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PEETERS

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REVIEWS

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (18)

Handbooks

Among additions to the Oxford Handbook series are those on *Ancient Greek Religion* (edited by Esther Eidinow and Julia Kindt)[1] and *Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (edited by Clemente Marconi).[2] The former, broadly conceived in coverage, period, approach and methodology, is divided into nine parts of three to six chapters each: 'What is Ancient Greek Religion?' (setting the scene, and opened by Robin Osborne, in iconoclastic mode, challenging the term 'religion'), 'Types of Evidence' (visual, literary, epigraphic, material, papyrological), 'Myths? Contexts and Representations' (epic, art and imagery, drama, history, philosophy), 'Where?' (temples and sanctuaries, household, in communities, regional groups), 'How?', 'Who?' (gods, heroes, deification, etc.), 'What?' (prayers, curses, sacrifice, oracles and divination, etc.), 'When?' (life-change rituals, calendars and festivals, the afterlife) and 'Beyond?' For our purposes, this last is the most relevant, housing 'Magna Graecia …' (Gilian Shepherd), 'The Ancient Near East' (Jan Bremmer), 'Greco-Egyptian Religion' (Kathrin Kleibl), 'Bactria and India' (Rachel Mairs), 'China and Greece: Comparisons and Insights' (Lisa Raphala), but especially 'The Northern Black Sea: The Case of the Bosporan Kingdom' (Maya Muratov, drawing on Russian scholarship). The 47 contributors are based largely in Britain, the United States (OSU to the fore), Australia, the Netherlands and Scandinavia.

The 31 contributors to the *Architecture* volume are less Anglocentric: eight are based in German-speaking countries including Liechtenstein and five in southern Europe. Familiar names include Francesco de Angelis, Bonna D. Wescoat, Olga Palagia, Beth Cohen and Caroline Vout. A longer Introduction, explaining the volume, leads on to 'Pictures from the Inside' (theories of art and architecture, specialised writing on them, images of them), 'Greek and Roman Art and Architecture in the Making' (artists, architects, patronage, materials and techniques) and 'Ancient Contexts' (the city in the Graeco-Roman world, functions of art, building, images and rituals, Roman provincial art and architecture, Roman reception of Greek art and architecture), often with pairs of chapters dealing with Greek and Roman, then (pp. 417–686) 'Post-Antique Contexts' (reception, historiography, conservation, display in modern museums, the debate about cultural property) and 'Approaches' (connoisseurship, 'formal', iconographic and iconological, sociohistorical, anthropological, gender studies, theories of reception and 'Semiotics to Agency'). Modestly (but well) illustrated (in black-and-white). From the title, and the nature of handbooks, I was expecting more of a straightforward focus, a factual history, but this was not the

[1] E. Eidinow and J. Kindt (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xxii+708 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-964203-8.

[2] C. Marconi (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xvi+710 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-978330-4.

editor's intention – the volume is much broader, more political, cultural, social and theoretical than aesthetical. Not for the typical handbook market.

Economy

Poiesis[3] is an interesting speculation from Peter Acton, a sometime 'management consultant' with a Melbourne doctorate in ancient history. *Contra* Acton, the past is at least another country and they did do things differently there – of course, not everything – and Finley's 'Embeddedness Paradigm', here rejected, still has much relevance. Models of success and failure derived from modern business should not be dismissed out of hand, but they need to be embraced with caution: economic modelling and forecasting are notoriously unreliable in our own times. Applying these tools to the ancient economy can cast light in unusual ways, and the result may be enlightening – bringing out shades of grey hitherto unseen – and is indeed a means of leaping the void of scant archaeological and written evidence on manufacturing in antiquity. But, where we have firm evidence, the treatment of it is uneven. Acton eschews caution, but he does not claim that his solutions are definitive or final (far from it). His Introduction includes his methodology (the theory of competitive advantage and its application). Chapter 2 considers industry formation in metalworking, leatherwork, cosmetics/perfumes and textiles. The ensuing chapters examine individual industries: pottery; mining, metals and armour; textiles, clothing and footwear; woodworking; construction industries; and food, drink and personal care. Chapter 9 'addresses manufacturing from the point of view of the participant', identified as investors, craftsmen, women, foreign residents and slaves (or allocated such labels?). An appendix offers examples of 'quantifying manufacturing participation'. The bibliography and references are not OUP's finest hour.

Movement of goods from the traders' perspective inspired the compilation of *Traders in the Ancient Mediterranean*,[4] formed of an Introduction and five papers: '… Material and Other Relations of Exchange in the Late Bronze Age World', 'Traders in the Archaic and Classical Greek Koine', 'A Hand Anything but Hidden: Institutions and Markets in First Millennium BCE Mesopotamia', 'Hellenistic Traders' and '… Traders in the Roman World'. Experiences varied over time between regional and inter-regional, porous and integrated markets. The aim (fulfilled) is to provide context (historical, social and political, traditions and aims) to trade, its impact and the activity of traders as individuals in the Mediterranean world, asking questions but avoiding definite conclusions. The bias of written evidence about grasping merchants[5] is at variance with data from shipwrecks. Ancient Mediterranean trade was personal: wealth was not, of itself, the end goal, rather the status and influence that it afforded (true in many ways into at least the Early Modern period). Embedded relationships, webs of connection and interaction, not depersonalised markets, were the key and the core: surely L.P. Hartley's foreign country. Combined bibliography. Index.

[3] P. Acton, *Poiesis*: *Manufacturing in Classical Athens*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, xviii+384 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-933593-0.

[4] T. Howe (ed.), *Traders in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 11, Ares Publishers, Chicago 2015, xi+236 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-89005-628-5.

[5] Just as common in more modern times: see R.C. Michie, *Guilty Money: The City of London in Victorian and Edwardian Culture, 1815–1914* (London 2009).

Economy and Exchange,[6] proceedings of a conference held in Oxford in 1999, offers 'New Rome, New Theories on Inter-Regional Exchange. An Introduction to the East Mediterranean Economy in Late Antiquity' (Sean Kingsley and Michael Decker), 'Urban Economies of Late Antique Cyrenaica' (Andrew Wilson), 'The Economic Impact of the Palestinian Wine Trade in Late Antiquity' (Kingsley), 'Food for an Empire: Wine and Oil Production in North Syria' (Decker), '… Non-Ceramic Evidence for Late Antique Industry and Trade' (Marlia Mango), 'The Economy of Late Antique Cyprus' (Tassos Papacostas) and 'LR2: a Container for the Military *annona* on the Danubian Border?' (Olga Karagiorgou), wrapped up by Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Specialisation, Trade, and Prosperity: an Overview of the Economy of the Late Antique Eastern Mediterranean'. First published in 2001, and well worth reprinting – but adding an index would have been a boon.

Ownership and Exploitation of Land[7] is a valuable addition to Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy. The 18 papers, by authors from Szeged to Winnipeg and Oklahoma, with editors in Ghent and Brussels, offer a variety of approaches and raid a variety of sources (legal, epigraphic, numismatic, papyrological and archaeological as well as literary), to provide rich fare. Arjan Zuiderhoek opens with 'Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World in Historiographical and Theoretical Perspective', joined by Paul Erdkamp's 'Agriculture, Division of Labour, and the Paths to Economic Growth', before the first of the three main parts, 'Ownership and Control', seven chapters focused on landed wealth, property rights, water use and management. The second, 'Organization and Modes of Exploitation', offers two contributions on the villa economy, 'The African Boom …', 'The Local Economy of Palmyra …' and 'Changes in Animal Husbandry …', and the third, 'Exploitation and Processing of Natural Resources', supplies salt in Asia Minor, quarries and 'The Mining, Minting, and Acquisition of Gold …'. The Conclusions form Part IV. The background is how the institutional structures of the Roman state (and interventions by that state) affected economic performance, for good or ill – 'most of our people never had it so good'. An extensive combined bibliography. Indexed.

Trade and Economic Contacts between the Volga and Kama Rivers,[8] written by a scholar from Chelyabinsk/Magnitogorsk, is a short but valuable addition to the English-language bibliography. An Introduction outlines of historiography of the problems and the written, archaeological and numismatic sources used. There are four chapters – 'Data from Written Records about the Population and Trade Communications in the Ural, the Volga and the Kama Rivers Region'; 'Transit Trade in the Volga and the Kama Region in the Second

[6] S. Kingsley and M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, Proceedings of a Conference at Somerville College, Oxford, 29th May 1999, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015 [reprint of 2001 publication], vi+178 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-044-1.

[7] P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven and A. Zuiderhoek (eds.), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xiii+407 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-872892-4.

[8] A. Bezrukov, *Trade and Economic Contacts Between the Volga and Kama Rivers Region and the Classical World*, BAR International Series 2727, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, 99 pp., 8 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1382-5.

Half of the 1st Millennium BC–First Half of the 1st Millennium AD (According to Archaeological Sources)'; 'Role of Coins in Intertribal Trade in the Volga and Kama Rivers Region'; 'Trade and Economic Relationships in the Volga and the Kama Rivers Region' – and brief Conclusions. Comprehensible though not idiomatic English with occasional oddities ('Sassanidian'). Indexed. The mixing of Cyrillic bibliography with Harvard-style references and abbreviations in Roman letters produces inevitably confused alphabetisation in the bibliography etc., and there are a few Russo-Cyrillic 'leftovers' in the text.

Gods, Ornaments and Architecture

Jan Bremmer's *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*[9] may start with the Eleusinian ('Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries: A "Thin" Description', previously published) but rapidly moves beyond them to 'Mysteries at the Interface of Greece and Anatolia: Samothracian Gods, Kabeiroi and Korybantes', 'Orpheus, Orphism and Orphic-Bacchic Mysteries', 'Greek Mysteries in Roman Times'. 'The Mysteries of Isis and Mithras' and 'Did the Mysteries Influence Early Christianity', plus two substantial appendices (both previously published): 'Demeter and Eleusis in Megara'; and 'The Golden Bough: Orphic, Eleusinian and Hellenistic-Jewish Sources of Virgil's Underworld in Aeneid VI'. The emphasis throughout is on the actual staging of the initiations, not 'an exhaustive study of the ancient cults usually defined as Mysteries' (p. xiii), something quite unsuited to the series of public lectures delivered by Bremmer at Ludwig-Maximilians University in Munich in 2011–12 from which four of the chapters derive (and the tone of which is maintained in the text).

Ritual und Religion in archaischen Sizilien[10] publishes Birgit Öhlinger's Innsbruck dissertation (appropriately, it has cultural contact in its subtitle), examining inland indigenous ritual sites from a sociological and archaeological perspective: deeper understanding of religion and ritual is directly linked to a better understanding of predominant social structure, and, in a socio-religious approach, religion, economy, politics and family are among the many sub-systems that partake of reciprocal relationships. Examination of ritual practice allows religion to be 'captured' since the archaeological record is a material expression of human actions. This is undertaken through four chapters, minutely sub-headed and divided: 'Theorie und Praxis' (religion and ritual; methodology), 'Archäologie Siziliens' (the archaeology of cultural contact and cultural transfer; that of religion on Sicily; that of social organisation there), 16 'Fallstudien' (pp. 58–158), including Segesta and Morgantina, and 'Auswertung und Ergebnisse' ('Das Opfer', 'Das Fest', 'Die Kultbauten'). There is an English summary (pp. 200–03). Handsomely produced in large format with many high-quality illustrations.

[9] J.N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*, Münchner Vorlesungen zu Antiken Welt 1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, xviii+256 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-029929-8/ISSN 2198-9664.

[10] B. Öhlinger, *Ritual und Religion im archaischen Sizilien: Formations- und Transformationsprozesse binnenländischer Kultorte im Kontext kultureller Kontakte*, Italiká 4, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 239 pp., 47 pp. plates (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-95490-152-4.

Household Gods,[11] written by one of its former curatorial staff, is another of the Getty's exemplary short volumes, packed with high-quality illustrations that showcase its own collection of religious domestic artwork, chiefly statuettes (terracottas, bronzes, alabaster, precious metal objects), supplemented by appropriate images (reliefs, wall-paintings, etc.) from elsewhere. The concordance of Greek and Roman deities and the chronologies make it 'user-friendly' for students and the general reader, likewise endnotes, abbreviations and an index. Nine chapters: 'Communicating with the Divine'; 'Early Household Worship in Greece'; 'Power and Protection …'; 'Miniature Masterpieces'; 'Love and Fertility'; 'Divines Favor: Luck and Money'; 'Health Matters: Kitchens and Bathrooms'; 'Isis and Foreign Gods'; and 'From Antiquity to Today'.

Architectural Terracottas at the Sanctuary of Punta Stilo[12] publishes finds from recent excavations at the urban sanctuary of Kaulonia, a *polis* on the Calabrian coast. The first part serves as introduction and background on the production, development and distribution range of the terracottas: limitations, problems, objectives and methodology; archaeometric analysis, a consideration of the Achaean koine and Peloponnesian influences, Achaean roofs, the 'Horn roof' (a peculiar group of southern Italic terracottas), the nature of the connection with Crotone, relations with Sicily and with the Locri and Metaponto-Taranto area, Ionic and Attic influences, etc.; next the role of Kaulonia; broadening into a consideration of the archaeology of production and religion and ideological factors, etc. The Catalogue (pp. 38–56) is divided into 1) Simas, *geison* revetments and waterspouts, 2) Antefixes, 3) Palmette antefixes, 4) Gorgon antefixes (four categories), 5) Antefixes of mythological or unknown subject, 6) a Gorgoneion ridge tile, 7) Acroteria and 8) *Kalypteres*. Comprehensively illustrated (pp. 63–135).

Charlotte Potts has revised her Oxford doctoral dissertation for publication as *Religious Architecture in Latium and Etruria*.[13] The origins do not intrude. After the opening 'Constructing histories' (actually analysing archaeological evidence to reconstruct a detailed history of the religious architecture), three chapters are grouped in 'From Huts to Temples', considering the first 'sacred huts' (so called, Potts is sceptical) and architecture and decoration of early shrines and temples, while 'Religious Monumentality in Context' broadens the discussion through chapters devoted to altars, cult statues and temple, landscapes, cityscapes and temples, 'Accounting for religious monumentality' and brief Conclusions. The catalogue (pp. 125–51) is arranged as huts, shrines (small buildings), shrines (long buildings), courtyard complexes, podium temples, and altars. Well prepared (including a chronology), well written (explanatory, clear and jargon-light), an incisive re-examination of the hefty secondary literature, an engagement with theory and debates on urbanisation cultural con-

[11] A. Sofroniew, *Household Gods: Private Devotion in Ancient Greece and Rome*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2015, x+142 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-456-6.

[12] N. Giaccone, *Architectural Terracottas at the Sanctuary of Punta Stilo in Kaulonia: Genesis, Problems, Developments*, BAR International Series 2777, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2015, vii+135 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1456-3.

[13] C.R. Potts, *Religious Architecture in Latium and Etruria, c.900–500 BC*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xxix+179 pp., illustrations, 48 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-872207-6.

tact/exchange, but always focused on the evidence (and on the people who used them as well as the buildings themselves), and well presented: two maps, 42 figures and 95 illustrations as plates, all clear.

Thrace

Die Anfänge der figuralen thrakischen Kunst[14] examines the origins of Thracian figural art in the 5th century BC. It opens with a sketch of Thracian historical geography in that period, moves on to Balkan coin hordes, then locally manufactured figured objects and symbols of power, before the core of the volume: figural motifs, makers' marks and scenes, divided into Scythian motifs and makers' marks, mixed motifs, Greek motifs, Thracian bridles and a cylindrical silver cup (as an example of Achaemenid influence on Thracian material culture), etc., with numerous subsections and three excursuses. Afterwards, a chapter on golden death masks and plates, and short chapters on the beginnings of Thracian toreutics and the self-depiction of the elite in selected figural motifs, with a short summary of results to conclude Appropriate to a text in German and Bulgarian, Bogdan Filov is well represented in the extensive bibliography (a little awkwardly arranged in Roman, Cyrillic and Modern Greek). Indexed.

I Traci[15] publishes 11 papers, in Italian, French and English, on Thracian history, topography/geography, politics and economics, historiography and culture, literary aspects and material culture: 'L'image grecque de la Thrace entre barbarie et fascination. Pour une remise en question' (a general retrospective by Paolo Schirripa, the editor); 'Starbone e il monte Emo' (Federica Cordano); 'Krenides: una curiosità storiografica' (Maria Mainardi); 'Un « protectorat » thrace? Les relations politiques entre Grecs et Thraces autour de la baie de Bourgas (IIIe–IIe s. av. J.-C.)' (Thibaut Castelli); 'Traci "romani": diffusione della civitas e "romanizzazione" nei centri costieri della Tracia' (Francesco Camia); 'The Roman Conquest of Thrace (188 B.C.–45 A.D.)' (Jordan Iliev); 'Aspects de la colonisation des Daces au sud du Danube par les Romains' (Alexandru Avram); 'Autors grec de *Qra/kikav*: questions autour d'histoires fragmentaires' (Dana and Dana); 'Selvagge e crudely, femmine tracie nell'immaginario figurative Greco; (Federica Giacobello); '… the distribution of spectacle fibula …' (Romano and Trefný); and 'The white lotus (nelumbo lucifera) decorated silver jug from Naip in local context' (Totko Stoyanov). Deserves a wider circulation.

Athens and Beyond

Poverty in Athenian Public Discourse[16] is a thorough revision of Lucia Cecchet's Heidelberg doctoral dissertation. It is a proper book. Obviously, the poor leave fewer material traces

[14] E. Teleaga, *Die Anfänge der figuralen thrakischen Kunst in dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Studien zur Eisenzeitlichen Archäologie Thrakiens 1, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, x+190 pp., illustrations (parallel text in German and Bulgarian). Cased. ISBN 978-3-886757-881-3/ISSN 2365-5038.

[15] P. Schirripa (ed.), *I Traci tra geografia e storia*, Aristonothos 9, Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, Trento 2015, 248 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-6458-142-2. See also P. Schirripa (ed.), *I Traci tra l'Egeo e il Mar Nero* (Milan 2004).

[16] L. Cecchet, *Poverty in Athenian Public Discourse: From the Eve of the Peloponnesian War to the Rise of Macedonia*, Historia Einzelschrift 239, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 283 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11160-7.

than the rich, but they impinge significantly in public discourse (deserving or undeserving; emotion and stereotyping; economic, social and moral perceptions; causes, effects and solutions) and there is sufficient evidence of this for the period covered – the 430s to the 330s BC. The Introduction considers the debate over definitions of poverty (absolute, relative), the scope and methodology of the study, terminology, and 'Athenian Democracy and the Concept of "Active Poverty"' (promoting ideas about poverty that could enhance political stability). Five chapters follow: 'The Background of Public Imagery: Perspectives on Destitution in the *Odyssey*', 'Beggars on Stage: Acting out the Imaginary of Poverty in Athenian Drama', 'Was Poverty a Real Issue in Fourth-Century Athens?' (demography, loss of empire, restructuring the economy, wealth distribution, possible impoverishment of small farmers, the involvement of the landless in politics, etc.), 'Poverty as an Argument in Fourth-Century Public Speeches' and '… The Rhetoric of Good Poverty' (litigation, active poverty *vs.* inactive wealth, real poor and false poor). 'Good poverty' was, it seems, a legitimate condition for a citizen and beneficial to the *polis*.

Athens Transformed, 404–262 BC[17] may seem pertinent: from popular sovereignty to the dominion of wealth is part of a perpetual see-saw. Phillip Harding, in retirement, began to lecture to lay audiences and this is one of the results, complete with a warning that some scholars will dissent from his interpretation, but he has had 50 years or so to formulate the ideas distilled here. With its target readership clearly in mind, Harding eschews footnotes, gives further reading after each chapter, provides details of his sources in one 20-page appendix and a fleshed-out timeline in another of nearly 30. The page-headers are a little confusing for the two chapters entitled 'Sovereignty Regained', or is it really 'Oligarchs *vs.* Democrats', then 'Foreign Policy' – Harding is 'at pains to refute the depiction of the peasant farmers and artisans of democratic Athens as a mob of rabble' (p. 122). Chapter 3 is 'Sovereignty Lost', 4 is 'By Land and Sea' (finance and organisation of the navy), 5 'From Taxation to Benefaction', 6 covers the demise of jury courts and 7 'Farewell Strepsiades, Bonjour Tristesse' (Aristophanes and Menander, and the disappearance of the peasant from the stage). The brief Epilogue offers modern comparisons as well as a summary.

Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica[18] contains 15 papers, authorship balanced between young scholars and old hands, all with some connection to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, all providing first-hand re-examination of archaeological and epigraphic material and evidence from older excavations. Margaret Miles provides the Introduction, including a brief account of archaeological developments in Greece over the last two centuries, and the final chapter, 'The Vanishing Double Stoa at Thorikos and its Afterlives' (discovered in 1754, fully revealed in the 1990s); in between are papers focused on construction techniques, the metopes on the east front of the Parthenon, sacrifice, religion ('Asklepios and Hygieia in the City Eleusionion', 'Asklepios in the Piraeus and the Mechanisms of Cult Appropriation', 'Sarapis as Healer in Roman Athens:

[17] P.E. Harding, *Athens Transformed, 404–262 BC: From Popular Sovereignty to the Dominion of Wealth*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies 23, Routledge, London/New York 2015, xv+186 pp., 3 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-87392-5.

[18] M.M. Miles, *Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, 224 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-856-5.

Reconsidering the Identity of Agora S 1068'), statues ('The Mutilation of Herms …', 'Funerals for Statues? …'), 'The Monumental Definition of Attica in the Early Democratic Period' (boundaries), 'Roadside Assistance: Religious Spaces and Personal Experience of Athens', 'Triremes on Land: First-fruits for the Battle of Salamis', 'Routes out of Attica', 'How to look at a Non-Peripteral Temple', etc. Indexed. Well illustrated and good production standards.

Christian Igelbrink conducts an investigation of the legal forms and political functions of cleruchies and *apoikiai* founded by Athens in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.[19] A very Germanic book of the thesis, arranged in six chapters as 'Einleitung' (which includes causation), ',Kleruchie' und ‚Apoikie' – Rechtssystematische und terminologische Grundlagen' (Athenians retained citizenship in cleruchies), 'Die Apoikien Athens im. 6. Jk.', 'Diskussion der athenischen Gründungen des 5. Jh. in chronologischer Reihenfolge' (pp. 132–391, Salamis to Melos, with some debate over which settlements fall in which category; 4.3.10.1–4 covers the expedition of Pericles and the Black Sea foundations of Amisos, Sinope and Nymphaion – this last somewhat complex), 'Systematisierun im Kontext athenischer Machtpolitik' (relating the Athenian colonial system to power politics, Athenian oikists at pp. 417–22, failed integration, the practices of hegemony, and confiscation and resettlement as reprisal and as threat) and 'Ergebnisse'. Comprehensive coverage and analysis, but terminology can be an entanglement (as with the over-defining and refining of categories of *polis*).

The Mediterranean and Beyond

The Roman pottery workshop of Collet Est in Calonge in Catalonia, site also of a Roman villa, is one of the best preserved in Spain. Excavation, by the University of Girona, took place in 2002 in response to the threat of spreading urbanisation. The workshop was established to make amphorae for the export of wine and functioned from the end of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 1st century AD. Nineteen ovens/furnaces were found. The site was then used as a necropolis up to the 5th century AD: 30 inhumations were discovered. This volume[20] publishes the results. The workshop and territory are briefly described, then the villa and its necropolis (pp. 23–54), a description and chronology of the ovens/kilns follows (pp. 55–190), the architecture, layout and functions of the workshop, then the material: pottery, an archaeometric analysis of the amphorae, the coins (pp. 203–28). All fully illustrated. Very brief English summary.

Lucy Shipley invites us to experience Etruscan pots[21] – the phenomenology of objects; physical and emotional interaction with the pots, touching and feeling, seeing and

[19] C. Igelbrink, *Die Kleruchien und Apoikien Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Rechtsformen und politische Funktionen der athenischen Gründungen*, Klio 25, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, ix+527 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-044217-5.

[20] J. Burch, J.M. Nolla and J. Tremoleda, *La Alfarería Romana del Collet Est (Calonge, Girona)*, BAR International Series 2770, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2015, 245 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1432-7.

[21] L. Shipley, *Experiencing Etruscan Pots: Ceramics, Bodies and Images in Etruria*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, v+155 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-056-3.

quantifying them, thinking about the images on them, not least bodily images, etc. In other words, it investigates and characterises the experience of using Archaic Etruscan pottery (and the divergent experience of using Greek imports).

Griechische Keramik nördlich von Etrurien[22] publishes the proceedings of a small international conference in Basel in October 2011 (14 papers). It is dedicated to Brian Shefton, who attended it but died a few months later. There are four sections: 'Norditalien' (for example, Martin Guggisberg, 'Attische Figurengefäße in „barbarischem" Kontext'); 'Das Rhonetal und Ostfrankreich' (Michel Bats, 'Parcours commerciaux et culturels de la céramique grecque en Gaule méridionale du VIIe au Ve siècle av. J.-C.', but mainly focused on Vix: Jean-Jacques Maffre, 'La céramique attique de Vix: trouvailles anciennes'; Ludi Chaelon, 'Vix: découvertes récentes de céramiques attiques à figures rouges. Une amphore d'Euthymidès?'; and Federica Sacchetti, 'Des amphores grecques dans les résidences princières: le cas de Vix'); 'Das nordwestliche Alpenvorland, Süddeutschland und Böhmen' (Jan Bouzek and Marie Dufková, 'Greek, Etruscan and Phoenician Impacts in La Tène Bohemia and Moravia', etc.); and 'Griechische Keramik als Medium des Kulturtransfers' (Beat Schweizer, 'Zwischen Weltsystem und kulturellem Kontext …'). Handsomely produced. Indexed.

The *Early Iron Age Communities of Southern Italy*[23] are examined from various angles in this collection of 11 papers in English and Italian (with English abstracts). The first section, 'Status', opens with Edward Herring's 'Recognising status in Iron Age South East Italy: issues of methodology and ideology', contains Carmine Pellegrino's 'Pontecagno e l'Agro Picentino: processi sociali, dinamiche territoriali e di strutturazione urbana tra VIII e VII secolo a.c.', and concludes with Ferranti and Quondam's lengthy 'Status nelle communità dell;alto Ionio nella Prima Età del Ferro' (highlighting similarities and differences between the important funerary complexes of S.M. d'Anglona and Francavilla Marittima). There are four papers grouped under 'Gender', including Margarita Gleba's 'Women and textile production in Early Iron Age Southern Italy' and Giulia Saltini Semerari's 'Towards a Gendered Basilicata'; and four under 'Territory': 'Greek and Greek style pottery in the Sibaritide during the 8th century B.C.' (Handberg Jacobsen *et al.*), 'L'area nord-lucana nella Prima Età del Ferro: formazione e struttura degli insediamenti' (Massimo Osanna), 'Territorio, insediamenti e dinamiche sociali nel Salento tra IX e VII sec. a.C.' (Gert-Jan Bergers) and 'Organizzazione degli abitati e processi di construzione dellle comunità locali nel Salento tra IX e VII sec. a.C.' (Grazia Semerarao). Comprehensively illustrated.

[22] S. Bonomi and M.A. Guggisberg (eds.), *Griechische Keramik nördlich von Etrurien: Mediterrane Importe und archäologischer Kontext*, Internationale Tagung, Basel 14.–15. Oktober 2011, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 228 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-95490-072-5.

[23] G. Saltini Semerari and G.-J. Burgers (eds.), *Early Iron Age Communities of Southern Italy*, Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome/Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut te Rome 63, Palombi Editori, Rome 2015, 223 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-6060-689-2.

Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture[24] offers 23 papers from an interdisciplinary conference of the same name held in the British Museum in December 2010: archaeologists (of different schools), historians, material scientists, etc. offer various perspectives on coarse ware, the technical aspects of its production, cooking as a socio-economic practice, changing tastes and culinary cultural contact, from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. The editors' opening 'Investigating ceramics, cuisine and culture – past, present and future' leads on to three principal sections: 'How to make a perfect cooking pot: technical choices between tradition and innovation' ('Heating efficiency of archaeological cooking vessels: computer models and simulations of heat transfer'; 'Aegina: an important centre of production of cooking pottery from the prehistoric to the historic era'; and Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, 'Cooking wares between the Hellenistic and Roman world: artefact variability, technological choice and practice'), 'Lifting the lid on ancient cuisine: understanding coking as socio-economic practice' (pots and Late Minoan IB domestic activities, use of chromatography and mass spectrometry to reconstruct the role of domestic vessels, pots in ancient cookbooks) and 'New pots, new recipes? Changing tastes, culinary identities and cross-cultural encounters' (for example, Susan Rotroff, 'The Athenian kitchen from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period'; Alexander Fantalkin, 'Coarse kitchen and household pottery as an indicator for Egyptian presence in the southern Levant: a diachronic perspective'). Indexed.

Overlapping (in subject and attendance – Curé, Gauß, Lis, Quercia, Whitbread) is *The Transmission of Technical Knowledge of the Production of Ancient Mediterranean Pottery*,[25] offering the proceedings of a conference at the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens in November 2012: 19 papers under the headings 'Skill and Learning Networks' (theoretical aspects of knowledge acquisition), 'Making Pots in a Transcultural Perspective: The Impact of Moving Potters on the Transmission of Technical Knowledge' (dissemination of technical knowledge in the production of 12th-century Aegean-style pottery in the coastal southern Levant; Aeginetan potters on the move, and in Athens?; an Italo-Mycenaean connection in technology transfer; innovations from Celtic 'Princely' sites of the 6th–5th century BC, etc.), 'Technical Change in Social Context' (spread of the potter's wheel; development of pottery technology in western Syria, as a result of the rise of Qatna; rapid transition in technology based on deposits of the Shaft Grave era; technology transfer at Kythera, Kolonna and Lerna; 'Wheelmade Pottery and Socioeconomic Changes in Indigenous Mediterranean Gaul … during the Early Iron Age; Phoenician technology on the Iberian Peninsula), 'Technical Choices as Social Choices' (the impact of social conditions on the potter's decision to use a specific technique) and 'The Art of Firing: Kiln Technology and Firing Practice' (transmission of knowledge).

[24] M. Spataro and A. Villing (eds.), *Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture: The Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, viii+278 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-947-0.

[25] W. Gauß, G. Klebinder Gauß and C. von Rüden (eds.), *The Transmission of Technical Knowledge in the Production of Ancient Mediterranean Pottery*, Proceedings of the International Conference at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, 23rd–25th November 2012, Sonderschriften 54, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2015, 368 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-78-9/ISSN 1998-8931.

Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption[26] is an extremely impressive collection of materials from a conference held in Innsbruck in 2012: 28 papers, most in English, a dozen in Italian and German (with English abstracts), a focus on networking and elites, all arranged into 'Things in Motion and Western Mediterraneanization', 'Coastal and Inland Sanctuaries as Centers of a Western Mediterranean Elite Network' and 'Sanctuaries and the Formation of Elites: Power of Consumption – Consumption of Power', plus the editors' '… Eight Points to an Alternative Archaeology of Proto-Globalisation' (pp. 493–540). Martin Mauersburg opens the first section with 'Obsolete Perceptions? Frameworks of Intercultural Exchange in Ancient Narrative', followed by Veronika Sossau, 'The Cultic Fingerprint of the Phoenicians in the Early Iron Age West?' Other papers concern southern Iberia, Sicily, Selinunte, Himera and Cyrenaica. The second section takes in Gabii, Gravisca, Pyrgi, Garaguso, 'The Argonauts (and the Others) on the Island of Elba, Capo Cocinto, the Belice valley, Selinunte, Segesta, Gela and Agrigentum. The third contains, 'Powerful Things in Motion: A Biographical Approach to Eastern Elite Goods in Greek Sanctuaries' (Jan Paul Crielaard), 'Sacred Cloth: Consumption and Production of Textiles in Sanctuaries and the Power of Elites in Archaic Western Mediterranean World' (Margarita Gleba), 'Monte Iato: Two Late Archaic Feasting Places between the Local and the Global' (Kistler and Mohr), etc. Well illustrated; indexed.

The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean,[27] proceedings of an eponymous conference in Heidelberg in 2012, primarily for young scholars, focuses on cultural contacts throughout the Mediterranean. The four editors provide a lengthy Introduction, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos the theoretical 'Adjusting the Compass. The Quest for Mediterranean Paradigms', then follow two papers on Egypt and North Africa, four on Cyprus and the Near East, including Susan Sherratt on 'Cyprus and the Near East: Cultural Contacts (1200–750 BC) and Ayelet Gilboa and others on 'Dor, the Carmel Coast and Early Iron Age Mediterranean Exchanges', four on the Aegean ('Mycenaean Recurrences and the Circulation of Arts, Crafts and Ideas …', '… Artisanal Networking in 12th Century Tiryns', 'Levantine and Cypriot Pottery in Mycenaean Greece …', piracy), three on the Italian Peninsula and Sardinia (after the Mycenaean collapse, the routes of pithoi, Phoenicians in the Tyrrhenian Basin), and four on the Iberian Peninsula (contacts in the Far West, contacts and identity in southern Portugal, latest developments in south-western Iberian archaeology in the Final Bronze/Early Iron, networks and material connections viewed from eastern Iberia and the Balearics). All thoroughly illustrated.

[26] E. Kistler, B. Öhlinger, M. Mohr and M. Hoernes (eds.), *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World*, Philippika 92, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, xxix+554 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10507-1/ISSN 1613-562.

[27] A. Babbi, F. Bubenheimer-Erhart, B. Marin-Aguilera and S. Mühl (eds.), *The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C.*, International Post-doc and Young Researcher Conference, Heidelberg, 6th–8th October 2012, RGZM Tagungen 20, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Liebniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz 2015, viii+327 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-88467-239-6/ISSN 1862-4812.

The 2012 Freiburg symposium proceedings, *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and Near East*,[28] open with Mario Liverani's keynote address 'Exchange Models in Historical Perspective', then four papers on 'Syria and the Levant' (Ugarit and Egypt, Late Bronze Age Qatna, the international relations of Ḫatti's Syrian vassals), five on 'Egypt and its External Relations' (evidence of economic relations with the Levant during the New Kingdom and the Bronze Age, relations with vassal states in the southern Levant, its empire in the southern Levant during the early 18th Dynasty, and 'Exchange, Extraction and the Politics of Ideological Money Laundering in Egypt's New Kingdom Empire'), five on 'The Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean' (stone and glass and their distribution in Mycenaean Greece, distribution, context and interpretation of Mycenaean pottery in the East, sealing and exchange in the Late Bronze Age, Cyprus as a crossroads of civilisations, and Eric Clines's 'Preliminary Thoughts on Abundance vs. Scarcity in the Ancient World: Competition vs. Cooperation in Late Bronze Age Trade across the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean') and two on 'The Hittites and their Neighbors' (Emar's role, archaeological evidence of supra-regional contacts). Indexed.

Anatolia to Central Asia

Another volume from a conference primarily for young scholars (in Turin in 2011) is *Broadening Horizons* 4:[29] 34 papers, grouped largely into 'Settlement patterns and exchange networks' (nine), 'Socio-economic reconstruction of ancient societies based on archaeological, historical or environmental records' (13) and 'Application of new technologies in archaeological research' (nine), plus six posters. To take a sample: 'The Early–Middle Bronze Age transition in Transcaucasia: the Bedeni pottery case' (Carminati), 'The Oracle at Didyma, Hittite duddumar and the mercy of the gods' (Walker), 'Copper Mining Community in Transcaucasia during Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages' (Gailhard), 'Palmyra, City and Territory through the Epigraphic Sources' (Gregoratti), 'Looking at and beyond Late Chalcolithic Pottery of the Burdur Plain, southwest Turkey' (Vandam and Poblome); 'Influence of the social class division on the Sassanian burial rituals (224–650 AD)' (Farjamirad); 'Unlocking stories from objects: Some Ancient Near Eastern case-studies based on new research at the British Museum' (St John Simpson), 'New technologies in archaeological research in Palmyra …' (Palmieri and Rossi), 'Probable cases of leprosy in two skulls from the Koc-Oba Kurgan (Kazakhstan)' (Pedrosi *et al.*); and 'The Defences of Hatra: a Revaluation through the Archive of the Italian Expedition' (Foietta).

[28] B. Eder and R. Pruzsinszky (eds.), *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.*, Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May–2nd June 2012, Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA) 2, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna 2015, 357 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-7661-9.

[29] G. Affanni, C. Baccarin, L. Cordera, A. Di Michele and K. Gavagnin (eds.), *Broadening Horizons 4: A Conference of Young Researchers Working in the Ancient Near East, Egypt and Central Asia, University of Torino, October 2011*, BAR International Series 2698, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, xi+317 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1347-4.

A valuable service is performed by *The Archaeology of Anatolia*,[30] a handy-sized summary of various recent excavations (nine: Çatalhöyük East; Barcın Höyük, 2014; Çamlıbel Tarlası; Çadıı Höyük, 2013–14; Kınık Höyük, Niğde; Uşaklı Höyük; Antiochia ad Cragum; the Ziyaret Tepe expedition, 1997–2014; and 'Recent Fieldwork at Gordion' by Brian Rose) and surveys (five: the Lower Göksu salvage project, 2013 and 2014; the Yalburt Yaylası landscape project, 2010–14; the Burdur Plain survey; the Sinop regional project, 2010–12; and Euchaïta), written by people directly involved, as are the editors, Steadman and McMahon. A useful addition. This is the first of an intended (now actual) series, and a good niche product for its publisher (much easier than wading through each year and volume of *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*). It deserves every success.

Recent Studies on the Archaeology of Anatolia[31] is a hefty collection of 35 papers, most from three workshops/conferences in Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir during 2010 and 2011, mainly by Turkish scholars. Ergün Laflı provides the Introduction and contributes thrice more in German. The principal sections are 'Recent Archaeological Research in Ionia and Mysia' (13 papers, seven on the Nif-Olympus survey and excavation of 2004–10 through to the Ottoman period, and the nearby Byzantine complex of Başpınar; four on Milesian Agathonisi in the Dodecanese), 'Coins, Sculpture and Pottery from Caria, Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia' (eight: Carian coins, Neried monument at Xanthus, lamps, amphora production and Cnidian amphora exports to Alexandria, etc.), 'Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Archaeology in Central and Northern Anatolia' (eight: Oluz Höyük [Şevket Dönmez], Samsun, Cytorus-Cide, Nicomedia, archaeometric studies of Galatian hilltop sites, the southern Black Sea in the time of Mithradates VI, Roman and Byzantine coarse war from south-western Paphlagonia) and 'Recent Archaeological Research in Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia' (six: Neolithic Şanlıurfa, a Latin military inscription [Hadrien Bru], and surveys of, fortresses of and mediaeval Christian society and architecture in Ardahan). English and Turkish abstracts and keywords; plentiful illustrations. The English and the copy-editing could be better.

The paperback reissue of Peter Thonemann's *Maeander Valley*,[32] published in hardback in 2011 and deriving from his well-regarded Oxford doctorate (there is no sense of 'the book of the thesis'), is more than welcome. A fine work, using a very wide range of sources, set on the borderlands of historical geography (it covers the 4th century BC to the 13th century AD) and regional and environmental history. Chapter 1 describes the valley itself, Chapter 8 focuses on the interaction between man and the landscape, not least the responses of the people of the lower valley to the advance of the delta. The text in between, constructed as a purposeful journey down the river from Apamea to the floodplain, covers

[30] S.R. Steadman and G. McMahon (eds.), *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Recent Discoveries (2011–2014)*, vol. 1, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015, xv+368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4438-7815-9.

[31] E. Laflı and S. Patacı, with the assistance of G. Cankardeş-Şenol, A.K. Şenol and G.K. Şahin (eds.), *Recent Studies on the Archaeology of Anatolia*, BAR International Series 2750, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, iii+498 pp., illustrations, Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1411-2.

[32] P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, Greek Culture in the Roman World, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xxv+386 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-107-53813-9.

sacred geography, markets and mobility, mental maps and horizons and conceptual boundaries, the pastoral economy and agricultural production, elite behaviour and interaction, etc. The illustrations would benefit from better reproduction or the use of colour.

Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period,[33] promptly published, originated in a Danish-sponsored seminar, held in Amasya in 2014, which brought together foreign scholars working in Turkey (Owen Doonan, Hugh Elton, Christian Marek, Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, Max Ritter, Vera Sauer, Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, etc.) with local university- and museum-based colleagues (Lâtife Summerer, Celal Özdemir, İlkay İvgin, etc.), the latter providing results of recent (rescue) excavations. There are four sections: 'The dynamics of landscapes: cities and territories' (Cide region; hinterland of Sinop; landscape of Pompeiopolis; settlement dynamics of Neoklaudiopolis; survey techniques at the Byzantine church at Avkat; end of late antiquity in Paphlagonia – disurbanisation; sanctuary of Zeus Starios, Yassıçal, Amasya region), 'The dynamics of mortuary space: *necropoleis*, graves and grave monuments' (Oymaağaç Höyük, Samsun; Byzantine necropolis of Amasya; Zafer near Tekkeköy, Samsun), 'The dynamics of decoration: sculptures and mosaics' (statues from Amastris; dynamics of mosaic design in northern Anatolia; Roman mosaic at Yavru, Amasya province) and 'The dynamics of circulation: roads, inscriptions, coins' (roads and bridges of Vezirköprü district; epigraphy and provincial organisation of Paphlagonian cities; Roman Imperial-era coinage of Neoklaudiopolis and Pompeiopolis). Well illustrated; especially useful maps and plans. Thoroughly indexed.

Equally prompt in publication is *La sculpture gréco-romaine en Asie Mineure,*[34] papers from an international colloquium in Besançon in October 2014 (participants include Antoine Hermary, Hadrien Bru, Guy Labarre, also Ergün Laflı). It is divided into three sections: 'Vues d'ensemble' (interpretation of some East Greek *kouroi* and *korai*; Asia Minor bronzes in Greek sanctuaries; funerary sculptures and public statues in the Late Hellenistic period; statues in the work of Pausanias), 'La sculpture dans son territoire' (Archaic sculpture from Lydia; Archaic *naiskoi* of Miletus; Archaic sculpture of Aphrodisias; Hellenistic sculptures and workshops of Knidos; diffusion of statues of Heracles in Pisidia; cultural identities and social conformism on Phrygian and Pisidian steles; Roman sculptures in Anamur, Cilicia) and 'Études techniques et stylistiques' (the Parian sculptural tradition in Asia Minor; diffusion of sculptural techniques through the Hellenistic sphere; architectural sculpture in Lycia in the Hellenistic period; results of analysis of Asia Minor marbles in the Louvre). One paper in English and one in German; short English abstracts for all. Well illustrated. No index.

[33] K. Winther-Jacobsen and L. Summerer (eds.), *Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period*, Geographica Historica 32, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 354 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11214-7.

[34] S. Montel (ed.), *La sculpture gréco-romaine en Asie Mineure: Synthèse et recherches récentes*, Colloque international de Besançon, 9 et 10 octobre 2014, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2015, 278 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-84867-541-1,

Grabdenkmal und locale Identität[35] began life as Ute Kelp's dissertation at the University of Tübingen (as the structure shows). It is a welcome investigation of grave monuments and local identity in Phrygia during the Roman Imperial period, an era much less investigated there than earlier times. Doorstones – funerary monuments in the shape of a false door – are, as I know from Pessinus, common in Phrygia, and Kelp uses them (not the rare Neo-Phrygian texts) as a cultural marker to help her to identify the extent of Roman 'Phrygia' (which Phrygia?; what do we/they mean by Phrygia?), how Phrygian it was and how far 'Hellenised' (the first section of the volume discusses her methodology, cultural-anthropological concepts, approaches and interpretation, urbanisation, etc.). The next section considers grave types in Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period, individual necropoleis (Pessinus at pp. 61–65), then doorstones: the range of types and of decoration and symbolism (even Hellenised detailing on the tombs of Hellenised individuals), their distribution, chronology, origins (indigenous or import). Numerous maps and plates. The third section, on the construction of local identity in Roman Phrygia, considers other regionally distinctive features – language, myths, cults, coins – and Kelp identifies a growing self-consciousness linked to urbanisation (no longer the derided 'hicks from the sticks').

Urs Peschlow brings us an overdue archaeological re-assessment of Roman and Byzantine Ankara,[36] based on his many years of personal observation (of evidence now lost) as well as hitherto unused archival material. The massive expansion of Ankara in the last hundred years has wrought much damage, whatever mitigation of it has been achieved by the Turkish authorities. After a brief historical introduction and exploration of the city in the Einleitung, 15 chapters (often with appendices) devoted to detailed description, history of excavation and interpretation of the individual monuments follow: the temple of Augustus and Roma; the theatre; the stadium; the so-called nymphaeum; the bath-gymnasium; the colonnaded streets and porticoes; the praetorium; the dam; the Late Antique city wall; the necropoleis and the types of tombs; the honorific column; the citadel; the church of St Clement (re-dated by Peschlow to the 9th century – so too a church within the temple of Augustus and Roma); the Byzantine wall; and the Ottoman city wall. W. Brandes provides an 'Historische Ammerkungen: Ankyra im 7.–9. Jahrhundert' (pp. 259–68). English and Turkish summaries at pp. 269–79 and 280–89 respectively. No index. This is a well-produced, large-format work (not least the maps, plans and plates), guaranteed to displace all its predecessors as the one to go to.

The two large-format volumes of proceedings of the *International Symposium on East Anatolia South Caucasus Cultures*[37] held at Atatürk University, offer rich pickings: coverage

[35] U. Kelp, *Grabdenkmal und lokale Identität: Ein Bild der Landschaft Phrygien in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Asia Minor Studien 74, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, x+318 pp., 72 plates, 4 coloured maps in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3809-0.

[36] U. Peschlow, mit einem Beitrag von W. Brandes, *Ankara: Die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit*, 2 vols., Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2015, 306 pp. (vol. 1), 176 plates (vol. 2). Cased. ISBN 978-3-85161-132-8.

[37] M. Işıklı and B. Can (eds.), *International Symposium on East Anatolia–South Caucasus Cultures: Proceedings I–II/Uluslararası Doğu Anadolu Güney Kafkasya Kültürleri Sempozyumu: Bildiriler I–II*, 2 vols., Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015, xxix+402 pp. (vol. 1) and x+509 pp. (vol. 2), illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4438-7234-8 (vol. 1); 978-1-4438-7275-1 (vol. 2); 978-1-4438-7810-4 (set).

stretches from the Chalcolithic (six papers) via the Bronze Age (30) and Iron Age (27) to the Mediaeval (12). Bilingual titles. The majority of papers are in English with Turkish summaries, the remainder (31) in Turkish with long English summaries (the participants were overwhelmingly Turkish, plus several Georgians and Western Europeans). The Bronze Age includes Karen Rubinson 'Revisiting South Caucasus–Iranian Azerbaijan Connections', 'Menhirs from South Caucasus' (Narimanishvili *et al.*) and 'The Gods Aššur and Ḫaldi in the Mountains' (Yervan Grekyan). More familiar are Iron Age contributors: Mahmut Bilge Baştürk ('Considerations on the Belief Systems of the Early Iron Age Peoples in Lake Van Basin'), Altan Çilingiroğlu ('In the Light of Excavations on Van Ayanis Fortress: Recent Developments in Urartu'), Stephan Kroll ('Archaeology between Urartu and the Achaemenids'), Annagret Plontke-Luening ('In Search of the Late Hellenistic Ciy of Tigranokerta'), Vakhtang Licheli ('Achaemenids-Type Painted Pottery in Central Transcaucasus and Eastern Anatolia'), Aynur Özfırat ('Mount Ararat: Bozkurt Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Fortress'), Atilla Batmaz ('Temple Storerooms in the Urartian Fortress at Ayanis'), Ali Çiftçi ('Animal Husbandry in Urartian Kingdom'), A. Tuba Ökse ('The Southern Expansion of the Eastern Anatolian Iron Age Culture: New Findings from the Upper Tigris Basin'), etc.

Warwick Ball has had a long career as a hands-on archaeologist. *The Gates of Asia: The Eurasian Steppe and the Limits of Europe*[38] is a well-illustrated paperback (with plenty of maps), fourth in a series examining how much 'East' there is in 'the West', and emphasising the cultural debt of Europe to Asia: common history as peoples pass through the gate 'stepping westwards'. Sensible transliterations, familiar forms, a rejection of BCE as well as Pinyin: these suggest a book seeking to be read. The sweep is broad, but so it must be when dealing with a zone stretching 7000 km from Moldavia to Mongolia and 7000 years, from before the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture of *ca.* 4500 BC to the demise of the Crimean khanate in 1783 and beyond, in ten chapters, flipping across the millennia and Eurasia for links and parallels, paradoxes and comparanda: 'The Steppe, nomads and barriers', 'Eurasia and Indo-Europe' (and the Indo-European homeland question), 'History and myth on the steppe' (Scythians, Sarmatians, Amazons, Greeks and the Black Sea), 'The art of the steppes' (Scythian Animal Style; Modern Russian identity), 'A silken thread' (the Silk Road), 'Twilight of the gods' (Huns, etc.), 'The steppe and Europe's nation states' (Finns, Bulgars, Magyars, etc.), 'The Atlantis of the steppe' (Khazars), 'The men from hell' (Mongols) and 'Golden Hordes', plus an Afterword. Well worth a read.

A monumental publication under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute's Eurasien-Abtelung is *Spätbronzezeitlche Grabfunde aus Nordbaktrien und benachbarten Regionen,*[39] based on the author's field work within the German-Uzbek project in Dzharkutan (1995–2000), other burials/cemeteries there, and unpublished grave-goods from excavations

[38] W. Ball, *The Gates of Asia: The Eurasian Steppe and the Limits of Europe*, Asia in Europe and the Making of the West 4, East and West Publishing, London 2015, xv+289 pp., maps and 48 pp. of colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-907318-12-2.

[39] M. Teufer, *Spätbronzezeitlche Grabfunde aus Nordbaktrien und benachbarten Regionen: Studien zur Chronologie zwischen Aralsee und Persischem Gulf*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 13, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung/Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2015, xiii+670 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-496-01540-6.

at Sapalli in the 1970s and from previous excavations in Dzharkutan. The aim was to date the burials, develop a chronological sequence for the whole of northern Bactria (with new terminology introduced for the phases identified), and place them within a supra-regional classification scheme – chronological analysis of North Bactrian grave-goods is linked to that in neighbouring regions, with examination of periodisation there. The main text is divided into North Bactria in the Bronze Age (topography, chronology of the Bronze Age, types of grave material, North Bactrian chronology based on those finds: pp. 3–71), the adjoining region part 1 (Margiana, South Bactria and excursuses on Baluchistan, both Iranian and Pakistani: pp. 73–199) and part 2 (Sogdiana and north-eastern Bactria – Sapalli-Dzharkutan, Andronovo and Beškent-Vaxš cultures: pp. 201–53). The catalogue of finds (140 graves from Sapalli, 35 unpublished graves from the necropoleis 4b and c and the citadel of Dzharkutan, 84 graves from necropolis 3, temples, citadel and the settlement complex on hills 4 and 5, and 31+ items from the ceramic depot) follows at pp. 263–343. Short summaries in English and Russian (pp. 258–61). Comprehensively illustrated: maps, plans, tables, images, 282 pp. of plates. An exemplary production to the highest standard. No index.

Persia to Egypt

Wolfram Kleiss's *Geschichte der Architektur Irans*[40] is a later volume in the same series and exhibits all of the same excellent traits in format, production standards, etc. Authoritative – written by the first Director of the German Archaeological Institute (Tehran Branch) – and marshalling an impressive knowledge of detail over six millennia (to 1979). First, a history of Iranian architecture, the boundaries of the present study (those of the current Iranian state), construction materials (mud-brick to the fore) and tools, rock-cut architecture, rock reliefs, etc. Then built architecture (pp. 41–174), Western influences, caravanserais, 'Individual Buildings' (windmills and watermills, bridges and dams, bazaars, pigeon towers, etc.), the 'new' architecture of Islam and its manifestation in mosques, madrasas and burial structures, as well as residences and forts (pp. 247–410), with a short concluding chapter on modern architecture. Summaries in English and Farsi (pp. 440–61). Perhaps this is what a Handbook should be.

Another doctorate (Ghent; supervised by the late lamented Ernie Haerinck) transformed into a book is *Mortuary Practice in Ancient Iran from the Achaemenid to the Sasanian Period*.[41] The text consists of an Introduction (sources, methodology), four brisk chapters on Achaemenid, Post-Achaemenid and Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian burial (all divided between above-ground and subterranean) (pp. 3–32), followed by a comprehensive 340-page Catalogue (with plentiful illustrations), eight chronological maps, and a short appendix about some problematic burial sites.

[40] W. Kleiss, *Geschichte der Architektur Irans: 6000 Jahre iranische Architektur*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 15, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, Außenstelle Teheran/Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2015, xi+463 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-496-01542-0.

[41] M. Farjamirad, *Mortuary Practice in Ancient Iran from the Achaemenid to the Sasanian Period*, BAR International Series 2747, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, vii+396 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1408-2.

The long-overdue English translation of Pierre Briant's *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre* (Paris 2003) has appeared.[42] Definitely not a biography (an insurmountable challenge): Briant admits that we still do not know who Darius III was – doomed to be an historical footnote, but one expanded here into a detailed explanation of why he, like many others, 'is condemned to haunt the realm of historical oblivion' (p. x). Briant explains in a new Preface the lack of need for updating and, answering reviewers of the French edition, his inevitable use of Graeco-Roman sources for want of others, not to write a book devoted to Alexander as 'seen from the other side'. The drive to write the book was to uncover 'the state of the Achaemenid Empire at the moment Alexander and his army disembarked' (p. xii), and to deconstruct the stereotypes and models of Darius in order to test the pervasive (self-fulfilling) theory of Achaemenid (and personal) decadence and defects (West and East again) bringing about Darius' defeat. Here we reach another perennial about ancient sources, not just 'Alexander authors': what was fact and what fiction, what was history and what literary embellishment, and (how) can we tell? Subtle historical analysis combined with erudition. Excellent translation by J.M. Todd.

Xerxes has received a 'bad press' too (from later Greek authors and the same Alexander propagandists), and here a new biography by Richard Stoneman, a re-examination that seeks to present him from a Persian perspective, made explicit in the title.[43] Nine brisk chapters run from 'Accession' to 'Assassination' via image, religion, a *tour d'horizon* of the Persian empire, the Greek expedition (1) up to and (2) after Thermopylae, building at Persepolis (hubristic in Greek eyes) and 'Family Romances'. In each the evidence is presented first, with Stoneman's own opinions coming at the end – opinions largely supportive of Xerxes. The work draws on the latest Achaemenid research and archaeology and on classical written sources, but in length, tone and arrangement (endnotes, an appendix giving the chronology of Xerxes' advance through Greece) seems ripe for a broader readership. Ottoman and later Persian parallels are introduced. Plentiful illustrations.

Caroline Waerzeggers's *Marduk-rēmanni*[44] is a complete reworking of her Ghent dissertation of 2001, an archive-based examination of local networks and imperial politics in Achaemenid Babylonia. Most of what is known about him stems from Bongenaar's 1997 prosopography of the Ebabbar temple, where Marduk owned a prebend and was familiarly connected with two powerful priestly clans in the city of Sippar. A dozen cuneiform archives shed light on his life from different angles. Following an Introduction and 'Remains' (a short chapter about his own and satellite archives) comes Part 1, 'The Life…' – family life, business life ('Harbor') and his temple life (pp. 27–139). Part 2, 'The Archive…' provides a critical edition of 187 new texts (with plates of each), a detailed discussion of the archive itself and its discovery (in 1881/82), and a 40-page prosopography. Helpful timeline and

[42] P. Briant, *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander*, transl. by J.M. Todd, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2015, xvii+579 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-49309-4.

[43] R. Stoneman, *Xerxes: A Persian Life*, Yale University Press, Newhaven/London 2015, xi+275 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-300-18007-7.

[44] C. Waerzeggers, *Marduk-rēmanni: Local Networks and Imperial Politics in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 233, Peeters/Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2014, xix+636 pp., 187 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3040-7.

genealogy of the family: he died in 494 BC. Well written (with verve, almost), deeply researched, a fine eye for detail and the nuances of webs of connection. Impressive.

The seventh (revived) Melammu symposium was devoted to 'Impact, Continuities, Parallels'.[45] An introductory 'Old Battles, New Horizons: The Ancient Near East and the Homeric Epics' (Robert Rollinger) prefaces seven sections/session, each with an Introduction from the chairman and a Response from a respondent: 'Talking too God(s): Prayers and Incantations' (five papers, including 'Performing Rituals in Secluded Places: A Comparison of the Akkadian and Hittite Corpus' – Cynthia Jean, and 'Worshipping Gods and Stones in Late Bronze Age Syria and Anatolia' – Patrick Michel); '…. Foreign Reception of Mesopotamian Objects' (three, including tripod-stands and rod tripods in Etruria and Central Italy – Giacomo Bardelli); '…. The Use of Literary Figures of Speech' (four, including '"Shepherds of the People": Greek and Mesopotamian Perspectives' – Johannes Haubold); 'Mesopotamia and the World: Interregional Interaction' (five, including 'Alexander the Great in Babylon: reality and Myth' – Krzysztof Nawotka, 'The Ancient Near East and the Genre of Greek Historiography' – Gufler and Madreiter); 'The World of Politics: "Democracy", Citizens, and "Polis"' (three, including 'A History of Misunderstandings? Macedonian Politics and Persian Prototypes in Greek Polis-Centered Perspective' – Sabine Müller); 'Iran and Early Islam' (three, including 'Semiramis and Alexander in the Diodoris Siculus' Account …' – Aleksandra Szale); and 'Representations of Power: Shaping the Past and the Present' (four). Well-known names: Kurt Raaflaub, Daniel Potts, Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi. No index. More effort to standardise 'van' and 'von' and their alphabetisation.

The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces[46] is a revised version of David Kertai's Heidelberg doctoral dissertation (evident in the sub-numbered sub-sections). The Introduction discusses sources, 'Seclusion versus Access', court society, spatial arrangement, etc. Chapters then follow reign by reign, with hiatuses between 824 and 722 BC, from Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) to Ashurbanipal (668–651 BC), in the course of which all key royal palaces of Kalḫu, Dur-Sharruken and Nineveh are covered – the chapter for Sennacherib, for example, contains sections on The South-West Palace and The Military Palace at Nineveh – followed by 'Palatial Spaces' and 'The Palace and its Suites' before the concluding '250 Years of Late Assyrian Palaces' (architecture, architectural context, decoration; changes through time – as the empire and the concomitant need for accommodation grew ever larger; the 'palace community', etc.). Kertai's emphasis is on the spatial organisation of the palace community rather than the dichotomy of the public and private realms and rights of access. High-quality plans.

[45] R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen (eds.), *Mesopotamia and the Ancient World: Impact, Continuities, Parallels*, Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project Held in Obergurgl, Austria, November 4–8, 2013, Melammu Symposia 7, Ugarit Verlag, Münster 2015, viii+666 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-128-6.

[46] D. Kertai, *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xvii+284 pp., illustrations, 24 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-872318-9.

Temple Building and Temple Cult … in the Levant[47] publishes the conference of May 2010 in celebration of 50 years of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at Tübingen. A hefty and handsome volume of 21 contributions, in English more than German, well furnished with plates, indexed for authors, ancient and biblical texts, deities, persons, places and subjects. The four principal sections focus on the 'Northern Levant' (Mirko Novák, 'The Temple of 'Ain Dāra in the Context of Imperial and Neo-Hittite Architecture and Art', for example), 'Southern Levant' (Sharon Zuckerman, 'The Temples of Canaanite Hazor'; Seymour Gitin, 'Temple Complex 650 at Ekron…'; etc.), 'Jerusalem and Gerizim' and 'Cultic Paraphernalia' (B. Morstadt, 'Phönizische Heiligtümer im Mittelmeerraum und ihre Kulteinrichtungen', etc.). To conclude, Jems Kamlah examines comparative aspects of the temples of the Levant.

Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources[48] is a short collection driven by the renewed attention paid by biblical scholars to the Persian period. It brings them together with Achaemenid historians and classicists and the shared difficulties they have encountered working on ancient sources, indeed with what information they can expect to extract from them: 'Herodotus on the Character of Persian Imperialism …' (Thomas Harrison), 'The Use and Abuse of Herodotus by Biblical Scholars' (Lester Grabbe), 'The Justice of Darius: Reflections on the Achaemenid Empire as a rule-bound environment' (Christopher Tuplin), 'What is "Persian" about the Book of Genesis?' (Diana Edelman), 'Admiring Others: Xenophon and Persians' (Lynette Mitchell), 'From Fact to Fiction: Persian history and the book of Esther' (Maria Brosius), 'Judahite Prophecy and the Achaemenids' (Philip Davies), etc. Nothing surprising, of course, about the presence of Herodotus, as the Introduction reminds us (pp. 3–4).

Roman Pottery in the Near East[49] brings us 15 papers from a round table held in Berlin in February 2010: pottery from the 'Land of Carchemish' project and the northern Euphrates, local pottery from Ras el Bassit, a 3rd to 4th century AD pottery assemblage from Apamea, the Homs Survey, Roman pottery in Baalbeck/Heliopolis, also local pottery traditions in the rural settlements thereabouts, evidence of Hellenisation and early Romanisation in Beirut, Late Hellenistic and Early Roman pottery productions at Jiyeh/Porphyreon, pithos-type vessels from the excavations at Chhîm, the WDF-XRF database of Hellenistic and Roman fine wares in the Levant, pottery production at Yodefat in the 1st century AD, a provenance study of Hellenistic to Byzantine kitchen wares from the theatre-temple area of Umm Qais/

[47] J. Kamlah (ed.), in co-operation with H. Michelau, *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.)*, Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen, 28–30 May 2010, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, xxiv+586 pp., illustrations, 73 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06784-3/ ISSN 0173-1904.

[48] A. Fitzpatrick-McKinley (ed.), *Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources for the Reconstruction of Persian Influence, History and Culture*, Classica et Orientalia 10, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 215 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10244-5/ISSN 2190-3638.

[49] B. Fischer-Genz, Y. Gerber and H. Hamel (eds.), *Roman Pottery in the Near East: Local Production and Regional Trade*, Proceedings of the Round Table held in Berlin, 19–20 February 2010, Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery 3, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, ii+215 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-905739-67-7.

Gadara, two ceramic incense burners in Late Roman and Byzantine Palestine, Late Hellenistic and Early Roman ceramic trends in Tall Mādabā, Nabataean/Roman-period pottery traditions in Transjordan, and coarse ware from Roman Aila/Aqaba. Well illustrated.

The first volume of the *Excavations at Tell Nebi Mend, Syria*[50] is a fine example. The excavations themselves were conducted from 1975 to 1995 by the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, in happier times for archaeology, there and here; it is sad that 20 years have elapsed before we have final publication. Peter Parr introduces and describes the setting, the site (near Homs) and its discovery, the project and the excavation and excavation practices, textual sources and ethnography (an appendix by Majed Moussli), also (later) the Enclosure; in between are seven chapters on the Neolithic occupation: stratigraphy and chronology, human burials, pottery (pp. 75–262, Virginia Mathias), flint and obsidian artefacts, 'Miscellanoues objects, White Ware and a textile impression', animal husbandry and domestication, and charred plant remains. Large format, thoroughly illustrated. Unindexed.

Publication of the Carlsberg Foundation-funded excavations at Tall Sūkās (Syria) from 1958 to 1963 have resumed[51] after a gap of almost 20 years. Chapters 1–9 cover various types of black- and red-figure pottery (short text, then illustrated catalogue). Chapters 10–11 deal with the inscriptions, their chronology, location and their implications for a permanent Greek settlement here; and 12 and 13 with the Rectangular Building, its finds and its function. All necessary plans, tables and illustrations. The layout of the table of contents is confusing, and the quality of illustrations, though adequate, could be better.

The Ancient Pottery of Israel and its Neighbours[52] shows what can be produced when there are sponsors (numerous) willing to support the lavish publication that the subject-matter deserves. Six multi-part chapters (in effect, 24 chapters), by 20 authors from Israel, North America, Germany and Britain (familiar names include Ayelet Gilboa and Andrea Berlin) provide coverage across two volumes. For example, Chapter 1 is Iron Age I; 1.1 details the Northern Coastal Plain, Galilee, Samaria, the Jezreel Valley, Judah and the Negev; 1.2 Philistia; I.3 Transjordan. With variations in the combination and division of these eight basic regions, Chapter 2.1–6 covers Iron Age IIA–IIB; Chapter 3.1–6 Iron Age IIC; Chapter 4.1–3 Iron Age I–II Phoenician pottery, Cypriot imports and local imitations, and Greek imports, 4.4 IIC Assyrian-type pottery and 4.5 IB–IIC Egyptian and Egyptian-type pottery; Chapter 5. 1–2 the Persian period and imports; and Chapter 6. 1–2

[50] P.J. Parr (ed.), with contributions by E.A. Bettles, L. Copeland†, C. Grigson, *et al.*, *Excavations at Tell Nebi Mend*, *Syria*, vol. 1, Levant Supplementary Series 16, Oxbow, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, ix+369 pp., illustrations, 3 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-786-5.

[51] H. Salskov Roberts, *Sūkās XI: The Attic Pottery and Commentary on the Greek Inscriptions found on Tall Sūkās*, Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 14, Scientia Danica, Series H, Humanistica 4.3, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab/The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen 2015, 165 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-87-7304-381-3/ISSN 1904-5506.

[52] S. Gitin (ed.), *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols., Israel Exploration Society/W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research/Israel Antiquities Authority/American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem 2015, 794 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-965-221-103-3 (vol. 1); 978-965-221-104-0 (vol. 2); 978-965-221-102-6 (set).

the Hellenistic period and imports. Two other volumes are underway to bring this long-term project (over a decade in gestation) from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age and should fulfil the intention of creating a 'new "ceramic bible" for archaeological and historical research in the countries of the eastern Mediterranean basin' (p. 1). A feast: comprehensive, comprehensively illustrated (over 6000 images required re-inking to achieve uniformity across the project), maps, colour plates.

Burton Macdonald, who has directed five survey projects in the region since 1979, provides an attractive tour of the Edomite Plain of southern Jordan and the Dead Sea Rift Valley from the Bronze Age until the end of Ottoman control in 1917[53] via an Introduction (geography, topography, archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources, basic chronology, archaeological work of others in the area and approach/methodology) and chapters covering the Early, Middle and Late Bronze, Iron I and II, Persian and Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic periods, the Nabataeans straddling Hellenistic and Roman. Indexed for sites, subjects and biblical passages. Excellent illustrations. Everything for the specialist, but presented in a way that should bring a broader readership.

Two volumes of proceedings of international symposia held in Prague (2010 and 2014),[54] attended by scholars (many) young and old, some participating in both, demonstrate the long-term commitment of the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Charles University to its task. The introductory matter also mentions papers delivered that were not presented for publication. There are 20 papers in the first volume, focused on contacts with the Levant: contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine seen at the late Middle Kingdom site of Tell el Dabʿa; Hyskos and Middle Kingdom statuary found in the northern Levant; the story of Wenamun at Dor; Tell Tweini harbour site in Syria; the chronological value of Aziru's journey to Egypt; early contacts with the southern Levant from the Tell el-Farkha excavations in the Eastern Delta; Tall Hujayrat al-Ghuzlan and Tall al-Magass excavations near Aqaba; Hittite-Egyptian synchronisms and the consequences for ancient Near Eastern chronology, Bronze Age religious symbol systems in the southern Levant; an image of the Hittite king in Egyptian sources; the identification of Qode; the Amarna letters; Levantine combed ware from Heit-el-Ghurab, Giza; Egypt, Kush and Assyria before 671 BC. The second, with 24 papers, and much core and periphery, is arranged into 'Methods and Technologies' (opened by the Clines on the Amarna letters; timber, economics and environment; Bronze Age technology transfer of luxury craftsmanship, Crete and the Orient; small ingots and scrap in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean; improved technology and networking between Egypt and its neighbours during the Bronze Age; means of

[53] B. MacDonald, *The Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau and the Dead Sea Rift Valley: The Bronze Age to the Islamic Period (3800/3700 BC–AD 1917)*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, ix+118 pp., illustrations, 24 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-832-9.

[54] J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads*, Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague 2011, 344 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-80-7308-362-5; J. Mynářová, P. Onderka and P. Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back Again – the Crossroads II*, Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15–18, 2014, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague 2015, 556 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-80-7308-575-9.

communication with the Levant under the 18th Dynasty; 'Sailing from Periphery to Core in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean'), 'Egypt and the Aegean – the Iconography' (Best, Minoan Crete, Near Eastern 'Hero' and 'Bull-Man'), '2nd millennium BC' (southern Levant and Egypt in the early Middle Bronze Age, Tell el Dabʿa and radiocarbon data, production of green jasper seals in Egypt and the Levant; Egypt, Ugarit and the god Baʿal; the early 18th Dynasty in the northern Levant; children and procession scenes; the location of Danuna; the Amarna palaeography project; Aegean and Cypriot overseas ceramic trade) and 1st millennium (Typhonia of Cailliaud; inscriptions of Natakamani and Amanitor; Tel Miqne/Ekron during the 7th century BC; 'Why did Necho II Kill Josiah?'; stone jars in the Mediterranean). Both uniformly and well produced. Indexed.

Alexandria's Hinterland,[55] an attractive publication, very well illustrated (333 figures, 36 plates, 10 maps), combines material from earlier and more recent surface surveys in the Western Delta with small intensive collections to provide detailed information about 63 sites, much improving the data set and showing the use that can be made of it. It is arranged as 'Introduction and methodology', 'The Late Roman period and the Arab sources', 'Survey 2008–2011: Introduction and Site Gazetteer' (pp. 26–174), 'Surface finds, analysis, plates and tables' (including a pottery catalogue at pp. 180–83).

Festschriften

Paradigm Found[56] honours the Czech archaeologist Evžen Neustupný with 21 essays by colleagues from the United States to Japan, but especially from Central Europe, neatly divided into three sections of seven: 'Contemporary Discourses in Archaeological Theory' ('"Paradigm lost" – on the State of Typology within Archaeological Theory'; 'The Demons of Comparison: Archaeological classification *vs* classificatory terminology', etc.), 'Past and Future Directions' ('How We Have Come to Do Archaeology the Way(s) We Do…'; 'Which Archaeology does the Modern World Need?', 'Paradigm Lost: The rise, fall and eventual recovery of paradigms in archaeology'; 'Archaeology and Politics in the Twenty-first Century: Still Faustian but not much of a bargain', not least the strings attached to public/state funding; etc.) and 'Thinking Prehistory'. John Bintliff provides another of his bracing counterblasts: 'Beyond Theoretical Archaeology: A manifesto for reconstructing interpretation in archaeology', opening minds and liberating academics, field-workers and students from the prison of theory and the brainwashing of the 'Theory Project'– 'a steady progression from any claim to a neutral, open scientific endeavour, towards relentlessly pure ideology', producing 'the current absence of critical, reflective and diverse approaches to reconstructing the Past' (p. 24) – with excavators at the base and a theory elite at the apex: '… we have allowed access to acceptable knowledge to become controlled by an academic minority to the disadvantage of … the discipline as a whole' (p. 34).

[55] M. Kenawi, *Alexandria's Hinterland: Archaeology of the Western Nile Delta, Egypt*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, xii+241 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-014-3.

[56] K. Kristiansen, L. Šmejda and J. Turek (eds.), *Paradigm Found: Archaeological Theory – Present, Past and Future. Essays in Honour of Evžen Neustupný*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, viii+292 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-770-4.

Twenty essays, mainly by North American and 'Old Commonwealth' scholars, honour Waldemar Heckel, retired after 35 years in Calgary, in *Greece, Macedon and Persia*,[57] with contributions on the history and historiography of warfare and power in the ancient Mediterranean in which Macedonia, Alexander the Great, his successors and his legacy bulk large. such as: 'Darius I and the Problems of (Re)conquest: Resistance, false identities and the impact of the past' (Sabine Müller); 'Clausewitz and Ancient Warfare' (Edward Garvin); 'Thucydides and the Failure in Sicily' (Brian Bosworth); 'Macedonian Armies, Elephants, and the Perfection of Combined Arms' (Graham Wrightson); 'Opposition to Macedonian Kings: Riots for rewards and verbal protests' (Joseph Roisman); 'Arrian and "Roman" Military Tactics. Alexander's campaign against the Autonomous Thracians' (Timothy Howe); 'Counter-Insurgency: The lesson of Alexander the Great' (Edward Anson); 'The Callisthenes Enigma' (Gordon Shrimpton); 'Alexander's Unintended Legacy: Borders' (Stanley Burstein); 'Cleomenes of Naucratis, Villain or Victim?' (Elizabeth Baynham); and 'Polybius on Naval Warfare' (Philip de Souza). But also 'Women and Symposia in Macedonia' (Elizabeth Carney) and the lengthy 'Career of Socratos of Knidos: Politics, Diplomacy and the Alexandrian Building Programme in the Early Hellenistic Period' (Alexander Meeus). A warm tribute to 'Wald', including a visit to Wales, by J.C. Yardley.

From Source to History[58] marks Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi's 65th birthday. The 44 contributions run alphabetically. To sample them: 'Hezekiah's Jerusalem: Nineveh in Judah?' (Ariel Bagg); 'Semiramis and her Rivals …' (Reinhold Bichler); 'Karmylessos: une Lycie chimérique' (Oliver Casabonne); 'The Ordeal in the Neo-Assyrian Legal Procedure' (Betina Faist); 'Il mostro "anguipede" e il "dio in battello" nelle stele felsinee …' (Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi); 'Golden Appliqués in Assyrian Textiles: an Interdisciplinary approach …' (Salvatore Gaspa); 'Historische Aussagen in den Achämenideninschriften im Licht sich wandelnder Legitimationsstrategien' (Bruno Jacobs); 'The King and His Audience' (Mario Liverani); 'River Navigation and Transport in Norther Assyria. The Stone Quay-walls …' (Daniele Morandi Bonacossi); 'Mount Niṣir and the Foundation of the Assyrian Church' (Simo Parpola); 'Guriania, gouravnioi and the Gūrān' (Daniel Potts); 'Zagros Spice Mills: the Simurrean and the Hašimur Grindstones' (Karen Radner); 'Aornos and the Mountains of the East: the Assyrian Kings and Alexander the Great' (Robert Rollinger); 'Der Reichtum Babyloniens' (Kai Ruffing); 'From Arshama to Alexander. Reflections on Persian Responses to Attack' (Christopher Tuplin); 'The Extent and Interactions of the Phrygian Kingdom' (Erik van Dongen); and 'Überlegungen zur Lage von Pteria' (Anne-Maria Wittke). Thoroughly indexed.

[57] T. Howe, E.E. Garvin and G. Wrightson (eds.), *Greece, Macedon and Persia: Studies in Social, Political and Military History in Honour of Waldemar Heckel*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2015, xiv+214 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-923-4.

[58] S. Gaspa, A. Greco, D.M. Bonacossi, S. Ponchia and R. Rollinger (eds.), *From Source to History: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern World and Beyond. Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on June 23, 2014*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 412, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2014, xiv+810 pp., illustrations and 5 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-101-9.

A handsome volume for Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, *Ein Minoer im Exil*,[59] contains 23 papers, most in English, starting with 'Fishing Technology: The Kynos Contribution', a continuing through, amongst others, 'Two More Linear B Inscribed Stirrup Jars from Malia', 'Hadrian, *Abai* and the Memory of the Persian Wars', 'Miletus IIIb. Ramping Up a Minoanized Locale', 'Perceptions of Minoan Religious Symbolism in Mainland Greece during Late Helladic I' (Kalapodi), 'Milesian Imports and Exchange Networks in the Southern Aegean', 'Near Eastern Semicircular Axes in the Late Bronze Age Aegean as Entangled Objects', 'Marine Style Pottery from Knossos', 'Gabenträger aus Zypern in ostgriechischen Heiligtümern', 'Der greiftötende Löwe. Ein Siegel aus Milet', 'Ein stratigraphisch datiertes, hocharchaisches Kapitell aus Abai/Kalapodi', 'Eine geometrische Plattenfibel aus Kalapodi …', etc. Well produced, larger format – but no index.

Crises and Politics

An eponymous Russo-British conference at Perm is the source of *Deformations and Crises of Ancient Civil Communities*.[60] A dozen papers mix broad themes and case studies, for example: P.J. Rhodes, 'Instability in the Greek Cities'; Valerij Gouščhin, 'Aristocracy in Democratic Athens: Deformation and/or Adaptation'; Polly Low, 'Empire and Crisis in Fourth-Century Greece'; Yuri Kuzmin, 'The Antigonids, Caunus and the so-called "Era of Monophthalmus"…'; Oleg Gabelko, '… Some Particulars of the Conquest of Cius and Myrlea by the Kingdom of Bithynia'; T.J. Cornell, 'Crisis and Deformation in the Roman Republic: The Example of the Dictatorship'; Amy Russell, 'The Tribunate of the Plebs as a Magistracy of Crisis'; Catherine Steel, 'The Roman Political Year and the End of the Republic'; Pavel Rubtsov, 'Imperial Power in the Third and Fourth Centuries: Deformation or Evolution?'; and Aleksey Kamenskikh, '… Political Philosophy and Practice in the Late Neoplatonist Communities'. Of particular interest is Natalia Almazova's 'The "Cultural Crisis" in Rome on the Cusp of the Republic and Principate as Seen in Russian Research of the Late 19th–Early 20th Centuries', a period of cultural transformation that featured Rostovtsev, Zieliński, Blagoveshchanskii, etc. looking at another such, now discussed during a third: 'be it from Soviet to a post-Soviet, not often more fruitful, cultural paradigm, or from the Western culture of the twentieth century to the notorious "post modernism"'.

Ancient Disasters[61] is an interesting volume when we consider the fine record of incompetence that beset, for example, New Orleans in the recent past. Nine papers, all but one in English, all but one by Spanish scholars, furnish us with 'Catastrophes and their aftermath, a new old story', 'Attitudes and responses to disasters. The Graeco-Roman records',

[59] D. Panagiotopoulos, I. Kaiser and O. Kouka (eds.), *Ein Minoer inm Exil. Festschrift für Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 270, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Heidelberg, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, 418 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3971-4.

[60] V. Gouščhin and P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *Deformation and Crises of Ancient Civil Communities*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 194 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11162-1.

[61] T. Ñaco del Hoyo, R. Riera and D. Gómez-Castro (eds.), *Ancient Disasters and Crisis Management in Classical Antiquity*, Akanthina, Foundation for the Development of Gdańsk University, Gdańsk 2015, 164 pp., 5 maps and plans. Cased. ISBN 978-83-7531-217-1.

'"Humanitarian crises" in the Works of Xenophon', 'Ilergetan attitudes and responses to imperialistic strategies', 'Témoignages épigraphiques d'un possible cas de "déplacement force de population" à Majorque, II–Ier siècles av. J.-C.', 'Deportation and re-occupation policies in Southern Anatolia, c.100–50 BC', 'A Man-made Humanitarian Crisis: Augustus and the Salassi', 'Humanitarian Crises caused by Earthquakes in the Eastern Mediterranean (31 BC–23 AD)', etc.

Federalism might be understood by the Swiss; certainly not by most Australians. The German (especially Bavarian), American and Canadian contributors to *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*[62] will at least have some idea of its modern misfires. There are 29 chapters and many well-known contributors: Jonathan Hall ('Federalism and Ethnicity'); Kostas Buraselis (Aegean Islands); Angelos Chaniotis (Crete); Klaus Freitag (Akarnian League); Miltiades Hatzopoulos (Macedonia); Denis Knoepfler (Euboean League); Nino Luraghi (Messenia); Jeremy McInerney (Phocis); Lynette Mitchell ('The community of the Hellenes'); Thomas Heine Nielsen (Arcadia); Kurt Raaflaub (forerunners, collaboration and alliance in Archaic and Classical Greece). Some 20 chapters survey particular leagues and arrangements, in the core and periphery (Cyrenaica) of the Greek world, demonstrating their diversity and sophistication, across the spectrum of tautness to hegemony (the Delian League), varyingly impermanent, sometimes chameleonic, driven by proximity and shared identity, but also by military need and for self-preservation, perhaps a solution to inter-state volatility, etc. Emily Mackill writes on the economics: the chicken and the (curate's) egg of whether economic integration drives political or *vice versa*, and Cinzia Bearzot on 'Ancient theoretical reflections on federalism'. Likely to supplant J. Larsen's *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History* (Oxford 1968). I suspect that federalism, used loosely ancient and modern to cover arrangements from confederacies to devolved hegemonies via the Soviet Potemkin version and the 'European project', may be the next casualty in the terminology wars beloved of Anglophone academics.

For colleagues drawn to (make) broad comparisons across the millennia, *The Political Machine: Assembling Sovereignty in the Bronze Age Caucasus* may be recommended (based on Adam Smith's 2013 Rostovtzeff Lecture Series).[63] It is novel, but I found it very difficult to follow, indeed in some instances to understand, my extensive knowledge of Caucasian, especially Georgian, archaeology notwithstanding. After 'Introduction: Reverse Engineering the Polity' come two chapters in 'Part I: The Machinery of Sovereignty' and three in 'Part II: Assembling Sovereignty'. From Ur and Erebuni to Obama, mortuary ritual to flag pins, via Hobbes and Rousseau, Collingwood and Childe, Renfrew and Rawles, it seeks to reveal links between material goods and the political order.

[62] H. Beck and P. Funke (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xxvii+605 pp., 7 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-19226-2.

[63] A.T. Smith, *The Political Machine: Assembling Sovereignty in the Bronze Age Caucasus*, Princeton University Press in association with the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, Princeton/Oxford 2015, xv+242 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-16323-9.

Miscellanea

Diachrony[64] grew out of a conference held at Duke University in 2009, the papers reworked and supplemented by special commissions for publication. The intention has been to demonstrate the possibilities of this model of interpretation for the investigation of Greek literature and culture: 11 chapters, one the editor's Introduction. 'Diachrony and the Case of Aesop' (Gregory Nagy) and 'Aristophanic Satire and the Pretense of Synchrony' (Ralph Rosen) give a flavour of the first part. The second contains 'Cultural Change and the Greek Perception of it …' (Carolyn Higbie), 'Diachronic Parameters of Athenian Pederasty' (Thomas Hubbard) and 'Diachrony in Greek Agriculture' (Anthony Snodgrass), which builds on the results of the Boeotia survey of 1989–91 of isolated farmsteads/small rural sites, underlines the 'danger of extrapolating from modern ethnographic evidence' to cover deficiencies in ancient sources, and offers 'an archaeologically informed model for diachronic change [which] uncovers and explains an important chapter in the dynamic history of the Greek rural economy' (p. 13). Index of sources.

The 18 papers from the colloquium 'Natur – Kult – Raum',[65] held in January 2012, are, as the title suggests, diverse. Mainly in German, mainly Austro-German authors. As examples: Susanne Berndt-Ersöz, 'Noise-Making Rituals in Iron Age Phrygia'; Helga Bumke, 'Griechische Gärten in sakralen Kontext'; Axel Filges, 'Ein Felsheiligtum im Stadtgebeit von Priene. Privater Kult im öffentlichen Raum'; Andreas Hofender, 'Heilige Haine der Kelten in der antiken Literatur: Kultrealität versus lierarische Barbarentopik'; Michael Kerschner, 'Der Ursprung des Artemisions von Ephesos als Naturheiligtum. Naturmale als kultische Bezugspunkte in den großen Heiligtümern Ioniens', Pirson *et al*., 'Die neu entdeckten Felsheiligtümer am Osthang von Pergamon – ein innerstädtisches Kultzentrum für Meter-Kybele'; Lutgarde Vandeput, 'Nature and Cult in Pisidia with a Focus in Pednelissos and its Territory'. Excellent, large-format publication with fine illustrations and maps/plans.

Finally, *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*,[66] an opulent large-format volume, packed with colour illustrations, containing 25 contributions within 'The Stages of Greek Archaeology', 'Great Moments in Greek Archaeology' (the Acropolis, Kerameikos, Delos, Olympia Delphi, Knossos, the Athenian Agora, Salamis, Thera, Vergina, etc.), 'Great Moments in Marine Archaeology' (Kyrenia, Uluburun) and 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture See the Light of Day' (from Aphrodite of Melos in 1822, to the large kouros of Samos in 1980), by two dozen Greek (Vassos Karageorghis) and foreign (Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier) scholars.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

[64] J.M. González (ed.), *Diachrony: Diachronic Studies of Ancient Greek Literature and Culture*, MythosEikonPoiesis 7, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, viii+400 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-042537-6/ISSN 1868-5080.

[65] K. Sporn, S. Ladstätter and M. Kerschner (eds.), *Natur – Kult – Raum*, Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums, Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg, 20.–22. Jänner 2012, Sonderschriften 51, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2015, 380 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-72-7/ISSN 1998-8931.

[66] P. Valavanis (ed.), *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*, translated by D. Hardy, Kapon Editions, Athens 2007, 380 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 960-7037-48-7.

CITYSCAPES

E. Mortensen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *Cityscapes and Monuments of Western Asia Minor: Memories and Identities*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xi+300 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-836-7

T. Fuhrer, F. Mundt and J. Stenger (eds.), *Cityscaping: Constructing and Modelling Images of the City*, Philologus Suppl. 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, viii+317 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-037682-1/ISSN 2199-0255

These books present papers given at conferences respectively at Aarhus University in October 2014 and at Dahlen, Berlin, in October 2012. They have differing interpretations of the meaning of the terms Cityscape and Cityscaping. Mortensen and Poulsen suggest that 'Cityscapes are expressions of identity and memories. They are frames in which street layouts, buildings, monumental structures, and sculptural and epigraphic displays are interpreted and reinterpreted as changing expressions of relations of remembrance identities and power.' For Fuhrer, 'Cityscaping… is the process through which an image of a city or urban landscape is imaginatively constructed. An aesthetically ambitious design need not imitate reality but may construct a city according to its own intentions and ideas.'

Thus *Cityscapes and Monuments* is concerned with the actual architecture and monuments of places in Asia Minor, as revealed by archaeological investigation, while *Cityscaping* for the most part deals with accounts and depictions of places whether real or imaginary in literature and other artistic forms.

First, then, *Cityscapes and Monuments*. Martin Seifert gives an introduction to 'Constructing memories: gateways between identity and socio-political pluralism in Ancient Western Asia Minor'. This is intended to go beyond the mere – but often minutely detailed – description of buildings to discus rather the understanding of structures in terms of social space and meaning. He looks towards the decision makers, the ruling elites who determined what to build and why, for example, at Aphrodisias where two elite families sponsored the Imperial cult centre, the Sebasteion. One sees the point, but at the same time there may be difficulty – if not impossibility – in discovering what the ordinary inhabitant in the street thought about these structures and the effect they bestowed.

