriptifs (en particulier pour les supports) et bibliographiques, le texte de l'inscription (avec un apparat critique réduit), la

traduction allemande (sauf pour les listes de noms), des illustrations (dans tous les cas où c'est possible) et de brefs commentaires. On doit saluer un remarquable travail de localisation des 435 lieux de découverte des textes, avec la correspondance entre les toponymes antiques, ceux turcs et grecs des siècles précédents – souvent notés de manière dissemblable par les voyageurs et les savants –, et les noms actuels. La présentation systématique de ces sites par S. est une véritable mine d'informations. Il est désormais très facile de se repérer grâce aux localisations proposées, à l'aide des nombreuses cartes régionales très détaillées, en plus d'une carte générale de la Mysie, et de deux cartes dépliées encartées. Les inscriptions de l'espace mysien – la cité de Pergame laissée de côté – sont répertoriées par 9 régions (et, à l'intérieur de chaque microrégion, par les lieux de découverte): (1) Adramytténè; (2) Kaïkos; (3) Granikos et Parianè; (4) Aisépos; (5) Kadıköy Dere/Koca Çay; (6) Cyzique et les alentours (avec plusieurs sous-divisions); (7) Lacus Apolloniates; (8) Makestos; (9) Abretténè et Olympénè; (10) lieux de découverte inconnus; (11) quelques sceaux byzantins. À la fin, une riche bibliographie renferme les titres abrégés dans le recueil. On déplore seulement le fait que le troisième tome, comportant les indispensables indices (ainsi que des concordances, des plans, et les sources littéraires sur Cyzique), n'est pas sorti au même moment que les deux tomes massifs que nous présentons ici.

Ce répertoire épigraphique mysien couvre une région comprise entre la Bithynie, la Propontide, la Troade, la côte égéenne, la Lydie et la Phrygie, dont seulement quelques parties avaient été illustrées par des corpus modernes – dans la série *IK*, en particulier pour la cité la plus importante de la région, Cyzique –, et cela d'autant plus que pour le reste du territoire mysien les données épigraphiques restaient extrêmement dispersées. S. a pu intégrer des nouveautés (jusqu'en 2016), et même un nombre appréciable d'inédits, provenant des musées turques (ainsi, Bandırma), des régions de Gönen et Hamdibey, de Cyzique, voire des collections privées. C'est donc un autre mérite de son travail, indiquant un travail de longue haleine. Enfin, pour une meilleure compréhension, il a ajouté des témoignages externes (e.g. Samothrace, Didymes), utile pour la connaissance historique des sites antiques répertoriés. Il s'agit en plus d'une région soumise à de multiples interférences, qui expliquent la grande variété des monuments inscrits conservés.

Quelques notules concernant certaines inscriptions, sur des points de détails, inévitables lors d'un travail de cette ampleur. – **741**: Θεόδωρος Ταρσεὺς ἐπο[ίει] (et pas ἐπο[ίησεν]), puisque la signature complète de ce producteur de strigiles de bronze est également connue sur des exemplaires trouvés en Éolie (Ayasmat), en Dacie (camp auxiliaire de Buciumi, *IG Dacie* 39), et à Trente (Tridentum, Italie du Nord), sans oublier un strigile signé Ῥοῦφος Ταρσεὺς ἐποίει en Pannonie (tombe aristocratique de Vajta, *IG Pannonie* 107); sur ce dossier, voir *ACD* 52 (2016), 103–105, n° 10. – **825**: Βαιχίου → Βαχχίου. – **845**: ὅροι Ἀχιλ → ὅροι Ἀχιλ( ). – **1035**: Σέβῃ → Σεβήρῳ (avec ligature HP?, malgré la photo incomplète et médiocre tirée de l'*ed. pr.*). – **1100**: Ṣέβις Θεοφίλο[υ] → Ṣέβις Θεόφιλο[ς]. – **1151**: épitaphe de Nikaia fille d'Eumenidès et de son mari Athènodôros (patronyme perdu ?), ce dernier ἐξ [Ἀ]μφιπόλεως (absent du *LGNP* IV). – **1401 b**: Γαϊ. Ḷι. Γαϊανός → Γ. Αἴλι(ος) Γαϊανός. – **1402**: βαλε → Βαλέ(ριος). – **1406 c**: sur ce sarcophage mutilé, au lieu d'une disposition de trois ou quatre défunts (Μάρκε | Πωλλιανοῦ; Νουμίκιε | Μικια; Μαρκέλλε | Μαρκέλλου; [---] | Α[---] | χαίρε), il est préférable de comprendre Μάρκε Νουμίκιε Μαρκέλλε [υἱὲ?] | Πωλλιανοῦ· Μικία Μαρκέλλου Α[---]·| χαίρε (peut-être ἀ[δελφή?]). – **1477**: ce fragment de catalogue éphébique est très probablement originaire

