

REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (14)

The latest edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*¹ is, like its predecessors since 1949, an indispensable work of reference. About 70 extra entries (including ‘creolization’, ‘film’, ‘gender’ and ‘masculinity’, but also Dexion, Jocasta and Luwian), 20 replacement entries (for Catullus, Homer and Troy, as well as ‘literary theory and the classics’ and ‘triumph’), and modest revision of many others (David Ridgway’s ‘colonization, Greek’, to take an example of interest to me, gains an extra line or two, and now has his correct initials – without points, in the house-style here adopted), as well as revised and updated bibliographies. Obviously, to bring such a project to fruition takes many years. It was disconcerting to see the second volume of my own *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas* still listed as ‘forthcoming’; it appeared in 2008 (p. 348), but pleasing to see this journal mentioned, though not yet honoured by a place in the list of abbreviations. Updating has brought a slightly larger format, making the volume less wieldy, a disadvantage for a private owner. But it is, as the cover states, ‘unrivalled’, ‘authoritative’ and ‘accessible’.

Settlement and Settlements

We should applaud the Carlsberg Foundation for underwriting the research and publication of *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*,² an excellent large-format volume, ambitious and important (Old Assyrian and Hittite geography and the settlement history of central Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age are subjects of much debate), publishing a revised Copenhagen doctoral dissertation. The text, replete with graphs, charts and diagrams, colour illustrations and fold-out maps, comprises ‘Infrastructure of Trade’, including its politics and logistics; ‘Historical Geography’ – written sources, Old Assyrian (some 23,000 cuneiform texts from Kaneš/Kültepe, most unpublished) and Hittite texts, archaeological evidence, methodology (a mere six pages – in practice, a close reading of textual sources combined with topographical analysis grounded on numerous visits to the region); ‘Landscape’ by region; and ‘The Lands East of Kaneš, including Kaneš’, and ‘The Lands North and West of Kaneš’, 30 place-by-place settlement history, based primarily on the texts, with geographical overviews (pp. 87–408). Sixty pages of bibliography and 45 more of multiple detailed indexes and glossary follow. The sources are combined to present a new model of the historical geography of the region/period through analysis of logistics, infrastructure and the organisation of trade (heavy wagons, overland roads, flow-charts linking toponyms) to focus on central markets, fluctuating prices and

¹ S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, lv+1592 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-954556-8.

² G. Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, CNI Publications 38, Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen 2011, xviii+519 pp., illustrations, 2 fold-outs and map in pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-87-635-3645-5.

interlocking regional systems of exchange in which Kaneš, Durhumit and Purušhaddum (for which a new location on a significant 'road-knot' near Bolvadim is proposed), were prominent centres. Coverage from *ca.* 1969 to 1715 BC, using the so-called Middle Chronology (fall of Babylon = 1595 BC).

*Greek City Walls*³ is a well-presented book, grounded on Rune Frederiksen's Copenhagen Polis Centre doctoral dissertation of 2004 supervised by Mogens Hansen; but by no means is it just the dissertation in published form. It brings together in one volume a subject long in need of such a synthesis. Its central tenet is that fortification of Greek settlements was widespread long before the Classical period, indeed this study includes a deal of pre-Archaic material, and that walls are a form of monumental architecture whose development is just as important as monumental early temples and should be considered in tandem with them. Archaeological and written data are combined in an arrangement of eight chapters – 'Introduction'; 'Types of Fortification' (refuges, towers, forts, regional defences), with the *polis* (-town or -state), unsurprisingly, to the fore as a contextual framework; 'City Walls in the Written Record and the Visual Arts'; 'Preservation of City Walls'; 'The Archaeology of City Walls' (types of fortification; elements forming them); 'Dating City Walls' (by masonry style); 'Topographical and Architectural Analysis' (presenting the data of the catalogue); and 'The Prevalence of City Walls in Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece' (occurrence and distribution) – followed by the catalogue of city walls (pp. 121–200; updating addenda at pp. 221–22) from across the Greek world from the South of France and North Africa to the Black Sea. Amply illustrated (114 figures plus tables and maps); indexes of names and places, subjects and sources.

It is pleasing to see that the results of Onno van Nijf and Richard Alston's Groningen-Royal Holloway research project on the Greek city continue to be published (*Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*).⁴ Confusingly, this second volume covers the first and third workshops (2003 and 2004): the second workshop was published first;⁵ the remaining workshops will follow. The editors open with 'Political culture in the Greek city after the classical age: introduction and preview', which, *inter alia*, provides an overview of the shifting consensus in recent scholarship on post-Classical *polis* politics. A dozen chapters follow: '... Status and identity in private religious associations in Hellenistic Athens' (Ilias Arnaoutoglou), '... The meeting-places of foreign associations and ethnic communities in Late Hellenistic Delos' (Monika Trümper), 'Ethnic minorities in Hellenistic Egypt' (Dorothy Thompson), '... Public administration of private donations in Hellenistic Greece' (Kaja Harter-Uibopuu), 'Kings and Cities in the Hellenistic Age' (Rolf Strootman), 'Pride and participation. Political practice, euergetism, and oligarchisation in the Hellenistic *polis*' (Edward van der Vliet), 'Oligarchs and benefactors. Elite demography and

³ R. Frederiksen, *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900–480 BC*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, 238 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-957812-2.