The following papers are divided into five sections. First come 'Cityscapes of Remembrance'. Eva-Maria Mohr, Klaus Rheidt and Nurettin Arslan discuss Cityscapes and places of memory in Assos. This looks at the sequence of development at Assos from its origin, with an overview of the historical and archaeological sequence, leading to its place in the Roman empire, the existence of 'Romaioi', but in all this evidence for remembrance in the city itself.

Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan discusses Assos in the Byzantine era, looking at alterations and transformation of public spaces in Byzantine times, the transformation of the agora and the creation of a new public space to the south-west, complete with a substantial church, as a new build.

Anthony Shannon considers Teos from the epigraphic evidence, the failure of an imposed synoecism with Lebedos proposed by Antigonos Monophthalmos, and another inscription which outlines the foundation and structure of ritualised veneration of Antiochus III and his wife Laodice.

Orhan Bingöl looks at the ways sanctuaries altered the cityscape of ancient cities, with particular reference to Magnesia-on-the-Maeander where he sees evidence in the 1st century AD of a 'neo-Hellenistic' style of architecture. Here I would suggest continuity rather than revival, though after a time when potential uncertainty caused a moratorium.

Eva Mortensen considers narratives and shared memories of Heroes in the Aphrodisian cityscape, statues and memorials to the legendary heroes, back to the supposed foundation of the city, who were part of its general history, and then of actual individuals, the 'new heroes'. She describes dedicatory inscriptions as well as monuments – but what is not really clear is the impact these had on the ordinary inhabitants of the city. Were they really aware of the reasons behind them, or did they just take them for granted as part of their environment?

Jacques de Courtils looks at Xanthos, with its distinctive Lycian pillar tombs and the subsequent construction of other tombs in the same area, the so-called Roman agora, including, exceptionally, tombs later constructed within the city boundary.

Finally, Kai Töpfer considers civic self-perception and constructing identity in public images in Roman Asia Minor, with particular reference to Roman Imperial art in Asia Minor, including monuments honouring Pompey after his victories over Mithradates and then the pirates and, then, the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.

The next section is headed 'Recollections of the Past in Public Civic Monuments'. Ulrich Mania looks at gymnasia, as a place where a collective memory was shaped by the commemoration of benefactors, starting with gymnasiarchs, by honorific inscriptions and, often, a statue. Commemoration might also include burial within the gymnasium. He also includes the *topos* inscriptions at Priene, as marking the affiliation of the *ephebes* who made them within the gymnasium. (I fear I thought of these more on the level of my fellow school pupils who inscribed their names on the classroom desks.)

Günther Schörner looks at representing and remembering rituals in public space, particularly scenes on reliefs such as those in the basilica at Aphrodisias, the theatre at Perge and the Parthian altar at Ephesos.

Ute Lohner-Urban discusses aspects of Public Memory at the east gate of Side, originally of the period of Augustus, and in particular the inscribed stone in the Sidelic language dated earlier, to the 3rd or early 2nd century BC and apparently prepared for reuse in the gate.

The third part considers 'Representations of Memories and Identities in the Private Sphere'. Elisabeth Rathmayr writes about aspects of remembrance for residents in their houses, where there are places and elements of particular significance. These include the entrances, the type of house, the floor and wall decoration. They may include altars, dedications to the Emperors, together with examples of sculpture and inscriptions.

Christoph Baier discusses the significance, as a place of remembrance, of the monumental Domus on the hillside above the theatre at Ephesos.

The next section is headed 'Narratives of Remembrance in a Religious Context'.

Ergün Laflı discusses a seated statue of a poet from Klaros discovered in 1952, its missing head being discovered in 2002, and which was found, appropriately, in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo.

Helene Blinkenberg Hastrup writes about the Amazon statues from Ephesos, known, of course, from Roman marble copies after the bronze originals, and the historical meanings which can be found from these representations of mythical beings.

Next come two papers about Kos. Monica Livadiotti and Giorgio Rocco on memory related to a processional road in the city, while Luigi Calio gives a visual reconstruction of festive processions in Kos, again related to the principal street of the city.

Mustafa Şahin describes the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetes on the island Asar at Myndos, with an account of the finds from the excavations there.

Finally Katy Opitz, in 'Two Cities, One Goddess', considers the refoundation of Latmos and the transfer of the cult of Athena to the conspicuous new temple at the top of Herakleia.

The final section contains papers on the 'Commemoration of the Dead'.

Benedikt Grammer looks at the burial mounds of Kolophon and the question of their ethnic connections, Lydian, Greek or Ionian, and discusses the mounds themselves and the different cemetery groupings. He comes to the conclusion that the archaeological material does not offer a particularly deep insight into questions of ethnicity.

Martin Steskal writes on defying death at Ephesos – strategies of commemoration in a Roman metropolis. He discusses the tombs of the Roman period, first with burial along roads, then a movement away from pompous single monuments to a less structured lay out.

Poul Pedersen gives a new discussion of *totenmahl* reliefs as well as the *totenmahlen* on the Belevi mausoleum and then the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus itself. He considers that they were almost absent in the 5th century BC but then flourished in the 4th.

Ilaria Romeo publishes new Seleucid portraits in Roman Hierapolis as a distant memory.

Laurence Cavalier writes on memorials to the Lycian dead. He looks at the typology of the Xanthos funerary monuments, discussing Xanthos funerary landscapes in Archaic and Classical times, with relation to public space, and then, finally, in Hellenistic and Roman times.

In the final paper Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail discusses commemorative inscriptions, and compares as mirrors of common identity inscriptions in ancient and modern (i.e. Vienna) funerary spaces or gravestones.

The second book, *Cityscaping,* is a supplementary volume in the *Philologos* series, which describes itself as 'a journal for ancient literature and its reception'. The present volume states that 'it investigates representation, symbolism, and discursive functions of urban space', and that 'the focus is on texts in which Rome and other ancient cities play a prominent role', while 'continuities and interruptions in the history of "cityscaping" are revealed by drawing on modern classics of writing the city'. At the same time contributions from the fields of archaeology and film studies supplement the literary investigation of how images of the city are moulded.

The great majority of the papers, therefore, are concerned with descriptions and references to functioning (in whatever particular aspect) of city life to be found in literature. They follow a chronological sequence of composition. Damien Nelis discusses visions of Troy, Carthage and Rome in Virgil, in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as well as the *Aeneid*, that is, both imaginary and looking forward to what actually existed in Virgil's time. Alison Keith considers cityscaping in Propertius and the Elegists, for example Propertius' references to luxury shopping along Rome's *Via Sacra*. Therese Fuhrer looks at Thessalian Hypata in Apuleius' *Metamophoses*. Lydia Krollpfeifer considers Claudian. Jan Stenger deals with John Chrysostom and his account of the unchristian evils of the long-standing

classical tradition of urban life. Maximilian Benz looks at Carthage in a 12th-century AD poem, Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneasroman*, where the model is taken not from reality but, rather, from Virgil.

The next sequence of papers is concerned with the investigation of cities and elements relating to city structures in more recent literature. Felix Mundt looks at speeches and theoretical texts from the ancient world and the renaissance (but ignoring the Middle Ages) which praise and describe cities. He begins with Herodotus' description of Babylon. Catherine Edwards discusses Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and his own involvement with the city of Rome itself. Christian Rivoletti considers Italo Calvino's *La città invisibili* to see whether it contains references to reality and the question of literary Utopias, divergences from the literary utopian tradition, and rather a dialectical process through which the reader is provoked to take a critical look at contemporary urban reality. Katrin Dennerlein presents a comparative study of how the city is depicted in Alfred Düblin's novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. Finally, a paper by Margrit Tröler on visions of ancient Rome in film, specifically in the films *Gladiator* and *Rome*.

In addition to these papers, which are concerned, intrinsically, with literature, there is one interesting archaeological paper. Manuel Royo writes about the *equus maximus in foro* and the Domitianic project on the Palatine. Here we are involved with an actual development in the city after the downfall of Nero's self-aggrandising development with his colossal statue, and, of course, his Domus Aurea. Vespasian had begun the corrective process with the construction of the Colosseum, the Flavian Amphitheatre. Domitian goes further with his treatment of the visual link between the Forum and his palace with what is in effect a visual forecourt to the Palace. Here we have a significant use of architecture within the city for an overt political purpose – cityscaping as architectural reality.

My edition of *Chamber's Concise Dictionary* (1991) simply defines 'city-scape' as 'a view or picture of a city (following *landscape*)' that is, as an art term. The two books reviewed here give a far wider definition, beyond the concept of a pictorial work of art. There is an obvious case for discussion which rounds out the more visual interpretation of a city; as it were, to populate it, to investigate how it functioned, the impact of social, political and economic life, to fill out the bare bones of its architecture and archaeology. Whether this properly includes memory (an element in both these books) is perhaps debatable. Similarly, we might question the extent to which any particular element in a city's architectural structure impacted on its actual, contemporary population, let alone the memory of this in later external interpretation of city life. Thus many of the papers in *Cityscaping*, and certainly the non-contemporary ones reveal the attitudes of the individual sources discussed rather than of those who actually lived there in antiquity. Moreover, it is reasonable to argue that even in antiquity itself, at any given moment in the ancient city's existence, different elements of the population would have had different views of its structure – how many inhabitants of a city in Hellenistic or Roman Imperial times, for instance, actually frequented the gymnasia? And how many of those who did gave a second thought to the monuments set up by (now deceased) leading citizens and families? The impression these two books leave on me is that their interpretations of 'cityscaping' are too vague and fanciful.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

ACHAEMENID EGYPT

M. Wasmuth, with a contribution by W. Henkelman, *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation in der Achämenidenzeit*, Oriens et Occidens 27, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 380 pp., illustrations, 12 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11693-0

H. Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ägypter und Perser: Eine Benegnung zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand*, Archäologie, Inschriften und Denkmäler Altägyptens 4, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 64 pp., colour illustrations (photographs by E. and H. Fedderken). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-534-8/ISSN 2102-2349

The two books above detail aspects of Achaemenid Egypt, the first focusing on Egyptian and Persian representations of the Great King, the second, well illustrated, a necessary supplement for the data described in the first. A consideration of the 'manuscript tradition' of Melanie Wasmuth's book explains this statement.

Her work first existed in the form of a doctoral dissertation (2009), still extant and available for borrowing from the Universitaet Basel: *Reflexion und Repraesentationen kultureller Interaction: Aegypten und die Achaemeniden*. By 2015 its publication was expected, under the same title, the structure of the book already established.[1] But publication was delayed and a change of title necessitated by (Dys)Tyche: the dissertation and initial book version were to contain 383 illustrations, but these lay within a 'rechtlichen Grauzonenbereich' for public use. Publication of such were rendered impractical (p. 11). After swearing an oath (printed on p. 12) W. was able to overcome the *Grauzonenbereichsministerium* by means of her artistic skill (numerous line drawings and reconstructions of damaged monuments, including the colour plates after p. 380) and by the Achaemenid-in-inspiration co-operation of Wouter Henkelman in providing the *Anhang*, 'Egyptians in the Persepolis Archives' (pp. 273–99 and colour plates 4–12 of selected tablets). In place of the absent illustrative material W. provided a 243-item list, the *AH* (*Verzeichnis der Abbildungshinweise*, pp. 304–17) and the names of key works which might serve as sources for illustrations (p. 12). Some of the Sternberg-el Hotabi illustrations can be mapped to W. (see end of review).

W.'s work is of a high academic standard as evidenced by the reasoning behind her initial selection of illustrative material, which I cite in full as a *Vorbild* for future comparative works. 'Hierdurch sollte (p. 11)

1. die Detailanalyse ohne muehsame Nachrecherche fassbar sein
2. offengelegt werden, auf welcher Materialbasis die Arbeit beruht
3. diese Materialbasis einem interdisziplinaerem Leserkreis mit potentiell sehr unterschiedlichem Forschungsshwerpunkt zugaenglich gemacht werden
4. von Augen gefuehrt werden, in wie vielen Bereichen weitere hochspezialisierte Forschungen notwendig waeren, die den Rahmen eine Dissertation sprengen und nur begrenzt von einer Person zu leisten sind.'

[1] As evidenced by M. Wasmuth, 'Political Memory in the Achaemenid Empire: The Integration of Egyptian Kingship into Persian Royal Display'. In J.M. Silverman and C. Waerzeggers (eds.), *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire* (Atlanta 2015), 203–37.

Her introduction (pp. 15–28) sets down the chronology, emphasising that most of the datable evidence falls within the reign of Darius I. One may also determine the influence of each culture on the other via their interpretation by a third culture (for example at Pasargadae). The Achaemenid practice of using word and image to clarify and publicise a claim to kingship would lead to a blending of iconography for use both by a Great King and by a Pharaoh in the person of a single entity.

The second chapter takes up the ruler as Great King (pp. 29–97): focus was on the legitimisation of the kingship, i.e. the individual's suitability for the maintenance of religion, culture and the land's wealth. Deeds justified divine support. Egypt appears frequently in the Achaemenid lists of lands – extent and ownership of said lands important. When Egyptians appear, documents relating to construction language and skill are tied together: they were noted for working both gold and silver (p. 49 due to their involvement in the silver trade, a ready source for gifts). When W. begins her discussion of Egyptian elements in the royal arts of Persia the absence of the readily available illustrative and comparative materials makes a greater impact (pp. 49–66). The crown found on the winged figure at Pasargadae was selected as an exotic, Levantine interpretation of an Egyptian crown. Depictions of envoys were in part inspired by Egyptian models as was the Persepolis image of the Great King surrounded by a 'frame' while in audience. Incorporation of additional elements may have been the result of Egypt's long existence as a kingdom and Darius' own participation in Cambyses' campaign. A number of objects found in the Persepolis Treasury (which had long been looted) bear the names of rulers of the 26th Dynasty or are simply anonymous. Most are fragmentary, whether tribute or booty unknown.

Egyptians are present in the administrative tablets found at Persepolis (pp. 77–84, 97, 273–99), some settling in Persia in the artistic workshops at Tamukkan. There remain difficulties in interpreting the exact nature of some of the professions recorded. In the most recent study of Darius' codification of Egyptian laws Sandra Lippert suggests, reasonably, that priests and officials would have been summoned to court to work on the project.[2] Unfortunately, these are the types of personnel not recorded (*cf.* p. 249, n. 749). Egyptians present in Persia did leave behind small pieces of art, but the influence on Persian art is difficult to detect.

W. then considers the Great King as controller of Egypt (pp. 98–220, plus p. 100 for inscription list), which required the Great King to meld two incompatible roles: the Pharaoh defeats Egypt's enemies, but the Great King holds Egypt as part of the realm which he rules from outside Egypt proper. Darius successfully integrated these royal concepts in the Susa statue(s), the steles along the Darius Canal and at the Hibis temple – his work taken up by Artaxerxes III in his own self-definition. The Darius statue found at Susa, of Egyptian stone and worked without metal chisels, was possibly one of four (i.e. two pairs). The clothes and attributes are modelled on representations in Persis, the style not an exact duplication of the Egyptian canon (pp. 109–10; the missing head was Persian in style, pp. 118–20). Darius is praised as one satisfied with Ma'at (i.e. Arta), the cartouche done in accordance with Egyptian practice (pp. 110–17). W. suggests the cuneiform inscriptions may have been added after completion of the hieroglyphics. A summary of Egyptian and non-Egyptian

[2] S.L. Lippert, 'La codification des lois en Égypte à l'époque perse'. In D. Jaillard and C. Nihan (eds.), *Writing Laws in Antiquity/L'écriture du droit dans l'Antiquité* (Wiesbaden 2017), 78–98. I thank her for sending a preliminary version.

characteristics of the statue is given on pp. 122–24: None of the subject peoples are represented in bonds, there is special treatment for neither the Persian nor the Egyptian; all people of the realm offer Darius in the form of his statue their desire that he continue to be protected by the Gods and that they, the peoples, continue to receive his protection.

The Darius Canal steles are fragmentary in physical form and in proper publication. They stood prominently displayed in at least four places. The Maskhuta Stele, inscribed on only one side (hieroglyphics), is now at Cairo, Petrie's squeeze now lost (p. 145, Abb. 19). The Kabret and Kubri steles, similar in design, were worked on both sides (hieroglyphics, cuneiform): reconstructions of both faces are presented on colour plates 2 and 3 (*cf.* pp. 128–48). The number and structure of the Serapeum Stele/ae, briefly described in the late 1800s, remain uncertain. W. concludes that not one, but two independent versions of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform existed: the Kubri and Kabret were one, the Maskhuta a separate one. The first two steles were so positioned that sailors saw an Egyptian and then later a Persian face sailing in one direction and the opposite faces when sailing in the other direction. Thus one entity was both Great King and Pharaoh at once. The Egyptian and Persian toponym lists and images are compared in detail (where extant, pp. 156–86). The steles and statue lists go back to a common model, the figures' dress paralleling Achaemenid models. None are shown, as was customary in Egypt, dead or in bonds. There were a number of further 'monuments' in the general vicinity of the Darius Canal, but they survive only in written notes or sketches (pp. 186–200). W. posits the existence of fire-altars by the Kubri, Kabret and Serapeum steles.

Representations of the Great King/Pharaoh existed in moveable objects. A silver stater of Artaxerxes III depicts him on the obverse wearing Persian dress and an Egyptian double crown while seated on a Levantine-style throne. He is labelled Ba'al of Tarsus, associating king and city deity. On the reverse, a seated lion and a bow, i.e. royal symbols. Thus Artaxerxes advertised his re-establishment of order in the Levant and Egypt. A second group of objects were jars bearing the name of the king (usually in hieroglyphics, pp. 208–14). These were used for 'official' shipments, the nicer containers serving as gifts to subordinates.

Chapter 4 (pp. 221–44) discusses the Great King as Pharaoh, the best evidence for which survives at the Hibis temple. For the Egyptians the Pharaoh was supposed to prevent a collapse into chaos, and can do so via legitimisation by descent, by myth (the coronation) and by accomplishments (in the land, towards religion, in defence). The Hibis temple is a mixture of Saite and Achaemenid construction, sometimes difficult to distinguish. Here Darius is depicted as Seth in the form of Horus, i.e. the living Horus, who resides outside Egypt proper, but still kills the Ma'at-hating Apophis snake (pp. 238–39). Further Achaemenid building activity (including monument restoration) and support for religious activities (for example the Apis cult) is outlined on pp. 239–43, activities 'wesentlich flaechendeckender und diversifizierter' (p. 244) than suggested in modern scholarship.

The Great King in the form of an Egyptian deity (Chapter 5, pp. 245–48) indicates how Darius was personified in public and private monuments as Horus, Hapi and Seth/Horus (above). Apparently he enjoyed success in his efforts.

The final chapter (plus summary, pp. 250–72) presents a synthesis of W.'s inquiries into royal titulature (not all can be dated); the successful integration of Egyptian and Achaemenid concepts of royalty; elements of Egyptian art at the Persian court (both a source of pride that the elements appeared and of dismay that the elements were only one of many cultures'); and the economic development of the Egyptian landscape. I express no dissatisfaction with W.'s work.

Sternberg-el Hotabi's short, well-illustrated book is part of a series (with Facebook page) aimed at the educated German reading public. The eight chapters present an overview of Achaemenid Egypt, with emphasis on the tensions between adjustment to foreign rule (by elite and priesthood) and dissatisfaction leading to open resistance (most of the population, p. 8). To her credit she introduces to a wider public the existence of evidence surrounding Petubastis IV (pp. 17–18), and publishes colour photographs of the now-lost Darius shrine from the Mallawi Museum (Abb. 54, 55, 69, 70). She approaches the topic in general with a distaste for the Achaemenid presence, perhaps a reflection of national feeling (*cf.* pp. 33, 35), but which serves to diminish the value of her presentation to those not aware of the scope of the ancient evidence. In spite of Darius' efforts, Achaemenid control, when not thrown off, undergoes a persistent decline (pp. 55–58), until, at the time of Artaxerxes III (p. 11): 'Bemuehten sich die persischen Koenige dieses Jahrzehnts in keiner Weise als Pharaonen aufzutreten und unterdrueckten das Land auf Schrecklichste' (*cf.* Wasmuth, p. 16, and Rottpeter[3]).

On p. 13 she confuses Ptolemy I Soter with Ptolemy III Euergetes (due to the Satrap-Stele?).[4] The co-operating elite gave up all real power (p. 30). The Darius Canal was just another burden on a populace subjected to forced labour (p. 35). After citing the wrong reference in Diodorus (p. 37; should be Diodorus 1. 46. 4), she blames Darius for looting Egypt of its skilled artisans, thus ushering in the stagnation of Egyptian art (pp. 35, 37–39, 58). The panoply of deities represented on the Hibis temple (her Abb. 68) is the priesthood's attempt to collect and preserve religious goods in a time of foreign occupation. Rottpeter's study of the Egyptian 'rebellions' (see note 3, below) indicates that the impetus came from Libyan dynasts west of the Delta, with the occasional support of Greek forces. Egyptians neither incited nor carried out rebellions, and afforded those disorders in progress a very limited support. Thus Sternberg-el Hotabi's distorted portrait of Achaemenid rule diminishes her work of efficacy. Such a picture serves better as a portrait of Eastern Europe enslaved by the Soviets, a time when vodka alone was plentiful, and cardboard dance shoes a fashion statement.

Below is a table of Wasmuth's items which can be mapped to Sternberg-el Hotabi:

Wasmuth	AH 9	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 31
Wasmuth	pp. 86–99	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 44, 45
Wasmuth	Abb. 18	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 56 (colour), Abb. 71 (frontal, line drawing)
Wasmuth	AH 135	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 37
Wasmuth	pp. 224–49 Hibis	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 57–64, 67, 68
Wasmuth	Abb. 53a	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 52 (photograph)
Wasmuth	Abb. 54b	Sternberg-el Hotabi	Abb. 63 (colour, not restored) Abb. 64 (line drawing, restored)

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

[3] M. Rottpeter, 'Initiatoren und Träger der "Aufstaende" im persischen Ägypten'. In S. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz* (Frankfurt 2007), 9–33.

[4] *Cf.* D. Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen: Historische Untersuchungen zur Satrapenstele und verwandten Denkmaelern* (Leuven 2011), 74–83.

THE LEVANT

M. Konrad, *Emesa zwischen Klientelreich und Provinz: Identität und Identitätswandel einer lokalen Fürstendynastie im Spiegel der archäologischen Quellen*, Orient-Archäologie 34, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2014, 108 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-664-8/ISSN 1434-162X

H.-P. Kuhnen (ed.), *Khirbat al-Minya: Der Umayyadenpalast am See Genezareth*, Orient-Archäologie 36, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 177 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-666-2/ISSN 1434-162X

Nestling close to the Orontes, Emesa (modern Homs, Syria) lay within the fertile corridor that linked the eastern Mediterranean seaboard with the steppe of the Syrian interior. In late antiquity, the city would go on to act as a major *entrepôt*. Silks, spices and exotic animals – tigers and rare birds – would pass through it, having come from as far away as China and India, on their way to the mansions of the Roman wealthy. But as Michaela Konrad's focus on an earlier period – particularly the first 1st century AD – makes clear, even when the city and its region were in transition from client kingdom to Roman provincial territory, Emesa had already been exposed to a profound Central Asian influence. Here, the Roman East never was, and never could have been, simply a 'Greek East'.

The nature of the study she gives us is reflected in its subtitle. It is an exploration of the culture of a ruling class and a ruling house. Just over half the main body of this lean volume (pp. 9–41) is a meticulous and well-illustrated study of the monumentality and grave-goods of the city's necropolis, excavated as long ago as 1936. The remainder of her substantive discussion (pp. 43–71) is a series of reflections on the finds in their cultural and political context. The ultimate thrust of her analysis is to argue, plausibly enough, that the encroachment of Roman rule prompted a conscious, cultural re-positioning of the governing class of Emesa, toward Roman styles and away from those of Parthia and Central Asia. The result is a worthy successor to the studies of Henri Seyrig, who began publication of the discoveries in the early 1950s.

The exploration of elite mausolea is, of course, only one angle of approach to the problem of acculturation in an ancient city of the Fertile Crescent. But it is plainly an important angle for the study of some of the most self-conscious choices made by a city's rulers. Konrad's material offers, as a result, a limited view of a much larger problem; but the approach is nonetheless impeccable and well executed so far as it goes. And because, as we know, it is the tragedy of Homs to have become a pivotal battleground in the Syrian Civil War, one is all the more indebted to Konrad for this volume, and the expertise she brings to it. By the time this book was published, much of Homs had become a desolate ruin, and much of Syria's archaeological heritage had come – as we also know – to lie in peril, or to be damaged or destroyed.

Close to 240 km south-southwest, by the Sea of Galilee, archaeological field work has by contrast continued. Hans-Peter Kuhnen has brought together a collection of seven papers by eight authors, with a concentration on the area of Khirbat al-Minya in the early Islamic period. Despite the German title of the volume, all seven papers are in English. The first

– co-authored by Christian Schneider and Markus Dotterweich as well as Kuhnen – offers a preliminary survey of the geoarchaeology of the area (pp. 7–21). Kuhnen follows this with a substantial paper on landscape change from the Hellenistic to early Islamic eras (pp. 23–57). These approaches to the physical environment are complemented by Wolfgang Zwickel's richly-mapped account of 'geographical conditions' around the Sea of Galilee in Islamic times (pp. 85–109) – a discussion that, as its title contrives *not* to imply, also encompasses substantial mapping and tabulation of settlements.

Questions of settlement, of varying scope, define the remaining papers. While Seyrig's team was uncovering the Emesene necropolis in 1936, Alfons Maria Schneider and the German archaeological team at the Umayyad palace at Khirbat al-Minya near-simultaneously found an Arabic inscription whose date and context has often been taken for granted since. Markus Ritter (pp. 59–83) returns to the question, and to the wider context of Umayyad foundation inscriptions, in an alert attempt to bring precision to our sense of what we know – and do not know – about the early 8th century. Katia Cytryn (pp. 111–29) takes a long view, both of Tiberias and Khirbat al-Minya, from the late 6th and 7th centuries to the Crusader period. The more familiar 8th-century finds now plainly need to be seen through an altogether longer lens, as recent excavations have made apparent. Jutta Häser provides a succinct *vade mecum* on the early Islamic rural settlements of Jordan, emphasising their long-run continuity (pp. 131–45). And Franziska Bloch returns to the ceramic and architectural evidence unearthed in the 1930s, in an effort to clarify the settlement history at Khirbat al-Minya, in the context of an intensification of activity in the region through the 8th century (pp. 147–59).

Both of these volumes show very high 'production values'. Maps, drawings and photographs abound, and are predominantly characterised by an excellent standard of precision, with a generous dash of colour. Authors and publisher alike are to be congratulated on their services to Middle Eastern archaeology. In the case of Khirbat al-Minya and its environment, we are fortunate that there is a distinct air of work in progress, with more to come. Conversely, the very fact that so much of the discussion presented in these volumes still builds closely on discoveries that were made in the 1930s is a reminder of the long delays, and sometimes catastrophic losses, brought on by wars of both a European and a Middle Eastern making. When we worry about the effects of high visitor numbers at some ancient sites, we should at least remember how fine a thing it is to have the chance of having that problem.

Virtual Centre for Late Antiquity, London Alexander Skinner

Aktuelle Forschungen an Gräberfeldern des 1. Jahrtausends n. Chr., Siedlungs- und Küstenforschung im südlichen Nordseegebiet [SKN] 39, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 300 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-857-8/ISSN 1867-274

This volume is part of the series on settlement and coastal research in the southern North Sea region, published by Verlag Marie Leidorf on behalf of the Lower Saxony Institute for Historical Coastal Research Wilhelmshaven. The book is dedicated to Dr Ursula Koch, a renowned scholar in the study of funerary archaeology of the Early Middle Ages,

particularly that of southern and south-western Germany. The publication was the outcome of a conference held in Wilhelmshaven in 2015 concerning funerary practices in north-western Germany during the 1st millennium AD. It is divided into five sections according to subject. All 17 papers are written in German with an English and German abstract; all are complemented by ample photographs, figures and plans.

The first section ('Forschungen zu Gräberfeldern der Römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit') discusses cemeteries dating to the Roman Iron Age and migration period. Schlotfeldt's article ('A Structural comparison of Roman Iron Age and Migration Period cemeteries in Schleswig-Holstein') applies a structural comparison to a selection of cemeteries situated along the Baltic Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein to conclude that in terms of funerary archaeology the area shares more similarities with the areas of the Elbe and Mecklenburg than with Scandinavia. Augstein and Karlsen ('Nienbüttel – the Most Richly Endowed Urn Cemetery of Eastern Hanover') attempt to reconstruct and understand archaeological evidence unique for the area by presenting a current project concerning the re-examination of finds from the burials of Nienbüttel. The significance of the cemetery rests on its plethora of high-quality imported bronze vessels and weapons. Monhike ('Reading the signs – On funerary pottery of the later Roman Iron Age and the Migration period in the Lower Saxony Ilmenau region') examines the rich material of ceramic vessels uncovered in cemeteries of the Lower Saxony Ilmenau region. Hüser ('The cemetery "Lederne Lampe" of Holtgast, Ldkr. Wittmund, in East Frisia') discusses the archaeological evidence from the cemetery of 'Lederne Lampe' dating to the later pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman period and highlights the similarities and differences with other cemeteries of the region.

The second section ('Besondere merowingerzeitliche Bestattungen in Niedersachsen') concerns the area of Lower Saxony and consists of two papers ('Gravesites of the Merovingian elite in Lower Saxony – Notes on the current state of research', by Ludowici; and 'In search of the "chieftain's" house – Settlement and elite burial in the Merovingian period', by Winger, Bartelt and Gerling). Both papers look into social differentiation and the emergence in the area of an elite during the Merovingian period as reflected in the funerary record and the treatment of the dead.

The third section ('Aktuelle Untersuchungen an Gräberfeldern aus West- und Süddeutschland') comprises papers that examine burial practices in western and southern Germany. Koch ('Outstanding source material from Early Medieval graves in South Germany – Unearthed? Documented? Evaluated? Detailed research: for what?') presents an overview of the evidence for Early Mediaeval burials uncovered in southern Germany, particularly rich material which when combined with the evidence from bioarchaeology can provide a detailed reconstruction of the society in the area. Höke ('The late burials of Lauchheim and the cemetery of Neuburg a.d. Donau – Two contrasting examples of burials of the late Merovingian time in Southern Germany?') examines a particularly interesting period, that of late Merovingian, which is characterised by important socio-economic changes reflected in the funerary record. Saal ('Therefore is it so beautiful at the Rhine – Viniculture and Frisian trade at the Middle Rhine in the late Merovingian and early Carolingian time') discusses the rich material from the Early Mediaeval cemetery of Rhens and highlights the evidence for trade between the area and Frisian communities.

The fourth section ('Neue spätsächsische Gräberfelder in Nordwestdeutschland') consists of five papers that focus on north-western Germany. Schön and Peek ('Early medieval grave finds near Dorfhagen, Municipality of Hagen, Ldkr. Cuxhaven') present the evidence from an Early Mediaeval cemetery uncovered near Dorfhagen. With the use of phosphate analysis, they were able to determine the presence of cremation burials and mortuary houses. Insight into the burial practices of the Early Middle Ages in Lower Saxony is provided for the area of Visbek ('The late Saxon cemetery of Visbek-Uhlenkamp II': Hummel), including 40 animal burials, and Hamburg ('The late Saxon cemetery of Neu Wulmstorf-Elstorf District of Harburg': Brandt). Finck and Schäfer ('The early medieval cemetery of Riensfröde, Hanseatic city of Stade') emphasise the presence of family plots in the extensive Early Mediaeval cemetery of Riensfröde. An interesting insight on the manufacture of metal finds with the use of digital computed tomography is presented by Brieske and Lehmann ('A prime location with a view to the River Weser – Detailed analysis of selected finds from the early medieval cemetery of Porta Westfalica Barkhausen, District of Minden-Lübbecke'). The finds were uncovered in the cemetery of Porta Westfalica/Barkhausen and date to the Carolingian period.

Finally, the papers of the fifth section ('Naturwissenschaftliche Analysen an frühmittelalterlichen Bestattungsplätzen') focus on the examination of the Early Mediaeval cemetery of Dunum. Both contributions ('A pilot study on selected cremation burials from the early medieval cemetery of Dunum, District of Wittmund, East Frisia – an interim report', by Peek and Siegmüller; 'The anthropological analysis of selected cremation remains from the early medieval cemetery of Dunum, District of Wittmund', by Grefen-Peters) present examinations of selected material from the cemetery with the use of scientific methods, such as radiocarbon dating and osteological analysis. Finally, a particularly intriguing topic is examined by Hähn and Halle: the visibility of disability in skeletal remains from cemeteries of Germany ('Dis/ability History on Burial Grounds in Germany – examples from the Southwest, Problems in the Northwest').

The book presents the particularly rich funerary material from various areas of the southern North Sea region, which provides insights into the social and economic setting during the 1st millennium AD. It is an interesting and thought-provoking contribution, and well edited.

Thessaloniki, Greece Christina Aamodt

B.V. Andrianov, *Ancient Irrigation Systems of The Aral Sea Area: The History, Origin, and Development of Irrigated Agriculture*, edited by S. Mantellini with the collaboration of C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and M. Tosi, American School of Prehistoric Research Monograph Series, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xxxv+393 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-384-8

The volume is a critical re-edition and translation into English of *Drevnie orositelnye sistemy priaralya v sviazi s istoriey vozniknoveniya i razvitiiya oroshaemogo zemledeliya* published in 1969 in Moscow. The translation by Gian Luca Bonora and Giò Morse, has been funded by the Segretariato Europeo per le Pubblicazioni Scientifiche, Bologna.

The long introductory section includes lists of contributors, figures, tables, abbreviations and a glossary by Bonora; a Preface, 'Boris V. Andrianov and the Archaeology of Irrigation',

and notes on translation, references and transliteration, and acknowledgments are all by Simone Mantellini.

We are then offered a sequence of specialist contributions, starting with that by Dolukhanov (p. 1) entitled 'Central Asian Archaeology: The Russian and Soviet Times'; by Bolelov (p. 7), 'Boris Vasilevich Andrianov and the Study of Irrigation in Ancient Khorezm'; by Francfort and Lecomte (p. 11), 'Map of the Main Archaeological Sites of Khorezm published in 2002 after S.P. Tolstov'; by Betts and Yagodin (p. 13), 'The Karakalpak-Australian Expedition in Khorezm 50 years after B.V. Andrianov'; by Galieva (p. 17), 'Memories of Boris Vasilevich Andrianov'; by Lamberg-Karlovsky (p. 23), 'Irrigation Among the Shaykhs and Kings'; and by Arjantseva (p. 55), 'References and Bibliography of Boris V. Andrianov'.

The translated text of A.'s book then starts with a short foreword by Merpert, a page from the author and an Introduction. Part I, 'Ancient Irrigation Study Methods', considers the origin and development of irrigated agriculture (two chapters); Part II, 'The Lands of Ancient Irrigation of the Aral Sea Area' houses three chapters focused on specific regions. Then a Conclusion (p. 245), figures (p. 255), tables (p. 317), endnotes (p. 329), editor's notes (p. 344) and references in Russian (p. 347), and the original references in other languages (p. 377).

The effort made by Mantellini is one that deserves special applause, not least because of the importance already gained by A.'s volume, and the indispensability of its translation into an accessible language, above all. Placing the book in an up-to-date methodological perspective through essays of high specialist content by outstanding scholars gives the reader the sensation of being confronted by a completely new book.

The task was not easy. To translate a book is a technically difficult operation, and here it is necessary to thank Bonora and Morse. To edit and update its content is a different, more sophisticated operation, and above all, very useful. Those who have been dealing with Central Asia in recent decades have certainly complained that without a thorough knowledge of Russian, they were limited in their work.

There is another particularly significant aspect in this critical update proposed by Mantellini, i.e. the relocation of the volume in the epoch in which it was conceived, permeated with the political and ideological values of the time; these elements, today might bring a smile, but have their place in the history of archaeological research in Central Asia of the Soviet era.

The setting of the book is provided by the introductory articles, first Dolukhanov, with a general outline of Russo-Soviet archaeology in Central Asia, then a description of the main investigations carried out in the former Soviet republics (including a very short piece on Samarkand-Afrasiab provided by Frantz Grenet).

Bolelov focuses on the importance of research of ancient irrigation systems carried out by A. in Khorezm and in the Lower Syrdarya. He provides a brief history of the Khorezm Archaeological Expedition, its different topics and targets, and remarks on the advanced multi-disciplinary approach given to it by Tolstov.

The map presented by Lecomte and Francfort (2002) summarises the main discoveries of the expedition, showing major settlements, their chronology and function, graveyards, the main irrigation networks, as well as the aerial and car routes used during field work.

Galieva deals mostly with A. himself, her principal supervisor when, in the early 1980s, she moved from Tashkent to Moscow to obtain her doctorate. Yagodin and Betts provide an up-to-date archaeological view of the area formerly investigated by the expedition in light of recent discoveries by the Karakalpak-Australian Archaeological Expedition.

Lamberg-Karlovsky develops his theoretical essay on the role of irrigation, and water management more generally. Based on archaeological data, written sources and different schools of thought on this matter, he provides a comprehensive analysis of the role of water in ancient civilisations with numerous references to the contemporary situation.

Part of the bibliography is specifically devoted to all the works published by A. throughout his career, those mentioned in the book but also all the geographical-archaeological research, particularly on irrigation and water management, that he published later.

The translation begins with a page about Bukinich, the engineer and irrigation specialist whose work marked the beginning of the study of Central Asia ancient irrigation systems.

The Introduction focuses on the main aspects of ancient irrigation systems and their socio-economic implications. Starting from the climate-environmental situation of Khorezm A. seeks to outline an historical interpretative line that takes into account both the geo-environmental setting and human interventions through channelling operations, necessary for agricultural control of the territory. In particular, he underlines the double aspect of irrigation systems: on one hand, they play a major role in the development of arid regions; on the other, they are difficult to study and to be dated. A. presents previous studies on the ancient irrigation in Khorezm, started in the early 1930s with Voevodskii. Gulyamov continued this research pre- and post-war, that A. considered 'the most important step in studying the history of irrigation in Khorezm'.

The first Part of the book is more general and theorethical; the second focuses on specific field work and results achieved by A. and the archaeological-topographical unit.

Chapter 1 describes the approach employed by the archaeological-topographical unit in researching the historical dynamics of irrigation systems and their relation to settlement pattern. A. argues that such a study 'requires an interdisciplinary approach combining natural geography and human sciences'. He provides a summary of aerial archaeology history and its application in studying ancient irrigation systems and hydraulic devices. A. summarises the main publications and pioneer scholars in aerial archaeology, such as Beazley, Crawford, Poidebard and Chevallier in the West, and the early experience in Russian archaeology and the Khorezm expedition.

Chapter 2 deals with the 'Origin and Development of Irrigated Agriculture' in different areas of the world. A. shows a very good grasp of research throughout the world, from the main ethno-archaeological studies of the American Indians by Steward, Forde and Haury, to archaeological survey in Mesopotamia by Adams, and excavations in the Near East (Jericho, Jarmo, Ali Kosh, Çatal Huyuk, Hacilar, etc.), which allowed the appearance of irrigated agriculture in the Old World to be dated as early as the 8th–6th millennia BC. A. recalls the theory of 'hydraulic societies' advanced by Wittfogel, where the development and maintenance of large-scale irrigation systems were possible only through a strong centralist state, with a bureaucratic structure and the wide use of forced labour.

Chapter 3 concerns 'The Southern Delta of the Akchadarya', the first area investigated by the archaeological-topographical unit. Irrigation works are described according to their

chronology and location. Although the data available for the Bronze Age are poor, it is highly possible that the inhabitants of Khorezm practised irrigated agriculture at that time: there is evidence of the introduction of some important devices in the development of irrigation technologies. The 6th–5th centuries BC were the building period of massive irrigation systems both on the right and left banks of the Amudarya. In that period, canals heads were moved into the major river channel rather than in one of its lateral branches showing the great ability of Khorezmians in building 'artificial rivers' and small 'artificial deltas'.

Research in 'The Sarykamysh Delta' is presented in Chapter 4. Here the Bronze Age finds are even poorer than in the Amudarya, thus A. argues that irrigated agriculture and hydraulic facilities appeared in this region somewhat later. In the 6th–5th centuries BC, the construction of important irrigation systems on the Chermen-yab and Daudan was connected with the strong state formation developed in Khorezm. As on the right bank of the Amudarya, progress in irrigation technology was considerable, and the water supply pattern was: riverbed–head works–drainage–main canal–feeder–field.

The fifth chapter describes the results achieved during work in 'The Lower Syrdarya', in particular on the left bank of the river. A. provides an overview of the natural conditions of this area. The Lower Syrdarya has less water than the Lower Amudarya and it was a huge deltaic area, with numerous swamps and lakes, before the development of irrigated agriculture. The Bronze Age sites have not been sufficiently studied and irrigation systems of that period are poorly identified. The hydraulic works of antiquity (4th–2nd centuries BC), are better preserved, especially in the environs of Babish-Mulla and Chirik-Rabat along the Middle Inkardarya.

In the Conclusion, A. retraces the stages of development of irrigation systems and water management after the research of the archaeological-topographical unit in Khorezm and in the Lower Syrdarya. In Khorezm, the development of irrigation techniques started in the Bronze Age, with the first attempts of wetland reclamations, flood controls and primitive forms of *kair* and estuary agriculture. During the Amirabad (9th–8th centuries BC) and Archaic (6th–5th centuries BC) periods regulated riverbeds and former riverbeds began to be turned into small artificial main canals.

Based on some ethnographical studies in the Khiva Oasis, A. evaluates the high cost of labour investment required for such work and introduces his hypothesis on the emergence and development of the slave-owning mode of production. In an attempt to consider the origin and development of Khorezm irrigated agriculture in a wider perspective of other Old World arid zones, A. used the most recent ethno-archaeological (Childe, Forde) and palaeobotanic (Helbaek, Flannery, Vavilov) studies. He asserts that the spread of irrigated agriculture was not a simple mechanical transfer of skills in farming and irrigation methods from one area to another, but rather a complex historical-cultural process, varied in different ecological conditions of natural vegetation and water resources. Supporting the theory of the geographers Berg and Voeykov, and their criticism against the determinism of Huntington, A. suggests that the decline of the Khorezmian and Central Asian oases was primarily due to socio-economic factors, such as wars and feudal fragmentation, which contributed to the movement of people and abandonment of cultivated lands and irrigation systems.

Università degli Studi di Napoli, L'Orientale Bruno Genito

S. Atasoy and Ş. Yıldırım (eds.), *Tios: An Ancient City in Zonguldak. General Assessment of Works between 2006 and 2012 / Zonguldak'ta Bir Antik Kent: Tios. 2006–2012 Arkeolojik Çalışmaları ve Genel Değerlendirme*, Tios-Filyos Arkeolojik Kazı Projesi, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ankara 2015, v+575 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-605-149-776-1

This thick volume printed on heavy chalk paper sums up the results of the excavations and survey project led by Prof. Sümer Atasoy. Most of the text is in Turkish, but there are reasonable English summaries of most of the papers. Tios was founded in 7th century BC by an eponymous legendary Milesian. It was one of the small cities on the Black Sea coast of Bithynia, with harbour, Acropolis and lower city. The Archaic and Classical periods are little known. In the 3rd century BC it minted its own coins; it was flourishing in Hellenistic and Roman times and remained under Byzantine rule until the end of the 13th century. Part 1 summarises the history of the city from ancient Tios to recent Filios. Part 2 is the excavation report on the lower city with remains of city walls, and two Roman baths. Part 3 refers to the Acropolis digs with modest deposits of Archaic, Attic black- and red-figured pottery. A Roman 2nd-century AD temple, probably devoted to Zeus, was uncovered on the Acropolis, as was an Early Christian church. Tombs of cist, pit and tile-covered type around the church contained 80 skeletons; they date from 10th to 12th centuries AD. Part 4 summarises other digs on the Roman lower city, where houses with mosaics, Anatolian and African sigillata and other minor finds were uncovered. Of mosaics, one with Ambrosia and Lycurgus is very fine, another with an animal of late antiquity. Part 5 reports on surveys and small digs on the area around Tios, Part 6 gives a report on restorations and Part 7 brings the bibliography on Tios. Special papers publish epigraphical monuments and coins. Strabo considered Tios of little importance, but it was not always so and the volume under review substantially enlarges our knowledge of this corner of the Black Sea.

Charles University, Prague Jan Bouzek

S. Avetisyan and Y.H. Grekyan (eds.), *Bridging Times and Spaces: Papers in Ancient Near Eastern, Mediterranean and Armenian Studies Honouring Gregory E. Areshian on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, xx+401 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-699-2[1]

In the opening of his contribution to *Bridging Times and Spaces* Grekyan notes (p. 103) that 'the research of Gregory E. Areshian knows no temporal or spatial bounds', to which one may add ties of friendship and admiration. This *Festschrift* offers not only a procession of colleagues and students, but also a procession of empires, extending into contemporary times. As is ancestral custom in most *Festschriften*, articles are arranged alphabetically by the author's last name. Space forbids commenting on them all; instead, I present a few,

[1] Contents: *https://www.oxbowbooks.com/dbbc/bridging-times-and-spaces-papers-in-ancient-near-eastern-mediterranean-and-armenian-studies.html.*

thematically, after beginning with the extensive and informative interview conducted in 2016 by Areshian's colleagues, Abrahamian and Kantrim (pp. iv–xx).

At the tender age of five Areshian was hooked on archaeology, soon visited a local dig, read about Near Eastern and Greek mythology, and used his childhood savings in fulfilling the fantasy of having his own set of armour. Surrounding this network of parents and family friends was the reality of Red-maladministration. Replacement of Stalin with the slightly less degenerate Khruschev permitted a moderate regrowth in limited areas of the humanities and social sciences. Stalin's inability to transform his entire realm into a charnel house paved with a *Schädelplatz* meant that the few surviving well-trained (pre-1917) historians and philologists attracted to Yerevan State University new students and the attention of similarly matured scholars. For Areshian, antiquity was a safe field of interest. Illumination would follow once the Marxist-Stalinist prison of *pyatizm* (unilinear progress through a putative five consecutive 'social-economic formations') was shattered.

Areshian outlines to his interviewers the stages of interests and foci. The need for a multidisciplinary approach was recognised early, evidenced in his dissertation on Urartian-era iron-working. His old interest in mythology led to the study of cultic ceremonies and their archaeological context. His wider ranging investigations permitted him to suggest 'six macroperiods within the periodisation of Armenian history' (p. xi). Realities also marked his *res gestae*: foundation of a centre for archaeological research at Yerevan (1978–81), a ministerial post in the newly constituted Armenia, and the difficult attempt to shake the disease of nepotism in the functioning of the state (p. xvi). An unwilling departure led to his subsequent reshaping and improvement in the archaeological investigations at a number of prominent American institutions. Returning to Armenia to take up the post of Professor of History and Archaeology at the American University of Armenia, Yerevan, Areshian, at the time of the interview, held out hopes for an eventual multinational project, including both Armenia and Turkey, in the one-time Armenian capital, Ani, now located in Turkey.

Two contributions, by their detail in content and bibliography, permit one unfamiliar with the archaeology of the Armenian world to gain insight into the development of archaeological inquiries and structures participating in the investigations. Badalyan and Smith (pp. 11–28) are members of the Armenian-American Project for the Archaeology and Geography of Early Transcaucasian Societies (Project ArAGATS) and present the results of their 2013 and 2014 field seasons at the *kurgans* near Gegharot village. The tombs were first known in the 1950s, but it was Areshian who suggested in 2003 the continuation of previous work. Focus is placed on the well-preserved Kurgans 2 and 3, dating from the period when mobile communities developed into the centralised societies of the Late Bronze Age. Kurgan 2, multi-chambered, displays in its central chamber reuse for an intrusive Early Iron Age burial. Kurgan 3, in addition to human remains, contains portions of two horses (skulls) and bronze artefacts all suggestive of a yoke designed for transport or military use: 'The entire assemblage, along with head and hooves horse remains, appears to provide a synechdochic (*pars pro toto*) representation of a chariot' (p. 25). A census of all finds from these *kurgans* is given on pp. 22–25. Kalantaryan, Perello and Chataigner (pp. 183–200) discuss the 'agglomerated houses' at Arteni, Armenia. Aerial surveys and then satellite photography permitted the identification and study of the series of enigmatic stone structures found throughout the Near East and its environs. These are assigned a variety of names, based on their visual outline as seen from above: kites, wheel houses,

agglomerated (or 'bubble-like') houses. Their purpose remains difficult to assess. Their presence in Armenia is surveyed, emphasis placed on Arteni and the results of the first season (June 2015). The complex occupied 2 ha (i.e. 2 × 10,000 m^2). Excavated sections revealed now-collapsed multiple courses of stones (a habitation?). A stratigraphic sequence of the site is presented at p. 199, fig. 11. The stone structures were built in the Late Bronze Age, abandoned, and then reoccupied in the Achaemenid era.

Now, a procession of (some) empires. Grekyan (pp. 103–32, with excellent bibliography) investigates settlement size and population estimate of Urartian cities, only the larger administrative centres mentioned by name in Urartian royal inscriptions (listed: pp. 104–05). The *susi*-temple formed the fortress core, its open yard surrounded by cultic-purpose buildings. The 'palatial complex' represented the ceremonial-administrative sector. The outside town, i.e. spread outside the fortress walls, held houses for the elite and more numerous dwellings for the majority. There was 'no evidence of any town-building standard' (p. 120). The normal size for the centre and outlying town was 40–50 ha. The outer town served the fortress complex, town needs met by a redistribution system (p. 121). Grekyan advises circumspection in judging the population size; the limited territory and population remained commensurate with the functions carried out in the centre.

Stronach (pp. 339–47) discusses the manner in which the face of Cyrus the Great was represented. Initially, a shorter, Anshan-style beard may have been preferred. Cyrus himself, in the Cyrus Cylinder and in the presence of Assyrian-inspired sculptural forms at Pasargadae, also emphasises that he has taken up the position once occupied by Assurbanipal. Thus, Cyrus may have later preferred the longer, Assyrian style beard. A stone inset on Darius' image at Bisitun gives him a beard that is remarkably Assyrian (pp. 343–47). Herles's survey of the Achaemenids and the southern Caucasus (pp. 133–53) describes their reuse of Urartian settlements. He accepts Knauss's proposal that there was a network of administrative headquarters, for example Armenia's Beniamin (four large halls; site reuse in mid-2nd century BC) and Azerbaijan's Karachamirli (architectural parallels with Persepolis). Grave-goods (pp. 143–48) from sites in Armenia and Georgia can be assigned to the Achaemenid period.

I end the procession of (some) empires with the Sasanians and Daryae's discussion of the 'Great King of Armenia' (pp. 85–87). That title was a mark of status, its holder close to (if not related to), but subordinate to, the real King of Kings. The same form of title is found in the Sasanian Far East, in the title Great Kushanshah – indicative of high status, dynastic ties, yet subordination to the King of Kings.

The concern the Sasanians took with both ends of their empire thus prefigures Areshian's desire to cast his net wide.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

S. Balatti, *Mountain Peoples in the Ancient Near East: The Case of the Zagros in the First Millennium BCE,* Classica et Orientalia 18, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, 429 pp., illustrations, 22 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10800-3

It is immediately obvious that Silvia Balatti's work is constructed upon a solid foundation whose stone setting was observed and facilitated by a notable group of predecessors (pp. xxi–xxv). Her purpose is met: 'To provide a better understanding of the social organisation and

the life-ways of the ancient peoples dwelling in the Zagros Mountains and to clarify their relationship with the surrounding environment and with the state authorities of the plains' (p. xxiii).

The first two chapters (pp. 1–32, 33–50) detail the sources consulted: written records produced by those foreign to the Zagros, whose accounts, most imperial in origin, present stereotypes, accurate observations, and a mixture of a royal glorification and poetic vistas; the non-written sources, some the result of the Zagros inhabitants: archaeological data, zoological-archaeological data and palynological (botanical) records. After outlining the results of previous investigations, she presents her 'conceptual and theoretical' framework, defining those present-day terms which would be acceptable for use in discussing peoples whose ways of life represented a departure from organised states. These peoples, generally called pastoral, 'primarily subsist on herding domestic animals' (p. 44). But they are always tied to sedentary peoples; trade and exchanges remain regular, but changing over time – 'a fluid distinction rather than a dichotomic opposition' (p. 49).

The next four chapters discuss the treatment of the Zagros peoples in the ancient sources, which are given in text (or transliterated cuneiform) and modern translation. Chapter 3 (pp. 51–118) concerns the Neo-Assyrian sources (maps display the presently reconstructed locations of the inhabitants, although some of the maps seem truncated). Assyrian royal ideology and its expansionist policy meant pressing towards the limits of the known world with a hope of imposing a more stable control. Campaigns in the eastern mountains did result in the acquisition of a greater knowledge of the inhabitants, agreements with local leaders, and payment of metals and livestock (plus the forcible acquisition of captives). Apparently this situation declined with Assurbanipal's lack of attention (668–630 BC). Royal inscriptions and letters are the main sources: few 'ethnographic' details, much attention to resource exploitation, warfare and strategies for control. They depict a variety of societies: extensive, organised kingdoms (Mannea, with core and peripheral districts) and small, city-based polities ruled by 'city-lords'. Trade (plus local raids), horticulture, agriculture, viticulture and metalworking are all mentioned. But often there are the *topoi* – their way of life is worthy of disrespect, they know nothing of Shamash, they live clad in skins. Urartian sources (Chapter 4, pp. 119–33), although limited in number, reflect a perception that the Zagros peoples were not too different from the Urartians. Some of the peoples are described as groups who claimed descent from a common ancestor (p. 129). Booty from Urartian campaigns – captives, livestock, horses – were important for military resistance against Assyria.

Chapter 5 (pp. 135–93), Neo-Elamite, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid sources indicate the important of local men plus real – or pretended – lineage-based societies. The Neo-Babylonians continue the *topos* of unruly peoples living in a refuge for criminals. Only after the Achaemenid conquest of Babylon do business contacts increase, evidenced in private records of family commercial interests. The Achaemenids controlled – at least indirectly – portions of the Zagros (B. points to the backlog of untransliterated and untranslated documents). It is noteworthy that Darius refers to rebels making claim to descent from a heroic (Median) past, the family of Cyaxares. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the realities of peoples mentioned in the Persepolis archives, they appear to have been well integrated into the administrative machinery: some groups were assigned portions of royal herds, others specialised in raising animals. Stations on the royal roads

were centres of collection and distribution, every transaction carried out with the approval of the Great King.

The Graeco-Roman sources (Chapter 6, pp. 195–246) excel in describing military activities with an admixture of exaggerations and stereotypes. Xenophon's account of his interactions with the Carduchians in November 401 is pragmatic: guerrilla attacks, mountains, bad climate, the existence of agreements with the local Achaemenid authorities in the plains. Alexander, in spite of Arrian *Indica* 40, appears to have neither founded cities nor introduced agriculture to the inhabitants of the Zagros. The Uxians, some residing in highlands, others on plains, maintained an exchange of gifts and favours with the Great King. Alexander was less successful. Curtius' depiction of the Cosseans and mountainous regions of Media is unreliable – other sources point to the presence of resources and good pasturage for horses. Among Alexander's successors, Antigonus foolishly ignored the advice of his officer, knowledgeable about the agreements between the Cosseans and the Great King. We learn of Media and Elymais from the campaigns of Antiochus III and IV, Media known for pastoralism and agriculture, Elymais inhabited by some living in the plains (farmers), others mountain-residing marauders.

The investigation of written sources concluded, B. turns to social organisation and way of life in the Zagros (Chapter 7, pp. 246–301). She emphasises that one needs be circumspect in creating analogies based on mediaeval and modern times. Several different peoples inhabited the region, but there are only some shared features. The northern Zagros displays evidence of adaptation of Assyrian models, the result of cultural interactions. The central and southern Zagros were marked by small, autonomous entities with real or pretended kinship ties. The Assyrians were able to perceive the different levels of societal organisation. Media was characterised by city-lords' fortresses indicative of a hierarchical organisation, but still had simple architectural designs. The area of the Cosseans, Uxians and Elymais: simple social structures, 'a great fragmentariness and fluidity' (p. 268). Five features can be detailed in the inhabitants' way of life. First, pastoralism and trade in livestock, a shift to more distant forms of grazing and coexistence with more sedentary groups. The quality and quantity of livestock suggests a successful widespread pastoralism. Second, hunting, trading and 'robbery' – this last, she suggests, may be linked to the social values of autonomy and bravery. Third, agriculture, viticulture and arboriculture – this last the result of Achaemenid-era encouragement of cultivating trees. Fourth, crafts and weaponry. Ores, water and fuel supply spurred metalworking. Textiles were not objects for long-distance trade, animal fibres used for clothing. The participation of pastoral groups in Achaemenid textile production requires further investigation (p. 298). Finally, religious practices indicate the presence of some Mesopotamian cultic traditions. The use of open air sanctuaries needs additional investigation as well (pp. 300–01).

Chapter 8 (pp. 303–26) discusses the Zagros environment and its depiction in the sources: 'Thus, the Zagros Mountains region was far from being unproductive and barren' (p. 326). Analysis from lake cores (illustrated in pollen charts, figs. 20, 21, 22) indicate climate and vegetation did not experience any significant change, save for those caused by humans (for example, increase in pastoral activities and in the percentage of cultivated trees). Chapter 9 (pp. 327–41) discusses the pastoral societies and their relations with authorities on the plains. The Assyrians, who believed mountain dwellers to be duplicates of an uncultured Enkidu, did acquire some knowledge of the realities, but the peoples remained partially

misunderstood. This picture persisted in Graeco-Roman sources: Brigands *vs* those who had settlements, agriculture and orderly pasturage. Thus an ancient perception of high land, hard to reign in. The autonomous mountain dwellers – fragmented, small polities – were most successfully dealt with by Achaemenid authorities expert in finding local notables and negotiating agreements: a successful indirect control without the asymmetrical warfare detailed in Xenophon and the Alexander historians.

B. summarises the results of her inquiries in a short Conclusion (pp. 343–52) which will prove of value for one to consult before examining the more detailed Chapters 2–9. This is a work which will prove difficult to replace, but one which can be built upon by consideration of new data and the subsequent scientific treatment of materials already examined.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

T. Bekker-Nilsen and R. Gertwagen (eds.), *The Inland Seas: Towards an Ecohistory of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea*, Geographica Historica 35, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 419 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11439-4

This book is an edited collection of 15 articles plus an Introduction, all regarding the question of how the inhabitants of countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (treated in three contributions) have interacted with the ecosystem over time. The volume calls itself an ecohistory, but most of the papers are better described as an economic history of fishery, for most of these are concerned with fishery or the exploitation of shell fish, leaving other natural factors aside. However, this being a relatively new approach, the book gives an excellent overview of the state of art in this field. Most of the contributions focus on classical antiquity; two are concerned with prehistory (Arturo Morales-Muniz and Eufrasia Rosello-Izquierdo; Dimitra Mylona); and others (Ruthy Gertwagen and Sabine Florence Fabijanec) cover the post-classical periods. One article covers the complete history of fishing in the Lower Danube from prehistory till today (Constantin Ardeleanu,) while the final contribution by Ferdinando Boero treats the impact of human behaviour on the Mediterranean ecosystem in our own time, taking its history in account, and warns against contemporary economic growth. Some contributions are concerned with the legal aspect of fishery in antiquity (Ephraim Lytle); others, such as those of Carmen Alfaro Giner, Robert Curtis, Dario Bernal-Casasola and Benedict Lowe discuss the economic aspect of (garum) trade. The contribution of Morhange, Mariner and Carayon treats the interesting aspect of the ecohistory of ancient Mediterranean harbours. The conclusion of Dario Bernal-Casasola that amphorae were not always manufactured at the same location as their contents is an important reminder for everybody who draws conclusions about trade in amphorae. Very interesting are the regional studies of Constantin Ardeleanu (Lower Danube) and Sabine Florence Fabijanec (Dalmatian coast) regarding more recent periods. They could use more documentary data (often lacking for antiquity) and even statistics. Of course, with such a wealth of information, a few critical notes can be set. For instance, the claim by Morales-Muniz and Rosello-Izquierdo (p. 39) that offshore fishing was highly exceptional in prehistory is contradicted by the remains of far offshore dolphins in the Bronze Age layers of settlements near Sozopol and Kiten on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast. In the same contribution (p. 42), the fact that through changing sea levels settlements were moving inland and

became at some distance from the coast could explain the drop in fish remains in the Neolithic settlement instead of a real climate change. The claim by Carmen Alfaro Giner (p. 139) that Pliny and Aristotle had direct contact with fishermen diving for murex is not really substantiated, as their remarks on this exploitation could be from a general point of view. It is true that the ideal place for fish processing was a lagoon since salt was necessary, but it ignores the lively trade in salt, which could also have reached other places. Although there are some debatable issues and omissions, unavoidable within this enormous amount of data, this book is an extremely valuable contribution for both specialist and students who want to be informed about this rarely studied and superb mix of economic and ecohistory.

Ghent University Jan G. de Boer

F. Berger, *Inszenierung der Antike: Präsentationskonzepte in öffentlichen Antikenmuseen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Philippika 99, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, ix+339 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10697-9/ISSN 1613-5628

Frederik Berger, in a work based on his 2014 dissertation plus investigations carried out principally on the Berlin museums, gathers a wealth of documentation and presents a solid foundation for further examination of antiquities museums, not just of the 19th century (1815 on), but into the continuities and changes which occurred after the final years of the *Kaiserreich*. As he reminds us (p. 284), there was no single exemplar of the *Antikenmuseum*.

The major museums of eight German cities are presented. Each city is introduced with a table detailing the museum, its focus, the sponsoring institution(s), years of independent existence, potential audience, hours of operation. It is important to note that the impetus for display came from private organisations and from public figures, i.e. royalty, local nobility and civic groups. Generally stated (pp. 264–84), the museums' goals were to build the nation morally, to train artists (these first two to be accomplished by museums of art – painting, sculpture, casts/models) and to express a national identity, the concept of which underwent development during the century. Early on, one can detect differences in focus (local *vs* Mediterranean basin), geographical and/or chronological arrangements of objects and, acquiring greater significance for the period after the *Kaiserreich*, the discussion of division between 'prehistoric' art and 'provincial Roman'. B. rightly observes (p. 284): 'Es konnte keine unmittelbare Auswirkung solcher ideologischen Faktoren auf die Inszenrierung beobachtet warden – wobei des Movens zur Sammlungens gründung durchaus ideologisch begründet sein kann.' One topic which does not receive much attention is the problem of lighting and the eventual electrification of the museum. It is obvious from surviving drawings and early photographs that large windows were employed for illumination. There is discussion of column placement and background colours for walls, but to what extent could be galleries (and work spaces) be illuminated by the predecessors of electric bulbs without causing damage to the objects displayed? Very few of the initial display locations were designed for antiquities and B. points to the significance of the 'Höhenlinie' (for example p. 282), i.e. how visible was the object to the visitors' line of sight.

Now the museums. The museums of Berlin (pp. 8–75) were all supported royally. The Altes Museum used columns in its halls as backgrounds for objects and for permitting proper lighting. Special exhibits were at first not planned – the Pergamene altar fragments

were placed in the rotundum and additional space restrictions soon arose. Although successful in increase public appreciation and study of art, the museum required a new building (pp. 42–66), of which room-by-room account of contents are extant. Again, more space was needed: the gypsum models and ethnographic collected were removed, construction began on the Museuminsel which housed the Olympia exhibit (the wealth of didactic material made the exhibition unique in the 19th century) and the Pergamene material (of which only the inscriptions were arranged in true chronological order). This first Pergamene Museum remained until 1908/9; not until 1930 was its replacement opened.

Unlike Berlin and Munich, Dresden's four royal museums (pp. 76–120) possessed only small collections of ancient minor art, but B. is able to trace the museums' popularity via visitor records. One of the earliest displays was Mengs's bequest of gypsum models, placed in the former 'Stallgebaeude', without a fixed *schema* for arrangement. The 'Japanese Palace' offered a second display location: 18 to 20 of the best objects were placed in the centre of the gallery. Eventually, all objects, ancient and modern, were transferred to the Albertinum (p. 114: 1924 map of upper floor display), which opened in 1891. The now even more extensive collection of gypsum 'action figures' was used for the basic study of archaeology until the 1940s.

The museums of Munich (pp. 121–61) did not include a true Antikenmuseum. Sculpture, vases and small pieces of art were all separated. Two collections of models were dependent on sponsoring institutions, which used them as teaching collections (*cf.* pp. 153–61). An initial art collection, located in the residence of Munich local nobility, the Antiquarium, was a 'depot' in internal appearance. Crown Prince Ludwig, who after 1805 became a lover of ancient art, decided to establish the Glyptothek – to awaken the sensibilities of his people to art and enable their moral development. The collection of Graeco-Roman antiquities was divided into four major chronological categories. His collection of vases was displayed, out in the open (not in cases), in the Alte Pinakothek (into which further investigation should be conducted, pp. 135–37). Finally there was the Königlichen Vereinigten Sammlung, two disparate collections in one hall, containing art work from all the continents. Maximilian II provided the impetus for the foundation of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, a means of heightening Bavarian national feeling. Here were displayed artefacts from all period of Bavarian history. A new building for the collection was opened in 1900.

Local nobility supported the museum at Kassel (pp. 162–75), playing an important role in site planning. This Fridericianium (for which are extant many display descriptions) was eventually succeeded by the Hessisches Landesmuseum (1913), whose focus was the culture and art history of the province. Cologne's museums (pp. 176–91) changed sponsorship from private to state upon museum expansion. The Wallrafianum, supported by civic funds (after the invoking of the memory of Germanicus and daughter Agrippina), was expanded into the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum thanks to the efforts of businessman J.H. Richartz (1850s). As was customary for the time, the museum possessed a large collection of casts (models), some of which were displayed in rooms of Pompeiian style, apparently to awaken the interest of the general population.

In Mainz (pp. 192–215) impetus came from a citizen's group, the Verein zur Erforschung rheinische Geschichte und Altertümer; eventually there were five exhibition locales. In the 1850s the future Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum's collection was open to the public, its displays attempting to meld both ancient remains and modern

reconstructions for public education about finds from the classical and early German eras. A second Verein made casts available for public display and education, until interest waned in the latter part of the century. Bonn's museums (pp. 216–46), too, were the result of private initiative until Frederick William III called for the foundation of a university (1818). The Museum Rheinisch-Westfälischer Alterthümer gathered local finds and those materials in private hands; one can detect tension between those preferring Graeco-Roman remains as opposed to provincial, local finds (pp. 219–21). By the 1850s the museum was tied more closely to the university, and was now regarded as the 'provincial branch' of the academic art museum. The Verein von Altertümsfreunden's collection, initially scattered, was placed into the provincial museum in 1875. This institution, the Bonner Provincialmuseum, formally opened in 1873, increasingly placed its emphasis on finds from the Rhineland. In 1884 the gypsum models were moved to the university's Alte Anatomie building and were displayed in a manner mimicking a proper museum. The museums of Trier (pp. 244–62), the last city detailed by B., were both private (Sammlung der Gesellschaft für nuetzliche Forschung) and royal (the Prussian King's Regierungssammlung). An agreement between the province and the state in 1874 led to Trierer Provinzialmuseum, a building of proper size for it opening in 1907 and housing thematic displays.

Although some data remain scanty (for example for Trier), B. has succeeded in laying out the development of these museums, presenting enough material to develop 'virtual tours' of some of these institutions and to fabricate the 'reality' behind the green screens should need arise for the creation of a Hohenzollern-era 'Indiana Jones'.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

B.N. Berressem, *Die Repräsentation der Soldatenkaiser: Studien zur Kaiserlichen Selbstdarstellung im 3. Jh. n. Chr.*, Philippika 122, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2018, xi+487 pp., 8 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-19755-7

The book is a PhD dissertation in classical archaeology defended at the University of Trier. Its subject fits well into recent scholarship dealing with the representation of Roman emperors in the 3rd century AD. Ben Berressem focuses on the period between the death of Severus Alexander in AD 235 and the accession of Diocletian in AD 285. This period usually is called in German scholarship the period of the 'Soldatenkaiser', a period characterised by emperors heavily reliant on the military and often reigning only short periods of time without establishing dynasties.

The book fills a gap in scholarship, treating a period of 50 years in a systematic way. B. focuses on two groups of evidence. He discusses the building activities of the emperors and he analyses the portraits of the emperors to understand their representative strategies. By looking at this evidence, B. is able to describe characteristics of this period and he critically evaluates the archaeological evidence. He shows how certain emperors used their portraits in attempting to establish a dynasty and how the portrait types were employed to emphasise certain values. The results of the study do not radically change the picture and no new thesis about the period is developed. However, as a collection of evidence, this book is useful for studying the period.

Beyond stating the usefulness of the collection, some remarks on the methodology of B. are necessary.

Although in the last decades, a more nuanced picture of the 'crisis of the 3rd century' has emerged and it has been emphasised that one cannot generalise a crisis for the whole *imperium Romanum*, Berressem claims that there was such a general crisis (pp. 12–15). This claim is made without putting forward new evidence or arguments for a crisis. Therefore, when it comes to his conclusions, he is surprised (for example, pp. 115 or 132) what the emperors did in spite of his alleged crisis.

In recent years, it has more and more become obvious that when dealing with the representation of Roman emperors, it is necessary to strictly distinguish between evidence that originates from the emperor and evidence that comes from other groups such as provincials or the senate. This distinction is crucial for understanding the reciprocal dynamics of how the image of an emperor was created. Berressem does not properly take this distinction into account and claims that finally all the evidence somehow was approved by the emperor and therefore can be taken as representation originating from him. This 'top-down'-model is clearly a step back, and B. does not even attempt to reconstruct possible contexts of portraits of the emperors. He also does not take into account Roman provincial coins of the period which would provide a different picture. He takes the portraits of the emperors as direct evidence for imperial representation without discussing possible local contexts and variations.

When Berressem discusses the portraits of the emperors, he heavily has to rely on coins, since only few portrait sculptures are preserved. This numismatic approach is the only way to tackle the portrait representation of the emperors. In his discussion he relies on the work of Delbrück from 1940,[1] which is an excellent work of numismatic portraits which however is also a bit outdated. Unfortunately, B. only rarely goes beyond the 1940 evidence and although he sometimes discusses more recent type classifications, he himself does not work with them and he does not develop his own typology as a basis for an analysis.

The first part of the book deals with the building projects of the emperors during the period of the 'Soldatenkaiser'. Buildings in Rome and the provinces are of course an important means of political representation of rulers, but quite often, we have to rely on dubious literary evidence (such as the *Historia Augusta*). B. rightly is skeptical of the factual source value of these texts and therefore the chapter is quite frustrating since it often comes to the conclusion that the evidence is not good enough for securely tracking building activities. The reviewer does not understand why B. made this material so central for his study and why he completely neglected a much more suitable and valuable source material, namely the reverses of the imperial coins. Coins are an official medium of the emperors and an iconographic analysis of the reverses would have been crucial for an understanding of the representation of the emperors. It would have been the coin reverses that answer questions about the 'military' *vs* 'civil' nature of the emperors or about the divine character of the emperorships. B. in length discusses possible interpretations of the portrait types and the physiognomy of the portrait and he dismisses many former interpretations of the types without being able to offer a new interpretation. If B. had analysed the coin reverses in combination (i.e. in context) with the obverses he probably would have been able to develop a new or at least a more solid and substantial interpretation of the programmatic representation of the emperors.

[1] R. Delbrück, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus* (Berlin 1940).

In conclusion, the study of B. will be used, but it will be used mainly as a reference work to find an updated catalogue of imperial portrait sculpture of the period and to find evidence for building activity of the emperors. Methodologically, the book is a step back and hardly will stimulate the dynamic field of studying 3rd-century Roman imperial representation.

Westfälische Wilhelms-University, Münster Achim Lichtenberger

G. Biard, *La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (BEFAR) 376, École française d'Athènes, Athens/Paris 2017, xii+573 pp., illustrations, 52 plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-277-4

Cet ouvrage est la version remaniée d'une thèse que l'auteur, ancien membre de l'École française d'Athènes, avait soutenue en 2012 sous la direction de Bernard Holtzmann. Comme la plupart des travaux universitaires français de ce genre, il se compose de trois parties, précédées par une introduction et suivies d'une conclusion. La première partie propose une «étude historique», la deuxième est une «étude matérielle» et la troisième une «étude iconographique». Cinq annexes figurent à la fin comme tableaux récapitulatifs, où les monuments discutés sont présentés avec les références bibliographiques essentielles: «l'emplacement des représentations honorifiques d'après les décrets», «les représentations honorifiques peintes d'après les inscriptions», «les statues honorifiques en bronze d'après les inscriptions», «les statues honorifiques en marbre d'après les inscriptions», «les représentations honorifiques privées d'après les bases de statues». L'ouvrage est clos par une liste bibliographique et des index très détaillés.

Il est manifeste qu'il s'agit d'une approche essentiellement archéologique, menée d'ailleurs avec beaucoup d'acribie. Toutefois, dans la bonne tradition cultivée par son maître, Guillaume Biard se propose d'intégrer le phénomène dont il rend compte dans l'ensemble de la communauté civique, ce qui l'amène, dans sa première section, à se pencher sur les nombreux documents épigraphiques qui évoquent les honneurs rendus aux bien méritants par la cité ou, le cas échéant, par des associations, des collèges de magistrats ou des subdivisions civiques, prévoyant entre autres l'érection de statues. C'est ainsi que l'on trouve des considérations judicieuses sur les bénéficiaires de la représentation honorifique publique (bienfaiteurs étrangers, juges étrangers – on s'étonnera quand même de ne pas trouver des références à l'étude fondamentale de L. Robert, «Les juges étrangers dans la cité grecque», dans *Xenion. Festschrift für P.I. Zepos* [Athènes/Fribourg/Cologne 1973], 765–82[1] –, rois, reines, dynastes, etc., magistrats divers de la cité, ambassadeurs, prêtres, artistes et athlètes), sur les rapports entre l'honorifique et le cultuel, sur les représentations honorifiques privées ou sur les honneurs rendus aux morts.

Dans la seconde section, après avoir passé en revue les types de représentations honorifiques (représentations peintes, reliefs et statues en marbre ou en bronze), B. s'attarde en détail sur l'emplacement des statues, sur la typologie des bases et sur la vie d'une statue depuis sa fixation jusqu'à l'éventuel remploi ou, le cas échéant, à sa destruction ou évacuation. Là

[1] = *Opera minora selecta*, vol. V (Amsterdam 1989), 137–54.

aussi, l'enquête sur les monuments qui nous sont parvenus est complétée par une mise à profit des sources épigraphiques et, dans une moindre mesure, littéraires. Une notule: je ne crois pas que l'éperon de navire (plutôt que «proue», comme pour B.) mentionné par l'inscription d'Apollonia du Pont *IGBulg* I² 388 bis = *ISM* I 64 (il aurait d'ailleurs fallu ajouter que j'ai rattaché au même décret le fragment *ISM* I 34),[2] εἰκόνι χαλκῆι ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπ' ἐμ[β]όλου (l. 36–37), soit synonyme de la base mentionnée quelques lignes plus loin (38-39), γράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὴν βάσιν, comme le veut B., lorsqu'il se prononce sur les sens variés du mot βάσις (p. 184: un «support très original»), ou quand il estime avoir trouvé comme analogie (p. 209) la célèbre inscription rupestre d'Hagèsandros, accompagnée de la représentation en relief d'une poupe de navire, de Lindos.[3] Tout d'abord, j'ai du mal à concevoir du point de vue technique une base en forme d'éperon de navire, et encore moins un tel élément capable de porter un texte de quelques dizaines de lignes, deuxièmement, le rédacteur de l'inscription d'Apollonia n'écrit pas εἰς ἔμβολον, comme si l'*eikôn* avait été emplacée sur une base en forme d'*embolon*, mais ἐπ' ἐμβόλου: je comprends donc que l'*honorandus* était lui-même représenté *sur* un éperon de navire (symbole de ses exploits) et que cet ensemble était fixé sur une base ordinaire.

La troisième section comporte des considérations sur l'iconographie des représentations de dieux, de héros, de souverains, de militaires, d'athlètes, de magistrats, d'orateurs, de femmes, voire d'enfants ou d'adolescents. Bien illustrées, avec de bonnes photos, les démonstrations de l'auteur sont claires et toujours convaincantes.

Solidement documenté, l'ouvrage de B. est extrêmement bienvenu et d'une grande utilité, surtout pour les historiens de l'art, mais plus généralement, pour tous les hellénistes.

Le Mans Université Alexandru Avram

K. Bolle, C. Machado and C. Witschel (eds.), *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity*, Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 60, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2017, 615 pp., illustrations and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11558-2

Ce volume réunit les actes d'un colloque qui a eu lieu du 26 au 27 juin 2009 à l'Internationales Wissenschaftsforum de l'Université de Heidelberg. Malgré la publication des travaux huit ans après, les contributions, mises à jour en vue de la publication, conservent pleinement leur actualité. En fait, ce colloque avait réuni autour de la même table presque tous les grands spécialistes de l'épigraphie gréco-latine tardive, «la terza età dell'epigrafia», pour reprendre l'intitulé d'un recueil déjà célèbre.

Comme l'annoncent d'emblée les éditeurs dans leur introduction, «the aim of this book – and of the conference on which it was based – is to document and discuss the diversity and wealth of the epigraphic cultures of Late Antiquity. It is an attempt at understanding the various political, cultural and religious structures that characterised this period, and the special place occupied by inscriptions in the societies that produced and

[2] *Dacia* n.s. 51 (2007), 87–88, n° 34 (*SEG* 57, 651); *cf. Bulletin épigraphique* (2008), 375.

[3] C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914,* vol. II: *Inscriptions* (Copenhague/Berlin 1941), n° 169.

lived with them» (p. 15). Pour atteindre ce but, ils ont conçu la publication des actes en trois grandes sections: «regional studies», «genres and practices» et «the (new) world of Christian epigraphy».

Dans la première section, introduite par l'article plus général et très utile comme base de discussion de Christian Witschel («Spätantike Inschriftenkulturen im Westen des Imperium Romanum. Einige Anmerkungen»), les aperçus régionaux sont consacrés à l'Hispanie (Judit Végh), à la Gaule méridionale (Lennart Hildebrand), à *Tuscia et Umbria* (Katharina Bolle), à l'Afrique romaine, et en particulier à Leptis Magna – Tripolitana (Ignazio Tantillo), à l'Asie Mineure (Stephan Mitchell) et aux provinces de Palestine et d'Arabie (Leah Di Segni). À remarquer quand même deux absences plutôt étonnantes. D'une part, l'espace balkanique, avec notamment la Grèce (n'aurait-elle pas mérité un *Forschungsbericht* à part?), la Thrace et l'Illyricum, que l'on aurait pu même prolonger jusqu'au nord de la mer Noire.[1] D'autre part, l'Égypte, où une investigation épigraphique aurait, bien entendu, profité du recours aux papyrus.

La seconde partie propose des approches sur la réutilisation des statues en Italie dans l'antiquité tardive (Carlos Machado), les représentations de *togati* à la même époque (Ulrich Gehn), les «orations in stone» (Silvia Orlandi; à noter entre autres l'*editio princeps* d'une inscription honorifique, en provenance très probablement de Rome, retrouvée au musée du Palazzo de Venezia), les inscriptions métriques de Rome (Lucy Grig) et de Grèce (Erkki Sironen) et surtout une étude érudite extrêmement importante de Denis Feissel sur «Trois fonctions municipales dans l'épigraphie protobyzantine (*curator, defensor, pater civitatis*)», avec des tableaux regroupant l'ensemble des attestations pourvues de références complètes.

La troisième partie est introduite par une discussion visant à identifier les expressions les plus appropriées pour définir le phénomène épigraphique d'époque tardive (Charlotte Roueché et Claire Sotinel, «Christan and Late Antique Epigraphies»). Elle comprend ensuite une contribution à l'étude des hérésies à travers les inscriptions de l'espace insulaire égéen (Georgios Deligiannakis), un essai se proposant une comparaison entre les pratiques épigraphiques ayant trait à la construction des églises en Italie et dans le Proche-Orient (Rudolf Haensch) et un autre, très ingénieux, sur «Graffiti, Pilgrimage and Liturgy in the Late Antique and Early Medieval West» (Mark A. Handley), qui remet ainsi à l'honneur «l'épigraphie mineure».

Le volume, illustré avec des photos de grande qualité, est donc équilibré comme thématique et rend parfaitement compte de l'état actuel des «cultures épigraphiques» tardives. Contrairement à l'épigraphie du Haut-Empire et malgré l'existence de plusieurs corpus de référence et d'instruments de travail performants, l'épigraphie du Bas-Empire est manifestement plus dispersée, car partagée parfois entre des publications difficiles d'accès. Le recueil que je signale ici aidera énormément les épigraphistes à s'y retrouver.

Le Mans Université Alexandru Avram

[1] Voir récemment, pour cette région, le corpus mis en ligne par A. Vinogradov (Londres 2015) comme cinquième volume de la nouvelle édition des *Inscriptiones orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini [IOSPE³]*, *http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/corpora/byzantine/index.html*, et dont on attend aussi une version sur papier; *cf.* D. Feissel, *Bulletin épigraphique* (2016), 589.

I. von Bredow (†), *Kontaktzone Vorderer Orient und Ägypten. Orte, Situationen und Bedingungen für primäre griechisch-orientalische Kontakte vom 10. bis zum 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Geographica Historica 38, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 394 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11860-6

Das Buch befasst sich mit der primären, also vor Ort, in den Ländern statt findenden Kommunikation bzw. Rezeption zwischen (hier externen) Griechen und (internen) Bevölkerungen der südlichen Türkei, der Levante und Ägyptens vom 12. bzw. 10. bis zum 6. Jh. v. Chr., um einen Beitrag zu leisten, die hinter den offensichtlichen nahöstlichen ‚Einflüssen' auf die frühgriechische Kultur, umgesetzt als sekundäre Rezeption (in diesem Buch dezidiert nicht behandelt), stehenden Mechanismen, Voraussetzungen und Routen besser zu verstehen (S. 11). Konkret angestrebt ist auf der Basis der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse aus der Historie, den Quellen, den auf den jeweiligen geschichtlichen und kulturgeschichtlichen Situationen basierenden Analysen der weiterführenden und besonders hervorzuhebenden Teile III (Kommunikation und Rezeption) und IV (Kontaktsituationen), in denen sich die große Breite der Autorin zeigt, und den Schlussfolgerungen aus theoretischen Ansätzen (z. der Praxeologie), Aussagen machen zu können zu einer allgemeinen, vorläufigen Chronologie sowie einer Geographie der Ost-West-Kontakte (S. 14). Als Voraussetzung für das Verständnis primärer, letztlich jeweils individueller griechischer Kommunikation bzw. primären Kulturaustausches/-transfers postuliert die Autorin gute Kenntnis der Regionen, ihrer Geschichte und ihrer schriftlichen und materiellen Quellen, in denen diese stattfanden oder hätten stattfinden können, allerdings, um einerseits die Studie übersichtlich zu halten, unter Ausschluss weiterer infrage kommender Kontaktzonen wie z.B. Zypern, andererseits, weil als Hypothese formuliert wird, dass komplexe Impulse „aus den großen Metropolen des Ostens gekommen sein müssen" (S. 12). Eine umfängliche Quellenbasis – Quelle interpretiert in ihren jeweiligen Funktionen als kulturspezifische Medien (S. 12) – (östliche und griechische Schriftquellen, Eigennamen und Lehnwörter, die Eingang in die griechische Sprache fanden, archäologische Befunde), Auswertung unterschiedlicher Kontaktbereiche bzw. -situationen sollen mit Hilfe theoretischer Ansätze (kommunikationswissenschaftliche, soziokulturelle und soziotechnologische) und neuer Methoden erlauben, typische Kommunikations- und Kontaktmuster herauszuarbeiten.

Die Publikation ist in fünf Teile gegliedert, wobei Teil I und II ‚Basiswissen' liefern, Teil III und IV die Anwendung und Einbettung des Basiswissens zeitigen und Teil V als zusammenfassende Auswertung in Bezug auf die Geographie der Kontaktzonen und die Chronologie beschrieben werden kann.

Teil I bringt einen jeweils historischen Abriss 1. Griechenlands (S. 15–23), 2. Ägyptens (S. 23–34) sowie des Vorderen Orients (3. Assyrien: S. 34–53; 4. Neubabylonisches Reich: S. 53–58; 5. Syrische Länder: S. 58–139) vom 12. bis zum 6. Jh. und damit eine nützliche, wenn auch nicht immer ganz aktualisierte Zusammenschau aus unterschiedlicher historischer Perspektive. Als mit die wichtigsten Kontaktzonen für Griechen und Orientalen werden „die syrischen Länder" ausgemacht, wozu die Autorin etwas gewöhnungsbedürftig auch die sog. spätluwischen Fürstentümer wie Que/Qawa oder Melid in S- bzw. SO-Anatolien rechnet, ferner u.a. die phönizischen Städte, Juda und Israel, und die bis zur Grenze Ägyptens sowie im Osten bis zum Euphrat reichen. Sie werden daher auch stark untergliedert (5.1 Que; 5.2 Die nordsyrischen Länder: Bit-Adini, Kummuh, Gurgum, Melid, Sam'al, Karkemis;

unter 5.2.1 Bit-Agusi/Arpad, 5.2.2 Patin/Unqi, Hamat; 5.3 Die nordsyrischen Küstenstädte, 5.3.1 Kinet H., 5.3.2 Al Mina…; 5.4. Die südsyrischen Länder, 5.4.1 phönizische Küste, 5.4.2. Aram Damaskus, 5.4.3 Israel und Juda, 5.4.4 Philistinische Küstenstädte). Angemerkt sei, dass im gesamten Buch der Nomenklatur keine erkennbare Stringenz unterliegt, sondern allgemein eingeführte Namen für Orte, Länder usw. genutzt werden.