d'Odessos (cf. L. Robert, cité dans le lemme; l'inscription est par ailleurs reprise par G. Mihailov dans *IGBulg* I² 51 *bis*), d'après les données onomastiques. – **1522**: Καισαγαρεως → Σαγάρεως (cet exemple est présent comme Σαγαρεύς dans *LGPN* V.A 396, mais il convient de le classer s.v. Σάγαρις). – **1857 s**: il ne s'agit pas d'un défunt Ἀρτεμῆς, mais, comme le confirme par ailleurs l'iconographie de cette stèle (femme accompagnée d'une servante) d'une défunte Ἄρτεμ(ε)ις (voc. Ἀρτεμεῖ éd., à accentuer plutôt Ἀρτέμει); sur ce nom féminin qui reprend celui de la déesse, cf. O. Masson, *OGS*, II, 543–547. – **1860 d**: on lit sur cette pierre de la collection Yavuz Tatış (n° 97) APIMEMEI? (*sic*) Μάρκου; faute de lapicide pour Ἄρ⟨τ⟩εμεις? – **1966**: Θιασέου → Θρασέου (photo Pfuhl/Möbius, pl. 305). – **2026 f**: Λ[ο]υκᾶς θεῷ | [Πει]σματηνῇ | εὐχήν (lecture de C. Tanrıver, *EA* 45 [2012], 96, n° 6, reproduite dans *AÉ*, 2012, 1473 et *SEG* LXII 940) → Μοκας θεᾷ | Πεισματηνῇ | εὐχήν (nom thrace et d'autres points de détail, que j'arrive à lire sur la photo du catalogue de la collection Yavuz Tatış, n° 72). – **2042**: cette épitaphe sur une stèle figurant le banquet funéraire (ventes Gerhard Hirsch) a été publiée dans *SEG* LXII 1809, avec le déchiffrement complet: Μανικων Διοδώρου καὶ | Διόδωρε Μανικωντος,| χαίρετε. – **2291**: Βατακίλου → Βαστακιλου. – **2639**: Εἰστριανῷ → Εἰστριανῷ. Parmi les témoignages externes, il convient d'ajouter pour l'Abretténè un diplôme militaire du 14 août 99 (*CIL* XVI 44, Mésie Inférieure, découvert à Altinum/auj. Oltina): *cohort(is) II Gallorum, cui praest Visulanius Crescens,| pediti | M(arco) Antonio M(arci) f(ilio) Rufo, Abretten(o),| et Marco f(ilio) eius*. Il n'est pas question d'*Abrit(t)us* en Mésie Inférieure, selon l'opinion de certains commentateurs par le passé, mais bien des *Abretteni* en Mysie.

S. met à la disposition des antiquisants, quels que soient leurs domaines, un répertoire monumental, qui rassemble pour la première fois, avec compétence et acribie, une documentation épigraphique très éparpillée, restituant une masse énorme de monuments dans leur cadre historique et dans leur contexte régional. Chacun trouvera son bonheur; je ne citerais ici que la variété des monuments, surtout funéraires, dont plusieurs modèles de stèles figurées, parfois à plusieurs registres. Ce répertoire constitue un modèle à suivre et conservera longtemps son utilité pour l'ensemble des historiens qui s'intéressent à la Mysie et aux régions limitrophes d'un espace qui devient plus accessible.

CNRS/Centre HISOMA, Lyon Dan Dana

R. Stoneman (ed.), *A History of Alexander the Great in World Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2022, xv+454 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-16769-8

The diversity of this collection of 19 essays is visible in its range of essay titles, from the promise of austere gravity in 'The Image of Alexander in Ancient Art' to the humorously-monikered 'Alexander the Gay and the Gloryhole that was Greece'. Some focus more strictly on historical evidence; others examine instead the strangeness and novelty of the ways by which Alexander can be seen peeking through multifarious cultural traditions and authors.