⁴ O.M. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C.G. Williams (eds.), *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, Groningen-Royal Holloway Studies on the Greek City after the Classical Age 2, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2011, xii+349 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2319-5.

⁵ R. Alston and O.M. van Nijf (eds.), *Feeding the Ancient Greek City* (Leuven 2008).

euergetism in the Greek east of the Roman Empire' (Arjan Zuiderhoek), 'Reconstructing the political life and culture of the Greek cities of the Roman Empire' (Giovanni Salmeri), 'Public space and the political culture of Roman Termessos' (van Nijf), '... Political culture in third-century Roman Egypt' (Laurens Tacoma), 'Households as communities? *Oikoi* and *poleis* in Late Antique and Byzantine Egypt' (Roberta Mazza) and 'The *oikoi* and civic government in Egypt in the fifth and sixth centuries' (James Tuck). As epilogue, there is 'Post-politics and the ancient Greek City' (by Alston: Aristotle and Plato, Seneca and Cicero... Hobbes, De Tocqueville, Marx and Engels, Arendt, Sartre, Gramsci, Foucault, Rawls). Through whatever vicissitudes and internal changes the cities experienced in a changing ancient world, they maintained a vibrant political culture. The contributions here explore this, offer explanations of the continued importance of urban politics and politics, question established interpretations and offer new ones. Indexed.

Van Nijf also appears as co-editor of *Public Space in the Post-Classical City*,⁶ the papers from a Fransum colloquium of July 2007 – in Melbourne terms, a day of completion seminars, but more broadly and thematically conceived, for doctoral candidates in archaeology of the University of Groningen (one of whom is the other co-editor) – investigating public space(s), monuments and behaviour to offer new insights and understandings of ancient cultures. A scene-setting Introduction outlines and links the seven papers: 'Public space beyond the city. The sanctuaries of Labraunda and Sinuri in the chora of Mylasa' (Christina Williamson), 'Kings, cities and marketplaces – negotiating power through public space in the Hellenistic world' (Christopher Dickenson – citing the introductory paper in van Nijf and Alston above against W.G. Runciman), 'New observations on the planning of fora in the Latin colonies during the mid-Republic', from Cosa down to Paestum (Jamie Sewell), 'Agoras in Asia Minor. Public space and Romanization in Augustan times', i.e. the impact of Roman rule on the layout and appearance of public spaces in the cities of the Greek-speaking province of Asia, notably Ephesus and Aphrodisias (Ulf Kenzler), 'Expressing public identities in spaces: the case of Aphrodisias in Caria' (Rubina Raja), 'Cities, buildings and benefactors in the Roman East' (Arjan Zuiderhook) and 'The influence of Trajan's innovative building programme on the urban landscape of Rome' (Pamela Doms). Well produced and well illustrated.

*Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*⁷ appears in an attractive format from Cambridge, well illustrated (60 figures), on good paper, etc. Ömür Harmanşah brings his extensive experience excavating in Turkey, of which he is a native, and an initial degree in architecture, together with an exhaustive bibliography (117 pages of it, which hints at the volume's remoter origins in his doctoral dissertation of 2005), to deploy archaeological, architectural, environmental, epigraphic and visual evidence in constructing an account of the region that embodies spatial practices, landscape history and architectural technologies. The work pursues many of the lines of the previous title in the interconnections between culture, space, memory, politics and spectacle, but in an earlier era,

⁶ C.P. Dickenson and O.M. van Nijf (eds.), *Public Space in the Post-Classical City*, Proceedings of a One Day Colloquium held at Fransum, 23rd July 2007, *Caeculus* 7, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, xxi+224 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-2653-0.

⁷ Ö. Harmanşah, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xx+351 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-02794-7.

1200–850 BC, and in an Assyrian and Syro-Hittite context, in which official narratives and myths obfuscate the complexities of and motives for establishing new cities and related matters within and around them. An Introduction; four main chapters, ‘Landscapes of Change: Cities, Politics, and Memory’, focusing on the Syro-Hittites, and ‘The Land of Aššur: The Making of the Assyrian Landscape’, both relying heavily on archaeological data from Upper Mesopotamian regional surveys, then ‘Cities and the Festival: Monument, Urban Space, and Spatial Narratives’ (Aššur-nasir-pal II’s 9th-century BC foundation at Kalhu; the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty’s large-scale building project at Karkamiš, 10th–early 9th centuries) and ‘Upright Stones and Building Stories: Architectural Technologies and the Poetics of Urban Space’; with a concluding ‘Cities, Place, and Desire’. The discussion, rather heavily theoretical, is carried out on three intersecting temporal and spatial planes: long-term landscape change and settlement history, large-scale building projects and ‘symbolically charged architectural technologies’ (p. 9).