Teil II (S. 141–85) erläutert in engem Fokus auf primäre Kontakte auszugsweise und durch Beispiele belegt die dem Zeitschnitt zuzuweisenden materiellen (wichtige Indikatoren: Keramik, Architektur, Ikonographie, Schrift und Sprache i.S. von ‚Objekt') und schriftlichen Quellen (griechisch-literarische, inkl. Herodot, neuassyrische und neubabylonische, bes. Annalen und Chroniken, AT; ägyptische Texte sowie HL-Inschriften sind für die Thematik nicht erkennbar relevant) und ergänzt diese durch die Beachtung von Eigennamen und Lehnwörtern. Letztere lassen sich z.B. im Griechischen diversen Lebensbereichen zuordnen: u.a. dem *oikos*, dem Militärwesen, Handwerk und Handel, Kult und Mythos (S. 184–85).

Teil III (S. 187–226) befasst sich mit „Kommunikation und Rezeption", wobei die Kontakttypen „verbale und nichtverbale Kommunikation" sowie die äußeren Kontaktbedingungen (politische bzw. kulturelle Dominanz sowie soziale Unterschiede zwischen Kontaktpersonen) Beachtung finden, unterschiedliche Rezeptionsstufen (Entlehnung, Adaption, Akkulturation) definiert sowie Besonderheiten der Rezeption geistiger Kultur angesprochen werden. Teil IV beleuchtet die verschiedenen Kontaktsituationen. Dabei werden Beziehungen im Rahmen von Söldnertum, Handel, Dienstverhältnissen, Handwerk und Technologien, Sklaventum zu lang dauernden Kontakten gerechnet, dagegen Piraterie, Gesandtschaften, Bildungsreisen zu kurzzeitigen (S. 227–338). Hinweise auf eine genutzte/allgemein bekannte *lingua franca* (wie zeitweise Akkadisch, Aramäisch u.a.) oder ‚gemischte' Schiffsbesatzungen wie die bronzezeitlichen Wrackfunde von Uluburun oder Kap Gelidonya nahelegen, scheinen für die behandelte Zeitphase nicht erkennbar zu sein.

Teil V ist überschrieben mit „Rezeption und die Entwicklung neuer Identitäten durch primäre Kontakte und Kommunikation" (S. 339–59). Zu den wichtigen Ergebnissen zählt die Erkenntnis, dass erste Kontakte von Griechen im militärischen Kontext erfolgten, erst später in kommerziellen oder anderen Feldern. Zudem werden die einzelnen verifizierten Kontaktzonen von Que bis Ägypten ausgewiesen, chronologisch justiert und ihre jeweilige spezielle Bedeutung für die Ost-West-Kontakte eingeordnet. Abschließend wirft die Autorin noch einen Blick auf „neue Identitäten durch Rezeption" im Zusammenhang mit Adaption und vor allem Akkulturation bei den sog. mutterländischen und sonstigen Griechen des 9./8., und besonders des 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr., vorranging in der jeweiligen Aristokratie, resultierend aus den eher individuellen Zielen und unterschiedlichen Bedingungen der griechischen Kontaktträger im Vorderen Orient, ein brandaktuelles Thema vor eisenzeitlichem Hintergrund.

Dem Text ergänzend beigegeben sind sieben grobe Kartenskizzen zur Orientierung, ein kombiniertes Personen- und geographisches Register (S. 387–94) sowie ein umfängliches, nicht ganz komplettes Literaturverzeichnis (S. 369–86). So ist neuere Literatur ab 2000 nicht so stark, wie es zu wünschen wäre, vertreten (z.B. H.C. Melchert [Hrsg.], *The Luwians* [Leiden 2003]; A. Bagg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit 1: Die Levante* [Wiesbaden 2007] mit vielen Details; ders., *Die Assyrer und das Westland* [Leuven 2011]; H. Niehr [Hrsg.], *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* [Leiden 2014]). M. Novák *et al.* (Hrsg.),

Die Außenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes. Güteraustausch – Kulturkontakt – Kulturtransfer (Münster 2004) fehlt als eigener Eintrag wie auch z.B. R. Rollinger und M. Korenjak, „Addikritušu: Ein namentlich genannter Grieche aus der Zeit Asarhaddons (680–669 v. Chr.). Überlegungen zu ABL 140", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 28 (2001), 372–84, oder M. Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (Rome 1995). Diverse (überarbeitete, ergänzte) Neuauflagen wurden nicht herangezogen. In A.-M. Wittke *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Historischen Atlas der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart 2007) wurden differenzierte und kommentierte Karten zum bearbeiteten Zeitschnitt u.a. von A. Fuchs, J. Kamlah, M. Novák vorgelegt (S. 32–39, 42–55, 58–59), die z.B. Teil 1 und 5 ergänzen könnten. Verwiesen sei auch u.a. auf die Kapitel 2.5., 2.6. und 2.7. sowie 2.8.2f. sowie Teil 3, „Aspekte des Kulturkontakts", in A.-M. Wittke (Hrsg.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen (12.–6. Jh. v. Chr.)* (Stuttgart 2015), in denen die jeweiligen Autoren zu vor allem in historischer Hinsicht aktualisierten, wenn auch häufig ebenfalls vorläufigen Ergebnissen gelangen.

Universiät Tübingen Anne-Maria Wittke

A. Bresson, *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy: Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City-States*, transl. by S. Rendell, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2014, xxvi+620 pp., maps and tables. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-14470-2

This is a revised and expanded English translation of *L'économie de la Grèce des cités*, published in French between 2007 and 2008. The main objective of this book is to present economic growth as a fundamental factor of the economy of ancient Greece; with this purpose the author aims to attack and criticise the dominant orthodoxy, which considers that ancient Greece was a no-growth society. Throughout his study, Alain Bresson tries to dismantle the idea of the self-sufficiency of domestic units, that trade focused only on luxury objects, and that there was no technological innovation. For this, the author considers that it is necessary to use in a considerable way, in addition to the literary tradition, the archaeological evidence. The period covered goes from the 6th century BC until the end of the 1st century BC.

As usual in any work dealing with the ancient economy, B. makes the customary analysis of the different economic theories applied to the ancient world by the various schools (Neoclassical and Austrian) and authors (Weber, Polanyi, Finley) to show ultimately a clear adherence to the postulates of the 'New Institutional Economics' which, according to him, ends the debate between primitivists and modernists or substantivists and formalists. There are many suggestions of interest that the book presents and that it is impossible to summarise in a few pages, so I will list some of the topics that this book addresses. For example, the importance of the sea as well as the introduction of the ecological perspective in the study of the Greek economy, including climatic changes and a situation surely different from the current one. Demographic models are also considered, highlighting the absence of high levels of mortality, especially in comparison with the Middle Ages or Early Modern Europe, and to the existence of a real population growth favoured by an important potential for demographic recovery, coupled with the absence of famines, which is taken for granted in the Greek world during the period studied. B. collects figures from inhabitants of Greece and neighbouring areas which, however, are subject to a high degree of uncertainty, and this

leads him to accept a long period of population growth between the 6th and the 4th centuries, thus rejecting the orthodox view that ancient populations were fairly static or slow growing.

Another issue examined is the question of the energy needed for the transport of goods and, therefore, the associated costs. B. assumes the idea of connectivity based on maritime transport, but he also rejects the traditional idea that the Greek world lacked roads that would allow the transfer of goods to internal territories, something that is denied by archaeology (amphorae, for example). However, it is the sea and maritime transport that act as a fundamental element of trade, observing a progressive improvement of shipbuilding techniques and, therefore, of cargo capacity. The investment of cities in port infrastructures would show their interest in trade.

On the relation of the *polis* with the economy B. begins his analysis going back to the Mycenaean world; he adopts a shared vision with many that the palaces did not control all the spheres of the economic life of their respective kingdoms. The end of this world provokes a great fragmentation accompanied (paradoxically?) by a (supposed) growth of population that would allow the Greek colonisation. In the same way, B. emphasises the differences between the economy in the Eastern world (dependent on the palace) and subject to heavy taxation and in the Greek *polis*, based above all on the trade between the members of the community among themselves and subjected to a very low taxation by the state. The hoplitic model of citizen-soldier avoided excessive expenses on the part of the state. B. therefore establishes as an important cause in the development of the market the freedom of peasants and artisans to dispose of their surplus as they wished. The situation would change in the territories controlled by the Macedonians both in Classical times and in the Greek centres that arose in the Hellenistic period.

Agriculture, as the main generator of wealth, is also addressed in the work; centred on the 'Mediterranean trilogy' and other complementary products, as well as on livestock, it constituted the bulk of the economy of the Greek world. This leads B. to analyse the features of the agrarian economy in Greece; in his opinion, the importance of large estates should not be minimised, especially in the case of territories such as Macedonia where large agricultural complexes presuppose large estates. On the acquisition of the property, B. insists on the importance of the sale. Diversification and accumulation were strategies used to alleviate the uncertainty of the agricultural cycle in Mediterranean climates but, in his opinion, agriculture also sought innovation against what has been commonly considered.

Other economic fields, such as fishing or craft activities, were riper for innovation. Of the first, B. tries to show that its importance for food (especially in some cases as the tuna) was much more relevant than it was thought, also developing its export to places where it did not exist. With regard to handicrafts, the development of specialised workshops since the beginning of the Classical period with a great further development stands out. This leads B. to question the idea of the 'consumer city', since he considers that, with the development of these activities, the city also contributed to return part of what it received, and points out as elements of interest textiles and pottery. In my view, however, B. perhaps attributes too relevant a role to pottery which may have had only a significant (but perhaps not extraordinary) weight in cities such as Athens, which would in any case be an exception.

All this brings B. to develop his ideas on 'the logic of growth'; he questions the idea of self-consumption and defends the importance of the market which, in his opinion, could supply up to 25% of the non-agricultural population. Despite the examples placed to argue this hypothesis, very focused on the case of Athens, it seems, even for this case, excessive and certainly was much more in other cities that did not enjoy the special characteristics possessed by that one. B. ensures that, even in cases where self-consumption is well attested, the omnipresence of the market can be observed. The result of this way of interpreting the reality, causes him to accept a sustained growth of the economy in the Greek world that is estimated at 0.1% a year between *ca.* 700 and *ca.* 300 BC. His rejection of the primitivist vision leads B. to postulates that clearly fit the modernist vision, although he intends, in the opening chapters of the book, to run away from this dichotomy in the interpretation of the ancient economy. Concepts like innovation that produces increase of profits and decrease of the costs of production go in this line. He recognises, however, that these innovatory processes were slow by our standards. With the Roman empire, this period of progress developed by the Greek world would end.

Another of the sections is dedicated to the market and trade, with the classic division between the domestic market, based on the agora, and international trade, centred on the *emporion*. The basic presuppose of these transactions was individual and private property, also based on the freedom of individuals. The agora, the *emporion* and the religious festivities or *panegyreis* minimised the transaction costs and favoured the collection of taxes by the cities. The city established these spaces and monitored the correction of their transactions by specialised officers, and even by issuing currency to guarantee those transactions. On coinage, B. presents an updated panorama on its emission, meaning and use, highlighting the differences between the circulation of the metal in the Greek world and its hoarding in the Eastern world. He also underlines the importance of credit as a key element of economic activity in Greece. Similarly, the *emporia*, with their regulated trade, guarantees, fees, were a key element of economic transactions in the Greek world and between Greeks and non-Greeks. To the *emporia* B. dedicates, therefore, a substantial section of his work; an important observation is that all the Greek territories formed a great network that interconnected different market areas; in it, each city sought its specific niche that allowed the satisfaction of their needs through mutual exchange. Beyond this, cities could sometimes impose restrictions on the trade of certain products, especially grain, to guarantee self-consumption; a well-known case is that of Athens which, moreover, had to import wheat to supply a population which B. estimates at a maximum of 330,000 people.

Abounding over the development of the market in Greece, B. remains faithful to the centre–periphery model, although insisting that in his vision of the Greek economy the periphery operates at the same pace as the centre in a synchronous development. As a centre he places Athens with its productive capacity of silver. The Macedonian conquest, and then the Roman one, would end this system. The old market was not liberal and was marked by strong state intervention; this, along with other factors, limited the amount of wheat put on the market.

The book presents a series of interesting proposals, fruit of the author's long history in the study of the economy of ancient Greece, and these permeate the work. Practically all fields of the ancient economy are approached, as well as some methodological issues

that make it an indispensable volume. However, his perspective will be more convincing to those who are closer to the modernist postulates than to those who, without becoming primitivists, think that the image of the Greek economy that B. presents is sometimes unrealistic because of his optimism: his emphasis on economic growth or the importance of markets, if it is certain (which is sometimes dubious), may have occurred, at most, in some exceptional cases such as Athens and in very few places more. In the vast majority of Greek cities, where exchanges are undoubtedly present, the impression that the evidence shows is that they were almost always moving along the limits of subsistence. A clear indication of this, which B. does not exploit sufficiently, can be given by the limited ability of most of these cities to carry out relevant public works that would presuppose the availability of a clear economic surplus, both by the state and the individuals. Perhaps the use of this and other types of evidence could have provided a more balanced picture which, without completely rejecting the results of B.'s research, could have generated a less optimistic and more valid image for the vast majority of Greek cities. What is also missing, at a time when it is observed how part of the Greek world was grouped into supra-political structures such as leagues or federal states, is the role that these might have played in the economic field. Today the idea of the *polis* as the dominant political structure in the Greek world has been surpassed by a new emphasis, made in recent years, on Greek federalism; therefore, it will be necessary to explore how these federal states, of different types and with different internal structures, intervened (if they did) in the economic development of ancient Greece.

Be that as it may, B.'s book will long remain an irreplaceable reference work for knowledge of the economy of ancient Greece.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid Adolfo J. Domínguez

H. Bru and G. Labarre (eds.), *L'Anatolie des peuples, des cités et des cultures (IIe millénaire av. J.-C.–Ve siècle ap. J.-C.*, Colloque international de Besançon, 26–27 novembre 2010, 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Autour d'un projet d'atlas historique et archéologique de l'Asie Mineure. Méthodologie et prospective*; vol. 2: *Approches locales et régionales*. Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, Besançon 2013, 240+374 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-84867-473-5

These two volumes contain papers presented at an international colloquium organised by the University of Franch-Comté and which took place at Besançon in November 2010. The essential theme of the colloquium was the promotion of an historical and archaeological atlas of Asia Minor. The first volume contains papers devoted to the concept of the atlas, its methodology and prospective, the second volume to the local and regional approaches for this. The time scale extended from the 2nd millennium BC to the end of the Roman empire. Most of the papers were of the usual type presented at such conferences, accounts of work in progress prior to definitive publication. Volume 1 begins with two papers devoted to the project of the Atlas. These are followed with papers devoted to specific areas or topics within Asia Minor presented generally in a chronological sequence. They begin with Geoffrey Summers on East of the Halys, thoughts on settlement patterns and historical geography in the late 2nd millennium and first half of the 1st millennium

BC. Next, Françoise and Geoffrey Summers on remote sensing at Kerkenes, an Iron Age capital in Central Anatolia. Then Massimo Forlanini considers the toponyms of the Bronze Age in Pontus and Cappadocia, the ethnic continuity, linguistic and tradition of the Hittite empire through the 'obscure' centuries to the beginning of the Classical Age. Anca Dan writes on the difficulties of constructing an historical map of the Bosporus in antiquity. Then Mustafa Sayar writes on the historical geography of the ancient cities and harbours in south-eastern Thrace aand the Thracian Chersonese (so extending the discussion beyond the strict limits of Asia Minor). Alexandru Avram discusses the Bithynians in Thrace, Moesia Inferior and the Black Sea in the Imperial period, again going beyond the strict limits of Asia Minor. Franck Préteux looks at archaeology and new approaches to the understanding of the straits of the Propontis linking the Aegean with the Black Sea. Keran Eren gives an archaeological review of the historical geography of Ionia in the Archaic period. Claire Barat discusses the history and population of Paphlagonia. Dominique Kassab Tezgör looks at the archaeological work along the south coast of the Black Sea. Then Sayar again on the historical geography, ancient cities and harbours of Cilicia Tracheia. Stéphane Lebreton reflects on the study of Cappadocia. Finally, in this sequence of regional accounts and studies Sylvain Destephen considers early church evidence, the Acts of the Councils, subscription lists and episcopal notices for the best use of ecclesiastical sources.

The papers in the second volume are more restricted in their geographical scope. René Lebrun discusses two 2nd-millennium strongholds in western Anatolia known from Hittite records, the mountain Arinnanda and the city of Puranda. Özedemir Koçak considers 2nd-millennium settlements and cemeteries in the eastern interior of Mid-West Anatolia. Isabelle Chalier and Stéphane Lebreton describe Zeyve-Porsuk, a rural stronghold on the *Via Tauri* in Cappadocia. Gocha Tsetskhladze writes about his excavations at Pessinus, in succession to those conducted by Ghent University, and concerned with the earliest stages of the settlement. Adrian Dumitru discusses the territory of Byzantium and the barbarians at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, with reference to a passage of Polybius. Gilles Courtieu identifies the location of the Asklepieion of Lysimachus in the Troad, and Strabo's reference to it in his Book 13. Markus Kohl looks at the site of Sebastopolis-Herakleopolis (Sulusaray Tokat), the relationship of its inhabitants with its environment. Lâtife Summerer discusses Pompeiopolis, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, while Eva Christoff and Ergün Lafli transcribe and translate 43 inscriptions from that city. Mehmet and Nesrin Özsait describe their systematic survey in the provinces of Amasya, Samsun, Ordu and Toket in Pontic Cappadocia. Marijana Ricl considers current archaeological and epigraphic research in Lydia. Lorenzo Campagna and Giuseppe Scardozzi look at the archaeology of water supply in Phrygian Hierapolis. Von Kienlin, Summerer and Ivantchik discus Kelainai in Phrygia, 'a city between East and West'. Claude Brixhe and Mehmet Özsait look at inscriptions in Greek letters but not Greek language from the Middle Eurymedon area, whose language has been identified as Pisidian. They list the letter forms used. New inscriptions are transcribed and the relationship to the language of Pamphylia discussed. Guy Labarre and Mehmet Özsait describe two sites, Eski Beydili and Kesme in the valley of the Eurymedon. Nevzat Çevik and Isabelle Pimouguet-Pédarros consider Kelbessos and Kitanaura in the territory of Termessos in Pisidia. Hamdi Şahin describes the temples and inscriptions of eastern Cilicia Tracheia. Emmanuelle Goussé looks at place names and Asia Minor ethnics in the inscriptions of Cilicia Tracheia, and finally Anthony Comfort lists

and describes the Roman bridges of southern Anatolia, listing those on the Tigris and the Euphrates, both permanent stone bridges and wooden pontoon bridges.

Taken together, the papers present a region-wide coverage of recent archaeological work over the whole of Asia Minor. They bring into sharp focus the proposals put forward in the first paper of the first volume, Hadrien Bru on the project of an historical and archaeological atlas of ancient Asia Minor. The reasons behind this are obvious – works such as the present two volumes stand as independent publications, and though they come with detailed indexes, on personal (ancient) names and geographical/place names (both ancient and modern) there is no external means of finding the information they contain (which might have occurred if, for instance, they had been published in a regular academic journal). The advantage of an overall general externally organised reference system is obvious. Thus the concept of an historical/archaeological atlas of ancient Asia Minor is very attractive.

In his article, therefore, Bru proposes the establishment of a body to achieve such an atlas, based on the University of Franche-Comté at Besançon. He looks at the similar *Tübinger Atlas der vorderen Orient*, of 1977–1994, though he suggests the results here are somewhat concealed with its 130 thematic volumes – and which, of course, have a fixed date attached to their publication. This is clearly a work destined for residence in academic libraries.

Secondly, Bru considers the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, published in 2000, less specialised and, he argues, less complete, generalised and with failings in its bibliographical content. I have my own copy of the *Barrington* and I have found it extremely useful for references and, above all, its excellent series of maps contained in its large printed format, but with the text and descriptive account contained on compact discs, and therefore much more useable within the limits of a personal study and direct access to my personal computer. A comparison of the maps and plans in the *Barrington Atlas* and the small scale maps and plans in *l'Anatolie des peuples* is illuminating, if unfair, since, obviously these were provided by the various authors with resulting variations of quality and a total lack of consistency. Whatever form the proposed atlas takes it has to have a sequence of relatively large scale maps.

Finally, Bru refers to the Turkish TAY project, which he judges to be very promising as a reference work but which cannot adequately cover the wide range of material. Bru is indeed looking for an international, multi-disciplinary approach over an extended time content.

Bru then lists the general objectives of the proposed atlas. He sets the geographical boundaries, from the Aegean to the Caucasus, including the present day countries of Turkey, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, but without excluding communities beyond these territorial limitations. Secondly, he discusses the scientific objective, to gather historical, geographical, cultural and archaeological research within the defined area and to present the work to the general public on line as well as regular hard publication on paper. So it will require its own web-site, open archives (including photographs), bibliographical information and the production of original, interactive maps and the means of updating them.

In this respect it is interesting to turn to the final papers in the first of the present volumes, by Christoph Schäfer and Wolfgang Spickermann on the *Interaktiver, Dynamischer Atlas zur Geschichte* (AIDA), and the paper by Jasmin Schäfer and Peter Probst on the Hamburg epigraphic database for Asia Minor.

Bru outlines the set up he considers necessary for the multi-disciplinary undertaking such an atlas would require. Three types of work groups – one for specialised techniques, one for thematic studies, one for regional groups, though some of these, he suggests, already exist. He then details the full list of sub-headings of the work. These groups would pursue all the needed work in close collaboration with a coordinating committee. The aim would be the publication of results in a balance of electronic and on paper. He accepts the probability that English would be used for the syntheses, though contributions would also come in German, French and Italian. He envisages a trial period for the establishment and first stages of the work, lasting five years from 2011 to 2017.

This is a most serious and welcome proposal and undertaking. Your present reviewer only hopes he lives long enough to see it come to fruition.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

S.L. Budin and J.M. Turfa (eds.), *Women in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World*, Rewriting Antiquity, Routledge, London/New York 2016, xxxvi+1074 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-80836-2

Women in Antiquity is a compilation of contributions, part of the series *Rewriting Antiquity* published by Routledge that aims to provide the latest research, combining established scholarship with current approaches. It covers a broad geographical and chronological domain with its attempt to offer a comprehensive and comparative understanding of the subject.

The volume is divided in ten sections, each organised on the culture examined (Mesopotamia; Egypt; the Hittites; Cyprus; the Levant and Carthage; the Aegean, Bronze Age and historical; Etruria and the Italian archipelago; Rome; 'At the Edges'; and 'Coda'), each consisting of approximately ten chapters, including an introduction which briefly presents the geographical area under examination and the historical context. Individual chapters are followed by their own extensive bibliography. Moreover, there is a short general introduction written by the editors, clarifying the meaning of the key terms in the volume, namely 'women' and 'antiquity', along with the motivation for undertaking this particularly overwhelming task. The notes on the contributors, who are all well-known and respected scholars in their fields, are particularly enlightening.

The objective of the editors is to reveal real women in antiquity, and by real women they mean their names, bodies, sex lives, activities, occupations, legal standing and religious functions. Since the volume spans a plethora of different cultures, it consequently and unavoidably treats topics that are shared among them. This allows for an interesting comparison between different cultures, time periods and geographical regions offering valuable insights into the particular topic, which is after all the intention of the series.

In general the main topics examined in the volume are the representation of women, either in the iconography, the written evidence or in the burial record (Suter, Kelly-Buccellati, Justel, Brosius, Serwint, Younger, Whitley, Lo Schiavo and Milletti, Norman, Mayor, Prados Torreira, Aldhouse-Green, Wicker), motherhood and aspects related to it, such as marriage, birth, child-rearing (Couto-Ferreira, Feucht, Beckman, Budin, Yon, Hong, Bonfante, Bartoloni and Pitzalis, Larsson Loven), female sexuality and prostitution

(Budin, Orriols-Llonch, Glazebrook, Ashede), the religious role of women and their participation in cult performance (Gadotti, Onstine, Collins, Michel, Meyers, Ferrer Martin and Lafrenz Samuels, Boelle-Weber, Dillon, Edlund-Berry), women's daily lives (Langlois, Yon, Ebeling, Meyers, Hemelrijk), the activities, roles and contribution of women in relation to the economy of their households and communities (McCarthy, Steel, McGeough, Shelmerdine, Burke, Cohen, Gleba, Becker). There are also contributions that examine women of different social standing (Suter, Kelly-Buccellati, Svärd, Zinn, Tyldesley, Phillips, Bryce, Smith, Swaddling, Bartoloni and Pitzalis, Benelli), and chapters that focus on topics associated with specific regions only, for example the female tavern-keepers in Mesopotamia (Langlois), or Daunian women (Norman).

The chapters focusing on actual bodies of women through osteological analysis of their physical remains, with discussion of health, diet, trauma, congenital disorders and violence, are of particular interest, especially the probability for cultural modifications of the female body (Lorentz, Fox). The latter, at least for ancient Greece, is an area that remains wide open for further research. The authors do not neglect specific groups of women, which due either to fragmentary evidence or lack of research have been under-represented, such as those of ancient Nubia (Phillips) or Philistine women (Yasur-Landau).

Finally, the contributions that study groups of women, such as female gladiators in ancient Rome (McCullough), Amazons (Mayor) or women associated with Roman military settlements (Greene), are fascinating in highlighting a very different way of life.

The investigation of an important and diachronic topic related to women is that of the violence exercised towards them, usually associated with warfare and hostilities, and the chapters that discuss it (Monge and Selinsky, Day, Gaca) remind us that regardless of the amelioration of the circumstances and the social position that women could achieve in various cultures and time periods, they were always and still are vulnerable to violence and exploitation.

The volume is well illustrated and well edited. The contributors are all experts in their fields and therefore provide a thorough account of their topics. The book may be challenging to read because of its size, but the information provided offers an invaluable insight into what it meant to be a woman in antiquity. It comprises an important contribution to archaeology in general and more specifically to the archaeology of women, thus achieving its purpose to be 'useful' according to the aspiration of its editors.

Thessaloniki, Greece Christina Aamodt

A. Coşkun and A. McAuley (eds.), *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*, Historia Einzelschriften 240, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 322 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11295-6

This engaging and valuable collection of essays originated from the workshop entitled 'Seleukid Royal Women: Roles, Representations, and Expectations' held at McGill University, Montreal, in February 2013. The workshop constituted the fourth iteration of the Seleucid Study Day series. The volume includes the works of 16 scholars (however, many more participated in the workshop as the Introduction clearly states).

The book opens with a Prologue by Hans Beck, which nicely introduces the main theme of the volume, rightly pointing out that women in antiquity, and women of the Seleucid empire in particular, have been generally marginalised as a result of the masculine stereotyping mindset of the ancient sources and the scarce attempts by modern scholarship to challenge it.

The rest of the volume is thematically and chronologically arranged and divided into three parts. Part I, on Apama and Stratonice, opens with Ann-Cathrin Harders's essay on the making of the Hellenistic *basilissai*. In the first part of the paper she sets the wider scene and very conveniently discusses the new forms of kingship and the new type of ruler which emerged in the Hellenistic world after the death of Alexander the Great. The multifaceted role of the *basilissa*, she argues, has to be read within this context and it has to be considered as an innovation of this time. Harders then focuses on the two first Seleucid wives; she cautiously approaches the figure of Apama and points out that she was presented by Seleucus I as associated to his new king's *persona* but officially addressed as *basilissa* only by the Milesian subjects of the Seleucids. Stratonice, on the other hand, was formally elevated to queen by Seleucus himself; yet, Harders notes, she drew her royal status from her natal Antigonid line, showing a certain autonomy from her nuptial family.

The first two Seleucid *basilissai* are also the main focus of a fine essay by David Engels and Kyle Erickson. After discussing Apama's and Stratonice's historical lives and the prominence and influence of these queens within the early Seleucid court, they analyse the legend concerning the love between Antiochus and Stratonice and the story of Stratonice's love for the eunuch Kombabos. They convincingly demonstrate that these literary narratives, which are open to multiple interpretations and can be assigned to both the Seleucid queens, drew heavily on Iranian and Near Eastern literary traditions. These stories construct a specific representation of the queens at the Seleucid court and thus show their pivotal role in the creation of Seleucid dynastic identity and ideology.

The story of the love between Stratonice and Antiochus is also discussed by Eran Almagor in his essay on 'Seleukid Love and Power: Stratonike I'. Almagor peels off the multiple layers of the narrative and painstakingly reflects on the historicity of the event as well as on its reception and representation within the literary tradition. He argues for the historicity of the act itself which he reads in light of Achaemenid practices and succession rituals and successfully tries to differentiate between an original Seleucid court version of the account and the later embellishments of it by the moralising and sensationalist literary sources.

The final essay of Part I, by Gillian Ramsey, focuses on the diplomatic activities of Apama and Stratonice. She explores Apama's role as assistant and gatekeeper of Seleucus during his territorial expansion in the upper satrapies and argues that the *basilissa*'s Achaemenid background certainly favoured the consolidation of Seleucid sovereignty over the East. The author then concentrates on Stratonice and notes, by a thorough analysis of the available evidence, that the queen's diplomatic actions aimed at maintaining a close connection with her Antigonid birth family in order to confront the rival Ptolemaic royal influence in the West. Ramsey's contribution brilliantly demonstrates the fundamental diplomatic role played by the two queens in creating and consolidating the authority of the Seleucid dynasty in the making.

Part II, 'Representation, Visibility and Distortion of Seleukid Queenship', begins with Altay Coşkun's contribution on the *basilissa* Laodice I, the first wife of Antiochus II. Coşkun's essay is a successful attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the Seleucid queen who is depicted by the ancient as well as modern literary tradition as an evil and power-hungry queen. Coşkun, expertly deconstructing the ancient literary sources, shows that the allegations against Laodice originated within the court of Ptolemy III Euergetes, as part of Ptolemaic propaganda, and were then further distorted and dramatised by the moralising historiographical tradition which was initiated by Phylarchus.

The representation of Cleopatra Tryphaina, the sister and wife of Antiochus VIII Grypos, in Book 39 of Justin's epitome of Trogus is the theme of the chapter by Brett Bartlett. By a subtle analysis of the texts the author convincingly notes that the story concerning the rivalry between Tryphaina and her sister, Cleopatra IV, which is exclusively transmitted by Justin, is highly distorted by the Roman historian on the basis of his inclinations towards a rhetorical and moralising historiography.

Part II ends with the very useful essay by Sheila Ager and Craig Hardiman which explores the visual representation of Seleucid royal women for the first century and a half of Seleucid rule. Through a thorough and systematic analysis of a complete collection of evidence, Ager and Hardiman reflect on the apparent lack of visibility of the Seleucid queens in the male-dominated Seleucid iconography (none of the extant portrait statues can be safely attributed to any Seleucid queen, and Seleucid coin types rarely depict these royal women, the first evidence of this only appearing at the time of Laodice IV) and explore the possible reasons and implications of this.

Part III of the volume considers 'Dynastic Intermarriage and Hellenistic Queenship in the Shadow of the Seleucids'. It opens with Alex McAuley's paper on Apama, the daughter of Antiochus I, who was married in a diplomatic exchange with Magas of Cyrene. McAuley's work echoes Bartlett's in the sense that his concern is the distorted representation of Seleucid royal women offered by Justin. He rightly questions Justin's account of Apama's love affair with her Antigonid son-in-law and re-contextualises it within the political environment of the time. He acutely argues that Apama's choices and actions were driven by loyalty to her natal house and the desire to strength the Seleucid strategic interests on a wider scale.

Richard Wenghofer and Del John Houle then follow with a fascinating study of Seleucid marriage policy in the far east of the empire. The authors brilliantly discuss the possible pivotal role played by Seleucid royal women in securing Seleucid influence in Baktria and India up until the reign of Eucratides I (*ca.* 170–145 BC). As far as the very limited evidence allows, Wenghofer and Houle succeeded in showing that Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings then legitimised their rule by emphasising their ties to Seleucid princesses thus transforming the vassal states into some sort of matrilinear monarchies.

The importance of Seleucid women in the transmission and legitimisation of royal status is also discussed in the chapter by Rolf Strootman. He focuses on the representation of the ancestors of Antiochus I of Commagene which are displayed at Nimrud Dağı. Challenging the *communis opinion,* which tends to see the male Achaemenid *progonoi* as the most significant in the Commagenian ancestral line, he convincingly argues that Antiochus' maternal line of descent, which was represented by the Seleucids and included four or five royal women (whom identity is unfortunately difficult to reconstruct), was more valuable

to Antiochus and his descendants than the Achaemenid one. It was primarily the Seleucid descent which could legitimise Antiochus' claims of imperial status.

A fascinating examination by Julia Wilker of the royal women of the Hasmonean dynasty follows. She compares the royal traditions of the emerging Hasmonean dynasty with Hellenistic dynastic models and concludes that Hasmonean women played, like their Seleucid (and Ptolemaic) peers, pivotal roles in the politics of their time, being presented and perceived as important members of the royal family. Yet, Wilker rightly warns us that the role of women in the Hamonean dynasty differs, in many aspects, significantly from that of their Hellenistic counterpart and argues that this has to be read in light of the dynasty's Jewish ideological framework.

The final contribution of the volume is by Adrian Dumitru. The author successfully attempts to throw light on the life of Cleopatra Selene, the last Seleucid queen. By a detailed analysis of numismatic and literary evidence, Dimitru explores watershed moments of Selene's life (in particular the queen's numerous marriages) and shows that the queen was not just a passive tool in a wider dynastic power game but, rather, an active player who effectively pursued her own political choices.

In conclusion, this book is definitely worth reading as it leads the way towards a new understanding of female royalty in the Hellenistic period as well as in the classical world at large. I believe it will become an indispensable work of reference for those dealing with women in antiquity and will be of great value to scholars and students alike.

University of Durham Chiara Grigolin

G. Delley, M. Díaz-Andreu, F. Djindjian, V.M. Fernández, A. Guidi and M.-A. Kaeser (eds.), *History of Archaeology: International Perspectives*, Proceedings of the XVII UISPP World Congress (1–7 September 2014, Burgos, Spain), vol. 11 (Sessions A8b, A4a and A8a), Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+237 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-397-7

The three sessions from the XVII World Congress of the Union International de Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, published promptly in this volume furnish a dozen papers under 'International Relations in the History of Archaeology', seven under 'The Revolutions of the Sixties in Prehistory and Protohistory' and five in 'Lobbying for Archaeology'. Several authors make more than one contribution (and in more than one session). Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Victor Fernández provide an Introduction to the first section, which houses papers that consider the presence of Spanish archaeologists in Italy (1907–1936), contacts between Spanish and Italian classical archaeologist during the time of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930), 'Africanism and international relations in Spanish prehistoric archaeology (1939–1956)', i.e. the departure from Morocco, '… Tracking and Tracing International Relations throughout Portuguese colonialism' (Angola and Mozambique, but also J. Desmond Clark and the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in Northern Rhodesia in between), 'The "Tagus Generation" in Portuguese Archaeology' (New Archaeology and the 1960s) and 'The Introduction of "New Archaeology" in Spain, 1975–1990', to take a sample. Location (Burgos) meshed with membership of the project 'Archaeology without frontiers – the international contacts of twentieth-century Spanish archaeology' to supply a heavy Iberian presence.

The second section also has a contribution on Portuguese archaeology in the 1960s (one sometimes feels that Portugal is doomed to be peripheral, first, of course, within its own empire), 'The New Archaeology and the Archaeology of Australia' (where 'recent prehistory is yesterday's ethnography', p. 190) and, of most interest, 'La préhistoire en Union Soviétique des années 1950 aux années 1960' (Lioudmila Iakovleva, from the Ukraine: the overturning of Marr-ism in 1950 under the imprimatur of Mr Steel and a new focus on excavation, publication, almost to a standard template bereft of interpretation, and excavation and scientific techniques; an honourable mention for Pavel Dolukhanov). The final section considers scientific and technological innovation, lobbying for archaeology in Italy between 1945 and the early 1990s, and 'The Australian Research Council and the Archaeology of the Modern City in Australia' (Moscow on the Molonglo meets middens in Melbourne).

Some tasty morsels but a bit of a *smorgasbord*.

Leeds, UK James Hargrave

Ş. Dönmez, *Anadolu ve Ermeniler: Kızılırmal Havzası Demir Çağı Toplumunun Doğu Anadolu Yaylası'na Büyük Göcü / Anatolia and Armenians: Great Exodus of the Halys Basin Iron Age to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau*, English translation by B. Adısönmez, Anadolu Öntarih Yayıinları, Istanbul 2016, x+219 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-605-837-180-4

1.

During the last 150 years several important contributions have been written on the origin and formation of the Armenian people.[1] Şevket Dönmez's monograph is related to some aspects of the formation of the ancient Armenians and their migration during the Late Iron Age from the Halys/Kızılırmak basin to eastern Anatolia. It is written in Turkish and English and consists of a Preface and six Parts: Introduction; 'Eastern Anatolian Plateau in the Late Iron Age'; 'Urartians and Armenians'; 'Archaeological Evidence of the Migration from West to East'; 'Formation of Process of the Archaic Armenians and Its Causes'; and Conclusion. There are indexes of locations, periods, people and written sources.

In the book, the main hypothesis is that after the collapse of Urartu, Phrygianised groups that arrived from the Kızılırmak basin migrated to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and formed the core society of the Armenian people (p. 156). One of the main arguments is the testimony of Herodotus: that Armenians migrated from the West and that the Armenians were similar to Phrygians (p. 142). D. writes that the fall of the Urartian kingdom and the arrival in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau of the Kızılırmak basin communities would, in his opinion, have caused a cultural change on a regional scale (p. 191). In the 6th century BC, in this interpretation, Phrygianised people who lived in the countries of Tabal, Kašku and Tuhana in the Kızılırmak basin and its surroundings, under pressure from the Lydian kingdom, started to move towards eastern Anatolia. As evidence for this D. provides pottery decorated with triangles, festoon motifs and silhouette figures, which

[1] See A. Petrosyan, 'The Problem of Identification of the Proto-Armenians: A Critical Review'. *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 16 (2007), 25–66, with literature.

chronologically and on the basis of archaeological finds can be traced from the west to east (p. 180).

The book lacks in-depth discussion of previous work on this topic. Writing about the migration of Armenians from the Kızılırmak basin, D. missed many important contributions, notably the study by I.M. Diakonoff.[2] Diakonoff discussed the possible migration of Eastern Muški, who could have been the vanguard of the Armeno-Phrygian tribes, which moved from the Balkans to Asia Minor before the creation of the Urartian kingdom and settled down in Cappadocia (i.e. the Kızılırmak basin), thence spreading out in the region of the Armenian Highlands. Diakonoff's study is a surprising omission, since it is mentioned and well discussed in the study of A. Petrosyan cited by D.[3] In his book, D. references the work of only one Armenian archaeologist (H. Hakobyan), while there are numerous publications devoted to the Bronze and Iron Age archaeology of Armenia. The compilation of research of Gevork A. Tirats'yan, published in English as *From Urartu to Armenia*[4] would have been especially useful. The selected works of Tirats'yan are mainly devoted to archaeological research of Armenia during Urartian, post-Urartian and Hellenistic periods.

In many cases, the evidence on which D.'s arguments are based lacks references. For instance, on p. 143 he simply mentions that most Armenian archaeologists have stayed closer to the thesis that the Armenians hail from the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and that Armenian culture developed in this locality since the earliest times.

It is likewise surprising that D. is not familiar with the inscriptions of Urartian king Rusa II (685–645 BC) found in Adilcevaz (on the northern shore of Lake Van) and Ayanis (on its eastern shore). They mention the relocation of people also from Tablani (Tabal), Muški and Hatti[5] into the Lake Van area. These are the regions that correspond mainly to the Kızılırmak basin and its surrounding areas. This is direct testimony for the relocation of people from Kızılırmak to the Van basin during the Urartian period and before the migration proposed by D. Despite the fact that Rusa II moved people from the abovementioned lands into the Van basin, there is no evidence of festoon or triangle decoration on pottery during the Urartian period. It is also important to note that D. does not differentiate between the abundant and varied types of triangle ware pottery that have been identified archaeologically.[6] In this context, the area of northern Iran is significant yet almost entirely left out of D.'s discussion.

D. argues that Urartian red and brown pottery, which is undoubtedly Urartian, disappears at the beginning of the 6th century BC with the collapse of the Urartian kingdom (p. 160). However, this pottery type is attested at sites of later periods.[7]

[2] I.M. Diakonoff, *The Prehistory of the Armenian People* (Delmar, NY 1984).

[3] A. Petrosyan (as in n. 1), 36–62.

[4] R. Vardanyan (ed.), *From Urartu to Armenia. Florilegium Gevork A. Tirats'yan in memoriam* (Neuchâtel 2003).

[5] A. Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini, 'The Historical Background of Ayanis'. In Çilingiroğlu and Salvini (eds.), *Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinli Eiduri-kai 1989–1998* (Rome 2001), 19–20.

[6] See R. Dyson, 'Triangle-Festoon Ware Reconsidered'. *Iranica Antiqua* 34 (1999), 115–44.

[7] S. Kroll, 'Archaeology between Urartu and the Achaemenids'. In M. Işıklı and B. Can (eds.), *International Symposium on East Anatolia–South Caucasus Cultures*, vol. 2 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015), 111.

A recent attestation of lingering Urartian cultural elements in later periods was discovered during the latest excavations of Yervandashat, which was one of the capitals of ancient Armenia during the Hellenistic period. Here one of the square-plan structures with buttresses[8] resembles the Urartian architectural tradition. Some pithoi found in the storage room directly resemble Urartian pithoi with triangular and rectangular decoration.[9] The most impressive feature is the similarity in plan of a recently opened tower-like structure[10] to the Urartian *susi*-temple but in smaller dimentions.

D. also neglects the existence of an Armenian kingdom during the post-Urartian period (pp. 146–47), which is attested in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*. Xenophon, who lived in the the 5th–4th centuries BC, mentions an Armenian king and his relations with the Medes and Cyrus the Great. In all probability, as David Stronach already suggested, Armenia may have been an independent kingdom conquered by Cyrus the Great in 547 BC.[11] D. also tends to think that the centres of the Western and Eastern satrapies were Altıntepe and Van respectively (pp. 147, 168). For Altıntepe this opinion must be confirmed with additional evidence. Until now there are no direct sources on the centres of Achaemenid satrapies in the territory of the Armenian Highlands. Even recent excavations of Altıntepe shows that it lost its eminence after the demise of the Urartian kingdom.[12]

As already mentioned, D. believes that Armenians were the communities using festoon and triangle wares. He argues that such wares found in Melekli-Kültepe near Igdir and a similar fragment found in Oluz Höyük mark the easternmost points of the immigration originating from the Kızılırmak basin (p. 180). But this pottery type is attested in what are now Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, dated mainly to the post-Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.[13] Based on existing archaeological evidence, D.'s argument that Armenians were its bearers is unlikely. If his argument is accepted, then it would mean that Armenians also migrated into the territories of Georgia, Azerbaijan and northern Iran, as this pottery is found in these regions as well. In this context, triangle and festoon ware are not a reliable marker of ethnicity. Tirats'yan's article 'On Painted Pottery in Ancient Armenia…' (see n. 13) would have been a useful reference. In this article, originally published in 1965, Tirats'yan already discussed the connection and correlation of the above-mentioned pottery type with Phrygia and Cappadocia, framing his discussions within a large body of existing

[8] A. Gabrielyan, 'Vessel Storeroom of the Palace Complex of Ervandashat'. In *Genesis Forest, Collected Articles in Memory of Felix Ter-Martirosov* (Yerevan 2015), 127, pic. 1 (in Armenian with English and Russian summary).

[9] Gabrielyan (as in n. 8), 129, pics. 4, 7, 8.

[10] Gabrielyan (as in n. 8), 127, pic. 1.

[11] D. Stronach, 'The Campaign of Cyrus the Great in 547 BC: A Hitherto Unrecognized Source for the Early History of Armenia'. *Aramazd, Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (2007), 162–73.

[12] M. Karaosmanoğlu and H. Korucu, 'The Apadana of Altıntepe in a Light of the Second Season Excavations'. In A. Çilingiroğlu and A.G. Sagona (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 7* (Leuven 2012), 136.

[13] G. Tirats'yan, 'On Painted Pottery in Ancient Armenia (6th Century B.C.–3rd Century AD)'. In Vardanyan (as in n. 4), 104–14. G. Narimanishvili, *Keramika Kartli V–I vv. d. n.e.* (Tbilisi 1991), 69–79. G. Narimanishvili and V. Shatberashvili, 'Red-painted Pottery of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods from Caucasus (Iberia): Stylistic Analysis and Chronology'. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 41 (2004), 24.

archaeological literature. The studies of the Georgian archaeologist G. Narimanishvili, in which he discusses the issues of origin and correlations of triangle and festoon ware discovered in Georgia, are also noteworthy.[14]

In the depiction of the Armenian delegation on one of the Persepolis reliefs (6th century BC) one of the Armenians holds a two-handled krater (p. 101, figs. 86, 87), but not pottery with triangle and festoon decorations. It is regrettable that the depictions of the Persepolis reliefs here are coloured without any indication that the colouring is solely the author's interpretation.

D. stresses that the ancient Armenian population created a common value on the basis of Zoroastrianism, which was brought to the region by the westward expansion of the Medes, putting Armenians on the road to becoming a nation (p. 182). There is no archaeological or historical evidence for considering Karduchians and Alarods as Zoroastrians, as D. does (p. 183). The religion of the Medians remains in question. Without additional evidence it is nearly impossible to establish which gods were worshipped by them and what was the nature of their cult.[15] D. writes about the fire cult, which was one of the important features of Zoroastrian religion. He argues that it was a Zoroastrian influence on the Armenians (pp. 184–85). In this case, it is important to emphasise that the cult already existed in the Urartian kingdom and is well attested from excavations of the Ayanis temple area.[16] Even Achaemenid fire-towers were influenced by Urartian *susi*-temples.[17] Despite some influence of Zoroastrianism on ancient Armenian religion, there is no serious evidence to insist that the Armenian were Zoroastrian. The fact that until the collapse of the Sasanian empire Christian Armenians fought to maintain their religion and did not accept Zoroastrianism, also supports the argument that Armenians were not Zoroastrians.

It is also incorrect that D., without any references or basis, calls Adur Burzen-Mihr, Adur Gushnasp, Adtur Farnbag, which were sacred fires for Zoroastrian religion,[18] Atashgada-i Azer-Bazrin Mehr, Azer-I Gahnasp and That Azer-I Farbegh (pp. 162–63).

While the title of the book suggests that it discusses the formation of the Armenians, D. often makes unnecessary and unnecessary diversions from the main theme, beyond the scope of the topic. Throughout, it seems that D. seeks to minimise and marginalise the role of ancient Armenians in the region. He also makes arguments and interpretations without citing evidence and neglects to use available publications that are relevant to the matter. (Some instances have been noted above; space limitations do not allow me to discuss these in detail or completeness.) It would be good if readers of the book accept it with caution and take into consideration previous literature related to the theme.

'Erebuni' Historical and Archaeological Museum-Reserve, Yerevan Miqayel Badalyan

[14] Narimanishvili (as in n. 13), 71–79.

[15] M. Shenkar, 'Temple Architecture in the Iranian World before the Macedonian Conquest'. In *Iran and the Caucasus* 11 (2007), 169–94.

[16] A. Çilingiroğlu, 'Silah, Tohum ve Ateş'. In T. Korkut (ed.), *Anadolu'da Doğdu. 60: Yaşında Fahri Işık'a Armağan* (Istanbul 2004), 257–68.

[17] D. Stronach, 'Urartian and Achaemenid Tower Temples'. *JNES* 26.4 (1967), 278–88.

[18] M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London/New York 2001), 87.

2.

This valuable monograph by D., a leading specialist, is devoted to the ancient culture of Anatolia, specifically to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and the Armenians, their place and the integration into that culture.

The Preface enumerates the main archaeological sites of North-Central Anatolia and the Halys/Kızılırmak basin and the archaeological cultures to which they relate, including the relatively new excavation at Oluz Höyük.

Part One is an Introduction containing a general description of the study, specifically an archaeological picture of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau in the Iron Age. According to Assyrian sources these lands are mentioned under the name Nairi, Uruatri or Urartu. Tuşpa figured as a political centre. From the archaeological point of view there are Early Iron Age sites concentrated around the Lake Van basin and Elagiz/Malatya.

The 'Definition of the Problem' focuses on one of the oldest people of the Near East, the Armenians. D. explains the historical-geographical situation (aided by maps). He asserts that important information about migration from Phrygia (Herodotus) and Thessaly (Strabo) can be extracted from classical sources. D. considers the state of the problem, in this part the written data (toponyms) and the archaeological monuments of the Bronze Age, Early and Late Iron are correlated. He notes the first mention of the Armenians in written sources, in particular in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius on the Behistun rock not far from Kermanshah, as well as in the subsequent mention of Armenia under various variants of the name. The ethnic self-name of the Armenians of the Highlands is also found in Hittite times. The Hayash region, which is also supposedly associated with the proto-Armenian *ethnos*, is localised in Erzincan and its immediate vicinity. D. gives various names for the Armenians and Armenia in different written sources, including the self-name of the ethnic group. The 'chaotic' nature of Moses of Khoren's information and the embrace of its myths are mentioned.

In Part Two, 'Eastern Anatolian Plateau in Late Iron Age', D. raises the question of the autochthonous-ness of the Armenian *ethnos* on the territory of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau in the Iron Age. It is about the reception of cultural traditions in the Urartian and post-Urartian period. According to Western sources, the Urartian people included various ethnic groups besides the Armenians. After the collapse of Urartu political power passes into the hands of the Scythians and Medes. The political history of this region is based principally on the literary sources. In D.'s opinion, this interpretation is based on the written sources, but the archaeological data must be drawn on too. The main archaeological sites are described, and artefacts which are characteristic for the culture of Eastern Anatolia. According to D.'s investigations, the lands of Eastern Anatolia (indeed, almost throughout Anatolia) adopted urban architecure in the Achaemenid period, yet built palaces and large dwellings of their own design. In developing satrapal centres as local government units the Achaemenids inserted *paradeisoi* (including water sources or large gardens and hunting spaces). Oluz Höyűk is one example, as the archaeological materials show.

Nevertheless, from the archaeological point of view, the post-Urartian period in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau is weakly evidenced, especially with regard to architecture and material culture. Underground-type housing is analysed and correlated with literary sources and ethnographic observations. The Plateau in the Late Iron Age is characterised by highland and underground settlements.

Part Three, 'Urartians and Armenians', begins with analyses of writing and language in the context of the culture of the Urartian kingdom and Armenia, the general cultural development of Eastern Anatolia, and the use of written language, particularly cuneiform and Aramaic in Urartu and in the Achaemenid periods, with an emphasis on its importance for cultural and ethnic identity. The written tradition in the south of the Kızılırmak basin and its vicinity (Phrygianised population) took the form of pictographic writing (Luwian hieroglyphic). The archaeological situation is analysed in the context of the writing tradition, based on the example of Oluz Höyűk. In 'Protohistorical Evidences of Armenians' D. notes that the Armenians who were observed in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau from 6th century BC started to use their own writing by the 5th century AD. Important evidence about the (ancient) Armenians is that in Assyrian sources regarding the Eastern Anatolian Plateau there is no mention of them.

D. describes the architecture and highway system of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau, citing the main archaeological sites, and discussing pottery and metalcrafts and their main characteristics. 'Religion and Mythology' underlines the fact that there is no similarity in spiritual cultures between Urartu and Armenia. The other important peculiarity is the discontinuation of the Urartian tradition of building gate-shaped rock monuments. D. describes the distribution of Zoroastrianism and the fire cult in Eastern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age which comes from Media.

'Historical Sources', specifically ancient Western ones describing Armenians and the historical region of Armenia, do not mention the Urartians who ruled in Iron Age Eastern Anatolia. D. explains this phenomenon by the historical situation: that in early times the lands east of the Euphrates might not have attracted the attention of ancient writers, or there were no serious security issues worthy of comment. The archaeological data, as D. indicates, testify that the material culture of the ancient Armenians, architectural planning, handcrafts, etc., which reflect the social organisation of the community that emerged in the post-Urartian Eastern Anatolian Plateau, had nothing in common with the Urartians.

At the beginning of Part Four, 'Archaeological Evidence of the Migration from West to East', D. considers one of the important issues in the history of the Armenian ethnic community, namely when and for what reason the migration of this people eastwards from Phrygia occurred. He analyses the earlier migrations of the Cimmerians and Scythians in Anatolia and subsequent conquest of these lands by the Medes and Achaemenids. According to D., the Kızılırmak basin was under Achaemenid control from after the campaigns of Cyrus the Great to the West until the Hellenistic period. He traces the penetration of the Zoroastrian religion and culture into the local community. D. draws on written sources and recent archaeological discoveries.

'Formation Process of the Archaic Armenian People and Its Causes' is Part Five. On the basis of written sources (Herodotus) as well as archaeological evidence, in particular tumuli, the localisation of the Phrygian people settled in the Kızılırmak basin is given. According to D., this type of funerary rite was typical for the Balkans and the Thracians and was not accepted by local people. The origins of eastward migrations from the western parts of Anatolia are traced, although the tumulus style of burial is not observed in Eastern Anatolia. The figurative complex of Achaemenid-period reliefs is analysed for determination of Armenian people. Iconographic analyses of representation of the peoples from the Cappodocian and Armenian delegations present a close parallelism between the Kızılırmak basin and the Eastern Anatolian Plateau.

Based on the analysis of written sources and archaeological material, D. comes to the conclusion that, under the influence of the local cultures of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau, the process of formation of the Armenians occurs among the Phrygian population. This shows ethnic integration in the culture of Eastern Anatolia and the transformation of peoples who came to this area by the 4th century BC. The general opinion of linguists is that the Armenian language, which has Indo-European roots, 'carries imprint of old Anatolian languages without Indo-European roots intensely within its structure'.

In Part Six, the Conclusion, D. sums up the migration of communities from the Kızılırmak basin to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau and the processes of formation of the Armenian *ethnos* in this territory. According to him, as a result of the migration process, which began in 590 BC and lasted until the 4th century BC, ethnic communities were formed within the Zoroastrian religion.

This is a detailed study of cultural processes in the Eastern Anatolian Plateau based on written and archaeological evidence. Particular attention is paid to the process of ethnogenesis of the Armenians and their resettlement in this territory. The book is undoubtedly of great interest for historians and archaeologists dealing with the ancient culture of Eastern Anatolia and the history of the Armenian people and is a valuable contribution to scholarship.

Istanbul University Kazim Abdullaev

Ş. Dönmez, *Amasya – Oluz Höyük: Kuzey – Orta Anadolu'da bir Akhaimenid (Pers) Yerleşmesi. 2009–2013 Dönemi Çalişmaları: Genel Değerlendirmeler ve Sonuçlar*, Oluz Höyük Kazı Sonuçları Serisi 2, Amasya 2017, xii+409 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-605-149-916-1

The seven excavation seasons revealed nine architectonic levels, of which level 9 belongs to the local Early Bronze Age, levels 8–7 to the Hittite Great Kingdom, 6–5 to Early and Middle Phrygian culture, 4 and 3 date to the Late Iron Age, i.e. Late Phrygian culture; architectonic layers 2 and 2A are Achaemenid and level 1 is Hellenistic. The Phrygian Kubaba, related to the female deity of Great Mother, was worshipped not only by the Phrygians but by their neighbours as well; her sanctuary and fragmentary statue are recorded. The top soil layer was much damaged by illegal excavations. The Late Hellenistic horizon was dated amongst others by coins minted by Mithradates Eupator.

Dönmez includes in his Englih summary polemics with Latife Sumerer, mainly concerning the extent of Greek influence in Upper Cappadocia and its importance in relation to Central Anatolian cultures and the coastal belt along the Black Sea. The situation reminds one of the frontier between the Highlands and the Aegean coast in western Anatolia.

The mediaeval cemetery with 150 graves belonged to the Turkish population. The agricultural use of the area ended in the 16th century.

The volume brings an extensive report on the site with much new information, excellent colour photographs, lists and tables with statistics, but only a brief English summary.

Charles University, Prague Jan Bouzek

L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo and G.-J. Burgers (eds.), *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, Contextualising Early Colonisation 2, Institut Historique Belge de Rome/Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, Artes 6, Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome/Institut Historique Belge de Rome/Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, Brussels/Rome 2016, 246 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-74461-82-5

The expansion of Greek settlement throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins between *ca.* 750 BC and 500 BC is one of the central events of Greek history. Not surprisingly, some of the premier Greek historians and archaeologists have devoted their careers to its study. Equally unsurprising, the reconsideration of the historiography of Greek history during the late 20th and early 21st centuries also has included Greek colonisation. The result, however, has not been a new consensus about the history of Archaic Greek expansion, but growing division between Anglo-American and continental scholars about the nature of Greek colonisation or even the legitimacy of discussing Greek colonisation at all.

To bridge this divide a conference entitled 'Contextualising early Colonisation: Archaeology, Sources, and Interpretative Models between Italy and the Mediterranean' was held in Rome between June 21st and 23rd 2012. *Conceptualising Early Colonisation* is the second volume of its proceedings, and it contains the theoretical papers delivered at the conference. The 19 papers in the volume are divided into three groups: papers on theory and methodology, case studies treating Italian and Sicilian sites, and final conclusions.

Lieve Donnellan and Valentino Nizzo open the volume with an extensive introduction outlining the history of the controversy and highlighting the influence of identity, post-colonial and network studies on contemporary scholarship. Robin Osborne and Irad Malkin define the issues at stake in their papers. In the former, Osborne restates his well-known view that use of the term 'colonisation' for Greek overseas expansion is inappropriate both because of its misleading associations with modern imperialism and its implication that Greek settlements, like modern colonies, were state organised projects at a time when the *polis* was still in the early stages of formation and incapable of undertaking such projects. Malkin offers a vigorous defence of the traditional view in his paper, maintaining the validity of the use of the term and the close connection of colonisation and the development of the Archaic *polis*, noting particularly the stability of traditions concerning the relationships of colonies and their purported *metropoleis*, the significance of the use of the word *oikos* in Greek colonial terminology, and the Archaic character of the right of return that is attested in inscriptions concerning the foundation of Greek colonies.

The next three papers explore how theory can illuminate issues concerning relations between Greeks and non-Greeks. Jonathan Hall reconsiders the view that Greek identity was formed in colonial areas during the Archaic period as a result of contact with non-Greeks, arguing instead that a sense of common Greek identity first emerged in the Aegean homeland in the 6th century BC simultaneously with the rise of panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi. Ariana Esposito and Airton Pollini survey scholarship on post-colonial approaches to Greek colonisation, highlighting the application of theories based on the colonial experience of Native Americans to South Italian and Sicilian phenomena and the resistance of French and Italian scholars to such approaches, a prime example of the divide between Anglo-American and continental scholarship that was a

central theme of the conference. In the final paper of this group, Giulia Saltini Semerari demonstrates how gender theory can illuminate issues concerning intermarriage between Greeks and non-Greeks by offering scholars a range of useful frameworks within which to analyse the circumstances in which intermarriage could take place.

The final three papers in this group treat the historical contexts in which Greek colonisation took place. Roland Étienne discusses the contributions made by two books – Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* and *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World*[1] – to a better understanding of the geographical and economic background of Greek colonisation, the former making it clear that Greek colonisation has to be viewed as part of the mobility and connectivity that has characterised the Mediterranean basin throughout its history, and the latter that the Archaic period in which it occurred was marked by strong economic growth instead of the stagnation as postulated by Moses Finley and his followers. Franco De Angelis proposes in his paper that frontier studies would provide the best framework for studying Greek colonisation. In the final paper of this group Nizzo emphasises the need to resolve the long standing conflict between two scholarly traditions concerning Iron Age Italy, namely, European pre- and proto-history with its reliance on radiocarbon dating systems and classical archaeology based on ceramic chronologies anchored by Greek and Near Eastern textual evidence.

The second group of papers consists of eight case studies, six of which deal with central and southern Italian sites, one with a Sicilian foundation, Megara Hyblaea, and one compares Italian and Sicilian sites. In the first paper Mariassunta Cuozzo and Carmine Pellegrino examine the theoretical issues involved in studying cultural mixing and ethnic identity in Iron Age Campania. The next two papers use network analysis to reconsider the character of Pithekoussai and its overseas relations. In the first Owain Morris convincingly argues that the archaeological evidence does not support the theory that the Greek character of Cumae was the result of military action launched from Pithekoussai, while Donnellan contends that the earliest known graves indicate that Pithekoussai originated as an indigenous settlement whose closest overseas ties were with the Italian mainland on the one hand and Phoenicia on the other (instead of Aegean Greece). The focus shifts to Sicily in the fourth paper, in which Henri Tréziny surveys the results of recent excavations at Megara Hyblaea, most importantly the discovery that as early as the late 8th century BC the settlement was a planned urban space in which settlers had received approximately equal house plots that were aligned with the street network.

The final four case studies are more miscellaneous in character. In the first paper of the group Flavia Frisone argues for an ongoing involvement of Chalcis in the affairs of its colonies in South Italy and eastern Sicily, particularly in decisions concerning the foundation of new settlements by its original colonies. Emanuele Greco offers a similar comparative analysis of Achaean colonies in South Italy, noting that they shared two common features during the period of their expansion in the Archaic period: large agoras and extra-urban sanctuaries of Hera. In the third paper Douwe Yntema offers an interesting new interpretation of the nature and development of the Greek presence in south-eastern

[1] P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2000); W. Scheidel, I. Morris, and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007).

Italy in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. According to this reconstruction, after an initial period of trading and opportunistic raiding, Greek settlement in the region took two forms, either the formation of small enclaves in native settlements which had little effect on the local cultures, as was the case at Otranto, or growing populations of Greeks living in native communities that gradually took on a Greek character, ultimately becoming *poleis*, as happened, for example, at Sybaris. In the final paper of this group, Gert-Jan Burgers and Jan Paul Crielaard use the site of L'Amastuola near Taranto to question the tendency to treat colonisation as a single event in which archaeology can identify the participants, suggesting instead that it is better viewed as a long-term process in which, as the heterogeneous material culture of L'Amastuola indicates, identity was constantly renegotiated as circumstances changed. Two brief papers by Pier Giovanni Guzzo and Michel Gras containing reflections on the general themes of the conference close the volume.

Conceptualising Early Colonisation is eloquent testimony to the changes the study of Greek colonisation has undergone in recent decades. Three stand out. Most obvious is the increasing emphasis on archaeological instead of textual evidence. Closely related are the growth in scholarly interest in relations between Greeks and non-Greeks in colonial situations and in topics related to culture contact such as identity formation and hybridisation. Not all has been gain, however. The title itself of the volume leaves no doubt that the divide between revisionist Anglo-American scholars and continental scholars has not been bridged. Equally important, once familiar topics such as the emergence in colonial regions of *poleis* and the development of their institutional and political organisation have been downgraded. Still, *Conceptualising Early Colonisation* is a valuable contribution to the literature on Greek colonisation and will be essential reading for scholars interested on the history of Iron Age Italy and Sicily.

California State University, Los Angeles Stanley M. Burstein

N.T. Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*, Numismatic Studies 29, The American Numismatic Society, New York 2015, ix+230 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-89722-344-7/ISSN 0517-404X

This book represents a revised version of the doctoral dissertation defended by the author in 2010. The subject is not new and has been discussed in the literature from time immemorial, starting from the Renaissance, when vivid interest in classical antiquity arose among European humanists. Study of coins with depictions of various architectural structures or so-called *architectura numismatica*, as well as the use of coin portraits to identify marble busts and sculptures freshly recovered from the soil, marked the first steps of numismatics as a scientific discipline. Architectural representations on the coins have quite naturally been considered by scholars of the past and by most modern students, first of all, as a source of knowledge on how ancient monuments, today partly preserved or completely demolished, looked. As Nathan Elkins clearly states in the Introduction, his main task was different. He is interested in analysis of the historical, artistic, social and cultural contexts of the appearance of architectural iconography on Roman coins. For Imperial times there is the necessity to consider such coins in the context of the whole visual programme of a particular emperor along with other simultaneous coin types in order to understand their

ideological meaning and importance. E. argues that such an understanding would be facilitated by defining the audiences at which the Roman state targeted specific coin designs and this task in turn could be completed by analysis of the coin-find evidences. The book covers the period from the last third of the 2nd century BC, when the first architectural types appeared on Roman Republican coins, to the reign of Valentinian III (AD 425–455), which marks the end of using architectural types on the coins of antiquity.

The book is divided in four chapters, which in general follow the same scheme of narration. Chapter 1, 'The Emergence of Architectural Designs on the Coinage of the Roman Republic' (pp. 15–52), starts with brief characteristics of the architectural structures or their parts found on Greek and Persian coins. E. fairly concludes that the emergence of such images on the coins in question was rare and incidental and did not reflect any sort of ideological programme or politics of the minting authorities. As against these coins, Roman issues with architectural types were quite numerous and from the very beginning turned out to have been intimately connected with the personality of the moneyer in charge of coin production. E. offers an exhaustive survey of the architectural representations on Roman Republican coins, whose history begins from the issuing of silver denarii by C. Minucius Augurinus in 135/4 BC with a depiction of the Columna Minucia on the reverse. This survey clearly demonstrates that architectural coin types in the Roman Republic either advertised the prestige of the moneyer's ancestors, some of whom built monuments of various sort for the public weal or were honoured by public monuments, or referred to contemporary politics and historical events. Answering the question of where the inspiration to depict the built environment on coins might have come from, E. turns his attention to the stylistic development of Roman wall-painting and makes parallels between this process and rendering of the architectural types on the coinage of the 1st century BC. Another important factor contributing to this was gradual transformation of Rome into a world metropolis in late 2nd and 1st centuries BC, accompanied by a considerable increase in city's population and intensification of the urban building activity. As E. argues, the initial impetus to the appearance of architectural monuments on Republican coins could have been given by the Lex Gabinia, passed in 139 BC, which introduced the practice of secret ballots in elections. A consequence of this was that young people, starting their career, now became less dependent on noble patronage and had a sudden need to campaign to the broader electorate (p. 45). The post of *monetalis*, one of the minor magistracies, placed in their hands a powerful medium of self-advertising in the way of reminding people of the deeds and benefactions of their families to the city and people for their own political advantage. I should say, however, that this interesting suggestion does not exactly conform to the figures collected by C.D. Hamilton regarding the number of *tresviri monetales* whose subsequent careers could be considered as successful. For the period 150–125 BC he listed only five such persons out of 46 *monetales* (11%), and for 124–79 BC between 20 and 25%. Only after 78 BC can one note a considerable change in the process and gradual increase in the number of persons who reached high ranks after starting their *cursus honorum* with the post of moneyer.[1]

[1] C.D. Hamilton, 'The Tresviri Monetales and Republican Cursus Honorum'. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 100 (1969), 192. This important work, unfortunately, is unknown to E., judging by its absence from the bibliography at the end of the book.

Chapter 2, 'Architectural Coin Types in the Early Roman Empire (Augustus through Severus Alexander)' (pp. 53–118), thoroughly analyses the set of architectural images on Imperial coinage and those changes that took place in this field after the formation of the Principate. These changes concerned alike the outer appearance and inner meaning of the architectural types used. The former was defined by the introduction of the large bronze coins, sestertii, under Augustus, whose size allowed more artistic and natural rendering of architectural monuments, which fitted better the tastes of viewer; the latter was connected with Imperial ideology and presenting the emperor as the only person whose activity secured the safety and prosperity of the people and state. E. concludes that the heyday of Imperial architectural types was from Nero to Trajan. He underlines as well that on the part of issuing authorities there was a clear understanding of the importance of the semantic value of the coin designs and a deliberate aspiration to target different denominations to the most suitable strata of the population. His case studies of Flavian and the Trajanic bronzes proves this suggestion.

Chapter 3, 'Late Roman Architectural Coin Types (the "Soldier Emperors" through Valentinian III)' (pp. 119–40), starts with a brief review of mint organisation in the later Roman empire, the main feature of which was the decentralisation of Imperial minting authority. Analysis of the architectural types of the Roman coinage in this period allows E. to conclude that application of the concept of audience-targeting on Roman Imperial coinage became inapplicable in this period as one and the same types were found simultaneously in the production of various Imperial mints, which issued highly debased coins which had only face value. By the end of the 3rd–beginning of the 4th century, architectural representations on Roman coins acquired mostly symbolical meaning, embodying rather religious concepts and ideas than reproducing specific architectural monuments. This was facilitated to some extent by the breakdown of public building activity and changes in the attitude of Late Roman society to demonstrations of personal wealth and benefaction.

The final chapter, 'Architectural Coin Types from the Roman Provinces: Characteristics, Derivation, and Influence' (pp. 141–66), investigates the origin of architectural representations on coins of the Greek East and in its turn the impact of provincial coinage on architectural types on late Imperial issues. E. distinguishes four main categories of architectural structures used as coin types on the Roman provincial issues: monuments of the city of Rome herself, those of local cult centres, local public buildings, and symbolical representations of the provincial cities through images of the city gates or walls. E. concludes that Republican and Imperial Roman coinage introduced *architectura numismatica* to the Greek cities of the Roman East, but there were local traditions in north-western Asia Minor and the Balkans that became a source of depicting city-gates in particular on Late Roman Imperial coins. Architectural reverses on provincial coin issues played an important role in expressing local identity and civic pride.

In the Conclusion to the book (pp. 167–70) E. summarises the main observations and results. Four appendices (pp. 171–202) present in tabular form lists of architectural types studied in the book, divided by chronological periods as in the text. At the end one can find an exhaustive bibliography (pp. 203–24) and an index (pp. 225–30).

To sum up, E.'s book is a good example of a thoroughly thought through and carried out scholarly work, which undoubtedly can be highly recommended to all students of ancient coinage, classical archaeologists and historians.

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

S. Elliott, *Empire State: How the Roman Military Built an Empire*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xiv+169 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-658-5

'Note that this work features both a re-examination of existing appreciations of the Roman military carrying out various civilian activities, though uniquely bringing together the various strands and themes in this regard into a single volume for the first time, together with some new cutting edge research found here in print, also for the first time.' What sounds like a quotation from a review on a book's back cover or a publisher's web-site for marketing purposes, is actually a statement from the author's Introduction (p. xi). Unfortunately, throughout the book self-laudation of this kind is one of the pervasive motifs. Hence, readers of *AWE* might wonder, how is Simon Elliott going to accomplish his task, which is to examine the role of the Roman military in non-combat contexts for the entire Roman empire in fewer than 200 pages?

Soon it becomes obvious that, for E., Roman Britain is 'an example' by which central features of the Roman empire can be explained. The opening chapter is meant to provide a 'Background', containing rough sketches of 'The Principate Empire' and 'Transport in the Roman World', as well as a somewhat deeper discussion of 'The Roman Economy', which gives an overview of current debates on the nature of Roman economy. At the end of the chapter E. convincingly points to the problem of identifying Imperial estates when there is no written record, suggesting a template in this respect. The second chapter, on 'The Roman military machine', traces the structure and organisation of the Roman army under the Principate, a good and readable summary. Chapter 3, on 'Command, Control and Administration', starts with 'levers of imperial control' as introduced by Augustus. E. moves on to 'Provincial Rule', i.e. the provincial offices including the *cursus honorum*. Eventually we get three pages on 'The Roman Military as Administrators', alluding to the fact that especially in the provinces many administrative functions were exercised by military staff. Furthermore, 'Policing the Empire' is stated to be one of the main tasks of the Roman military in peace time; we may add: of course it was. Seemingly for reason of completeness, in this chapter we finally get one page on 'The Roman Military as Firefighters' and 'The Military and the Games'. The fourth chapter deals with 'The Roman Military as Engineers'. First, military engineers are presented mostly in combat contexts, as the construction of marching camps by the soldiers themselves is described, primarily from British examples. A brief survey of engineering specialists in the Roman army is followed by a long digression on technical matters, on construction techniques and materials such as stone, mortar, wood, etc. The connection to the Roman army here often is not clear. For example, in the context of construction techniques, the Basilica of Maxentius, the Pantheon and the baths of Caracalla in Rome are touched upon, impressive buildings indeed; but what do these tell us about the Roman military? Also, in the sub-chapter on 'Tiles and Bricks' E. treats the Romano-Celtic entrepreneur Cabriabanus, active in fabricating tiles in the region of Kent – an interesting person, yes;[1] but where are the relations to the Roman army? Following up, Chapter 5 describes 'The Great Construction Projects', namely roads, canals, bridges and water conduits. Most of the chapter, though, is devoted to fortification building, mainly regarding the origin and transport of building material in Roman Britain.

[1] On Cabriabanus, see also M. Davis, 'Cabriabanus – A Romano-British Tile Craftsman in Kent'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 124 (2004), 163–82.

Up to now, even for those not particularly acquainted with the issue as specialists like myself, the book hardly tells usl anything really new. To do so, E. in the last two chapters on 'The Roman Military and Industry' and 'The Roman Military and Agriculture' narrows down his narrative to Roman-period Kent. Here he renews his view, developed elsewhere, that Roman Britain experienced 'a first industrial revolution' (p. 91). Historians of the modern period in particular may question the appropriateness of this term for pre-industrial society, particularly when E. states that 'the output of the quarries' in the Weald was 'clearly industrial (in the modern sense of the word)' (p. 113). Anyway, the analysis of iron industries in the Weald as well as in the upper Medway valley is supposed to provide 'a template for others … going forward' (p. 91) with regard to the Roman army's active role in the Roman economy. E. here suggests that these 'industries' were run by the *Classis Britannica*; at this point he is cautious enough to emphasise that there is no direct evidence. The last chapter on agriculture traces less the military as running agriculture than its function in demanding agricultural products.

As might have become apparent, this book may partly be characterised as a *collage*, not always presenting a comprehensive picture. The main problem of the book is its own claim. While regional and local studies are indubitably essential, it is a matter of debate whether the functioning of the Roman empire as a whole can be explained by using the example of one region. Thus, it may be asked, to what extent the insights gained from Kent in particular and Roman Britain in general can be considered a model for other regions of the empire, especially the eastern Mediterranean. Regrettably, in *Empire State* we hardly find extensive discussion of current views or deeper analysis of evidence. On the contrary: occasionally papyri from the East and inscriptions are mentioned, but primarily when they suit the author's thoughts and mostly without any references. Besides, E. often quotes modern authors, chiefly to underscore his own views; however, an argument by authority is no argument. A further shortcoming is the lack of indexes. Finally, in the bibliography we find only two titles in languages other than English. Although it often seems to be rather pretentious when reviewers indicate works not quoted in a volume, here too many titles are absent, also in English, which could have sharpened the author's ideas.[2] After all, in his conclusion E. suggests that in the Roman empire the military should not be interpreted as the 'other'. This aspect could serve as an analytically useful starting point for further research and a discussion on the role of the military in the Roman worlds.

Saarbrücken, Germany Ulf Scharrer

[2] To name just a very few: B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford 1992), quoting also Talmudic literature; A. Gebhardt, *Imperiale Politik und provinziale Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiser, Heer und Städten im Syrien der vorseverischen Zeit* (Berlin 2002); the works of Y. Le Bohec, *Histoire de l'Afrique romaine* (Paris 2005), *Le armée romaine en Afrique et en Gaule* (Stuttgart 2007) and *L'armée romain sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 2006), all with interesting chapters on the Roman army in non-combat contexts. Furthermore the relevant papers in A. Eich (ed.), *Die Verwaltung der kaiserzeitlichen römischen Armee* (Stuttgart 2010) and especially L. de Blois and E. Lo Cascio (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC–AD 476)* (Leiden/Boston 2007). Also A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2000).

K.G. Evers, *Worlds Apart Trading Together: The Organisation of Long-Distance Trade between Rome and India in Antiquity*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 32, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, vii+213 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-742-5

Kasper Evers's *Worlds Apart Trading Together* offers a useful addition to the growing corpus of scholarship on commercial links between the Mediterranean world and polities connected by the Indian Ocean in the early centuries of the 1st millennium AD. The steadily expanding body of epigraphic, papyrological and archaeological evidence has necessitated that new studies be undertaken to understand the operation of these long-distance trade networks and how the movement of goods, peoples and ideas consequently impacted on various societies (like the Roman empire and the polities of Early Historic India) in socio-economic and intellectual terms. With some exceptions, most scholars currently working on the subject of ancient Indian Ocean trade, E. included (p. 176), do not subscribe to a Finley-esque 'primitivist' view which marginalises the significance of long-distance exchange (assuming that markets were fragmented and weak, and that most of the goods traded were merely superfluous luxuries largely confined to the elite).[1]

E. rightly outlines the ways in which this long-distance exchange touched the lives of a great many people. As he declares at the beginning of the monograph, the focus of his work is not so much a general examination of 'what has traditionally been called Indo-Roman trade', but rather an analysis of the organisations that made 'exchange possible in the first place, namely networks, diaspora and associations' (p. 1). In order to do this he provides a number of specific case studies looking at the trade in its entirety – not merely distribution, but production, transport and consumption in the period between 30 BC and the end of the 6th century AD. He adopts a 'bottom-up' approach, which seeks to emphasise the experiences of the producers, merchants and craftsmen; attempting to look at, where possible, 'their own words' (as found in inscriptions, papyri and graffiti), as well as what archaeology can tell us about their activities (p. 7).

In this vein, two of the most interesting parts of this book, to my mind, are Chapters 4 and 8. The former provides a discussion of *collegia*/associations and the role played by many of their members in the processing and retailing of Eastern goods within the Roman empire (making good use of epigraphic evidence). Additionally, this chapter presents a good topographical overview of the various locations in the city of Rome where traders, retailers and craftsmen (such as the *aurifices*, *anularii*, *gemmari* and *margaritarii*) were based. Chapter 8 parallels this by considering the (primarily inscriptional and literary) evidence for Indian associations/organisations (*shreni*, *vanji*, *navika* and *nigamas*) involved in the production, acquisition or creation of various goods like carved ivories, textiles, pearls, pepper and precious stones, and their transport and exchange.

[1] For example, S.E. Sidebotham, in his work *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* (Berkeley 2011), 249–51, has noted that spices and aromatics were utilised for a wide array of social functions in the Roman empire and reached quite far down the socio-economic scale. By contrast, R. Gurukkal, in his recent *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade: Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations* (New Delhi 2016), could be seen to marginalise the significant of 'Indo-Roman' trade links, at least for the polities of the Tamilakam (far south of Peninsular India).

This book is structured as follows: a short Introduction, two 'introductory' chapters, six main chapters, and a Conclusion. Chapter 1, the first of the introductory chapters, provides a brief historiographic review of scholarship on 'Indo-Roman' trade, including a critique of previous 'Romano-centric' biases with regards to the treatment of the evidence (p. 5). The second introductory chapter lays out the 'bottom-up' approach taken in the book and gives a qualified critique of New Institutional Economics, emphasising the point that 'specific historical conditions should take precedence over assumptions about transaction costs' (p. 10).

Chapter 3 provides a useful contextual discussion of the importance of *collegia* and *corpora* in the Roman world, as well as the development of a fashion for using imported Indian carved ivories as finishings for Roman furniture (as possibly exemplified by the Indian ivory figure found at Pompeii). Chapter 4, as already noted, develops the discussion on the importance of *collegia* and the topography of certain retailing and craft activities in the city of Rome. Chapter 5 examines the diffusion of Eastern goods both across the provinces of the Roman empire but also down the socio-economic scale, re-asserting the point, noted recently by several scholars (Young 2001; McLaughlin 2010; Sidebotham 2011; Van der Veen 2011; Purcell 2016; etc.)[2] that Eastern products, particularly certain spices and aromatics, could have been purchased by a fairly wide segment of the population, at least occasionally and in small quantities. The cumulative effect of these numerous small purchases having a significant economic and social impact.

The focus of discussion shifts in Chapter 6 to the role of networks and diaspora in the functioning of long-distance exchange between the Mediterranean world and the East. This includes an examination of the potential involvement of wealthy Italian families in this trade. Two important loan contracts are also reviewed: the Ptolemaic era loan contract to the Spice-Bearing Land (*SB* III, 7169) and the mid-2nd century AD 'Muziris Papyrus' (*P. Vindob* G 40822). In the case of the latter, E. (partially) criticises both Morelli's and De Romanis's recent reconstructions of the papyrus' verso.[33] Furthermore, E. argues that neither of the contracts should be seen as a standard maritime loan. Chapter 7 moves the focus beyond the empire, looking at commercial networks and certain hubs like the island of Socotra and the port of Qana' (probably the Kane of the *Periplus Maris Eythraei*, near modern Bir 'Alī). Chapter 8, as outlined above, examines associations/organisations in India (primarily focusing on the Deccan and the Tamilakam) connected to the acquisition, crafting, transporting and trading of various products.

A few relatively trivial issues might be raised with this monograph, such as the occasional inconsistency in the placement of AD either before or after reference to a specific date. It

[2] G.K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC–AD 305* (London 2001); R. McLaughlin, *Rome and the Distance East* (London 2010); Sidebotham (as in n. 1); M. Van der Veen, *Consumption, Trade and Innovation: Exploring the Botanical Remains from the Roman and Islamic Ports at Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt* (Frankfurt 2011); N. Purcell, 'Unnecessary Dependences: Illustrating Circulation in Pre-Modern Large-Scale History'. In J. Belich *et al.* (eds.), *The Prospect of Global History* (Oxford 2016), 65–79.

[3] F. Morelli, 'Dal Mar Rosso ad Alessandria: II *Verso* (ma anche il *recto*) del 'papiro di Muziris' (SB XVIII 13167)'. *Tyche* 26 (2011), 199–233; F. De Romanis, 'Playing Sudoku on the Verso of the 'Muziris Papyrus': Pepper, Malabathron and Tortoise Shell in the Cargo of the *Hermapollon*'. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 27 (2012), 75–101.

might also have been worth incorporating a topographic map of the city of Rome in Chapter 4. However, such criticisms are very minor and do not meaningfully detract from the quality of E.'s work. Seven colour maps, based on Google Earth, are provided at the end of the book, while a few useful photographs and sketches are incorporated into Chapters 3 and 8. There is no index at the end of the monograph, but the use of sub-headings (also listed in the contents page) helps the reader search the text for specific topics.

In summary, *Worlds Apart Trading Together* offers a good complement to the existing academic literature in the field of ancient Indian Ocean trade and is certainly worth reading for those interested in this subject, as well as those with a broader interest in economic history.

University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter Matthew Adam Cobb

M.L. Ferruzza, *Ancient Terracottas from South Italy and Sicily in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2016, viii+243 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-60606-486-3

This volume is the second in a series that aims to make the collection of Greek, Roman and Etruscan art at the Getty Villa accessible as both a traditional print publication and an interactive, web-based catalogue (the latter available to the public free of charge). Its particular focus is a selection of 60 figural terracottas, painstakingly studied by Maria Lucia Ferruza, and lavishly illustrated in colour. The objects were purchased on the art market after 1970, a fact that is noted, but neither explored nor problematised in any significant manner.

The book opens with a short foreword by the director of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Timothy Potts, in which he identifies as one of the catalogue's goals the promotion of innovative approaches to the dissemination of research. The on-line version of the catalogue is certainly innovative, not least because it is a generous showcase of often-overlooked objects. High-resolution, zoomable pictures can be down-loaded, and in some cases rotated 360 degrees. The reader is further able to filter the catalogue's text by location, typology, date range and group, down-load its object data, and make use of an interactive map that shows the proposed provenance of the terracottas, and links to the Getty's Thesaurus of Geographic Names and to Pleiades. For the scholar who may not have direct contact with these objects, the thorough recording and the ease of its access are invaluable.

A second objective of the catalogue is to facilitate the interaction of readers with the works on display at the museum, and one may easily imagine it enriching the experience of a thoughtful visitor to the Getty Villa. F. offers a clear and succinct introduction where she clarifies the objectives and limits of her study. The selection of 60 terracottas span the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, and are attributed to workshops in southern Italy and Sicily based on their clay, style and acquisition history. It is meant to represent the most significant and distinctive typologies extant in the Getty's collection of over a thousand examples, and includes large-scale sculpture, as well as smaller figurines, terracotta reliefs and altars. The unique and captivating terracottas, as F. herself acknowledges, are perhaps most valuable as they reveal the preferences of modern collectors.

A section on classification, where F. outlines the rationale behind the organisation of the catalogue, follows the Introduction. The entries are ordered first by region and site, and

then by use context, even though most attributions are, by necessity, conjectural. A short summary of the most recent scholarship concerning the techniques involved in the production of terracotta figurines and sculpture follows, which those unfamiliar with coroplastic studies should find helpful.

The catalogue proper takes up the bulk of the publication. Each of the 60 entries is prefaced with a full-page, high-resolution image – some entries include alternative angles as well – making for a very handsome volume. The illustrations are an important contribution, as they do justice to the terracottas' tangibility, and give sense to what are often murky discussions of fabric and construction technique. Beginning with the customary objective data (fabric description, dimensions, state of preservation and object bibliography), each entry also includes a note on provenance that indicates a concise acquisition history for the terracotta in question. A short discussion addressing iconography, possible dating and comparable materials follows. It should be noted that most of the cited comparanda are drawn from the conventionally understood 'major' arts, underscoring coroplastics' subordinate position in traditional scholarship. While not an entirely objectionable approach, it can minimise the fact that figural terracottas tended to follow their own traditions in manufacture and stylistic development, and that as such they need not only be approached as miniaturised or cheaper versions of works in other media.

The catalogue is at its most interesting when it follows the entries for single objects with fuller, critical examinations of groups. Such essays are offered for a group depicting a seated poet accompanied by sirens, for representative heads and busts of the Taranto region, for a group of statues of mourning women from Canosa, for a pair of seated Eros, and, last of all, for a pair of altars depicting the myth of Adonis. It is here that the care and respect that F. has for these objects comes through most clearly, and it is these sections that will likely prove most useful to visitors to the Villa, who might get more enjoyment out of the objects on display if these are given meaningful contexts.

That those contexts are mostly hypothetical might prove problematic for some. F. is transparent in her investigation, and forthright about its limitations; she justifies her approach by noting that to do less would further reduce terracotta sculpture to trivial ornament. Her careful and detailed reconstructions, however, tend to de-emphasise the very real loss of an archaeological context, one that no amount of conscientious research and shrewd analysis can rescue. That is not to say that there is no value in this type of work – for the specialist, the information that can be gleaned from the objects themselves, for example, the thorough investigation into their production techniques and materials, should prove beneficial – but that a better balance between fact and conjecture needs to be struck in its presentation. F. wished to facilitate comparisons and connections with provenanced materials, and this is something that can certainly still happen.