Appropriately, the volume begins in the ancient period. Richard Stoneman's introduction traces Alexander's life and image, and previews the essays included. Dorothy Thompson's 'Alexander and Alexandria in Life and Legend' usefully surveys ancient and mediaeval

sources (both plausible and not) of Alexander's life and afterlife and the *Alexander Romance*, cross-referencing these with recent finds such as hieroglyphs, and discussing contenders for the locations of Alexander's tomb. Olga Palagia's 'The Image of Alexander in Ancient Art' reviews all ancient portraits of Alexander, and how Hellenistic rulers imitated his clean-shaven-ness, upward gaze, hairstyle and appurtenances of divinity to boost their prestige and strengthen their dynastic cults. Less respectful adaptations continued among Roman rulers, with greater admiration appearing in the Late Empire.

Mediaeval Alexander inspires four articles. Susana Torres Prieto's 'The Slavic Alexander' explores Slavic countries' diverse appreciations of Alexander from 1194 to 1480: from being depicted along with King David and Jesus Christ on a church in 1194 to the first Slavic translation of the *Alexander Romance* to his usage as a model for the Bohemian court via a Czech translation of Chatillon's *Alexandreis* poem to a literary heroic figure 'allowing them to create the character they needed at a certain given time' (p. 213). In Mark Cruse's 'Alexander the Great and the Crusades', a monotheist Alexander is inserted into Christian salvation history. Alexander's suffering and betrayal equate to Christ's travails, prefigured by Alexander's homage to Yahweh. In 'Alexander the Great in Byzantine Tradition, AD 330–1453', Anthony Kaldellis spotlights Byzantine versions of Alexander as liberator of the 'Romans' (Byzantines) from the Persian empire in Ionnes Malalas, who went so far as to invent his own sources. Richard Rabone's 'The Spanish Alexander' explains the *Libro de Alexandre*, a 13th-century Spanish poem that 'mediaevalises' Alexander, integrating him into a contemporary Christian context. Some of his claims seem overwrought. We cannot attribute much Christianisation to the poem's usage of mediaeval hours of prayer (nor much 'mediaevalisation' to the term 'dueños' used for classical goddesses, p. 248). More apt is Rabone's interesting reflection on the poem's theodicy: God's assistance in, and approval for, Alexander's conquests (p. 250).

Alexander in Islam generates three articles. Two concern 'The Persian Alexander', one by Haila Manteghi and the other by Stoneman himself. Manteghi details the Persianising of Alexander as legitimate king assimilated to the legendary Kay Khosrow of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama* and how Alexander's exploits in the *Alexander Romance* were transferred to other Persian mediaeval literary heroes. Stoneman concentrates on Persian traditions that connected Alexander to Greek philosophers. The third, 'Alexander in Medieval Arab Minds' by Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, charts the tradition spreading from apocalyptic 7th-century Syriac texts into accounts written in Mongolian, Javanese, Sundanese and Malay. Sometimes Alexander is conflated with Dhu l-Qarnayn, 'The Two-Horned', a mythological hero, and Arabic biographies were written from the 9th century onward.

Shakespeare-era and operatic appearances are next. Stoneman's contribution, 'Alexander in the Age of Shakespeare', describes William Alexander of Menstrie's several plays on ancient Greek topics including *The Alexandrean Tragedie*. 'Alexander the Great in Opera' by Jon Solomon covers the surprisingly numerous and diverse representations of Alexander in European opera from the 17th century onward.

The figure of Droysen ties together two essays by Pierre Briant and Josef Wiesehofer. Briant's 'Alexander in the Long Eighteenth Century' argues that the supposedly newly optimistic attitudes found in Droysen's famous 1833 take on Alexander had been foreshadowed by earlier English and French scholarship positing Alexander as innovator in the history of

trade, such as that of P.-Daniel Huet and Voltaire. Montesquieu's Alexander is a positive model for, a cosmopolitan racial unifier in his policies of intermarriage with, conquered peoples. Scottish thinkers William Robertson and John Gillies presented Alexander as a civiliser and bringer of prosperity to Asia. William Vincent (1730–1815) saw Alexander as precursor to the efforts of the East India Company's penetration of India. Yet the philo-Alexandrine views were not universal in this period: Montesquieu's positive assessment was challenged by the Abbé Bonnot de Mably and the Baron de Sainte-Croix. And German scholarship of this period before Droysen first resisted the Anglo-French optimism, then slowly began to appreciate it, even seeing Alexander's conquest as model for a European victory over the Ottoman empire.