Martin Mohr’s 2009 Zurich doctoral dissertation is handsomely published by Leidorf as the first *Zürcher Archäologische Forschungen*.⁸ large format, indexes, plates, an English summary (pp. 109–11). The focus is on ‘Sacred Roads’/processional routes and their socio-religious role in the stabilisation of power and creation of city-states; but such roads post-date 600 BC and the culture of institutionalised processions was evident more than a century earlier. So how developed were *polis* cult and culture in these early centuries? – hero worship, mythical ancestors and mythical descent, competitive elites, aristocratic/elite eating and drinking fraternities, inter-group meetings and exchanges ‘regulated by a joint cult and feasting calendar’, etc. And at what point of development did the processional route evolve into the Sacred Road with all its infrastructural connotations? Increased rivalry for power and status between aristocratic families and *hetairai* in the 7th- and 6th-century *polis* is seen to coincide with the Sacred Roads of Samos, Ephesus, Milet, the Sacred Route to Eleusis and the Panathenaic Way. The examination uses literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence to interpret the roads as a ‘middling way’, leading to a socio-political system cleaving to a middle ground rather than a middle class.

Settlement, Urbanization, and Population,⁹ the second volume of *Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy*, emerges from a colloquium organised by the Oxford Roman Economy Project in September 2007, rounded out by commissioned papers. An Introduction by the editors leads on to ‘Survey Method and Data’ (the late Simon Price, ‘Estimating Ancient Greek Populations: The Evidence of Field Survey’; Robert Witcher, ‘... Models of Mediterranean Regional Survey and Ancient Populations’; David Mattingly, ‘Calculating Plough-Zone Demographics: Some Insights from Arid-Zone Surveys’; Attema and de Haas, ‘Rural Settlement and Population Extrapolation, using the Ager of Antium as a case study, 350 BC–AD 400’) and ‘Urbanization’ (Neville Morley, ‘Cities and Economic Development in the Roman Empire’; Andrew Wilson, ‘City Sizes and Urbanization in the

⁸ M. Mohr, *Die Heilige Strasse – Ein ‘Weg der Mitte’?: Soziale Gruppenbildung im Spannungsfeld der archaischen Polis*, Zürcher Archäologische Forschungen 1, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2013, 164 pp., 17 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-661-1/ISSN 2196-3584.

⁹ A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xx+362 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-960235-3.

Roman Empire'; Annalisa Marzano, 'Rank-Size Analysis and the Roman Cities of the Iberian Peninsula and Britain...'; J.W. Hanson, 'The Urban System of Roman Asia Minor and Wider Urban Connectivity' – also rank-size analysis; Keay and Earl, 'Towns and Territories in Roman Baetica'; Alan Bowman, 'Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: Population and Settlement') – all substantial pieces. The devil is in the data: the project that begat the volume seeks to interpret quantitative data for the Roman economy, but such will never be available in type or scale to answer questions at a macro level – Price begs for more data while discussing problems with attempts to create proxies (limited data-sets susceptible to detailed study). Proxies it must be, treated cautiously and with their limitations recognised. Here, many link urbanisation intrinsically to growth and prosperity, hence a focus on types, sizes, patterns and demographics. Morley, in a more theoretical piece (back to Rostovtzeff/Finley, modernist/primitivist-substantivist), disputes the connection and ponders what economic development might actually mean; whereas the more pragmatic Wilson (in keeping with the tone of the project) reverses the burden of proof: 'show that there is no connection!'. So, rising population, rising urbanisation, rising economic activity and rising prosperity (*per capita* GDP). By largely eschewing grand theoretical debate on the nature of the ancient economy, the elephant in the room, and fancy equations and regressions, in favour of pursuing micro-/proxy evidence, the volume brings us comprehensible assessment and analysis of quantifiable data. And that is the best we can expect. Indexed.

More narrowly focused is *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior*,¹⁰ based on a chapter in the author's Oxford doctoral dissertation on cultural change in the province. In its current form it comprises a brief introductory section on the conquest and creation of the province, then a settlement analysis (methodology, problems, pre-Roman settlement, garrisoning, urbanisation, rural settlement and villas, later developments: pp. 7–51), Conclusions ('main trends and agents of change'), then a gazetteer of 1810 sites (pp. 55–242). Plenty of data, based on archaeological, historical and epigraphical sources, to fill a long-standing want, especially for English-speaking scholars, discussed, interpreted and contextualised, and the limitations admitted: 'Since no syntheses exist for any of the key material culture categories that I used in my doctoral study, collecting varied material and incorporating it into a single integrated study was a key element of my research' (p. iv). The 20 maps, in colour, are particularly helpful. A useful model for work on surrounding provinces.

As we have come to expect from a publication of the Kelsey Museum, the collection *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*,¹¹ proceedings of a symposium co-sponsored by the University of Michigan and the German Archaeological Institute and organised by Ortwin Dally and Christopher Ratté (who furnish a brief but informative Preface), is an attractive volume of larger format (on art paper), well illustrated (a few in colour), with a combined bibliography and index, containing 14 contributions: 'Sardis in

¹⁰ D. Mladenović, *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior*, BAR International Series 2367, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, iv+253 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0954-5.