The catalogue is capped by an annotated, and partially illustrated, list of the full collection of South Italian and Sicilian terracottas at the J. Paul Getty Museum. Composed by Claire Lyons, the clear and useful guide is an excellent supplement to what is already a thorough and beautiful publication. One laments, however, that it is largely unprovenanced terracottas that received this careful treatment, whereas systematically excavated collections continue to have a difficult time securing funding for such state-of-the-art presentations.

Santiago, Chile Frances Gallart Marqués

D. Fishwick, *Precinct, Temple and Altar in Roman Spain: Studies on the Imperial Monuments at Mérida and Tarragona*, Ashgate, Farnham/Burlington, VT 2017, xxx+301 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4724-1265-2

Precinct, Temple and Altar in Roman Spain is the posthumous book by Duncan Fishwick (1929–2015), arguably the worldwide authority in everything concerning the Roman Imperial cult in general but especially regarding the cult in the western part of the empire.

This book is divided into five chapters that include a large number of illustrations to guide the reader while following the intense but easy to read prose.

The introduction sets the state of the art in the archaeological research at Mérida and Tarraco, while also introducing that on the Imperial cult in the West, where, according to F., 'Rome had to create the cult of the emperor *de novo*' (p. 1).

Chapter II deals with the exploration during the last decade in the area of the modern Plaza de la Constitución and Calle Holguín in Mérida, especially the discovery of a podium of what seemed to be a large and peculiar temple. This has been interpreted, due to the size of the podium and the overall remains, including the known 'Arco de Trajano', as the provincial forum in Emerita. Such an area, located on the north-west side of the Roman town and along the Cardo Maximo, would have consisted of a rectangular plaza with a portico on three sides, entered through a monumental gate whose remains are the aforementioned 'Arco'. It was a surprise to find that the temple, dated in the Tiberian period (*ca.* AD 25), seemed to be a copy of the Aedes Concordiae in Rome and this opened a number of very interesting questions that F. tries to answer. Thus, during the Julio-Claudian period, Augusta Emerita underwent a massive monumentalisation to exalt Roman power (p. 127) by creating a provincial forum, including an exceptional temple with close ties to Roman parallels, as was the case in other capitals such as Tarraco, Narbo or Camulodunum.

Chapter III, entitled 'The Location, Date and Archaeological Context of the 'Temple of Augustus' at Tarraco' focuses mainly on presenting and contextualising the results of the geophysical survey carried out in the last decade under the cathedral and their relation with other recent archaeological results. All of this is interpreted in the light of the news from the epigraphy, coins and the Latin texts regarding the Imperial cult. The excavations in the lower colonial forum of Tarragona showed quite clearly the non-existence of any temple related to the cult there. In the upper terrace, however, excavation has revealed the existence, at least from Flavian times, of a large representative enclosure, with several civic areas, like a circus, a representation plaza, where a large number of statues might have been located and finally a *temenos* that might enclose a large temple. F. argues its Julio-Claudian concept and origin. Recent geophysical exploration has unveiled the presence of a large podium under the mediaeval cathedral. Following the excavators, F. concludes that such a podium could only be related to the disputed 'Temple of Augustus'. Based on Tacitus' account that this 'set an example to all the provinces' and numismatic iconography, F. concludes that such a temple had a provincial rather than municipal character (pp. 152–58). A number of questions still remain open, as for instance the existence of an 'Axial Hall' at the back of the temple and its possible function that would surely be answered by further archaeological explorations in the future.

Chapters IV and V deal with the controversial existence of an altar devoted to Providentia at Augusta Emerita. While the other chapters are based on sound proofs derived

from the archaeological excavations that have given support to several hypotheses flowing from the literary, iconographic or numismatic evidence, here matters are rather more speculative. The existence of the altar seems to be based solely on the appearance of a number of coins with the reading of PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTI with an *ara* on them and the presence of similar *ara* at other sites (such as Lugdunum). A number of fragmentary remains have been interpreted as possibly belonging to an actual altar to Providentia in Emerita. All is rather speculative and F. is explicit about this; but especially in Chapter V, it is argued that a possible location for it would be the recently proposed Forum Adiectum, perhaps as a side monument of a possible temple that could have stood there.

One interesting point of discussion through the book is the role played by the Roman authorities in promoting the Imperial cult. According to F., this was not just an imposition but a negotiation, trying to find previous institutions, local beliefs and traditional practices that might be accommodated into the cult. It is significant, however, that the particular action of high ranking individuals in promoting the cult is clearly highlighted. In Emerita, F. focuses on the role played by L. Fulcinius Trio, the governor of Lusitania for this period, as promotor of the monumentalisation and perhaps even the inception of the cult in Emerita. This seems rather a process clearly instigated from the centre than a spontaneous initiative as in the East. For Tarraco, although the role played by the provincial governor is also highlighted by comparison with what was previously maintained from Lusitania, no further proofs exist of such guidance of the embassy of the *hispani* in AD 15. In any case, according to F. this might pose a top-down movement for the promotion of the cult in the West, significantly different from that in the East, where a long standing tradition of ruler cults was present at the time of Augustus, and therefore the promotion of the cult seemed rather bottom-up. However, F. does not seem to ascribe further importance to the possible contradiction between that top-down promotion of the cult with that negotiation mentioned above to accommodate the cult to previous institutions, local beliefs or traditional practices. To achieve this, the Roman authorities had to have a degree of agreement (at least) with the local elite, something not explored in this book at all.

The idea of the three-layered representative space in the upper terrace of Tarragona would be 'the most ambitious project of its kind in the Latin west' (p. 183), according to F., and would be designed to convey the grandeur and power of Rome. The parallels in other similar spaces may tell us about a rather standardised monumentalisation, where gods and emperors were in the upper layer, the notables and administration were in the middle, and the people in the lower one. It would be highly interesting to explore to what extend this scheme extends to other areas both in the West and East.

In summary, this is a very well-edited book (a small number of important typographical mistakes should be amended in any second edition: on p. 163, fig. 78 is supposed to show a view of the *horreum* below the circus but instead the figure shows the image of fig. 84; or in the lengthy and exhaustive references that to Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdan 2002 has the wrong pages). As F. states, the book will serve very well to give students and scholars a clear picture of the state of affairs regarding civic areas possibly related to the Imperial cult in Emerita and Tarraco. In this sense it will be introductory and compulsory reading for anyone wishing to become acquainted with developments in these two towns. The hypotheses presented, especially those related to the speculative altar to Providentia Augusti, will only be confirmed or disproved by further excavations, but it is a

nice example of how the mixture of historical sources (archaeological, literary, iconographic, epigraphic and numismatic) can be used to present new and enticing interpretations.

Institute of Heritage Sciences,
Spanish National Research Council
A. César González-García

T. Fögen and R. Warren (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Antiquity and the Idea of Nationalism in the 19th Century: Case Studies*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, vii+305 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-047178-6

This collaborative volume is an outgrowth of an interdisciplinary conference organised by the editors at Durham University (the trading name of the University of Durham); half the chapters were presentations there, the other half specially commissioned. Overall, a dozen papers mainly contemplating England/Britain, France and Germany, but also 'Arminius in Bohemia: Two Uses of Tacitus in Czech Art' (Richard Warren) and 'Classical Translations and Strands of Irish Nationalism' (Laurie O'Higgins). Generally, one finds art and nationalism a fascinating combination, often fascinating in its awfulness. There are, however, old nations, often to be found in or off north-western Europe, and 19th-century (re)inventions, simulacra and impostures (playing with the idea in Danubia or the Balkans at the risk of burning down the house).

The editors set out their stall in the introductory chapter, admitting that nationalism is not susceptible to easy description and eschewing the attempt (so we are spared another battle in the terminology wars). They conclude with a set of 'key questions' and the remark of Gilbert Highet that 'Every age finds what it wants in the classics' (pp. 12–13). Next comes a commissioned piece from Anthony Smith, emeritus professor of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics (a wise inclusion amidts the classicists, historians, archaeologists, etc.), 'Classical Ideals and the Formation of Modern Nations in Europe' – the neo-classical revival and nation-building, neo-classical ideals, physical expression of them in architecture (Liverpool as much as Munich), sculpture and painting, etc.

Athena Leussi (who has broadened out from art history) contemplates the intertwined and antagonistic Hellenisms of England (or is it Britain?), France and Germany in 'Making Nations in the Image of Greece', following from the outset Hans Kohn's distinction between 'Western' (civic) and 'Eastern' (ethnic) nationalisms. Tim Rood ponders 'Napoleon and National Identity after Waterloo', Edmund Richardson turns to Napoleon III and his *History of Julius Caesar* (1865), then Rosemary Barrow investigates 'Militarism, Masculinity and National Identity in Victoria Britain', Richard Hingley 'Victorian and Edwardian Images of the Building of Roman Fortifications' and Warren (again) 'Henry Courteney Selous' Boadicea…'. Christopher Krebs and Michael Sommer tackle Germany.

If Smith had used the Clayton-Dobson-Grainger neo-classical redevelopment of the centre of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,[1] he would have had a direct link to Hingley's contribution,

[1] L. Wilkes and G. Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson and Clayton* (London 1964).

in which William Bell Scott's 'Building of the Roman Wall', commissioned by the Trevelyans of Wallington, just north of the Wall, for their central hall, has a prominent place. (Scott's 1857 series of paintings for Wallington takes us from Hadrian to George Stephenson.) John Clayton, possibly depicted as the centurion, was indeed a landowner, antiquarian, purchaser of Chesters (*sic*) and other forts, as Hingley remarks, but he was also a classically-educated prominent solicitor from the family that furnished Newcastle with a dynasty of town clerks; he held the office for 45 years, slightly longer than his father (as the old guard at the University of Durham, before it entered trade, would have known, and would have suggested the connection to Smith).

While the index entry for Lord Shaftesbury is exemplary, that for 'Lord Horatio Nelson', not decribed as such in the text, is woeful; the two entries derive from the same paragraph. A few howlers: Wellington Hall (p. 173); H.M. Stationary Office (p. 197)!

The cover suggests that the 19th century was a turbulent period in European history. Rather less so than the following, when, to modify what Ernest Bevin said in another context, 'If you open up that Pandora's box, you never know what Trojan horses will jump out.'

Leeds, UK James Hargrave

C. Föller and F. Schulz (eds.), *Osten und Westen 400–600 n. Chr.: Kommunikation, Kooperation und Konflikt*, Roma Æterna 4, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 316 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10942-0

The overall theme of this volume is the cultural disintegration of the Roman empire after the division of sovereignty in AD 395. Its 15 articles focus on four fields in which this development can be observed, fields which also determine the ordering criteria of the volume: the construction of identity through education in a time of political and cultural instability; the perceptions of the Roman East and West in a non-Roman world; the communication problems between East and West; and questions of wars and conflicts. A shorter fifth part is devoted to methodological perspectives.

In the first part, entitled 'Identitätskonstruktion. Abgrenzung vom Westen durch *paideia*?' (Identity Construction. Demarcation from the West through *paideia*?), the papers show how Greek intellectuals of the 4th century defined their place in an unstable cultural and political environment. Jan Stenger's contribution (pp. 17–36) demonstrates that Libanius, Himerius and Themistius were convinced to be representatives of the true *paideia* which, in their view, was bound to Greek language and culture. Therefore, they could not find a way to identify themselves with the concerns of the Latin West (and its political and cultural representatives) and those of the whole empire. Matthias Becker comes to similar conclusions regarding Eunapius' *Vitae philosophorum et sophistarum* (pp. 37–53): the author separates his idealised intellectual ideal from the Christians, from pagan opponents with defective education and from the, in his view, uneducated Romans of the West. Oliver Schelske, on the other hand, identifies simultaneous opposing trends (pp. 55–73): an awareness of a common political and cultural heritage existing with Western and Eastern pagan thinkers and an accompanying clear decline in the understanding of each other.

In the second part, 'Wahrnehmung des anderen. Außenperspektiven auf Ost und West' (Views of the Other. External Perspectives on [the Roman] East and West), Hans-Werner Goetz examines the sporadic references to Byzantium in the works of the Frankish historians Gregory of Tours and Fredegar (pp. 77–98). The empire in the East does not appear for its own sake, but as a model: not as a negative foil for Frankish identity, but as a model for Christian ethical narrative *exempla*. Christian Stadermann shows (pp. 99–116), on the example of the reception of the Battle of Vouillé, that a – religiously charged – all-Frankish identity was only gradually connected to it and the victor Clovis. Finally, Dimitrij Bumazhnov analyses, unfortunately at a somewhat too low historical depth, the transformation of the 'Church of the East's' views of the Christian East Roman and Byzantine West between the 4th and 8th centuries AD (pp. 117–32): from the positive opinion of Aphrahat in the 4th century to views in which the western neighbour appears, for political and religious reasons and to find one's own place in the world, as a 'breeding ground of heresies', the Sasanian king as a religious guardian.

In the third part, 'Gelingende, misslingende und fehlende Kommunikation. Päpste und Bischöfe und der Osten' (Successful, Failing and Missing Communication: Popes and Bishops and the East), ways of contact by clerics of the East and West are discussed. Fabian Schulz, with the example of the Church Fathers Augustine and Hieronymus, makes it clear that both remained clearly attached to the West, that their views of the East were too often reduced to stereotypes, and that the empire's unity was only recalled when, as in the case of the Pelagian controversy, both aimed at appealing to the bishops of the East (pp. 135–55). Sebastian Scholz also reveals the lack of communication with the example of the letters of the Roman bishop Simplicius: the papal fixation on Constantinople as a supplier of messages and an addressee clearly limited the possibilities of the pontifex (pp. 157–71). Carola Föller argues for a re-evaluation of the dispute between Gregory the Great and the Patriarch of Constantinople on the latter's adoption of the title 'ecumenical patriarch' at the end of the 6th century AD (pp. 173–90): in her view, the cause of the dispute was not a simple misinterpretation by Gregory but the fact that 'conceptions of humility' and 'the conflict culture' (p. 173) differed in East and West.

The fourth part ('Krieg und Konflikt. Ost und West im Vergleich' [War and Conflict, East and West in Comparison]) is devoted to military aspects of the overall theme. Guido Berndt examines the structural changes to which the 'community of violence' (*Gewaltgemeinschaft*) of Theodoric the Great's warriors was subjected from the 470s onwards (pp. 193–213). It was only after the expedition to Italy that the livelihood of this group was put on a firm foundation by the income from taxes and levies. It replaced the then-decisive sources of income such as booty, protection money, annual funds and ransoms, and the group of warriors was transformed into a standing army. David Jäger tries (pp. 215–37), with the help of the 'interpretation tool' (*Deutungswerkzeug*) of 'the way of life of a warrior' (*Kriegermodus*) (acquisition of goods and resources through plunder), to analyse anew the 'Hunnish' social structures and 'Hunnish' behaviour in the field on the one hand, the military operations of the Visigothic king Euric in the *civitas* Clermont on the other. The author rightly refers to the fact that older concepts (such as that of the 'Germanic continuity' [*der germanischen Kontinuität*]) had misled and that the *Kriegermodus* was not to be misunderstood as a constant of people's daily lives in the European Middle Ages. Nevertheless, Jäger's approach is still incomplete to be used as a more advanced analytical tool. Anne

Poguntke examines the influence of the *magistri militum praesentales* in East and West by the example of the *Heermeister* Stilicho and Gainas, whose scope of action was not least determined by their communication with the emperor (pp. 239–62). Finally, Katharina Enderle shows why in the short reign of the non-orthodox usurper Basiliscus in the years 475 and 476, end-time expectations were concentrated (pp. 263–77).

In the methodological fifth part, Tobias Schöttler writes about the conditions of communicative understanding (pp. 281–99), and Uwe Walter points to future fields of research within the overall theme (pp. 301–05): the question of the materiality of communication; the comparative view of the preceding phase of homogeneity (the period of the High Principate), which itself had its own preconditions; the role of the Church(es) in the process of the disintegration of the cultural and political links between the eastern and western parts of the empire; the question of the super-personal and cross-situational conditions of homogeneity and dissociation.

In summary, it should be emphasised that the book provides many valuable insights and an abundance of suggestions for future research on a period in which alienation, mistrust and prejudices increasingly determined the people of the West's and the people of the East's mutual views of each other's culture, way of living, etc. This praise holds true, even if the volume mainly contains specialised studies on the disintegration of the Roman empire, renounces a cultural and political-social differentiation of the 'East' and the 'West', and does not always make fair mention of the concrete political backgrounds to the breakdowns of communication and the actors' and authors' own experiences of conflicts and crises.

Institute of Classics, University of Kiel Josef Wiesehöfer

N. Fröhlich, *Bandkeramische Hofplätze: Artefakte der Keramikchronologie ober Abbild sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Strukturen?*, Frankfurter Archäoligische Schriften/Frankfurt Archaeological Studies 33, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2017, xix+682 pp., illustrations (some in colour) + CD. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-4012-3

This book is a doctoral thesis successfully submitted to the University of Frankfurt am Main in December 2015. It is concerned with material from two Early Neolithic settlements in western Germany: Schwanfeld in the district of Schweinfurt, north-east of Würzburg, on higher ground above the River Main, and Langweiler in the district of Düren on higher ground to the west of the Rhine, the location of open cast mining for the lignite (brown or soft coal) which supplies the power station of Weisweiler that dominates the Autobahn from Cologne as it approaches Aachen, mining which has removed roads and villages and left a blank area on maps. The present volume is financially supported by the archaeology foundation of the Rheinische Braunkohlenrevier.

Schwanfeld was excavated in 1978–80 by Jens Lüning and Pieter Modderman and published by Lüning in 1984. Langweiler was excavated between 1971 and 1981 and Langweiler 8, the part of the settlement studied in the present volume, was published by Ulrich Boelicke *et al.* in 1988. The linear band pottery from these settlements has been studied by Maria Cladders, and gives a chronological sequence for their habitation.

The present volume presents a detailed analysis of the material found and published from these excavations. In addition to the pottery which provides the essential chronological foundation, along with radiocarbon dating, Nico Fröhlich considers flint (both finished products

and debris from their manufacture), stone tools, animal and plant remains. This study is presented by the processes of statistical analysis as a tool of archaeological investigation.

Schwanfeld is the oldest example of Early Neolithic in this area and dates from 5500 to 5300 BC. The settlement comprises a number of substantial rectangular huts, timber framed with internal supports. Langweiler 8 is later, and dates to 5300 to 5000 BC, with similar rectangular huts.

The huts are quite substantial; those at Schwanfeld considered in the present study measure up to 27 m in length. They are not simple rectangles, but have narrower prolongations at either end. The Langweiler huts are similar in size.

The material discovered comes not only from the huts but also from external pits associated with them. The first publication of them assumed that the huts would have lasted for around 25 years, a 'hut generation', and would then have been replaced. The huts studied at Schwanfeld appear to be in organised rows, with each hut as it falls into decay replaced by another erected alongside, it was originally suggested. F., however, suggests a less regular system, with the replacement huts at a distance, and with the intervening space subsequently filled with another hut. At Langweiler the placing is completely irregular, with no sign of the rows found at Schwanfeld. Instead, they appear to be arranged in groups, with a specific area for each group, and the orientation of successive huts in any one group completely unregulated.

In the present volume the different categories of finds are analysed in a developed and formal statistical procedure, which is the essential presentation of the study. The pottery is divided into decorated and undecorated categories and analysed, where possible, by types. Then the flints as tools, arrowheads etc. Flint was imported to the settlements, from some distance, and the various sources are identified. Stone, obviously, could be more economically found locally. Animal bones come from both domesticated and wild animals, a small number identified as pig, sheep or goat, but the vast majority indeterminate. Wild animals, hunted for their flesh, comprise aurochs, roebuck, red deer and wild boar, plus, hunted for their pelts, beaver and (one or two examples only) pine martens and pole cat, though again the vast number of bones were indeterminate. Evidence for cultivated plants comprised emmer wheat, lentils and barley, the remains of grain being mostly carbonised.

The great virtue of this study is the way it makes clear the groupings – through time – of the separate huts as economic and, in the widest sense, long term family units. It needs to be taken in conjunction with the more conventional elements of an archaeological report; the reader would be hard put to form an understanding of the sequences within the pottery fabric since there is not a single illustration of form and decoration and their evolution over the time studied. The non-statistician (like your reviewer) risks being bewildered by the immense sequence of lists, tables and statistical graphs – and will rely more on the concluding 'syntheses' of each locality and its section. Wider implications are shown; links with contemporary settlement forms and patterns, specifically with those to the east of the areas here presented, and the corresponding dearth of links to the west. The use of flint material imported from some distance shows that even in these earliest stages of the development of European civilisation links over some distance were not only possible but necessary. Taken in conjunction with the related excavation and material reports, this volume is a most valuable study of the root beginning of what can fairly be termed European civilisation.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

L. Gallo and B. Genito (eds.), *«Grecità di frontiera»: Frontiere geografiche e culturali nell'evidenza storica e archeologica*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale Università degle Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale», Napoli, 5–6 giugno 2014, Studi di Storia greca e romana 14, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2017, ix+242 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-6274-811-7

The diffusion of 'Greekness' through colonisation and trade has long been a subject of fascination and puzzlement for scholars, ranging as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and far north and south. The papers of this conference visit most of the geographical range.

A. Avram considers the effects of the Persian invasion of Thrace, especially at the Aphrodite temple at Istros. G.R. Tsetskhladze, gives a good review of the evidence for Greek and Persian presence around the Black Sea. A.M. d'Onofrio considers the varieties of eastern and Greek textile decoration, an elusive subject dependent more on art than *realia*. M. Corsaro reviews the evidence for government in pre-Hellenistic Lycia, rather a jumble of minor states. S. Gallotta looks at Caracene on the Persian Gulf in the 2nd century BC. L. Boffo tackles a long-popular subject – the 'Greekness' of the city at Aï Khanum in ethnic and cultural terms. L. Gallo looks at Greeks and Greekness in India. B. Genito considers the nature of Scythian culture in eastern Europe and around the Black Sea: a lengthy discussion of the nature of the evidence from both literature and archaeology. R. Pirelli considers the Egyptian god Min and Greek god Pan in eastern Egypt in the light of inscriptions at Wadi Gesus. Pan's rustic and agricultural associations are particularly chosen to meet the equation. L. Ciscuolo looks at the Greeks in the Thebais including their agricultural settlement and cultural adjustments on both Greek and Egyptian sides.

Overall the subject will always fascinate classicists and others. My conversion from literature to archaeology was effected by a 1947 lecture by Charles Seltman in which he showed us the Greek mercenaries' inscriptions at Abu Simbel.

Woodstock, UK John Boardman

J.D. Grainger, *Great Power Diplomacy in the Hellenistic World*, Routledge, London/New York 2017, viii+264 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-4724-8429-1

In response to the century-old debate shaped by Wilcken, Rostovtzeff, Will and Gruen over whether there was a clear strategy and foreign policy among the Hellenistic dynasties, John Grainger has taken a somewhat different approach to the question by considering whether there was coherent set of 'accepted practices' (p. i) that governed diplomatic interaction in the period. The topic is vast, and G. sets about identifying and examining these guiding practices by considering the origins of Hellenistic diplomacy in Argead Macedon before turning to a series of more specific studies. He leads off with an examination of Antigonos Monophthalmos and a minimalist re-appraisal of royal marriage, before turning to more mechanical concerns of diplomacy between cities and kings through summits and envoys. For the rest of the monograph he analyses 'Diplomacy in Action' in the East (Syrian Wars, Greek mainland, Antiochus III) and the West (Ionian Sea, Rome and Carthage) before tracking the collision of these two spheres with the Roman War of Antiochus III and the subsequent decades of Roman incursion into the East.

G. concludes that there was indeed a Hellenistic diplomatic system that was born of the personal interaction among Alexander's successors, with specific relationships being re-negotiated after the death of a given king. This system of personal agreements, he notes, by and large worked quite effectively, and there are no instances of a Seleucid or Ptolemy breaking an oath or reneging on a peace treaty, and that the eastern Mediterranean was rather more peaceful than we may suspect – only 28 years of war took place in Syria over a 150-year period. Cities and federations gradually came to play a part in this diplomatic game as well through subtly orchestrated relationships with monarchs, and the two were not as antagonistic as classical sensibilities would have us believe. The delicate balance of power enabled by this monarchic diplomatic system was overturned and ultimately destroyed by the belligerent aggression of the Romans, whom G. describes as having risen to power in a world that 'more testing and brutal' than the Hellenistic East (p. 248). The Roman system of annual magistrates and senatorial oversight meant that diplomatic settlements could easily be overturned by another authority, and the Romans frequently broke agreements that they themselves had made. In a fairly traditional view of the period, he concludes that the fires of Roman Republican aggression destroyed the Hellenistic world, and gave rise to the Roman Empire.

Those familiar with G.'s work will find many common threads from his other monographs repeated here: the foreign policy of Antiochus III (2002), the Syrian Wars (2010), the mechanisms of the Aitolian League (1999) and the establishment of Seleucid power (1990).[1] In this background many of the chapters listed above have a certain sense of *déjà-lu*, though with fresh diplomatic insights sprinkled throughout. While on the whole the analysis presented by G. is sound and there are some interesting insights to be found in this well-written monograph, there is a great deal about the work as a whole that causes concern to the specialist for its lack of rigour. A four-page bibliography does not seem to be sufficient for a work of this scope, and the cursory, Syme-esque footnotes are far too short given the complex scholarly history of many of the topics G. covers. He seldom engages directly in this scholarly dialogue, which is worrying given the intricacy of the debate: one would have expected that this book would speak directly to Gruen, Harrison, Eckstein and many others, rather than just referring to them *en passant* in some footnotes.

There are some glaring editorial oversights that are, frankly, inexcusable for a press such as Routledge. There is not a single accent(!) in French titles cited, neither in the footnotes nor in the bibliography. There is likewise not a single reference to an Italian work throughout the entire monograph, which is stunning given some of the topics covered – the Cyrenaica, and Bactria, for instance, among many others. German, French and other names are likewise misspelt, 'Holbl' should be 'Hölbl' throughout, likewise 'Worrle' should be 'Wörrle'. Léopold Migeotte's name is misspelt as 'Migotte' throughout, 'Preaux' should be 'Préaux', and 'Morkholm' should be 'Mørkholm', 'Leveque' should be 'Lévêque'. Schmitt's *Staatsverträge* often appears as *Staatsvertrage*, *Tituli 'Asia' Minoris* should be '*Asiae*', '*Inscriptionem*' in *OGIS* should be *'Inscriptiones*', 'für' and 'Epigraphik' are misspelt in the listing of *ZPE*, 'Griechischen' is misspelt in *FGH*, and the list could go on. In a discipline such

[1] *The Roman War of Antiochos the Great* (Leiden 2002); *The Syrian Wars* (Leieden 2010); *The League of the Aitolians* (Leiden 1999); *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (London 1990).

as ours that is so international at its heart and multilingual to its great benefit, these errors and oversights are profoundly disrespectful.

The style of citations is likewise inconsistent in the footnotes. 'Polybios' sometimes appears as 'Polybius' (107, 119, 161, 210, 211), and some titles that are mentioned in the footnotes are not included in the bibliography (Laronde, for instance). There are some factual errors in this as well: the woman from Cyzicus mentioned on p. 36 is Apollonis, wife of Attalus I, not Stratonice wife of Eumenes II and Attalus II, as G. has it. In the same vein, the equation of Laodice IV (p. 47) with the same Laodice who married Antiochus Neos has been tenuous at best since Dittenberger's entries in the *RE*. It was Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, not Miletus, that sent envoys throughout the Greek world after an appearance of Artemis Leucophryene in 211 BC (p. 1). On a larger plane, there are some basic assumptions made quite forcefully by G. that have been called into question by much recent work on the period. The old presumption of civic decline in Greek *poleis* that abounds in this work has been challenged since Wilhelm in 1942[2] and more recently by Gauthier, Mack and Deshours, and one wonders if the 'failure of source material from about 150 BC' (p. 246) described by G. really 'renders it impossible to discuss the diplomatic actions of the next century'. Here, as elsewhere, there is a great deal more with which to work than has made it into this monograph.

Cardiff University Alex McAuley

H.B. Grob, *Die Gartenlandschaft von Pasargadai und ihre Wasseranlagen: Topographischer Befund, Rekonstruktion und achaimenidischer Kontext*, Oriens et Occidens 28, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 270 pp., 112 pp. of plates, 2 maps in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11628-2[1]

While landscape architecture remains the sport of Great Kings, a far more difficult challenge is set for modern scholars: to reveal the traces of these landscapes, determine their development and their influence through time, all without sending oneself aloft in a flight of fantasy (for example, pp. 32, 147, 191–92). Upon the Royal Road trod by Herzfeld, Krefter, Schmidt and Stronach advances Helge Grob in his 2017 contribution on the *Gartenlandschaft* of Pasargadae, based on personal on-site inspection and archival research (including unpublished data) and outfitted with technologies which did not exist during the times of previous investigators. The above represent some of the problems he outlines in his introductory note (pp. 9–15). His will be a reconsideration of all data without the repetition of hypotheses as facts, as I hope to demonstrate in this short consideration.

The first section of his study concerns the garden landscape (pp. 17–154) and the mechanisms which permitted that garden. G. divides his sources in two: primary, i.e. aerial photography (1935/6), satellite (for example 2003), magnetic resonance images (1999 on); and secondary, i.e. on-site inspection and aerial photography, for example Herzfeld (1905 and 1910), Krefter (1928), Stein, Stronach, the 2008 topographic for UNESCO, the joint Iranian-Japanese survey. He emphasises that the recorded landscape be considered before

[2] A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* V (Vienna).

[1] Contents at *http://www.steiner-verlag.de/uploads/tx_crondavtitel/datei-datei/9783515118675_i.pdf.*

and after intensified agricultural activities, with attention paid to the season in which the observations were made. In September 2008 G. conducted his own inspection, paying great attention to smaller water-related structures.

Larger-scale water-related objects and constructions are considered on pp. 40–106. To the south-east of Pasargadae's central sector is the Pulvar, the most dominant and deeply cut feature on the Waterfowl Plain, concerning which G. offers suggestions for further investigation (pp. 52–53). The Central Watercourse, running through the central sector (pp. 52–83), is illustrated on Beilage 1A (satellite and magnetically detected anomalies) and 2 (hypothetical reconstruction). G. proposes a minimal depth of 30 cm, permitting travel in flat-bottomed boats, and perhaps fishing (pp. 82–83). The Westerly Watercourse, west-north-west of the central sector and now difficult to trace in detail (pp. 84–96), was connected in importance with the sacral sector, containing two altars, a terrace construction and stone perimeter. Here, at the time of Cyrus, a sacrifice could be made before both fire and flowing water (p. 96: suggestions for further investigation). The sector surrounding the Cyrus Tomb (pp. 96–106) does not now display Achaemenid-era physical remains suggesting a watercourse, although based on G.'s own examination and an examination of archival images, he suggests the possibility of canal works permitting the presence of water on three sides (pp. 103–05, Taf. 41).

G. devotes pp. 108–46 to the smaller-scale, more precise structures created by the Cyrus-Engineers, with specific attention paid to whether evidence exists for a quadripartite division by canals of the open space before Palace P. Unfortunately such evidence does not at present exist (pp. 131–39): within the area surrounded by the inner canal magnetic resonance imagery indicates only a division along the short side (*cf.* Taf. 49, 50, 66 [to be considered with pp. 105–20; C-I numbering], 87 [hypothetical reconstruction; note the C-I numeration]). However, anomalies detected elsewhere on the site may point to a smaller scale quad-partite (p. 135). All this in no way diminishes the overall majesty of the accomplishment. No archaeobotanical investigations have been conducted on site (p. 147), the exact nature of the vegetation remains difficult to determine. In sum (pp.151–54) Pasargadae is best described as a *Gartenlandschaft*, characterised by its unmistakable design concept: 'intensiv und architektonisch gestaltete "Inseln" in einem weniger intensiv gestalteten und fliessend in die umgebende Landschaft übergehenden Umfeld' (p. 154).

The possible influence of the engineering at Pasargadae on later construction (pp. 155–243) focuses on four sites. Dasht-I Gohar (pp. 154–67) and its environs – a strategic location – can be assigned to the time of Cambyses. While certain structures can be labelled imperial, the arrangement of open space and specifics about the use of water at the site remain uncertain. The layout does reflect Cambyses' taste, it is not Pasargadae in miniature. Susa's topography (pp. 167–81) was reshaped by Darius I to include the elevated Apadana and Royal Villa platforms. How open space was laid out depends upon how the river flowed in Achaemenid times. Susa appears to have been an island (Taf. 108) and there are at least five different areas for use as open space (pp. 174–75) open to investigation. For Persepolis G. offers a summary and illustrations of the various stage of construction (Taf. 113–117). Proposals for open space (pp. 191–204) are summarised; the existence of underground pipes known. But in a site thick with buildings only the region south of *Bauwerk F* might be suitable for the use of open space (Taf. 132, 134, 138). The focus on Babylon (pp. 204–11) is the *Perserbau* – open to access by a restricted group, no evidence at hand for any laid out gardens.

G. then considers Pasargadae in relation to structures on the periphery of the royal residences (pp. 211–43). At Charkhab near the Persian Gulf (pp. 218–25) is an imperial building, the Pavillon, bearing similarities with Palace P, particularly in stone working. There is the possibility of construction under Cyrus, and there remains the necessity to investigate and reconcile on-site appearance with earlier excavation records. Seven km from the central region of Pasargadae is Tang-e Bolaghi 34 (pp. 225–35) whose Pavillon parallels Palaces S and P, although not as grand in scale, and which cannot be fixed securely into either the time of Cyrus or of Darius. Dahan-I Ghulaman in Sistan (pp. 232–43, 6th to 4th[?] century) seems a more promising site, having possessed a more or less developed irrigation systems, with traces of watercourses (Taf. 163) and large scale constructions revealed by magnetic resonance imagery. G. recommends a systematic continuation of excavation.

G. has presented his data in a circumspect and thoroughly documented manner, and ends with the suggestion (pp. 248–49) that systematic investigation of water-related constructions can lead to a better understanding of how open space was utilised. Such will demand an investigation of all archaeological evidence, including hitherto ignored on-site and earlier recorded, but unpublished, data.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

S. Günther, T. Mattern, R. Rollinger, K. Ruffing and C. Schäfter (eds.), *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Witschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 34 [2016], Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 250 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86757-229-3/ISSN 1864-1415

This volume of the *Marburger Beiträge* contains seven articles, as well as book reviews. First, Stephan Seiler's paper is concerned with the region of Trier and its agricultural economy during and after the crises of the second part of the 3rd century AD, when it suffered from the incursions of German tribes from across the Rhine. He considers recent attitudes to this period in the history of the Roman empire, the challenges to the idea that there was in fact an imperial crisis at this time, in favour of a more nuanced 'transformation'. He looks at the literary evidence and the increasingly abundant evidence coming from the excavation of villas (of all types) in the areas surrounding the city of Trier itself. He lists those rural establishments which bear signs of severe destruction, whether they were abandoned, whether they were subsequently revived at least in part. He points to the eventual outcome of a revival of the rural economies, whether from continuity of population or the arrival of newcomers.

This is a considered account and argument for a widespread area. Much of the information is contained in excavation reports in locally-based publications which might not be readily or easily available. It would have been easier to follow if Seiler included plans and other details of these rural establishments, and a map showing the localities as well as the all-important road network which centred on Trier. Though destruction is attested for the villas what is not so clear is damage done to the countryside. Did the incursions also destroy the vineyards of the Mosel, where on visits to Nittel I have enjoyed wine made from the local Elbling variety of grape, supposedly the descendant of the vines planted there in Roman times and which might have supported the splendid villa of Nennig a short distance

further up the river? I am intrigued by the villa at Mehring where in its phase IV Seiler states the walls were given applied decoration of white marble, green diorite and red marble, also found in the contemporary Basilica at Trier itself and which originated from Egypt. Was this acquired by the villa owners in some dubious way? In any case, it is interesting for the fact of its importation to this frontier region from far away.

One error to correct: Seiler twice gives E.M. Wightman's first name as Elisabeth instead of her actual name Edith.

Next Andreas Kakoschke, 'Zwei Agrippinenser an der Rhöne', looks at the funerary inscription *CIL* XIII 2037 found at Lyons, where the restoration of the incompletely preserved penultimate line includes an unexplained gap equivalent to two letters. He proposes an alternative restoration which convincingly fills this lacuna and identifies the names of the individuals concerned, from Cologne (Colonia Agrippinensis), one of whom died at Lyons.

Tong Wu, 'Political Manipulations and Civil Strife', discusses the events in Athens in 415 BC and the risk of religious festivals forming an opportunity for political insurgencies. He looks at this in connection with Aeneas Tacticus' warnings and references to this type of event and his suggestion of ways of avoiding them.

Patrick Reinard, 'Vom Wert der Dinge II', follows up on his previous article in volume 32 (2014) of the *Marburger Beiträge* on judgmental descriptions of articles for sale and trade in the papyrus documents surviving from Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially those contained in private letters, such as 'old' wine, 'best' honey, 'good' grain, 'fine, good' clothes and so on. He now presents, with full papyrological references, a vocabulary of (mostly) critical or highly critical descriptions.

Maria Argyrou-Brand writes on economy and society in the early part of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean, trade in early Aegean history. She approaches this from the standpoint of the archaeological evidence. As archaeological evidence pottery and objects in stone are of critical importance. She assesses the market for pottery in the Late Helladic mainland of Greece, in Late Minoan Crete, at Akrotiri on Thera and finally in Egypt. This is followed by an analysis of stoneware. She then relates all this to the historical and economic context and the nature of the market for 'consumables'. She interprets this in the light of the establishment of markets, the search for profit and the general methodology of exchange, as something which is part of an essential continuity.

Elizabeth Günther's 'Femaleness Matters' looks at the role and status of the Imperial females during the Severan dynasty. She points out the unusual levels of power exercised by the wives and mothers of the Severan emperors, the titles that were bestowed on them even within a military context. She analyses the evidence for this in the coinage, listing the Imperial women for whom coins were struck and the symbolism of the coin types. This is followed by an analysis of the public buildings and temples constructed under the patronage of the Imperial females, again as a statement of their importance. Finally, she looks at the portrait types, in their hairstyle and general depiction. This is a very complete and thorough account.

Finally, Johannes Diethart and Werner Voight consider personal names and references to trade and professions found in Late Byzantine documents belonging to the monasteries of Mt Athos, specifically those terms which are not listed in the established lexicons of the Greek language. These come to a total of some 48 examples. They stand as a very real link between the Classical language and the evolution of Modern Greek. It is interesting to see

how many of the terms listed occur also as family names in modern Greece with the result that this article includes the first occurrence known to me of a reference to YouTube as a source of academic authority.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

J.W. Hanson, *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 18, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+818 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-472-1

This is a bold and important book. At its heart lies a database of nearly 1400 cities, linked to a GIS. Its ambitious aim is to map the urban system of the early Roman empire, paying particular attention to the size and location of each city and the patterns that emerge when they are looked at as a group. Similar projects have been carried out for Early Modern and Mediaeval Europe, for Imperial China and to some extent, by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, for the Greek Mediterranean. This is the first attempt of its kind for Rome. It is an astonishing project to take on as a doctorate, which is how this book originated, within the general ambit of the Oxford Roman Economy Project (OXREP). The results and details of the design will be controversial, and not all its conclusions will convince every reader. But the challenge it poses can be ignored by no-one interested in Roman urbanism. For this Hanson deserves our congratulations and thanks.

H.'s work rests on a great labour of data-collection. He has used written *testimonia*, but has done so more critically than most, and he has controlled it with a vast mass of archaeological data. The analysis rests on urban geography models such as Central Place Theory and he cites many classics in that field. There is reference to the work of de Vries and other historians of European urbanism. These methods and comparanda might be supplemented of course, for example with more on palaeo-environments, or with the kind of comparative studies in urbanism associated with the work of Michael Smith and others. No doubt others will do so. What we have in H.'s work is an attempt to quantify urban populations, and to understand the distribution of Roman cities across the entire empire.

The resulting book is itself huge, more than 800 pages in more or less A4 format, the text laid out in double columns. The hard copy is very difficult to use. It is too heavy to hold easily, difficult to read when placed on a flat surface, and the tight paperback makes it difficult to hold pages open. Most of the volume (Part 2) consists of a 600-page-plus catalogue in which the names, locations, sizes and statuses (where known) of every city are listed along with notes on major monuments and cross references to standard reference works. This part has its own index and bibliography. The first part is a much more modest text in eight chapters. Chapters 1–3 describe the project and the methodology employed, Chapters 4–7 deal in turn with populations, monuments, civic status and location, chapter 8 resumes the conclusions. It is pity that Part 1 is not available separately as it would be an excellent addition to any student reading list on the ancient city.

Fortunately there is also an e-book, modestly priced at under £20, and H. has also generously made his databases freely available on the OXREP web-site at *http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/cities/* as an xls file and a series of csv files. The e-book is well constructed, allowing readers to move directly to chapters and subsections and also to each

of the 145 figures, many generated by the GIS. The figures are one of the high points of the publication: they offer many ways to look at Roman urbanism, over time, space and in relation to catchment areas, transport routes and much else. The text is well organised but poorly copy-edited: there are numerous spelling mistakes, some in proper names and technical terms, and some items appear out of alphabetical order in the bibliographies, where there are also a few errors in titles and authors' names. On the positive side, the chapters in Part 1 are short, focused and lucidly argued.

H.'s great achievement is to offer a comprehensive description of the Roman urban system. Key components of this account are (a) the number of cities (1388) a total which for the first time is based on an actual list of archaeologically-identifiable sites rather than approximations, ancient or modern; (b) the population size of those cities, or rather of a subset of 885 of them, and (c) their distribution. This account engages with and draws on recent work on demography and economic growth, especially the work of Morley, Scheidel and past contributors to OXREP. Fundamental to H.'s calculations are his method of extrapolating populations from occupied areas which he does on the basis of some carefully considered formulae for population density. Largely on the basis of such calculations H. argues there were fewer cities in the Roman empire than has commonly been believed, that they were on average a little larger than is often stated, and that the strong contrasts drawn between east and west and Mediterranean and northern Europe have been exaggerated.

It is not possible in a review to engage fully with all of H.'s thoughtful arguments. I limit myself to a few observations.

First, counting cities is notoriously difficult because it is so difficult to distinguish very small cities (with populations in the low thousands) from larger villages. Criteria such as civic status, monumentality, urban area and population (when we have independent indices of it) do not always tell the same story. Using different criteria to those prefered by H., some will decide the total is nearer to the 1800–2000 total used in most recent estimates. An example of this kind of argument see the review in *AJA online* produced by two members of a parallel project run in Leiden.[1] They note some of the very small cities of Anatolia which nevertheless minted their own coinages. Cities or not? Roman Britain offers another example, with twenty odd cities in the sense of juridically independent entities but around 100 walled settlements, non-randomly spaced in a way that suggests they had come to function is just the way H. rightly expects of an urban system.

Second, our data are – as H. states – much better at the upper end of the urban hierarchies. It proved impossible to estimate occupied areas, and so populations, for more than a third of H.'s cities, but this was not a random third. It is very difficult to extrapolate from a non-random sample to the properties of the whole. Combine this with an uncertainty about the number of very small cities, and the utility of the mean is greatly reduced. Given that we are dealing with a distribution in which the highest value may be 1000 times that of the lowest (if Rome had a peak population of a million and if some cities had no more than 1000 inhabitants) what matters most is what happens in the middle. How big and how many were middle-sized cities? Where should we place the median and modal values for Roman urban populations?

[1] See *https://www.ajaonline.org/book-review/3530*.

H.'s work makes clearer than ever before how important this question is. His own methods throw up some surprises, such as having some rather large cities a long way north of the Alps. This may be an area where calculation of population sizes on the basis of occupied areas needs further refinement. Comparative studies like those of Michael Smith and Roland Fletcher have already made clear that population densities vary considerably in premodern cities. The Roman world has some notable examples: multi-storey *insulae* were more common in some areas than others. The price of real estate was one key variable but but seismology was probably another. Some larger cities were low-rise, low-density. There were also almost certainly some northern cities that never filled up the street grids laid out at foundation, vast but low-density, monuments to failed ambitions. Much also still remains to be done on intra-mural gardening in Roman cities: tantalising glimpses from the Nile valley to Campania suggest that significant portions of some cities were cultivated rather than inhabited. It would be easy to expand on questions H.'s study throws up.

A project conceived on this scale is bound to have weaker and stronger sections. Among the weaker are the chapter on civic statuses, where some complexities are missed, and the passing discussions of earlier periods where recent work on 'colonisation', on the relative chronology of different urban experiments, and on the nature of Archaic and Early Classical cities changes the picture a little. These sections are more than compensated for by the strongest sections of the work, the creation of an archaeologically based catalogue of cities, the multiple views he offers via maps, rank-size distributions and tabulation of the structure of the system. Other projects, as he is aware, are also trying to makes sense of ancient urbanism in ways that are not impressionistic, not based on literary anecdotes or small numbers of rich sources. H.'s work sets a standard against which their attempts will be measured.

Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, London Greg Woolf

G. Hedreen, *The Image of the Artist in Archaic and Classical Greece: Art, Poetry, and Subjectivity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xv+362 pp., illustrations, 16 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-11825-6

The exceedingly erudite book reviewed here is divided into an Introduction and seven chapters; the archaeological arguments are supported by 65 black-and-white and 25 colour illustrations. The book does not offer a comprehensive discussion of the image of the artist in the Archaic period, but consists of a small number of case studies centred on the red-figure vase-painter Smikros.

The Introduction sets the tone with a brief synopsis and by describing a symposiast labelled 'Smikros' on a stamnos in Brussels signed by the Late Archaic Pioneer of that name as the first 'selfie', following J. Beazley's description of the scene as 'the first self portrait'. The author argues in Chapter 1, 'Smikros and Euphronios: Pictorial alter Ego', that both these Pioneers are the same man and that Euphronios whimsically signed as Smikros on occasion. The study of individual vase-painters' hands became fashionable at the end of the 19th century as a means of classifying an ever growing corpus of objects and culminated in Beazley's attribution of around 34,000 vases to individual painters, potters and workshops. It is a brave man indeed who argues against Beazley, who was fully aware of the similarities between the painters, perhaps unsurprising since they worked alongside each other.

Beazley based the structure of Athenian potteries on Renaissance workshops and some of the status of the latter still clings to the former, although a view that vase-painters may have been semi-literate *banausoi* has become prevalent. Euphronios and Euthymides were fond of writing on their vases, but their colleague Phintias had difficulties spelling his own name. Almost all evidence is provided by the vases themselves, therefore the first 'selfie' may be a proud self portrait of an artist in an aristocratic setting, an in-joke, or evidence of a painter uncomfortable with writing and therefore falling back on his signature. Smikros, Tiny, may have been a nickname, but it is also found on the list of the fallen in the *demosion sema* (*IG* I³, 1147). Moreover, painters did not usually display a 'unique and consistent set of features' but shared many characteristics with others in subtle combinations and variations.

The rather long second chapter, 'Archilochos, the fictional Creator-Protagonist, and Odysseus', seeks parallels in the works of the 7th-century poet, who used the first person singular to let others speak. Chapter 3, 'Hipponax and his Make-Believe Artists', provides literary evidence for invented artists in the work of the 6th-century poet Hipponax of Ephesus, who is said to have driven the sculptor Bupalos, whom the author regards as fictitious, to suicide. The anecdote might be invented, but Bupalos was probably not since he was known to Pliny and Pausanias.

'Hephaistos in Epic: Analog of Odysseus' convincingly compares the status of the blacksmith with that of the poet as marginal figures in society in literature. The subject of Hephaistos is continued in Chapter 5, 'Pictorial Subjectivity and the Shield of Achilles on the François Vase', which examines the roles of the marginal gods Hephaistos, lame and Dionysos, the son of a mortal. Hedreen follows Beazley's reading of the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase, where Dionysos and Hephaistos are 'exalted at the expense of all the others'. The reading of the wedding procession is more contentious, since Dionysos' placement, 'humble' in the eyes of Beazley, is in the centre, and Hephaistos' position at the end may have a narrative reason, as D. Williams (*Greek Vases in the J.Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983)) has suggested, the god still resided with Okeanos where he had taken refuge after the rejection by his mother.[1]

'Frontality, Self-Reference, and social Hierarchy' examines a range of vases, among them Nearchos' signed aryballos in New York, where the artist's signature is placed next to a frontally squatting satyr and therefore might invite the viewer to compare the posture of the creature with that of the potter at work, an Eye Cup by Psiax as a somewhat unlikely self portrait of the artist, and the name vase of the Foundry Painter, which is read as an illustration of social status. Social differences are clearly shown in the drapery, the small workmen wear loin cloths, the large onlooking gentlemen *himatiaia*, but the difference in size may have been employed to emphasise the scale of the statue.

'Writing and Invention in the Vase-Painting of Euphronios' deals with fictitious and real names. The author does not follow Immerwahr, who regarded most names on vases as those of real persons, borne out by the Pioneer's use of the names of fellow painters when required to use names, and believes that many are inventions, citing the parallels of fictitious creatures such as satyrs and maenads. The Pronomos Vase, chosen by the author as one example, illustrates this well: unique names apparently invented for the scene are

[1] D. Williams, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1 (Malibu, CA 1983).

combined with common names, the figures one would like most to know, the 'woman' and the 'king' remain anonymous. However, the names may not be the painter's invention, but written on the model he used.

The Epilogue is devoted to Peithinos, 'The Persuader', arguing that the name was invented and suits his cup with a courting scene and a picture of Peleus and Thetis.

The reviewer may not agree with every proposal and one might object to the fact that the approach is somewhat eclectic in its selective choice of masterpieces from a rather long timespan and drawing on literary comparanda from a distant shore, but the book is an exciting new look at vase-paintings, the way they are read, and the artists in the Kerameikos and their awareness of themselves and their position

Beazley Archive, Oxford Thomas Mannack

A. Heinemann, *Der Gott des Gelages: Dionysos, Satyrn und Mänaden auf attischem Trinkgeschirr des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Image and Context 15, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xi+787 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-022223-4/ISSN 1868-4777

The world of Dionysos has been studied extensively by, among others, Isler-Kerenyi, Carpenter, Moraw, Schöne and Lissarrague.[1] Alexander Heinemann's hefty study concentrates on images of Dionysos and his mythical followers, satyrs and maenads on Athenian symposium vases in relation to the shapes they decorate; however a few are funerary lekythoi.

The volume is lavishly illustrated, supplied with an excellent bibliography, and an English summary at the very end gives access to the main arguments to non-English speaking students. The book is subdivided into eight chapters, each preceded by a careful discussion of methods, theories and the main problems connected with the topic. The first chapter examines buyers and users of figure-decorated pottery in a highly informed and intelligent manner, using literary and archaeological evidence showing that Athenian drinking vases were only occasionally made to order, that about a third of the population of Athens could afford to buy them, and pointing out that Greek vases were not as clearly gendered as some modern archaeologists like to think. Makers and recipients were largely male. The second part, vase and image at the symposium, discusses the use of Attic pottery, shapes, images and inscriptions in the contexts of symposium and *komos*.

The second chapter discusses the appearance of Dionysos and satyrs. Dionysos is bearded at first and youthful from about 420 BC, which H. interprets as increased eroticism. Two Early Classical beardless gods probably have narrative reasons. The young Dionysos may have sculptural antecedents, the reclining Parthenon god D may be an

[1] C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Dionysos in Archaic Greece: An Understanding through Images* (Leiden 2007), *Dionysos in Classical Athens: An Understanding through Images* (Leiden/Boston 2014); T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford 1986), *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford 1997); S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Mainz 1998); A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos, Eine ikonographische Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos i.d. att. Vasenmalerei des 6. u. 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Gothenburg 1987); and F. Lissarrague, *La cité des satyres: Une anthropologie ludique, Athènes, VIe–Ve siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 2013).

example, but could – according to Williams – be identified as Ares. The change from bearded to youthful appearance of others, Herakles and Zeus, around the same time is somewhat neglected.

Heinemann scrutinises the attributes of satyrs, snub-nose, baldness, introduced by early red-figure painters, quasi-theatrical movements and animal features one by one, pointing out that they indicate horniness and ugliness and are often seen as opposites of the aristocratic ideal, but some of these are shared by symposiasts and komasts and therefore also worryingly aspects of aristocratic behaviour. Kleitias' satyrs may have goats' legs rather than horses' legs in the manner of East Greek satyrs.

The female followers of Dionysos, the maenads, do not receive the same full treatment as the satyrs, but figure prominently in Chapter 3, dedicated to erotic relationships in the world of Dionysos. H. observes that satyrs have satisfactory sexual relationships with nymphs in literature and art in the Archaic period, wrestle maenads in the manner of Peleus and Thetis in the late 6th century, and are shown in erotic pursuit scenes in the Early Classical period. The definition of the term maenad, used by H. for purposes of convenience, is intelligent. Vase-painters did not differentiate carefully, maenadic attributes are used for all females drawn into the circle of Dionysos. In the context of symposia, the images of satyrs and maenads represent lust and untamed desire, while Ariadne and Dionysos represent 'constant and effortless access to his … consort'.

The satyr-play is the topic of the fourth chapter in which H. points out that vase-painters did not depend on performances and also doubts the existence of an original myth suggesting that myths developed continuously and had many local variations, with the only requirement that the protagonists remained recognisable. Moreover, vase-painters were as free to change myths as authors. He also proposes that *perizomata* are not always indicative of stage performances, but can also denote acrobatic performances at symposia. The contrast between male attributes and the obviously female form of *hetairai* performing as pyrrhicists and fin phallos trunks would have created an erotic *frisson* appealing to the drinkers.

Chapter 5 discusses 'Dionysiac myth in the context of the symposium'. Using the Return of Hephaistos, Ariadne and Amymone, and Prometheus as exempla. Hephaistos, characterised as a craftsman by his tools and lame foot is, according to H., a marginal figure like the wine god himself, and illustrates the power of wine as a leveller of differences. Whether the two gods were regarded as truly marginal is however open to interpretation.

The section on Ariadne and Amymone, not entirely clear, presents the god as a danger to and in support of the *oikos*. The images of Amymone are – as always – too late to be connected with a known play and also fairly generic and may therefore show the common scene of satyrs molesting a woman. Images of the upbringing of the infant god are seen as a reinforcement of the *oikos*, although the absence of a properly regulated household makes it difficult to reconcile this idea with the myth.

Prometheus is seen by H. as another parallel to the god, the bringer of fire is juxtaposed with the giver of fiery wine. Marsyas is viewed by H. not only as a satyr punished for hybris, but also as the masterly player of an instrument featuring prominently in the symposium. In later scenes of the symposium, H. observes the presence of professional musicians, which portrays the drinkers as passive critics and connoisseurs of music. It is however possible that the hiring of professionals might be a sign of the symposium having moved downmarket and that the participants were therefore not able to play music.

Chapter 6, 'Dionysiac Role Playing' discusses satyrs in a variety of guises, dressed up as heroes, gods (Hermes) and humans (such as farmers, artisans and – in large numbers – Athenian citizens). This is seen as persiflage, parody or travesty depending on context, and drawing attention to the satiric nature immanent in humans.

Chapter 7 deals with images of and for rituals of cult, a woman on a swing, convincingly seen as Erigone, in two cases above a well, the Hieros Gamos with Ariadne and the wife of the Archon Basileus, read as the ceding of women, all women, to the god in return for the gift of wine, theoxeny, H. sensibly states that not every chair carried for the god is a reference to playing host to the god, but can serve as an indication of the luxurious life of the god, and the Anthesteria, where children figure as not yet cultured and therefore satyr-like beings.

The final chapter treats infant satyrs, often depicted in scenes of family bliss, but also taking the role of sympotic vessels and other objects in balancing acts performed at the feast.

The subject of the study is Dionysos at the feast, but it might have been rewarding to cast the net wider and examine the multi-facetted nature of the god. There is a polite nod to the fact that vase-painters would have been aware of the use of their vases not only in domestic contexts, but also in sanctuaries and tombs in Greece, Etruria and elsewhere, and many of the vases used by H. were deposited in graves. Dionysos was also connected with death and a frequent guest at mortal weddings. The book is exceptionally well written (save for a few instances of English words used where German ones would have served better), thoroughly learned and yet accessible, and the author has looked carefully and perceptively at the objects. His work should be in every archaeological library.

Beazley Archive, Oxford Thomas Mannack

P. Herrmann, *Kleinasien im Spiegel epigraphischer Zeugnisse. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften,* edited by W. Blümel, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xiv+718 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-048965-1

The reviewed volume is a collection of 59 articles by Peter Herrmann (1927–2002), internationally renowned German ancient historian and epigraphist, edited by Wolfgang Blümel. Originally published in widely scattered periodicals and other publications printed in several countries in the 46 years between 1958 and 2004, they are now conveniently republished in a single volume. During its preparation, the layout of the text and the citation format were standardised and references to the new editions of inscriptions in corpora and in the *SEG* were added in curly brackets. Moreover, new photographs of inscriptions from Sardis were supplied by Nicholas Cahill.

The first section of the book ('Inschriften aus Lydien', pp. 3–246) embraces 20 articles on Lydian history, historical geography, cults and epigraphy, all well known and regularly cited in the works pertaining to this Anatolian region. Let me mention just a few titles: 'Neue Inschriften zur historischen Landeskunde von Lydien und angrenzenden Gebieten' (1959), 'Men, Herr von Axiotta' (1978), 'Theoi Pereudenoi. Eine Gruppe von Weihungen and Sühninschriften aus der Katakekaumene' (1984), 'Sühn- und Grabinschriften aus der Katakekaumene im Archäologischen Museum von İzmir' (1985) and 'Apollon de Pleura. Un sanctuaire rural en Lydie entre les époques hellénistique et romaine' (published posthumously in 2004). It will be tremendously helpful to have at hand, in one volume, all these important studies by one of the leading scholars on ancient Lydia.

The second section of the book ('Inschriften aus Milet', pp. 249–496) contains 18 articles on Milesian history and epigraphy. H.'s work on the corpus of Miletus culminated in three volumes of *Inschriften von Milet* published in 1997, 1998 and, posthumously, 2006.[11] As in the case of Lydia, H.'s interest in Milesian epigraphy manifested itself at the beginning of his academic career and lasted throughout his life. Some of the republished articles are quite rich, for example: 'Neue Urkunden zur Geschichte von Milet im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.' (1965), 'Urkunden milesischer Temenitai' (1980) or 'Milet unter Augustus' (1994). In addition to the previously published articles, a manuscript entitled 'Zur römischen Zollstation in Milet', originally submitted for publication in the second volume of Z. Taşlıklıoğlu's *Festschrift*, is first published in this volume as no. 38.

The third section ('Inschriften aus verschiedenen Regionen', pp. 499–638), with its 17 contributions, displays the width and depth of H.'s epigraphic interest and understanding, since they are dedicated to various types of inscriptions of virtually all regions of Asia Minor. Most of these contributions correct, supply and explain difficult phrases or complete inscriptions published by other scholars, including H. himself (*cf.* 'Epigraphische Notizen' 13 from 1995).

The last section, 'Übergreifende Darstellungen' (pp. 641–702) contains the following four studies: 'Kaiserliche Garantie für private Stiftungen. Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Kaiser und städtische Finanzen"' (1980), 'Die Selbstdarstellung der hellenistischen Stadt in den Inschriften: Ideal und Wirklichkeit' (1984), 'Γέρας θανόντων. Totenruhm und Totenehrung im städtischen Leben der hellenistichen Zeit' (1995) and 'Das κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων unter römischen Herrschaft' (2002).

At the end of the book, we find H.'s bibliography and indexes.

As explained in its introduction, this volume owes its existence to Eva Herrmann and Wolfgang Blümel. We owe them our gratitude for their perseverance and hard work, enabling us today to have access in a single volume to many important studies of one of the leading ancient historians and epigraphists of the 20th century.

University of Belgrade Marijana Ricl

T. Howe, S. Müller and R. Stoneman (eds.), *Ancient Historiography on War and Empire*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xv+280 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-299-0

Timothy Howe wrote the short foreword and together with Sabine Müller and Richard Stoneman has edited a very solid volume of proceedings of the conference held in Athens in 2013 and focused, in the main, on Greek language ancient historiography and history. As Herodotus and Thucydides (and later Xenophon, Callisthenes and others) accurately remark, history is written by intellectuals (precisely historiographers) for cultivated/well-educated but also ambitious men (more principally for contemporaries) who may be able to lead the *demos*. The book is divided into five parts: Introduction, Achaemenid Persia and Classical Greece, Macedon, Alexander and the Diadochoi, and Second Sophistic Rome; as we know, powerful leaders in the heart of those areas were prominent war-makers of that time. Thus,

[1] *Milet* VI 1–3 (Berlin/New York).

this is an interesting but rather diverse base and the editors have done their readers an excellent service by providing an index. All 17 papers are heavily footnoted and contain bibliographies. Space precludes detailed comments on more than a selection of these, but some papers are (more or less) concerned with clarifying the definition of key terms.

A long thematic introductory chapter by Mark Munn, 'Why history? On the Emergence of Historical Writing', brilliantly covers the matters dealt with and sets the tone for the whole book. Part II examines, in three papers, Persia and Greece. Readers who share its interest in the political-religious practices of Persian kings and their Greek misinterpretation will find the second article by Eran Almagor, 'The Political and the divine in Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions', worthy of particular attention. An extended bibliography guides readers to relevant publications; some drawings would have been a welcome addition, though. Next, Josef Wiesehöfer, 'Cyrus the Great and the Sacrifices for a Dead King', tackles the question of the character, continuity and historicity of the tomb cult in Persia: his results clearly show that the *Interpretatio Graeca* of sacrificial rites connected with Persian rulers should be taken with caution, as usual. Thoroughness can be attributed to Frances Pownall's article, 'The Horse and the Stag: Philistus' view of tyrants', where she analyses in great detail the turbulent career and ambitions of 'a man who was no less a friend to tyranny than to the tyrant' – a very bizarre reputation for an historian by his compatriots.

Part III deals with the Argead Macedonian dynasty. The paper by William Greenwalt, 'Alexander II of Macedon' touches upon the short reign (369–368 BC) of this lesser-known member of the Macedonian royal family. Albeit he was very possibly a direct initiator of a major social and military innovation in the Macedonian army, almost all Greek historians credit his more famous successors on the throne – Philip II and Alexander the Great. A new approach to the study of Philip II's assassination is offered by Heckel, Howe and Müller in '"The Giver of the Bride, the Bridegroom, and the Bride": a Study of the Death of Philip II and its Aftermath'. The last of the Macedon chapters is written by Franca Gattinoni, 'Royal Tombs and Cult of the Dead Kings in Early Hellenistic Macedonia'. In order to interpret every possible facet of thoroughly examined funeral ceremonies, the author successfully works with both written sources (Diodorus) and recent archaeological discoveries at Vergina (the Great Tumulus).

A series of papers in Part IV address the empires of Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi. 'The Financial Administration of Asia Minor under Alexander the Great: An Interpretation of Two Passages from Arrian's Anabasis', Maxim Kholod, presents some important and well-founded results of his long-term interest in character and development of financial relations between various participants of the panhellenic war against Persia. The next contribution by Hugh Bowden, 'The Eagle has Landed: Divination in the Alexander Historians', clearly demonstrates that eagle symbolism and its interpretation is a huge area of study within the different branches of Greek literature. Then Jacek Rzepka, 'The Casualty Figures of Alexander's Army', provides a clear and well-annotated exposition of the way in which ancient historiographers might employ and contextualise available battle data. From a completely different point of view, the next paper presents the military action on the battlefield, 'Alexander's battles against Persians in the art of the Successors' (Olga Palagia). An erudite specialist with a profound knowledge of Greek art and its symbolism, she provides fairly rich insights into the visual historiography. Moreover, the illustrations to this

paper are fortunate choices. In 'How the Hoopoe Got His Crest: Reflections on Megasthenes' Stories of India', Richard Stoneman leads us into a world below the horizon of a distant and colourful region. Within the context of Aleksandra Kleczar's essay, 'Creating the King: The Image of Alexander the Great in 1 Maccabees, 1–10', she discusses broadly how specifically Jewish intellectuals worked with the motif of historical Alexander, in order to protect their compatriots living in the dangerous world of the Hellenistic monarchs.

Part V centres upon the so-called Second Sophistic Rome, and the authors successfully work with an ambition of ancient historiographers to show history in its broad cultural contexts, not only to describe it from the victors' point of view. An educated audience is pushed to analyse both historical content and literary context as well. A series of essays begins with Rebecca Frank's paper, 'The Hero vs. the Tyrant: Legitimate and Illegitimate Rule in Plutarch's Alexander-Caesar'. The most important point in this study pertains to the detailed examination of Plutarch's working method by decoding his negative attitude towards the power-hungry tyrants – generally Roman emperors – and their strong tendency to the authoritative monarchical system achieved even through bloody civil war. Apparently, this is in contrast to his view of Alexander's empire, fashioned out of barbarian tribes and respecting the limits of his own authorised power. As a result, he compares not only the *lives* of hero-Alexander and tyrant-Caesar, but also their political and moral qualities. Elias Koulakiotis, in 'Plutarch's *Alexander*, Dionysos and the Metaphysics of Power', attempts to examine the importance of charisma (as an eminent attribute of royal legitimacy) in the monarchic ideology of ancient Macedonia. At the heart of the next paper by Sabine Müller, 'The Artistic King: Reflections on a *Topos* in Second Sophistic Historiography', are actors or more precisely artistic rulers who preferred acting on the public stage in an inappropriate ways instead of spending time in cultivated leisure. Frequently, moral aspects or historiographic judgments were stressed by ancient historiographers and historical realities were ostentatiously ignored. The book concludes with Sulochana Asirvathan's brilliant essay, 'Flattery, History, and the Πεπαιδευμένοϱ'. Here the author examines flattery in Lucian, Arrian, Herodian and finally in Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch and Athenaeus, and identifies the status of 'learned men/intellectuals' who must negotiate the politics of the Roman empire's elite.

This is a massive, well-organised work on the historiography and history of the ancient world; as such, it makes a significant contribution to the present-day overview of historiography; the papers are erudite, well written, all of high quality and aimed at a specialist well acquainted with a wide range of written sources (both Greek and Roman) rather than a popular audience. Last but not least, it offers numerous fresh and provocative approaches to the seemingly marginal and/or somewhat neglected themes of historiography.

Charles University, Prague Květa Smoláriková

Y. Kanjou and A. Tsuneki (eds.), *A History of Syria in One Hundred Sites*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+451 pp., illustrations (most in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-381-6

This book is a welcome reaction to the Syrian civil war. Its editors, Kanjou and Tsuneki, have a declared aim of making the world aware of the richness of Syrian history and

archaeology, much of which has been damaged. There are in fact 103 entries. Each site had a strict word limit imposed, so reports are of necessity summary. This might be thought to engender superficiality but in fact the site bibliography at the end of each report extends the range of information. All sites are treated equally in this respect so that, while well-known, multi-period sites can provide only an overview (quite an art, and capably carried out by most authors), smaller sites have the opportunity to make themselves known. The editors had wished to 'describe every important archaeological site' in Syria, but obviously some important sites, such as Aïn Dara and Dura-Europus were unable to respond. This said, the overall response was comprehensive and the book fully represents the history of Syria

The approach is chronological, which must have been difficult for the editors to organise, as so many tells are multi-period. An alternative might have been to treat the sites regionally (for example, Middle Euphrates, Jazira, etc.) but the reader can amass that information for himself by consulting the excellent map provided at the beginning of the volume.

Chapter 1 covers 23 prehistoric sites, documenting the change from man as hunter/gatherer to man as herder/farmer, living in settled and increasingly complex communities. The sites range from the Palaeolithic El Kowm rock shelter, presenting the earliest traces of human presence 1.8 million years ago, to the formation of proto-urban societies in the late Ubaid and Chalcolithic periods at sites such as Tell Kosak Shamali, Tell Feres and Tell Ziyadeh. The chronological ordering enables the reader to follow the process of Neolithisation involving the development of a cereal economy, domestic housing, community buildings, improved stone tool kits, the birth of pottery and writing, and the beginnings of organised industry and trade.

Dwellings evolved from primitive rock cave to circular structures, in places replaced by rectangular multi-roomed structures, and eventually the tripartite houses of Feres and Ziyadeh, with rooms surrounding a courtyard. At the village of Halula, each house was separated by a walkway between, while at Feres there was evidence of a regular street layout. Structures identified as community buildings were found at Mureybet and Qaramel, usually circular with radiating walls forming cells around a central space for meetings. One such at Jerf al-Ahmar had a circular bench around the walls.

The artistic urge to decorate was manifested at Qaramel (decorated stones), Dja'de al Mughera (basketry design wall-painting, possibly the oldest in the world), Jerf al-Ahmar (decoration of wall slabs with humans and birds) and Halula (floor painting, possibly of dancing figures).

This chapter of course covers the birth of pottery. The village site of Halula revealed the production of the first pottery vessels and saw their development through the pre-Halafian and Halafian periods. The best preserved pottery workshop of the Ubaid period was discovered at Kosak Shamali, complete with kiln and pottery-making tools such as ceramic scrapers and stone palettes. The pottery was decorated with geometric designs using natural hematite and manganese as pigments. The site of Tell el-Abr documents the development of Ubaid pottery (from painted to plain); here kilns and workrooms suggest industry and exchange. Kilns were also found at Feres, with the appearance of potters' marks.

Over such a long period, burial methods obviously varied enormously: at Abu Hureyra, Natufian Qarassa and Qaramel skull separation was found. The most startling burial discovery consisted of the plastered (and lifelike) skulls of Tell Aswad. At el-Kerkh

a 7th-millennium cemetery was discovered, i.e. burial was no longer in houses. At Sabi Abyad there were seven successive cemeteries, carbon-dated 6400–5800 BC.

Finally, the finding of stamp seals at Tell el-Kerkh and at Tell Zeidan reflects the increasing socio-economic complexity of this prehistoric period

Chapter 2 ambitiously covers the sites that mainly focused on the Bronze and Iron Ages, 54 sites in all. Most are tells, involving in many cases prehistoric beginnings as well having later classical settlements and Late Roman-Byzantine occupation. For example, Sheikh Hamad had levels dating from Late Uruk to Late Roman, Nebi Mend from Neolithic to Byzantine, Fekheriyeh from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic to Islamic and Shiyukh Tahtani Late Chalcolithic to Byzantine. Ordering these sites chronologically must have been a nightmare for the editors. Nevertheless the reader can put together, for example, a list of early city states, some the seats of kingdoms (Mari, Mozan) others important regional centres (Hammam el-Turkman, Arbid, Sianu, Meskene, Mastuma), others perhaps satellite towns (el-'Abd, Mohammed Diyabh, Qabr Abu al-'Atiq). These have in common a fortified circular settlement, impressive town gates, radial and concentric streets as evidence of town planning (al-Rawda), and temple complexes and large palatial or administrative buildings (Beydar, Leilan). The Middle Bronze Age phase at Qatna/Mishrifeh, showed a radical change in urban layout to a rectangular plan. At Sakka, a sophisticated sewerage system was built into the floor of an orthogonal Middle Bronze Age building, decorated with geometric and figured frescoes. Other sites of importance include Hammam al-Turkman, Bazi, Afis, Qala'at Halwanji, Halawa, Shiyukh Tahtani. At the latter site, there was clear evidence of the arrival of a new ethnic group, with houses of a style and orientation different from those of the Early Bronze Age. For the Late Bronze Age, Mishrifeh, Barri and Kazel offer representative evidence; for the Iron Age, Tell Ahmar, Mastuma and Toueini, among many others. Assyrianisation was documented at Halaf, Arslan Tash, Barri, Ajaja, Bderi, with Tell Chuera evidently an administrative centre in the Middle Assyrian period. Sheikh Hamad provides the clearest example of Neo-Assyrian architecture.

In this chapter, the reader encounters, and is able to compare if followed through, palaces, temples and residential areas from the whole range of the Bronze Age, Assyrian period and Iron Age sites. Cuneiform tablets document culture (Ras Shamra), trade and administration (Taban, Fekheriye) and private dealings (Munbaqa). Inscriptions at Arslan Tash were in Aramaic, Assyrian and Hittite: a coexistence described as 'marvellous'. Illustrations, carefully selected, show primarily plans, reconstructions and trenches, but also stunning artefacts, such as cylinder seals (Afis), ivories (Mishrife, Tell Ahmar), stelae, (Tell Ahmar, Halawa, Ajaja), jewellery (Chagar Bazar), figurines (Meskene, Toueini), wall-painting fragments (Sakka, Masaikh) and, of course, pottery in great variety.

Also of great variety are the forms of burial. As a change from tells, several cemeteries are documented in this chapter: for example, the cemetery of Abu Hamad and those of Wreide, Tawi and Shamseddin on the Middle Euphrates. The different types reflect social distinctions: shaft graves, sometimes with lateral extensions, stone galleries, chamber tombs with entrance shaft, stone cists, earth pits with or without stone caps, brick graves with or without stone cover. The barrel-vaulted tomb found at Tell Ahmar was Neo-Assyrian.

Chapter 3 contains 18 site reports from the Graeco-Roman period and one short discourse on Syriac inscriptions. The sites range from Seleucid foundations (Jebel Khalid, Gindaros, Cyrrhus) to Byzantine Resafa. Gaps are noticeable here, such as Dura-Europus

for the Parthian-Roman period. The site of Palmyra is the subject of four contributions, reflecting different excavation teams. The first, by Schmidt-Colinet, the late Khaled al'As'ad and Waleed al-As'ad, manages to cover the sculpture in Tomb 36, the quarries of Palmyra, the local and imported textiles and the location of pre-Roman Palmyra. The Japanese team (Saito) reports on the hypogea tombs C, F and H, the Hellenistic pit grave G and their brilliant reconstruction of house-tomb 129b. The hinterland of Palmyra is analysed by the Syrian-Norwegian team and Gawlikowski summarises the work of the Polish mission. This concentration on Palmyra is not out of proportion in view of the recent destruction.

The so-called 'Dead Cities' are succinctly and clearly summarised. Roman influence is evident in the number of bath complexes excavated at Late Roman/Byzantine sites (Zenobia, el-Khasra, Sura, possibly Sheyzar). The survival of the Qinnasrin monastery/theological school to the 12th century AD takes us into the Islamic period, which is the subject of seven reports in the final chapter. These include castles and citadels all over Syria: Aleppo, Apamea, Shayzar (one misses a report on Damascus Citadel), the Great Mosque at Kharah Sayyar, the mansion at Madinat el-Far with its lovely stucco decoration, and the mediaeval town at Tuneinir.

This volume of reports is a must-have reference for libraries and anyone interested in either the whole of Syria's history or a particular period. The abundant illustrations, mainly in colour, are of excellent quality. Many 'reconstructions' give hope that even after site damage, the record is not lost. There are a few infelicities of editing, such as the inconsistency of the spelling of Mishrifeh and, more seriously, the apparent loss of some text from the report on Jerablus Tahtani. These are mere quibbles in the face of the achievement of producing a volume of such richness, for which all contributors must be thanked. In the Preface the editors state they plan to deliver an Arabic version, more accessible to the Syrians themselves and generating pride in their own history and the will to protect it.

University of Melbourne Heather Jackson

L. Khatchadourian, *Imperial Matter: Ancient Persia and the Archaeology of Empires*, University of California Press, Oakland 2016, xxxviii+288 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-0-520-29052-5

In this challenging and thought-provoking work, Lori Khatchadourian seeks to develop a new method for analysing the archaeology of empire while addressing Persian period Armenia. She casts her net wide, embracing the tools of anthropology, archaeology and Near Eastern studies on the one hand, while, on the other, looking to worldwide imperial studies from the social sciences. Full engagement with the 'material turn' works well for archaeology, but K.'s emphasis on the material goes much deeper than the familiar idea of making 'the mute stones speak'.

The book is divided into two parts: the first develops an analytical framework with a terminology that allows consideration of the material expression of empire beyond specific media or precise situations; the second engages in a range of focused studies of Iran and the Caucasus region, especially Armenia. The illustrations support well the argument; a lengthy Introduction offers general guidance.

As an important first step in 'The Satrapal Condition' (Chapter 1), K. puts the case that the Old Persian word *xšaça*, or 'satrapy' in English, refers not to an imperial province but to the concepts 'kingdom' or 'kingship' (*dahyu* is the Old Persian word for province). K. is then free to develop the notion of the 'satrapal condition', or the quality of sovereignty, both its circumstances and limitations. Through analysis of Old Persian inscriptions, relief sculpture and Mazdaistic thought, K. comes to characterise Achaemenid political thought as one in which sovereignty and physical matter are indivisible. The question then raised is: how do things produce imperial subjects? 'Things' can be as large as a palace or as small as a seal. The well-known image type of the peoples of the empire, distinguishable by their native dress, supporting a platform on which the king sits or stands, provides a 'visual allegory' (p. 6) of the satrapal condition: it expresses the king's dependency on his subjects as well as the ideal of control and order.

The second chapter, 'Where Things Stand', frames the development of an archaeology of empire observing that most serious discussions of empire emerge from the social sciences; their focus on economic and political aspects make them an unsuitable basis for archaeological analysis. Disdaining enumeration of 'material "correlates" of empire', K. argues that we need to go beyond the idea of goods in an economic sense, or even a symbolic sense, to consider how material things shape imperial consciousness. Retention of traditional environments and media can be read as material signs of resistance. Whereas some have implicitly come to think of the way in which buildings and things can shape imperial subjects, K. directs attention to the thing as agent helping to ensure the continuity of empire. She thus seeks to establish 'a distinctly archaeological epistemic of imperialism that is dedicated to understanding the work of things in reproducing the layered sovereignties of empire' (p. 50).

In 'Imperial Matter' (Chapter 3), K. flips the role of things from object to subject, and outlines her archaeology of empire through a focus on the 'politics of matter in imperial formations' (p. 55). If agency is defined as the ability to produce effects, objects have agency (p. 57). An overview of the modern 'material turn' in the social sciences is followed by a search for a viable politics of matter. To bolster her campaign to focus on and articulate the part things play in imperial contexts, K. adopts a number of nouns typically employed to refer to people: *delegates*, *proxies*, *captives* and *affiliates*. The application of such personalities to material entities can disconcert, but it is effective: in the dissonance of their radical departure from usual understanding, the terms impose upon the reader the need to adopt different modes of thought.

In brief, 'delegates' are defined as 'things that … provide political effects… by mediating through direct somatic encounter the practices that reproduce a sovereign's prerogative to rule…' (p. 69). In fact, delegates themselves impose on the imperial entity: it needs to adopt a course of action to ensure their existence. 'Proxies' are harder to define; their character is not so much that in some sense they imitate a delegate but that in standing for a delegate they potentially subvert it. 'Captives' are 'political things compelled to collaborate with the sovereign in reproducing the terms of authority and subjection' (p. 73). They can include appropriated ideas. Finally, 'affiliates' are described as 'the great throng of inconspicuous things that reproduce social life under empire… local habitats and habiliments … food and furnishings that bind people under empire into distinct collectivities' (p. 74). Affiliates are that component of the material culture record that evidence continuity, 'inconspicuous' because predominant, the background noise.

The exploration in Part II of the archaeology of the Persian empire, especially its Iranian heartland and the mountainous regions to the north, provides a better explication of the value of such terms as delegates, proxies, captives and affiliates than can verbal definition. In three chapters that reveal her impressive grasp of the Achaemenid world, K. moves from wide to narrow focus: empire to region to site, with emphasis on the actions and impacts of things rather than their corporeal typology.

The important initial argument of Chapter 4 ('From Captives to Delegates') is that the Early Iron Age (Iron 3) columned halls of the region, at Godin Tepe, Tepe Nush-i Jan and Erebuni, are wrongly interpreted as seats of local authoritarian power; they functioned, rather, as meeting places. The lack of hierarchical disposition within the halls, their scale allowing the inclusion of large numbers, their limited defensibility, along with the manifest storage capacity and the lack of associated residential facilities, all argue for an architectural form designed to house an assembly of mountain peoples for whom joint feasting was an important element of assembly. Cyrus' adoption of the multi-columned hall appropriated and transformed the architectural rhetoric as a suitable expression of his new vision of kingship, a conspicuous rejection of the Assyrian and Babylonian hierarchical mode. After an excellent summary of the Persian columned hall, K. argues that the radical message of association of the original hall form was perverted in Darius' ever larger square constructions with axial focus that impose hierarchy. Moreover, their delegate buildings levied maintenance demands on their kings.

'Delegates and Proxies in the *Dahyu* of Armenia' (Chapter 5) opens with a discussion of the difficulties of governing mountain peoples; delegates by shaping social practice can help make good subjects. Two types of delegates especially feature here: drinking vessels and columned halls. The region has provided many of the known 'Silver Delegates' (drinking vessels), although many lack good provenance.[1] K. observes that the Erebuni hoard, with secure provenance, combines in its silver horse protome rhyta the Armenian tributary obligations: horses and silver. Of all Persian silver delegates, the rhyta especially imposed on their user a mode of consumption that forced compliance with the Persian social protocol, and so functioned as political agents. (Moreover, grasping characteristic zoomorphic 'amphora' handles enabled the user's participation in 'heroic encounter' embodying the action of the 'Persian Man' in maintaining imperial state.) The very medium of silver is a delegate in contrast with clay, deemed a proxy matter. As for architecture, the square 6 × 6 columned hall at Karachamirli in Azerbaijan was constructed with the same media and techniques as in Iran. It is thereby a true delegate, on the model of Susa and Persepolis; its wider central aisle oriented to a platform acts politically in creating social hierarchy. Yet in contrast with the silver and architectural delegates, K. suggests that two other local columned halls – at Erebuni, still in use in the Persian period, and a new one at Altıntepe – with their rectangular form and local building traditions, are in contrast deliberately deviant proxies. The region was not fully tamed; K. posits that Xerxes' inscription at

[1] Fig. 28 reproduces a sealing from Ur in the British Museum (ANE 1932-10-8, 226), said to be an arm holding a griffin-protome drinking horn, and the photograph seems truly to show this. Collon's drawing, however, suggests that instead of an arm the depiction gives the human lower body (legs) of the winged figure, feet bent up towards the horn, which is perhaps how she read it: D. Collon, 'A Hoard of Sealings from Ur'. In M.-E. Boussac and A. Invernizi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique* (Athens 1996), 65–84, pl. 20, fig. 10g.

Tushpa near Lake Van (the former Urartian capital), unintelligible to the illiterate peoples of this region and anyhow too high up to be read, is Xerxes' prayer to Ahuramazda for assistance in controlling this difficult area.

With the narrowing of focus in Chapter 6 ('Going Underground: Affiliates, Proxies and Delegates at Tsaghkahovit'), the role of 'affiliates' in K.'s vision emerges. The Armenian upland village Tsaghkahovit, nestled on the slopes of an abandoned Bronze Age hill fort (excavated 1998–2013), exemplifies the new vernacular domestic architecture developed in the 7th century out of the need to engage in 'camouflage architecture' (p. 168) – below ground structures not readily visible to the hostile or imperial eye. Yet these houses were variable. Most, those in Precinct C, were structures with one or two multifunctional rooms. One, the larger complex in Precinct A, is associated with local leadership. The site offers a rich array of proxy vessels, many in local clay: bowls, zoomorphic handled vessels, jars with vertical fluting, one jar combining lobes and flutes, and two zoomorphic rhyta.[2] The chapter ends with an analysis of an extraordinary discovery: a set of seemingly ritual implements from one unusual room, including a green stone bowl from Iran,[3] that might be associable with haoma production. Regardless of their precise productive function, the group articulates social distinction at Tsaghkahovit; moreover, the delegate, aided by local proxies, entangled the user and community within Achaemenid ritual performance. The case study exemplifies the complexities of empire: intrusion of imperial matter and associated practice together with the maintenance of local cultural traditions, or affiliates.

The whole book is deeply informed, showing mastery of all kinds of archaeological evidence, with richly informative endnotes. Although sometimes the contorted use of language obscures meaning, the work rarely suffers from editorial errors. The excellent plans and aerial photographs would be more helpful if consistently oriented to the north or equipped with captions that articulate orientation.

Will K.'s carefully developed analytical terminology be adopted by scholars addressing such concerns the world over? It is hard to say, yet with this book it might be said that the archaeology of the Persian empire has come of age. We have gone from suspicions that the lack of evidence for a Persian presence indicated that once they had conquered a region, the Persians simply went back home unless the region failed in its tribute obligations; to surprise and delight in finding hints of a Persian presence; to this sustained enquiry into 'the work of things in reproducing the layered sovereignties of empire'. To get to this point, as K. is well aware, we needed the past generation of re-assessment of the historical sources, the re-contextualisation of Achaemenid art within its Near Eastern milieu, and the labours of many archaeologists over 70 years in the wider region. Those of us interested in the archaeology of the region and Achaemenid studies more generally owe K. (and her colleagues at Tsaghkahovit) a deep debt of gratitude for so advancing our field.

University of Sydney Margaret C. Miller

[2] Most seem to derive from Precinct A; some are from Precinct C. The possibility of precise provenance for each piece is such precious information that clearer indication in which Precinct the different rooms are would enhance discussion of these ceramic proxies.

[3] It is notable, though, that K. suggests not a direct import – so not a deliberate delegate – but one that came 'through several down-the-line exchanges' (p. 188).

C.G. King and R. Lo Presti (eds.), *Werner Jaeger: Wissenschaft, Bildung, Politik*, Philologus Suppl. 9, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2017, vii+266 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-054803-7/ISSN 2199-0255[1]

The *Vorwort* of this essay collection, based on the revised and expanded versions of papers presented at a 2013 conference, states as the volume's purpose the avoidance of a 'Heldengeschichte'. Instead are offered a series of studies, complemented by detailed bibliography, which highlight the wide range of Jaeger's investigations and, importantly, move him beyond the doublet Third Reich/Third Humanism. Manfred Landfester (pp. 5–50) offers a detailed examination of Jaeger's concept of knowledge and education as an expression of his time, that period following the dismantling of the *Kaiserreich*, which caused humanistic *Bildung* to lose traditional state, i.e. royal, sponsorship. Jaeger's response was an attempt to develop a new philology and new humanism, a 'Paideia-Begriff' (p. 33), a 'Menschenbildung': Hellenocentric, idealistic, 'deutsch-national und gleichermassen "übernational"' (p. 35) – but also elitist in tone. To that end, in addition to beginning his soon-to-be multi-volume *Paideia*, he founded a journal, *Die Antike*, for that new humanism. And Plato was to educate us both for state-building and a definitive construction of lifestyle (*cf.* pp. 44–46). Jaeger's concepts maintained influence into 1938, although Jaeger had gone west.