Wiesehofer's 'Images of Alexander in Germany' first interrogates mediaeval Germany's Alexander, focusing on Lamprecht's *Alexanderlied* (~1155), late mediaeval prose novels and a 1529 painting by Albrecht Altdorfer, prime fodder for Edward Said's Orientalisation thesis. The next two sections characterise Droysen's representations as 'the beginning of the modern scholarly debate on Alexander in Germany' (p. 405), and survey those of Flathe and Schlegel. Droysen's Alexander is harbinger of a new unity of Greek, Asiatic and Hebrew ideas and hence who would 'fuse Orient and Occident to the mutual benefit of the two and of all human beings' (p. 408), inspiring William Tarn's famous 1933 article on Alexander and the 'Unity of Mankind'. The next section, 'The Image of Alexander between World War I and 1933', shows Alexander's cosmopolitanism threatening 'denationalisation' (p. 411). The fifth section, 'Alexander in National Socialist Times', surveys the period's appreciation of Alexander's unification of the 'Aryan' races of Iran, Macedon and Hellas, contrasting the views of Helmut Berve, Alfred Rosenberg and Fritz Schachermeyer, the last scholar predictably viewing race-mixing with Semites negatively. In the final section, 'The Image of Alexander after 1945', defeat pushed German historians to view Alexander as a global unifier and Badian's scholarship pushed them away from moralising and toward closer source-criticism.

The volume's coda, 'Alexander the Gay and the Gloryhole That Was Greece' by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and Shaun Tougher, examines the alternating embrace and avoidance of the Alexander queerness question through time. Gay leadership claimed him as an important and empowering icon in the 1960s and afterwards; Mary Renault described his bisexuality; Oliver Stone's 2004 film disappointed some gays yet alarmed homophobic Christians and incited a lawsuit; an Alexander pornographic film was produced; and a musical was created including the line 'the gloryhole that was Greece'. Alexander becomes a pawn (or perhaps a queen) in a chess game between proponents and opponents of gay marriage and gays in militaries. And finally, 'for both Renault and Stone, the sexual union between Alexander and Bagoas symbolises the king's desired union of East and West' (p. 444).

This collection is dense and challenging. It demonstrates a dazzling display of erudition and command of time and space by its collective authors, far above what any individual scholar or reviewer could be expected to master. To a person teaching strictly ancient history, the mediaeval, Muslim and operatic Alexanders may seem less than relevant. Its diversity of approaches may seem jarring or quixotic, or may provide the book's strength.

California State University, Los Angeles Timothy Donald Doran

T. Stordalen and Ø.S. LaBianca (eds.), *Levantine Entanglements: Cultural Productions, Long-Term Changes and Globalizations in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Equinox, Sheffield/Bristol, CT 2021, xvii+650 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78179-912-3

Reviewing this collection of essays on 'Levantine Entanglements', or even attempting to give an overview, is daunting. To begin with, the book is impressively massive, with *ca.* 650 pages of text (in a font that is unusually large for an edited volume of this size) consisting of solo or co-authored contributions by 12 individual scholars in addition to the two editors, Terje Stordalen and Øystein LaBianca (each of whom has multiple chapters). It is also a weighty volume, in terms of both content and actual mass, such that few will be carrying this around for easy reading over an afternoon cup of coffee or tea. Instead, this will need to be read at a desk with a comfy chair, probably over the course of several weeks or even months, and consulted repeatedly thereafter.

The subject matter covered is so wide ranging, even within the geographical and chronological constraints of the volume, that a single brief review, or a single reviewer such as myself, cannot hope to begin to do justice to the individual contributions, several of which are more than 50 pages long (though most are closer to 20). Fortunately, the editors themselves, in a very useful and lengthy introduction (pp. 1–17) which could simply be reproduced here in lieu of my review, explain quite clearly their thematic intentions and how the various case studies fit into their overall vision.