¹¹ O. Dally and C. Ratté (eds.), *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, Kelsey Museum Publications 6, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, 2011, x+301 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-9741873-5-8.

Late Antiquity' (Marcus Rautman), 'Sculpture and the Rhetorical Imagination in Late Antique Constantinople' (Sarah Bassett), '... Sculptures and Statue Bases in Late Antique Ephesus: The Evidence of the Upper Agora' (Aurenhammer and Sokolicek), 'The Sculptural Decoration of Ephesian Bath Buildings in Late Antiquity' (Johanna Auinger), 'The Town Center of Miletus from Roman Imperial Times to Late Antiquity' (Dally *et al.*), '... Miletus and the Character and Date of Early Byzantine Fortifications in Anatolia' (Philipp Niewöhner), 'Survey Evidence for Late Antique Settlement in the Region around Aphrodisias' (Ratté and De Staebler), 'Buildings and Citizens: Observations from Late Antique and Byzantine Blaundos in Phrygia' (Axel Filges), Troy and the Granicus River Valley in Late Antiquity' (Brian Rose), 'Trades, Crafts, and Agricultural Production... in Southeastern Isauria' (Günder Varinlioğlu), 'Akören: Two Late Antique Villages in Cilicia' (Ulrike Wul-Rheidt), 'Azarbaros in Late Antiquity' (Richard Posementir), '... Orshoene in Late Antiquity' (Peter Baumeister) and 'Cities in the Eastern Roman Empire from Constantine to Heraclius' (David Potter, written specially for the volume). The contents mix and combine results from long-running 'big digs' with those of survey projects from the hinterlands and remoter regions, all presented by those who have participated; the work of two intellectual traditions (the Germanic and the Anglo-Saxon); young scholars and their peers; include a Turkish contribution; and make available more widely research previously published in German. Happily uses BC and AD.

Economy, Society, Slavery, Resources and Environment

*The Economies of Hellenistic Societies*¹² provides 19 papers, plus an Introduction, from the 'Demand Creation and Economic Flows' conference, held in Copenhagen in September 2006, the third in a series aimed at producing detailed, evidence-based studies as the foundations on which to reinvigorate study of the Hellenistic economy (and let it move beyond Rostovtzeff/Finley, modernist/primitivist-substantivist), though this might just produce too many trees to see the wood beyond. Admittedly the trees are sturdy oaks, planted across a wide area and timeframe: 'Jewish Subjects and Seleukid Kings: A Case Study of Interaction' (G.G. Aperghis), 'Mobility and Innovation in Hellenistic Economies: The Causes and Consequences of Human Traffic' (Zosia Archibald), 'Grain from Cyrene' (Alain Bresson – reinterpreting the 'grain' inscription), estate management in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Christophe Chandezon), '... Cults as Consumers and Generators of Value' (Véronique Chankowski), 'The Impact of War on the Economy of Hellenistic *Poleis* ...' (Angelos Chaniotis), '... Economy in Kind in Ptolemaic Egypt' (Lucia Criscuolo), 'The Well-Balanced *Polis*: Ephesos' (John Davies), 'Labour in the Hellenistic Economy: Slavery as a Test Case' (Raymond Descat), 'Profitable Partnerships: Monopolies, Traders, Kings, and Cities' (Vincent Gabrielsen, who also provides the 'Afterword'), the economy of Palestine-Transjordan after conquest by Antiochos III (Lise Hannestad – archaeological evidence of unexpected prosperity), 'Rhodian Transport Amphorae as a Source for Economic Ebbs and Flows in the Eastern Mediterranean...' (John Lund – unharmed by Delos), 'Networks, Hierarchies, and Markets in the Ptolemaic Economy' (J.G. Manning – social network

¹² Z. Archibald, J.K. Davies and V. Gabrielsen (eds.), *The Economies of Hellenistic Societies, Third to First Centuries BC*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xviii+460 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-958792-6.

theory), 'Autopsy of a Crisis: Wealth, Protogenes, and the City of Olbia in c.200 BC' (Christel Müller – decree reflects a liquidity crisis), 'Mobility, Society, and Economy in the Hellenistic Period' (G.J. Oliver), 'Inter-Regional Economies in the Aegean Basin' (Gary Reger – coin distribution), 'Animal Husbandry in Ptolemaic Egypt' (Dorothy Thompson), 'Silverization' of the Achaemenid, Seleucid economies compared with Ming China (R.J. van der Spek) and 'Demand Creation, Consumption, and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt' (Sitta von Reden). The foci seem to be demand over supply, institutional frameworks and economic management, infrastructure and networks, monetisation, markets and monopolies, mobility and resources. As ever, the constraint is the limited/limitations of the data. Modestly illustrated; mercifully, indexed; someone should have proofed the table of contents.