Nationalsozialismus taught Jaeger, as Wolfgang Rösler explains in his well-argued presentation (pp. 51–82), that one should not believe oneself able to predict or even influence the future. At fault was a short article in the semi-popular journal *Volk in Werden* (1.3, Spring 1933, 43–49): 'Die Erziehung des politisches Menschen und die Antike'. Jaeger believed he could win over National Socialist-educator Krieck as a supporter of his ideas in the days when many placed unreasonable hopes in the *Machtergreifung*. Greek culture could be a model in rebuilding Germany. By October 1933 Krieck rejected Jaeger's views. For the *Bewegung* the illusion of activity, not calm, thoughtful planning, was assigned the highest value. The similarities between Jaeger's expressions and those of the *Lingua Tertii Imperii* won for him the silent reproach of Friedlaender (pp. 71–73). Even the *Paideia* and Third Humanism, for which Jaeger had held so many hopes, played a very marginal role in the teaching of ancient languages after 1945, as Stefan Kipf (pp. 83–109) writes.

Giuseppe Cambiano (pp. 111–37) turns to a more philosophical topic, Jaeger's view of the Presocratics. Jaeger reconstructed Presocratic thought so as not to insulate it from the rest of Greek culture, connecting philosophical language and concepts with both political and legal vocabulary, and viewing the Greek thinkers in connection with the religious sphere by their use of terminology and stylistic forms. Dorothea Frede (pp. 140–69) discusses Jaeger's perception of Plato, given that Jaeger believed Aristotle a 'Platoniker', remaining connected with his teachings (for how long and to what extent uncertain), while in the *Paideia* he pays little attention to Plato's philosophy save in connection with political education. Although Frede finds that Jaeger's generalisations and judgments about Plato were common to scholarly activity of the day, they do nothing to detract from the pioneering work Jaeger did on Aristotle.

[1] Contents at *https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/488889?rskey=1RyAM8&result=85.*

Mirjam Kotwick's treatment of the path leading to Jaeger's edition of the *Metaphysics* is of singular value. She begins by outlining Jaeger's principles for a text and how those principles changed as Jaeger changed his own concepts about the development of Aristotle's thought. These changes were based in part on Jaeger's examination of the commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the assumptions he made about the texts Alexander had access to. The *Metaphysics*-text was perceived as in a constant state of flux, some versions reflecting Aristotle's teaching methods. But Alexander's commentary was not all from his own stylus. Kotwick concludes that it remains doubtful how clearly an author's (Aristotle's) process of revision can be traced over a long period of time (p. 204). Her presentation not only allows us insight into a modern scholar's investigations but also should permit some reasonable assumptions about how historians or geographers in antiquity tackled data available only as summaries and scattered citations.

Jaeger's work on ancient medicine is treated by two authors. Philip van der Eijk's piece, reworked in September 2013 (pp. 209–24), discusses Jaeger's interest in the connections between medicine and philosophy, especially in Aristotle. Jaeger took over management of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (until 1936) and hoped to expand the project to encompass medicine and ancient scientific thought in general. Aristotle was to play a central role, and was believed by Jaeger to have influenced Diokles (with Jaeger's imaginative teacher-pupil prosopography). Jaeger relied heavily on the *Anonymus Londiniensis* medical papyrus.[2] Thus, there is some further work to be done. In the second portion of this study (pp. 225–43), Roberto Lo Presti demonstrates that Jaeger's own programme for educational revitalisation was shaped by Socrates' chief teaching – with their origin in medical thought – and by Plato, for whom *techne politike* was an 'Art Heilkunst' (p. 233). Also of interest is Lo Presti's observation that German medical thought at the time grappled with the same features Jaeger had identified as troubling humanistic studies. The writings of neurologist Viktor von Weizsäcker offer similar approaches to the wide-ranging problem, although direct influence can be ruled out (pp. 236–40).

The collection concludes with Christoph Markschies's discussion of Jaeger's view of ancient Christianity (pp. 245–58). Not piety, but intellectual curiosity drew him to its study, his interest in textual criticism led him to the early texts. The volume has accomplished the *Vorwort*'s stated purpose.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

T. Klär, *Die Vasconen und das Römische Reich: Der Romanisierungsprozess im Norden der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 59, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 290 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11739-5

Die Suche nach Identität ist auf der iberischen Halbinsel aktueller denn ja und tangiert inzwischen auch große Teile Europas, das zu Positionierungen im Konflikt zwischen der spanischen Zentralregierung und der separationswilligen Provinz Katalonien gezwungen wird. Über viele Jahre war es aber nicht die Auseinandersetzung mit den Katalanen, sondern

[2] Now recipient of a Teubner edition (*De medicina*, ed. Daniela Manetti [Berlin 2011]) and a Budé text with commentary (*L'Anonyme de Londres*, ed. Antonio Ricciandetto [Paris 2016]).

mit den Basken, die Spanien in Atem hielt. Immer wieder kam es zu terroristisch motivierten Gewaltakten durch die ETA. Der Einfluss der gemäßigten und radikalen Separatisten machte sich auch in der Erforschung der eigenen Geschichte bemerkbar, worauf Timo Klär in seiner Dissertationsschrift nachdrücklich hinweist. Jene verzwickte Forschungsgeschichte mochte auch den Anlass zur Beschäftigung mit der im Imperium Romanum eigentlich randständigen Volksgruppe der Vasconen gegeben haben.

Die Arbeit ist chronologisch angelegt, beginnt aber zwangsläufig mit einem methodisch und theoretisch reflektierten Kapitel zur Frage der Romanisierung oder Romanisation – bereits ein Mienenfeld, das K. durch die Betonung der Lokalität in der Antike meistert.[1] Hier lehnt sich K. eng an die Untersuchungen von Greg Woolf an, wovon die Arbeit profitiert. Dabei werden gekonnt Fragen der Identitätskonstruktion mit der aktuellen Forschung zu post-kolonialen Themen verknüpft, nicht ohne sie jeweils an das Fallbeispiel Vasconen zurückzubinden. Der Rezensent empfand dieses Kapitel als ausgesprochen erhellend.

Eintritt in die römische Geschichtsschreibung nahmen die Vasconen mit dem 2. Punischen Krieg, ohne jedoch kriegsentscheidend in den Schlachtenverlauf eingegriffen zu haben. Die republikanische Epoche ist vor allem durch die Präsen zahlreicher römischer Feldherren gekennzeichnet, die sich im Gebiet der Vasconen eine Provinzklientel aufzubauen suchten; besonders hervorgehoben seien dabei der ältere Tiberius Gracchus, Pompeius Strabo und Sertorius. Damit ist auch schon ein folgenschweres methodisches Problem angedeutet, dem sich K. zu stellen hatte. Es liegen quasi keine Selbstbeschreibungen der Vasconen vor. Alles, was wir zu rekonstruieren hoffen, ist auf die Vermittlung durch griechisch-römische Hand angewiesen (bspw. Strabon), die häufig die Leistungen einzelner Akteure heraushebt. K. geht hier stets behutsam vor und weist die steilen Thesen der baskischen Lokalforschung häufig – z.B. mit Bezug auf die ungeklärte Sprachgeschichte des Baskischen – elegant zurück. Letztlich bleibt bei aller methodisch-theoretischer Reflektion aber ein Unbehagen zurück, ob man die Geschichte einer solchen Gruppe überhaupt schreiben kann. Dieses Bauchweh vermehrt sich, wird man gewahr, wie sehr das für die gesamte althistorische Forschung gelten mag.

In der antiken Historiographie finden die Vasconen oder besser das, was die griechisch-römischen Autoren dafür hielten, zumeist nur dann Erwähnung, wenn römische Expansions- oder Bürgerkriege die vasconischen Interessen im heutigen Norden Spaniens streifen. Dennoch kann K. einen Hang einzelner Mitglieder der Volksgruppe feststellen, sich die römische Sache zu eigen zu machen, indem sie Partei bezogen. Meistens versuchte man mit den Römern zu paktieren, was vor allem durch epigraphischen Zeugnisse gesichert scheint. Doch auch die Inschriften-Praxis muss als genuin römisch gelesen werden und versuchte wohlmöglich Dissens zu verschleiern, um Aufruhr im Keim zu ersticken. Dieses vermeintliche Miteinander konnte bis hin zur Aufnahme in das römische Heer oder gar zu Bürgerrechtsverleihungen ehrenhalber führen. Die Römer waren aufgrund der strategischen Lage der *Vasconia* dankbar für jede Unterstützung. Die Guerilla-Kriege in der Region galten jedenfalls als gefürchtet, sodass sich 151 die erste nachweisliche Weigerung, sich für den

[1] Hier hätte die Arbeit von der Einbeziehung der aktuellen Forschung Hand Becks profitieren können, die Verankerung der griechischen Lebenswelt analog im Lokalen verortet. Womöglich wurden die Projekte aber zu spät aufgelegt, um K. zugänglich zu sein – eine nützliche Ergänzung können sie für die Zukunft allemal bieten; vgl. *http://www.hansbeck.org/local/* (Stand: 27.03.2018).

Kriegsdienst ausheben zu lassen, gegen eine Spanien-Expedition richtete. Als Bollwerk gegen Aufstände richtete man Kolonien mit Mischbevölkerung aus Vasconen, Keltiberen und auch Römern ein. Dieser Umstand zeigt auch deutlich, dass es *die* Vasconen nicht gab. Vielmehr hat man es mit einer heterogenen Stammesgemeinschaft mit vielfältigen Partialinteressen zu tun. Das Label „Vasconen" war eben nur eines von außen und bleibt ein Hilfsbegriff.

Dieser Befund, der vor allem auf der Untersuchung größerer Siedlungen (Graccuris, Pompaelo, Calagurris) beruht, setzt sich im Wesentlichen in der Kaiserzeit fort. Einzelne Städte erhielten im Hinblick auf ihr Naheverhältnis zu Bürgerkriegsparteien Privilegien früher oder eben erst später zugesprochen. Damit ist weder etwas über die Menschen und ihre Mentalität oder ihren Alltag noch über übrige Regionen des vasconischen Territoriums gesagt – ein Defizit, dessen sich K. wohl bewusst ist. Der materielle Zugriff auf die „vasconische Identiät" kann jedenfalls zu nötigen Schnellschlüssen führen, wie K. am Beispiel der „römischen" (oder eben doch „vasconischen"?) Gräber in der Region warnend vorführt.

Komplexer wird die Sachlage wieder mit der Spätantike und dem Aufkommen des Christentums. Inzwischen habe man es mit einer vasconisch-römischen Mischbevölkerung zu tun, die das Christentum in einzelnen Gebieten sehr unterschiedlich annahm. Aber auch hier kann kein flächendeckender Befund geleistet werden; das gleiche gilt für die territoriale Neuordnung unter Diocletian. Hier spielt K. seine epochenübergreifende Kenntnis des (vasconischen) Altertums aus. Der Rezensent wagt nicht zu beurteilen, ob die chronologisch breit angelegte Studie ambitioniert oder gewagt ist.

Insgesamt aber macht K. aus einem dünnen Quellenbestand ein sohlankes Buch, das nicht aufgebläht daherkommt und seine Stärke aus der Vorsicht gewinnt. Die Redaktion ist insgesamt gelungen, einzelne Unreinheiten in der Bibliographie fallen nicht ins Gewicht. Aktuellen Identitätskontroversen in Spanien kommt das Buch zuvor, sodass sich der Rezensent von Zeit zu Zeit bessere Spanischkenntnisse wünschte.

Humboldt-Universität Berlin Christopher Degelmann

H. Klinkott and N. Kramer (eds.), *Zwischen Assur und Athen: Altorientalisches in den Historien Herodots*, Spielräume der Antike 4, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017, 243 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11743-2

Das Interesse an erkennbaren altorientalischen Komponenten in griechischen archäologischen und schriftlichen Quellen der Bronzezeit (Stichworte: Troia, mykenische Götterwelt) sowie der (Früh-)Eisenzeit (*ca.* 1200–600 v. Chr., Stichworte: Lefkandi, Homerische bzw. Hesiodische Epen) ist in der Altertumsforschung, vor allem durch fächerübergreifende Kooperationen bzw. diachron angelegte Untersuchungen erfreulich angestiegen. Die vorliegende Publikation untersucht nun auch schlaglichtartig, durch „‚interdisziplinäre Stellenkommentierung'" (S. 8) – eine umfassende Bearbeitung sprengte den vorgegebenen Rahmen – Herodots Schriften daraufhin, mit dem Ziel, konstruktive Diskussionen anzuregen (S. 10).

Charakterisierten in der Bronzezeit das Hethiterreich, Mitanni, das Assyrische, das Babylonische und eingeschränkt das Ägyptische Reich sowie die vielen Kleinstaaten der

Levanteregion „Altorientalisches“, dominierten in der (Früh-)Eisenzeit vornehmlich Neuassyrien, Neubabylonien und vor allem die Levantestaaten als Herkunftsgebiete der vielfältigen altorientalischen ‚Einflüsse‘ in der materiellen und immateriellen Kultur des griechischen Kleinasiens (gipfelnd in der sog. ionischen Naturphilosophie) sowie des mittleren und westlichen Mittelmeerraumes. Im 6./5. Jahrhundert hatte das in vielen Aspekten ‚nachfolgende‘ Perserreich politisch alle vorgenannten Gebiete geeint und einen nunmehr „persischen Alten Orient“, eine unbedingte Klammer des gelungenen Sammelbandes (8), bestehend aus der Margarethe Häcker-Vorlesung (R. Rollinger) und darauf aufbauend acht Beiträgen (jeweils mit englischem *abstract* versehen) im Rahmen des Margarethe Häcker-Workshops, abgehalten in Heidelberg im Juni 2015, geschaffen. Im Werk des griechisch-karischen Kleinasiaten Herodot (im Folgenden H.) lassen sich „häufig und dicht“ und kaum je ‚zufällig‘ eingebracht solche persisch-altorientalischen Elemente nachweisen, die bisher allerdings nur bedingt im Fokus der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschungen, namentlich der Alten Geschichte, Klassischen Philologie, aber auch Altorientalistik bzw. Vorderasiatischen bzw. Klassischen Archäologie, standen (vgl. dazu auch die umfassende Gesamtbibliographie, S. 219–43). Woher, wie und wo er seine Informationen jeweils erhielt (vor Ort durch Autopsie, mündlich [in welcher/n Sprache/n?], schriftlich, durch [nicht überlieferte] Bilder), ist komplex und kompliziert und Teil des wissenschaftlichen Diskurses, ebenso, „ob er ihre originäre Bedeutung erkannte oder wie und zu welchem Zweck er sie für sein griechisches Publikum verfremdete“ (vgl. auch S. 8 mit Anm. 7f.).

Bereits R. Rollinger (S. 13–42) stellt in seiner Vorlesung klar, dass H. nicht einfach kopierte, sondern die benutzten Elemente, die ihrerseits offensichtlich von den Persern aus allen möglichen Kulturregionen ihres Reiches (z.B. Ritual aus der Hethiterzeit, Reliefvorbild aus dem früheisenzeitlichen Urartu, mythologisches Motiv aus der ägyptisch-arabischen Grenzregion) und Zeiten übernommen worden waren bzw. in die persische Zeit hinein existierten, „zu wesentlichen Bestandteilen seiner Historien“ umformte (S. 14), um den Lesern seine bestimmte Botschaft zu übermitteln, z.B. den persischen Herrscher als Despoten zu charakterisieren.

Diese Warnung vor der großköniglichen Hybris und ihren Konsequenzen aus griechischer Sicht – dagegen aus persischer Warte als großkönigliche Legitimationsbemühungen und/oder Selbstinszenierungen nach altorientalischen Mustern im Kontext mit persischen Rebellionen und Kriegsführung zu verstehen – scheinen auch in den folgenden Beiträgen auf, je nach untersuchter Thematik, die sowohl die Kernbereiche und Zentren des Perserreiches berühren, als auch an dessen Rändern angesiedelt sind, dann mit einem eher hohen oder einem stark dem griechischen Verständnis angepassten Grad an authentischer Wiedergabe der ‚altorientalischen‘ bzw. persischen Anteile, wobei die Freude, den Text mit Exotica anzureichern, nicht ausgeschlossen wird und ebenso wenig, dass einiges Berichtete einfach H.s Phantasie entsprungen sein dürfte. Sein vielschichtiges Verhältnis zur Welt des persischen Alten Orients bildet erklärtermaßen die thematische Leitlinie des Buches (S. 8), auch wenn immer wieder auf mögliche Grenzen der Interpretationen hingewiesen wird.

In „Perser, Meder oder Barbaren?“ geht es A. Ellis um H.s Einsatz von Namen und wiedergegebenen Sitten (hier: persisches Begräbnisritual), verbunden mit der Frage nach der Rolle seines ethnographischen Wissens und basierend auf einer knappen Darstellung seiner eingebrachten ‚Gattungen‘ und erzählerischen Perspektiven (S. 45–59). Wie die Bezeichnung ‚Phryger‘ in der frühgriechischen Literatur neben den eigentlichen Phrygern

auch für Troianer, später für Kleinasiaten allgemein verwendet wurde, so scheint H. wie auch seine Kollegen ‚Perser', ‚Meder', ‚Barbaren' alternierend spezifisch oder unspezifisch zu gebrauchen. Grundsätzlich bemüht sich H., die berichteten Episoden „in die literarische Tradition der Griechen" einzubetten (S. 59).

H. Klinkott zeigt unter dem Titel „Xerxes und der Kopf des Leonidas. Handlungszwänge und Rollenverständnis eines persischen Großkönigs" (S. 61–81) am Beispiel der Leichenschändung des Leonidas nach der Schlacht an den Thermopylen durch Xerxes (in der Tradition u.a. neuassyrischen Herrschergebarens) zwei Ebenen: einerseits eine (griechisch-) literarische: Großkönig = Tyrann, andererseits eine historische und eigentlich innerpersische, nämlich Xerxes' Kampf um seine großkönigliche Stellung und Autorität angesichts andauernder Kritik aus den eigenen Reihen. Der Fokus, den A. Schwab in seinem Text zur achaimenidischen Königsideologie in H.s Erzählung über Xerxes (S. 163–95) wählte, betont zusätzlich, dass der Autor offenbar persische Königsinschriften kannte, deren Motivik und Sprachduktus er einbrachte, um die Thematik der großköniglichen Legitimationsbemühungen darzustellen.

Ebenfalls um H.s Umgang mit Inschriften sowie die großkönigliche Selbstinszenierung geht es im Abschnitt von J. Lougovaya-Ast (S. 105–21). Sie bringt eine nützliche Zusammenstellung der 24 Inschriften, die H. in den „Historien" anführt (S. 111–12) und verfolgt die Frage nach deren jeweiligem Zweck nach bzw. der Feststellung einer Diskrepanz zwischen der tatsächlichen Inschriftenaussage und der Erzählung, in die sie H. einbettete, zumeist unter Nennung der Inschriftenurheber, auf der Basis von drei genutzten, sich z.T. überschneidenden Untersuchungsansätzen: archäologisch, historisch und literarisch (S. 107). Sie nimmt auch direkten Bezug zu R. Rollingers Beitrag zu Dareios' Reiterrelief (S. 116–21).

K. Trampedach untersucht die persischen *Magoi* bei H. (S. 197–218), die er als „'Priester der Despoten' und H.s Gewährsmänner für seine antimonarchische Theologie" ausmacht, sie also aus (kleinasiatisch-)griechischer Perspektive durch H. bewertet und für seine Aussageabsicht eingesetzt sieht. N. Kramers Beitrag „Herkunft, Transformation und Funktion orientalischer Kriegsmotive bei H." (S. 83–104) geht in eine vergleichbare Richtung und erwähnt zum einen die Anreicherung der Erzählungen mit exotischen Elementen – als Beispiele dienen Poliorketik, Flucht/Exodus, Deportation, großköniglicher Aufmarsch, Grausamkeit –, z.T. wird aber die Warnung vor der Hybris der Großkönige im Rahmen ihrer Kriegsführung in der vorgelegten griechischen Umdeutung fast ins Gegenteil verkehrt, wohingegen aus persischer Sicht die königliche Vorgehensweise eher gestützt würde. Dabei weist der Autor explizit darauf hin, dass der jeweilige altorientalisch-persische Kontext in der Geschichtsforschung noch immer unterschätzt wird und – wie wohl durch alle Beiträge klar wird – nur interdisziplinär bearbeitet werden kann (vergleichbar mit den ‚altorientalischen' Funden/Befunden aus dem gesamten westlichen Mittelmeerraum, die natürlich nicht im Fokus der Altorientalisten/Vorderasiatischen Archäologen stehen, aber auch reziprok nutzbringend wären), damit er für die Perserforschung zu Erkenntnissen führen kann, weshalb hier der Fokus nur auf die griechische Rezeption durch H. gelegt wurde (S. 104).

Neben der persischen Expansion innerhalb Kleinasiens und nach Griechenland, hatten die Achaimeniden den Norden und Nordwesten des Persischen Reiches im Blick. Im Zusammenhang mit Kyros' II. Zug zu den Massageten stellt D. Möhlmann die Frage, ob

es sich bei dem bezeugten Schiffseinsatz bei der Araxes- (eigentlich Oxus-) Überquerung Kyros' II. (S. 123–44) um eine Inszenierung persischer Macht handelte. Er kommt zum einen zu dem Ergebnis, dass die in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnte Brücke wirklich eine sog. Ponton-Brücke war, und dass H. durch den Bericht dieser spektakulären Tat am Rande der Welt die in altorientalischer Tradition zu verortende eigene Machtdarstellung des Großkönigs (authentisch) darstellte. M. Schuol befasst sich mit H.s Skythen-Bild zwischen Realität und Fiktion (S. 145–62) im sog. Skythen-Logos, dessen Informationen zum guten Teil „hohe Qualität und Authentizität" (S. 161) u.a. zu Lebensweise und Bestattungssitten bieten, die auch immer wieder durch archäologische Funde und Befunde gestützt werden, nicht aber H. als geschickten Autor vergessen lassen.

Universität Tübingen Anne-Maria Wittke

A. Kolb and M. Vitale (eds.), *Kaiserkult in den Provinzen des Römischen Reiches: Organisation, Kommunikation und Repräsentation*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, ix+512 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-041671-8

Starting from the contradictory accounts of Cassius Dio (51. 20. 6–8) and Tacitus (*Annales* 4. 37. 1), the present volume of proceedings of an international conference held at Zürich in September 2014, edited by Anne Kolb and Marco Vitale, aims at overcoming generalised interpretations of emperor worship in the Roman provinces. Instead of presenting one-dimensional relationships between the Roman centre and the periphery, the editors and contributors provide a more nuanced insight into this topic. Given the vast range of Asia Minor studies, this volume is of unquestionable value concerning (re-)evaluating the scarce material we have for the provinces. By investigating emperor worship in the hitherto under-represented areas of Achaia, Lycia, Gaul, Thessaly and even the Parthian empire, this volume highlights the local geneses of emperor worship and therefore emphasises the regional facets and idiosyncrasies that go beyond questions of political and religious relevance. This volume therefore addresses the phenomenon of emperor worship in economic, social and organisational perspectives in order to re-evaluate that widespread phenomenon as a regionally highly differentiated institution. Accordingly, this volume presents new aspects not only for the broad ancient historian community but also for the related specialist fields, most prominently numismatics and epigraphy. The spectrum of topics as well as the corresponding variety of materials and analytical methods are therefore deeply impressive.

Given that background, this review does not entirely follow the editors' thematic organisation, starting from the genesis and development of cults though local and supra-local organisational structures (*poleis*, *koina, provincae*) to networks of provincial and Roman elites and, finally, to the Late Antique end of the emperor cult. This review seeks to emphasise the value of this volume in its research discourse even beyond its own recognition, i.e. in the tension between rather structure-oriented and individual-oriented approaches. Within the rather common terms of Pierre Bourdieu, one may consider this tension as a 'divergence' between 'objectivist' approaches and 'subjectivist' approaches. Starting with the latter, the most compelling contributions come from the Danish faction in the volume. Jesper Madsen's study is therefore surely best placed as first contribution. Through critically re-interpreting essential passages in Cassius Dio and Suetonius, Madsen discloses how the

entangled and ambiguous communication between Roman officials and certain constellations of local officials in the *koina* of Asia and Bithynia results in a strategical 'illusion' of emperor worship being locally elaborated 'from below'. This ambiguous communication pinpoints the importance of individual ambitions and their scope of actions rather than a determining political structure, as commonly expressed for *koina*.[1] In accordance with Madsen, Søren Sørensen illustrates how those provincial *legati* addressing the authorities in Rome do not necessarily represent officially elected or delegated provincial authorities but, as Madsen already indicates, local individuals who gather *ad hoc* entourages with which they seek to enforce their personal claims against competing individuals and their networks. Marco Vitale joins Sørensen half-way. Though his study confirms the ambitions of local individuals, as can be seen in dedicatory inscriptions of Hispania Ulterior Baetica, Lugundum and Isauria, he, however, emphasises the individual connection to the respective provincial assembly, which, as Vitale illustrates, tends to refer to itself as *provincia* in official decision-clauses. Similarly, by comparing several *cursus honorum* in Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, Lycia and Macedonia, Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen defines a common but nevertheless locally specific pattern (wealth, family, holding *koinon* or civic offices) that determines 'leading men'. Bekker-Nielsen openly opposes the still existing idea of a coherent legal system and well-ordered commonwealth that Mommsen once perpetuated, and instead illuminates the importance of 'individual networking', in line with Georg Simmel's notion of 'sociability', though not using either technical term. Concerning the Roman senatorial elite, Werner Eck refers their scopes of individual ambition to strategies of assuring loyalty and personal prestige. Eck therefore doubts the effect of emperor worship on individual practice and belief in Roman senatorial circles.

Domitilla Campanile and Filippo Battistoni focus on the 'refunctionalisation' of *amicitia*-relationships between Republican Rome and Lycia in Imperial times. Though Battistoni's new dating of two Lycian inscriptions undoubtedly represents an important insight into the genesis and development of emperor worship as it concerns regional differences, and therefore illuminates Lycia as a unique case, it remains debateable whether this *amicitia* is an expression of operating political and cultural systems rather than individual *amicitiae*, as Madsen and Sørensen suggest. Michael Speidel, who similarly keeps *amicitia* in this traditional view of state relations, provides a very interesting case study on a topic that is commonly far out of sight – namely, the use of emperor worship in the Parthian empire as an expression of *amicitia* and therefore as a means of communication that warrants trust and stability. In these concerns, after having read Peter Herz's discovery according to which especially music *agones* increase in comparison to the other *agones* at emperor worship, Denise Reitzenstein explains this 'explosion' of agonism in Lycia with the 'epigraphic habit' at place. She refers this agonistic presence in the sources to the essential role of illustrating one's euergetism, which again highlights individual ambitions in opposition to a provincial cultic system.

The local geneses of emperor worship are approached from a rather structure-oriented point of view. The certainly most compelling and thought-provoking papers in this regard

[1] See most recently Y. Löbel, *Die Poleis der bundesstaatlichen Gemeinwesen im antiken Griechenland: Untersuchungen zum Machtverhältnis zwischen Poleis und Zentralgewalten bis 167 v. Chr.* (Alessandria 2014).

are provided by Gabriele Frija and Barbara Holler. Both illuminate the homogenising influences of the provincial cults in Asia Minor, and most particularly Asia, on their respective polis-cults. Whereas Frija illustrates how the competition among *poleis* and their cults led to appropriations of elements and structures of the respective provincial cults in the broader area of Asia Minor, Holler pinpoints the ability of Roman elites to influence these appropriations. As it concerns Thessaly, as studied by Richard Bouchon, Delphi and Athens served as 'model' *koinon* and 'model' city for these locally specific appropriations. Being led by the questionable assumption that a social community is equal to ritual community, Frija employs a reductive notion of identity that does not go beyond geographical and topographical aspects. Scholars of cultural and religious history might disagree with her in that respect.[2]

As the studies of Francesco Camia, Lorenzo Cigaina and Hadrien Bru illustrate, local and regional appropriations that lead to standardisation also operate alongside the association of the emperor with either local and/or supra-local traditional gods. As it concerns the province of Achaia, studied by Camia, Roman emperors were integrated into the local *panthea* and thus into complex ritual and priestly systems. In accordance with French scholarship's focus on divine 'puissances', Bru discloses the reconciliation of the Dionysios cult with Hadrian's powers as expressed in representational, liturgical, mythical and structural respects. Likewise, Cigaina illustrates how the military tradition at ancient Creta was attracted by Octavian's power so that the Emperor was connected with the local Zeus Kretagenès and the goddess Artemis Diktynna became patron of Augustus' victories.

Holger Wienholz takes the structuralist approach to its extremes with very interesting insights. Wienholz maintains an impressive, though deterministic intellectual performance that re-evaluates the Bacchus temple at Baalbek as a Severian *neocorie* temple. Going the other way round, Julie Dalaison reconstructs a *koinon* through *neocorie* evidence. Her numismatic investigation opposes recent debates on numerous *koina* of Pontus and argues in favour of one coherent *koinon* of Pontus. Babett Edelmann-Singer provides an important contribution for the study of elite women in Asia, Pontus and Bythinia, and further areas. According to her, these *archiereiae* integrate into the male dominated hierarchy in order to accumulate 'social capital' and 'prestige' to their respective families.

Alister Filippini and Christian Raschle face the long-debated dichotomy between Christian ideology and emperor worship. Though they both elaborate highly sophisticated solutions by either pointing to the administrative importance of the Imperial cult for a centralised imperial organisation, as accentuated with the denotation 'sacral-juridical fossil', or by separating a civic symbolic system from a Christian religious symbolic system, it appears clear that such a dichotomy only makes sense within a highly structuralist perception of human practice and thought, as Raschle makes clear by introducing Robert Bellah's concept of civil religion as a means to elaborate a concept of a supra-polis-religion.

[2] For ancient religions, see J. Rüpke, 'Religious Agency, Identity, and Communication: Reflections on History and Theory of Religion'. *Religion* 45 (2015), 344–66; É. Rebillard and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity* (Washington, DC 2015).

In sum, the present volume provides many compelling historical insights, though some methodological perspectives tend to ignore recent debates on ancient religion and culture. The individual-oriented approaches in particular, as best expressed by Bekker-Nielsen's opposition to legalistic top-down approaches, make progress in paving the way for more detailed examinations of individuals and their networks as driving factors of cultural, organisational and religious rather than social and political change on the provincial, sub-provincial and local level. One may, however, wonder why no contributors were invited in order to investigate the more complex religious aspects rather than social and political. Notwithstanding the editors voicing some criticism of these approaches, it may have offered insights into the local particularities of religious thinking and practice that may have enhanced the deployed concepts of (religious) identity, 'civil religion' and female roles. Finishing with a minor complaint, a critical index would have been helpful, given the methodological and thematic complexity and variety of this volume.

University of Erfurt Maik Patzelt

E. Kozal, *Fremdes in Anatolien: Importgüter aus dem Ostmittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien als Indikator für spätbronzezeitliche Handels- und Kulturkontakte*, Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 11, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, 261 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10811-9/ISSN 2196-7199

Die Dissertationspublikation behandelt Fremdgüter aus dem Ostmittelmeerraum – namentlich Zypern, das besonders umfassend berücksichtigt wurde u.a. durch die direkte Auswertung kyprischer Keramik aus Kinet Höyük, Tarsus-Gözlükule und Troia (vgl. Taf. 1–11), ferner Syrien, der südlichen Levante, Ägypten, Mesopotamien sowie dem Ägäisraum, jeweils im Wesentlichen auf der Basis von Literaturauswertung (vgl. die umfassende Bibliographie) –, die in (mittel- und) spätbronzezeitlichen (20. bis zum Ende des 13. Jh. v. Chr.) Orten Kleinasiens (= Anatolien) gefunden wurden. Auf deren Grundlage untersuchte die Autorin als gegenseitig zu charakterisierende Handels- und Kulturkontakte der verschiedenen anatolischen Regionen (vgl. Karte 1, S. 18 sowie die Erläuterungen S. 19–20) bzw. historisch überlieferten (hethitischen Teil-) Länder (vgl. Karte 2, S. 51) mit den genannten Gebieten (vgl. bes. Karte 3–8 in Kap. 4), wobei sie sich für die Auswertung auf ihren umfänglichen Katalog zu 31 archäologischen Gruppen, die im Wesentlichen Gefäße, Plastik und Kleinkunst umfassen, mit 694 Einträgen stützte. Ein wichtiges Anliegen ist außer der Darstellung der Forschungsgeschichte zu den jeweiligen Beziehungen, wie z.B. zwischen Anatolien und Zypern in Kap. 2, auch eine kurze Darstellung der bekannten historischen Gegebenheiten und die Diskussion der bisher nicht vereinheitlichten bronzezeitlichen relativen und absoluten Chronologie(n) Anatoliens, deren völlig diverse Ansätze (archäologisch, historisch, naturwissenschaftlich basiert/kombiniert) mittels der Tabellen 1–18 veranschaulicht werden und die unterstreichen, welch großes Forschungsdesiderat hier immer noch vorliegt (Kap. 3).

Mit dem Terminus „Fremdgut" bezeichnet die Autorin jedes nicht lokal hergestellte Gut ohne Definition eines spezifischen Austausches und damit in Abgrenzung z.B. zu „Import", was in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur üblicherweise synonym genutzt wird, mit der Bedeutung ‚bewusst eingeführte Ware' (S. 85), bezeichnet also eine enger gefasste, bestimmte Art

des Austauschs. Für die Definition und Identifizierung der zugrunde gelegten Fremdgüter wurden folgende Kriterien beachtet: 1) Verbreitung, Häufigkeit, frühestes Vorkommen einer Objektgattung; 2) vorhandene/nicht vorhandene Rohstoffe; 3) naturwissenschaftlich basierte Herkunftsanalysen.

Begleitet von mehreren regionalen Verbreitungskarten (3, 5–8) liegt der Fokus von Kap. 4 auf der „Rekonstruktion der Beziehungen, Austauschmechanismen und Handelsrouten", wobei die räumliche Verbreitung und Häufigkeit einer Fundgattung mit bestimmter Herkunft in einer Zeitphase zum einen die beim Austausch beteiligten Siedlungen/Regionen, die Entwicklung der Kontakte und den Verlauf von Handelsrouten zu Lande und zu Wasser (Seewege/Flüsse) auch unter Einbeziehung der rekonstruierbaren Transportmittel, zum anderen die Intensität der Kontakte beleuchten, während Kontext bzw. Funktion der Objektklassen Hinweise auf die Art der Beziehungen lieferten.

Es ergaben sich vier anatolische Kontaktregionen: Süd-, Südost, Zentral- und Westanatolien (Kap. 5; vgl. auch Karte 1). Danach zeigen sich Beziehungen Südanatoliens – im Wesentlichen handelt es sich und die später als Ebenes bzw. Raues Kilikien bezeichneten Landschaften – mit allen ostmittelmeerischen Regionen. Aber mit Ausnahme Zyperns (vgl. Karte 3 und 4) erscheinen sie letztlich schwach und sporadisch, darunter Einzelfunde aus Ägypten, nichts Minoisches und nur wenig mykenische Keramik. Die Untersuchung bestätigt aber auch später bezeugte Routen: eine direkte Seeverbindung von Zypern zum Göksu-/Kalykadnos-Tal (Fundort Kilisetepe), wo eine wichtige Verbindung nach Zentralanatolien ihren Ausgang nahm, ebenfalls eine solche ins Ebene Kilikien (Fundort Tarsos usw.) sowie, wenn auch schwach bezeugt, den Landweg (Fundort Kinet Höyük) über das Amanosgebirge, der Nordsyrien mit den wichtigen Orten Ugarit und Alalaḫ/Tall Atchana und Kilikien verband bzw. nach Osten zum Euphrat führte. Nicht gestützt wird durch die Auswertung (bisher) eine überregionale Seeroute entlang der kilikischen Südküste von und nach Nordsyrien, eine interessante Beobachtung ggf. mit Konsequenzen für die Rekonstruktion des Seewegs in den Ägäisraum.

In Südostanatolien treten Funde unterschiedlicher Zeitschnitte mit Ausnahme von levantinischen, ägyptischen und minoischen (und nur einem mykenischen) auf, wobei der Kontakt in den schwer zu differenzierenden syrisch-mesopotamischen Raum (inkl. Mitanni, Assyrien, Babylonien) am intensivsten und andauerndsten u.a. durch zahlreiche mitannische, assyrische, babylonische (Bullae- und) Siegelfunde repräsentiert wird. Dass der Euphrat als Verkehrsweg genutzt wurde, scheint wahrscheinlich.

Relativ gute Schriftquellen liegen für Zentralanatolien vor (Zeit der Altassyrischen Handelskolonien sowie des Hethitischen Großreichs). Aufgrund der jeweiligen historischen Situation verwundert es demnach nicht, dass Funde (Fertigprodukte und Rohmaterial wie z.B. Kupfer aus Zypern oder Elfenbein) fast allen ostmittelmeerischen Regionen zugeordnet werden können, wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Intensität, mit unterschiedlichen Zentren (südlich bzw. nördlich des Halysbogens) und zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten. Wieder fallen assyrische und babylonische Siegel und Bullae besonders ins Auge, ergänzt durch Gefäße und plastische Erzeugnisse. Die schriftlich bezeugten spätbronzezeitlichen Kontakte zwischen Ägypten und dem Hethiterreich werden durch (Einzel-) Funde, bes. Skarabäen, v.a. aus dem hethitischen Kernland unterstützt, doch sind sie kaum als Handelsgüter zu klassifizieren. Auch die Objekte aus dem Ägäisraum sind zu spärlich, um von Handel zu sprechen und Routen zu rekonstruieren, wobei aufgrund der Geophysis die Überlandwege von Westen

(z.B. Maiandros-Tal), aber auch aus Südanatolien (Göksu-Tal; Kilikische Pforte via Tarsos und Fraktin) nach Zentralkleinasien bekannt sind. Die Nutzung des Seewegs an der südlichen Schwarzmeerküste entlang ist dagegen bisher für den behandelten Zeitraum kaum nachweisbar.

Nicht überraschen kann der Befund, dass Westanatolien die stärksten Kontakte im Ägäisraum ab der minoischen Zeit aufweist, mit Milet, wo wohl von einer minoischen und später mykenischen Niederlassung mit lokaler Produktion gesprochen werden kann, während sowohl im nordwestlichen Bereich mit dem Fundort Troia als auch im südwestlichen Gebiet mit Milet (vgl. Karte 1) die Kontakte mit Zypern, Syrien und der südlichen Levante, dem syrisch-mesopotamischen Raum und Ägypten sehr schwach, z.T. schlecht datierbar oder gar nicht nachgewiesen werden können und somit auch keine Aussagen zu Verbindungswegen gemacht werden.

Die Veröffentlichung präsentiert in sich konsistent eine notwendige und willkommene archäologische Grundlagenarbeit, in der systematisch die aufgenommenen Objektgruppen bearbeitet und ausgewertet wurden, die einem ambitionierten, weil nicht nur in archäologischer Hinsicht – vergleichsweise wenige Grabungen – schwierigen Zeithorizont zugeordnet werden. Anzumerken ist die etwas heterogene, aber in der archäologischen Fachliteratur durchaus übliche Terminologie: z.T. sind die Objekte archäologisch-geographisch definiert, z.B. kyprisch, syrisch-mesopotamisch, levantinisch, z.T. historisch wie z.B. mitannisch. Bedauerlich sind die relativ wenigen Abbildungen. Hervorzuheben ist besonders der Katalog, gegliedert nach Objekt, Material, Herkunft, Fundort/Region (hier auch ggf. Hinweise zur Datierung: jeweils chronologisch absteigend angeordnet), v.a. in Verbindung mit den Verbreitungskarten.

Universität Tübingen Anne-Maria Wittke

V. Kozlovskaya (ed.), *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity: Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, xxvii+366 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01951-5

Reconstruction of the history of the ancient history of the north coast of the Black Sea is one of the triumphs of classical archaeology. The relevant scholarship is correspondingly vast, but unfortunately not accessible to most Western historians for linguistic reasons. The goal of *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* is correspondingly ambitious: to provide a comprehensive survey of current scholarship in English.

Although *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* has similar goals, it differs from its predecessors such as, for example, Ellis Minns's *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge 1913) in two ways. First, as no single author could master this scholarship in the way that Minns did a century ago, *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* is the work of an international team of nine scholars recruited by Valeriya Kozlovskaya. Second, unlike *Scythians and Greeks*, which was primarily an encyclopaedic survey of the results of Czarist scholarship on the region, the new work is organised thematically around the three themes indicated in its subtitle: *Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions*. After an introduction dealing with 'Pontic Networks', the book treats the history of the region from the Archaic period to late antiquity in five parts: harbours, overseas trade, political culture, art and architecture, and the Sarmatians.

Ironically, in view of the prominence the question of Archaic Greek colonisation occupies in Black Sea scholarship,[1] the only contribution dealing with Greek settlement of the Black Sea, Askold Ivantchik's 'The Greeks and the Black Sea: The Earliest Ideas about the Region and the Beginning of Colonization', treats a relatively marginal issue in Black Sea historiography, the lateness of Greek colonisation of the region, arguing that the reason was religious. On the basis of a detailed analysis of Greek mythology, he argues that the Greeks initially identified the Black Sea with the Ocean and the gateway to the realm of the dead and that only after improved information in the 7th century BC disproved this view did settlement begin.

The section on harbours contains two papers. In the first, Kozlovskaya surveys the evidence for harbors in the north-west Black Sea with particular emphasis on Olbia, Odessos and the island of Leuke, identifying Olbia and Odessos as the primary harbours in micro-regions that included shifting networks of secondary harbours and anchorages while Leuke owed its importance as a port to the cult of Achilles celebrated on the island. In the second, Ilya Buynevich briefly but clearly summarises the principal geological processes that shaped the north coast of the Black Sea in antiquity, demonstrating that sea level during the Classical period was significantly lower than at present with the result that many ancient sites have been submerged and that coastal features that influenced economic activity in antiquity can no longer be considered to be the same by archaeologists.

The two papers in the section on overseas trade outline the main trends in commerce in the Black Sea from the Archaic period to the early 3rd century AD based on almost a century of amphora studies. In the first, Sergey Monakhov and Elena Kuznetŝova survey site by site trade patterns from the Archaic period to the Early Hellenistic, establishing three main points: first, that Pontic trade rose beginning in late 5th century BC, peaking in the early 4th century BC, and then declined sharply after *ca.* 330 BC; second, that the volume and content of trade varied site by site; and third, that while Heraclea and Sinope were the principal Black Sea exporters in the region, the bulk of the trade was from Mediterranean sources. Sergey Vnukov picks up the story in the second article, tracing the emergence of a unified market in the Black Sea in the approximately three centuries from the reign of Augustus to the early 3rd century AD.

The third section consists of a single characteristically excellent contribution by Angelos Chaniotis analysing the political culture of the Black Sea cities during what he calls the 'long Hellenistic Period' from the late 4th century BC to the 3rd century AD on the basis of the rich epigraphy of the region. Amidst many penetrating observations concerning individual inscriptions, he demonstrates that the Black Sea Greek cities shared two characteristics with the majority of Hellenistic Greek *poleis*, that democratic forms often concealed government by elective oligarchies, and that, despite intense local pride, their primary identity rested on their sharing the Hellenic cultural *koine* of the period.

The two articles in the section on art and architecture try to answer the same question, what is the defining characteristic of art in the northern Black Sea, and both come to essentially the same conclusion, namely that it is an eclectic form of a provincial Greek art strongly influenced by the multi-ethnic environment in which it developed. In the first of

[1] See not least the numerous writings of, and the many volumes edited by, Gocha Tsetskhladze over the past 25 years.

these articles, Maya Muratov provides a detailed analysis of examples of Bosporan art, noting the prominence of local themes on funerary stelae including representations of ancestral images and the entrance to the Underworld on monuments such as the remarkable stele from the Trëkhbratnie Kurgan and the adoption of tamgas as emblematic identifiers from the Sarmatians. Likewise, in the second article, Alla Buĭskikh demonstrates through a careful analysis of the fragments of Ionic columns that the principal regional centres of the northern Black Sea – Olbia, Chersonesus and Bosporus – developed distinctive local forms of an East Mediterranean architectural *koine*.

In the final article of the volume, Valentina Mordvintŝeva reconsiders the question of the Sarmatian invasions. Through a survey of the archaeological evidence thought to be associated with the Sarmatian invasions, she argues convincingly that references to the Sarmatians in classical sources should not be interpreted as evidence of the replacement of the Scythians by an invading people from the east but as indicating that Greeks began dealing with a new elite group ruling over the various populations inhabiting the Pontic steppe beginning in the Late Hellenistic period.

The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity is a welcome addition to the growing number of works on the Black Sea available in English. The articles are clear and well written and constitute a valuable survey of recent scholarship. Not all aspects of them are, of course, equally convincing. Thus, while Ivantchik's discussion of the Black Sea as forming part of the Ocean in Archaic mythology is a valuable addition to our understanding of the religious history of the region, it is simplistic as the principal explanation for the relative lateness of Greek colonisation of the Pontus to the exclusion of other factors such as, for example, the harshness of its environment compared with other areas they settled. Similarly, while amphora studies are effectively used to trace gross trends in Black Sea trade, attempts to quantify the volume of the trade as in the discussion of Heracleote wine exports in the Roman Imperial period (pp. 122–24) exceeds the level of precision that our evidence can provide. Still, that does not detract from the fact that scholars and students will find in *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity* a valuable guide to scholarship on the topics discussed in it.

California State University, Los Angeles Stanley M. Burstein

J. Lipps (ed.), *Transfer und Transformation: römischer Architektur in den Nordwestprovinzen*, Kolloquium vom. 6.–7. November 2015 in Tübingen, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 22, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 245 pp., illustrations (several in colour). ISBN 978-3-89646-913-7/ISSN 1862-3484

In this book are presented the papers delivered at a colloquium held at Tübingen in November 2015, less five which have been or will be published elsewhere but supplemented with two extra, those by Dell'Acqua and Maligorne.

The first paper, by Johannes Lipps, sums up the aims of the colloquium, the development of stone architecture in the North West provinces of the Romen empire, seen in the light of modern research as more complex than the simple adaptation of concepts found in the architecture of the city of Rome itself. It emphasises the diverse nature of buildings and

structures which, though linked to the Mediterranean sphere, are the result of an individual transformation based on local capabilities.

The following papers are divided into two groups, Transfer – the direct influence of Roman metropolitan architectural ideas – and Transformation, subsequent local development. First, Dominik Maschek argues against J.B. Ward Perkins's idea of active Romanisation in architecture as a part of a deliberate acculturation process, from Late Republican into Early Imperial times, along with the assumption of the existence of travelling workshops and diffusionist cultural areas. He stresses that the parallel with mediaeval practice is false since the political circumstances were not the same. In place of this he proposes a method based on contemporary concepts of 'Middle Range Theory'. He looks to the Roman empire under five aspects: its physical geography, its political geography, its economic geography, its juristic geography and its social geography, considering the effects of these on the development of local architectural forms.

Next, Agusta-Boularot, Chausserie-Laprée and Nin discuss the early development of Italic architectural influence in southern Gaul in contrast to the rather more direct influence of the Greek settlements on the coast, principally Massilia, on the immediate non-Greek hinterland.

Antonio Dell'Acqua discusses the more specialised and limited influence of the depiction of a marine thiasos found in the funerary architecture of northern Italy. Finally Alfred Schäfer looks at the redevelopment of Roman Cologne under Domitian. He includes, prior to that, a fragment of relief sculpture in Carrara marble of the time of Augustus, surely a piece of metropolitan origin. He then looks at the late 1st-century AD redevelopment of the part of the city bordering the Rhine, with a sanctuary between the river and the forum and to the side of this an octostyle podium temple, the Capitolium, with a round temple between them, both these placed in their own courtyards.

The second section of the book begins with a paper by Gerhard Waldherr on building inscriptions from Raetia and north-eastern Upper Germany. He uses these to define the various categories of the buildings themselves and the individuals concerned, which means those who put up the funds for the work rather than the architects and craftsmen who actually designed and built them. An appendix gives the full texts of the inscriptions. These give the names of the individuals concerned, together with their status and place in society, whether they are local citizens paying for temples and similar buildings or (in the frontier areas) military personnel arranging for fortification works.

Monika Verzár-Bass considers the decorative schemes applied to the porticos of the Forum of Augustus at Rome, a series of caryatids standing on podia and specifically the circular shields carved on the wall sections between, decorated with heads of Jupiter Ammon and the Celtic deity Cernunnos, reflecting the early triumphs of Augustus, his successes at Actium, Alexandria and in Gaul. She shows how this decorative concept was copied and adapted elsewhere, in Spain and Gaul, with changes to details, such as different deities, the caryatids replaced by candelabra, the shields by paterae.

Thomas Hufschmid discusses architectural concepts and building decoration at Avenches/Aventicum, the capital of the Helvetii, showing how Roman architectural concepts here receive local variation. One temple, the 'Stork' (Cigonier) temple, named after the storks which until 1970 inhabited a still-standing column, followed the architectural form of the Flavian Forum of Peace. It was built from a high-quality limestone ('Neuenburger marble').

On the other hand the 'Grange des Dîmes' temple is in a developed Romano-Celtic form, a central square cella suroumded with a colonnaded passageway, all on a base with a stepped central approach to a tetrastyle porch. He also discusses the architecture of the theatre and amphitheatre, which include motifs copied from triumphal arches.

Finally in this section Yvan Maligorne writes on the reception of architectural models at the edge of the Empire, reflections on the grand civic sanctuaries of western Gaul. He cites epigraphic material for the 'municipalisation' of the local communities in Brittany, at Rennes and Nantes, but chiefly looks at the remains of actual structures; the colonnaded courtyard and temple at Joublains (Noviodunum), the courtyard sanctuary of Mars-Mullo at Allonnes, and the sanctuary of Haut-Bécherel at Corseul (which he compares in lay-out to the Stork temple at Avenches, though the temple itself consists of a porch fronting an octagonal tower with surrounding gallery, that is, a modified Romano-Celtic type). All these are enclosed colonnaded courtyards of the type found not only at Rome but which, of course, are widespread throughout the empire – Maligorne compares for the sanctuary at Joublains the sanctuary of Artemis at Jerash in Jordan. He comments on shared variations of the relationship of the temple to its courtyard, whether placed free-standing within the courtyard or integrated into the colonnade opposite the entrance, or, in the case of Allonnes, placed against the far colonnade which here is curved backwards to allow the temple to be free-standing. He also illustrates fragmentary Corinthian capitals from Joublains and Allonnes.

The book ends with two papers on 'work in progress', Birte Geissler on the Porta Nigra at Trier and Klaus Kortüm on examples of architecture in Upper Germany, the temple of Apollo-Granus at Neuenstadt-am-Kocher and the façade of a villa building at Hechingen-Stein. Birte Geissler studies the Porta Nigra not so much as an individual structure but as an integral part of the town walls of Trier. Recent investigation gives a date in the second half of the second century. It was left unfinished. Klaus Kortüm discusses the temple at Neuenstadt as a modified Romano-Celtic type. The building at Hechingen (building M) is part of a larger villa complex. Because of the lie of the land a large part of its southern wall can in principal be reconstrucred, with arched window openings in its façade.

This volume provides good insights into the links between the forms of the stone buildings in the north-west provinces of the Empire and those of buildings at Rome itself. The mechanisms that lead to this, however, are much more obscure. The actual architects and stone masons responsible for the creation of buildings in the Roman empire are notoriously invisible. We have no evidence for the formal training of architects or the methods by which they were recruited for any particular building project. The assumption has to be that the usual system of training and education was a form of apprenticeship, but the character and extent of the architectural workshops remain elusive. When Yvan Maligorne shows in his proposed reconstruction of the sanctuary at Joublains an octostyle podium temple with Corinthian columns, and actual fragments of Corinthian capitals from the surrounding quadriporticus it raises the question where did the stonemason who carved these capitals learn how to make them? It cannot be by book learning or even from drawings of capitals (of whatever type), but rather by being taught by older, experienced masons. This in turn raises the question of the extent to which in any given locality of the empire there was enough building work available to provide a livelihood for the masons involved – and, of course, the architects. Then there is the question of the different levels of architecture required in any given location, whether, as in theis book, in the North West provinces or elsewhere. To what

extent would practising architects and craftsmen also be employed for the more routine structures, private buildings or houses of varying levels of architectural complexity?

Importation of architectural specialists from other areas cannot be excluded. The architects and craftsmen required for Claudius' temple at Colchester, built so soon after the conquest of Britain, must have come from elsewhere. Was there also importation of architectural elements? The movement of prefabricated columns, capitals and other architectural pieces from the quarries of Attica or Proconnesos to distant parts of the Mediterranean is amply attested, in shipwrecks as well as buildings. Movement by the rivers of the western empire may have occurred, but the location of quarries of suitable stone in the North West provinces has to be considered, together with the methods of transportation. The problems of interpretation remain.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

M. Manoledakis (ed.), *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches*, Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity held in Thessaloniki, 18–20 September 2015, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+289 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-510-0

This volume contains the proceedings of an international workshop on the Black Sea in antiquity, organised in 2015 by the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki in the context of the postgraduate programme of the University's School of Humanities, which offers an MA in Black Sea Cultural Studies. An earlier workshop, held in September 2012, was published in 2013.[1] The main focus of the first conference was on young scholars, but in 2015 it was decided to open up the workshop to senior scholars as well. The book is geographically divided into three sections, dedicated to the northern, western and southern Black Sea regions, omitting the eastern part through the fact that the authors concerned with this area did not submit their papers, and a short section (two papers) about the connections between the Black Sea and northern Greece/Macedonia. In total, the book contains 19 papers, six on the northern, seven on the western, four on the southern and the two last mentioned.

The first paper, by Dmitry Chistov, is about one of the earliest Ionian colonies in the Black Sea area at Berezan Island, and more specifically about the Archaic residential buildings, concluding that the houses at the Berezan settlement are considerably larger than those of other Archaic urban centres in the North Pontic region, but with less planning in the layout of structures. Alfred Twardecki writes about the Polish/Ukrainian excavations at Tyritake, which was terminated in 2013 due to political events, concluding that there are strong indications that Tyritake was a holy place in the Archaic period. Alexey Belousov discusses the *defixiones tabellae*, magic curses, mostly inscribed on lead from Olbia compared with those of Panticapaeum in the Bosporan kingdom. The next paper is by Gocha Tsetskhladze, who gives a brief survey of Greek settlements on the Taman Peninsula, looking at land and underwater, to end with the question of whether the Taman Peninsula was

[1] M. Manoledakis (ed.), *Exploring the Hospitable Sea* (Oxford 2013).

first colonised from the east or from the south. In case of colonisation from the east, the earlier Greek settlements at Taganrog or possibly at Alekseevkoe could have played a role. The last two papers concerning the northern Black Sea coast are by Ioannis Xydopoulos and David Braund. They treat respectively the Taurians as neither Greeks nor entirely barbarians (only so in later classical sources), concluding that Tauric Chersonesus was probably a 'middle ground' between Greeks and barbarians, and the mythical hero Deukalion, a Greek in the classical accounts, except for Lucian who calls him a Scythian in his *On the Syrian Goddess*, asking if this Scythian Prometheus fits into the tradition of metalworking: in a tradition attested by Herodotus, Deukalion was the son of a certain Prometheus who was a Scythian king.

The next group of papers concern the results of the Tundzha Regional Archaeological Project in central Thrace (Adela Sobotkova), concluding that there are no traces of nomadism in Early Iron Age Thrace; *emporion* Pistiros, also in central Thrace, the location of the Pontic city of Boryza, mentioned by Hecataeus and Stephanus of Byzantium, probably being a Thracian settlement near Thynia and later overtaken by the Persians (Jan Bouzek); and a paper about Nemesis, the Greek personification which evolved into a deity of the Graeco-Roman pantheon (Georgia Aristodemou). Three papers in this section focus on the very interesting site of Apollonia Pontica, from which an enormous amount of evidence has emerged during the last decade, ranging from adornments or amulets in child graves (Mila Chacheva) to votive pottery from the sanctuary of Demeter on the island of St Kyrik and probably one of the very few found in the Black Sea littoral (Margarit Damyanov). The paper of the Franco-Bulgarian team excavating the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica and led by Alexandre Baralis and Krastina Panayotova is particularly interesting; based on a multi-disciplinary archaeological and geological/ecological approach, this programme seeks to highlight the several stages in the formation of Apollonia's territory, as well as the internal organisation of the city's wider area. Among other things, they conclude that St Kyrik was the religious heart of the city and that the first colonists at Shamni Promontory were directly related to the copper mines at Medni Rid and fishing in the lagoons. The transition from the 6th to the 5th century BC was marked by a decline in metallurgy which was contemporary with the destruction or abandonment of Thracian fortifications in its surrounding, probably linked to mining activities. The change was possibly connected with the Ionian revolt.

The third section concerns the southern Black Sea area, where the results of recent excavations at Tios (Sümer Atasoy), Sinope (Owen Doonan), the Hacılarobası tumulus near Karabük (Şahin Yıldırım and Nimet Demirci Bal) and Komana (D. Burcu Erciyas and Mustafa N. Tatbul), both about the Roman period, have considerably enlarged our knowledge about this long-neglected part of the Black Sea littoral. Doonan's paper is especially interesting for treating the period in Sinope before Greek colonisation.

The last part of this volume is dedicated to the connections between the Black Sea area and northern Greece where Anna Argyri, Ioannis Birtsas and Manolis Manoledakis publish in detail (a catalogue of) the 57 coins from the Propontis and the Black Sea that were found during construction of the Metro in Thessaloniki in the past few years, concluding that Thessaloniki played an important role on the *Via Egnatia* to Constantinople. In the final paper Polyxeni Adam-Veleni attempts to answer several questions about the degree to which the Greek colonies of the Black Sea were influenced in terms of both society and politics by the Macedonian kings Philipp II and Alexander the Great.

With a wealth of new material from several parts of the Black Sea littoral, often straight from the pen of the excavators, this book enriches the continuing stream of information about Black Sea archaeology.

Ghent University Jan G. de Boer

R.W. Mathisen, *Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations: Documents, Maps, and Images*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2017, xiii+578 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-19-028091-8

This textbook is intended to act as a stand-alone volume or as a companion to Ralph Mathisen's history textbook, *Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations: from Prehistory to 640 CE*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 2014).

The Preface states that the book contains 134 primary sources, 12 maps and 118 illustrations. In reality it consists of 126 documents, 15 maps, and perhaps 118 black-and-white photographs. The selections are arranged in 15 chronological chapters, spanning 2,000,000 BC–AD 640, divided roughly along geographical considerations to form four general sections with the exception of Chapters 1 and 9.

Chapter 1 (nos.1–12) consists of accounts of creation, human origins and flood myths. It is unclear why the dates of the chapter are placed at 2,000,000–3000 BC when the oldest documents date to *ca.* 2500 BC, and the most recent are taken from the *Qu'ran*. Chapter 9 (nos. 68–72) contains passages attributed to civilisations not found in the Near East, Greece or Rome: Parthia, Kush and Carthage, but included are two other works that are curiously about nomads – the Black Sea Scythians and Celts.

Section I, 'The Ancient Near East', is composed of Chapters 2–5 (nos. 13–44). A quandary arises when trying to understand the dates assigned to Chapters 2–3 on Mesopotamia (6000 BC) and Egypt (5000 BC) when the documents of each were composed in *ca.* 2500 BC and *ca.* 2275 BC, respectively, while the Preface sets the earliest date at 5000 BC. The content of these first three chapters, comprising 29 documents, offer little in the way of surprise as they provide selections one has come to expect in such textbooks. The following two chapters round out the concentration placed on the Near East. Chapter 4 presents nine texts devoted primarily to the Hebrews with one each from Ebla, Mycenaean Linear B and Egypt, while Chapter 5 moves inland with six selections devoted to the Assyrians (3), again the Hebrew Bible (1) and the Persians (2).

The 23 documents (nos. 45–67) in three chapters on Greek civilisation form Section II, covering a span from 1100 to 31 BC unlike the Preface that has the range beginning in 2500 BC. Chapter 6 covers the 'Dark and Archaic Ages', beginning with Homer on the Trojan War and ending with excerpts from Cicero and Apollinaris on tyranny, and in between are passages from Herodotus, Hesiod, Sappho, Porphyry and Pindar. Chapter 7 covers seven passages about Classical Athens and one on Sparta. Chapter 8 deals with 'Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Age' with three excerpts from Plutarch and one each from Justin, Aristotle, Epictetus and 1 Maccabees.

Section III, 'The Roman Republic and Empire (753 BCE–192 CE)', consists of three chapters (nos. 73–100). Chapter 10 consists of eight readings concerning the 'Rise of Rome and the Roman Republic', beginning with Plutarch's account of the city's founding,

followed by excerpts dealing with the kings, Lucretia, the 'Twelve Tables', the Gauls in 390 BC and Cannae in 216 BC, and concludes with Livy on the worshippers of Bacchus, and Plutarch on Cato the Elder. Chapter 11 comprises seven selections 133–*ca.* 20 BC. Three pieces derive from Plutarch: T. Graachus' land law, Spartacus and Cleopatra; the rest are single selections from Cicero's first speech against Catiline, poems by Catullus, Caesar on the siege of Alesia, and a funerary inscription praising the virtuous Turia. Chapter 12 comprises 13 selections, covering such topics as the Jews (2), the Christians (2), individual emperors (3), views on Rome (2), examples of Romanisation (2) and an excerpt from Juvenal on misogyny.

Section IV, 'Late Antiquity (192–640 CE)', contains 26 readings in three chapters (nos. 101–126). Chapter 13 places the selections in the period of AD 192–337. Of the nine that compose this chapter, five concern religion: a festival in honour of Venus, another on Christian martyrs, and three dealing with state reactions to Christianity – Diocletian's persecution, the Edict of Milan and the Council of Nicaea. The remaining four consist of a miscellany of topics: the 'Antonine Constitution', Diocletian's 'Edict on Maximum Prices', and two excerpts on non-Roman states, the Sasanian Shapur I and Zenobia's Palmyra. Chapter 14 also contains nine passages. Three concern Christianity: persecution or murder of non-Christians, and monasticism; four detail battles between Romans and invaders; and two treat the Late Roman criminal legal process, and the last emperor in Rome. The book's last chapter deals with the end of antiquity (AD 476–640) in eight texts. Three treat the Visogoths, Franks and Vandals, one discusses the Byzantine rulers Justinian and Theodora, two others concern Islam, and the last illustrates the legacy of the Classical Tradition in Europe.

One feature whose significance is sorely overlooked is a detailed discussion of the text's pedagogical approach. Rather, M. highlights the merit of longer extracts, 'an average of well over four pages per document, more than any other existing sourcebook', the value of which is that students are provided with 'a self-contained venue' that better allows them to create reports and write papers, and are ideal for in-class discussion (p. xviii). While the work may in fact contain longer extracts, this quality is not reason enough to adopt the book. One expects a sourcebook to be built around the idea that the selections present historical evidence clearly and directly, counterbalanced by a viable context that enables the problems the sources address to be readily understandable. The pedagogical value of such a sourcebook is that it presents the kind of evidence in a case study format with which historians grapple and induces them to analyse that evidence to reach their own conclusions. The idea then is to teach students the craft of history by allowing them to be historians.

One asset of the book is that all of the translations are out of copyright and available in the public domain, and M. has re-edited for readability with superfluous information excised from each text. Elsewhere he has presented his own translations. The problem is that this method overlooks new material. Moreover, the lack of a thematic approach makes it difficult for the reader to understand why some sources have been selected but not others. In other words, what besides the length of the extracts makes this text special?

The final component of the book is the list of 13 leitmotifs 'that permeate the volume' (pp. xix–xx). Usually, the individual sources are listed after the theme, although in some cases the chapter title is used instead. Moreover, the sources or chapter titles listed after the

thematic heading appear in paragraph form arranged chronologically according to the order of the readings. Unfortunately, the sources are not accompanied by their source number or page number that appears in the table of contents. This makes using this section cumbersome. It would have been far easier for the student had the sources been differently arranged. For example, the 13 leitmotifs that M. identifies would have benefited had they been organised much like the Table of Contents. The sources could also have been configured differently, such as according to geographical contents, or topical content. In each case, the source could have been followed by the first page on which it is found. In doing so, the information would have been more readily available to the student and the criteria used in the selection of the sources would have been apparent. For example, the largest subject heading, no. 13: Wars and battles, contains 32 sources, even though not all necessarily fall under this classification, such as the peace treaty affected by Ramses II and Hattusilis III, or Pericles' Funeral Oration to name but a few. Additional categories for sources such as these might have served a better purpose.

As a stand-alone sourcebook, *Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations* would have benefited from a more concerted effort to make the work more accessible to students. Had there been greater attention to how each source stands alone and as part of a larger theme, the context would not have been as dependent on the history textbook as it apparently is.

Wake Forest University, NC Jeffrey D. Lerner

M. Melfi and O. Bobou (eds.), *Hellenistic Sanctuaries: Between Greece and Rome*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, xvi+326pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-965413-0

The fruits of a conference on Greek sanctuaries during the Hellenistic and Roman periods held in Oxford in September 2010 have been collected and edited by Milena Melfi and Olympia Bobou into this volume, which aims to address a long-running imbalance on scholarship in Greek religion. The social, political, and ritual dynamics of Greek sanctuaries (and religion more generally), as the editors lay out in their Preface, have been studied in great detail from the 9th to the 5th centuries BC, while the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been comparatively under-researched (p. v). The 14 contributions to this volume certainly help to tip the scales towards these later periods and the fascinating intersection of religious traditions which defines them. While this volume presents some excellent case studies, the effort as a whole is not without its drawbacks.

The first thing the reader notes is the unfortunate, though perhaps understandable, six-year gap between the conference itself and the publication of these findings. In many fields this would not necessarily be an insurmountable timeline, but given recent groundbreaking contributions to the study of Greek religion, the span certainly is a hindrance to the volume. It would have been highly beneficial to see Julia Kindt's arguments for moving beyond *polis*-religion in *Rethinking Greek Religion* (Cambridge 2012), Ian Rutherford's study of *theoria* from 2013,[1] Peter Funke and Matthias Haake's volume on federal

[1] I. Rutherford, *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece: A Study of Theōriā and Theōroi* (Cambridge).

sanctuaries,[2] among many others, be the subject of detailed discussion in relation to the sanctuaries considered in this edited collection.

Milena Melfi is to be greatly commended for her remarkable three contributions to this volume, beginning with the Introduction in which she eruditely lays out the state of the debate (pp. 1–17). Melfi puts forward a brilliant overview of shifting perspectives towards the Hellenistic period, particularly recent arguments for the persistent civic and religious vitality of Greek cities and communities that have traditionally been held to be in decline. Putting forward an ambitious agenda for the volume, Melfi concludes that *polis*-religion is indeed a 'valuable category of investigation for understanding Hellenistic religion' (p. 4), asserting that sanctuaries throughout the Greek world were remodelled in response to the changing political and cultural realities of the period. But this restructuring, she notes, was often in the service of tradition: there was indeed innovation, but new elements in these sanctuaries were geared towards providing a sense of uninterrupted continuity with religious heritage. In so doing, sanctuaries reflect the response of civic communities to Hellenistic kings, federations and, ultimately, Roman magistrates and emperors.

Unfortunately, this intriguing line of argument is not fully addressed by the volume as a whole. I must stress that on the individual level the contributions to this collection are by and large stellar, and there are some fascinating case studies to be found herein. Melfi's chapter on the career of Damophon of Messene (pp. 82–105) provides a brilliant examination of the celebrated artist's career, bringing to light the fact that he was hired as much for his deep religious knowledge as for his artistic capacities, and that his works, while certainly innovative, were couched in goals of antiquarian conservation or validation of older purported ties between sanctuaries and deities. Annalisa Lo Monaco's examination (pp. 206–27) of the interaction of Roman magistrates with Greek sanctuaries likewise took a highly innovative approach to the subject by not merely considering their material benefactions, but also their epigraphical and monumental presence in the physical geography of a sanctuary through the eyes of a visitor to the site. The manner in which the Romans sought to perpetuate local cult traditions while engaging with them as active participants was also considered by the chapters of Caliò on Kameiros (pp. 63–81) and Kantirea on Lykosoura (pp. 27–39). Much of the volume is dedicated to local case studies, but there are more thematic chapters on elite benefaction or changes in artistic conventions interspersed. In keeping with the archaeological focus of the volume, there are highly technical discussions of the sanctuary of Artemis Lykoatis in Arkadia, Dodona and Tauromenion. Many of the contributions, especially those by Interdonato on Kos, Caliò on Kameiros, Lafond on the Peloponnese and Kantirea on Lykosoura quite effectively integrate epigraphic finds into their analysis of archaeological data, with illuminating insights on the context behind the renovation or modification of a given site. Throughout, the common themes of continuity *vs* change, local *vs* extra-local interaction, and reorientation of old cults towards new political circumstances are addressed in wide and varied contexts.

But the volume has an often frustrating lack of unity, and there is no clear organisation or sequence of its chapters. Detailed archaeological considerations follow broad thematic chapters on art history, and at times the abrupt shift in topics can be jarring. In the same

[2] P. Funke and M. Haake (eds.), *Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration* (Stuttgart).

vein, there is no cross-referencing among the various contributions to this volume, even when this would have been eminently pertinent and helpful. The extremely thorough and interesting discussion of divine images by Mylonopoulos, for instance, overlaps with the opening discussion of Bobou's chapter. Both contributions make essentially the same point about new gods being depicted using traditional Olympian conventions (pp. 118–21 and 184–88), both using the same example of Asklepios (pp. 118 and 184), but neither mentions the conclusions of the other. Some cross-discussion of Roman magistrates stepping into the role of Hellenistic kings which features in the chapters of both Interdonato (pp. 170–81) and Lo Monaco (pp. 206–27) would likewise have been helpful. Lavish illustrations and diagrams abound, but the curiously small size of the volume itself is somewhat puzzling and hinders their utility of these images.

Even though Hellenistic religion is a vast and varied field of study, some critical subjects were only discussed *en passant*, notably the impact of royal benefactions and ruler cults on the sanctuaries under consideration, as well as the robust connections established among these sanctuaries by *theoria* and *proxenia*. But the volume's contributions bring to light the sheer diversity of the period, and the wide spectrum of concerns which guided its religious practices. By and large the collection brings forward fascinating case studies of that will inspire debate and further consideration, but as with the Hellenistic period as a whole, it is often hard to see the wood for the trees.

Cardiff University Alex McAuley

J.M. Miksic and G.Y. Goh, *Ancient Southeast Asia*, Routledge World Archaeology, Routledge, London/New York 2017, xxii+631 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-73554-4

In *Ancient Southeast Asia*, John Miksic and Geok Yian Goh successfully accomplish three remarkable feats: delivering a highly accessible and sophisticated account of how Southeast Asia evolved as a world region from prehistoric times to AD 1600; providing a comprehensive research guide to the field of pre-modern Southeast Asian history and historical archaeology; and contributing important original insights to the theorisation of Southeast Asian and world history.

As M. and G. observe, Southeast Asia, or rather 'Seasia', as it appears throughout this book, is 'a region in search of a name and an identity' (p. 3). Straddling the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, this area exhibits tremendous diversity and complexity. It encompasses 11 modern sovereign states of different historical memories, topographies and cultural landscapes, and is home to some 1000 out of the world's 6000 living languages. The local inhabitants do not seem to have had a name for their region nor taken the region as part of their self-identities. In scholarly and public discourses on Seasian history and culture, the distinctness and integrity of Seasia as a world region are also undermined by the region's colonial legacies and the nationalistic reactions to them in the post-colonial era. When the field of Seasian studies crystalised as an academic discipline in the 1950s, its first dominant conceptual framework drew on a corpus of literature written primarily by foreign visitors to the region, especially during the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries when most of the region came under European colonial rule. This literature treated Seasia as a periphery area of no particular

significance, like a *cul-de-sac* that only accumulates and absorbs cultural influences extended to it from its more established and mobile neighbours or hegemonic world powers. Seasian history was depicted as a successive unfolding of processes that lay much beyond the control of local inhabitants – 'Indianisation' and 'Sanskritisation', 'Sinicisation', Islamification and, finally, Westernisation. As more scholars of Seasian origin coming of age in the post-colonial era and foreigners better trained in Seasian languages joined in the profession, this master narrative of 'cultural transmission' was increasingly giving way to autonomous histories intent on excavating the Seasian textual and archaeological record to document the existence of continuously evolving and distinctly Seasian cultures and traditions created by the Seasians independent of foreign intervention. But this approach is often impaired by a tendency to ignore the abundant indisputable evidence of foreign cultural elements in the region's history and by nationalistic research agendas and scholarly claims that 'scrambled' rather than consolidated the identity and integrity of Seasia as a region. M. and G. represent the recent turn among Seasian scholars to address these weaknesses in post-colonial Seasian historiography. Consciously eschewing the modern nation-state as an analytical category when discussing archaeological culture, they aimed at – and successfully created – a truly Seasia-centred narrative that highlights both the agency, dynamism and creativity of the Seasian people and the meaningful roles played by external influences in shaping Seasian history.

One of the most inspiring achievements of this book is the authors' enunciation of the notion of 'interaction spheres' and consistent deployment of it as an overarching analytical tool throughout the book. First introduced in the 1960s among scholars working on early America, this notion had been adapted to Seasian studies by W.G. Solheim II, among others, who reconstructed some networks of trading and communication in this region based on the wide distribution, across linguistic, cultural and geographical boundaries, of the same artefact types embodying particular complex symbolic systems. Each sphere of interaction is a network of exchange for a specific (set of) idea(s), artefact(s) or material(s); these items may travel across cultural boundaries without the necessary accompaniment of other cultural elements that often correlate with them in their home environments. Thus, the concept of 'interaction spheres' offers a most viable model for cross-cultural exchanges that take place at the atomic rather than systemic levels, but it can also explain more profound, systemic transformations within a culture that may result from the accumulated effects of wide-ranging high-frequency atomic exchanges it has had with other cultures. M. and G. elected to adopt this notion, rather than other world historical models, such as that of World-System proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein and others, for the fluidity and flexibility it affords. Previous scholars such as Ruth McVey have pointed out how the study of different densities of human interactions in Seasia over the centuries and at different locations may reveal 'multiple Seasias' across time and space (p. 6). M. and G. took this insight one step further by stressing how this may also help uncover dissonances and variations across different realms of human activity even within the same society at the same time, for these realms of activities may be connected to different interaction spheres. In their own words, it is 'theoretically possible to distinguish various types of interaction spheres in overlapping areas, including economic, prestige goods, political exchange, and information flow' (p. 11). Indeed, a hallmark of this volume, and one of its many valuable contributions to the theorisation of world history, is M. and G.'s insistence on taking each major variable measuring human progress in pre-modern times – art, technology, settlement patterns, long distance trade, social

hierarchy, political governance, monumental structure and symbolic expressions, among others – as relatively autonomous, rather than dependent, subsystems flourishing within separate, *albeit* overlapping spheres of interaction (p. 24). They pointed out, for example, that the development and spread of bronze and iron-working in Seasia were not accompanied with elaborate settlement patterns and social hierarchy. Thus the Seasian case presents an exception, and challenge, to the established typology of human cultural developments that classifies and ranks them along a linear, teleological scheme consisting of multiple, increasingly more advanced stages using technology as the sole criteria and correlating a certain technology with a particular bundle of cultural developmental traits, such as pottery with sedentary agricultural life and population growth characteristic of the Neolithic age, and the invention of metalworking with stratified societies, etc. (p. 83 and p. 126).

Ancient Southeast Asia carefully documents the rise and fall of various interaction spheres that crisscrossed different sub-regions of Seasia and connected this region with East Asia and the Indian Ocean world, spanning economic, political, religious and other realms of life. These networks of exchange gave rise to a core of shared cultural traits and symbiotic relationship among Seasian sub-regions of different ecological environments, contributing to the formation of a distinct regional identity and unity. At the same time, they also served as the infrastructures for Seasian people to import, circulate and localise goods and ideas originated from other world regions. O.W. Wolters started a conversation among Seasian scholars about what features can be used to identify and unify Seasia as a unit of historical and cultural analysis. M. and G. synthesised the ensuing debate literature and highlighted several such features, including, among others, the persistence of the mandala, instead of centralised state, as the model of polities, where multiple rulers with overlapping territorial claims contended to attract the loyalty of their common subjects and to become the overlord above the others; the complex patterns of urbanisation, where cities formed around palaces, forts, temples, markets and workshops (p. 231) and tended *not* to correlate with high-level of population density. To this list the authors added one of their own: an interdependent regional economy based on the exchange of vitally important products that are only available in certain ecological niches in Seasia. M. and G. noted the exchange networks linking highlanders, lowlanders and those living by gathering sea products in Seasia that had been evolving since prehistoric times, some of which extended beyond Seasia to foreign lands. In South Sumatra, for example, the rulers of a lowland polity were linked to the people living in the highlands by a personal relationship whereby they provided the latter with iron, salt and cloth, and obtained from the latter luxury items such as ivory, gold and resin used for incense; they then retained some of these luxury goods for their own consumption, gifted some to their loyal subjects, and exchanged the rest with foreign groups through a system of 'tribute trade' (p. 5). Particularly intriguing is M. and G.'s observation of the biodiversity of Seasia, especially the divergences between mainland and insular Seasia and between equatorial societies (those living within latitudes 5 degrees north and south) and those of tropical Seasia, which serve to unite Seasia as a region through fostering their interdependence (p. 128).

Erudite and meticulously documented, this book is a foundational text for students and scholars interested in Southeast Asian history and archaeology, world history and Silk Road studies.

Wake Forest University, NC Qiong Zhang

N.J. Molinari and N. Sisci, *ΠΟΤΑΜΙΚΟΝ: Sinews of Acheloios. A Comprehensive Catalog of the Bronze Coinage of the Man-Faced Bull, with Essays on Origin and Identity*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, viii+352 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-401-1

This book is one not easy to categorise. It is not traditional numismatic research, as one can gauge by its title. A catalogue of coins occupies only Part II, whereas Parrt I, almost one-third of the volume, deals with socio-cultural and historical reflections on the appearance, existence and evolution of the image of the man-faced bull in human society from time immemorial until the Graeco-Roman period. In fact we have some sort of interdisciplinary study, combining widely the methods of history, archaeology, anthropology and ethnography as well as those of linguistics and numismatics.

Part I comprises two sections devoted respectively to the origin of man-faced bull iconography (pp. 1–78) and the identity of the man-faced bull (pp. 79–99). Molinari and Sisci begin with Palaeolithic and Iron Age art (Chapter I, pp. 1–16), tracing the roots of this imagery in early agrarian societies and connecting its appearance with the domestication of cattle. Such a creature was the most appropriate to personify, on the one hand, wild and unpredictable nature, which, on the other hand, supplied man with food and a means of living and thus had a human face. They demonstrate that this cultic image from the very beginning exhibited fluvial, apothropaic, chthonic and liminal characteristics and consider specific cases of its appearance and use in the ancient societies of the Near East as well as those of Egypt and India.

In Chapter II (pp. 17–30) M. and S. underline, as they do often throughout the book, that it was the ancient states of the Near East, Sumer, Akkad, Babylon, whence the image spread westwards as a result of cultural and religious influences. Analysing the specific mechanisms of this migration, the authors pay special attention to the role of so-called seer-healers and Western mercenaries in the service of Eastern kings in borrowing and further distributing such images and relevant cult practices upon their return to their homelands. It became possible because many of the qualities assigned to the man-faced bull depictions, such as protective, healing and cleansing features, were intimately connected with aspects of the everyday life of such people and were vital for the successful fulfilment of their duties.

The next two chapters (pp. 31–68) are of special interest as they represent an attempt to challenge the Hellenocentric view, traditional among specialists, of the appearance and spread of man-faced bull iconography in the western Mediterranean as being due to Greek influence. Based on thorough study of an impressive collection of archaeological and historical data, M. and S. quite convincingly show that in reality it was due to direct Eastern influences on the western Mediterranean, omitting Greece. Cyprus played a decisive role in establishing early contacts between the Near East and Italy in particular through the activity of Phoenician merchants in the West. Here, Eastern seed fell on fertile ground as 'symbolic interplay between the worship of water, imagery of the bull (and man-faced bull) and chthonic, healing and fertility dimensions was already operative among the prehistoric natives in Italy, Sicily and Sardinia centuries before the arrival of Greek culture …' (p. 32). M. and S. even suggest the possible existence of a peculiar non-Greek Cypro-Sikel-Nuragic-Italic cultural *koine*. The same is true for Etruria, where cult images of the man-faced bull

were widely spread and appeared earlier than in Greece proper, where the cult of Achelois did not arrive until the Classical era.

Chapter V (pp. 69–78) offers a general overview of the distribution of the type of man-faced bull on Greek coinage from eastern Mediterranean mints westwards.

Section II, 'On the Identity of the Man-Faced Bull', consists of two chapters. Chapter VI (pp. 79–90) considers the previous suggestions regarding the identity of this type since the 18th century. There was no shortage of hypotheses, which comprise such familiar figures as Minotaur, Neptune, Jupiter, Dionysos, etc. M. and S. analyse in detail all the suggestions of previous scholars on the subject.

Chapter VII (pp. 91–99) presents M. and S.'s answer. They conclude that essentially every time it was Acheloios, the main god of water, father of all rivers and springs, which, according to the beliefs of some ancient authors, could have been considered as his sinews. However, it was not just Acheloios as such, but simultaneously a pictorial personification of an actual local river, which should be considered as a minor manifestation of the mighty and omnipresent deity. M. and S. argue that every ancient Greek community worshipped not some abstract god known under a common name, Zeus, Apollo, etc., but a quite specific deity, which was related in some way or other to the given locality and designated by some additional name or epithet. Hence that abundance of various divine epithets, which is a characteristic feature of Greek religion.

Noteworthy are the linguistic studies offered by M. and S. in the same chapter, who derive the Greek word Acheloios from Semitic roots with the meanings of 'river bank' and 'water'. Eventually, for the Greeks it became a word indicating a sacred water deity associated with ritual cleansing (p. 94).

Part II presents a catalogue of the bronze coinage with the type of man-faced bull (pp. 119–291). It comprises four uneven sections, divided geographically: Sicily, Italy, Akarnania, remaining mints. M. and S. should be given credit as they have tried to register every known bronze coin with the image in question. Coins are arranged by mint and then by denomination, and each coin is supplied with a black-and-white photograph of good quality. Descriptions of the coins of a given mint are preceded by very useful brief essays on the history, archaeology and numismatics of the relevant city. All in all, we have here a quite impressive corpus of numismatic material, which could be widely used by scholars in further research. Sometimes M. and S. suggest revised classifications of coin issues based on new finds and data (for example the coinage of Cales), which again should be given serious consideration by future researchers.

However, it must be said that the quality of editing in Part II is much weaker than in Part I. Unfortunately, misprints and misspellings are not rare. It would have been better for readers if the authors had used some unified measure of scale instead of supplying coin photographs enlarged equally to the same size with a written indication of diameter; the same is true for the plates in the Part I, where any information on the original coin size is absent. It remains unclear why Olbian coins with the symbolic image of the River Borysthenes as a bearded head with horns, quite close by its appearance to other images considered in the book, were given only a footnote (p. 284, n. 18).

Part II is followed by two appendices representing essays by Joseph Eckhel and Lloyd Taylor devoted respectively to the possible identity of the man-faced bull and the find of a coin with such image in Aï Khanum.

M. and S. demonstrate remarkable erudition (the bibliography covers more than 40 pages, pp. 304–46) and have managed to put the subject in the widest historical, cultural and social context, which undoubtedly helps to cast light on this (to some extent) traditional topic in a different manner and from a new angle. This book will be of much importance, not only for the numismatists but for everybody who is interested in the study of mankind and its past.

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

J. Monerie, *L'économie de la Babylonie à l'époque hellénistique*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 14, Walter de Gruyter, Boston/Berlin 2018, xvii+577 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5015-1067-0

This book was originally written as Julien Monerie's doctoral dissertation at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne under the supervision of Francis Joannès, which won the W. De Gruyter prize presented by the IAA in 2014 – with good reason. Its primary purpose is to present a study of the economy of Hellenistic Babylonia.[1] Not only does M. do this convincingly, but he also establishes firm ground for both more profound Assyriological research and a renewed interdisciplinary dialogue about the period in question.

M. starts with a presentation of his source material, in which he aims at integrating every source available, regardless of whether it pertains to the field of Assyriology or not. Thus he includes numismatic finds, archaeological remains and textual material, not only consisting of cuneiform tablets, but also incorporating Greek and Aramaic inscriptions, classical authors and the Old Testament. Throughout the book, he approaches each source with a refreshingly critical attitude. M.'s crossing of disciplinary boundaries adds significantly to the value of his work.

In the following three sections he draws a picture of the evolution of the Babylonian economy from the beginning of Xerxes' rule until the end of the reign of Antiochus III (*ca*. 486 to 187 BC). The 'Prolégomènes' introduce the reader to the ecological and agricultural landscape of Babylonia in the 5th century BC (Chapter 1) as well as to the economic and fiscal system implemented by the Achaemenids (Chapter 2). The image that emerges is that of a stable economy which owed much to its precursor of the long 6th century, despite the high fiscal pressure and tight grip of the crown on local institutions. This forms M.'s point of departure and of comparison for what follows.

In Section I M. dismisses the idea that Alexander's arrival constituted a real break in the Babylonian economic system (Chapter 3). He shows that, in fact, Alexander's actions were mostly of a pragmatic nature and strongly based on the inherited Achaemenid structures. Yet two innovations by Alexander would prove to have an impact after his death: first, his euergetism towards the traditional temples, and second, the introduction of coins as a means of payment in the region. Convincingly, M. shows how the most profound changes

[1] Two other recent works on the subject offer a different approach to the topic: J. Hackl, *Materialien zur Urkundenlehre und Archivkunde der spätzeitlichen Texte aus Nordbabylonien* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2013), which focuses on archives in their social context; and R. Pirngruber, *The Economy of Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia* (Cambridge 2017), reviewed below.

which are usually ascribed to Alexander actually happened during the Crisis of the Diadochi (Chapter 4). The political turmoil in the region had a devastating effect on Babylonia's economy, as is for example shown by the extreme heights reached by the prices recorded in the Astronomical Diaries. Furthermore, a restructuring took place in the system of exchange with the intensification of coin use, employed within a mixed system of both local and imperial coinage.