They begin by pointing out the difficulties involved in writing a history of the Levant 'as part of the story of humankind and the planet' without 'succumbing to modernist awe for imperial glories' among other problematic approaches. As they note, our sources often prioritise stories of the elite – 'states, empires, rulers, monumental building projects, religious elites, and trade networks' – rather than those of the ordinary people who are living their lives 'relatively unaffected by the agency of such trans-local formations'. Depending upon the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Bible or the Qur'an presents similar problems, they say, for these 'could not easily be used as a source for historical reconstruction of social and political realities' or to write 'a non-partisan account of the region'.

The two editors report that they began their project in 2011 by asking 'how is it possible to account for the history and character of the Levant in ways that are sensitive to the dimensions of history that are under-represented in the available historical record, untainted by current geopolitical or world religious discourse, and free from untenable analytical presumptions prevailing in the scholarly record?' Others might think it impossible, or nearly impossible, to do this, but the intrepid editors submitted a proposal to the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy for Science and Letters in Oslo, Norway, which was accepted for the academic year 2014–15.

They subsequently recruited a team of scholars whom they thought might share their vision, including 'anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians, sociologists, and scholars of the history and religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam'. The end result is the present volume, which aims 'to focus on the interaction between elite (top-down) and popular (bottom-up) forces in the Levant' and thereby to examine 'the material and ideological dimensions of social life' in the Levant, covering an extensive period of time from the Bronze Age to the Mediaeval period.

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The volume is split into two large sections, each of which is further subdivided. The first section is labelled 'Part I: Levantine Localities and Long-Term Change'. The four chapters and 120 pages which make up this section are all written by the two editors. The first chapter, on the region of the Levant and the importance of the local perspective, is co-authored by them both, with an additional individual chapter by LaB. on accumulative cultural production in the southern Levant and two chapters by S., one on cultural production in the Iron Age southern Levant and the other a mammoth contribution of nearly 65 pages entitled 'Local Power and Social Discourse: Villages in Early Globalizations of the Southern Levant'.

The second section, labelled 'Part II: The Levant Through Time: Case Studies', makes up the vast majority of the volume, totalling nearly 500 pages (pp. 143–627). Here also the two editors have numerous contributions, but most are written by the other 12 scholars. It is broken into four subsections, identified as Panels A–D.

Panel A, with a short introduction by LaB., is concerned with places and ideologies. Here we find three different case studies based on the site of Hesban (alternatively spelled Tall Hisban, Heshbon and Tall Hesbān in the titles). The first is co-authored by LaB. and Jeffrey Hudon and is concerned with 'the drivers of accumulative cultural production in the southern Levant: the view from Tall Hisban, Jordan'. The second is by S. and focuses on Heshbon in the Biblical record. The third is by Frode Jacobsen, who writes on place-making in the Madaba Plains of Jordan, focused on 'the contested space of Tall Hesbān and its village surroundings'. A fourth chapter is a study by Eivind Heldaas Seland concerned with the local dynamics of globalisation in the Roman Near East, which does not focus on Hesban but rather on the site of Palmyra.

Panel B, introduced by S., is entitled 'Scriptures – Ideology, Practices, and Community'. Here we find a contribution by Diana Edelman looking at early forms of Judaism from the viewpoint of cultural heterogeneity and local culture; a chapter on the dynamics of power and the 're-invention' of 'Israel' in Persian empire Judah by Kåre Berge; and ruminations on the production of authority in Levantine Scriptural Ecologies by S.

Panel C, again introduced by S., is entitled 'Pilgrimage – Localities and Global Discourse'. Within this section are contributions by Øyvind Norderval on the production of the Constantinian Holy Land; Jill Marshall on the agency of women in curating the Christian Holy Land; Christine Amadou on St George in Lydda; and Jens Kreinath on interreligious dynamics of saint veneration in the northern Levant.

Panel D, with a joint introduction by both LaB. and S., is concerned with 'Polycentrism – Local Communities and Trans-local Formations'. Here there are three contributions: one written by Håkon Teigen on itinerancy in Manichaean networks of the Levant and Egypt; a chapter by Bethany Walker on peasant migration in Late Mediaeval Syria; and a piece by Eveline van der Steen on the distribution of power in the premodern Levant.