Volume 1 of *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*,¹³ the first of a projected four intended to carry the study of slavery globally through from antiquity to the near present, contains 22 chapters (each with a short bibliographical essay as coda) on the ancient Mediterranean world, written by leading scholars (in the United Kingdom, Canada, Greece and the United States) – Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (also the editors), David Braund, Neville Morley, Ian Morris, Walter Scheidel, etc. This is a well-considered, well-edited and well-produced volume, offering the latest work and interpretations on Graeco-Roman slavery, with a balance towards the cultural and societal over the economic, aimed at the Handbook market. After opening with the ancient Near East, nine chapters deal with the Greeks ('Slaves in Greek literary culture', 'Classical Athens', helots, 'Slavery and economy...', 'Slave supply in classical Athens', 'Slavery and the Greek family', 'Resistance among chattel slaves in the classical Greek world', 'Archaeology and Greek slavery' and 'Slavery in the Hellenistic World') and a dozen with the Romans ('Slavery and Roman literary culture', 'Slavery in the Roman Republic', 'Slavery under the Principate', 'The Roman slave supply', 'Slave labour and Roman society', 'Slavery and the Roman family', 'Resisting slavery at Rome', 'Slavery and Roman material culture', 'Slavery and Roman law', 'Slavery and the Jews', 'Slavery and the rise of Christianity' and 'Slavery in the late Roman world'), demonstrating the centrality of slavery in ancient Mediterranean life, the lack of opposition to it, and how Greece and Rome were slave societies *par excellence*. Even if subject to degrees of rejection, the work and opposed works of Finley and de Ste Croix bulk large. A consolidated bibliography and thorough indexes (general; ancient passages; inscriptions and papyri; Jewish and Christian literature).

The publication of the carefully focused seminars from the Oriental Institute in Chicago reaches its seventh volume with *Slaves and Household in the Near East*,¹⁴ containing nine of the dozen papers presented at the sixth annual seminar in March 2010. Laura Culbertson provides the eponymous introduction; the papers follow grouped under 'Early Mesopotamia' (Hans Neumann, Culbertson again, Andrea Seri), 'The Islamic Near East' (Abbasid and Ottoman: Matthew Gordon, Ehud Toledano) and 'Second and First Millennium

¹³ K. Bradley and P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, Vol. 1: *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011, 620 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-84066-8.

¹⁴ L. Culbertson (ed.), *Slaves and Households in the Near East*, Oriental Institute Seminars 7, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2011, vi+151 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-885923-83-7.

Empires' (Babylon and Judah: Kristin Kleber, Rachel Magdalene and Cornelia Wunsch, Jonathan Tenney). The volume concludes with Indrani Chatterjee's provocative 'Response'. As some of the titles indicate – 'Neither Slave nor Truly Free: The Status of Dependand of Babylonian Temple Households', 'Household Structure and Population Dynamics in the Middle Babylonian Provincial "Slave" Population' – and as sections of the introduction on 'Defining slavery', 'Mobility, entry, and exit' and 'Abandoning the paradigm of slave versus free' make clear, much depends on what we mean by slavery ('the s-word': Chatterjee, p. 150), or what early societies meant by divers(e) terms for asymmetrical/subordinating relationships that have been translated as 'slave(ry)', varying widely from context to context: 'The polarity of slavery and freedom is untenable in the case studies [and]... the concept of freedom... is particularly anachronistic' (Culbertson, p. 10). Instead, following the thrust of these papers, we must cast off our chains and 're-imagine entire pasts from outside the categories of Enlightenment thought... of rights, freedom, property, markets' (Chatterjee, p. 150).

*Die Schätze der Erde*¹⁵ publishes 24 papers from the (10th) Stuttgart colloquium on historical geography in May 2008; most in German; much about gold, silver, copper, iron and lead, salt, grain and fish, but also technology and organisation, trade and trade routes, raw materials, finance and economics, etc. As a sample: 'Die Schätze des Meeres' (Tønnes Bekker-Neilsen), 'Agricultural Revolutions in the Mediterranean and Wider European Sphere' (John Bintliff), 'Die Transportrouten von Metallen im östlichen Mittelmeer und die Griechen (9.–7. Jh. v.Chr.)' (Iris von Bredow), 'Borysthènes – the most serviceable river. Archaeological evidence for the period after Herodotus' (Bylkova and Yanish), 'Asphalt, Naptha, Bitumen, Peche und Teere ...' in the Graeco-Roman world (Johannes Engels), 'Die natürlichen Ressource Athens und ihre wirtschaftliche Nutzbarmachung in Xenophons *Poroï*' (Ulrich Fellmeth), 'Zum Problem der Nachhaltigkeit in der Ressourcenausbeutung im Altertum' (Herbert Grassl), 'Gerb- und Färbstoffe in der Antike' (Peter Herz), 'Pflanzliche Ressourcen im Mittelmeerraum' (Ulrich Kull), 'Rings for Grain...' (Ivan Ladynin – interpreting the abundant finds of so-called Ptolemaic finger rings of the 3rd Century BC in the northern Black Sea as prestige gifts linked to the grain trade, contact with the Ptolemies, the northern Black Sea's geopolitical place in the Hellenistic world, etc.), 'Archäologische Evidenzen zum Weinanbau im südwestlichen Paphlagonien in römischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit' (Ergün Laflı), the mines of Laurion (Morin and Photiades), 'Olivenöl und einige Aufzeichnungen über Öl auf Tontäfelchen in der Linear B-Schrift' (Anna Seminara) and 'Zur Bedeutung der Ressource Salz in der griechisch-römischen Antike. Eine Einführung' (Isabella Tsigarida). Siegfried Franke's 'Festvortrag' concludes the text. Useful indexes but no consolidated list of illustrations (which also appear on an enclosed CD).