An overview of the Seleucid economy in Babylonia is given in Section II, with a focus on the royal involvement in land tenure on the one hand (Chapter 5) and fiscalism and means of payment on the other (Chapter 6). The 'successful Seleucid economy' exhibits clear continuity with the Achaemenid period where it concerns exploitation of land and service – a fact which M. explains by the permanence of the natural and human landscape rather than by the implementation of a certain economic system. Nonetheless, some important changes are visible as well, such as the ever-growing importance of coins as a means of payment and the fact that the Seleucids assigned a much more prominent place to the traditional communities, giving them more local responsibilities than the Achaemenids had done. That resulted in a very positive attitude from the ruler towards the temples, in the form of donations, tax-exemption and other euergetic actions.

In Section III M. deals with the traditional temples in their Hellenistic context, more specifically with what he calls the 'economy of the cult' (Chapter 7), including a case study of the prebendary system at Uruk (Chapter 8). The impact of the Macedonians on the Babylonian temples was twofold: on the one hand, some sanctuaries did not seem to have survived the Crisis of the Diadochi (Eanna, Ebabbar, Ekišnugal), but on the other – as mentioned above – the dependence of the Seleucids on the local elite resulted in a renewed royal euergetism. This situation did not last long however, for the transformation of some cities into *poleis* at the beginning of the 2nd century BC meant that the crown had to rely less on local institutions, which was paired with decreasing royal support of those institutions. Questions must be asked as to how this influenced the cultic and scholarly functioning of the temple, which was highly dependent on (financial) royal support. Indeed, the thousands of astronomical tablets alone attest to the productive energy of the priesthood of Esagila in Babylon. What is more, recently, voices have been raised, which claim that a new corpus of Babylonian literature originated in the Hellenistic period, most significantly including historical-literary texts, but other genres as well, such as ritual texts.[2] In this light, it is necessary to adopt a critical view regarding those claiming that the Babylonian cult of the Hellenistic period was not different from that practised in pre-Hellenistic times. After a period of neglect by the Achaemenid kings, the traditional temples received anew attention and means from their rulers along the same line as they had in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian times. The impact of that on the local communities cannot be ignored.

In a final section we get an overview of the evolution of the means, structures and networks of exchange throughout the period. M. highlights the continuity with the Achaemenid period (such as banking activities), but underscores the fact that the Babylonian economy

[2] Most recently, see M. Jursa and C. Debourse, 'A Babylonian Priestly Martyr, a King-like Priest, and the Nature of Late Babylonian Priestly Literature'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 107 (2017), 77–98 (with references).

was fully integrated in the imperial Hellenistic economy (for example, the use of coins), the consequences of which remain hard to grasp.

M.'s contribution is of great value to Assyriologists, classical historians and economic historians alike. The book is very accessible and remarkably enjoyable to read. At the end of every chapter a 'bilan et perspectives' are given, which will prove useful to those who do not wish to follow the argument into the smallest detail. Additionally, the illustrations, tables and seven appendices add to the comprehensibility of the whole and emphasise the impressive scope of the work delivered by the author. A small criticism would be that it is unfortunate that an expensive volume such as this one contains such a high amount of typos, especially from the second half of the book onwards.

University of Vienna Céline Debourse

F. Müller, *Menschen und Heroen: Ahnenkult in der Frühgeschichte Europas*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, viii+286 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-033626-9

Felix Müller has collated over a decade of work on the difficult field of ancestor worship into an immensely impressive monograph whose erudite insights have far-reaching consequences. The basic questions M. seeks to answer with this book are simple: first, how does ancestral cult present itself in archaeological finds; and second, is there any evidence of ancestral cult north of the Alps in the prehistoric period? Lying behind this research agenda is the apparent lack of evidence for a 'northern' ancestor cult compared with the abundant evidence of Greece and Rome, which M. wonders is perhaps more the result of contemporary methodology than a fundamental difference in ancient worldviews. The investigation, of course, is not easy given the perennial problems associated with deriving abstract cultural and religious views from material evidence, and the inherent subjectivity of its analysis. But M. approaches his material with such care and diligence that easily overcome any initial qualms among the reader. The monograph thus considers what happens when we view material remains from north of the Alps through the lens of Greek and Roman habits of hero and ancestor worship.

After introducing these methodological considerations, M. then provides a lively and vivid account of the journey of Julius Caesar to the Theatre of Pompey on the day of his assassination, as well as an overview of how Caesar's death was commemorated in the short and long term (pp. 13–22). Caesar as an 'exemplary hero' is certainly an apt choice, given that his career straddles the Roman, Hellenistic and Gallic worlds that concern the work as a whole. In his next chapter, on Greek heroes (pp. 23–49), M. establishes the common themes of ancestor worship that he argues reappear in Rome and other societies north of the Alps: Greek heroes from Homer to the Hellenistic period were lavishly buried with sumptuous offerings, their tombs were the site of later commemoration, and their membership in a very small, elite circle was preserved for subsequent generations. Ancestor worship is a fundamentally elite phenomenon, one which requires and maintains a level of prestige that is inaccessible to all members of society. By the Hellenistic period, he argues, hero cults had less to do with religion, and more to do with social concerns.

M.'s consideration of Roman traditions follow next, which he identifies as closely related to Greek and especially Hellenistic approaches to hero worship (pp. 57–93). He considers

various case studies – the Tomb of Aeneas in Lavinium, the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Fora of Augustus and Trajan, Caecilia Metella, etc. – alongside other attestations of various practices related to the commemoration of the dead (notably the *parentalia* and *lemuria*), concluding that Roman ancestor worship was an elite phenomenon here as it was in the Greek tradition. Ancestor worship was as much geared towards the living as the dead, motivated by a desire to reinforce the intergenerational chains that linked an individual in the present with their illustrious forbears – a practice which was certainly present in the Republican period among Roman *nobiles*, but then re-worked in response to the Imperial cult.

With this ideological and practical basis of Graeco-Roman ancestor worship firmly established, the rest of the monograph then turns to archaeological material from north of the Alps that has not yet been considered in relation to ancestor worship. Although perhaps disjointing at first, M.'s method of using Greece and Rome as a starting point and working backwards is quite helpful in overcoming the lack of literary sources for northern cultic practices. A thorough examination of ancestor worship in Rome's Northern provinces (pp. 106–51) examines the intersection of Gallic, British and Celtic traditions with *romanitas*. The links between these northern regions and Italy and Greece far predated the Roman empire, so the prevalence of ancestor worship is not a phenomenon that is implicitly linked to the expansion of Roman power. Rather, an examination of sites throughout the north reveals that these ancestor cults primarily served as a means of social distinction, reflecting the status of the deceased in society and, by extension, the continued status of his or her successors. While there are Roman traces in these ancestor cults in Roman provinces, they also demonstrate autochthonous traces which indicate two things: first, ancestor cult is not an imported Roman practice, and second, these autochthonous traits must have been more pronounced in the pre-Roman period.

Chapters 7 and 8 continue working backwards chronologically, considering the Celtic *nobilitas* of pre-Roman Europe, and the burial and veneration of Hallstatt-era princes and princesses. In both the La Tène and Hallstatt cultures, we find the common elements of grave offerings, monumental tombs, regular offerings to and feasting with the dead, and elaborate stores of supplies for the dead. The common thread of elite distinction runs through this vast temporal and geographical scope. Again bringing to light the inherent similarities of ancestor worship north and south of the Alps. As with the old elite, so with the new, to paraphrase the title of M.'s next chapter, in which he argues cogently that these elite practices of ancestor worship and commemoration form part of a broader aristocratic *Verhaltenskodex*, whose tenets were equally recognisable among the Hallstatt elite as Hellenistic kings and Roman *nobiles*. Rome and Greece, then, were perhaps not so dissimilar from their northern antecedents as may have been thought.

The volume is lavishly illustrated with immensely helpful photographs, sketches and site plans in both colour and black-and-white, the typesetting and editing are flawless, and the style vibrant. This is an extremely important contribution to the study of ancestor worship in a broad European context, and one which provokes the reader to reconsider the primarily east-west axis that dominates cultural studies in the Mediterranean context. M.'s foray into ancestor worship north and south of the Alps leads us to reconsider some of our basic suppositions about Europe before and during the Graeco-Roman period, and beckons further study along these latitudinal lines.

Cardiff University Alex McAuley

S. Müller, *Perdikkas II. – Retter Makedoniens*, Altertumswissenschaften/Archäologie 6, Frank & Timme, Berlin 2017, 310 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7329-0208-8

In her 2016 book devoted to the history of the Argeadae, Sabine Müller considered Perdiccas II's rule in little more than 20 pages.[1] A year later, in *Perdikkas II. – Retter Makedoniens*, she not only elaborates the ideas presented in her previous book, but she also offers some new and original solutions to debatable questions. There is, however, one substantial difference – in *Die Argeaden* M. calls the Macedonian ruling dynasty Argeadae, whereas in *Retter Makedoniens* she prefers the name Temenidae. Her explanation (p. 29) for using Temenidae is based on its usage by Herodotus and Thucydides, Perdiccas' contemporaries. This issue is also touched upon in brief in her 2016 book (p. 104) in which, however, she sees no reasons why the ruling dynasty should not be called Argeadae.

The book is divided into ten parts. In the preface (pp. 13–29) M. mentions in brief some of the important publications dealing with the topic, and clarifies the aims of the study – to examine thematically the questions concerning the foreign, domestic and dynastic policy of the Temenid kingdom during Perdiccas' rule, a task accomplished successfully.

The second part (pp. 31–47), 'Quellen zu Perdikkas', focuses on the sources for Perdiccas. The accent is put on Thucydides' and Plato's evidence. According to M., the former, expressing both the Athenian and his personal viewpoint, considers Perdiccas as an unscrupulous person who could not be trusted and who was not particularly capable, with the exception of the moments when he deceived his allies. Plato's evidence of the events after Perdiccas' death (*Gorg*. 471a–d) is defined as a literary construction through which he seeks to demonstrate how inadequate Polos' arguments were.

Part 3 (pp. 49–83), 'Perdikkas' makedonisch-temenidischer *background*', presents some of the conclusions arrived at in her 2016 book – about the royal prerogative of the ruling Temenid, his status as *primus inter pares*, the nature of his relationships with the Macedonian nobles, the structure of the Temenid kingdom, the contacts with the Greek and the barbarian world, as well as about certain aspects of Amyntas I's and Alexander I's rule.

Part 4 (pp. 85–123), 'Perdikkas' Frühzeit', which studies the early years of Perdiccas' rule, deserves special attention. In a dozen pages (pp. 86–98) M. offers one original solution to the question of the age of Alexander I's sons. In her view, some of them received their names with propagandistic aims in regard to definite political events. Therefore, the names may indicate, at least roughly, the dates of their birth. She dates the births of Alcetas and Amyntas to *ca.* 500/early 490s, for two reasons: first, it was a custom for the Temenidae to name their eldest sons after their own grandfathers and their second sons after their own fathers, and second, the name Amyntas would not be appropriate for the time after the battle of Plataea (479 BC), since it could be associated with the subjection of Macedonia to the Persians. As to Perdiccas and Philip, M. holds the opinion that they were born after Plataea, and more precisely in the 470s. The dating is based on the assumption that Perdiccas was named after the founder of the dynasty, whose personality may be connected with the idea of a new beginning, better times, etc. She believes that the hopes for a new

[1] S. Müller, *Die Argeaden: Geschichte Makedoniens bis zum Zeitalter Alexanders des Grossen* (Paderborn 2016), at 141–63.

beginning reflected the state of affairs after Plataea, when Alexander I changed the course of the Macedonian foreign policy from pro-Persian to pro-Hellenic, since he must have strengthened anew the prestige of the dynasty after the loss of the war against the Greeks. Finally, M. relates the name of Menelaos to the settlement of the Mycenaeans in Macedonia, which allows her to place his birth in the 460s.

In commenting and supplementing M.'s conclusions, one can pose the question: could Perdiccas II not only have been named after Perdiccas I, but also, for the above-mentioned reasons and like the founder of the dynasty, could he have been the third son? Apart from this, if the name of Perdiccas was really related to the change in the course of Macedonian foreign policy, then it may be assumed that he was born after the capture of Eion by the Athenians (476 BC), which event resulted in the elimination of the local Persian garrison and made the change possible or even necessary. It should be noted, however, that M. gives no satisfactory explanation for why Philip's birth ought to be dated in the 470s and for what reason Alexander I decided to name one of his sons after Menelaos, the ruler of Sparta and the brother of Agamemnon, and not after some other epic character closely related to Mycenae. Despite this, and despite the fact that due to the lack of specific data one may define M.'s conclusions as speculative, I believe that in this particular case, she has done a fine piece of work and her arguments should not be rejected out of hand.

In Part 4 (pp. 99–103) M. also tries to find the reason why different ancient authors give a different number of years to Perdiccas' rule (Athen. 5. 217d–e). In her view, Marsyas' 23 years are because he used Thucydides, who mentions Perdiccas for the first time in regard to the events of 433 BC and for the last time in the late summer of 414 BC. M. Believes that Marsyas may have added a few years, thus reaching 437/6 BC (the foundation date of Amphipolis), since 1) before 433 BC Perdiccas was an Athenian σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος (Thuc. 1. 57. 2) and (2) sources are silent about any hostile reaction in regard to the foundation of Amphipolis. Therefore, Marsyas may have thought that in 437/6 BC Perdiccas was already ruling as an Athenian σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος. But if Marsyas had really followed Thucydides strictly, he could hardly have given 23 years, since, even if one counts each archontic year (including 414/3), this will mean that Perdiccas' rule began in 436/5, not in 437/6 BC.

Her calculations of the numbers provided by Theopompus are wrong. In fact, although in the Greek text quoted by M. 35 years is written (πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα = λε'),[2] the German translation says 33, the number she uses in her calculations. Thus, her view that Theopompus might have reached this number, since he considered the settlement of the Histians in Macedonia in 446/5 BC as the first act of the ruler Perdiccas (414/3 + 33 archontic years including 414/3 = 446/5 BC), appears less persuasive (two more archontic years = 448/7 BC). The same mistake is made in the case of Chieronimus: 28 years (ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι = κη') in the quoted Greek text and 38 in the German translation and in the calculations.

Part 5 (pp. 125–239), 'Perdikkas und/versus Athen', deals with the events of Perdiccas' rule. Part 6 (pp. 241–60), 'Perdikkas' Kulturförderung und "Legende"', is devoted to Perdiccas' cultural policy. Conclusions, a full bibliography (pp. 263–97), appendices and an index round out the volume.

[2] G. Kaibel (ed.), *Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum libri XV 1: libri I–V* (Leipzig 1887).

There are a number of mistakes in the footnotes and the bibliography. M. often cites in the footnotes works missing in the bibliography: Heskel 1997 (n. 132), Lang 1995 (n. 141), McNeill 1992 (n. 266), Marx 2013b (n. 463), Koulakiotis 2006 (n. 889). At times, she cites page numbers and years of publication incorrectly: Rhodes 2010 (n. 107), Bosworth 1996 (n. 108), Vasilev 2014 (n. 249), Abel 1987 (n. 573). The name of Howland is misspelt: Howlandson (n. 163).

To sum up, M. discusses in detail a number of important questions and offers some original solutions which, undoubtedly, will be taken into consideration by scholars.

Troyan, Bulgaria Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

S. Müller, T. Howe, H. Bowden and R. Rollinger, with the collaboration of S. Pal (eds.), *The History of the Argeads: New Perspectives*, Classica et Orientalia 19, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, vi+304 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10851-5/ ISSN 2190-3638[1]

It is not unreasonable that the Argead dynasty, once aligned with the Achaemenids, intermarried with their nobility, and ultimately hosts in Macedonia to members of the royal family, would make an appearance in the series *Classica et Orientalia*. It has been nearly 50 years since Dietmar Kienast published his study of Philip II and the Achaemenid empire, but that work, save for one reference, remains absent.[2] This volume is based on the June 2015 Innsbruck meeting, yet not all 2015 presentations are printed, new ones are added, neither course of action explained. The volume's purpose (p. 3): 'As well as presenting important new ideas about the earlier history of Macedonia, this volume seeks to a new context for understanding the activities of Philip II and Alexander III.' A dagger is required here to correct the 'manuscript tradition'; or perhaps Tyche has forced a balancing out of the patronising and inexplicable comment by Stoneman at the bottom of p. 299. I will comment on only a few of the printed 2015 presentations from each of the four divisions of the volume.

Part 1: 'Persia and Its Impact'. Since Robert Rollinger's presentation was not published (p. 297; pp. 42-43 for its ghost), Joseph Wiesehöfer's (pp. 57–64) serves an introductory purpose. Although the Achaemenid empire served as a 'yardstick' (p. 62), one cannot trace with certainty specific points of influence on institutions and customs. He suggests that Alexander's use of the diadem was a means of promoting his new highest status, one achieved by victory. The diadem had been worn in different forms by Achaemenid nobility along with others symbols of power. Finally, the procession of empires (Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedonian) was introduced in Seleucid times. Jeffrey Lerner (pp. 7–25), well known for his work on the Upper Satrapies and skilled in modern Cyrillic sources, offers a circumspect treatment of the literary and archaeological sources for Thrace, appearing as Skudra in the Achaemenid lists of peoples, reflecting the extent of the Great King's authority. Xerxes'

[1] Contents at *https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/The_History_of_the_Argeads/titel_2788.ahtml.*

[2] D. Kienast: 'Philip II. von Makedonien und das Reich der Achaimeniden'. *Abhandlungen der Marburger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 6 (1971), 243–94; revised in *Kleine Schriften* (Aalen 1994). Reference at p. 108, n. 46, and 109 in T. Howe's contribution, 'Plain Tales from the Hills: Illyrian Influences on Argead Military Development', 98–111, a quite acceptable set of suggestions.

inscription (*XPh* 22–28) would reflect his own perception of his realm, not the bare copying of his predecessor's: Skudra appears now in the nominative plural, i.e. two groups of Thracians, indicative of Xerxes' expansion of his influence. In all, an excellent and acceptable set of suggestions.

Part II: 'Politcial, Military, Numismatic and Economic Aspects of Argead Macedonia'. Johannes Heinrichs's detailed presentation of Alexander I's coinage (pp. 79–98) describes two weight standards, one for each area, Chalkidike and Macedon proper. The first, modelled after Poteidaia's Poseidon on horseback, came to depict a Macedonian cavalryman, Alexander, with lance and Achaemenid *akinakes*, symbol of his high status in the Far West, the latter weapon later replaced by a triangular fold as found in Achaemenid iconography. The second, based on Larisa's, was, like the first, a fractional coinage. In the east the coinage was used for military pay, to permit soldiers' use in local markets surrounding the construction sites of the Xerxes Canal. In the west the coinage was used, again for pay, during the construction of a passage from Therme to Methone (p. 93) 'through the uncultivated estuary systems of the Makedonian rivers for the Persian main column'. These coinages became a 'permanent regional phenomena' (p. 95). Thus Xerxes' campaign created not only a better infrastructure but also coinage for regional markets.

Part III: 'The Argead Dynastic Profile and Its Representation'. Elizabeth Carney (pp. 139–50) examines Argead marriage policy. 'Thus Achaemenid polygamy linked the king to the rest of the elite whereas Argead polygamy apparently distinguished the kink from the elite…' (p. 139). As Macedonian power grew, marriages became focused in the direction of foreign marriages: to facilitate political alliances, accompany the end of hostilities, protect Macedon by projecting the power of the Argead king. Persia 'remained the default model for monarchy and wealth' (p. 146), leading Carney to suggest that the trappings of Artabazus' family may have influenced Philip's staging of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra in 336 BC. By such displays royalty tied itself to the general populace. Olga Palagia (pp. 151–61) examines the two dated monuments surviving Argead rule. The first, the Philippeion at Olympia, proves to be an ornate display case for the marble images of Philip and his family, Philip's (p. 153) 'own version of the past, present and future of his dynasty'. Hence Philip's father, Philip, his son Alexander, his wife Olympias (mother of his existing heir, Alexander), and his younger wife of 337 BC Cleopatra/Eurydice (Arr. *Anab*. 3. 6. 5), future mother of his future heirs. Given Carney's presentation above, entirely acceptable. The second, a pavilion, perhaps commissioned by Polyperchon, for the two kings, Philip III and Alexander IV, was dedicated by the kings in the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace, whom the Argeads held in particular esteem (pp. 154–55) and which structure would shelter the kings while observing ceremonies. Sabine Müller (pp. 183–98), outlining the modifications to the Argead foundation myth, presents a seven-point list of the 'symbolic capital' of the male Argeads aiming for kingship. Although this list will prove useful in its application to other dynasties, I must wonder whether the succinct definition in the *Suda* (*s.v.* Basileia) is more to the point.

Part IV: 'Literary Images and Reception of the Argeads'. Joseph Roisman (pp. 233–40) presents an interesting account of Philip's physical appearance as presented in some Attic orators. That physical appearance (although Anstand prevented a mocking of partial blindness) was made to be a 'reflection of what was wrong with him' (p. 238) and the result of his behaviour. Reinhold Bichler (pp. 254–68), basing his inquiry on the sceptical approach

of Bloedow,[3] proposes that the Trogus-Justin account of Philip's war with Scythian Ateas was shaped by a narrative (Theopompus?) which had as its aim making Philip seem less capable than his son was when placed in parallel situations.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

K. Nawotka and A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *Alexander the Great and the East: History, Art, Tradition*, Philippika 103, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, vi+447 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10710-5/ISSN 1613-5628[1]

This volume represents the 'final versions of papers read' at the Wrocław conference held in September 2013 on Alexander and presents a variety of themes based on a wide range of sources. An excellent summation of the studies' main points will be found at pp. 2–8, topics extending in space to China, in time to the National Socialist times. Although I consider only a few papers here, all offer valuable departure points for further investigation. If there is one problem I must highlight it is in documentation: the bibliography (pp. 363–405) fails to detail the editions of the primary sources used; some of the pieces would benefit by introducing in the body of the paper the line-by-line text of inscriptions, whether transliterated or translated. However, this is a problem common when the original was always spoken.

Ivan Ladynin (pp. 9–18) discusses a now-lost inscribed statuette of an unnamed Egyptian prince, who indicates (p. 11) '(When) I was among the foreigners she (the goddess Isis) rose my place in the heart of their ruler, she brought me (back) in Egypt.' I recommend that the reader begin by consulting the Gorre 2009 study.[2] Ladynin cites it, especially pp. 378–84: *Location*: Sebennytos, *Entity 74*: 'X', text in hieroglyphics, in transliteration and in French translation (clearer than the words 'rose my place'). He is correct in arguing that the translation should read as 'among foreigners'. The problem does remain in whether to identify the host of this unnamed son of Nectanebos II as Alexander and in determining the prince's attitude towards his host. I remain uncertain about the statement on p. 18 that such 'refusal to accept the Macedonian dynasts as the wholesome ritual kings of Egypt was probably a consensus of the Egyptian elite…' Here I yield to the judgment of others.

Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowska (pp. 19–30) discuss Nectanebo II and Alexander. But a problem occurs in the statement (p. 19): 'Anonymous *Historia Alexandri Magni* better known as the *Alexander Romance*…' Which one? It is at last identified (p. 21, n. 12) as Müller's 1846 Paris edition.[3] This particular version emphasises

[3] E.M. Bloedow, 'The so-called "Scythian Campaign" of Philip II in 339 BC'. *PP* 322 (2002), 25–61.

[1] Contents at *https://www.harrassowitzverlag.de/Alexander_the_Great_and_the_East/titel_921.ahtml.*

[2] G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées* (Leuven 2009).

[3] This text may still be extant in libraries. A reprint was issued as K. Müller (ed.), *The Fragments of the Lost Historians of Alexander the Great. Fragmenta Scriptorum de Rebus Alexandri Magni, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Itinerarium Alexandri* (Chicago 1979). The 1846 pagination is maintained, however that 1846 volume had two parts, so pagination begins anew with the portion *Pseudo-Callisthenes et. al.* This

Alexander's Egyptian origin; ties with Nectanebo would enhance the Macedonian's image. Although the Egyptian dies at Alexander's hands, the Macedonian's arrival in Egypt is met with joy for he is the reincarnation of his father, the last true Pharaoh. Why the selection of Nectanebo? Alexander had resurrected the cult of the Mother of Apis, which had existed until the fall of Nectanebo, and concentrated his building projects in areas associated with Nectanebo I and II. I am uncertain whether this is the effect of Alexander and his Egyptian advisors wishing to obliterate evidence of Persian rule.

Adam Łukaszewicz (pp. 33–39) argues that construction at Pharos was conducted over a number years, and that Alexander planned to use the island to guard the area around the Nile's Canopic mouth and the regions to the west. Pharos was meant to contain a fortified watch-tower protecting Egypt from sea invasion. Sostratus, subject of an epigram by Poseidippos, was responsible primarily for the statue of Zeus Soter. As regards the fire-signal atop Pharos, Łukaszewicz might wish to examine the use of heliographs in the early 20th-century Africa.

Eduard Rung (pp. 51-58) re-examines the so-called Memnon decree (*IG* II2 356) in light of Lambert's work on the text (printing it would have been desirable). The person honoured is actually Thymondas, son of the famous Mentor, not a putative descendent of the famous Memnon. The cause for the honour in 327/6 BC may be due to Thymondas' role in aiding Athenian embassies to Darius, parallel to his father's efforts on behalf on Hellenes in Egypt at the time of the Persian conquest. One should note that Athenian contact with the Pharnacids and their staff extended back to the late 5th century.

Jeffrey Lerner (pp. 117–42), skilled in Western and Cyrillic sources, wrangles with the problem of tracing Alexander's route to Marakanda in 328, a complex problem posed for moderns not by terrain, but by clashing textual sources, an inability to record accurately the names of places unheard of and never seen, and by moderns' attempts to save the phenomena (note doublet on p. 129). Lerner's conclusion (p. 142): 'The eastern route proposed for Alexander's march northward remains unconvincing. There is no need to revise the geopolitical and cultural history of the region.' Perhaps only the soil will not lie.

Sabine Müller, noted for her recent excellent works on the Argead dynasty, discusses Poseidippos, Ptolemy and Alexander (pp. 179–91) on the basis of the Milan Papyrus (alias the 'new' Poseidippos). Here Alexander appears in the time of the early Ptolemies as one protected and favoured by the Gods, as heaven-sent to subdue the Persians. The epigrams concerning precious stones form a catalogue of Alexander's conquests and booty. A stone which bears the image of a Persian lion is made to have the lion stretch out to receive the rays of the Argead sun. Those concerning the interpretation of signs, in spite of the translation misprint (p. 188), has a swooping [Ptolemaic] eagle announce victory, while, in another, the Thracian hero Strymon has allowed his crow to predict thrice Alexander's success. The artist Lysippus is praised for his skill in depicting the leonine Alexander before whom the bovine Persians will run away.

Agnieszka Fulińska of Cracow (pp. 223–44), whose studies encompass the Alexander-like Napoleon and the larger-than-Napoleon-sized Alexander,[4] offers a presentation whose

text is not the same as the perhaps more familiar Anonymi Byzantini *Vita Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, ed. J. Trumpf (Stuttgart 1974). It is hoped Nawotka will address all this in his Brill commentary (*https://brill.com/view/title/33854*).

[4] *http://jagiellonian.academia.edu/AgnieszkaFulinska.*

'main objective is to draw scholarly attention to tentative evidence for the Persian influence on Macedonia before Alexander'. In spite of n. 1 on p. 224, perhaps dating the paper to the end of 2013, she has had the great fortune at that conference to meet and discuss ideas with a number of scholars who would pursue similar lines of inquiry, the results later appearing in the now incompletely published Innsbruck 2015 conference on the Argeads.[5] The legitimacy of the Macedonian kingship was dependent on the sometimes opaquely-preserved hereditary character (p. 225).[6] But Fulinska is correct in placing emphasis on Amyntas' (hence, Alexander's) dynastic ties with Persian nobility. And while the disposition of Persian-influenced Europa remains beyond the drawing of 'provincial' boundaries,[7] the importance of features common to the Achaemenids and their dependencies, illustrated in a table on p. 229, should be subjects for further investigation. Concerning 'imperial' roads, one should note that Johannes Heinrichs in his discussion of Alexander I's coinage in Müller *et al.* 2017[8] gives shape to the Persian and Macedonian constructions which required the introduction of coinage and, hence, improvements in infrastructure. As for the favourable position of Macedonian women, Fulinska will gain much support from Elizabeth Carney's[9] and Müller's own contribution to Müller *et al.* 2017.[10] The characteristics of the women in Artabazus' family were no doubt very familiar. The remainder of the presentation focuses on material remains: I recommend Fulinska examine Elspeth Dusinberre's works on the Achaemenid Far West and well as Müller's Argead works. Fulinska's topic is one she should continue to pursue.

Josef Wiesehöfer, moving into more modern times, considers the attitudes of German ancient historians towards Alexander's 'unity of mankind' or *Verschmelzungspolitik* (pp. 355–62). Variety marked the views of historians in the National Socialist era: for example, Schachermeyr looked with horror upon the Alexander-introduced 'chaos of blood' (p. 358), while Berve took a more positive view of the 'far-sighted "racial breeder"' (p. 359). As for the Nazi hierarchy, the attitude was singular. Alfred Rosenberg, 'chief ideologue' and head of the Ostministerium, viewed Alexander's efforts as doomed to failure in part by the bastardisation of the Persians by the lower Semitic-Orientals. Also to be noted is the view of Rosenberg's chief rival in Eastern matters, Heinrich Himmler. If there was any magic to be found in *Verschmelzungspolitik*, it was certainly lost on Himmler, who wrote in 1942: 'Our task lies not in Germanisation in the old sense – that is teaching inhabitants there German language and laws – but instead to see to it that only persons of true German, Germanic blood reside in the East.'[11] Thus his Waffen-SS could never be an *Avantgarde für Europa*.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

[5] S. Müller *et al.* (eds.), *The History of the Argeads: New Perspectives* (Wiesbaden 2017). See my immediately preceding review.

[6] *Cf.* S. Müller in Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 193.

[7] *Cf.* J. Lerner in Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 7–25.

[8] Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 79–98.

[9] Müller *et al.* (as in n. 5), 139–50.

[10] S. Müller (as in n. 6), 193–95.

[11] Cited in J. Böhler and R. Gerwath (eds.), *The Waffen-SS. A European History* (Oxford 2017), 122–23. Please note that the Marburg book (n. 17 on p. 359, etc.) has now appeared as V. Losemann, K. Ruffing *et al.* (eds.), *In solo barbarico…: Das Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Philipps-Universität Marburg von seinen Anfängen bis in die 1960er Jahre* (Münster 2017).

V. Nikolov and W. Schier (eds.), *Der Schwarzmeerraum vom Neolithikum bis in die Früheisenzeit (6000–600 v. Chr.): Kulturelle Interferenzen in der zirkumpontischen Zone und Kontakte mit ihren Nachbargebieten*, Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 30, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 536 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-685-3/ISSN 0723-1725

This volume contains the proceedings of the third Humboldt College which was held in May 2012 at Varna (Bulgaria), dedicated to the prehistoric archaeology of the Black Sea area. Earlier Humboldt Colleges on the same theme were held in 2007 in Tbilisi (Georgia) and in 2010 in Chişinău (Moldavia). The volume consists of 34 papers (two-thirds of those read at the college), published in chronological order, with subjects ranging from the Neolithic period (3), the Neolithic–Chalcolithic (4), the Chalcolithic (12), the Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age (5), the Early Bronze Age (7), the Early Iron Age (2) and a paper covering the period between the Neolithic and Late Bronze Age. Twenty papers are in the German and another 14 in English, but all have an abstract (although sometimes minimal) in both languages. As one can see from the numbers listed, the title does not cover the contents: this book is almost completely dedicated to the early prehistoric periods (with a strong emphases on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age), as can be expected from the editors who are both specialists in this field. Readers who are interested in the later period from the 1st millennium BC onwards will not find much to engage them here.

The first paper by Blagoje Govedarica is concerned with the Vinča culture in Serbia being the first metallurgical centres in Europe during the first half of the 5th millennium BC. In an excellent and very detailed paper Christian Lichter discusses the very important cultural connections between the West Pontic and Turkish Black Sea coasts during the pre-Bronze periods, concluding that the Black Sea was a cultural wall between these two areas and that cultural influences from Anatolia arrived in south-eastern Europe through the Aegean, more or less confirming Colin Renfrew's 'chronological fault line'. The next paper is by Olaf Höckmann and treats prehistoric shipping in the Black Sea. Unluckily, he uses the false information about bronze ingots found in the Black Sea near the Bulgarian town of Sozopol and he dates the stone anchors, mostly found on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, to the Bronze Age, for which there is not a shred of evidence. Raiko Krauss's paper is about the Early Neolithic on the Lower Danube spreading to the North Pontic steps. Margarita Lyuncheva and Miroslav Klasnakov report on one of the Neolithic sites on the south-western Black Sea coast near the Bulgarian village of Chernomorets, a very interesting area for which, until recently, only Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age sites were known. The next paper, by Wolfram Schier, discusses the transition from Late Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic in the south-east Carpathians, while Johannes Müller and Arne Windler compare evidence for the earliest social inequality in the western and eastern Balkans. István Zalai-Gaál and others return to the Late Neolithic–Chalcolithic period in the south Transdanubian region.

The next seven papers (Viktoria Petrova; the editor, Vassil Nikolov; Vladimir Slavchev and others; Verena Leusch and others; Yavor Boyadzhiev; Kamen Boyadzhiev; and Thilo Rehren and others) are concerned with the Chalcolithic period on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, mostly with aspects of the necropolis near Varna but also with salt production and copper smelting. Thomas Zimmerman turns to prehistoric metallurgy along the Turkish

Black Sea coast. Following are papers by Matthias Thomas and Valeska Becker about aspects of the excavations at Drama in south-eastern Bulgaria by the late Jan Lichardus. The late Henrietta Todorova and Elena Marinova and Mariana Filipova discuss the consequences of climate changes along the western Black Sea coast between 5000 and 2800 BC. Two papers deal with the North Pontic stepoe belt in the Chalcolithic (Agathe Reingruber; Juri Rassamakin and Nadja Kotova), while Klára Fischl and Raiko Krauss discuss the period of tell settlements in the Carpathians and the eastern Balkans. The last paper about the Chalcolithic is by Zoï Tsirtsoni, who treats the very interesting topic of the end of the Late Chalcolithic from a viewpoint of Greece, coming to the conclusion that the abandonment of Chalcolithic settlements was not caused by invasion or climate changes but was due to a long period of transformation into the Early Bronze Age, not taking in account the so-called 'hiatus' that followed almost all Chalcolithic settlements in Bulgaria and which probably covers a period of several hundred years.

The next paper, by Stefan Alexandrov and Elke Kaiser, contradicts the view of Zoï Tsirtsoni by concluding that immigrations from the north had already started at the end of the Late Chalcolithic period. Two papers (Ralf Gleser; Kathleen McSweeney and others) are concerned with the Early Bronze Age in Bulgaria; further papers by Maria Ivanova, Florin Gogâltan, Elke Kaiser and Eugen Sava, and Tanya Hristova discuss metallurgy in eastern Europe during the Early Bronze Age. Probably the best paper in this volume is that by Krassimir Leshtakov and Zoï Tsirtsoni giving for the first time a perfect and logical insight into developments in south-eastern Europe during the 2nd millennium BC. The last two papers are by Rudolf Echt and Biba Teržan, about the Early Iron Age Hallstatt period and the early Scythians.

This book is excellently produced, in hardcover and on good paper with perfect illustrations (many in colour). It is really a gold mine for those specialising in the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age, with numerous new insights.

Ghent University Jan G. de Boer

L. Nováková, *Tombs and Burial Customs in the Hellenistic Karia*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 282, Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, Trnava University in Trnava, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2016, 184 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-4008-6

This book is based on Lucia Nováková's doctoral thesis submitted successfully at the University of Trnava in Slovakia in 2012. It is well illustrated with drawings and photographs made by the author herself (with other photographs taken by Erik Hrnčiarik and Ivan Kuzma). Her photographs demonstrate that she travelled extensively in south-western Anatolia and clearly obtained a first-hand knowledge of the tombs which she discusses in her book.

N. begins with a description of the region, the geographical boundaries of Caria and an account of ancient sources which were concerned with the Carians. She discusses the relationships between the various Carian communities and the Greek cities founded in the coastal regions of south-western Anatolia and, of course, the extension of Greek influence into the hinterland.

The next section is concerned with the development of the concept of the dead as Heroes, the changing significance of the term and, particularly in the Carian communities, its relationship with respect for the ancestors. N. considers this beyond her strict geographical limitations, and looking into the sort of cult which might evolve in this respect she takes into account evidence from other parts of the Greek world: for instance, she looks at the detailed instructions laid down in the 'will of Epikteta' for the establishment of a funerary cult for a family in the distinctly non-Carian island of Thera.

N. then looks at the different types of monumental tomb, built or rock-cut, their siting either outside or, in special circumstances, within the community. She discusses their architectural form and their relationship with both native Carian (and neighbouring Lycian) structures together with the adoption of classical Greek form, beginning before the Hellenistic period with the emergence of the Hecatomnid dynasty and, of course, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The next section gives a full account of the different types of tomb which develop through the Hellenistic period into the time of the Roman empire, with a final section looking at the epigraphic evidence. Appended to this are two catalogues, one rather oddly called a 'catalogue of archaeological finds' which is in fact a descriptive list of tombs discussed in the relevant sections of her thesis. This is rather awkwardly arranged: the tombs are presented here in non-alphabetical sequence, though it is the location name rather than the number assigned in her list which heads each entry as its 'reg. number', while references to these tombs are given in her discussion by name rather than catalogue number, which means looking through the non-alphabetic sequence to find the relevant description. Most entries also give plans and sections of the tombs listed, all of them taken from previous publications, particularly the surveys of the rock-cut tombs of Caria by D. Roos. The second catalogue lists 'Epigraphic finds', again all with previous bibliographies.

Altogether, this book could present a useful survey of the available information on the tombs and funerary rituals and customs in Caria. But there is a problem. It is published in the series *Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie*. A short Preface by the editors explains that this is intended, principally, to publish the work of young scholars, particularly theses, financing coming from self or the publisher. It lists the editorial board, mostly, of course, from German universities. For the present volume the layout is attributed to the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at the University of Trnava, two of whose members are named in the list of editors. This is a system which makes for rapid and relatively economical publication. However, in the case of the present volume it can have unfortunate consequences. The work is presented in an English translation, which was not made by the author herself. It is often stilted and non-idiomatic (the actual title of the book should have been corrected), which at times makes for awkward reading. There is a very large number of mistakes of spelling and grammar. There is also a problem with the layout and set-up of the book: p. 77 is left completely blank, where it should have carried a continuation of the text together with Illustration 35 which should have given plans of rock-cut tombs in south-eastern Caria. It is clear that the method of production for this series does not include copy-editing, something that this volume sorely needed and which would have improved it immensely.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

J. Pearce and J. Weekes (eds.), *Death as a Process: The Archaeology of the Roman Funeral*, Studies in Funeral Archaeology 12, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, ix+300 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-323-2

Death as a Process, edited by John Pearce and Jake Weekes, is the outcome of a session organised in 2007 at the Roman Archaeology Conference in London, complemented by additional contributions, published in Oxbow's *Studies in Funerary Archaeology* series. The book consists of 11 chapters, each accompanied with its own bibliography, figures and tables. There is also a Preface that describes the aims of the publication and a short list of the contributors.

The body of knowledge concerning Roman funerary archaeology has been greatly enriched the past two decades, as the result of extensive field work, particularly through construction-related excavations and the development and application to archaeology of scientific methods, bioarchaeology for instance. The contributions examine funerary practices observed during the relevant period, with an emphasis on the archaeological record rather than written texts. The specific aim of the volume is the reconstruction of the ritual sequence of the burial, i.e of the rituals that precede and succeed death, *viz.* 'death as a process'. The geographical span of the cases examined, which include excavations from Italy, France, Germany, Britain and Greece, provides an opportunity for researchers not only to enrich their knowledge, but also to gain from the insight provided by the different approaches that characterise distinct national traditions. The intention of the publication is to contribute in the interpretation, reconstruction and understanding of the Roman funeral as a process, which is not solely limited to the deposition – in whatever form – of the body. The papers included in the book attempt, with the use of various analytical tools such as osteological analysis, experimental archaeology and interpretative frameworks, to comprehend the formation process of the archaeological find (the burial) in order to detect the various stages of the process and interpret their meaning.

Thus, in 'Introduction: Death as a process in Roman funerary archaeology', Pearce enumerates the developments in the techniques applied in the interpretation of the archaeological record that encouraged the appreciation of funerary evidence as a dynamic body of data and underlines some of the challenges that researchers face in the study of Roman funerary archaeology. Rife and Morison ('Space, object, and process in the Koutsongila Cemetery at Roman Kenchreai, Greece') attempt to reconstruct through available archaeological evidence the ritual acts that took place outside and inside the burial chamber, such as the deposition of funerary offerings or the consumption of communal meals and infer the significance of such practices in the assertion of identity. Jacopo Ortalli ('Archaeology and Funerary Cult: The stratigraphy of soils in the cemeteries of Emilia Romagna [northern Italy]') demonstrates the advantages of the employment of microstratigraphic excavation in burial sites in detecting and reconstructing the diachronic uses of space. Jake Weekes ('Funerary archaeology at St Dunstan's Terrace, Canterbury') re-examines more thoroughly the burial evidence from the cemetery of St Dunstan's Terrace in an attempt to offer a more detailed reconstruction of the ritual process of the burial by relating specific archaeological evidence to specific ritual acts. Aarts and Heeren ('Buried Batavians: Mortuary rituals of a rural frontier community') present the burial evidence from the Batavian settlement at Tiel, with an emphasis on burial as a rite of passage. The fact that one of the settlements

that used the burial ground has also been excavated enriches the available information and provides the possibility for a more nuanced reconstruction of the funerary process and its symbolism. Rost and Wilbers-Rost ('They fought and died – but were covered with earth only years later: "Mass graves" on the ancient battlefield of Kalkriese') examine the burial evidence of the possible Teutoburg Forest battlefield uncovered at the site of Kalkriese and argue that the fragmented taphonomic picture observed could refer to the burying of the remains of dead Roman soldiers by Germanicus a few years later than the actual battle. Paul Booth ('Some recent work on Romano-British cemeteries') compares the funerary evidence from a selection of cemeteries located in England with the established reconstruction for funerary practice in Roman Britain in order to discuss tradition as reflected in the burial record and emphasise regional variation.

Catalano, Caldarini, De Angelis and Pantano ('Funerary complexes from Imperial Rome: A new approach to anthropological study using excavation and laboratory data') demonstrate how the analysis and comparison of osteological and archaeological material between sites through the application of statistical methods could offer valuable insight into the living conditions of each population. Sébastien Lepetz ('Animals in funerary practices: Sacrifices, offerings and meals at Rome and in the provinces') provides an interesting account of the presence of animals in burials, using examples from Rome and the provinces in an attempt to understand their role – sacrifice, funerary meal, companion – in the funerary rites performed for the deceased. Jacqueline McKinley's paper ('"How did it go?"… putting the process back into cremation') provides a valuable perception concerning the formation process of cremations and the importance that careful excavation and recording in the field has in their interpretation. Weekes's Afterword, 'Process and polysemy: An appreciation of a cremation burial', offers an interpretative framework using the concepts of polysemy and liminality in order to analyse and understand the meaning of the funeral in the past.

This book is an important contribution to the analysis of Roman funerary rites. It demonstrates the valuable insights that application of scientific techniques can provide, as well as the implications that excavation methods can have for interpretation of the material. It is well edited.

Thessaloniki, Greece Christina Aamodt

E. Perego and R. Scopacasa (eds.), *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents. Gender, Personhood and Marginality*, Studies in Funerary Archaeology 11, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2016, xxxiv+342 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78570-184-9

Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy is the outcome of an international workshop organised by the editors (Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa) in 2011. Its purpose is to re-evaluate a crucial chronological period of vibrant social and political transformations from the 'agency' perspective. In short, the contributions aim at examining the individual influence and impact of these processes by focusing on marginalised groups, such as women, children and other socially excluded individuals. In an effort to understand and interpret the archaeological evidence beyond agency, the contributors also employ various theoretical frameworks (personhood, ethnicity, habitus, *metissage* and hybridisation).

The book is divided in two sections, preceded by an Introduction outlining the transformations of 1st-millennium BC Italy. The need for a re-examination of the archaeological evidence from the point of view of agency is explained and the layout of the book described. The 'Finale' recapitulates the key points and arguments of each contributor, raises new questions and proposes new directions for future research. Each chapter has its own bibliography and figures, tables and maps.

Section 1, 'Funerary symbolism and ritual practice: from elite identities to gender, personhood and connectivity', consists of eight chapters and focuses mainly on identifying marginal social groups in funerary contexts, generally associated with prominent groups. It addresses issues such as the construction and negotiation of power and identity and the dynamics involved in these processes. Therefore, Cuozzo investigates the mechanisms that allowed prominent social groups in Etruria and Campania to distinguish themselves from their marginalised peers. Moreover, the author discusses the role of high-status women in the formation of elite ideologies. Iaia identifies different models of drinking ceremonies in Early Iron Age Central Italy, used as a means to express identity negotiation and competition among different social groups. Shipley highlights the dual system for the representation of the deceased in Tarquinia, which combines communal identity (the typical biconical urn) and personal identity (the covering of the urn and the objects accompanying the burial) and relates the shift in emphasis from communal to personal identity, (i.e. from 'dividuality' to individuality), to increasing urbanisation and socio-political inequality. A change in the funerary practices in 7th- and 6th-century BC Chiusi, manifested in the move from individual graves to chamber tombs and multiple burials, indicates, according to O'Donoghue, a change in the representation of identity from the individual male warrior to the member of a family/social group and the creation of the aristocratic family. Faustoferri emphasises the social status women were able to achieve in some communities indicated by the presence of weapons, bronze discs and other insignia in their tombs. This is conjectured to be directly associated with their active involvement in religion and politics. Di Lorenzo *et al.* examine how different levels or forms of identity attributed to children buried in cemeteries at Verucchio could be expressed by the specific position of grave-goods within the grave. They conclude that children were represented as integrated members of society. Morris proposes a more nuanced interpretation for the appearance of 'princely' tombs in Campania, emphasising the dynamics of adaptation and competition among elite and non-elite segments of the local communities and the important role of networks. Through the employment of concepts borrowed from the social sciences ('nested identities', 'mental distances', etc.), Rajalla investigates cultural connectivity and ethnicity in Orientalising and Archaic Latium.

Section 2, 'Identities on the fringe', consists of four chapters that bring forward cases of marginality, peripherality and social exclusion. Thus, in Zamboni's contribution, agency and cultural connectivity explain more sufficiently the presence or absence of particular influences in the 'frontier' region of western Emilia than interpretations emphasising ethnic groups, migration and colonisation. Scopacasa criticises the inadequacy of the strategy of Samnite elites to legitimise their faltering power in a time of rapid socio-political transformation that demanded resourceful tactics. Zanoni examines the notion of identity of sub-adults and young adults in the communities of the Alpine region and supports a possible connection between their liminal status and the inclusion of their remains in so-called 'places of fire sacrifice', located in similarly liminal places such as remote mountain areas.

Finally, Perego explores the relationship between social change, agency and violence. The author observes a hierarchical arrangement of funerary space in Iron Age Veneto, which might have been a way for individuals to understand their different social position and value within their community. Further, the practice of ritual violence and the exploitation of individuals for ritual purposes, presumably by the elite, might have been closely associated with the socio-political transformation that Iron Age Veneto was witnessing. The book is a well-edited, intriguing and thought-provoking contribution. It is clearly written and devoid of spelling mistakes. It makes a genuinely noteworthy contribution.

Thessaloniki, Greece Christina Aamodt

L.P. Petit and D. Morandi Bonacossi (eds.), *Nineveh, The Great City: Symbol of Beauty and Power*, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities (PALMA) 13, Sidestone Press, Leiden 2017, 357 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-8890-496-7

Sicher nicht häufig gelingt es Herausgebern für *ca.* 320 Seiten Text, ursprünglich als Leidener Ausstellungskatalog (19.10.2017–25.3.2018) geplant, noch 56 ausgewiesene, international tätige Fachkollegen (vgl. Liste S. 11–12) als Autoren zu gewinnen, doch das haben Lucas P. Petit und Daniele Morandi Bonacossi mit ihrer umfassenden Publikation zu Ninive(h) (akkad. Nina/u(w)a, griech. Ninos, heute in Mos(s)ul), am östlichen Tigrisufer gelegen, zeitweise im späten 8./7. Jh. v. Chr. die strategisch, für Landwirtschaft und Handel gut situierte und befestigte Hauptstadt des Neuassyrischen Reiches, geschafft. Entstanden ist ein übersichtliches Kompendium zu einer Stadt, die vergleichbar mit Troia oder Babylon einerseits noch oder wieder heute im kollektiven Gedächtnis als Erinnerungsort präsent ist, und die andererseits nunmehr seit dem 10.6.2014 das traurige Schicksal der von Krieg überzogenen Regionen des Vorderen Orients teilt und erneut Gefahr laufen könnte, trotz der Befreiung vom sog. Islamischen Staat im Januar 2017, weil zerstört, vergessen zu werden, wie z.B. nach dem Niedergang des Assyrerreiches 612 v. Chr.

Das Buch ist nach einer Einführung durch die Herausgeber in sechs Teile mit insgesamt 67 Kapiteln untergliedert, sorgfältig bebildert, mit einer umfassenden Literaturliste (S. 333–48 mit gut 450 Einträgen), einer Museumskonkordanz und einem Gesamtindex versehen.

In durchgängig konzisen Beiträgen erläutert Teil I das berühmte, aber verlorene Ninive (Kap. 1, D. Morandi Bonacossi), die schriftlichen Quellen in Keilschrift (Kap. 2, J. MacGinnis), die biblischen und sonstigen jüdischen und frühchristlichen (Kap. 3, J.K. Zangenberg) sowie die klassischen Zeugnisse (Kap. 4, M. Vlaardingerbroek). Spätere westeuropäische Kunstwerke, vorwiegend Gemälde ab dem 13. bis ins 20. Jh., zeigen die Stadt oder zugehörige Kontexte (Kap. 5, J. de Hond). Kap. 6 (P. Matthiae) unterstreicht die Bedeutung früher Reisender, die aufgrund hellenistischer (Beros(s)os), biblischer und frühchristlicher Überlieferungen vom Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jh. für die (Wieder-)Entdeckung/Identifizierung u.a. Ninives sorgten.

Teil II reflektiert die Ausgrabungsgeschichte zumeist der beiden Siedlungshügel, des Tell Kuyunjik und des Tell Nebi Yunus (heute z.T. überbaut), mit Palästen, öffentlichen Bauten und Tempeln. Sie wird von L.P. Petit (Kap. 7) als ‚großes Abenteuer' charakterisiert. Erste Grabungen erfolgten ab 1842 (zur Topographie vgl. Kap. 8, J. Ur; zu antiken und modernen, auch tückischen Begebenheiten, u.a. beim Transport von Skulpturen auf dem Tigris:

Kap. 12, L.P. Petit). Die französischen (Kap. 9, A. Thomas), britischen (Kap. 10, J. Curtis), irakischen (Kap. 16, J. MacGinnis; vgl. auch zum Nergal Tor: Kap. 17, L. Salih) und italienischen (archäologische Untersuchungen in der Ninive-Region: Kap. 18, D. Morandi Bonacossi) Expeditionen/Ausgrabungen sind mit so bekannten Namen wie u.a. C.J. Rich (erste topographische Pläne), P.-É. Botta, H. Rawlinson, A.H. Layard (vgl. auch Kap. 11, F.M. Fales), ferner Max Mallowan und Agatha Christie Mallowan (vgl. Kap. 14, D. Stronach) sowie der unvergesslichen großen Pionierin Gertrude Bell (Kap. 15, L. Cooper) verbunden. Letztere, aber auch z.B. T.E. Lawrence oder Max von Oppenheim, bestätigten die häufige Vermutung, dass Archäologen in Kriegszeiten von ihren Ländern zur Spionagetätigkeit herangezogen wurden (Kap. 13, F.M. Fales).

Die Teile III–V sind der gut 9000jährigen Geschichte gewidmet. Besiedelt war Ninive ab *ca*. 7000 v. Chr. bis ins 13. Jh. n. Chr. Einen knappen Überblick zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zu den Neuassyrern bietet Teil III mit den Kap. 19 (D. Morandi Bonacossi) und Kap. 20 (M. Iamoni). Ein besonderes Augenmerk wird der bedeutsamen sog. „Ninevite 5 Culture at Nineveh" geschenkt (Kap. 21, E. Rova), die zwischen *ca.* 3100/3000–2600/2550 im Nordirak, der Ḫaburregion und in Nordostsyrien verbreitet war. Das 2. Jt. sah dann die Geburt der assyrischen Stadt (Kap. 22, A. Tenu), die ihre Glanzzeit in der neuassyrischen Phase (ab spätem 10. Jh.) erlebte, mit der Erhebung zur Hauptstadt unter Sanherib – es handelt sich nunmehr um die größte Stadt der antiken Welt (*ca*. 750 ha; Plan S. 126) – bis zum Untergang des Reiches/der Stadt 612 v. Chr.

Diese Periode wird in 27 Kapiteln (Kap. 23–49) im umfänglichsten Teil IV zusammengefasst, deren Aspekte u.a. zu Urbanistik, Infrastruktur, Architektur, Plastik, Sprachen, Schriften und Schriftzeugnissen, Innen- und Außenpolitik, Religions- und Mentalitätsgeschichte hier nur kurz erwähnt werden können. Dazu gehören Stadtplanung (M. Novák), Wassermanagement und Landwirtschaft in und um Ninive (mit div. Karten; D. Morandi Bonacossi); – ein historischer Abriss zu Sanherib, Asarhaddon und Assurbanipal (B.J. Parker) und zu ihren Palästen in Ninive (D. Kertai); – Überlegungen zu Organisation und Funktion neuassyrischer Reliefs (P. Matthiae), zu Steinbrüchen und Steinen des sog. Südwestpalastes Sanheribs (P.L. Bianchetti), Untersuchungen zur Farbigkeit neuassyrischer Reliefs (D. Braekmans), Darstellung Ninives auf Reliefs (D. Nadali); – schriftlich/bildlich bezeugte Handels- und Fernkontakte (D.J.W. Meijer) und königlich-außenpolitische Kontakte (G.-B. Lanfranchi), – die historische Einordnung Sanheribs (C. Lippolis) und seiner ‚Inszenierung' Ninives (S. Lumsden), seines Palastgartens: einem Weltwunder (S. Dalley), dem Lachisch-Alabasterrelief des Südwestpalastes (D. Ussishkin) sowie Assurbanipals Löwenjagd-Reliefs (P. Albenda); – ein Überblick über Sprachen, Schriften und Texte aus Ninive (J.G. Dercksen), Bemerkungen zu dessen ‚intellektuellen' Zentren (E. Frahm), darunter Assurbanipals Bibliothek (J.C. Fincke), die Bedeutung aramäischer Inschriften (F.M. Fales); – abschließend Beiträge zu Dämonen, Gottheiten, Religion (B.N. Porter), der durchgängig verehrten Stadtgöttin Ištar (J. MacGinnis) und apotropäischen Darstellungen (C. Nakamura), zu Musik (T.J.H. Krispijn) sowie zur Zerstörung Ninives am Beispiel des Halzi Tores, eines von 14 Stadttoren (M. Van De Mieroop).

In den Zeitraum nach der Zerstörung der Metropole 612 v. Chr. durch babylonische, medische sowie kimmero-skytische Kontingente und der erneuten Zerstörung 2014 n. Chr. führt in Teil V D. Morandi Bonacossi ein (Kap. 50). Der vor- und achaimenidischen Periode (*ca.* 612–539 bzw. 539–330 v. Chr.) nunmehr des lt. Xenophon (Anab. 3. 4. 10) ruinösen Ortes Mespilas (?) (Kap. 51, J. Curtis) und dem hellenistischen bzw. parthischen Ninive

(Kap. 52, R. Palermo) wird allgemein in der Forschung nicht viel Beachtung geschenkt, schriftliche und archäologische Zeugnisse sind beschränkt, daher hier sehr willkommen. Ebenso wenig im Fokus stehen die anschließenden Phasen unter sasanidischer Vorherrschaft oder der Christianisierung vor Ort ab dem 1. Jh. n. Chr., obwohl Ninive Diözesensitz wurde. Um 637–640 hielt der Islam Einzug und steigerte die Bedeutung von Mos(s)ul, das am Tigriswestufer zum Hauptort bis in die ottomanische Zeit avancierte (Kap. 53, H.B. Al-Aswad).

Die Kap. 54–57 sind der Aufnahme der Zerstörungen des kulturellen antiken (Kap. 54, A. Bianchi, S. Berlioz, S. Campana, E. Dalla Longa, D. Vicenzutti, M. Vidale) und christlichen Erbes (Kap. 55, B. Lafleur) ab 2014 sowie Projekten wie „Rekrei" zur wenigstens virtuellen Bewahrung verlorener Kulturschätze durch die Erarbeitung z.B. der Rekonstruktion des „Mosul Cultural Museum" (Kap. 56, M. Vincent, Ch. Coughenour) und einer 3D Reproduktion des sog. Südwestpalastes in Ninive und (Kap. 57, B. Lenseigne, N. van Apeldoorn) gewidmet.

Besonders hervorzuheben ist Teil VI, der die materielle Hinterlassenschaft Ninives (Kap. 58, L.P. Petit) in den Museen und Sammlungen Frankreichs (Kap. 59, A. Thomas), Italiens (Kap. 60, D. Morandi Bonacossi), Großbritanniens (Kap. 61, P. Collins), den Niederlanden und Belgiens (Kap. 63, L.P. Petit/B. Overlaet), den USA (Kap. 64, M. Seymour) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Metropolitan Museums (Kap. 65) und der Türkei (Kap. 67, A.T. Ökse/Z. Kızıltan/G. Yağcı) präsentiert. Je ein Kapitel ist den Funden in den Berliner Museen vorbehalten (Kap. 62, L. Martin) sowie dem irakischen Museum in Bagdad (Kap. 66, C. Lippolis). Ergänzt wird Teil VI durch die nützliche Konkordanz der in 36 erfassten Museen verstreuten Funde (nicht nur) aus Ninive (S. 349–52).

Universität Tübingen Anne-Maria Wittke

R. Pirngruber, *The Economy of Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, xiii+249 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-10606-2

Building upon the work of Jursa and colleagues, Reinhard Pirngruber has written a clear, well-documented examination of the Babylonian economy, making an important contribution to a field which can be described now as 'in progress'. There is a need to re-examine and reinterpret existing documents, to await the (formal) publication of excavated archives, and to exhibit patience in the presence of the Tyche of Babylon until new tablets are unearthed. As P. indicates in the Introduction to the work (pp. 3–22), the existence of the cuneiform Babylonian Astronomical Diaries (*AD*), more properly the 'Regular Observation(s)', for the period 650–60 BC permits us to track commodity prices once entered by scribes. The majority of these records fall after 400 BC, hence the time frame of the examination (*ca.* 400–140 BC). He takes pains to convert silver equivalents into true prices before analysis. What is new is the use of 'regression analysis' (*cf.* pp. 223–25), i.e. the attempt to estimate relationships among variables. Fifteen values are posited: one for each month of the year, and three 'dummy variables" (pp. 170–75) in order 'to account for factors that are not easily measured – such as historical events' (p. 223), i.e. domestic warfare (foreign armies within Babylon and its immediate environs), warfare abroad (campaigns away) and rebellion/civil disorder. These should, and will, impact commodity prices. The sources for such: 'Regular Observation(s)', classical authors and formal archives, which

provide contexts for price data. Four such archives await a formal, complete publication (satrap Belesys' from Kasr, Babylon's Esangila, and two Borsippan), and are joined by the much-studied late 5th-century BC Murashu's.

Part II of the book, 'Structure' (pp. 24–90), discusses economic developments in 1st-millennium BC Babylon, the factors of production (land, labour, capital) and the issue of price volatility. After 484 BC and the Babylonian troubles, there was a new elite, based on ties to the crown or its agents, land being amassed by Achaemenid aristocrats. By the post-Achaemenid eras, monetisation had increased, payments in silver – not kind – were common, and record keeping was done primarily on papyrus, thereby diminishing our supply of recorded prices. Using Douglass North's approach, P. examines the ownership pattern of those factors of production and their effect on prices (pp. 47–70). 'The organisation of agriculture in the post-Xerxes period was not at all conducive to economic stability' (p. 66). The once prominent temple 'households' yield to private and institutional 'households', from which the crown could withdraw favour. The large Murashu family organisation owned land, leased out land and provided credit. The resulting widespread rural indebtedness helped provide cheap and/or coerced labour.

Babylonian data are scantier for the Seleuclid era, and P.'s attempt to discuss evidence from the recently published 'Lehmann-text' is damaged by Cambridge University Press' poor grasp of mathematics. The tablet, which should be properly noted as *CTMMA IV*, texts 148A and B,[1] describes a meeting in Babylon of the kinishtu ('council') which is addressed by the shatammu (local Hauptmann) concerning plots of arable land and the income therefrom. The land grant was made by Antiochus II from his personal property to wife Laodice and her sons, who all in turn donated the land to local communities and specified that tithes on the land should be used in the maintenance of the cities' important temples. Thus evidence for true royal land, legal guarantees assuring ownership rights, and the ability to yield income rights to a new recipient. For P. the text corroborates the earlier assumption by van der Spek 'of a fundamental parity of Greek and non-Greek cities' (p. 68). Private property was now more significant.

In order to ameliorate price volatility one should have a policy of storing goods in expectation of shortages (pp. 71–90). A diversity in the types of goods consumed will benefit. Although Babylon's two main staples, barley and dates, had different harvest times, there was scant practice of 'inter-annual storage or carry-over' (p. 72). P. can chart the occurrence of some references to 'old' and 'new' supplies in the 'Regular Observation(s)'.

In the third portion of the work, 'Performance' (pp. 91–216), begins with a price history (pp. 93–163) of Babylon, accompanied with charts and graphs. His consideration of the Late Achaemenid period (pp. 95–106) leads to the observation that the prices for commodities were dropping, but the absence of complementary sources preclude a definitive explanation for all phenomena. As for the Early Hellenistic period (pp. 107–22), a volatile economic situation began shortly before Alexander's death, after which Babylon became a centre of fighting. Three economic factors were in play: supply (damaged by hostilities), demand

[1] R. van der Spek and R. Wallenfels, 'Copy of record of entitlement and exemptions to formerly royal lands' [i.e. land grant by Antiochus II in Babylonia; the 'Lehmann Text']. In I. Spar and M. Jursa (eds.), *The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts from the Fourth to the First Millennium B.C.* (Winona Lake 2016), 213–27.

(heightened by the presence of numerous military forces) and an increased level of monetisation (due in part to an active Seleucid mint until the 290s, when Seleukis province became the new centre of gravity). 305/4–223 BC was an era of overall lower prices, save when Babylon served as a military mustering point (270s) or suffered internal disorder (pp. 122–36). A failure to balance supply and demand also led to more general food crises. There are no price data at the present time regarding the 240s Ptolemaic occupation. The Late Seleucid period (*ca.* 225–140 BC, pp. 136–54), in spite of moderns' attention to Apamea, found prices lower for all commodities than in the first half of Seleucid control. Prices fluctuated within a narrow band of values. P. also removed the perception (pp. 143–45) of a heavy tax on dates and later royal exemptions by re-examining the Uruk evidence: it was a long-time custom in Babylonia for lessees to be encouraged to plant date palms on presently barren land. His overall conclusion to the price history: 'the prevailing approach of elucidating price movement by reference to political history has shown good results' (p. 163).

At this point he introduces the use of quantitative analysis (pp. 164–209) as a means of moving away from a simple juxtaposition of historical and price data with its common presupposition that deviations can be tied to specific historical events mentioned in extant sources. He begins a classification of different types of historical events for their use in regression analysis (see above). An 'interpretive reading of historical events' (p. 172) will be combined with mathematical probability. In addition to the monthly 'dummy variables', three are introduced: warfare in Babylon, warfare elsewhere (involving at least one royal army) and internal disorder in Babylon. A table of impact is shown on p. 197: 37% of the barley price can be assigned to political causes; 30% of the date price to the same. The underlying causes of the price increases are measured: the simultaneous occurrence of military operations and the presence of an army within Babylon produced even more of an economic shock (p. 208, Tables 6.8, 6.9). Thus commodity prices (pp. 210–16) were heavily influenced by events; the opinion that prices were based on supply is corroborated. Babylonian price stability benefited from a productive agricultural system and the use of the same measuring standards into the Parthian period. Stability was damaged by high transportation costs outside the canal region of the one dominant city.

There are a few measures P. might take in the presentation of his data and conclusions: give the 'dummy variables' as a clear labelled list rather than just leaving them scattered in the text. A more visual presentation of data would help emphasise the results of the inquiries. In addition to Tables 6.5, 6.8, 6.9, present at least the barley and date prices as pie graphs highlighting the contribution of political events. Overall, this is an excellent work which should be revised, pending the publication of new data, with only a short delay.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

P. Pitkänen, *A Commentary on Numbers: Narrative, Ritual and Colonialism*, Routledge Studies in the Biblical World, Routledge, London/New York 2018, xiv+253 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-70657-6

Pekka Pitkänen's new commentary on the Book of Numbers analyses the Old Testament text from a decidedly interdisciplinary perspective. P. not only combines exegetic methods with approaches from post-colonial, migration and ritual studies, but also considers results from archaeological field research in the Levant.

The text is divided into two main sections: a detailed introduction (pp. 1–52) and a commentary (pp. 53–218). In addition, the volume also features five illustrations, four tables, an extensive and current bibliography (pp. 219–30) and three indexes (pp. 231–53). The author's objective is to present a new reading that seeks to understand the Book of Numbers as a carefully designed work within the larger context of the *Hexateuch*. P. assumes an at least 'semi-historical' content of the texts pertaining to the Moses story (p. 15), and the clear writing makes the text accessible to an audience beyond specialists in the field. Parts of his book take a noticeable Christian stance on ethical and religious issues.

Historically, the author locates the events narrated in the Book of Numbers in the southern Levant of the Late Bronze Age, 13th century BC (p. i). P. posits that at that time a new (Israelite) society displaced and supplanted the existing indigenous (Canaanite) population. This development was then put into writing as a 'settler colonial document' (pp. 40–50) in relative chronological proximity during the first half of the 11th century BC (p. 37) and edited over time. P. bases his early dating of the Book's original draft on the literary depiction of the important role of Shiloh as a Yahweh sanctuary in the Book of Joshua. In this context he relies in particular on his premise of the *Hexateuch*'s unified literary nature.

This approach to historicity and dating is without question in marked contrast to the usual interpretation of the Book of Numbers in an academic context, which rarely ascribes historical value to the text as a source for reconstructing the history of ancient Israel. Instead, the Book of Numbers is commonly interpreted as an anthology of little connected legislative texts, whose creation can at the earliest be dated back to the Persian period (5th and 4th centuries BC).[1]

The historical authenticity of biblical passages concerning Shiloh, such as Joshua 18:1 (the construction of the tabernacle there) or Judges 21:19 (report on annual Yahweh feasts), which seem to substantiate its considerable significance as Israel's central sanctuary in the Late Bronze Age, however, has been contested since W.M.L. de Wette (1780–1849) and the emergence of the historical-critical method. As far as archaeology is concerned, neither the Danish excavations of the 1920s and 1930s in Tell Sailun[2] nor the Israeli expeditions of the 1980s under the direction of I. Finkelstein[3] were able to document architectonic structures in Shiloh for the Late Bronze Age. A certain number of pottery and small finds, which were identified as votive offerings (but which could only be located in Area D of the Israeli excavations), on the other hand indicate that Late Bronze Shiloh was an uninhabited, isolated place of worship, of at most local significance. A supra-regional use of any

[1] See, for example, T. Römer, 'Das Buch Numeri und das Ende des Jahwisten'. In J.C. Gertz *et al.* (eds.), *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (Berlin/New York 2002), 215–31; H. Seebass, *Numeri: 1. Teilband, Numeri 1,1-10,10* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2012), 25*–38*; K. Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt 2014), 173–74.

[2] See M.-L. Buhl and S. Holm-Nielsen, *Shiloh: The Danish Excavations at Tall Sailun, Palestine, in 1926, 1929, 1932 and 1963: The Pre-Hellenistic Remains* (Copenhagen 1969); A. Kempinski, 'Shiloh'. In E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1993), 1364–66.

[3] See D.G. Schley, *Shiloh: A Biblical City in Tradition and History* (Sheffield 1989), 67–80; I. Finkelstein, 'Shiloh: Renewed Excavations'. In Stern (as in n. 2), 1366–70; I. Finkelstein *et al.* (eds.), *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site* (Tel Aviv 1993).

kind as a significant religious site in the mid-11th century BC, the early Iron Age I, has (so far) eluded historical and archaeological documentation.[4] P.'s dependence on Shiloh for his chronological alignment of the Book of Numbers hence warrants scepticism.

The commentary part is structured for each passage into three recurring subdivisions: 'context', 'comment' and 'meaning'. Under 'context' P. presents a general reconstruction of each respective passage's content. The 'comment' section adds a line-by-line analysis of the content. The occasional references to ancient oriental textual traditions (in particular those from Mari and Ugarit) and to archaeological sites and finds (such as the silver amulets of Ketef Hinnom, p. 82), with which the author relates the Book of Numbers to its ancient oriental environment, are especially praiseworthy. Individual examples from a cuneiform context and from archaeology on the other hand are referenced only briefly and discussed rarely, probably due to the focus on a general readership as the target audience. A reference to readings for further study would nevertheless have made a welcome addition for such non-specialist readers. Finally, in the 'meaning' section P. draws parallels to New Testament texts and confronts the difficult task of outlining the Book of Numbers' significance for the present day from a Christian-theological perspective.

Besides having accomplished a work that is easy to read, P. attempts in his book to balance historical analysis on the one hand with an interpretation of an ancient text from a Christian perspective for the present on the other. In doing so he prefers a conservative dating of events and strives to demonstrate the Book of Numbers' textual coherence, in clear distinction to research and dating approaches preferred within academia, a potentially problematic decision.

One strength of the commentary is the author's new approach regarding the question of how to evaluate texts about war and violence in the Old Testament. P. tries to show how depictions of violence which have been interpreted as fictional by previous researchers could be reinterpreted differently based on more recent and current post-colonial and sociological approaches. His approach will likely be received well in academic circles and overall the commentary will no doubt be met with a positive response among a generally interested readership rooted in a Christian religious community.

Leipzig University Felix Hagemeyer

K. Prag, with contributions from P.T. Gethin *et al.*, *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. VI: Sites on the Edge of the Ophel*, Levant Suppl. 18, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xv+308 pp., illustrations and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78570-653-0

Jerusalem was always an extremely difficult 'site' to excavate and not less so, to understand. This is mainly because it is a living city that tends to rebuild itself at the expense of its older phases and to destroy much of its ancient remains. Therefore, in the end we do not find

[4] For Iron Age I several buildings have been discovered in Tell Sailun, in which were found a large number of storage containers and in particular collared-rim jars. The stratigraphic relations are unclear, however. Excavators identified one part of the structures as storehouses. Concerning the other part of the buildings only residential use could be eliminated. See nn. 2 and 3 for literature.

parts of one puzzle but rather randomly selected parts of many puzzles, shuffled quite thoroughly. But even so, it is hard for any modern excavation to interpret and understand the stratigraphy of the site, where the dig has recently been finished. The task of publishing an old excavation with many details that got lost with time, is ten-fold harder. If this site happens to be Jerusalem, then it is nothing short of a Herculean task.

The fact is that Jerusalem produces, more or less, the same archaeological finds that can be found in any other site in Israel. But everyone knows that if something was found in Jerusalem, it is by default considered to be at least twice as important as if it were found anywhere else. Why? Because this is Jerusalem. It is the hub. The centre of the story, and within it you find parts of the story, and that is very exciting for many people.

So, combining my two points: while it is an immensely difficult task to publish an old excavation of Jerusalem, it is immensely important to do so. And within these two claims lie both my gratitude for the work of Kay Prag and her team, who managed to publish yet another volume of the excavations of Dame Katherine Kenyon in Jerusalem, and the excuse for any fault that I might find in this publication.

This final report is professionally done with attention to details and coherency that is expected of modern publication. This is highly appreciated, as this is an old material that was undoubtedly hard to put together. It is relatively easy to navigate within this volume in order to find specific details. It has a clean look: the plates, plans and photographs are edited well, and generally speaking, there are many illuminating illustrations, plans, sections and photographs, all of which make it easy to understand the given stratigraphic explanations and details. I have some reservations about the pottery plates, as they represent phases and not *loci*. This causes a great difficulty in understanding which pottery represents any given specific context, in a finer resolution than that of a phase. I also think that, rather than putting it in an appendix, the *loci* list should have been incorporated into the description of each phase, in order to clarify for every reader what *loci* are included in each phase.

The book comprises three main parts: the first is represented by the opening chapter, which offers a general overview of all the phases/periods published in this volume; the second presents the final, scientific publication of areas S.II (Chapter 2) and R (Chapter 3); third includes miscellaneous subjects, such as pottery analysis of the fine ware of the Byzantine period (Chapter 4) and the South Gaulish terra sigillata (Chapter 5). Some chapters are dedicated to the publication of small finds, such as plaster fragments (Chapter 6), shells (Chapter 10), miscellaneous materials (Chapter 8) and analysis of various materials (Chapter 9). Among those is also a chapter dedicated to revisiting the Ayyubid and Mamluk occupation of area L – the Armenian Garden (Chapter 7).

In this review I will only survey the newly published areas, and will leave the other chapters to those who have a particular interest in their subjects.

The first discussed area is S.II in the Ophel of Jerusalem. This might be the most excavated part of the Ophel and maybe even of the City of David. The first to explore it was Warren, in 1867, whose tunnels went along some of the walls of this area; after him came Dame Katherine between 1965 and 1967. Later the area was excavated by B. Mazar and E. Mazar separately and together (from the late 1960s up to late 1980s). The most recent excavation was conducted by E. Mazar in 2009. This area includes finds from the early Iron Age II up to modern times. Even so, the two most prominent eras featured are the Iron Age

and the Byzantine period. From the latter there is a massive curtain wall and a tower, both are parts of the fortification of the City of David and the Ophel in the 5th century AD, usually identified as the wall of the empress Aelia Eudocia. A discussion on this fortification wall also appears in E. Mazar's first volume of her Ophel final publication.[1] From the Iron Age this area includes two architectural elements of great importance: the 'Extra Tower' (wall EE in this publication) and the southern part of the 'Straight Wall', which is also the outer side of the 'The Royal Building' discovered by E. Mazar (wall FF in this publication). The 'Extra Tower', in my opinion, is the most impressive fortification of the Iron Age in Jerusalem, with massive well-chiselled stones. At the foot of this tower, in the deposits abutting it, E. Mazar found the *bulla* of king Hezekiah.[2] The 'Straight Wall' was dubbed by E. Mazar 'The Solomonic Wall' and it is dated by her to the 10th century BC[3] – a dating challenged in this publication.

The main reason for this challenge is that in Kenyon's excavation the pottery in the deposits abutting wall FF is dated to the end of the 8th–early 7th century BC – later than wall EE (which is dated to the 9th/8th century BC). P. is aware that E. Mazar found a basal deposit dated to the 10th century BC abutting wall FF P. 4), but for some reason chose to ignore it. I would recommend viewing the interpretation of the stratigraphic sequence of the Iron Age architectural feature in area S.II not as a final statement, but rather as a discussion in progress. I believe that the final publication of E. Mazar's excavation in area S.II will shed some new light on this important part of the Iron Age Jerusalem.

Area R included two trenches – R.I and R.II. It is located on the upper eastern slopes of the City of David, 42 m north-east of Kenyon's area H. In this area Kenyon hoped to find the northern city walls of the Bronze and Iron Age City of David. Trench R.I includes quarried bedrock (probably dating to the Herodian period), a vaulted basement or a cistern that has been ruined in the destruction of AD 70. Above it there were series of dumps, robbing trenches and rubble walls throughout the Byzantine and early Arab periods. From the Fatimid era this area was apparently extramural. In the Ayyubid era it was cut and cleared, and included a large pit. Trench R.II was opened 10 m to the east of R.I, on the steep slopes of the City of David. The diggers have never reached the bedrock in this trench, as it became too dangerous to go any deeper. The earliest wall that was discovered is wall C1 – most likely a part of the eastern side of the city walls during the Iron Age. This wall was 3 m wide with quite a lot of breaches in it. Above wall C1 was another town wall from the Early Roman period, which was destroyed in AD 70. Above those there were no structures.

In conclusion, this is a very important publication, professionally done; it will serve well all researchers of Jerusalem, and for that we are all thankful.

Tel-Aviv University Ariel Winderbaum

[1] E. Mazar and T. Lang, 'The Byzantine Wall'. In E. Mazar (ed.), *The Ophel Excavations to the South of the Temple Mount, 2009–2013, Final Reports,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem 2015), 337–54.

[2] E. Mazar, 'A Seal Impression of King Hezekiah from the Ophel Excavations'. In Mazar (as in n. 1), 629–40.

[3] E. Mazar, *Discovering the Solomonic Wall in Jerusalem, a Remarkable Archaeological Adventure* (Jerusalem 2011), 122.

C. Ratté and A. Commito, *The Countryside of Aphrodisias*, Kelsey Museum Publication 15, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor 2017, 168 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-9906623-5-8

This excellent book presents an archaeological overview of the territory surrounding the city of Aphrodisias, based on the field survey conducted as a five-year programme of interdisciplinary research between 2005 and 2009. This brought together, as the introduction states, 'archaeologists, art historians, natural scientists and geographers in order to investigate the relationship between human habitation and the natural environment – from the prehistoric period to the present day' – that is, from long before the foundation of Aphrodisias as a city, almost certainly after the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC – 'with a special focus on the heyday of the city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods'.

This involved a combination of intensive and extensive survey. Intensive survey comprised a 'detailed examination of an area extending 500 m in every direction outside the city walls and survey of a series of transects, strips 5 km long and 50 m wide' which resulted in a reasonably complete inventory of known archaeological sites in the survey region. The extensive survey involved visits to all the towns and villages in the survey area, interviews with local shepherds, farmers and officials with detailed recording of archaeological points of interest, collection of finds, graphic and photographic recording and incorporation into a GIS system. The results of all this have been published in detail in the fifth volume of the Aphrodisias series: the present book gives an accessible and readable account of this aimed at a wider reading public and, indeed, potential visitors to a place where tourist numbers have risen to 200,000 a year.

The description begins with an account of the topography itself, the valley of the River Morsynas and with boundaries defined by the surrounding hills and mountains. It then discusses the ancient sources, particularly Livy with his description of the campaign of Gnaeus Manlius Vulso against the Gauls in 189 BC, an event which was followed swiftly by the foundation of the city of Aphrodisias itself.

The next chapter discusses the region before the foundation of the city, evidence for a prehistoric network of agricultural settlements and, after an interval of several centuries, occupation at Aphrodisias itself in or before the 6th century BC. From this settlement a number of tumulus tombs were identified containing rock cut or built burial chambers. Linked with this chronologically a loose network of fortified citadels and watch towers is described, with plans.

Chapter 3 describes the foundation of Aphrodisias itself and its impact on the surrounding region, the boundaries of the city's territory and the roads within and leading to neighbouring cities and regions. Within this a pattern of rural settlement is revealed. These are described either as farmsteads or settlements, the difference depending on the state of preservation and material evidence rather than the nature of the habitations themselves. This in turn is influenced by the more intensive modern exploitation of the fertile valley floor in distinction to the surrounding hillsides. Some 42 are identified, the ones on the hillsides being earlier, moving down to the valley floor in Roman times. With this goes an account of the agricultural exploitation, olives particularly in Hellenistic and Roman periods, but, it is suggested, for local consumption rather than export. The survey found remains of oil presses and evidence for the production of wine at a

total of 90 separate points. Next comes an account of the exploitation of the marble quarries (which, of course, was responsible for so much of the splendid architecture of Aphrodisias itself). Then an account of the extensive acqueduct system built to supply the increasing needs of the city. Finally, the cemeteries – particularly, of course, the marble sarcophagi.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the end of antiquity, beginning with a renewal of building activity from the mid-4th to the mid-6th century, though this is marked in particular by the wholesale stripping of stone from memorials in the surrounding cemeteries for the construction of the first city walls. This period also, of course, sees the Christianising of the region and the construction of churches, especially the conversion of the all-important Temple of Aphrodite into a cathedral.

Chapter 5 deals with a revival in the Middle Byzantine period, while Chapter 6 considers the region from the Seljuk period to the present day. The book ends with a very useful guide to a tour by car of the region and the principal remains.

What emerges from this book is the obvious relationship between the urban area of the city and the economic function of the surrounding countryside. It illustrates also the reality of the *Pax Romana* in this region. The city area, with its clearly defined street grid and the development of housing within this was home to a substantial population supplied with its essentials from the economic units in the countryside and to a clear extent relying on the ready supply of water provided by the aqueduct system from springs and water sources in the area outside and at some distance. It is noteworthy, too, that the city does not feel the need to defend itself with surrounding walls until the more troubled times of the Late Empire.

Obviously, for detailed information about the finds that resulted from the intensive survey of the country area it is necessary to consult the full report in *Aphrodisias* 5.[1] The present book, however, does provide a very complete and well-illustrated understanding of the countryside and its relationship to the city. It serves as a model for considering how classical cities worked. It gives a fully rounded picture and a clear understanding of this essential relationship. I very much wish it had been available when I first visited Aphrodisias some 40 years ago.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

P. Reinard, *Kommunikation und Ökonomie: Untersuchungen zu den privaten Papyrusbriefen aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten*, 2 vols., Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 32, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, 1160 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-260-6

These two heavy volumes are based on about 2000 private letters from Roman Egypt (30 BC–AD 284) written on papyrus and ostraca, taking into account here and there also letters of the Ptolemaic and Byzantine periods. From these letters Patrick Reinard extracts all available information concerning communication and related economic concerns, such

[1] R.R.R. Smith *et al.* (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006–2012* (Portsmouth, RI 2016).

as sending goods, prices and markets, organisation of exchange by letter (with minimal postal service). About 65% of private letters deal with the sending of goods. Extracts of hundreds of texts are given in Greek and in German translation.

Chapter II (pp. 57–126) offers a definition of 'letters', written messages from one or more persons to his correspondents, a kind of written dialogue of which the papyri usually offer only *one* moment seen from *one* side.[1] As the receiving party is supposed to know what precedes, the contexts can at best be partially reconstructed by a modern reader. In this chapter different subgenres are discussed, sometimes in great detail even if this is of no direct importance to the subject (for instance, letters of condolence and of recommendation, pp. 78–98), though the distinction between family letters and business letters (such as from an estate holder to his manager) is not systematically maintained.

Chapter III contains a full alphabetical list of all goods that are sent according to the letters (pp. 130–330), followed by a discussion according to type (mainly foods, household items and textiles, pp. 331–55).

Chapter IV (pp. 357–482) deals with the logistics of sending letters in a period when the official postal service was limited to correspondence between officials and the military (the Roman *cursus publicus*). The letter writer had to find a reliable person who travelled in the direction of the addressee and also knew where the addressee lived: addresses [σημασίαι] are rare, but receive a section of their own. There was often great uncertainty when and if a letter would ever reach its destination. Sending letters (and goods) often depended on the presence of such an intermediary. Problems of contact between correspondents and of transport over longer distances are treated here in some detail, as are the time and costs it took to bring letters or goods to their destination.

The missing background of ancient letters, which show only one of the two parties and take for granted preceding oral and written contacts, is partly neutralised when letters are included in an archive and can be brought into relation with other documents, including letters from the same sender and/or to the same addressee. Six archives are analysed in detail: the correspondence between Ammonios and Aphrodisios (four letters, early Roman); the archive of Gemellus, a landlord and his local manager Epagathos (more than 80 papyri, *ca.* AD 100), the so-called Happy family archive, a correspondence between members of a partly latinised family (eight letters, 2nd century AD), the archive of the *strategos* Apollonios (75 letters, early 2nd century AD, during the Jewish revolt) and the bilingual Greek-Latin archive of Tiberianus (17 letters, early 2nd century AD). These receive ample treatment in Chapters V and VI, with full prosopographical details for all people involved (pp. 483–771). I am somewhat surprised that the largest 3rd-century archive of Heroninus, with many letters (315 letters according to the Trismegistos database) is not discussed here.

Chapter VII (pp. 773–945) offers numerous examples of how correspondents were aware of price differences, both local (i.e. between their own place and that of their correspondent) and chronological (i.e. market changes over time), and how these were used to

[1] Not always though, *pace* p. 68: 'doch eine Rekonstruktion einer ganze Dialogabfolge ist immer unmöglich'. In official letters one regularly finds letters with 'in attachment' preceding letters by other correspondents. The book deals only with private letters, but the distinction between private and official correspondence is not discussed.

make a profit. The quality of the products sold or bought is also discussed. The individual data of the letters do not allow for a statistical approach, but often illustrate the economic mentality of ancient consumers and the role of middlemen in traffic over longer distances.

Chapter VIII (pp. 947–1002) is an excursus about letters written and/or found outside Egypt, including Dura Europos, Vindolanda and Vindonissa, but also graffiti from Pompeii. This chapter is used as evidence that conclusions drawn from Egyptian papyri are valid for other regions of the Roman empire as well.

In a short conclusion (pp. 1003–15) R. strongly reacts against the primitivist view of the ancient economy, because the letters offer numerous examples of market-oriented business over substantial distances (interdependent markets, not only for luxury goods) and an awareness of the importance of precise information about prices and availability of goods outside one's own hometown, even with some examples of speculation.

The appendices of Chapter X (pp. 1017–46) list all passages in papyrus letters where mention is made of consignments of goods and where the writer offers to provide his correspondent with anything needed from his place of residence. This is followed by an extensive bibliography and by an index of all papyrus letters quoted and discussed in the book.

The book is written at a leisurely pace: texts and situations are described in some detail, passages are quoted in Greek and in translation, situations and transactions are analysed in words and in graphs. The order of these elaborate descriptions within the chapters is not always clear and the lengthy descriptions are sometimes a bit repetitive and wearisome for the reader. More than 1000 pages (and 3500 footnotes) for about 2000 usually short papyrus texts is a lot, though some of the excursuses do carry the reader along: for example, the use of the term ἀγορά in the modern sense of market (or at least market price, pp. 890–91).