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Pulling together an edited volume such as this is, of course, a labour of love, but is not without its difficulties. It is also like making sausage while working blindfolded, to a certain extent, as I can attest from personal experience. That is to say, those who were not involved in the project and see only the finished product have no idea what was specifically involved during its creation and how/why the final version appears the way it does – hence the analogy to making sausage. However, the final product is often something of a surprise

even to the editors, who may have envisioned something completely different at the start of the project – indeed, S. and LaB. say that they were not certain at the beginning what the final output would look like; at best, they had 'an imprecise notion of the end product'. All they were aiming for, they say, was to 'imagine a different portrait of the Levantine past'; one which would 'bring to light the agency of ordinary people' and which would also 'reframe the story of the Levant so that it would resonate with such insights'.

Aiming for such an outcome is immensely admirable, of course, but it must be admitted that even the most exacting editors of such a volume often do not have control over what their contributors submit as a final product; hence the notion of working blindfolded to a certain extent, at least until they see what their authors have written. Even then, the result is often unexpected, resulting in a 'whimsical crazy-quilt', as LaB. and S. call their volume and its contents, but such quilts can often tell new stories even when reusing old pieces of cloth, as they point out.

The volume ends with a section entitled 'Concluding Reflections', which contains a single 11-page chapter co-authored by the two editors, 'On a Way Forward for Understanding the Levant'. Here they invoke the metaphor of a quilt again, stating that the volume 'has been presented, with all its irregular pieces, uneven fabric, shifting patterns, and still many obvious blank spots – but also with hopefully fresh insights on the complex character of the Levant'.

On the whole, I believe that S. and LaB. have achieved their objectives. Though not every contribution appears directly relevant to their aims, that is a judgment call best left to individual readers, for each scholar will come to this volume for different reasons, and will return to it again and again as their own work and their own insights develop in new directions over the years.

What I personally would hope that S. and LaB. do, if there is a next step to their project, is to write a shorter and more concise volume which presents a history of the Levant as they see it, with just themselves as co-authors. Such an abridged version would be extremely useful to the next generation of scholars and students, not least because we would hear only their two voices bringing the past to life, as it were, but also because it could actually be carried around for reading over an afternoon cup of coffee or tea.

Regardless of anything else, the current edited volume is quite literally a massive achievement. Both editors, as well as all the various contributors, are to be commended for their efforts, as is Equinox for publishing it.

George Washington University Eric Cline

M.R. Thatcher, *The Politics of Identity in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*, Greeks Overseas, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021, xviii+311 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-758644-0

Identity, its expression, celebration and mobilisation, dominates contemporary society. This extends from the obsession with personal identity, being one's authentic self, via the lobbying of sub-cultures for rights, recognition and power, to the competing demands of local communities in an increasingly globalised world. Over the last few decades, identity has come to the fore of studies of the ancient past, although some have questioned whether this is more reflective modern preoccupations than ancient realities. The volume under review

firmly takes the view that community identities mattered in the past and that they helped frame and shape political decisions.

Mark Thatcher focuses on community, rather than personal, identities and how they were a factor in political decision-making in Greek Sicily and, to a lesser extent, South Italy in the period from *ca*. 600 to 200 BC. The chronological spread of the volume deserves praise, as too often the history of South Italy and Sicily in the 3rd century BC is subsumed into the wider narrative of the growth of Rome.

In making his argument, the author identifies four different types of identity. These are: *polis* identity (the identity that relates to membership of a *polis*); regional identity (a geographically-based identity, such as that of the Sikeliotes, who could identify themselves as members of the Greek communities of Sicily: an identity that could be used to differentiate them from other Greeks); Greekness (an identity that united all Greeks regardless of their *polis*, ethnic group or geographical region); and ethnic identity (the sense of belonging to a wider grouping of Greek peoples, such as the Dorians or the Ionians, whose existence and relationships were predicated on a notion of shared ancestry). While these identities operate on different scales, they are not hierarchical. Rather T. sees them as a series of overlapping and intersecting categories that he illustrates by means of a Venn-diagram (Fig. 1.4), which shows that a person from Syracuse was a Greek, a Sicilian, a Dorian and a Syracusan. All of these identities were available to the individual and their community, and any one of them might be privileged to serve the political needs of the day.