¹⁵ E. Olshausen and V. Sauer (eds.), *Die Schätze der Erde - Natürliche Ressourcen in der antiken Welt*, Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 10, 2008, Geographica Historica 28, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2012, 425 pp., illustrations + CD. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10143-1.

*An Environmental History of Greece and Rome*¹⁶ is an introductory/class text, very clearly arranged and balanced in presentation. After its own Introduction (terminology, a review of ancient environmental history, discussion of theoretical approaches and periodisation in modern environmental history and a statement of goals), there are ten pairs of chapters (Greek and Roman), grounded on ancient written sources: 'The geographic space' (*polis* and *chora*, 'era of colonisation', Hellenistic kingdoms, Rome and Italy, the Roman empire, Roman roads, but also climate and coastlines), 'People and Nature', 'Agriculture', 'Forests and timber', 'Gardens', 'Animals', 'Food', 'Fire and Water' (mythology, the four elements, fires in Rome, water supply and sewerage systems, hydraulic engineering), 'Earthquakes and volcanoes' (not least Vesuvius) and 'Mining', presented in compare and contrast mode; plus 'Urban problems and rural villa construction' and 'The environment in Roman Britain'. Overall, this is a balanced treatment of the protagonists and their mixture of respect for the divine aspects of nature with the rationalist urge to conquer and exploit it, opening up the frontier (land or maritime). A chronology, a list of ancient sources, further reading and a detailed bibliography (arranged by chapter, sometimes by subheading within a chapter) round off the volume.

Contacts and Networks

Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory,¹⁷ by Wim van Binsbergen, an anthropologist/ethno-historian previously focusing on the distant past in various parts of Africa, founder of a project on the ethnicity of the Sea Peoples, and Fred Woudhuizen, trained in Mediterranean pre- and protohistory, who worked on it. The uneasy combination of different backgrounds and views, linked by shared efforts 'to turn data from the margins of prehistory, which effectively means from protohistory, into history', is made clear in the Preface (p. 5). And so it turns out. Part I (van B., pp. 17–190) is 'Ethnicity in Mediterranean proto-history: Exploration in theory and method: With extensive discussions of the Homeric catalogue of ships, the Biblical Table of Nations, and the Sea Peoples of the Late Bronze Age, against the background of a long-range comparative framework', its opening chapter serving as *de facto* introduction. Part II, by W., 'The ethnicity of the Sea Peoples: An historical, archaeological, and linguistic study' (pp. 191–330), with appendices on, for example, the decipherment of Cretan Hieroglyphic and *Addenda* formed into Chapter 27, is essentially W.'s doctoral dissertation of 2006; its in-depth review of the available written material, buttressed by archaeological evidence, is perhaps the most valuable aspect of the volume, but some of the accretions add to the general opacity of the volume. This is followed by van B.'s Part III (pp. 331–94), composed of a single chapter entitled 'An alternative interpretation of the Sea Peoples data: Relatively peripheral and archaic segmentary groups seeking to counter, by a combined eastbound and westbound movement, encroachment by the states of Hatti and Egypt'. Thus, the joint Part IV is 'The ethnicity of the Sea

¹⁶ L. Thommen, *An Environmental History of Ancient Greece and Rome*, translated by P. Hill, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, xi+186 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-17465-7.

¹⁷ W.M.J. van Binsbergen and F.C. Woudhuizen (eds.), *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*, BAR International Series 2256, Archaeopress, Oxford 2011, 519 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0823-4.

Peoples: Towards a synthesis, and in anticipation of criticism'. The solder between the heavily theoretical approach based in the Palaeolithic and the linguistic one based in the Bronze Age barely holds, leaving a wide-ranging, complex and problematic work, though certainly original and provocative. Numerous illustrations and tables, an extensive bibliography (pp. 421–78) and, unusually for a BAR publication, indexes (of proper names and authors). A strange typeface/-setting.

Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean,¹⁸ the proceedings of an international conference held in late 2008 by the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, offers 40 contributors and 35 papers, all in English, grouped into six sections: 'Theory and Methodology' (an opener, by Susan Sherratt, providing a general theoretical overview to cultural contact, '...Conceptualising Transculturality in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean', '...Perceiving Cultural Contacts in Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age Anatolia', Religious Exchanges between Minoan Crete and its Neighbours...', '...Sealing Practice and Agency in Minoan Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd Millennium BC', etc.), 'Identifying Foreigners and Immigrants' (interpretation of Libyan material culture, sources for tracing Egyptians outside Egypt, the Mycenaean presence – *recte* absence – at Tell Abu Gurob, archaeological traces of foreign settlers at Tell el Dab'a, Late Iron Age Greek pottery as evidence for Greeks at Sais in Egypt, 'The Etruscans, their DNA. and the Orient' – Phil. Perkins, very interesting), 'Material Evidence for Contact: Ceramics, Imports and Imitations' (the Jebel Plain, Tell Tweini and intercultural contacts in the Bronze and Early Iron Age, Tell Kazel in the Late Bronze, Egyptian objects and style at Mycenae and other considerations of Egyptian-Mycenaean trade and contact, a provenance study of Canaanite jars from Memphis, the function and social significance of Egyptian imports in the northern Levant during the 2nd millennium BC, Aegean and Cypriot imports to Italy in the 14th–13th centuries BC, weapons as an example of the exchange of products between the Near East and the Mediterranean in the Early/Middle Bronze Age, Egyptian imitations of Cypriot Base Ring ware, '...Lydian Black-on-Red'), 'Maritime Trade and Sea Ports' (an overview of the role of ports in the 2nd millennium eastern Mediterranean, by Marie-Henriette Gates, 'Maritime Business in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean...', exchange between south-eastern Cyprus and surrounding regions in the Late Bronze Age, the explosion of Mediterranean trade in the Bronze Age as catalyst/vehicle for cultural and technological change, the existence of '... Late Bronze Age International Maritime Travel and Trade Regulation...'), 'Influences in Iconography, Ideology and Religion' (Phoenician 'Commercial Expansion' in south-eastern Spain as a stimulus for artistic interactions, dynastic hunts in Lycia and Phoenicia, perfumed oil use and ideology in the eastern Mediterranean in the 14th–13th centuries, iconographic development of the Storm God in south-eastern Turkey and northern Syria, adaptation of the winged sun disc by the Hittites, etc.) and 'Administration and Economy' (relations between Egypt and Syria-Palestine in the later Old Kingdom, Minoan goat hunting, impact of the Graeco-Persian conflict on the

¹⁸ K. Duistermaat and I. Regulski, with the collaboration of G. Jennes and L. Weiss (eds.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25th to 29th October 2008, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 202, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2011, xxx+597 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2451-2.

Egyptian economy). Wide-ranging content, and interesting and often important papers, often with their feet firmly on the ground, that are bound to generate further discussion. A volume of this length really requires an index.

Networks are a popular topic of investigation in modern history and network theory/analysis/science an increasingly popular interpretative tool whose application to antiquity, in this case Greek colonisation, is at the core of Irad Malkin's *A Small Greek World*,¹⁹ the first of a new series, *Greeks Overseas*, in which new methods and theoretical approaches are to be brought to bear as part of 'reconceptualizing the emergence of Greek communities all around the [Archaic] Mediterranean...' (p. ix). A lengthy introduction, 'Networks and History' (pp. 3–64), an overview of the theory, particularly as used in or related to antiquity, abetted by numerous diagrams and charts (and a map of the French railway network of 1860), leads on to case studies, light in archaeological evidence, to anchor and illustrate the theory: 'Island Networking and Hellenic Convergence: From Rhodes to Naukratis'; 'Sicily and the Greeks: Apollo Archêgetês and the Sikeliote Network'; 'Herakles and Melqart: Networking Heroes'; 'Networks and Middle Grounds in the Western Mediterranean'; and 'Cult and Identity in the Far West: Phokaians, Ionians, and Hellenes'. Greek colonies are the 'permanent nodes that allowed for network connectivity' (p. 17), and in talking up the current model/theory, alternatives are downplayed or dismissed (hybridity, as obscure and meaning little: p. 47), explicitly or by a failure to engage, compare and contrast. Conclusions (pp. 205–24) wind things up. As in most works dominated by theory, the language becomes rather too sophisticated; the language of networks in no exception. But this book is thought-provoking in its central paradox: that the dispersion of Greeks across the Mediterranean watered the shoots of a collective identity, led to convergence rather than divergence amidst a complex and fluid web of interconnections, i.e. that Greek identity was not a product of the shock of the Persian Wars (*cf.* Jonathan Hall), rather it emerged in the Archaic period precisely when Greeks found themselves far apart from other Greeks, the mother-city to colony link provided the threads of the web, and no matter how varied the Greek experiences in divers parts of the Mediterranean, the virtual centre, in Delphi, held everything together.

Ritual and Religion

In a competitive field, *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*²⁰ is the most recent addition: 65 contributors from the British Isles, North America, Australasia, South Africa, Scandinavia, even Estonia, provide 66 chapters (the editor, Timothy Insoll, writes four as well as a succinct introduction, 'Ritual and Religion in Archaeological Perspective'). Many names will be familiar, in particular Michael Dietler, Yannis Hamilakis, Richard Hingley, Daniel Potts and Colin Renfrew. The work is arranged in six parts: 'Elements and Expression' ('Monumentality', 'Landscape', 'Water', 'Fire', 'Myth and Folklore', 'Cosmogony', 'Death', 'Taboo', 'The Many Dimensions of Ritual', 'Personhood and the

¹⁹ I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xix+284 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-973481-8.