Looking at the economy through private letters is like looking at ancient life through a keyhole: these letters are mainly exchanges between family and friends or between estate-owners and managers (Gemellus, Heroninus). The first group deals mostly with small errands when a member of the group is travelling, often short distances; the second illustrates how large estates functioned by written orders from on high to lower down. One may even wonder whether orders to Heroninus, for instance, are really private letters, though the author does not distinguish between private and managerial. It is typical of his approach that important texts for trade in Roman Egypt, such as P. Oxy. Hels. 40 (large-scale textile production in Oxyrhynchus)[2] or SB 18 13167 (trade with India, Mazura),[3] appear neither in the index of sources nor in the bibliography.

A minor inconvenience in this enormous work is the high number of typos, especially in the Greek quotations. On pp.1042–43, for instance, I noted: Αντίνου for Ἀντίνου, βούλη for βούλῃ, ωῦν for ὧν, δν'λωσον for δήλωσον, ῶν for ὧν, [ή]λω[σ]ον for δ[ή]λω[σ]ον, ἐπιστέλλε for ἐπίστελλε, παρ' ἐ/μοι for παρ' ἐμοὶ. Though most are of minor importance, they are somewhat annoying for the reader.

KU Leuven Willy Clarysse

[2] P. van Minnen, 'The Volume of the Oxyrhynchite Textile Trade'. *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 5.2 (1986), 88–95.

[3] D. Rathbone, 'The "Muziris" Papyrus (SB XVIII 13167): Financing Roman Trade with India'. *BSRAlex* 46 (2001), 39–50.

L. Roeten, *Chronological Developments in the Old Kingdom Tombs in the Necropoleis of Giza, Saqqara and Abusir: Toward an Economic Decline during the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom*, Archaeopress Egyptology 15, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, xiv+144 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-460-8

Leo Roeten's monograph is dedicated to the metrical analysis of non-royal tombs built in the principal cemeteries of the Memphite necropolis – Giza, Saqqara and Abusir. He analyses the evolution of the private mortuary architecture from a diachronic perspective based on the collected metric data. Already in the introduction, R. presents the main prerequisite of the publication: during the Old Kingdom, the size of the non-royal tombs reduced gradually.

The study focuses on the most important cultic spaces of the tombs: the cult chapels, their architectural layout, decoration and their relationship to the general layout of the tomb. With this in mind, R. has created a well-established database of the individual tombs used in his discussions not only on the architectural development of tombs, but also on their dating. In a more limited manner, he has also used these conclusions for describing some of the developmental tendencies of the ancient Egyptian society of the period.

The work is divided into four major parts: Part I, the largest and also the most elaborated, is dedicated to the cemeteries in Giza. At its outset R. describes the development of the tombs and chapels of Giza necropolis in general. In the next chapters, he discusses the major aspects of tomb development he decided to use for his study: the percentage of tombs with two or more false doors built in the cult chapels, the correlations between the surface of tombs and that of cult chapels and between the width of the chapels and the length of the western walls of the chapels. R. also debates the relationship between the surface size of the tomb and the number of false doors in the chapel. The most important is the seventh chapter analysing and discussing preliminary conclusions. It also includes the author's thoughts on the chronological developments of the Giza necropolis.

Part II is devoted to the tombs in Abusir and Saqqara. R. discusses the developments in these two cemeteries via a similar approach and methods as was the case with Giza. Part III represents the conclusion of the book. Whereas Chapter 11 is dedicated to additional methods verifying the proposed tomb dates, Chapter 12 discusses the tomb development in Giza, Saqqara and Abusir. Part IV consists of a catalogue listing the metric criteria of the individual tombs under discussion.

In general, R.'s monograph is certainly not easy reading; a better organisation of the text might have helped the reader with better absorption. However, by means of numerous black-and-white photographs, illustrations, tables and graphs, R. still creates a sensible point of view. The question is whether the author was successful in his endeavour to document his basic premise (see above). To a certain extent, the answer is positive. Nevertheless, he looked at the data predominantly from a single perspective and this somewhat restricted his view. Methodologically, he follows the same statistical access to the matter as he had used in his previous study of the decoration of the cult chapels in the Old-Kingdom tombs in Giza.[1]

[1] L. Roeten, *The Decoration on the Cult Chapel Walls of the Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza: A New Approach to their Interaction* (Leiden 2014).

R's conclusions thus confirm the already many-time sdiscussed association of the shrinking of tomb size with the advancing process of overall decline of the Egyptian state during the Old Kingdom. This tendency was already mentioned by N. Kanawati in his study on the administration of the last dynasties of the Old Kingdom published in 1977.[2] R. is trying to demonstrate that the process had already begun at the beginning of the period, and not before its end, which is the generally accepted view in Egyptology. R.'s conclusions are possibly less stunning, especially in comparison with his relatively sophisticated access to dealing with the tombs' dimensions. Nevertheless, it is of high importance that they were documented by means of statistical methods, which is not the case of some other publications in Egyptology.

One of the main questions discussed in R.'s account is whether the size distribution of the tombs taken by the ancient Egyptians was similar to that by modern scholars. He does not discuss this question in its full complexity, however. Given that his premise is based on the size of the tombs, a section devoted to the Egyptian point of view of tomb size would have been very beneficial.

In a book so packed with data and analyses as R.'s study, it sometimes happens that some data is absent or defective. As this reviewer focuses on the excavation of minor tombs of the members of the royal family in Abusir Centre, a few comments will be given from this perspective. On p. 102, R., in connection with the double-mastaba Lepsius No. 25, states that the eastern tomb was built in a different time period from a rather small, western tomb. He argues that the discovery of several masons' inscriptions with the name of Userkaf's pyramid complex should date the construction of the eastern tomb to an earlier part of the 5th Dynasty. However, as stated in the excavation report of the tomb complex,[3] the discovery of these inscriptions cannot easily be taken as a document for dating the construction to Userkaf's or Sahure's reign, but rather, especially on account of the horizontal stratigraphy, to a later period, in this case to the reign of Niuserre. This is also evidenced by the discovery of the same masons' inscriptions during the excavation of Tomb AC 31 in neighbouring Nakhtsare's cemetery. This group of tombs is securely dated by finds of sealings and pottery, and by their architectural forms to the reign of Niuserre, or somewhat later. It means that R.'s different dating of the eastern and western mastaba in Lepsius no. 25 tomb complex is not plausible. On the contrary, they were built during a short period of time, one after the other. In this perspective, it is also unfortunate that R. obviously did not use the published account on this double-tomb complex,[4] even though he quotes on the following pages (p. 103, etc.) from that publication.

[2] N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster 1977).

[3] J. Krejčí, 'The Tomb complex Lepsius no. 25 in Abusir'. In M. Bárta *et al.* (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005* (Prague 2006), 269–70.

[4] J. Krejčí in J. Krejčí *et al.*, *Abusir XII: Minor Tombs in the Royal Necropolis I (The Mastabas of Nebtyemneferes and Nakhtsare, Pyramid Complex Lepsius no. 24 and Tomb Complex Lepsius no. 25)* (Prague 2006), 229–32.

Despite the fact that the Initial mastaba, the first building phase of the large tomb of Vizier Ptahshespes in Abusir, is included in the catalogue and analysis, the other construction phases have not been discussed. It would very interesting to know R.'s view on the further extensions of the mastaba, which developed into a temple-like structure, including 40 spaces and covering 2376 m^2. It thus became one of the largest and possibly the most complex non-royal tomb of the Old Kingdom.[5] One important tomb for our knowledge of the development of the non-royal tomb architecture is totally absent from R.'s catalogue – the tomb of the vizier's son, Ptahshepses Junior II,[6] built in front of the magnate's tomb.

R.'s monograph is a massive piece of work on a much-discussed topic – the question of the size of the non-royal tombs, their architecture and dating from a different perspective. Using statistical analysis is a good starting point, a tool for further reflections on this matter. It does not exhaust itself, and while there are many unresolved and undecided issues, this publication adds another stone to the mosaic of our knowledge of the development of both the private tombs and the development of Egyptian society at the time of the Old Kingdom.

Charles University, Prague Jaromir Krejčí

R. Rollinger (ed.), *Die Sicht auf die Welt zwischen Ost und West (750 v. Chr.–550 n. Chr.)/ Looking at the World View, from the East and the West (750 BCE–550 CE)*, Teil A: *Der Blick auf die Welt und ihre Protagonisten (750 v. Chr.–550 n. Chr.)*; Teil B: *Herodots Blick auf die Welt – eine kartographische Projektion antiker Weltsicht*, Classica et Orientalia 12, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, x+231+119 pp., 2 maps in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10370-1/ISSN 2190-3638

The present volume is at once a collection of presentations given in June 2013 in honour of Reinhold Bichler's retirement and of maps, with guiding monograph, detailing in two dimensions Herodotus' perception of his known world. Both portions are representative of the universal nature of Bichler's inquiries into antiquity. There are two paginations: A (essays), pp. 1–231, B (maps and commentary), pp. 1–119; and pp. viii–x outline the volume contents. While all pieces are commensurate with Bichler's expectations from students and colleagues, I will comment on only a few.

Wido Sieberer (Part B) again takes up the challenge to present in two dimensions Herodotus' world, a task rendered difficult by the ancient absence of a true system of latitude and longitude (pp. 4–6). Sieberer successfully represents the whole of Herodotus' geographical data (map 1: earth; map 2: from Sicily to the Halys). He specifically eschews any comparison with our geographical realities. In Herodotus one finds a linear arrangement (such as the Royal Road, the Xerxes Advance), breadth in a two dimensional sense (triangular or quadrangular shape) and measurements given in a variety of units (*stadia*, *schoinos*). Given these vagaries, the Sieberer-Karte establishes 200 *stadia* as one day's trip or 5 mm on

[5] J. Krejčí, *Abusir XI: The Architecture of the Ptahshepses Mastaba* (Prague 2009), 40–41, 104–88.
[6] M. Bárta, 'The Mastaba of Ptahshepses Junior II at Abusir'. *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000), 45–55.

the map. Water journeys proved more problematic. Basic principles are set down on pp. 15–17; the courses of the Nile and Istros are the most noticeable orientation line (p. 33); measurements are given scantily by Herodotus for the Aegean, Greece and western Mediterranean – regions too well known to state the obvious. The accompanying commentary is clear, unburdened by the retelling of past disputes. My suggestion for Harrassowitz is to combine both maps (if possible) into one large poster offered for general sale. Such would advance the educational process further than a map of Westeros or, as I owned last century, of Middle-Earth.

Among the essays in Part A, a starting point is offered by Bruno Jacobs's discussion (pp. 143–56) of how the Achaemenids perceived their realm. The solution is not to be found in the many proposed reconciliations of Achaemenid lists of peoples with Herodotus' satrapy lists, or in assumptions made by moderns about an announced programme (*Pax Persica* or some variant), but on the Kings' own delimitation of their realm (for example p. 152): geographical extent of power, variety of resources available to them and obedience within. Extent, variety, order: are we not Kings? Josef Wiesehöfer (pp. 211–20) handles a similar problem in perception in the consideration of Xerxes' *hierosylia*. The Athenian perception, shaped by their experience in 480/79, remains the paramount view that the Achaemenids, especially Xerxes, were temple desecrators. But Herodotus' only detailed description of the abduction of a cult image (5. 82–86) assigns the deed to the Athenians. When Xerxes requests the Athenians in his company to honour the gods of Athens (8. 55), it is apparent that cult images and shrines remained extant. In the ancient Near East shrines were destroyed only once cult images were removed – no one 'lived' there. When Xerxes is tricked by Artayktes into believing the Protesilaus shrine at Elaeus was not one, the Athenian response, according to Herodotus, was a mirror image of their own assumptions about supposed Persian despotism. This treatment by Herodotus of the Athenian 'wannabe-*Weltreich*' is taken up as well in Elizabeth Irwin's detailed examination (pp. 95–141) of why Cambyses really invaded Egypt (*cf.* p. 218, n. 40 for Wiesehöfer's approval of the approach). Herodotus' reports of three *logoi* reveal a contemporary preoccupation with foreign marriage and legitimacy and his own perception of recent Athenian history in the 460–450s – a failed expansionist campaign in Egypt, then a 'citizenship law' instituted by Pericles denying the legitimacy of marriage for 'foreign' women to male Athenian citizens. All of this was to cause Herodotus' audience to have in mind the Inarus-rout and the Athenian inability to control either their own food supply ('supplemented' by an Egyptian gift) or the granting of citizenship within their own *polis* (p. 118, n. 72, Plutarch *Per*. 37. 2–5). *Die Achaimeniden halten Gericht, Athens Weltreich zerbricht*.

Julian Degen (pp. 31–80) presents a study, with a census of terms and inhabitants (pp. 34–40), of Herodotus' representation of palaces as places in which the king could seclude himself from contact with the outside world. The palaces are stages and scenery, seeming based on one perception of an ancient Near Eastern exemplar. Interesting is the suggestion that the colouration of the Deiokes-Palast may reflect a recollection of the actual colouration of older palaces (p. 63).

Two studies are more encompassing. Bichler and Rollinger (pp. 1–30) discuss the idea of two somewhat clashing views: that imperial rule was universal, but was marked by monuments littering the landscape, structures reflecting the power and accomplishments of figures real and imagined, sometimes one set of the former examining the markers of the latter

(p. 18). As more of the 'world' became known, the extent of *imperium* expanded – regardless of topographical features (p. 23). Giovanni Lanfranchi, in his treatment of competing world views in Cilicia (pp. 157–73), studies the mechanisms of cultural interaction. His statement (p. 158) that Cilicia 'represents an important example of a country, an *elite*, a population which was strongly subject to external cultures pressures for a long period' may be readily applied in the examination of other such sectors of the ancient world, for example the Upper Satrapies. Competing empires, in the Cilician case the Assyrian and Phrygian models foremost, were the producers of these influences, which the recipients could (partially) accept or reject, although the precise chronology of such is often subject to uncertainty.

Finally, two studies discuss geographical works post-Herodotus. Kai Ruffing argues that the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (pp. 185–95) was an educated merchant residing in the metropolitan portions of the Egyptian *chora*, well-read enough to be familiar with existing literary motifs, reflected in his writing.[1] Klauss Geus (pp. 81–93) describes the reception of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which was stripped of its dull mathematical portions, replaced instead by details about exotic animals, plants and minerals. Thus the *Chorographica* of Pappos which, along with other sources, led to the shaping of the popular 'Welt-Schau' of the Armenian Moses of Khoren. In all, a collection of studies well worth consulting.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

C.B. Rose and G. Darbyshire (eds.), *The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue/ Kral Midas'ın Altın Cağı: Sergi Kataloğu*. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2016, xx+188 pp., colour illustrations. ISBN 978-0-924171-83-3

The excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania at Gordion, near Ankara, Turkey, have brought to light the remains of an extensive settlement extending from the Early Bronze Age through to the Late Roman period. The site's most flourishing period came during the first half of the 1st millennium BC, when a large fortified city and a number of impressive burial tumuli, many of them filled with rich gifts, attest to the power and wealth of the Phrygians, the ethnic group that dominated Central Anatolia during that time. The Gordion excavations form the richest source of information on Phrygian history and culture, and help demonstrate the significant role that the Phrygians played in the power politics of the eastern Mediterranean during the early 1st millennium BC. Many of the most striking objects from Gordion settlement mound and burial tumuli are on public display at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. However, Gordion and Ankara lie somewhat off the standard tourist circuit, and so the results of the Gordion excavations are not as well known as they deserve to be. Therefore the exhibition, 'The Golden Age of King Midas', on view at the University of Pennsylvania's University Museum in Philadelphia from March to November 2016, offered a special opportunity to see a selection of the some

[1] One should supplement Ruffing with the contemporaneous M.-F. Boussac *et al.* (eds.), *Autour du Périple de la mer Érythrée* (Lyons 2012).

of the finest objects produced by the Phrygians. Along with material from Gordion, the exhibit featured a cross-section of artefacts from other centres in the eastern Mediterranean, including Bayandır in Lycia, Lydian Sardis, Assyria and Greece. The exhibition reflected the ongoing collaboration between the Penn Museum and the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, along with significant contributions from the museums of Ankara, Istanbul, Antalya and Delphi. The Oriental Institute of Chicago loaned a valuable historical document, the Midas cylinder, and the exhibition included several pieces from the Penn Museum's permanent collection of ancient Near Eastern art. This catalogue was produced in conjunction with the exhibition and forms a lasting record of it. Acknowledging the important role of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in the Gordion excavation project, the entire volume is published with a bilingual English/Turkish text.

The first part of the volume consists of a series of ten essays that introduce the site and the burial tumuli, provide general information on Phrygian history and culture, and discuss the relationship of the Phrygians to other important states in the eastern Mediterranean. The essays are all intended to be accessible to the general visitor; thus they are clearly written and do not presume any background in the subject, but lack notes that would enable an interested reader to pursue the topics further. Brian Rose, current Director of the Gordion Project, discusses the background of the Penn excavations at Gordion and offers a history of the Gordion settlement. Special attention is given to the period of the historically attested king Midas, *ca.* 740–700 BC, which coincided with the greatest extent of Phrygian international influence. One essay explores the historical setting of Phrygia in the Iron Age, while another describes the excavation of the largest and most elaborate tumulus burial at Gordion, known as Tumulus MM (short for Midas Mound, although Midas was not buried in it). There are also discussions of some of the more noteworthy groups of objects found in the Gordion tumuli, including intricately carved wooden furniture and gold jewellery. One essay revisits the theme of Midas and his fabled golden touch and ascribes the prominence of gold in the Midas legend to the use of mineral goethite, found in the textiles in Tumulus MM. Other essays describe the use of scientific techniques in the site's exploration and problems concerning the architectural conservation of the site. Some of the essays are written by specialists in the topic, such as Elizabeth Simpson on the Gordion furniture, and Richard Liebhart on Tumulus MM, while others were written by current members of the Gordion project, including several by Penn graduate students who have worked at the site.

The remainder of the volume comprises a catalogue of the exhibition artefacts, accompanied by high-quality photographs. Pride of place is given to material from the Iron Age, 9th-6th centuries BC, the most flourishing period of Phrygian culture. The largest number of objects comes from the Gordion excavations and includes a number of well-known pieces from both burial tumuli and habitation areas. Tumulus MM, the largest and richest of the tumulus burials, is well represented. This intact burial contained one of the finest troves of archaeological artefacts ever uncovered and rightfully has a central place in the exhibition. Many of the exquisitely crafted bronze objects were displayed, including cauldrons, jugs, decorated bowls and fibulae (dress pins), along with textile fragments and a reconstruction of the head of the occupant of the tumulus. Objects found in other early tumuli, such as Tumuli W, P (a child's burial) and B, are also represented here, along with

finds from the tumuli excavated in 1900 by Gustav and Alfred Körte. Since the Körte tumuli material is now housed in Istanbul, the exhibition offered a rare opportunity to see the two groups of Gordion tumulus finds together. Finds from the early levels of the Gordion citadel are also featured, including painted pottery and a section of the intricate pebble mosaic from one of the 9th-century BC buildings. The wider reach of Phrygian culture is represented through a series of striking objects from two burial tumuli in Bayandır, near modern Elmalı, in southern Turkey, the territory of ancient Lycia; these include cauldrons and bowls, very similar in form to those from the Gordion tumuli but made of silver, along with an intriguing silver figurine that may represent a priest. The Phrygians' neighbours are also represented: there are several fine examples of jewellery and costume appliques from Lydia, intricately carved Assyrian ivory pieces from Nimrud, Iraq, a monumental alabaster relief of a winged Assyrian genius, and a few works of Persian sculpture. Phrygian contact with Greece is alluded to through images on early Greek pottery and an intriguing ivory figurine of a hero with lion; this was found in Delphi and may have been an attachment from a piece of Phrygian furniture dedicated in the Greek sanctuary. Phrygian objects from the 6th century BC and later are also present: there is a fine terracotta perfume flask in the form of a female figurine, along with gold jewellery from Tumulus A, the latest of the Gordion tumuli, and several architectural terracottas from Middle Phrygian level (6th–4th centuries BC) buildings on the Gordion citadel. One of the most enigmatic finds from this level is a series of frescoes from an underground chamber, perhaps a shrine, depicting a procession of women with elaborate headdresses and jewellery. Gordion's continuing occupation into the Hellenistic period is represented by a marble statuette of the Phrygian Mother Goddess, the Greek Cybele, shown here in the deity's traditional Hellenic iconography. Unfortunately the detailed model of ancient Gordion and the video explaining the construction of the early tumuli, among the most informative and popular elements of the original exhibit, do not appear in the catalogue.

The volume contains a few errors that should be noted. Liebhart's essay on the burial tumuli states that Tumulus P was the grave of a young boy (p. 30), but in fact the sex of the tomb's occupant is not known. The body was badly damaged by the collapse of the tomb chamber roof and the only identifiable skeletal material consisted of five baby teeth; from these, the age of the occupant, about 4 or 5 years old, could be determined, but not the sex. The Assyrian king Sargon II corresponded with Midas, ruler of the Muşki, not Midas of Phrygia (as claimed on p. 18); the ethnic name 'Phrygian' does not appear in Assyrian sources and it is not certain whether the Phrygians and the Muşki were the same people. Some misleading assumptions are also perpetuated here: for example, there is no evidence from Phrygia or indeed from anywhere in western Asia to support the claim that Midas' father was named Gordios (pp. 10, 19); the name Gordios, attested only in Greek sources, is almost certainly not a genuine Phrygian name but a product of the Greek tendency to create names of eponymous founders from a city name, i.e. Gordion. The Athenians burned the Sardis temple of Kybebe (Herodotus 5. 102), not Cybele (as on p. 23). In Phrygian religious texts, Cybele is not a divine name, but one of the descriptive epithets of the Phrygian deity Matar, a different deity from Kybebe.

But apart from these points, the volume forms an excellent introduction to the current state of our knowledge of Phrygian history and cultural development, and will surely open

the eyes of many readers to the high achievements of the Phrygians in architecture and the visual arts. The curators of the exhibit and their staff, both Turkish and American, deserve our thanks for their efforts in making the exhibition possible.

University of California, Davis Lynn E. Roller

C. Schäfer (ed.), *Connecting the Ancient World: Mediterranean Shipping, Maritime Networks and their Impact*, Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 38, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2016, xi+248 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-266-8/ISSN 1435-6457

'Connectivity' has, over the past two decades, become one of the most widely invoked characteristics of the ancient world. A generation that grew up learning how small-scale ancient societies were, now writes confidently of networks, connections and even globalisation. These terms have proved powerful heuristic tools, means of re-imagining the ancient Mediterranean in particular, but often their use has remained metaphorical.

The essays gathered in this volume, originating in a seminar series held in Trier in 2016, have a more pragmatic orientation. Julian Whitewright examines the sails and rigging of Mediterranean craft, and the circumstances in which various improvements in maritime technology were tried and adopted from the Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Schäfer's own paper draws on experiments with reconstructed vessels to make a powerful case for the importance of the Atlantic route between southern Spain and Germany, and goes on to explore the factors influencing choices of route between that and the more laborious river routes via the Rhône and Rhine. Robert Hohlfelder discusses some of the potentials of hydraulic concrete in the Augustan age and beyond. Tyler Franconi uses dendrochronological data as a basis for assessing the likely impact of Roman period climatic change on the navigability of riverine routes in Germany. These papers contribute to a growing number of studies of the intersection of technology and economic activity in the ancient world.[1]

Another group of papers examines the institutional infrastructure of connectivity. Neville Morley and Pascal Arnaud explore, in different ways, commercial systems. Arnaud explores the role cities continued to play in organising trade even under the empire. Building on the work of Alain Bresson on earlier periods, Arnaud stresses the role cities played in managing ports, ensuring security, resolving disputes, and regulating weights and measures. This very helpful paper also brings together discussion of the relations between civic authorities corpora of shippers, trade diasporas and local citizens. Morley complements this with a survey of how integration and globalization are now being deployed to produce new models of the empire's role within and around the mercantile economy.

Perhaps the chapters that will arouse most immediate interest are two authored by Pascal Warnking whose recent research was central to the discussions held at Trier and is mentioned by other others. Warnking offers an original simulation model of long distance

[1] Notably J.P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford 2008); W.V. Harris and K. Iara (eds.), *Maritime Technology in the Ancient Economy. Ship-Design and Navigation* (Providence, RI 2011).

trade routes and also a proposed business model for long distance trade. The latter offers a persuasive account of the rational choices that led to the investment in vessels and direct routes despite the risk pooling this entailed relative to cabotage and other short-haul shipping in smaller vessels. The simulation model, based on his recent thesis,[2] employs modern data on wind, weather and seasonal variation to infer best routes between major centres. The project offers an alternative and response to the conclusions derived from the ORBIS project set up by Walter Scheidel at Stanford. All papers are published in English and the book is generously illustrated.

Schäfer and his collaborations do not offer a new paradigm of connectivity. What they do offer is arguably more valuable, demonstrating how much more precise our notions of connectivity may be made, and how many resources there are to put flesh on the theoretical bones. Along the way they offer a range of re-evaluations, especially of shipping routes. All those interested in progressing the debate over the workings and practicalities of Roman economic life are in their debt.

Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, London Greg Woolf

E. Schaub, *Geschichte des römischen Ägypten: Von der Eroberung unter Octavian / Augustus bis zu Diocletian*, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2017, 244 pp., 2 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-014-5

E. Schaub, *Studien zur Lebenssituation der Bevölkerung Ägyptens als Ursache der Revolten unter römischer Herrschaft, 30 v. Chr. bis 300 n. Chr.*, Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 31, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2014, 297 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-259-0/ISSN 1435-6457

Those competent in English have benefited recently by the publication of C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012).[1] But for the study of Roman Egypt, and antiquity in general, to advance on an international level it is necessary to acquire mastery of those languages traditionally used in modern scholarship, i.e. German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. One would expect introductory works in these languages to be written with a degree of clarity, highlighting the nature of the source material, the difficulties in reconstructing a narrative and resolving source problems, and presenting an apparatus which permits further investigation. The two works by Erhard Schaub reviewed here, in spite of their flaws, represent workable introductions to the study of aspects of Roman Egypt.

The more recent work (2016) is a political history of Egypt under Roman rule, here defined by S. as ending with the reign of Diocletian (pp. 12–13). As such there are no special chapters on the economy, religious life or ethnic composition, such topics placed under the *res gestae* of the emperor and his chief representative, the equestrian *Praefectus*. The

[2] P. Warnking, *Die Römische Seehandel in Seiner Blütezeit. Rahmenbedingungen, Seewege, Wirtschaftslichkeit* (Rahden 2015).

[1] Reviewed in *AWE* 15 (2016), 461–64.

introductory first chapter (pp. 15–42) begins outlining the major literary and non-literary, documentary, sources, these latter sometime permitting a snapshot record of a region extending through time. Here it would have been proper to provide a list which would permit the reader to map clearly the abbreviations used in the footnotes to fully expanded academic references. Geography is discussed next: the importance of the Elephantine Island Nilometer, the enumeration of flooding and growing seasons, the Fayum as a region suitable for intensive agriculture. Egypt was a land of few cities in the Roman sense; the limited urban structure left few opportunities to expand citizenship within Egypt proper, although it is possible through decrees to trace the expansion of private property. The land, primarily protected by desert tracts, was one in which stationed legions had as their chief responsibility protecting Alexandria and its environs. Lest a false Ptolemy or unruly senator arise, Augustus placed the province under an equestrian prefect.

The second chapter (pp. 43–98), the 'long' 1st century AD, discusses Roman rule through the era of the Flavians. For Augustus, internal order and the provision of grain to Rome were left to his prefect; the ordinary population (the oft-used *Fellachen* belongs after the Hejira) would experience more continuity than change, S. accepting Monson's suggestion that there was an increased incentive for productivity based on tax changes (p. 49). The specifics of the Augustan prefects' activities were sometimes a source of speculation based on preserved data (i.e. overstepping authority?). Petronius' approved declaration that temple land become state property restricted priestly power and status. (Here a glossary of technical terms would be most useful.) The reign of Tiberius introduces the problem of how the emperor transmitted power, here the case of Germanicus, who issued a decree advising against unreasonable military requisitions from the countryside (one in a train of later prefects' warnings). The reigns of Gaius and Claudius was marked by the Alexandrian dystopia, and S.'s *volkisch* perception (pp. 64–67) is unhelpful. Claudius' response to all was proper: 'know your place'. Every contending party contained the 'usual suspects'.[2] Whether economic problems accompanied the time of Claudius and Nero remains undetermined.[3] The prefect in the latter part of Nero's reign, after an episode of the dystopia (with massacre?), was more successful in limiting endless legal disputes, swore allegiance to Vespasian, now in Egypt, and left the next dystopia to his successor. During the time of Domitian the prefect M. Mettius Rufus undertook a reorganisation of the property registers. Although improper to speak of Egypt as under Roman *Vormundschaft* (so S. pp. 42, 84) since 168 BC, it appears that as a province Egypt remained stable though the time of the Flavians. I view the corrections in land/property registers as normal administrative tasks; urban disturbances are recorded by sources anxious to argue a certain viewpoint, if

[2] It is unfortunate that in neither of his works does Schaub make reference to H. Musurillo (ed.), *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Leipzig 1961), an examination of which displays the shattered content and diverse find-spots for these documents. For an introduction to these *Acta*, see J. Climaco, *Acta Alexandrinorum. Novas Edicoes Academica* (Saarbrücken 2013). A new edition of the *Acta* is promised by C. Rodriguez at *u-paris2.academia.edu/ChrisRodriguez*. For now, see A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum* (Cambridge 2011).

[3] For the decree from the time of Nero and prefect Babillus, see H. Heinen, 'Ägypten im Römischen Reich. Beobachtungen zum Thema Akkulturation und Identität'. In S. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz* (Frankfurt 2007), 186–207.

not provide a dystopic narration of Roman rule, a narration which should be examined with greater circumspection and more detailed analysis.

In Chapter 3 (pp. 99–128), the years AD 98–192, for which literary sources diminish in quality, disorder, real or imaginatively reconstructed, political, more than economic (pp. 120–21), is more prominent. The prefect C. Viribius Maximus, with questionable efficiency, took steps to ameliorate the economy. The Jewish revolt under Trajan, uncertain in specific cause and marked by an apparent phase of Polybian *daimonoblabeia*, defies sufficient explanation, save for S.'s reliance on 'die andauernden Auseinandersetzungen' (p. 105) between 'ethnic' groups. Repeated disorder in the 120s, ended by Hadrian's letter, is similarly obscure, although not immune to attempted modern interpretation (pp. 107–10). Here S. does well in assessing the explanations for this and other disorders (pp. 111–15). The period ends with the true *baccili*, the Antonine plague (lasting sporadically into the 190s), an increase in rural banditry – to the point it was worthy of record, and the mistaken support of the prefect for a rebel spreading the lie of Marcus Aurelius' sudden death. S. is perhaps too optimistic in judging the pleasure Rome derived from the 'weitgehende Ausrottung' (p. 121) of the Jews, which broke, for all time, their influence in the province of Egypt (p. 105).

The time of the Severi (AD 193–235, pp. 129–57), the subject of Chapter 4, was a period of 'Ungeheuerlichkeit' for traditional Roman feelings (p. 129). Under Septimius Severus (pp. 130–36) the *aurum coronarium* was extended in application, local councils introduced and the tax burden began to damage the countryside. A special collection of provisions for field armies in Egypt, one which the state was to repay, the *annona militaris*, was levied until AD 235. Caracalla's reign, which included the extension of Roman citizenship to all free imperial inhabitants, attracted more attention from his visit to Alexandria, which was accompanied by putative massacres (pp. 137–44) and then a document from March 216 – three months later – praising the emperor and his family. Here a more orderly enumeration of the sparse pieces of evidence would have highlighted the frequently defective narratives upon which investigators must rely. In general, the period is stable. One should not over emphasise policing activities or fragmentary hints of threats.

The final historical chapter (pp. 159–90) covers the period of disorderly Roman central authority extending into Diocletian's time. Philippus Arabus' reforms met with uncertain success. A decade later the prefect L. Mussius Aemilianus, emboldened by the now traditional Roman inability to best the Sasanians, seized a short-lived power in Egypt, the details uncertain. The ability of Palmyrene forces to project their power into Egypt and the ensuing disorder, combined with a loss in trust in Roman currency and intrusions from the south, led to a series of rebellions under Diocletian. Here, too, the extent of the disorder is uncertain (Koptos and Busiris were involved, AD 293/4), but it was exacerbated by the 'Grosse Aufstand' of Domitianus and Aurelius Achilleus (spring 297–spring 298), the cause for which S. delineates (p. 182). Diocletian overcame the latter at Alexandria, ending this latest dystopia. I can accept that currency problems would have eaten way at confidence in any central authority, but remain unconvinced that the 'Aufstand' was great, save in the nebulous dreams within the palace of Sasanian Narses (pp. 178–82). A 'Schicksalsgestalt Ägyptens' (p. 184) other than Zenobia should be defined if evidence eventually permits.

Chapters 6 (pp. 191–208) and 7 (pp. 209–10) offer a summation of S.'s work. Rather than speculation on the feelings of 'Volksgemeinschaft' among the ordinary Egyptians

(p. 196), more useful would have been a consideration of how effectively Roman authorities could project their power on a local level, a more detailed treatment of the realities of the Egyptian landscape, apart from the Alexandrian dystopia, and detailed examination of the nature of the source material and why so many items remain indeterminate. In sum, as an introduction S. is useful and permits the student to identify which facets of Roman Egypt require more detailed inquiry.

S.'s earlier work (2014) is less successful in its stated aim; Dominic Rathbone, long-experienced in Roman Egypt, has already commented elsewhere on its major flaws.[4] My dissatisfaction with S. lies in the work's organisation and source analysis. S. has set out to study a disease – or group of diseases as yet untwined. In so doing he should consider all the symptoms, i.e. not remove from consideration lesser manifestations (pp. 16–17). In addition to enumerating the symptoms, it is necessary to consider the context and the surviving physical state of the reporting evidence. Greater effort should have been expended in examining the evidence's accuracy (formulaic, too removed from time of events, physically fragmentary and possibly undatable). Then one may begin to make suggestions as to the possible nature of the sickness and its causes. S. offers two summaries of his work (pp. 214–21, 223–250) and rules out a 'national' uprising, in spite of the events of AD 297/8. Now if ethnic tensions played a part, how did the different groups know whom to attack? After 300 years of Ptolemaic rule, how does one define 'Graeco-Ägypter', and how then after a century or more of Roman rule? (pp. 235–38). Why does the removal of the Alexandrian *boul*e remain a point of contention for centuries? (pp. 142–44 and 248). S.'s use of phrases (p. 147) such as 'dem von den griechischen Aktivisten aufgestachelten Poebel die Bahn frei für den Pogrom', spanning the 19th to 21st centuries in use, adds no clarity. S. is correct in positing multiple causes for the disease, but further study is needed.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

J. Scheid, *The Gods, the State, and the Individual: Reflections on Civic Religion in Rome*, transl. and with a foreword by C. Ando, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2016, xxiii+175 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-8122-4766-4

This trenchant manifesto in defence of the model of 'civic religion' in a Roman context ought not to have an easy future. Originally published as *Les Dieux, l'État et l'individu: Réflexions sur la religion civique à Rome* in 2013, the translator – Clifford Ando, no less – has done the field a service. But the effect should be to encourage scrutiny of the position to which John Scheid adheres, and the manner in which he does so.

To the present reviewer, who has no vested interest in the matter, S.'s sense of audience is puzzling. Seeking in his Introduction (pp. 1–4) to delineate his intellectual opposition, S. refers in part to 'the influence of British liberal thought, which tends to reduce all events to the free choice of individuals while denying any deterministic role to the social or institutional frameworks within which those choices are made' (p. 1). This is crudely put. Again, if Anglophone critique of the model of civic religion is chiefly 'an avatar of

[4] See *http://www.sehepunkte.de/2016/11/26364.html* (extant as of 17 July 2017).

deconstructionism' (pp. 1–2, quoting 2) then why have alternative, positive approaches based on empirical research emerged? In S.'s view, to be a deconstructionist 'allows one to appear progressive and brilliant at very little cost. One deconstructs modes of analysis or the models of a science for the beauty of the gesture itself, and on this basis critiques this or that argument for its supposed ties to this or that ideology. … It's a fun game' (p. 2). But as a description of the intellectual motives and procedures of those serious historians who have sought to place 'civic religion' in a wider context, this is manifestly unfair.

After this opening salvo, S. embarks on 11 lean chapters in which he sets out to right an array of wrongs. He is of course quite right to show respect for 'the religious alterity of the ancients' (p. 5, with 'alterity' *passim*). He is also importantly correct to emphasise that a city must be seen in conjunction with its territory – the two together forming the *civitas* (pp. 30–31).

Overall, however, S.'s construction of argument is counter-productive because it is overly rhetorical and excessively vituperative. The straw man fallacy takes on a significant role: 'The strange neglect of the term (and concept) of *civitas* and also of the Romans [that is, Roman civic religion as distinct from Greek *polis*-religion] is due to the fact that, according to conventional representation, the *polis* was dead by the third century BCE' (p. 11). Yet no such 'conventional representation' now shapes the field. The continuity of the *polis* was long ago charted by A.H.M. Jones in two major works of lasting influence,[1] while a rich body of up-to-date work exists on urban life and institutions, and urban-rural relations, across the Roman world. S.'s named targets are aware of this, yet this particular straw man is still a favourite. For example: at p. 23, 'we find once again the old theory of the decadence of the ancient city after Chaeronea'; at p. 29 we have 'the disappearance of city-states and the erasure of local customs and institutions, another myth of modern historiography'; at p. 110 'theories of civic decline'; and at p. 137 'the fact that the totality of the criticisms directed at civic religion are ultimately dependent upon a hoary theory of the rapid and final decline that struck the world of the city-states'. This type of critique is seriously misconceived.

Various interlocutors – hypothetical; or real but nameless; or identified (most often but not exclusively Stefan Krauter) – receive a drubbing for their alleged faults. A selective list includes 'methodological madness' (p. 21); being 'ridiculous' (pp. 22, 66); having 'only a very vague idea of what an ancient city-state was' (p. 23); being 'absurd' (pp. 29, 49, 61, 62, 72, 93 twice); creating a 'modern historiographical myth' (p. 34); echoing an 'antirevolutionary bourgeois ideology' (p. 43); being 'ideologically committed' (p. 50); indulging 'sectarian bias' (p. 55; *cf.* 'bias' at 91); revealing 'a certain ignorance' (p. 67); being 'antiquated' (p. 72); showing 'banality' (p. 82); being 'nonsensical' (p. 82); 'denying altogether' what is 'clearly attested by the sources' (p. 84); showing 'superficiality' (p. 85); playing 'games' (p. 89; *cf.* 'playing with the sources' at p. 93); giving 'evidence of a certain religious bad faith, so overdetermined as regards the conclusions one might reach as to disallow further scientific conversation' (p. 91); promoting 'a denial of historical method' (p. 93); 'the operation of sophistry' (p. 94); 'the twisting of the evidence' (p. 94); or showing 'prejudice' (p. 112). I exclude appearances merely of 'error', 'misunderstanding' and 'contradiction', or their

[1] *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1937); *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940).

plurals. Nor shall I enumerate occasions when 'denounce' appears to suggest a noble duty. Suffice to say that S. (if one takes him at his word) has made a variety of serious academic allegations in a book that is too slim and too allusive to provide the requisite evidence.

S. has done fundamental work on the Arval Brethren. There are engaging pages when he draws on that expertise to discuss sacrifices (pp. 69–72) and public prayers (pp. 72–80). He is relatively serene on 'Religious Repression' (pp. 96–104) – where he disagrees with the admired figure of Georg Wissowa and is more circumspect about Krauter, who is in some degree closer to Wissowa's position here. (Note also that Krauter is, briefly, 'right to denounce hasty conclusions', at p. 90.) In general, the last third of the main text (ending at p. 141) is more productive than the first two-thirds.

Alas, these are slim pickings. The overarching positive case is familiar. In S.'s view, 'the notion of religiosity … refers to the subjective dimension of Christian religious experience, marked by interiorization' (p. 16); 'this Lutheran or post-Tridentine conception of faith', whose relevance even to the Middle Ages he therefore doubts, 'does not work' for 'non-Christian antiquity' (p. 18); and for Romans, 'religion was the acts carried out in a given social context in order to express, as regards the divine partners in their community, courtesies indispensable for sustaining dialogue with them' (p. 49). S.'s implication that interiorisation might be a product of the 16th century verges on extreme: certainly there is no care here for the *Confessions* of St Augustine. But as regards interpretation of ritual and 'Christianising assumptions', the influential methodological statement by the late Simon Price,[2] is oddly unsung in S.'s book. Against that background, S.'s most innovative contribution, in the later pages of the present volume, is perhaps Chapter 9, 'Emotion and Belief' (pp. 113–24). Here is something promising, which goes beyond Price's discussion at one its weakest points, by finding a fresh place for emotion and belief in a ritual context.

In his valuable 'Translator's Foreword' (pp. xi–xvii) Ando describes this book as 'impassioned' (p. xi). One might say 'rude' or 'supercilious'. It would have been more rewarding had the author spent less energy heaping opprobrium on others and done more to advance an uncluttered view of ancient thought, belief, emotion and narrative in relation to ritual acts.

Virtual Centre for Late Antiquity, London Alexander Skinner

J.M. Schlude and B.B. Rubin (eds.), *Arsacids, Romans, and Local Elites: Cross-Cultural Interactions of the Parthian Empire*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2017, xvi+158 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-178570-592-2

Iranian Studies' recent renaissance has already elicited two anthologies on border kingdoms between the Roman and Parthian empires. The present volume, a product of panels at the annual meetings of the American Schools of Oriental Research 2012–14, adds a third.[1]

[2] S.R.F Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 7–15.

[1] T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East* (Stuttgart 2010); *cf.* J. Aliquot, *Syria* 91 (2014), 493–96; and the more stimulating E. Baltrush and J. Wilker (eds.), *Amici – socii – clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum* (Berlin 2015).

Here the emphasis lies with 'intercultural communications', jargon for coin types, hostages, war, diplomatic embassies, slippery local rulers and art. A Judaean/Josephus orientation can be discerned – not surprising, as the editors are co-directors of the Omrit excavations (Israel), an Herodian site, with which J.A. Overman, another contributor, has also been active. Yet the promise of high-quality papers from scholarly meetings soon disappoints. A better example of the futility of the current proliferation of anthologies would be difficult to find. The contributors, largely young scholars in the guise of 'Parthian experts', remarkably offer unconvincing speculations, exaggerated claims, rehearsals of the known, bibliographical myopia and numerous factual errors. Even the correct numbers for homonymous Parthian kings are unknown.[2] Only the clear illustrations of coin types can be lauded.

In probably the volume's best paper, Jeffrey Lerner (pp. 1–24) seeks to explain change on the reverse of Parthian drachmas between Arsaces I (*ca.* 247–217 BC) and Mithradates I (*ca.* 171–138 BC): the stool (*diphros*) of a nomadic archer later becomes an *omphalos*. An archer on a *diphros* recalls a reverse type on staters of the Achaemenid satrap Datames (386–362 BC) and the archer, identified as Ārash, a famous archer and Parthian ancestor in the late Zoroastrian tradition, could be assimilated under the Seleucids with Apollo and Mithra. The *omphalos*, Apollo's universal symbol, alludes to Mithradates I's eastern conquests in western Bactria, Areia and Margiana. Hence a reverse type with Achaemenid roots became culturally ambiguous for Greeks and Iranians. Although speculative, as such numismatic arguments often are – and the identification of Ārash cannot be conclusively proved – the paper exploits a methodology common among some Iranianists that elements of the fully developed Zoroastrian tradition found in mediaeval Persian and Arabic sources circulated among the early Parthians.

Four papers treating aspects of Roman-Parthians relations between Mark Antony and Nero form the bulk of the volume. Jake Nabel (pp. 25–50) examines 'lessons' that both Romans and Parthians learned from experiences with Seleucid hostages. Kenneth Jones (pp. 51–63) pleads both that Antony's campaign in Media Atropatene (36 BC) was a success obscured in Octavian's Actium propaganda and that Antony's aims foreshadowed those of Augustus. Schlude and Rubin (pp. 65–91) find a mechanism for peace and cultural exchange in diplomatic embassies and gifts, such as Phraates IV's four sons entrusted to Augustus and the Italian slave girl Musa sent to the same Phraates. Schlude and Overman (pp. 93–110) posit Herod's 'playing' both Parthians and Rome in his rise to power besides his major role in the return of the *signa* (20 BC).

Some dubious views recur in this section, such as a naive belief in Roman-Parthian treaties (pp. 55, 68, 99), when no real *foedera* can be proved, and attempts to expand the agreement of 20 BC to include Augustus' naming kings in Armenia and Media Atropatene, Phraates IV's dispatch of his four sons and Augustus' gift of Musa (pp. 36, 60, 69). But Tiberius' installation of Tigranes III on the Armenian throne *at the Armenians'* request was not part of the Parthian agreement, which traded the *signa* for Augustus' recognition of Phraates' legitimacy against the pretender Tiridates. Ariobarzanes I/II's appointment to

[2] Read Artabanus IV, not V (p. 28), Artabanus II, not III (pp. 104, n. 52, 105), Artabanus IV, not V, and Vologaeses VI, not V (p. 128).

Atropatene (*RGDA* 33) may belong to 10 BC. Musa's dispatch is undateable, but could be in 23 BC.[3]

Nabel's discussion of hostages (a dissertation chapter?) hardly breaks new ground, omits significant bibliography and invites a more detailed critique not possible here.[4] Phraates IV's sons, *pignora amicitiae*, were not 'hostages' in a legal sense and may reflect the Near Eastern (and especially Iranian) practice of foster-fatherage, although undoubtedly a domestic political motive also intervened. Similarly, Jones on Antony's Atropatenean campaign, after a useful brief update on Q. Dellius, the *Urquelle* of Strabo and Plutarch, is otherwise too simplistic, ignores non-Anglophone scholarship and retraces paths (as he concedes: p. 60, n. 2) laid in a 1979 paper, where a broader strategic perspective is appreciated.[5] More could be said, but not here. Schlude and Rubin's fluffy emphasis on theatrical aspects of Roman-Parthian relations scarcely advances the known. Their uncritical acceptance of Josephus' account of Musa ignores the more rigorous treatment of Bigwood, who demonstrated the proper understanding of Musa as a *basilissa* and the absence of real proof that Phraates V married his mother Musa. Josephus reports a rumour.[6] Schlude and Rubin's conversion of Musa into an expert in numismatic propaganda is hardly convincing. Even more wild speculation follows in Schlude and Overman's treatment of Herod's rise to power and their self-delusional fantasy about Herod's role in the Parthian agreement of 20 BC. A brief review precludes exposition of the conjectures and special pleadings. If excavators often tend to exaggerate the significance their sites, the attempt here to connect Herod's temple at Omrit with a major role for the Judaean king in the events of 20 BC without the slightest trace of literary or epigraphical evidence grossly surpasses the norm.

The volume's quality does not substantially improve in the final two papers. Peter Edwell's survey of Osrhoene and northern Mesopotamia from Trajan to Severus Alexander (pp. 111–35) is an incredible disappointment. Neither are major problems addressed nor is the pertinent bibliography cited. The numerous incorrect dates and factual errors cannot be

[3] On the illusion of numerous Parthian treaties and the agreement of 20 BC, see E. Wheeler, 'Roman Treaties with Parthia: *Völkerrecht* or Power Politics?'. In P. Freeman *et al.* (eds.), *Limes XVIII*, vol. 1 (Oxford 2002), 287–92; the date of the dispatch of Phraates' sons is tied to the Syrian governorship of M. Titius beginning in 11 or 10 BC; Suetonius (*Aug.* 21. 3; *cf. Tib.* 9. 1) is erroneous; on Musa, see J. Bigwood, 'Queen Mousa, Mother and Wife (?) of King Phraatakes of Parthia: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence'. *Mouseion* ser. 3, 4.1 (2004), 39–40.

[4] J. Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2006) (*cf.* E. Wheeler, *BMCR*, 2007.02.04), cited at p. 41, n.26, is omitted in the bibliography; unknown: C. Ricci, '*Principes et reges externi* (e loro schiavi e liberti) a Roma e in Italia: Testimonianze epigrafiche di età imperiale'. *RendLinc* ser. 9, 7.3 (1996), 561–92; for a fresh look at Parthian and other trans-Euphrates hostages at Rome, see E. Wheeler, 'Parthian *Auxilia* in the Roman Army, Part I: From the Late Republic to c. 70 A.D.'. In C. Wolff and P. Faure (eds.), *Les auxiliaires de l'armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés* (Lyons 2016), 193–98.

[5] A. Schieber, 'Antony and Parthia'. *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 9 (1979), 105–24; unknown: for example, H. Buchheim, *Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (Heidelberg 1960); H. Bengtson, *Zum Partherfeldzug des Antonius, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenshaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 1 (Munich 1974); G. Traina, *Marco Antonio* (Rome 2003).

[6] See Bigwood (as in n. 3) 40, 43–44.

listed in a short review. An argument that civic coinage at major cities began with L. Verus' Parthian war overlooks that the Seleucid Antiochus IV struck bronze coins at both Edessa and Nisibis. Finally, appended to a lament on ISIS's destruction at Hatra, Björn Anderson (pp. 137–58) addresses the vexed question of Parthian art. He re-asserts views that Hatra should be understood as a *Parthian* city (not an independent, indigenous site) and that the amalgamations of different traditions in its art reflect conscious choices. Readers are mercifully spared a conclusion from the editors.

As the torch is being passed to a new generation of scholars, this volume gives ample cause for concern. The paucity of sources for Roman-Parthian relations demands greater rigour and caution in interpretation rather than opening the floodgates to speculation and exaggeration. Except for Lerner's paper, few of these essays would pass muster for publication in a refereed scholarly journal, but the same could be said about other recent anthologies. Some of the 'Parthian experts' in this tome will reappear in a forthcoming *Companion to Rome and Persia*. Should that one be awaited with anticipation or dread?

Duke University, NC Everett L. Wheeler

J. Schneider, *Ländliche Siedlungsstrukturen im römischen Spanien: Das Becken von Vera und das Camp de Tarragona – zwei Mikroregionen im Vergleich*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 22, Archaeopress, Oxford 2017, vi+214 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-554-4

Jan Schneider presents a comparative analysis of settlements dynamics in two micro-regions of the southern coast of Roman Spain (the basin of the River Vera and the hinterland of the city of Tarragona/Tarraco) during an extensive timespan stretching from the 3rd century BC to the 5th century AD (and partially to the 7th century AD). It is a revised from a dissertation and largely follows the structure of the original. The text is clear and synoptic, but it also features unnecessarily repetitive or simply redundant information, an outcome of insufficient restructuring of the primary work.

The introduction offers an overview of the development of landscape and settlement archaeology. At first this seems to be a general description but S.'s actual focus is solely the Iberian Peninsula. This part is, therefore, rather confusing and without a foreknowledge of the subject largely misleading.

The methodology is well defined and offers an insight into a number of the common problems that appear during analyses of datasets arising from different regions and from diverse surveys. S. points out in particular the difficulties emerging when assessing chronology and types of settlements and offers some elegant solutions. Concerning chronology, S. converts all the descriptive labels of periods into numbers, allowing a comprehensive comparison of durations of occupations. Furthermore, he unifies the categories of settlements, redefining their types using uniform criteria. Status is determined based on the appearance of specific finds in each assemblage (represented by *dolia*, *tegulae*, *opus signinum*, mosaics, sculptures and fragments of columns). Functionality, where available, is also specified pursuant to the finds: agriculture (*dolia*, oil presses, silos, mills); ceramic production (pottery kilns, ceramic forms); metalworking (smelting furnaces, slags); production of garum (stone basins for garum); stone quarry (traces of quarrying).

A separate chapter presents the basic characteristics of the regions examined, including an overview of the state of research, their geographical settings, climate, vegetation and livestock, and an historical background.

Results of the analyses are provided in a single rather complex chapter which forms the main body of the study. All the vital parameters are examined and presented for each of the regions separately, followed by a comparative analysis of pertinent outcomes. The individual parameters of each settlement include: chronology (the development of habitation is presented in ten periods within broad timespans between the 2nd century BC and the 7th century AD); extent (in hectares); duration of habitation; subsoils (suitability for habitation); soils (suitability for agriculture); elevation (in metres above the sea level); size in relation to elevation; directions of winds and degrees of slopes (where applicable). Aspects of the traffic and economy in general are also analysed. The availability of traffic is represented by the distance of settlements from three features; main roads, navigable rivers and the coast. Economic aspects include distances from deposits of metals, stone quarries, pottery kilns and cities. Soils are examined within radii of 500 m around each settlement, showing the amount of soil potentially usable for the cultivations of grains, olives and vine. For a better overview, the author summarises the results in the final sub-chapter, this time presenting all the outcomes divided by period, allowing for a direct comparison of both territories.

In order to extend the study and test the universal applicability of the methodology, the last analytical chapter briefly examines the region of Upper Almanzora. It lists results of the analyses and essays a comparative study of the development of settlements in all the three regions. Although Upper Almanzora has a considerably lower strategic position, the settlements follow the same vector of development as in the other two regions.

In the conclusion, provided in German as well as English, S. not only sums up the principal results, he also points out three pre-conditions necessary for successful comparative analysis, as performed in the monograph: the areas should be geographically delimited and relatively closed; settlement dynamics can be followed only if the duration of habitation is long enough; and, finally, a large part of the area needs to be surveyed in order to provide a solid base of data.

The study is accompanied by numerous maps, tables and diagrams, inserted directly into the text. I would like to commend the quality of the maps: colourful, well arranged, provided with clear legends and omitting unnecessary data. In particular, the use of contour lines for rendering the terrain was a fince choice, contributing significantly to the clarity of the final output. The charts are in diverse forms, always chosen to fit the particular case, including histograms, line graphs, box plots and pie charts.

The book contains elaborate addenda. The regions are presented on three large colourful maps (one region on two A4 formats). In this case, the elevation model is visualised through a colour range, offering a more traditional view of the areas. The maps depict all the settlements, numbered according to the system used in the following catalogue of findspots. The catalogue is well structured and it includes the type of the record, its name, precise geographical position (coordinates), elevation, chronology and source of data. The next addendum presents a synoptic catalogue of the dated pottery and its forms. Noteworthy are the next two, supporting the economic analysis in the study: a catalogue of Roman streets and deposits of metals. The last two include statistical tests (enabling us to follow the applied methodology) and an overview of chronological time-spans of the settlements.

Ruhr University, Bochum Barbora Weissová

M. Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2017, xviii+355 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-17497-6

This engaging monograph provides thoughtful and persuasive treatment of oligarchic government in the Greek world *ca*. 500–300 BC. The topic has been much neglected,[1] but it constitutes a significant aspect of Classical Greece and possesses especial relevance to the current crisis of democratic governments. Looking in depth at this subject and deploying a wide range of epigraphic and literary texts, Matthew Simonton offers readers the missing 'other half' of the image of democratic Athens that is so often the focus of modern studies. This is a carefully written and cogently argued corrective to the standard view.

This monograph is divided into six chapters that proceed systematically from the definition of the problem to be examined to abstract analysis of the historical data that can be recovered for the operation of oligarchic governments in the Classical period. Chapter 1 ('Problem, Background, Method', pp. 1–74) sets the stage with a thorough discussion of the object of study, its context and the approach to be employed here. Far longer than any of the following chapters, this introductory chapter elegantly unites analysis of ancient political theory with modern historiographical debates and New Institutionalism. Chapter 2 ('Oligarchic Power-Sharing', pp. 75–106) examines the ways in which a city's oligarchy kept its own members in check and shared power amongst themselves. Communal involvement in an individual's punishment, for instance, might help to keep impersonal what could otherwise become a violent, uncontrollable exercise of force and counter-force (p. 101, for example). Chapter 3 ('Balancing Coercion and Co-optation', pp. 107–47) looks at how the oligarchs kept the *demos* in line by use violence (such as extralegal violence or clandestine killing) and offering possible avenues of advancement for a select few (doe example, whip-bearers in Athens under the Thirty) as well as complicity in the crimes of the regime (for instance informers). Chapter 4 ('The Politics of Public Space', pp. 148–85) investigates the ways in which oligarchies asserted control over civic spaces. For instance, the mob was commonly excluded from the city (*polis* or *astu*) and relegated to the countryside, and clientelistic organisation might serve to keep close control over the behaviour of the masses. Chapter 5 ('The Manipulation of Information', pp. 186–223) examines the means whereby oligarchies formed public opinion (choral performances, public banquets, the destruction of potentially subversive monuments or symbols). Chapter 6 ('Processes of Regime Breakdown', pp. 224–73) offers by way of conclusion a comparative historical analysis of the causes for the fall of oligarchies and the circumstances (for example, festivals, military assemblies and *stasis*) in which such an event might be expected to occur. Appropriately enough, the Afterword ('The Eclipse of *Oligarchia*', pp. 275–86) discusses the statistics for oligarchic governments over time and highlights the intriguing fact of a gradual, discernible increase in the number of democracies. Only the coming of Rome would enable a modified version of oligarchy to become prevalent once again.

S. provides readers with a bracing, rigorous application of contemporary methodology to the ancient evidence, providing a compelling interpretation of evidence that has often languished in neglect or misunderstanding despite its significance for a proper undestanding of Classical Greece. Game theory and other conceptual instruments have been taken from the Political Sciences and applied with sensitivity and insight. To cite the most

[1] The last monographic treatment was L. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies, their Characteristics and Organisation* (London 1896).

significant, the concept of the 'Prisoner's Dilemma' (pp. 66–68, fig. 1) is based on the work Olson and Hardin,[2] and that of the 'Stag Hunt' (pp. 255–60, fig. 2) is based on the work of Skyrms.[3] The first helps to explain why the masses consistently (but not forever) fail to revolt against the oligarchs, whereas the the second offers an explanation for why oligarchs eventually tend to break ranks. Informing the application of these models to the historical evidence are certain basic concepts: 'methodological individualism', 'common knowledge', 'coordination' and 'collective action'. Finally, in making sense of the whole, S. situates himself within the school (or scholarly approach) that may properly be designated as the New Institutionalism and that variety which is labelled Historical Institutionalism (p. 69). Analysis of individual behaviour *vis-à-vis* institutions through attention to structures such as power asymmetries enables the ancient historian to explain the paradox that oligarchic regimes in Classical Greece enjoyed relative stability despite the fact that the sources normally despict them as being decidedly unpopular.

One of the pleasures of this book is the fact that S. manages to offer radically new and highly persuasive readings of well-known texts, in addition to offering to readers a wide *gamma* of texts (mainly epigraphic) that have been consistently overlooked in modern discussions. For instance, S. (pp. 29–32) provides an attractive and plausible re-reading of the so-called 'Constitutional Debate' (Herodotus 3. 81). The problems of this literary text that purports to relate what was debated by three leaders of the palace coup in Persia in 522 BC are well known, as is the fact that this text offers students a convenient introduction to the political theory of Classical Greece. Less known is the fact that this text is the oldest witness to the use of the term *oligarchia*. Arguing that Herodotus is retrojecting to the 6th century a debate that was current in the latter half of the 5th century, S. goes on to highlight the fact the conspirator Megabyzus does not describe oligarchy as a traditional form of government. That is a false note, which has not hitherto been appreciated. Rather than being the normal state preceding the establishment of democracy, as is normally asserted, oligarchy was in fact a dialectical response to democracy. This reading of the evidence in the manner of Bourdieu's series of *doxa*, heterodoxy and orthodoxy (i.e. behaviour, a revolutionary break with past behaviour, and a counter-revolutionary attempt to restore the past) is brilliant and highly persuasive.

Statistics are always, at least theoretically, welcome and useful. Those presented in the Appendix (pp. 287–90) build upon the Cophenhagen Polis Centre's *Inventory*[4] and conveniently provide readers with a synthetic listing and analysis of those oligarchies attested for the period 500–300 BC. The attempt to list oligarchies and indicate their temporal progression is highly significant and useful. It also, paradoxically, highlights just how much work with the statistics remains to be done. Perhaps a few questions can illustrate this. What do we not know about the constitutional arrangements of *poleis* in this period? Like the captain of a frigate navigating the by-ways of the northern Atlantic and seeking not to run afoul of glaciers, the ancient historian must have a sense not only of what is visible

[2] M. Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, MA 1965); R. Hardin, *Collective Action* (Baltimore 1982).

[3] B. Skyrms, *The Stag Hunt and the Evolution of Social Structure* (Cambridge 2004).

[4] M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004).

thanks to the accident of survival, but also an awareness of just how much may no longer be available for investigation. S. lists 113 instances of attested oligarchy involving 78 *poleis* in the Classical Greek world. How many *poleis* existed in that world? How many of those were tyrannies or democracies, and how many are unclassified because of an absence of evidence? Since there are many repeat offenders, interesting perspectives regarding *stasis* and its perpetuation are also opened up by this mass of material. An atlas responding to these and other questions suggested by this statistical data would be a most welcome sequel to the present volume.

Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome Richard Westall

P. Steinkeller, *History, Texts and Art in Early Babylonia: Three Essays*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 15, Walter de Gruyter, Boston/Berlin 2017, viii+263 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-5015-1330-5/ISSN 2161-4415

The volume under review contains three essays originating in conference presentations by the author over the course of the last 15 years, two of which are followed by appendices treating ancillary aspects in greater detail. The joint publication of these papers is perfectly sensible, as central themes resurface at different points throughout the volume.

The first and longest essay is entitled 'Writing, Kingship and Political Discourse in early Babylonia: Reflections on the Nature and Function of Third Millennium Historical Sources'. Piotr Steinkeller opens by pointing out the curious absence of inscriptions that can be classified as 'historical' prior to the mid-3rd millennium BC, which he explains with the unique role of the king as a steward of the city-god and the concomitant lack of a dynastic principle in southern Babylonia during the Early Dynastic period. As a corollary of this peculiar constellation, the 'Managerial Class', i.e. the literate elites consisting of highest local (temple) officials, who strongly opposed any attempt at centralisation and hence had no incentive to write compositions glorifying strong rulers, came to play a key role in shaping the nature of much of the written documentation concerning the earliest Babylonian history at our disposal. Their account, then, was one of sages-kings, modelled on the Managerial Class's ideal conception of a king, ruling over Babylonia in the period before the flood (and hence before dynastic history commenced). Another related tradition, influential until deep into the 1st millennium, ascribed the benefits of civilisation to mythical sages designated by the ancient priestly title of ABGAL (Akk. *apkallu*). For S., these texts were supposed to convey the message 'that it was wise men like them (*scil.* the Managerial Class) that were the ultimate source of political power in Babylonia' (p. 77). The appendix to this chapter focuses on the priest-king of Uruk and his relationship to the goddess Inana, as well as on the title (then) borne by this official and its development over time.

'The Divine Rulers of Akkade and Ur: Toward a Definition of the Deification of Kings in Babylonia', the second essay, sets out by refuting recent scholarship that either aimed to disprove the phenomenon of deified kings in Mesopotamia, or to interpret it as a logical extension of the king's particular proximity to the realm of the divine already during the Uruk period. Based on the premise that deification is ontologically on a different level than 'sacrality', and cautiously hypothesising a foreign, Egyptian, origin of the

concept, S. emphasises the crucial role played by the historical circumstances, and particularly the unification of Babylonia under the dynasty of Akkade and later under the Ur III dynasty; for the former, he identifies Naram-Suen's victory over southern rebels early in his reign as important catalyst. In this interpretation, the deification of the king served the purpose of facilitating the integration of formerly equal and independent city-states of Sumer into territorial empires. He then goes on to elucidate differences between Akkadian and Ur III period actualisations of the divine king and provides an in-depth discussion of royal titles associated with divine kingship, such as (maybe surprisingly) *šarrum dannum*, 'strong king'. The appendix discusses the iconography of a unique piece of art, a fragment of a limestone mould used to fabricate golden roundlet, which can be attributed to Naram-Suen.

The third and final essay, 'Mythical Realities of the Early Babylonian History (or the Modern Historian and the Native Uses of the Past)', re-assesses the debate whether – or rather, how and in what sense – the so-called 'historical-literary texts' can be used to shed light on aspects of Mesopotamian history in the second half of the 3rd millennium. Contrary to much current scholarly practice, which mines these texts mainly for factual information for the time during which they were written down (rather than for the time they purport to describe), S. focuses again on the Managerial Class who produced these accounts under the moniker of mythical history, i.e. 'the native vision of history' (p. 178), which explicitly harkens back to concepts such as J. Assman's 'cultural memory'. He does not aim at invalidating attempts to find genuinely historical data in these narratives, but rather advocates an *geistesgeschichtlichen* approach which stresses the literary nature of these texts and conceives of them as 'symbolic negotiations of historical events' (p. 196). His main example is the afterlife in literature of the dynasty of Akkade, and in particular of Sargon and Naram-Suen. The range of sources employed throughout S.'s analyses is admirable; in addition to a wide array of written output (mainly 'historical-literary texts' but also, for example, lexical lists), he does not shy away from a thorough, and rewarding, engagement with the visual arts of the period. Throughout the volume, there are in-depth investigations of relevant source material, for example: the story of Sargon and Ur-Zababa (pp. 181–86), the Warka vase (pp. 83–87) or the Sumerian King List (pp. 40–45 and 192–96). Despite the complexity of the arguments and the high level of his scholarship, S.'s presentation is clear, engaging and accessible also to non-specialists (and he certainly does not mince words when in disagreement with contentious interpretations, see especially Essay 2). This volume deserves to be read widely.

University of Vienna Reinhard Pirngruber

S. Stevens, *City Boundaries and Urban Development in Roman Italy*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 16, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, xii+323 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3305-7

Boundaries instantiate a host of political, social, cultural and economic hierarchies. With border-based polemics growing ever louder and omnipresent – from anxiety over the intra-Ireland border to demands of a wall along the United States–Mexico frontier – a deeper historical understanding of how such boundaries have been conceived and operated in the

past is welcome.[1] In this monograph, stemming from her 2010 Oxford doctorate, Saskia Stevens works to show how archaeological remains, alongside critical readings of textual and epigraphic sources, help to 'understand the Roman attitude towards the symbolic value of civic boundaries' (pp. 5–6).

The scope of the book is limited to familiar topics: the *pomerium*, the foundation rite involving ploughing the limits of a city (*sulcus primigenius*), city walls. The plethora of other geographical boundaries operative in Roman cities – neighbourhoods, administrative districts (*regiones*), property lines – are largely ignored (except when they coincide with the edges of the city itself), as is the impact of the surveying practices that demarcated such boundaries. Yet with her rigorously empirical approach, S. demonstrates that new analysis and attention to the interface between conceptual and material boundaries can generate exciting new ideas. If past work on Roman walls and boundaries has often assumed that material boundaries are straightforward instantiations of legal and ritual concepts like the *pomerium*, S. demonstrates that there was not one, monolithic city boundary in the Roman world, but a range of demarcations. Such variegated boundaries were signaled to different groups at different moments for different reasons and by different means. S. thus brings far greater analytical nuance to the study of the multiplicity of these fluid urban borders.

Embracing a wide range of topics and themes related to urban boundaries, S. makes several key arguments. First, she reinterprets the relationships among *pomerium, sulcus primigenius* and city walls. At a city's foundation, the *pomerium* was a continuous, imagined boundary marked at intervals by posts that guided the ploughman whose furrow set the course of the city wall (pp. 13–30). In practice, the three boundaries thus largely overlapped, but were not identical. Their initially close relationship could be stretched by strategic needs (extending the 'Servian' Wall around the extra-pomerial Aventine), by 'refounding' a city and ploughing a new *sulcus primigenius* outside pre-existing walls (Capua), or by extending the *pomerium* (as Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian do at Rome). Keeping these three boundaries analytically separate from one another, and from other boundaries (like customs borders or the wide strip of public land on the outside of city walls) that could run atop each other without being identical, allows better understanding of the margins of Roman cities.

Once S. clarifies the nature of the *pomerium*, a range of other long-accepted hypotheses can be discarded. For example, extramural arches do not mark pomerial boundaries, but serve primarily as billboards on the approach to the city and occasionally (as at Aosta) administrative markers inside of which burial cannot take place (pp. 92–96). Burials, in fact, are kept extramural not because of the ritual *pomerium*, but rather due to the sanctity of the line ploughed during the *sulcus primigenius* and the strip of publicly owned land on either side of the wall; this is clearly seen where burials continue at Rome in the *Via Salaria* area outside the Servian Wall but within the Imperial *pomerium* extensions (pp. 176–95).

S. also argues that changing conceptual frameworks and historical circumstances create common trajectories in city-wall development in Italy (Chapter 3), an argument supported by the useful tables relating foundation dates and evidence for the building/dismantling of walls in Italy (pp. 315–23). Once dismantling began after the Third Punic War, it sped up

[1] A call for such perspectives: L. O'Dowd, 'From a "Borderless World" to a "World of Borders": "Bringing History Back in"'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (2010), 1031–50.

after the Social War. Emphasising the conceptual taboos around walls, S. compares this to breaking the sanctity of an *eruv*, a ritual border around Jewish communities that extends the domestic sphere beyond the household (p. 138); once the sanctity is breached, the earlier boundary no longer matters. Civic promotion, colonial foundation and civic pride led both to a boom in Augustan wall-building and older wall demolition to make way for urban amenities like amphitheatres, which S. also connects to conceptual redefinitions of a city and general Augustan urbanisation.

Yet the greatest value of the volume lies in the carefully extracted nuggets of Roman social history woven throughout. What emerges indirectly across the work, and especially from the three case studies in Chapter 5 (the areas around the Porta Romana at Ostia, the Porta Collina at Rome and the Porta di Ercolano at Pompeii), is the inability of the conceptual, religious and legal categories of Roman boundaries to corral the messiness of human behaviour at these boundaries. Law – one of the major foundations of S.'s arguments – is just one way of establishing hierarchies and mediating power relationships; but instead of mapping well onto the wall boundaries she studies, her examples repeatedly show the chasm between these two means of social structuration. For example, believing in the primacy of law, she notes that the people of Herculaneum could have brought legal action against the elite homeowners whose domiciles invaded the space of city walls and gates (p. 149). Instead, both here and in her other examples of properties encroaching on walls and the *locus publicus*, we may either catch a glimpse of the club-like inner workings of the city council that had the ability to award such building permits to their own members, or the inability of cities to enforce laws broken by wealthy landowners. Legal categories ceased to apply: that was the point. Articulating status meant transgressing boundaries applicable to others, as many of S.'s examples show: whether incorporating a city wall into one's private residence; receiving a burial plot within the public land just beyond a city wall; or crossing Rome's *pomerium* in arms as a triumphant general.

Likewise, the scattered discussion of the agency of boundary-setters sheds significant light on operative social hierarchies. S. builds on previous work arguing that the pomerial extensions under Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian – marked with propagandistic inscribed *cippi* – primarily make an emperor's expansion of Roman territory concrete to the denizens of Rome. She also notes that Suedius Clemens, sent to Pompeii *ex auctoritate Vespasiani* to establish the boundaries of private and public lands, advertises this Imperial restitution of civic space with elaborate inscriptions near the city gates and high-traffic areas; simpler boundary stones were set up at disputed points and less visible areas (pp. 110–14). Boundary marking has a workaday function (establishing property lines and where the city can collect rents), but also creates a clear hierarchy, redefining Imperial *auctoritas* while promulgating the Flavian claim of returning public land to the people (a leitmotif of Vespasian's urban building projects at Rome).

S.'s meticulous analysis is sometimes undermined by the book itself. Typographical errors are not infrequent, and the figures often obfuscate rather than illuminate. Many plans lack scales and directional indicators. Where key features are flagged on the plans with letters, understanding what those letters denote frustratingly requires turning to the list of the figures at the front of the volume for a key, as there are no captions.

Yet in its nuanced approach to a wide array of legal, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, this is a key work for the study of Roman urbanism. It will also be an important

work for those interested in the wider social history of the Roman world and willing to engage thoughtfully with the rich material that S. presents.

University of British Columbia Matthew M. McCarty

R. Strootman, *The Birdcage of the Muses: Patronage of the Arts and Sciences at the Ptolemaic Imperial Court, 305–222 BCE*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 17, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2017, vii+189 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-3350-7

After a long hiatus, study of the institutional history of the Hellenistic kingdoms has resumed with great vigour. Rolf Strootman, associate professor of Ancient History at the University of Utrecht, has made important contributions to this new Hellenistic scholarship. In a steady stream of articles, monographs and edited volumes, he has revised our understanding of the royal court as the centre of the political and social life of the Seleucid kingdom. *The Birdcage of the Muses* marks the extension of his studies to the court of the Ptolemies with similarly important results.

His choice of 'patronage of the arts and sciences' as the focus of his monograph is at first sight a surprising entry into the study of Ptolemaic court. The poets and scholars of the Museum traditionally have been viewed as essentially paid dependents of the Ptolemies, 'who are feeding, many scribblers on papyrus…in the birdcage of the Muses' in the famous characterisation of the poet Timon. Their works likewise have been dismissed as the 'decadent' products of an 'art for art's sake' aesthetic. S. contests this view, arguing that the standard interpretation cannot account for the creativity and originality that characterises Hellenistic poetry and science on the one hand and the relatively limited amount of that poetry that deals with themes directly connected to the Ptolemaic crown. It is the thesis of *The Birdcage of the Muses* that a more rewarding interpretation of the social role of Ptolemaic and other Hellenistic intellectuals is that they were actually courtiers, *philoi* of the king, and as such full members of the royal court. Like other courtiers, they participated in the life of the court, competing with each other and other *philoi* for access to the king and the rewards it brought by attracting his attention with works that were new and innovative and thought provoking.

The Birdcage of the Muses originated as a chapter in S.'s 2007 dissertation, *The Hellenistic Royal Courts: Court Culture, Ceremonial and Ideology in Greece, Egypt and the Near East, 336–30 BCE* (University of Utrecht), and it reveals clear traces of its origin. Of the monograph's nine chapters the first five are introductory, providing background for the last three that form the real core of the book.

After a chapter outlining the current state of scholarship on Ptolemaic patronage and the argument of the book, the next two introduce the royal court as an institution. The second chapter traces the origin of the Hellenistic royal courts to the Argead court, explains the transformation of courtiers from royal *hetairoi* to *philoi*, and describes the nature of cultural patronage in the 3rd century BC. The third analyses the court as a social institution and identifies its members and their functions in the society of the court, with particular emphasis on the important role played by queens as both patrons and subjects of poetry. In the fourth chapter S. explains how *philia*, *xenia* and gift-exchange connected the courtiers to each other and determined their places in the hierarchical organisation of the courts.

The introductory chapters conclude in the fifth with an analysis of the importance of royal patronage of culture in the role of the court as a stage for the performance of the cult of the king and the competition for prestige with other dynasties. Having established the basic framework for his argument, S. demonstrates in the sixth chapter through a meticulous analysis of Theokritos' Sixteenth Idyll that poets and scientists were courtiers like other royal *philoi*, competing with each other for *xenia* from the king by offering him as gifts their poems and technical novelties such as Ktesibios' hydraulic organ and Hero's steam engine. Chapters 7 and 8 closely examine the content of court literature, the former identifying the theme of universal empire as central to Ptolemaic poetry and the latter demonstrating that the same theme is characteristic of the other major genres of court literature. In the final chapter the author summarises the principal arguments and conclusions of the study.

The Birdcage of the Muses is a valuable introduction to current scholarship on Hellenistic royal courts and to the contribution that scholarship can make to the understanding of Hellenistic culture. By demonstrating that Ptolemaic intellectuals were *philoi* of the Ptolemies and members of their court and not just hired writers, S. has clarified both the social context in which they wrote and worked and the rationale for the learned character of their poetry that has so puzzled critics. Like all good books, however, his work also raises new questions for future research. Three stand out. First, how did the place of intellectuals in the hierarchy of the Ptolemaic court compare with that of other *philoi*? Second, did the precariousness of their position at court, dependent as it was on unpredictable grants of royal *xenia*, encourage the tendency of intellectuals to move from court to court in search of new patrons? Third, does the absence from the Ptolemaic court after the early 3rd century BC of certain categories of intellectuals such as prominent philosophers reflect the fragmentary character of our sources or decisions by the Ptolemies concerning the type of activity they would patronise? Still, these are questions for the future. The fact remains that *The Birdcage of the Muses* is a significant contribution to the social and cultural history of Ptolemaic Egypt.

California State University, Los Angeles Stanley M. Burstein

A. Tomas, *Inter Moesos et Thraces: The Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia (1st–6th Centuries AD)*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 14, Archaeopress, Oxford 2016, x+234 pp., illustrations (a few in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-369-4

Agnieszka Tomas of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, has written and published on Novae and on the Roman army and prosopography. This book contains the results of several previous studies on the rural hinterland of Novae. A lot of boundary stones contain the expression *inter Moesos et Thraces*, which suggests the limit of the province of Moesia Inferior and the territory of the Greek-speaking city of Nicopolis ad Istrum, which belonged to the province of Thracia until the end of the 2nd century AD.

The book is structured in seven chapters. The first one discusses the geography of the region, the second the history and the periodisation of the region, while the third puts out the methodology used especially in the archaeological investigations of the area. The fourth chapter, the longest, presents the settlement structures, separating the military presence of

the civilian one, and considers the location of the sites, the results of the archaeological investigations carried out in the neighbourhood of Novae, including the finds, as well as historical considerations on the economy, religion and infrastructure. The fifth chapter proposes a discussion on the local administration. In the sixth, T. treats the ethnic, linguistic and social structures of the area, and in the last chapter she examines military and civilian interaction in the hinterland of Novae. Then come a catalogue of settlements, five appendices of epigraphic evidence and an index of place names.

The hinterland of Novae is located between the Osăm and Jantra rivers. In the pre-Roman period, the Celtic influence is visible east of the Jantra, while Thracian settlements were found in the Middle Osăm. The role of the military fortress in Novae, the camp of *legio VIII Augusta* and foremost of *legio I Italica*, is well known The foundation of Nicopolis *ca.* 60 km south of Novae created a complex geographical, political and ethnic situation: the hinterland of the legionary fortress was bordered at the south by the territory of the Greek-speaking city belonging to the province of Thrace.

Some results of T.'s investigation are worthy of particular mention. First of all, she shows that the foundation of Nicopolis ad Istrum had a significant impact on the development of the local economy (the exploitation of clay and stone, and trade). Beginning with this period, local crafts replaced imports to a large extent. The boundary stones between Moesians and Thracians represent, as T. points out, an expression of administrative regulation. This shows, in her opinion, an uneven level of Romanisation of the territories respectively east and west of the Jantra, on account of their former different statuses and populations. Another important issue is that the epigraphic habit was also adopted by Thracians, who lived in the rural hinterland of Novae and Nicopolis.The impact on cultural change and economy starting with the Antonines' rule is shown by the presence of *regionarii* and of customs clerks in the area. T. notices the low density of veterans in the rural area of Novae compared with in the rest of the province. From a strict epigraphic point of view, she is right. But we must not forget the civil settlements next to the camp of the legion (which also had a rural status) and the possibility that other monuments or *villae* erected by veterans have not yet been confirmed epigraphically. Another pertinent observation is that the military–civilian relationship was essential in the history of the area, and influenced the decisions of the Roman administration. This is important because, in my opinion, it confirms a phenomenon present across the entire province. The soldiers seem to have been landowners during their military service. Unlike in Novae's territory (according to the epigraphic evidence), the veterans settled in the rural area of the provinces, both individually and in *conventus* of *veterani*. I think it is also possible that they received land just individually, but they have not left epigraphic proof of this. The number of local veterans coming home (in rural areas) after their discharge must have been rather large (judging from the military diplomas from the territory of Nicopolis), but no other sources are preserved.

T. has accomplished valuable work. Novae was known as a military camp and later as a *municipium*, but its rural hinterland has until now been less discussed from both the epigraphic and archaeological point of view. The work's main strength is that it brings together, in a well-organised way, all types of sources in order to provide us with a wider picture of the rural life in the territory of Novae.

'Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University of Iași Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba

S.V. Tracy, *Athenian Lettering of the Fifth Century B.C.: The Rise of the Professional Letter Cutter*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2016, xvi+239 pp., illustrations Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-040142-4

The volume under review is the continuation and culmination of decades-long work by Stephen Tracy, one of the most accomplished American epigraphists. It comes at the end of a long line of important studies on Athenian inscriptions and the artisans that created them. Apart from T.'s doctoral thesis, the earliest predecessor of the current book his *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (Princeton 1975), with three more concerning Athenian letter-cutters between (overall) 300 and 86 BC published between 1990 and 2003.[1] The latest addition is a very interesting and valuable work, but also one with a rather narrow focus and highly technical in nature. It is not the kind of text that will be read from cover to cover by many people, even if they are specialists in the field of Greek epigraphy.

As with the most publications by T., the main subject of this book are the workmen who inscribed Athenian inscriptions, in this case the early professional letter-cutters of the 5th century BC. In the Introduction, T. gives an exposition of his basic principles and methodology. The fundamental idea, already explained and defended in many previous papers, is that every ancient professional letter-cutter had a distinct personal 'handwriting' that, once identified, can be reliably recognised in further inscriptions. This idea, once highly controversial, is nowadays widely accepted by many, though not all, scholars. One needs time, patience and dedication to obtain the ability to distinguish an individual 'handwriting'. A large (at least several hundreds of letters), securely dated and well-preserved sample of the work of a specific letter-cutter is a necessity. There are other requirements of this method: T. argues that epigraphists should work on the stones themselves, if possible. If not, the squeezes of the inscriptions should always be preferred to photographs and scans. The method employed is termed 'descriptive' and the same can be said for the much of the book.

The volume is divided in two parts. Part I ('General Studies of the Writing of the Fifth Century B.C.', pp. 15–73) is a general discussion of the lettering of the major public monuments of the 5th century BC. Public inscriptions appear much latter than epitaphs or private dedications. The earliest one (*IG* I^3 230) is dated *ca.* 515 BC and there are only a handful of examples prior to 450 BC. According to T., there are no unique examples of individual writing before 450 BC because there were no dedicated letter-cutters: previously the task of inscribing was handled by a more general type of stonemason. While clearly competent, these artisans could not afford to specialise but handled a variety of tasks: 'These workmen must have shaped blocks, fluted columns, sculpted reliefs and so on' (p. 195). The appearance of specialised professionals in this field was a slow and gradual process. Contrary to the claims of many previous scholars, T. asserts that inscriptions of this era were inscribed without letters being painted on the surface in advance. Some of the errors committed by inscribers on public inscriptions are simply incompatible with such a preparatory procedure.

The second part ('Attic Letter Cutters of *ca.* 450 to *ca.* 390', pp. 75–197) is a serious attempt to identify individual 'handwritings' and to attribute public inscriptions to individual

[1] *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 BC* (Berkeley 1990); *Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 BC* (Berkeley 1995); *Athens and Macedon: Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 BC* (Berkeley 2003).

cutters. This section is exceedingly well documented: everything stated is based on a meticulous study of nearly 200 inscriptions. The section has a uniform, even rigid structure. The features of any specific 'handwriting' are summarised, after which we are given a short overview of the distinctive letters, followed by the list of inscriptions that are attributed to that particular letter-cutter. The questions of dates, supplements and restoration of various inscriptions and fragments are usually discussed in the final segment. In total, we are presented with 12 recognisable craftsmen who worked in the second half of the 5th century BC, most of whom were probably narrowly specialised in letter-cutting. Some of them are attributed with a surprisingly large output: the cutter of *IG* II^2 17, active between 414 and 385 BC, is responsible for no fewer than 73 public inscriptions *that we know of*. The cutter of *IG* II^2 1386 inscribed at least 47 inscription, dating between 423 and 393 BC. All this is supported by an abundance of illustrations, mostly photographs of squeezes. The quality and the resolution of these are not exceptionally high, but they are readable and adequate for the purpose.

Three appendices reprint papers by T., two of which are quite recent.[2] They are often referred to in the main text and are so intimately connected with the subject that perhaps they should have been integrated somehow into the main text.

Athenian Lettering of the 5th Century BC is a forward-looking book. Although highly respectful of the work of the earlier epigraphists, T. points out their mistakes and clearly states the need for various revisions. He offers further arguments against the infamous dogma of the three-bar *sigma*, which persists in spite of all the evidence against it. Strong reasons are given for the revised dating of numerous inscriptions, especially for the lower dates of many public documents that have so far been placed in the middle of the 5th century. The restoration and supplements of many public monuments, some of which were published decades ago, are also in need of adjustment. This is especially so with the two exceptionally large monuments, originally placed on the Acropolis, traditionally referred to as the *Lapis Primus* and the *Lapis Secundus*. Containing the early tribute-lists of the Athenian empire, they were pieced together from a multitude of individual fragments (184 in the case of the *Lapis Primus*), and the published texts are heavily restored. Although the general order of the fragments is probably accurate, there is much room for correction in individual cases. In addition, the standard edition contains many dubious and overbold restorations which require re-examination. In T.'s words, 'the edition presented in the *IG* is a maximalist one … over restored' and 'provides no adequate account of the blank spaces' (p. 53). It is to be expected that some (perhaps most?) of T.'s suggestions will be taken up in the near future. By necessity, the interpretation of various public documents will also change and this will in turn affect many essential questions of the history of Classical Athens. These are indeed exciting times for Attic epigraphy.

University of Belgrade Nemanja Vujčić

[2] 'Hands in Fifth-Century B.C. Attic Inscriptions'. In A.L. Boegehold *et al.* (eds.), *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday* (Durham, NC 1984), 277–82; 'The Wrongful Execution of the *Hellenotamiai* (Antiphon 5.69–71) and the *Lapis Primus*'. *Classical Philology* 109 (2014), 1–10; 'Down Dating Some Athenian Decrees with Three-Bar Sigma: A Paleographic Approach'. *ZPE* 190 (2014), 105–15.

S. van der Vaart-Verschoof, *Fragmenting the Chieftain: A Practice-Based Study of Early Iron Age Hallstatt C Elites Burials in the Low Countries*, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museums of Antiquity (PALMA) 15(A), Sidestone Press, Leiden 2017, 233 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-8890-511-7/ISSN 2034-550X

Attempts to study the social structures of Early Iron Age elite tombs with chariots and horse harnesses by deeper analyses and using larger data of specific elements are in fashion in large parts of Europe nowadays, and the PhD thesis under review has compiled useful data concerning the descriptions of the rituals performed, the grave-goods, the specific meaning for the deceased and his family and *oikos*, the economic unit.