Herein lies the central thesis of the book: that politicians and decision-makers could appeal to one or other of these identities to help justify their rule or the decisions that they wished their communities to make. The circumstances of the day would dictate which of the identities needed to be appealed to in order to support the case being made. T. refers to this as 'salience', i.e. that a particular identity would be more salient than others in supporting the leader's position. This thesis is convincingly argued in Chapter Three, which deals with the Deinomenid tyranny at Syracuse in the early 5th century BC. Fundamentally, their core problem was that they were not of Syracusan origin. Their identity politics helped overcome this. Thus, at different times, the tyrants appealed to: Syracusan (i.e. *polis*) identity by firmly associating their athletic successes with the physical features of the city and its landscape, which were also celebrated on the city's coinage; the shared Dorian identity of the original Syracusans and of the new citizenry, including the tyrants themselves; and Hellenic identity, when the tyrants sought to equate their victories at Himera (against the Carthaginians) and Cumae (against the Etruscans) with the repulsing of the Second Persian Invasion of mainland Greece, by casting themselves and their people as defenders of Greek culture and civilisation against barbarians.

Crucial to this argument is the idea that these identities existed prior to their exploitation by political leaders. In other words, the leaders were not engaged in the creation of identities but rather used existing identities to achieve their goals. This differs, in T.'s view, from propaganda. The leaders were not simply promulgating an ideology to a passive audience but were engaged in an active dialogue with their communities. To take an example, the various *poleis* of Sicily, regardless of their Chalcidian or Dorian heritage and their previous alliances, united under the banner of Sikeliote identity at the peace conference at Gela in 424 BC. At that point in time, Sikeliote identity was more salient than other identities. That salience was generated by the Athenian expedition. Here, again, is a fundamental point, identity politics do not drive decision-making in T.'s model, rather augments and

supports it. The call to identity is a political strategy used to help persuade communities to support specific decisions at particular times. It, therefore, resides in the domain of the rhetoric used to persuade citizen assemblies and wider public opinion. To return to the example, the *poleis* of Sicily united, albeit briefly, because of the perceived threat from Athens. They acted out of self-interest, putting aside traditional local rivalries and pre-existing ties of friendship with Athens. The banner of Sikeliote identity helped make such a politically expedient decision palatable.

In terms of sources, the book draws heavily on epinician poetry, the record of speeches provided by historians, and coinage, all of which convey evidence for identity in a conscious manner. To a lesser degree, it also brings in evidence from archaeology and material culture, epigraphy, religious culture and ritual practice, where the expressions of identity can be said to be more subconscious, at least much of the time. All of these sources are partial and have their constraints and, in some cases, biases. The author skilfully negotiates these limitations through a critical engagement with each type of evidence on its own terms. Nevertheless, as he accepts himself, often the cases that he makes are built upon circumstantial evidence. The material on the use of identity politics by the various Sicilian tyrants is particularly effective. Similarly, the discussion of Camarina is especially interesting in that it shows how a community's identity could be contested between those outside and those within a community. It also provides a worthwhile lesson in showing how a community could set aside one set of identity claims, to be united with other Dorian cities, in favour of competing identities and the political reality of feeling threatened by another Dorian *polis*.

This is an important book with an approach that, as T. suggests, could be applied fruitfully to other regions of Greece and not just other colonial settings. That said, it is not without shortcomings. It is primarily a book about Greek Sicily. Despite its title, only Chapter 2 and part of Chapter 6 focus on southern Italy. Similarly, the book does not address Indigenous identities or, indeed, those of the Phoenician residents of Sicily. It is probably safe to assume that identity politics mattered to those communities, too, and that identity there was just as complex and constructed as it was among the Greeks. At times, the book betrays its origins as a doctoral thesis, for instance, in the occasional need to state emphatically its contribution to knowledge and in a small degree of repetition, which is most evident on p. 219 when the Tarentine response to L. Postumius' imperfect Greek is described twice in almost identical prose. These are but minor quibbles, however. This is a book that should be essential reading for all scholars of Greeks in the West and is deserving of attention from those studying ancient Greek politics more widely.

University of Galway Edward Herring

D. Van Limbergen, S. Maréchal and W. De Clercq (eds.), *The Resilience of the Roman Empire: Regional Case Studies on the Relationship between Population and Food Resources*, BAR International Series 3000, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2020, v+145 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-5694-5

The aim of this volume (number 3000 in the BAR International Series) is, according to the editors Dimitri Van Limbergen, Sadi Maréchal and Wim De Clercq, to discuss the relationship

between population growth and regional agricultural development in the Roman Imperial world based on archaeological research. In six papers, several authors try to explore how, in various ways, regional communities responded to population growth in connection with the available agricultural territory. They all use the concepts of resilience and diversity. All challenge the strict theoretical framework of the agricultural intensification models, developed by Thomas Malthus and Ester Boserup.

The 18th-century theory of Malthus about the dynamic between demography and land use in pre-industrial economies posits that a continuing population grow surpasses the carrying capacity of the available land, leading to an increasing death rate and a reduction of the population resulting in a demographic decline and socio-economic collapse. The 1960s model of Ester Boserup sees a growing population as a trigger to agro-technological progress and innovation through the adoption of intensive labour- and capital-demanding agricultural strategies and technologies.

The areas discussed in this volume range from Germania Inferior and Germania Superior in the north-west, Iberia in the south-west, and Italy, Greece and Anatolia in the south-east of Europe.

Pierre Ouzoulias first discusses the theories of Malthus and Boserup in more detail, together with recent ideas on ancient demography. He then applies the Boserup theory on the expansion of agriculture in four marginal areas of northern Roman Gaul during the Roman Imperial era. Here all these regions show an intensification of both agriculture through different techniques and the use of land with low productive capacity during this period, probably linked to the growing urbanisation under the Roman empire.

Maaike Groot deals with the agricultural developments in the provinces of Germania Inferior and Germania Superior in relation with an increasing (military) urbanisation in connection with the presence of the Roman army at the *limes.* Development of cattle-breeding, like large cattle through selection, better nutrition, crossbreeding with imported larger stock, specialisation and the use of new, marginal lands results in the possibility of feeding the urban centres and the army. But it also resulted in pressure to create new products and the culmination of wealth in this area, seemingly not much influenced by the barbarian disruptions.

Martin i Oliveras *et al.* treat the Roman wine industry in coastal Spain, which shows intensification and specialisation of viticulture through an increase of rural estates and amphora workshops. This can be linked to a demographic rise during the Late Republic and Early Empire and connections between the intra- and the extra-regional, empire-wide markets. The authors make extensive use of mathematics, statistics and linear programming models for their interpretation of the existing archaeological evidence.

Dimitri Van Limbergen studies *arbustum* as a way to increase a response to land constraints in central Adriatic Italy in the Early and Mid-Imperial period. *Arbustum* is a plantation with vines trained on rows of host trees and placed within crop fields. It was already in use during the 2nd century BC and continued in commercial viticulture up until the mid-20th century AD, being an example of Braudel's *longue-durée*. The method of vertical farming is considered a useful strategy in case of population growth.

Emlyn Dodd discusses the relationship between population and local viticulture at Delos, focusing on the effects of population decline in late antiquity on it and on this island. He provides an example of how a reduced population might 'respond' agriculturally in

a positive way, combining the archaeological information regarding wine production installations with socio-economic theory.

In the last chapter, Rinse Willet turns to the relationship between urbanisation, demography and agricultural processes in Asia Minor. The increase in the number of cities during the Late Republic and Early Empire shows that demographic growth did take place in both town and country. But in most cases, except in the really large cities like Ephesus and Pergamum, these towns did not outgrow their agricultural potential.

All chapters in this volume seem to indicate that the more modern theory of Boserup is better applicable (although not absolutely) during the mentioned periods than the old one of Malthus. But, as the editors already mention in their introduction, it is not clear how this process impacted the overall standards of living of the average population.

Another problem is whether the different situations, between for instance the heavily militarised one on the northern *limes* and the urbanised commercial one on Delos and Asia Minor, can be compared. There is also the question if essential products like grain and meat have the same impact as the more or less luxury product of wine, which was intentional for the higher classes of the population.

However, the chapters in this volume show a thorough methodological approach to the relation between population growth and agricultural production in different parts and in different landscapes of the Roman empire. The volume is without doubt a more than welcome contribution to the study of socio-economic developments in antiquity.

Ghent University Jan G. de Boer