In the chapter on chronology, the earliest Gündlingen phase by C. Pare is confirmed as preceding Ha C 1 with Mündlingen swords, which is well compared with the Central European development with horse equipment and chariots. The dataset of grave offerings shows a rather smooth picture than clear separation into well-defined groups; this seriation is even more fluent for female graves. A number of sketches visualise the supposed process of putting grave-goods into grave chambers and the *placement* within, particularly the position of horse harnesses, refining the ideas on their arrangement by Peter Wells; results of C 14 dating compared with typological seriation cause only small problems. There are many links with the Central European Ha C–D 1 development of grave chambers under tumuli surrounded with much more numerous urns, apparently graves of lower members of the *oikos.* The precise position of the slaves, clients, personally free domestics, those of level of the *ktes*, is again difficult to separate out into close groups with different position in the households.

The best clue to answers in the field of social structure and roles of members of the farm unit/*oikos* unit remains Moses Finley's *The World of Odysseus* (New York 1954 etc.). His attitude enables even nowadays reasonable attempts to identify the chief, the clients, servants and home slaves, and among females, too, in the importance of position: the main aristocratic wife, important for succession where matrilinearity of descent from aristocratic ancestors had priority, and some less dignified women in secondary positions. The large grave was in a way a dwelling of the deceased where he continued his customs of life at least for some time. The size of the tumulus, its shape and position were visible at all times and they gave the sign of identity of the group, a symbol of place of memory. With many large constructions, new large settlements, the places of memory and landscape known from Dutch paintings largely disappeared, and the profound study of their remains restores the lost memory. The volume brings much information on graves of the Ha C elites of the Low Countries and some paths towards their understanding, so it should be welcomed.

Charles University, Prague Jan Bouzek

R. Varga and V. Rusu-Bolindeț (eds.), *Official Power and Local Elites in the Roman Provinces*, Routledge, London/New York 2017, xix+193 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4724-5731-8

In the Preface to this collection of essays, the editors state that their 'main objective is to create as complex an image as possible of the provincial leaderships and their positions

when faced with official state structures' (p. xvii). That is an ambitious goal, which some contributors struggle to meet.

The editors observe that most of the contributors are in the early stages of their careers. The two chapters from scholarly veterans are predictably solid. Drawing upon a wide range of archaeological and epigraphic sources, Palli, Riginos and Lamprou (Chapter 1) highlight the very gradual nature of the adaptation of the Epirote population and, particularly, the surviving aristocratic families to the presence of Roman settlers and Roman modes of organisation and self-display after the defeat of Perseus in 168 BC. The emphasis on gradualness, however, cannot fully support the conclusion that the members of the Greek and Roman elites 'handled with ease' the resulting 'dual Greco-Roman identity' (p. 16). For Iberia in the Republican period, Lowe (Chapter 3) reviews the various forms of patronage relationships into which generals, governors and other Romans entered with communities and individuals of the region. He argues that high ranking Romans tended to avoid 'coercive measures', using instead benefactions as a form of 'persuasion' (p. 33). While Lowe's conclusion that patronage was an 'important mechanism facilitating the incorporation of the indigenous communities into the Roman world' (p. 43) is hardly new, the precision of his account and his emphasis on the flexibility of patronage are.

Many of the contributions from less established scholars were just as solid. Magnani and Mior (Chapter 6) study the Greek, Latin and Semitic epigraphy of Palmyra, as well as the city's funerary and urban archaeology to track changes in how the Palmyran elite presented themselves. Their major contribution is the establishment of a visit by Hadrian as the major impetus for these changes. Collins (Chapter 8) similarly demonstrates a reduction in the space and quality of *praetoria* in the forts along Hadrian's Wall in the late 4th century and a concomitant change in their usage, from the relatively luxurious *domus*-like home of the *praepositus* and his family to more practical activities, such as furniture construction. His explanation is plausible, for he uses the low frequency of coin finds and the high proportion of serving vessels amongst the artefacts to create a picture of the *praepositi* no longer maintaining their position through a Mediterranean model of social superiority and turning to a more personal model of social patronage that included regular feasting with their men. It would have been more convincing though, if Collins had produce some form of parallel evidence showing this new model in action. Furthermore, Dodd (Chapter 10) studies how aristocratic Roman families in post-Roman Gaul, fractured by the borders of the small barbarian kingdoms and weakened by the lack of opportunity for advancement, latched onto local bishoprics as their best source for status, because of the opportunities for patronage the position provided. Dodd vividly highlights the cut and thrust of local church-*civitas* politics, but he may be overly insistent on a break with the Roman past, since the family allegiance and nepotism he observes operating in post-Roman Gaul had also existed in the Roman Imperial period. He implies that Roman Imperial society had been more meritocratic than it was.

Cornwell's contribution (Chapter 4) is the most successful at creating the 'puzzle-like overview' (p. xvii) promised by the editors. She studies how king M. Julius Cottius integrated himself and his family into the Imperial administration under Augustus, in order to maintain his control over two passes through the Alps. Cornwell focuses on Cottius and his successors' cunning use of Latin and other symbols not only to solidify their new place within the empire, but also to enhance the idea of dynastic continuity locally. These

symbols largely took the form of traditional Roman acts of euergetism that effectively monumentalised the roads connecting the region to the rest of the empire. The most notable example is the Arch of Augustus at Segusio with its inscription juxtaposing Cottius' title of *praefectus civitatium* to his father's title of *rex* and with its narrative frieze of togate figures engaging in a Roman ceremony likely representing the 14 *civitates* of Cottius' prefecture.

Other chapters were less successful, however. Langerwerf's (Chapter 5) fails to demonstrate that Pausanias had followed a consistent philosophy of Greek history in the writing of his Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος. While she certainly shows that Pausanias blamed the quarrelsomeness of the Greeks for their loss of freedom to the Romans, the vocabulary and situations of Books 4 and 7 are not close enough to prove her main point that Pausanias intended the Messenian account of Book 4 to reinforce his narrative of the defeat of the Achaean League in Book 7. Zaccaro (Chapter 2), meanwhile, presents a section of her dissertation illuminating the transition – as described by Paul Veyne – of the aristocratic model of behaviour from 'competitive' in the Republican period to 'service' in the imperial period (p. 22). Her method is to track the change in the value of πραότης in eastern Greek communities from neutral and even negative in the Classical period to an 'indispensable' (p. 27) virtue under the Romans. Zaccaro argues that this linguistic shift is based on a broader merger of the ethics of familial and public life towards the common goal of creating order through harmony. But, while she shows the shift in usage well enough in literature, she only discusses five inscriptions from two cities. The objective of the page-long epigraphic analysis is to show that the inscriptions employ πραότης as a virtue in both familial and political contexts as Plutarch does in his writings. To establish that such a fundamental shift in aristocratic values did occur, however, her discourse analysis needs to be more detailed and it needs to be supplemented by quantitative analyses tracking all epigraphic usages of πραότης from the Classical to Roman eras. The hope is that Zaccaro develops this interesting line of inquiry into a fuller study.

The most problematic paper, unfortunately, is that of the editors (Chapter 7). From what I can gather from the introduction, this paper is one step in a larger project 'to underline certain aspects of the self-representation of power at the provincial level' (p. 115). It analyses 41 votive dedications and seven funerary monuments found in the *praetorium consularis* of Apulum, Dacia. The authors observe that officials of the governor's staff dedicated the former and that military officials predominate in the latter, but, beyond picking off some tangential points based on onomastics and the location of the finds, the authors do not go any further in their analysis, partly because of the limited number of inscriptions and partly because they limit comparison to the governor's seat at Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior. It is a shame that these two ancient historians made their study so narrow. Moreover, there is poor grammar and vague language, which is a recurrent problem throughout the whole book. To give just one example, they conclude that 'the artifacts suggest a rather impressive power centre here, where imperial and local power was displayed' (p. 122). Normally, such a juxtaposition would imply that 'imperial' refers to the governor, his staff and the army and 'local' to the indigenous leadership and population of the region, but that cannot be the case here, since the authors are so focused on the *praetorium*. 'Local' in the chapter almost seems to be an artefact from another part of their larger project.

In the end, the quality of the contributions is less consistent than is typical even for edited volumes. What this volume does well is demonstrate potential, the potential of studying Roman provincial histories and the potential of the early-career scholars working in this field.

York University, Toronto C.D. Dawson

A. Verlinde, *The Roman Sanctuary Site at Pessinus from Phrygian to Byzantine Times*, Monographs on Antiquity 7, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2015, xx+436 pp., illustrations, 4 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3056-8

This book is an updated version of the doctoral thesis presented by Angelo Verlinde at the University of Ghent in 2012. It is based on the excavations at Pessinus conducted by that university in two stages, first of all from 1967 to 1973 under the direction of Pieter Lambrechts, and then a second series from 1987 to 2008 by John Devreker. The present volume follows after the conclusion of the second phase. It is concerned with the remains at the centre of the ancient settlement, where there is a forward projecting 'promontory' which overlooks the River Gallos that runs through the ancient town and commands a strategic view up and down the river valley. It discusses the remains on the top of this area (sector B) and immediately to the west (sector H).

The first chapter gives an account of the history and geography of Pessinus, its association with the cult of Cybele as mother goddess, its incorporation into the Lydian kingdom and then the Persian empire, the establishment, in the 3rd century BC, of the Galatians immediately to the east, and the strange incident of the Sibylline prophecy which predicted victory for the Romans over Hannibal if the *baetylus* of Cybele was taken to Rome and her cult established there. Then Pessinus came under the influence of Pergamum, leading eventually to the establishment of a local dynasty, to the incorporation of Pessinus into the Roman empire and its subsequent history.

The second chapter discusses the original remains on the 'promontory' site, Chapter 3 the colonnaded square in sector H. Chapter 4 is concerned with the foundations of the Roman temple constructed at the top of sector B, Chapter 5 with the temple's superstructure. Chapter 6 is concerned with the stairway approach and adjacent theatre-like seating area west of the temple (after the destruction of the colonnaded square). Chapter 7 considers the cult and dedication of the temple, Chapter 8 its subsequent renovation, Chapter 9 the decline of the sanctuary. The final chapter is devoted to an interesting account of the stone used in the sanctuary, both limestone and marble. An appendix gives a catalogue list of the surviving architectural elements.

This cannot have been an easy site to excavate. A general view (fig. 5) of the temple area, a view taken from the minaret of the neighbouring mosque, gives a fair idea of its complexity. Structures succeed each other over a long period of time and were then subject to extensive removal of the more portable and reusable stonework.

The earliest period comprised a fortress, a circuit of walls dating back to the 4th century BC. These were built in the usual technique of an outer and inner face of worked stone with a rubble fill. V. calls this emplekton, but that term seems to imply a more unusual form of structure, and I still prefer the explanation I proposed for this some 60 years ago in *JHS* 81 (1961, 133–40).

V. argues that by the 2nd century BC the citadel was occupied by the palace residence of a local dynasty. To this also belongs the courtyard square below the citadel on its west side, its northerly edge supported by a terrace wall above the Gallos. The remains of this were not well preserved and its full dimensions were not clear. The courtyard itself measured 24.14 m wide on the eastern side, where the stylobate of its colonnade was fully preserved. The northern side was 'at least' 16.04 m. It was flanked by Ionic columns to the east, west and south, while the north side had taller Doric columns. There is no actual trace of an entrance which would have been on the south side, possibly at its centre, though the reconstructed plan and view (figs. 53 and 54) show entrances at either end of this side.

The original excavators called this the Agora. V. rightly rejects this: it is too small and has none of the auxiliary features which would have existed in an agora. Its purpose is therefore uncertain, possibly a *palaistra*/exercise ground attached to the dynastic residence in the citadel above. It probably dated to the mid-2nd century BC and was destroyed by fire in the 1st.

The temple replaced the earlier structures on the citadel and can be dated to the end of the 1st century BC/beginning of the 1st century AD. Its limestone foundations are relatively well preserved thanks to their construction in the most part of large blocks of stone, too heavy to be robbed. On the other hand, the marble superstructure has gone completely and only scattered fragments of it were found. The foundations comprise three separate rectangles: the outer, formed from relatively irregular stonework, measures 35 × 21.7 m. Within this is the foundation for the peripteral colonnade, 24.1 × 13.7 m, the spacing from the outer rectangle being 4 m to north, east and south and 7 m to the west. Within this is the foundation for the cella and porch, 17.2 × 9.1 m. The cella was originally nearly square with a deep porch, but this was altered by removing the doorway wall and replacing it with another wall to the west, reducing the depth of the porch. The stylobate foundation comprises substantial square piers, which would have supported the columns, the spaces between them being filled with less substantial masonry. The surviving fragments of marble suggest an outer series of steps, which extend inwards from the surviving outer foundation. There is no evidence for the form – especially any paving – of the resulting platform up to the stylobate. On the stylobate, V. argues convincingly for a plan of 6 × 11 Corinthian columns, the central intercolumniation at either end being wider than the normal one.

There are two candidates for the cult of the temple. It could have been a temple of Cybele, though there is no evidence to support this, and it derives simply from the known importance of Cybele and her worshippers at Pessinus, including the request for the cult symbol by the Romans during the second Punic War. That the 'promontory' site of the temple forms a defining point of the ancient city is clear enough, but that is all – there is no evidence for the practice of the cult there, and Cybele's sanctuary could be anywhere within the city limits.

The second is that the temple was a Sebasteion, in honour of Augustus. Again, there is no evidence for the cult itself, but this interpretation is more plausible and is strongly supported by V. First of all, the promontory as the site of the stronghold/residence of the Hellenistic ruling dynasty of Pessinus makes the substitution in Roman times of the cult of the emperor a natural development, while, secondly, its architecture may also support this. V. gives a full and convincing account of the temple's form, based on the foundation plan

and the (admittedly scanty) elements of the superstructure. The temple is clearly set on a significantly larger platform, stepped, with the lowest step resting on the outermost rectangle of substructure, and any further steps (nothing of which is preserved) on the rubble fill between this outer rectangle and the foundations of the peripteral colonnade (V. restores four further steps). Within this the actual temple foundation appears to belong to a single phase, apart from the change in the position of the back wall of the porch. Pensabene suggested that the peristasis belonged to a second construction phase,[1] but this is (rightly) rejected by V. Looking at V.'s plan of the foundations (fig. 67 and pl. 1) I wondered whether the cella, with its original west wall, was at first a free-standing square structure, but V. states that this wall was firmly bonded into the north and south side walls which would prove a single phase of construction for the cella and its original porch. It would have been helpful to have had a drawing of all the courses of these foundation walls, which would also have helped illustrate the distinctive form of their construction. We must therefore accept that platform, peristasis and cella/porch foundations represent a single phase of construction (modified only for the porch) and reveal the original plan. This plan, a fully peripteral temple standing on a significantly larger platform is similar to the Sebasteion at Ancyra/Ankara, and this, it seems to me, supports the identification of the Pessinus temple also as a Sebasteion, influenced by its neighbour.

For the reconstruction of the temple as well as the colonnaded square V. makes frequent reference to the design concepts and proportions recommended by Vitruvius. At times it might seem that the architects at Pessinus worked with copies of the *De Architectura* in the pockets of their togas. V. most usefully gives details of monuments and plans of other temples in Asia Minor built and designed under the Roman empire. He lists, in table 4. 3, 39 examples, one of which is the Pessinus temple re-imagined in conformance with the precepts of Vitruvius 4. 4. 1. However, it seems to me that this is not so much a series of temples influenced by Vitruvius as evidence for the continuation in Asia Minor of a distinctive Hellenistic tradition, and that Vitruvius' theories come rather from the ideas promoted by the authors of Hellenistic handbooks on architecture written in Greek – Hermogenes in particular – and which architects in Roman Asia Minor would have followed rather than the Latin texts of Vitruvius.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

K. Waldner, R. Gordon and W. Spickermann (eds.), *Burial Rituals, Ideas of Afterlife, and The Individual in the Hellenistic World and the Roman Empire*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 57, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, 264 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11546-9

Throughout history, individuals as well as (religious) communities have time and again tried to come to terms with and respond to the momentous situation of dying as well as concepts of an afterlife. Reflecting upon these topics from a wide variety of different angles, this has over time resulted in a plethora of approaches on a cultic and ritual level (burial

[1] P. Pensabene, 'Non stelle ma il sole. Il contributo della planimetria e della decorazione architettonica alla definizione del santuario di Cibele a Pessinunte'. *ArchCl* 55 (2004), 83–143.

rites and funerary rituals, cults of the dead, etc.) that form a fertile ground for in-depth and wide-ranging research by diverse scholarly disciplines.

This volume, dedicated to the late Professor of Ancient History at Erfurt University, Veit Rosenberger (1963–2016), contains 11 studies presented at an international conference on this topic in September 2012 in Erfurt. The scholarly background of the contributors (archaeology, ancient history, religious studies, Greek studies and Egyptology) is as diverse as the many and various ways in which both individual and societies on the shores of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman era tried to understand the process of dying, subsequent burial, and what might lie beyond.[1] Despite the great diversity of subject-matter and approaches, the individual and his particular choices in response to life's ending, placed within the larger context of relations with other individuals and (religious) groups as well as the local cultural environment, lie at the core of each study.

The volume contains three sections. Opening with 'From Homer to Lucian – Poetics of the Afterlife', the first four articles focus on the use of poetics to reflect on ideas and concepts of death and the afterlife in ancient Greece and Rome. Ordered chronologically, I cannot help but feel that the very last article in this section – W. Spickermann, 'Tod und Jenseits bei Lukian von Samosata und Tatian' (pp. 67–81) – should have featured as the opening essay to the entire volume. In his contribution Spickermann provides an overview of references to concepts of death and the afterlife in the works of Lucian of Samosata, with a focus on his cynical diatribe *De luctu*. Lucian takes the traditional ideas and beliefs of death and the underworld *ad absurdum* and clearly pinpoints the discrepancy between what individuals and societies believe and what one actually knows of the afterlife – in essence, nothing at all. Nevertheless, mankind has always tried to deal with this (lack of) information. The remaining ten studies in the volume provide an indication of the various approaches undertaken in Hellenistic and Roman times by the individual and/or communities in order to bring some understanding to this enigma.

The three other articles in the first section consist of specific case studies of poetic texts that express ideas of death and the afterlife, whether in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and its relation to the development of afterlife concepts in Archaic Greece (K. Matijević, pp. 15–29), the high degree of individualism present in the description of the netherworld on the Orphic gold leaves from Sicily and Magna Graecia in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods (J.N. Bremmer, pp. 31–51), or remarkable metrical grave inscriptions from the 1st–3rd centuries AD that provide an insight into the beyond by focusing on what it is not – i.e. *per negationem* (M. Obryk, pp. 53–66).

The four studies that compromise the second section – 'Individual Elaborations in the Roman Empire' – provide case studies of individuals (but also small communities) making personal choices within existing conventions, by selectively appropriating, adapting and/or (partly) ignoring existing traditions related to death, burial and the afterlife. Evidence of this practice can be traced in the archaeological record (for example, the rather uncommon practice of burying young male and female adults upside down detected in the vicinity of the St Gereon church in Cologne during the first four centuries AD; C. Höpken, pp. 83–108),

[1] For a similar approach (but excluding Egypt and the ancient Near East), see now also F.S. Tappenden and C. Daniel-Hughes (eds.), *Coming Back to Life: The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortality, Death and Life in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Montreal 2017).

but also in funerary inscriptions. This can, for instance, be observed in the limited number of occurrences of the private deification of almost exclusively freedwomen in Latin grave inscriptions found only in Rome and immediate environs during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (V. Rosenberger, pp. 109–23). Similarly, funerary inscriptions of followers of the Isis cult deriving from all corners of the Roman empire indicate the personal and selective manner in which each individual adopted Egyptian ideas and concepts regarding the afterlife (V. Gasparini, pp. 125–50). In contrast, the final contribution of this section makes the important observation that the great diversity and even apparent contradictions found in Egyptian afterlife concepts from Ptolemaic and Roman times can still be retraced to a coherent system that predates the Hellenistic age (M.A. Stadler, pp. 151–66).

The three studies in the final section – 'Making a Difference: Groups and Their Claims' – focus on some specific aspects of funerary practices and afterlife beliefs of three major religious communities in the empire: Judaism, Christianity and Mithraism. While the early Jewish apocalyptic texts refer to an imaginary common meal in the beyond with the aim to strengthen community bonds and create a group identity (C.D. Bergmann, pp. 167–88), one observes concomitantly an ongoing process of individualisation hand-in-hand with a growing importance of group identity (instead of the family) in the funerary culture and afterlife beliefs in early Christian times (A. Merkt, pp. 189–206). Finally, as the cult of Mithras never provided followers with clear-cut information on the beyond, it was ultimately up to the individual to draw his own conclusions and to the family of the deceased to take on the responsibility for and decide the exact nature of the burial – often bound to local customs and traditions as wells as social status (R. Gordon, pp. 207–40).

Overall, the varied approaches to death and the afterlife considered in this volume represent, as stated by the editors in their Introduction, but a mere glimpse of the manifold strategies in existence throughout the Mediterranean region in Hellenistic and Roman times. The volume does not claim to offer an overall or in-depth view of these strategies and approaches – a feat that lies far beyond the scope of a single book – but the 11 essays nevertheless provide a thought-provoking insight into the multiple and diverse manners by which individuals and religious communities dealt with questions that are as old as mankind itself. At the same time it forces the reader to confront these issues too – both as a scholar of (ancient) society, but also as an individual in the present day.

Charles University, Prague Filip Coppens

M.W. Waters, *Ctesias'* Persica *and Its Near Eastern Context*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison/London 2017, xii+159 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-299-31090-5

During the past decade and a half research into Ctesias and the *Persica* has been conducted, with few exceptions, in a careful and sober fashion: two editions accompanied by precise translations and detailed introductory matter/notes (Lenfant; Stronk), and detailed examination of aspects of the Ctesian corpus in the Harrassowitz series *Classica et Orientalia*. Now Matt Waters, familiar with the Classical tradition, and long experienced in the language, literature and archaeological records for the ancient Near East, supplements the study of Ctesias by placing the *Persica* in a Near Eastern context, so doing with rational

suggestions, ever-aware of the many difficulties and uncertainties in the transmission and reconstruction of the Ctesian text. The 'Herodots Korrector' takes his proper 'place as an innovator in the genre of romance writing' (p. 104), his composition a 'Hellenized rendering of Mesopotamian and Iranian traditions' (p. 103).

W.'s Introduction (pp. 3–19) presents the hybrid author and his hybrid work, fed by many traditions. With the exception of P.Oxy 2330, which may reflect a manuscript, Ctesias is transmitted by later authorities, who may have shaped the narrative to reflect their own interests in writing. Ctesias, present at the Achaemenid court in some capacity, may have had some facility for the language(s) used at court (I call to mind the *Datis-Lied*), but his putative consultation of official records holds value at most for its embarrassing Herodotus. The oral traditions to which Ctesias was exposed shaped his content and W. sets out to examine four 'case studies' placing Ctesias in that Near Eastern context.

Ctesias' presentation of the eunuch (pp. 20–44) is the first case study. Ctesias introduced the 'employment of eunuchs as liminal figures' into prose (p. 20). They complemented Greek perceptions of the alien and Ctesias' own interest in 'opposites and inversion', an interest heavily emphasised in Byzantine Photius' epitome. Present for literary purposes, the eunuch's precise physical and administrative qualities cannot be defined with certainty. W. provides a synthesis of previous investigations (now accessible to the more general reader) and makes the welcome suggestion that untrustworthy eunuch-like entities can be found in the court of Assurbanipal's enemy. A census of eunuchs, named and unnamed, is provided and then divided into 'thematic registers' (influence, access/interceder, treacherous, faithful, none of the above). Although the eunuch's status remains intractable, I suggest drawing some insight from Hephaestus' workshop: The eunuch can be seen as a sort of robot, its construction beyond the capabilities of the *polis*, always present in a realm of luxury and decay, and subject to malfunctioning to various degrees and for various amounts of time.

Semiramis (pp. 45–57), the second case study, is Ctesias filtered through Diodorus (here Jan Stronk's work on Diodorus will have value).[1] Ctesias' version was his own creation, a model warrior queen based in part on the legends surrounding Sargon of Akkad, his qualities a model for kings who followed (or to be expected). To the Sargon core Ctesias adds 'gender opposition and inversion', Semiramis becoming a figure enveloping both Sargon and Ishtar (pp. 58–59). W. provides a succinct account of the Sargon and Semiramis stories (chart, pp. 52–53), proceeding to a comparison of the two traditions, representing Near Eastern parallels and precedents.

The figure of Cyrus (pp. 60–77) was the subject of many traditions, which Waters sets into order. The Ctesian, reworked to an unknown degree by Nicolaus of Damascus, is marked by a desire to correct Herodotus. Cyrus himself was king of Anshan – unconnected with Median nobility (pp. 61–63). Nabonidus' Sippar Cylinder (pp. 65–67) refers to Cyrus as Marduk's young servant. Again, no tie to Median nobility (*cf.* p. 122, nn. 19, 20). And without the Herodotean use of miraculous elements, the Cyrus story is one tracing a young man's 'ambition and perseverance' (p. 65) to rise from pavement to penthouse (*cf. Suda s.v.* Basileia: deeds, not descent). Cyrus is later joined by Oibaras, possessing the

[1] J.P. Stronk, *Semiramis' Legacy: The History of Persia according to Diodorus of Sicily* (Edinburgh 2016).

Cyrus-like qualities of bravery and discernment, encouraging him as Enkidu did Gilgamesh, and sharing in his victory over Media. The remaining portions of the Cyrus story are given in the Photius epitome, including a curious suicide by Oibaras, Cyrus' Median bride (Amytis prefiguring relentless Parysatis?).

The fourth set of case studies (pp. 78–100) are Ctesias' adaptations of Near Eastern traditions, all of which dovetail with his perception of the Achaemenid empire: snobbery, decay, moral turpitude. The deterioration began with Ninyas, whose rotation of military forces increased the illusory grandeur of the monarchy, but not his visibility to all. Waters makes reasonable suggestions about the role the warrior goddesses Ishtar and Anahita (with whom Ishtar was syncretised) played in Assurbanipal's and later the Achaemenid court, one deserving further investigation (in the 2nd century AD, Nana – syncretised with Ishtar/Anahita – was the source of Kushan kingship). The destruction of Assyria during the time of useless Sardanapalus is brought about by the hero-helper pair Arbakes and Belesys, whose discussion beneath the walls of Nineveh find their parallel in Mesopotamian literature (as does the Cyrus-Oibaras exchange). The tale of the Herculean (or Ninurtan) Parsondes, known for virtue and intelligence, suffering at the hands Nanaros reflects again Ctesias' interest in gender reversal (with parallels from both Greek and Near Eastern legend). Parsondes may have served as a literary precursor to Cyrus in royal heroic qualities – quite reasonable (pp. 86–91). The story of Zarinaia and Stryangaios is notable for the strong emotions assigned by Ctesias to the lovelorn hero, and may have a Near Eastern parallel in weeping Assurbanipal approaching Ishtar (pp. 91–94). The tale of Megabyzus, a near contemporary, was rendered by Ctesias heroic to the Greek world. A descendant from the Seven, who played a key political/military role over 50 years, his deeds and nobility of character were counterbalanced by the potential threat his status posed to the existing royal family, even beyond his own lifetime.

When Ctesias goes on to recount contemporary events, the qualities of his narrative are repeated: inversion, excess, the feminine and exotic. Unlike Ctesias', W.'s study has much to recommend it for those investigating the history and literatures of the Near Eastern and Hellenic worlds, different worlds but not always worlds apart.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

B.D. Wescoat, with contributions by C. Arnold-Biucchi, S.L. Bevins, S. Dillon *et al.*, *The Monuments of the Eastern Hill*, Samothrace 9: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 2017, 2 vols. Text: xli+478 pp.; Plates: ix+108 pp. of plates inc. fold-outs. Cased. ISBN 978-0-87661-850-9

In this volume Bonna Wescoat, the present director of the Samothrace excavations, studies and publishes the results of excavations conducted by her predecessor, James McCredie. The Eastern Hill with its monuments lies between the Propylon erected by Ptolemy II and the valley which is the location for the main part of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. It is traversed by the road, the Sacred Way, that leads through the Propylon into the Sanctuary from the ancient town of Samothrace itself. Its buildings and other elements are therefore the first part of the sacred area encountered by worshippers as they made their way into the Sanctuary. It begins with a flat area, the 'Theatral Circle' which seems to have originated as

a widening of the road. It was then, at the end of the 5th or early in the 4th century BC, surrounded by three concentric circular rows of steps from which spectators could stand and view whatever activities took place within the circle itself. Originally the Sacred Way led through these steps but with a major remodelling in the first part of the 4th century the gap between the sections of steps was blocked and the road diverted outside to the north. At this point two extra rows of steps were created above the original third row.

Above this a rectangular building was erected on top of the hill and the now abandoned course of the Sacred Way. It was constructed from trachyte field stones rather than quarried blocks, but was important enough to be given painted decoration inside on its plastered walls, fragments of which were found, showing that the decorative system was in an architectural style.

This building was shortly replaced by a far more magnificent rectangular hall with a hexastyle Doric porch. Two blocks of its architrave are perfectly preserved which carry the first part of its dedicatory inscription, indicating that it was the gift of 'The kings Philip…'. Though only a few small fragments of the remainder of the architrave are preserved it is clear, and argued cogently by W. that the kings in the plural could only be Philip Arrhidaios and the young Alexander IV, the successors of Alexander the Great, and the building therefore dated to the brief period of their dual reign, 323 to 317 BC.

Architecturally this is the most important, and in many ways the most interesting of the structures on the Eastern Hill. Its purpose and function, presumably as a direct successor of the field stone building, is not clear. With its hexastyle prostyle porch, together with the dedicatory inscription, it is essentially similar to the Treasuries erected by individual communities in the major sanctuaries of the Greek world and certainly by the time it was erected the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace was aspiring to that status. However, W. points out that there is no sign of sculpture or anything else requiring a substantial base within the building. Moreover, it is situated away from the main area of the Sanctuary, and is clearly placed to look over the theatral area, and its function presumably the same as the field stone building it replaced in an offering of good will by, or at least in the names of the joint Macedonian kings. W. considers the various actual successors of Alexander the Great who might have been behind it, from Antipater onwards but this must remain uncertain.

This building was destroyed in a major earthquake in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD. The south-east corner of its façade fell into the theatral circle, where many of the blocks were left, though others were salvaged for further use. The excavators collected the fallen and displaced stones, and from them the original form could be described. One curious element of the design is immediately apparent: while the prostyle porch and steps, with the return to the antae, and including the antae themselves were in Pentelic marble the walls behind this façade were of Thasian marble. W. gives a careful analysis of the techniques employed in the erection of all this, from which she was able to discover that the two parts show distinct variations in the technology of manipulating and placing the individual blocks in their required positions, and from this she deduces that not only was there the difference of material but that there were two distinct groups of workmen involved for each part separately, presumably Athenians working the Pentelic marble while masons from Thasos worked the Thasian stone. Even so, there must have been a single designing architect, presumably Athenian, though Bonna Wescoat notes the suggestion I made at the third Macedonian Symposion of possible Peloponnesian architectural influences on Macedonian construction.

There were subsequent additions to the architecture and arrangement of the area. Most noticeable would have been the construction on the immediate approach of the Sacred Way of the Propylon of Ptolemy II, published by Alfred Frasier in a previous volume of the Samothrace series. This afforded a revelatory view of the theatral circle and its steps and, dominating it, the Dedication of Philip and Alexander, with a wide stairway leading down to them. Also additional and discussed in the present study is an Ionic tetrastyle porch, added to the back of the Dedication but with no actual doorway, it would seem, leading into it. Far less of its remains survive and some details of it are obscure. It was built mainly of Thasian marble, though the (fragmentary) Ionic capitals are Proconnesian. It had a particularly elaborately decorated coffered ceiling. Other details are less certain, particularly the form of its roof, whether the façade was capped with a pediment or not, alternatives being a hipped or a pent (shed) roof. Wescoat gives possible parallels, the Stoa of the Athenians below the terrace wall of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and my restoration of the pent roof on the Perachora fountain house which, as the probable work of Demetrius Poliorcetes, may have a Macedonian connection, but neither of these is really similar to the small porch structure at Samothrace. A pedimental roof seems more likely. Its purpose is even more obscure than that of the Dedication Building, for it turns its back, as it were, on the theatral area and would be visible rather to people returning to the city from the main sanctuary. As with the Dedication Building there is no evidence to suggest what it contained or housed, though the elaborate ceiling indicates some importance.

A second addition to the complex consists of a line of platforms above the steps of the theatral area and following the same curved form. These begin with separate segments which are gradually extended to join up to form a single curved rim. These are not steps but served as support for a series of individual statue bases of Thasian marble on which bronze statues were erected. From the marks on the tops of the bases for the feet it is clear the statues were of males. The statues themselves probably fell in the earthquake and were then taken for scrap – only the slightest fragments of the statues themselves were found, patches and eyelid plates. The earliest platform was constructed shortly after the Dedication of Philip and Alexander was built, the last one before the end of the 2nd century BC. The bases do not carry names or dedications for the statues, which do not seem to have been commemorative. From the final completed appearance of them in their circular lines above the viewing steps they seem to constitute a series of a perennial and perpetual audience for whatever ritual was transacted in the theatral area itself.

Altogether, this book presents a very full and thorough study of the remains found in this area. Along with the catalogues of finds – pottery, terracotta figurines, coins, metal objects, inscriptions on stone, stone objects and glass, compiled by her collaborators – W. supplies detailed listed and numbered descriptions of all the individual architectural fragments collected to form the basis of her account.

This is an important account of a distinct part of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The area obviously played a specific role in the functioning of the Sanctuary and its Mysteries, presumably an essential preliminary before passing over the Eastern Hill into the main area, and also, to judge from the Ionic porch, on leaving. What that ritual comprised cannot be reconstructed on the available evidence, but even so, thanks to W.'s convincing study of the remains we now have a full understanding of what the area comprised.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

C. Whately, *Exercitus Moesiae*: *The Roman Army in Moesia from Augustus to Severus Alexander*, BAR International Series 2825, BAR Publishing, Oxford 2016, vii+124 pp., 5 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1475-4

This revised MA thesis (McMaster University, 2005) argues that long-term planning seen in a provincial army's composition and deployment of units can explain strategy on the Lower Danube. Readers pressed for time will find the work's essence (parts recycled verbatim) in five pages of a 2015 *acta*.[1] Independent calls for examination of provincial armies from M.P. Speidel and S. James[2] prompt using Moesia as a case study for the Roman strategy debate, limited here largely to the views of E. Luttwak, K. Kagan, J. Wilkes, R. Batty and this reviewer.[3] Unsurprising conclusions assert (pp. 85–87): the composition of provincial armies was not static; provincial armies had to respond to low-intensity warfare and provide internal security, thus more *auxilia* rather than legions on frontiers; fortifications indicate concern for external threats; and troops deployments can inform about strategy. Of the scholars named only Wilkes's contention of static provincial garrisons is rebutted. This problematic monograph would have benefited from observing the old adage to let the sleeping dogs (of past work) lie.

First, conceptual issues. For specialists the title designating a single Moesian army for a province divided into Superior and Inferior *ca.* AD 85/86 immediately raises eyebrows. Conor Whately views Moesia Superior as part of the Lower Danube frontier. Geography suggests otherwise. That southern spur of the Carpathians extending across the Danube into modern Serbia and Bulgaria, dramatically emphasised by the Iron Gates Gorge, separates the Middle from the Lower Danube. A superficial discussion of the area's physical geography (pp. 2–3) ignores the elephant in the room. Móscy's classic study of the Middle Danubian Moesia Superior and Pannonia rightly excludes Moesia Inferior.[4] Moesia Superior naturally fits with Pannonia and the mountainous portions of Dacia rather than

[1] 'Dispositions and Strategy in the Moesias from Trajan to Commodus'. In L. Vagalinski and N. Sharankov (eds.), *Limes XXII* (Sofia 2015), 137–43.

[2] M.P. Speidel, 'Work to be done on the Organization of the Roman Army'. *BullLondon* 26 (1989), 102 (= *Roman Army Studies* II [Stuttgart 1992], 16); S. James, 'Writing the Legions: The Development and Future of Roman Military Studies in Britain'. *AntJ* 159 (2002), 38–39: James's manifesto of the value of the 'new archaeology' for Roman army studies – views scarcely shared by all Roman army historians.

[3] E. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century CE to the Third* (Baltimore 1976); K. Kagan, 'Redefining Roman Grand Strategy'. *Journal of Military History* 70 (2006), 333–62; J. Wilkes, 'The Roman Danube: An Archaeological Survey'. *JRS* 95 (2005), 124–225; R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (Oxford 2007); E. Wheeler: 'Methodological Limits and the Mirage of Roman Strategy, Parts I–II'. *Journal of Military History* 57 (1993), 7–41, 214–40; 'Rome's Dacian Wars: Domitian, Trajan, and Strategy on the Danube, Part I'. *Journal of Military History* 74 (2010), 1185–1227; 'Part II'. 75 (2011), 191–219, 614–16 (corrections to nn. 114, 181, 183, 184, unknown to Whately); 'Roman Fleets in the Black Sea: Mysteries of the *classis Pontica*'. *Acta Classica* 55 (2012), 119–54. On the banality of Kagan's views, which Whately takes seriously, see Wheeler 2011, 614-15 n. 114. Luttwak's revised edition (2016) of the 1976 work rebuts many criticisms, although some of his problematic views (especially on Late Roman frontiers) remain based on now outdated scholarship.

[4] A. Móscy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London 1974).

the plains of Oltenia and Wallachia opposite Moesia Inferior. Such misconceptions extend to W.'s overlooking fluctuations in the borders of the two Moesias in areas north of the Danube under Trajan and Hadrian and encampments of legions and *auxilia* accordingly. His rigid 'snapshots' of troop locations for specific periods ignore the fluidity of troop movements in major wars.

Indeed W. misses basic points: for military and administrative purposes Rome created 'Moesia', originally a vague geographical designation and not a major ethnic term. The original Moesia, a *provincia* in the sense of a military command in AD 6, was improvised for strategic needs. A regular consular province of that name began only under Tiberius or Claudius. But W., fixated on army units, has no interest in governors, formal provincial boundaries or the thorny question of why Rome chose the term 'Moesia' (pp. 11–12). The change in Rome's strategic orientation to the Danube from the south, where under the Republic Macedonia provided the operational base, to Illyricum and the west from Augustus on is omitted, besides the expected role of the client-kingdom Thrace to help guard the Lower Danube and the Greek cities of the Black Sea coast.

Further, the concept of provincial armies as distinct entities, if initially enticing, may be more scholarly construct than reality. Splintering the Roman army into provincial armies and denying its unity reflect the primitivising agenda of some theoretically inspired archaeologists, preferring local fragmentation to any sort of centralised control. Space precludes detailed discussion. Terms like *exercitus Moesicus* or *exercitus Syriacus*, conveniently used in literary sources like Tacitus to reflect the geographical or administrative origin of a particular army, find little support in inscriptions, where specific units, not provincial armies are named. Even in texts of *vexillationes*, a possible exception, specific units or the geographical location of the *vexillatio* predominate.[5] A late Hadrianic '*exercitus*' coin series includes an *exercitus Moesicus*, but excludes the two Pannonian armies and does not distinguish the two Germanies and two Mauretanias.[6] So far as known, provincial armies, not regularly assembled as a whole for joint exercises, only concentrated for actual operations. A *miles*' loyalty and identity lay with his unit rather than the more abstract provincial army. Only bids for the purple (for example Septimius Severus and the Pannonian legions) created a broader provincial identity and positing any regional identity has its problems.[7] W., uninterested in these issues, assumes rather than justifies the validity of his title's *exercitus Moesiae*. Thus comparison of the two Moesian armies to draw conclusions about a common Moesian army (p. 82) is dubious: they faced different opponents under distinct geographical circumstances. A broader perspective including the Pannonias and Dacia would have been more

[5] *Exercitus* Moesicus: Tac. *Hist.* 2. 86. 3; 3. 2. 3 (plural), 5. 1, 9. 2; a brickstamp from Balaklava (*L'Année Épigraphique* 1998.1163b, late 2nd/3rd cenntury) reads *V*(*exillatio*) *E*(*xercitus*) *M*(*oesiae*/*oesici*), probably an abbreviated form of the more typical *VEMI* = *V*(*exillatio*) *E*(*xercitus*) *M*(*oesiae*) *I*(*nferioris*): see T. Sarnowski and V. Zubar, 'Römische Besatzungstruppen auf der Südkrim und eine Bauinschrift aus dem Kastell Charax'. *ZPE* 112 (1996), 234 n. 35; *exercitus Syriacus*: Tac. *Hist.* 2. 8. 2; e.g. *ILS* 9168: *ex vexil*(*latione*) *sagit*(*tariorum*) *exer*(*citus*) *Syriaci.*

[6] References and brief discussion at E. Wheeler, 'The Occasion of Arrian's *Tactica*'. *GRBS* 19 (1978), 352 with nn. 7–8.

[7] *Cf.* J. Eadie, 'One Hundred Years of Rebellion: The Eastern Army in Politics, A.D. 175–272'. In D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (Ann Arbor 1996), 135–51.

profitable, although W.'s concern for defending Batty's emphasis on internal security permits little attention to the factor of external threats.

The perfunctory Introduction treats geography, sources, scholarship on the Roman army and the author's purpose (pp. 1–8). For a monograph series like BAR, one expects work pitched at scholars, but the jejune discussion informs the general public, not specialists. Throughout, W. fails to distinguish scholarly from popular publications and grants authority to numerous contributions to recent encyclopaedias and dictionaries for non-scholars, as if *RE* articles. They are not.

'Part I: The Data', the bulk of the work (pp. 11–74), divides into five chapters, of which Chapters 1–3 discuss the legions and *auxilia* in Moesia/Moesia Superior/Inferior for the periods 27 BC–AD 81, AD 81–161 and 161–235. Chapter 4 treats Moesian *vexillationes* at Black Sea sites and Chapter 5 seeks (in vain) to say something new about the location of legions and *auxilia* in the Moesias. Part II, essentially only Chapter 6, presents supposed results of the study. A superfluous Conclusion (pp. 86–87) is unremarkable. Six appendices follow: first, tables of legions and *auxilia* units from his three periods repeated from Chapters 1–3; second, a list of all legions and *auxilia* in Moesia/the Moesias, including their original location, date of arrival on the Danube, the year of their departure and final location. Much here is disputable or inaccurate. Appendices 3–4 list all Moesian *diplomata* (perhaps the most useful part of the book) and all epigraphical, documentary and literary sources. Appendix 5, a banal discussion of *numeri*, omits Reuter.[8] Adequate maps constitute Appendix 6.

Chapters 1–3 follow a common model. A skeletal summary of military activity on the Moesian frontiers (often muddled and confused), essentially W.'s only engagement with external threats, prefaces treatment of legions and *auxilia* in the area under individual emperors. These chapters partially overlap with a very useful 2009 University of Bucharest dissertation.[9] Epigraphical evidence for legions and *auxilia* is not the author's forte. Readers will delight in an extensive, tedious commentary, repeating the known, largely borrowing from others, or arguing the obvious with little new to add, apart from unconvincing speculations. Factual errors and endorsement of antiquated or long-refuted views further discredit the discussion. Space denies detailed exposition.[10] Chapter 4 on *vexillationes* in the Black Sea, thoroughly garbled, cannot be recommended. W. scarcely understands the complexities of the area or even the Roman lines of command. Nor does the reader fare better with the supposed conclusions. A case for internal security over external threats hardly convinces, when the opposing side of the question is not examined and no new evidence for justifying the preference for internal security is offered.

In sum, it astounds me that the once-distinguished BAR series would accept this work, which very much remains the MA thesis of a student good at collecting original sources and reading *some* of the relevant bibliography, but still lacking a deeper understanding of the topic and the 'big picture' of the theme's context. As W. remarks (p. 66), 'Indeed, a great

[8] M. Reuter, 'Studien zu den *numeri* des Römischen Heeres in der Mittleren Kaiserzeit'. *Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 80 (1999 [2001]), 357–569.

[9] F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior* (Bucharest 2010).

[10] For example, Frau Dr Gabriele Wesch-Klein (and her husband) will be surprised to learn of her change of sex (14, n. 147) – unfortunately typical of other 'howlers' and poor proof-reading.

deal of the discussion will be speculative, though in the absence of additional evidence, it is better to say something than nothing.' For this monograph, however, the opposite could be justifiably argued. Certainly the current *Zeitgeist* of the publication explosion encourages profusion rather than restraint among young scholars and the author's industry can be lauded. But quantity is not quality and sometimes the sleeping dog should be left alone.

Duke University, NC Everett L. Wheeler

U. Wicenciak, *Porphyreon: Hellenistic and Roman Pottery Production in the Sidon Hinterland*, PAM Monograph 7, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2016, 320 pp., illustrations (a few in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-83-942288-4-2

It is always welcome, when someone undertakes the demanding task of publishing and analysing the pottery coming down to us by various excavations and surveys. Especially with regard to the Phoenician Levant we face the problem that much of the ceramic material still is unpublished. One of the sites with considerable gaps in this respect is Sidon/Saida, whereas, for example, Hellenistic and Roman pottery from Berytus/Beirut has been experiencing a number of studies.

Located between these two centres is the Phoenician coastal town of Porphyreon, now Lebanese Jiyeh. As Urszula Wicenciak sketches in her introductory chapter, Jiyeh suffered from extensive destruction during the Lebanese civil war 1975–1990, which also interrupted the Lebanese excavations led by Roger Saidah (1930–1979); the documentation largely got lost. Archaeological research at Porphyreon as well as at the nearby inland village of Chhîm has been resumed by a Lebanese-Polish-French mission since 1997.[1]

W. participated in surveys at both places. The book under review is an updated English translation based on her doctoral dissertation, Warsaw University (2013). It has, in effect, two parts: text and an extensive catalogue. The text itself is supplemented by diagrams, pictures, tables and maps, all of which are of very good quality (only in the case of two maps, figs. 1-1 and 1-2, some may need reading glasses). The topic of the book is the local pottery of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, mainly from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD. Against the background of major gaps in the analysis and interpretation of Levantine ceramics W. aims at establishing a typology and chronology, which she has mastered impressively.

The volume opens with an introductory chapter on geography, the scarce written evidence, an outline of Porphyeon's archaeological topography and finally the history of research. Unfortunately, there are just four written sources mentioning Porphyreon, three of them rather lists with no further details. According to W., the identification of *Gi-'* from an inscription of Asarhaddon (Nin. A III 1, on the campaign of 677 BC) with the Porphyreon of the three classical sources and hence with the site itself seems undebated. The only written source to reveal some information appears slightly imprecise: in the context of Antiochus III's campaigns in Koile Syria, Polybius (5. 68–69) records that in 218 BC the

[1] See also T. Waliszewski, 'Chhîm et Jiyeh de la prospérité au déclin'. *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 350 (2012), 64–69.

Ptolemaic general Nikolaos occupied Porphyreon's hinterland to resist the Seleucid king, but was overcome by him in the same year. The battle mentioned by W. (p. 16) under the direct commands of Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III was not just any battle, but the famous battle of Raphia, fought one year after the events described by Polybius.

The second chapter outlines the 'context, stratigraphy and classification criteria' and hence functions, together with Chapter 1.4.1 on 'site topography', as the background for the following analyses of the ceramic material. Topographically, there are two main areas of evidence, the first being the 'residential quarter' from the Late Roman period (sector D). The second one lies to the north, where a Late Roman necropolis partly overlays a Hellenistic and Early Roman level, identified as a pottery production site (sector B). Apparently, the building of a modern holiday resort was good for the town's economy, but bad for archaeology, as ancient constructions have been destroyed without being properly documented. It is on pottery from this site that the book concentrates. The evidence for the Hellenistic and Roman pottery appears to be very uneven: whereas Hellenistic ceramics seem to have been found in a couple of test pits, Roman pottery is only attested as rubbish from a Roman-period well. Furthermore, as W. notes later in a footnote (p. 97), it may be doubted, whether the site under the later Roman cemetery is indeed a pottery production zone, since most of the sherds found here seem to be waste. She also points to the fact that it is mostly sherds that have been found, hardly any intact pieces. Against this background, the arrangement of the material and the establishment of a typology is a great achievement. The classification criteria, outlined in Chapter 2.2, are both chronological and by category. Broadly, W. distinguishes Late Hellenistic and Early Roman ware, and differentiates between amphorae and kitchen vessels, the latter being subdivided into a couple of 'functional groups' such as cooking vessels, closed vessels for storing liquids, etc.

The core of the book certainly is the typology itself in the subsequent Chapters 3 (Late Hellenistic) and 4 (Early Roman). Following the outline in Chapter 2.3, each chapter starts with a general description, including tables of the percentages of forms, and ends with a summary. Each type is accompanied by a drawing, and throughout there are references to the plates in the second part of the book.[2] The analysis of each type is subdivided into a detailed description, a dating based on parallels from other sites – reaching as far as to the western Mediterranen – and a reference to finds from the residential quarter (sector D). The catalogue contains additional information on the fabric of each piece such as colour, grain size and hardness. Generally, the presentation greatly benefits from the authors's acquaintance with published and especially hitherto unpublished material from other sites, notably from Saida and Chhîm. Throughout the two chapters W. emphasises that some attributions may become modified or developed by further evidence, and occasionally she points to open questions – certainly one of the strengths of the book. In her conclusion to Chapter 4 she notices a break, marked by a standardisation, however alongside with the continuity of previously attested forms.

[2] Running the danger to appear hypercritical, there are (just!) three inconsistent references: in Chapter 3.3.1.1. (p. 44), JY2008/319 (Jiyeh sector D 37; 14) is not to be found on pl. 90 – is JY2008/592 meant?; Chapter 3.3.2.1.4. (p. 51) and pl. 82: JY2009/207 or JY2009/2017?; Chapter 4.3.2.3.1. (p. 95): the illustration for bowl subtype 5.1 is pl. 77, not pl. 57.

The final chapter is devoted to 'Porphyreon's place in the Phoenician hinterland'. Whereas in the Hellenistic period many forms show interdepencies with Sidonian pottery, in Early Roman times Berytus seems to function as the economic centre of the region. The second sub-chapter outlines 'regional connections' with southern Phoenicia. It might be debatable whether it is reasonable to speak of distinct cultural zones, or whether differences of ceramic forms rather attest to different economic and administrative areas. Finally, in Chapter 5.4, W. states the probability of the specialisation of pottery production. Further research on Porphyreon seems to support that view.[3] In a concluding chapter W. mainly gives a summary – stating that the economic and administrative dependencies of Porphyreon are still to be analysed.[4]

To repeat it: the presentation and interpretation of the material in this book is a great achievement, and further ceramic analyses from other Phoenician sites will surely gain much profit from W.'s accuracy.

Saarbrücken, Germany Ulf Scharrer

J. Wiesehöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika: Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire*, Classica et Orientalia 15, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xiii+312 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10764-8/ISSN 2190-3638[1]

The second volume of the 2012 Kiel Conference to be published, *Parthika*, depicts on its cover the ancestral Pugachenkovan reconstruction of the interior of Old Nisa's Round Hall, its lofty majesty at present diminished by the publication of stress-tests carried out on the material from which it was constructed.[2] The work itself, which considers the treatment by some Graeco-Roman authorities concerning Parthian matters, does not diminish Arsacid majesty, but rather the imaginative reconstructions of some modern scholars who collapsed evidence and offered suggestions for which there was scant textual data.

[3] M. Badura *et al.*, 'Plant remains from Jiyeh/Porphyreon, Lebanon (seasons 2009–2014): preliminary results of archaeobotanical analysis and implications for future research'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 25 (2016), 487–510.

[4] See M. Gwiazda, 'Economy of Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Settlement in Jiyeh (Porphyreon), Lebanon'. *Archeologia* 62–63 (2011–12), 31–44; K. Domżalski, 'Terra Sigillata, Red Slip and Glazed Wares from Jiyeh (Porphyreon) and Chhim in Lebanon. Similarities and Differences in Supplying Coastal and Mountain Customers'. *Archeologia* 64 (2013), 23–51.

[1] Contents at *https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/title_1464.ahtml?NKLN=243_B*.

[2] Summary published on pp. 65, 81 in A. Invernizzi and C. Lippolis (eds.), *Nisa Partica. Ricerche nel complesso monumentale arsacide, 1990–2006* (Florence 2008). There are two recent works which should be present in the bibliography: Strabon *Geographie Livre XV*. ed. and trans. P.O. Leroy (Paris 2016); and even though the *Parthika* deals with only Graeco-Roman sources, the Russian translation of Debevoise's Parthian work, with a complete multi-lingual bibliography on Parthia and its environs (516 pp. as of 2008): N.C. Debevoise, *Politicheskaia Istoria Parfii*, transl. and ed. V.P. Nikonorov (St. Petersburg 2008). See review by R.S. Wojcikowski in *Anabasis* 3 (2012), 347–50.

The first two contributions, Josef Wiesehöfer and Sabine Müller (pp. vii–xiii) and Marek Olbrycht (pp. 3–27), provide an introduction to the problems of inquiry. Wiesehöfer and Müller point to the transfer of western Achaemenid-era stereotypes onto the Arsacids, plus the absence of data concerning regional perceptions of the dynasty. Olbrycht discusses the Greek presence in Parthia, one characterised by a spectrum of problems in defining both ethnic and social status. Of excellent value are his suggestions for the multiple perceptions of the supposed 'Philhellenism' among the Arsacids. It is unfortunate that that he reuses (p. 13) the term 'apartheid-based' system, a term applicable to the Union/Republic of South Africa and which, based upon Dr Verwoerd's proposals, did not go into effect until the late 1940s. His conclusion, though, is on the mark: Parthian preservation of the major components of their culture combined with political pragmatism in dealing with subject peoples.

Apollodorus of Artemita (pp. 29–69) is the subject of three investigations. Johannes Engels (pp. 29–45) notes Strabo's high praise for Apollodorus' works, although he (Strabo) remained grounded in Augustan-era perception. There exists the possibility that Apollodorus' content was quite detailed (*FGH* 779 fr. 1 = Athen. 15.29 p. 682 C–D), and its focus on the sectors east of Mesopotamia, not on the detailing of Parthian interactions with the Seleucids and Romans (p. 41). Krzysztof Nawotka examines the existing fragments, which reveal no data on Apollodorus' life or his sources (p. 48): 130 BC, which is the putative modern date assigned to Menander's Indian expedition, is thus assigned by moderns as the *terminus post quem* for the work's composition. On pp. 50–52 Nawotka discusses the possibility of additional fragments (two, on Eastern material, are attributed to *an* Apollodorus; two, Strabo 11. 10. 2 and Pliny *NH* 6. 46, may preserve a Hellenistic-era account of Merv). Müller's discussion (pp. 59–69) unravels the web of speculations which have marked the past study of the author. 'The man without the shadow promises you the world …', but moderns constructed it.

Four scholars undertake a journey along the Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax (pp. 71–220). Monika Schuol discusses the definition of *stathmos* and the term's use in sources. She suggests an Augustan-era origin for the *Stations*, with the possibilities of its military use and its existence as an excerpt from a larger whole. Udo Hartmann (pp. 87–125) regards the two Parthian works, the *Stations* and the *Periegesis*, as the product of Hellenistic geographical and ethnographical learning (p. 116). There may have existed a third work, a seemingly 'world-geography', *per* Pliny's citations. In any case, the *Stations*, whether or not an excerpt, was unsuitable for use in any long distance travel.

Stefan Hauser's extensive examination (with satellite photographs and chart indicating region, specific location and possible modern identification) is also the most circumspect. Pliny *NH* 6. 141, as evidenced by the manuscript tradition, refers to a Dionysius of Spasinou Charax, not be identified with Isidore, whose specific 'Charax' is unknown. While Pliny cites Isidorus 'world-geography', he displays no knowledge of the *Stations*. There remains uncertainty whether that work was a defectively prepared excerpt or a careless third party epitome simply assigned to Isidore's name. After considering ancient measurements of distance Hauser suggests the *schoinos* used by Isidore fell in a range of 5.328–5.55 km

(pp. 134–43). As he traces the route from Zeugma to Seleuceia (pp. 143–56) he notes the distances are realistic, and the first part of document should be understood as an itinerary (p. 156). Once one proceeds from Seleuceia (*FGH* 781 fr. 2 sect. 2 ff., pp. 157–60) descriptions diminish into a mere listing of distances between points, thus a pretend itinerary. As it exists now the *Stations* is not a document for military use, nor even for any travel planning, in spite of the detail given initially. Isidore uses no explicit political terminology (p. 163; *cf.* Hartmann pp. 100–03), but instead presents a less than precise recollection (p. 164) of a route he may have partially travelled in reality. Rüdiger Schmitt's well-documented and well-argued study of Isidore in the context of Persian toponomy fails to enhance the majesty of the *Stations* data. A 1st-century AD composition date is acceptable, but there is little reason to assign Isidore Aramaic knowledge, only his ability to consult older, more detailed sources. Comparison with other material is an exercise yielding disappointment; Schmitt, after a location by location examination, especially sections 4–19, concludes the value of Isidore's evidence must remain questionable.

Now follow four studies on other sources. Josephus earns a black mark in his copy book from Erich Gruen (pp. 223–40). Geopolitical considerations (*cf.* p. 230) are put aside in exchange for 'moral pronouncement[s]' (p. 231) on the 'slippery by nature' Parthians (p. 232), an accurate assessment as indicated in Marciak's study of Adiabene's royalty.[3] Müller (pp. 241–57) discusses Trogus-Justin. What survives describes a *translatio imperii* in which energetic founders fashion an empire in which decadence eventually takes hold. According to Matthäus Heil (pp. 259–78), Tacitus devotes time to Parthia as a break from Roman bad news. His information, although second-hand, is valuable, but focuses on the western portion of the empire, and no deep insight into the Parthian character emerges. In the final essay Charlotte Lerouge-Cohen (pp. 279–305) examines Roos's Arrian fragments (1, 18, 19, 20). To the foundation narrative in fr. 1 (Photius, Ioannes Lydus,Georgius Syncellus) can be tied the accounts of Malalas and Jordanes. Roos's emendation of fr. 18 is rejected (p. 292). The Arsaces who appears in fr. 19 should not be seen as the Founder (pp. 293–94). The two *Suda* citations which make up fragment 20 in Roos reflect the confusions which came to exist in Western sources about the various Persian peoples (p. 304), a not unreasonable suggestion given the inaccurate data in Strabo 15. 2. 8 C 724 on Persian languages.[4]

It is regrettable that so little of Apollodorus and Isidore are extant; at least this volume has cleared away much earlier speculation. Hauser and Schmitt have done the most here to advance the study of western literary data on the Arsacids in conjunction with an ever increasing archaeological record.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

[3] M. Marciak, *Izates, Helena, and Monobazos of Adiabene. A Study on Literary Traditions and History* (Wiesbaden 2014).

[4] A. Panaino, '[Homoglottoi para micron]'. *Electrum* 22 (2015), 87–106.

A. Wissing, with an appendix by K. Zipp, *Die Bestattungen der Frühen und Mittleren Bronzezeit in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Eine vergleichende Analyse zu den Bestattungssitten des Oberen Ḫabūrgebietes*, Studien zur Urbanisierung Nordmesopotamiens [SUN] A 5, Ausgrabungen in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017, xlvi+549 pp., illustrations, 80 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10797-6

The volume by Anne Wissing is a revision of her doctoral dissertation undertaken at the University of Tübingen (2013) under the supervision of Prof. Peter Pfälzner. Its focus is the publication of 69 graves excavated on the Acropolis of Mozan (areas C2 and B6) between 1998 and 2001, which, though not representing the main cemetery of the town, as rightly noted by Pfälzner in the preface, are certainly a relevant sample of funerary practices at the site spanning the period *ca*. 2500–1700 BC. The book is the fifth in the series of final excavation reports concerning Mozan and is particularly welcome, not only because of its topic and its intrinsic value but also for the relevance at this particular time of any publication on Syrian archaeological heritage, now for so long under threat.

The whole is introduced by a summary which is meant to provide an account of the work in a synthetic way, translated into Arabic too, offering a diachronic view of what is a general outline of funerary practices at the site in each period under study.

The book itself is subdivided in seven main chapters plus a substantial catalogue, articulated in two parts, the first focusing on evidence from Mozan itself, the second on that of a number of surrounding sites (Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Arbid, Tell Beydar, Tell Brak, Tell Barri, Tell Mohammed Diyab). An important part of the volume is represented by the appendix contributed by Katja Zipp concerning the anthropological analyses carried out on human remains (expected in any serious excavation report of graves such as this one).

Chapter 1, the introduction, gives an overview of all phases of occupation, for which the Syrian Jazirah terminology (Early Jazirah II–V, Old Jazirah I–III and Middle Jazirah I) is employed, as explained on pp. 1–2; then the scope and goal of the work are described providing also the theoretical framework in which the research has been conceived and carried out, i.e. as a contextual archaeological study of funerary evidence, in which interpretation is only attempted if strongly supported by data. Finally, the variables taken into consideration in the grave analysis are described: position; type of structure; type of deposition (considering also if primary or secondary); number of individuals per grave; funerary equipment.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed analysis of the 69 graves under examination, all but one of them in area C2 at the site; while Chapter 3 offers the consequent general picture of funerary practices through time, making specific reference to the number of aspects deemed relevant in the analysis listed above. Particular attention has been devoted to the placement of graves in relation to the settlement (not only whether in built-up or disused environments, but also type of location). Grave inventories are treated in the following distinct categories: pottery vessels; jewels; weapons; figurines; other artefacts; animal bones. Empty graves are also taken into consideration as well as differences in funerary equipment. The general development of funerary practices through time is then provided by subdividing the sample by five age groups: newborn and small babies; children of 1–7 years; juveniles; subadults; adults.

In Chapter 4 examination is included of the graves brought to light in the Lower Town by the other expedition operating at the site, led by Giorgio Buccellati of the International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies: interestingly, here too empty graves are found along with deposition of single bones. The analysis continues, extending the focus to the evidence of surrounding sites: Chagar Bazar (from Max Mallowan's to more recent excavations); Tell Arbid; Tell Beydar; Tell Brak; Tell Barri; Tell Leilan; Tell Mohammed Diyab. Graves from each site are presented in a very detailed form, discussed at local level and then compared with the Mozan evidence.

The gist of the research at a regional level is presented in Chapters 5 and 6, the former underlying similarities and differences of the funerary practices in each period according to the above-mentioned variables, the latter focusing instead on specific elements of the overall pattern which may shed light on some aspects of the funerary behaviour, also in terms of belief and ritual. Here, the low number of burials within houses is explained as being exceptional *vis-à-vis* extramural cemeteries, of which however the existence can only be presumed. Offerings outside collective grave chambers in the early 2nd millennium are seen as part of the posthumous cult and put in relation to textual attestations (especially on the *kispum* ritual).[1] Questions like empty graves and secondary depositions are also discussed in the light of the possibility of transfer of corpses ('Umbettung').

In Chapter 7 the funerary practices of the Upper Khabur region are viewed against the reconstructed socio-political background by phase: important questions are probed, such as the composition of the households and the status of the inhabitants of the centres examined, as well as the role of graves within the establishment and negotiation of social competition. On the basis of the evidence encountered, W. suggests that in the earliest period under consideration (EJIIIb) only those individuals, including children, who had attained a certain rank within society were eligible for burial in non-domestic locations, while most of the intramural burials encountered contained children and few adults, of lower rank. This is said considering that graves in general were rarely attested and offering the reasonable explanation of the nature of archaeological explorations which, especially at larger sites, concentrated on conspicuous, public buildings on the Acropolis and very little on private architecture. In the following period, EJIV, when most of the region was probably under the political control of the Akkadian kingdom (with the possible exception of Mozan itself), funerary customs do not undergo significant change, apart from the presence of elite graves thitherto unparallelle (like the two on the Beydar Acropolis). In the EJV period, changes affecting the settlement pattern – the abandonment of a number of sites especially in the Leilan area – do not seem to have had any influence on funerary behaviour. One thing noticeable, however, is the increase of metal objects in some grave inventories, which may be explained in the high status burials now placed on the Acropolis of sites (Arbid, Mozan, Mohammed Diyab and Barri). At the turn of the millennium, in OJI, in the face of some changes both in the settlement system, with a reduction in extension of urban centres and proliferation of smaller sites, and in fields such as private architecture and pottery production, and of much continuity, funerary practices likewise show some change, in the higher

[1] On this question, see A. Wissing, 'Ritual Aspects of Middle Bronze Age Burial Practices in the Hurrian City of Urkesh'. In P. Pfälzner *et al.* (eds.), *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden 2012), 111–22.

number of graves within houses, often in a cluster, and in a new type of collective grave, the tomb chamber accessible via a pit, notwithstanding a general picture of continuity. A change attested locally at Mozan is represented by the location of the graves of babies and small children, now in courtyards and no longer in the inner rooms of the house.

Bibliography is extensive and updated as far as the archaeology of the Khabur area is concerned, although rather limited to German-language material. The book is well and fully illustrated – by drawings and black-and-white photographs within the text, and by colour plates at the end.

In sum, the volume not only provides a wealth of thoroughly processed data from well-excavated funerary contexts at one of the most important sites in the Khabur region, but also represents an important tool towards the reconstruction of life (and death) in a crucial period of the long history of human communities in that area.

University of Florence Candida Felli

A.-M. Wittke (ed.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen: Historisch-archäologisches Handbuch*, Der Neue Pauly Suppl. 10, Verlag J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart/Weimar 2015, xiv+1275 pp., 11 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-3-476-02470-1

A.-M. Wittke (ed.), *The Early Mediterranean World, 1200–600 BC*, Brill's New Pauly Suppl. 9, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2018, xxiii+593 pp., maps and tables. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-33932-3

In Anglo-Saxon scholarship and publishing there is competition to produce companions, handbooks, etc. (and not just on facets of antiquity). Wiley Blackwell is at the head of the queue, publishing hefty volumes every few months, or so it seems. Oxford University Press comes next, while Cambridge produces smaller publications, much easier to use, indeed they might actually fit the hand (the forthcoming Wiley Blackwell companion to the Achaemenid empire is not alone in running to two volumes). The Routledge 'Worlds' are another competitor, and Brill is in the business as well.[1] It remains difficult to be certain of the readership targeted by these volumes: for students they can be too complicated, relying on background knowledge yet to be gained – that possessed by the educated general reader; for scholars they may appear too lightweight in their inevitable synthetic quality. I have contributed to several such endeavours and the instructions are to write for the general public as well as students – something not always achieved. It takes a lot of time to produce these volumes: it is laborious to assemble the right team of authors, make them produce and edit their work. Translation of foreign contributions adds to the timescale, though most authors are (intentionally) drawn from the Anglo-Saxon world and their approach to the particular theme(s) and that of the volumes reflects this. The bibliographies are, by design, short and mainly in English. Like a convoy, the slowest vessel determines the pace

[1] See, for instance, general reviews in *AWE* 13 (2014), 221–23, *AWE* 15 (2016), 303–05 and *AWE* 16 (2017), 325–26; and several reviews of individual handbook-companions elsewhere in *AWE* over the years.

of the whole. Thus, the final volume can verge on appearing out of date by the time it reaches the bookshop.

Other countries/scholarly traditions also have handbooks (see the German title of the volume[s] reviewed here), but they are far less obsessed with producing them. The Neue Pauly aims to bring together a more eclectic mixture of authors, approaches and traditions, though (broadly) Germanic scholarship is uppermost. This breadth carries through to more comprehensive bibliographies in all languages.

Under review is one of the latest supplementary volumes to those Siamese twins, Der Neue Pauly and Brill's New Pauly. The German original appeared a few years before the English-language version. In all essentials they are the same, though the Brill version is to a slightly larger (less-convenient) format, and the internal arrangements (but not content) of the front- and end-matter differ. There has been no other handbook/companion presenting the whole Archaic Mediterranean, demonstrating the commonalities and differences across it and within and between its different areas. This volume does so admirably. The chapters are not just geographical; some are devoted to major themes in Mediterranean history.

The 75 contributors (based in 16 countries) are predominantly, but by no means exclusively, Austro-German in background or affiliation, spread from Beirut and Beersheba to Helsinki and Montreal (five area editors are to be found in Tübingen, two in Bonn, one in Vienna). Many will be familiar to our readers, not least the editor, Anne-Maria Wittke, who has seen this hefty work to a welcome conclusion.

An Introduction/Einführung, explaining the themes and goals, structure, etc. of the work, leads on to the main body of the work, three sections entitled (1) 'The Mediterranean region ca. 1200–600 BC', (2) 'Regions of the Mediterranean world' and (3) 'Aspects of cultural contact'. Thus, 1.1 is Landscape (Constance von Rüden), 1.2 Chronological contexts (Beat Schweizer and Barbara Patzek), 1.3 Culture and cultural contexts (Christoph Ulf). 1.4 is Sources, divided into: 1.4.1 Written sources (Patzek); 1.4.2 Material sources and Archaeology (Erich Kistler); and 1.4.3 Aspects of the history of research and scholarship (again Patzek).

Section 2 is divided between 2.1 Iberian Peninsula (15 sub-sections: Martin Bartelheim providing many, including Tartessus and Huelva; Dirce Marzoli, Dirk Brandherm, Adolfo Domínguez, Marta Santos, and others), 2.2 Southern France and Central Europe (9: Karin Mansel – several, including Massilia; Bartelheim, Brandherm, etc.), 2.3 Italy with Sardinia and Sicily (24: Martin Bentz providing many; Erich Kistler – Sicily and Greeks on Sicily; Joachim Weidig, Massimo Osanna, and many others), 2.4 Continental Southeastern Europe (4: Bernhard Hänsel, etc.), 2.5 Greece and the Greek Islands (16: many by Birgitta Eder, Stefanos Gimatzidis and Florian Ruppenstein; also Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, Hartmut Matthäus, and others), 2.6 Asia Minor (14: Hilmar Klinkott on Lydia and Caria; Wittke on Lycia, the Cimmerians, jointly with Sanna Aro on the Luwian cultural sphere and on 'Eastern central Asia Minor', etc.; Erik van Dongen on Phrygia; Michael Kerschner on the Greeks in Asia Minor; Herbert Niehr, Aro, and others), 2.7 Eastern Mediterranean world… (15: Niehr and Dagmar Kühn; Alexander Vacek on Al Mina; Matthäus, and others), and 2.8 North Africa and Canary Islands (12: several by David Mattingly; Mansel, Astrid Möller on Naucratis, and others).

The third section offers 3.1 Settlement and mobility (Shweizer and Schön), 3.2 Society and authority (Ulf), 3.3 Religion (divided, Rüpke, Niehr *et al.*, Schweizer), 3.4 War and

warfare (Irene Madreiter), 3.5 Economy and raw materials (Sitta von Reden; Stöllner and Bartelheim), 3.6 the History of Law in the eastern Mediterranean world (Lang and Harter-Uibopuu), and 3.7 Cultural technologies and knowledge (Gerhard Meizer, Patzek).

If Caria, Lydia and Phrygia are to be included in a Mediterranean world, it makes as much (more) sense to include here the Black Sea, linked to that world through shared exposure to Greek colonisation.

A lengthy appendix, 'Chronological Systems of the Mediterranean World', provides in tabular form an 'Overview' as well as a 'Comparative chronological overview of Iberian Bronze and Iron Ages' and a 'Synopsis of relative chronologies and stratigraphies for Asia Minor', complete with its own bibliography. This is very useful since for different regions we tend to use different dating methods and chronologies – North Italian antiquities are connected to Europe and dated by radiocarbon or dendrochronology; South Italy uses traditional dating based on Greek pottery. Eleven detailed and extremely useful regional maps – other maps and charts are appropriately placed in the main text. The volumes are furnished with place, name and subject indexes – places are linked to present-day political divisions, the principal Mediterranean islands separated; a single entry for Bosnia-Herzegovina would have been appropriate, not, as here, its sub-units.

This book has everything. It is very useful for academics, especially for ones just setting out: it points to where to start and where to find bibliography. The editor must be applauded for producing such an exciting volume and for the selection of her collaborators and contributors, leading figures in their field. Brill too must be congratulated for taking up the huge task of translation and making the work available to a wider audience (with final thanks to the translators themselves for work very well done).

University of Nottingham Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

S. Yamada and D. Shibata (eds.), *Cultures and Societies in the Middle Euphrates and Habur Areas in the Second Millennium BC – 1: Scribal Education and Scribal Traditions*, Studia Chaburensia 5, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016, xiii+191 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10583-5/ISSN 1869-845X

Das vorliegende Buch entstammt einer 2013 in Tsukuba (Japan) veranstalteten gleichnamigen Tagung, deren Vorträge nach einem Vorwort und Abkürzungsverzeichnis in drei thematisch zusammenhängenden Kapiteln geordnet („Babylonia"; „Habur and Middle Euphrates / North East Syria"; „Great Bent [sic] of Euphrates and Beyond / North West Syria") veröffentlicht wurden.

Das Kapitel „Babylonia" öffnet mit dem Thema des altbabylonischen Schreibercurriculums, das bisher anhand der Textfunde aus Nippur aus der Mitte des 18. Jh. rekonstruiert wurde. Niek Veldhuis weist in seinem Aufsatz „Old Babylonian School Curricula" (S. 1–12) darauf hin, dass, einerseits, man diesen Befund offenbar nicht extrapolieren darf, und, andererseits, neuere Forschungen anhand vom Befund anderer Fundorte nachgewiesen haben, dass dieses Curriculum nicht einheitlich war. Dennoch argumentiert der Autor mithilfe des Vergleichs der Curricula von Nippur, Uruk, und Sippar-Amnānum dafür, dass es dennoch Zeichen der Standardisierung gibt, weil Sippar-Amnānum den Vorläufer des mittelbabylonischen Curriculums darstellt (obwohl dies offenbar kein

Argument für die Standardisierung schon zur altbabylonischen Zeit darstellt). Daneben betont der Autor, dass Nippur ein Extremfall ist und die weiteren Fundorte (aus den Randgebieten) die Emulation der Elite zeigen (was im Falle von Uruk kaum zutreffen kann). Das Wichtigste sei nämlich nicht die Identität der Lehrinhalte, sondern der Habitus, die Teilnahme an der Bildung und die Kenntnis der sumerischen Erbe – dadurch gibt er implizit zu, dass die neueren Forschungen zutreffend sind (obwohl der Autor im Bereich der diakritischen Zeichen präzis ist, zitiert er die türkischen Autoren und Titel fehlerhaft: *Çig* [S. 5, 9] statt *Çığ*; *zamanina* statt *zamanına*, *menseli* statt *menşeli*, *kitabi* statt *kitabı* [alle auf S. 9]).

Der nächste Autor dieses Kapitels, Grégory Chambon, argumentiert anhand von drei Fallstudien (altbabylonischen Schultexten, Mari-Korrespondenz, und administrativen Texten aus Emar), dass bei metrologischen Fragestellungen nicht nur die materielle Kultur und Wirtschaftstheorie, sondern auch die Schreiberpraxis in Betracht gezogen werden muss („Metrology and Scribal Traditions in the Ancient Near East", S. 13–24).

Die schon von Veldhuis angesprochene Frage der Kontinuität wird von der letzten Autorin dieses Kapitels, Alexa Bartelmus, kontextualisiert, die anhand von spätkassitischen Schultexten aus dem Haus M6 in Babylon dafür argumentiert, dass die nordbabylonische und nicht die südbabylonische Tradition weiterlebte („The Role of Babylon in Babylonian Scribal Education", S. 25–43, der Aufsatz beruht auf bestimmten Kapiteln der Doktorarbeit der Autorin, die jetzt in überarbeiteter Form als *Fragmente einer großen Sprache. Sumerisch im Kontext der Schreiberausbildung* (Berlin/Boston, 2016) zugänglich ist). Nur in Klammern ist der Lapsus der Autorin zu erwähnen, die den Plural von *curriculum* als *curriculae* (S. 26) angibt.

Die nächste Gruppe der Aufsätze („Habur and Middle Euphrates / North East Syria") besteht wiederum aus drei Beiträgen. Shigeo Yamada veröffentlichte zwei altbabylonische Texte aus Tall Tābān (Ṭābatum), eine Schülerübung und eine metrologische Liste und fasste mithilfe dieser Texte die heutigen Kenntnisse über die Ausbildung der Schreiber in Ṭābatum zusammen („Old Babylonian School Exercises from Tell Taban", S. 45–68).

Amanda H. Podany bespricht mithilfe des aktualisierten Corpus der Hana-Texte den Konservativismus und den feinen Wandel der juristischen Formeln und argumentiert dafür, dass der Ursprung dieses Konservativismus darin besteht, dass die Schreiber Zugang zu den mit Jahrhunderten älteren Texten hatten, weil sie aufbewahrt wurden („The Conservatism of Hana Scribal Tradition", S. 69–98).

Der Abschlussbeitrag dieses Kapitels stammt von Daisuke Shibata, der anhand der Nebenformen der Zeichen ŠA und LI, die zwar von den mittelassyrischen Formen abweichen, aber in Ugarit und Hana gut belegt sind, dafür argumentiert, dass es auch eine lokale Schreibertradition vor der assyrischen Eroberung existierte, die nur allmählich durch die assyrische Schreibertradition abgelöst wurde („The Local Scribal Tradition in the Land of Māri and Assyrian State Scribal Practice. Palaeographical Characteristics of Middle Assyrian Documents from Tell Ṭābān", S. 99–118)

Die letzte Gruppe der Beiträge öffnet mit dem ähnlichen, aber philologisch viel besser dokumentierten Fall von Emar, wo die lokale, sog. „syrische" Schreibertradition nach einer Übergangsperiode durch die sog. „syro-hethitische" Tradition abgelöst wurde. Yoram Cohen beschreibt in seinem Aufsatz die zahlreichen formalen, sprachlichen, und inhaltlichen Kriterien, nach denen die beiden Traditionen unterschieden werden können und

bespricht die möglichen Szenarios des bisher ungeklärten historischen Hintergrunds der Ablösung („The Scribal Traditions of Late Bronze Age Emar", S. 119–31).

Einen Gegenpunkt und eine Ergänzung bildet der Beitrag von Masamichi Yamada, der seine Argumente gegen die gerade erwähnte Cohensche Chronologie aktualisiert und plädiert für die parallele Existenz beider Traditionen. Im zweiten Teil seines Aufsatzes untersucht er einen Sonderfall der juristischen Terminologie (und zwar die Situationen, wenn Frauen den Haushalt übernehmen bzw. zu Erbin werden), mit dem er nicht nur die Trennung der beiden Traditionen unterstützt, sondern auch die interne Entwicklung der syrischen Traditionen nachweist („How to Designate Women as Having Both Genders. A Note on the Scribal Traditions in the Land of Aštata", S. 133–43).

Der nächste Beitrag stammt aus der Feder von Wilfred H. van Soldt, der die ugaritische Schreiberausbildung (Archive, Schultexte, die Schüler, die Lehrer, und das alphabetische Curriculum) darstellt („School and Scribal Tradition in Ugarit", S. 145–55).

Dieses Kapitel und das Buch schließen mit dem Beitrag von Mark Weeden, „Hittite Scribal Culture and Syria. Palaeography and Cuneiform Transmission" (S. 157–91). Er stellt zwei Probleme vor: einerseits paläographische Spuren von wandernden Schreibern und andererseits die Verbreitung der hethitischen Zeichenformen der paläographischen Stufe IIIc, die denen des Mittelassyrischen sehr nah stehen (man beachte, dass die Abkürzung „sjh." nicht „s(ehr)j(ung)h(ethitisch)", sondern „s(pät)j(ung)h(ethitisch)" bedeutet, *contra* Weeden, S. 165 Anm. 35). Anhand der paläographischen Analyse von ausgewählten akkadischen Texten aus Boğazköy plädiert er dafür, dass das Kopieren fremdsprachiger Texte eine wichtige, aber nicht ausschließliche Rolle in der Verbreitung spielte. Der Aufsatz ist reich an Argumenten und Beispielen, weshalb es nicht klar ist, warum auch eine lange Bibliographie zu den Quellen und der historischen Geographie Westkleinasiens, die mit diesem Thema nichts zu tun haben, angegeben wurde. Dieser Beitrag enthält, im Gegenteil zu den übrigen Beiträgen, auch relativ viele Tippfehler (*Ilī-tukulktī* statt *Ilī-tukultī* [S. 160]; *Boğazkoy* statt *Boğazköy* [S. 166]; die Fußnotennummer 53–57 wurden auf S. 169 nicht hochgestellt).

Diese spannenden Beiträge, die mit ihren Fragestellungen und Überblicken nicht nur den Kennern, sondern auch den Interessierenden und Studierenden lehrreiche Lektüre bieten, illustrieren beispielhaft, wie weiterführend und nützlich kleinere, auf ein bestimmtes Thema fokussierende Workshops sind. Den Herausgebern gebührt unser Dank.

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München Zsolt Simon

K.L. Younger jr, *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Polities*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 13, SBL Press, Atlanta 2016, xxviii+857 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-58983-128-5

Lawson Younger's monograph on the Arameans provides a detailed discussion of this group of ancient Near Eastern peoples. As the title indicates, the focus is on the political, and the considerations start from the time of their attested origins and continue until the Aramean polities that form somewhat later on are destroyed by the Neo-Assyrian empire in the late 8th century BC. The first chapter makes a very helpful geographical survey of the main regions associated with the Arameans. A number of maps are included in the chapter and

there are further maps throughout the rest of the book. The first chapter moreover includes a short discussion of the relevant languages that pertain to the overall area. In the second and third chapters, Y. considers the origins of the Arameans, with most of the discussion revolving around the 12th–11th centuries BC that coincide with the latter part of the Middle Assyrian empire, and with Middle Assyrian sources providing the main sources for historical reconstruction. Chapters 4–9, the main bulk of the book in terms of volume, discuss in detail the various Aramean polities that can be seen to have emerged from about 1000 BC onward. These consist of a number of smaller entities of the Jezirah (Chapter 4), Bit Adini (Chapter 5), Sam'al (Chapter 6), Hamath and Lugath (Chapter 7), Arpad (Chapter 8) and Aram-Damascus (Chapter 9). The coverage of the polities typically starts with introductory considerations, followed by an explication of what can be known about the territory of the polity in question and then an historical analysis. Again, Assyrian, and in this case Neo-Assyrian, sources provide the backbone for historical reconstruction, but there are also important contributions from Luwian and Aramean sources, mostly but not exclusively inscriptions. The tenth chapter discusses Arameans in southern Mesopotamia, with a strong focus on detecting migration in this area where the Arameans were hardly able to establish their own polities. A short conclusion finishes off the volume. In terms of the overall organisation of the book, it more or less seems to reflect some other well-known previous volumes on the Arameans.[1]

The relevant historical sources are discussed extensively, if not comprehensively, together with implications for politico-historical reconstruction. The coverage includes quotations from primary sources and incorporates many footnotes, and the discussion often digs deeper in terms of detailed interpretative options that accompany the individual pieces of textual evidence. Y. includes biblical sources in the analysis, cautiously favouring the possibility that these can be of historical value. The discussion does incorporate considerations of a number of aspects of relevant texts in their original languages. The detail offered is a clear strength of the book, providing a very useful platform for reflecting on how textual (and at times pictorial) evidence relating to the Arameans should be interpreted. At the same time, the detail offered often comes at the cost of a smooth and continuous narrative, at least in my opinion. That not all of the texts quoted in their original languages have been translated does reduce the accessibility of the volume, even when such occasions are generally restricted to the footnotes. All in all, the book is clearly more suitable for an academic than a general audience.

The volume includes some archaeological considerations. However, the balance is clearly on the side of the textual. This seems to reflect the fact that the Arameans are, at least in the current state of knowledge, not identifiable from the archaeological record, even if there are hints otherwise that the Arameans in southern Mesopotamia seemed to resist a number of features of prevailing Babylonian culture (*cf.* p. 687). As regards the perspective of the social sciences, Y. includes a discussion of the main aspects of the tribal structure of the Arameans based on attested terminology in historical sources (Chapter 2.3, pp. 43–63), together with a discussion of main aspects that relate to nomadism, subsistence and mobility, and migration (Chapter 2.4, pp. 63–80). One important issue to highlight in the author's approach is that he is favourable, and indeed argues for, migration as part of

[1] Such as E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (Leuven 2000).

Aramean history. This can be contrasted with a number of previous approaches that have minimised its role. Such a shift seems to be in line with wider scholarly approaches to migration in the recent half a century or so, as also intimated by Y. (p. 67). Overall, it appears that his comments in favour of migration are very plausible, with some interesting considerations included. For example, in Chapter 10, Y. draws attention to the phenomenon of so-called 'mirror toponyms' as they relate to Arameans in southern Mesopotamia (pp. 684–85, for instance). In this, names of settlements in eastern Babylonia are parallelled in western Babylonia, suggesting that people associated with one place migrated to another and renamed it based on the place of origin. The reoccurrence of place names in the westward settlement of North America provides an analogous comparison for the author (p. 735, n. 471).

One matter to highlight in relation to the book is that it quite clearly divides into two parts in terms of the historical periods it covers, with a gap in between that remains more or less unbridged. By and large, once Y. has finished a description of the origins of the Arameans in the late 2nd millennium BC, where he more or less treats them as a single group, he next jumps ahead in time to when the distinct Aramean polities have been formed in the 1st millennium. Of course, that there is a gap does reflect a dearth of literary remains at the time in question when the Middle Assyrian empire waned and before extant sources become more plentiful again with the emergence of Neo-Assyria. Only a rather limited number of potentially relevant Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions are available from that time as well, with a natural concentration on the western side of northern Mesopotamia; and, of course, Aramaic inscriptions themselves only really come on line from the 9th century BC at the earliest. But, all in all, it seems that Y. has not really ventured into suggesting a potential way to bridge somehow the gap. A similar tendency can be seen in his discussion of the origins of the Arameans. While he certainly does consider such issues as migration in general terms and how the Arameans might broadly relate to the *ahlamu* and the *sutu*, he does not really offer a more detailed hypothesis of how the Aramean ethnogenesis and their initial spread might have happened.

In sum, Y. has produced a very useful volume that incorporates a lot of detail and a number of interesting considerations. At the same time, the book is not always entirely lucid and accessible. He could also have tried to be a bit more adventurous when explicating about Aramean origins and the rise of the Iron Age Aramean polities.

University of Gloucestershire, Cheltenham Pekka Pitkänen