²⁰ T. Insoll (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xxvi+1108 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-923244-4.

Body', 'Sacrifice', 'Ideology', 'Feasting and Fasting', 'Gender and Religion in Archaeology', 'Archaeologies of the Senses', 'Syncretism and Religious Fusion', 'Technology', 'Rites of Passage', 'The Archaeology of Contemporary Conflict', 'Rock Art, Religion, and Ritual'); then 'Prehistoric European Ritual and Religion' (Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age), 'Religion and Ritual in World Prehistory' (from Sub-Saharan Africa, China and Japan, via Oceania to Maya, Aztecs and Incas, then on to North America) and 'Religion and Cult of the Old World' (Prehistoric Aegean, Greece, Etruscans, Rome, Malta, Mesopotamia, the Levant, Iran, Anatolia, Old Norse and German, the Anglo-Saxon world and the Baltic). The 'Archaeology of World Religions' (Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam) leads on to the 'Archaeology of Indigenous and New Religions' (Shamanism, Animism, Totemism, Druidism, Neo-Paganism and 'Divine Kings'). Religion and ritual are now 'a routine part of the focus of archaeological attention – as [they] should be – rather than a specialist sub-discipline' (p. 1), as they were until very recently. Hence, the variety of approaches from a suite of mainstream archaeologists and anthropologists presented here. Plentiful illustrations. The bibliographies need more standardising and some tidying up.

The three volumes now to hand of the excellent *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*,²¹ a child of *LIMC*, contain the interpretative syntheses, pluralistic in approach, that bring the project to a close after 15 years (comprehensive indexing of the whole is underway). The generous support of the Getty, Onassis and Latsis foundations, not to mention many other organisations and institutions, deserves the thanks of us all. The series, which is a 'must' for any university library worth its salt, makes an important contribution to the study of ancient religion (Greek, Etruscan and Roman). As I have remarked in reviewing previous volumes, the mixing of English, French, German and Italian within chapters is, despite page headers in all four, complicating as well as complicated. But this is the price one pays for the high standard of the content. 'Contexts and circumstances of cultic and ritual activities' forms the encompassing rubric for two and a half of the volumes. Volume VI, which contains an addendum on Music to volume II, is a diptych: the first part concerning 'Stages and circumstances of life' embodies sections on 'Birth and infancy', 'Childhood and adolescence', 'Marriage', 'Old age', 'Death and burial', 'Health, illness, medicine' and 'Good fortune and misfortune'; the second, 'Work, hunting, travel' has appropriate sections such as 'Agriculture', 'Artisanry, trade', 'Fishing', etc. Volume VII, relatively brief, is given over to 'Festivals and Contests'. Volume VIII, in its opening part, focuses on 'Private space and public space', with sections on 'Domestic cults', 'Public cults', 'Associations and colleges', 'Institutions (incl. army)', 'Monetary economy', 'Law', 'Politics, diplomacy', 'War', etc. and a brief further part on 'Polarities in religious life'. So far, we have running numeration

²¹ *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)*, vol. VI: *Stages and Circumstances of Life, Work, Hunting, Travel*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2011, xxiii+570 pp., 126 plates, drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-073-5; vol. VII: *Festivals and Contests*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2011, xvii+317 pp., 35 plates, drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-074-2; vol. VIII: *Private Space and Public Space, Polarities, Religious Interrelations*; Addendum to vol. VI – *Death and Burial*; Supplementum – *Animals and Plants*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2012, xvii+557 pp., 72 plates, drawings in text. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-102-2. 8-volume set: 978-0-89236-787-0.

through these three volumes to 5.b. The rest of volume VIII contains, as a completely separate main heading, 'Religious interrelations between the classical world and neighbouring civilizations' (Near Eastern, Egyptian, Gallic-Germanic, Scythian, Thracian and Iberian), offered as 'a "thin" sketch of the next "thick" project' (vol. VI, p. xii), then an addendum on 'Death and burial' to volume VI and a 'Supplementum' to volumes I–V on 'Animals and Plants', subdivided into Greek, Etruscan and Roman sections.

Following a more essay-like format, these three volumes seek to demonstrate 'how ritual performances... were deployed in the context of real-life circumstances' (vol. VI, p. x), in public events, etc., to look at other polarities – gender, 'in' and 'out' groups, etc. – and to point beyond the classical world. It is here that the project's aspirations of qualitative comprehensiveness in understanding ancient religion(s) are tested through combining literary, epigraphic, archaeological, iconographic and numismatic evidence. Well illustrated by drawings in the text and by plates grouped at the end of each volume; more than achieving the aims, stated in the General Introduction (vol. VI, p. xv), 'the modest one of *utility*', a starting point and not the last word, representative more than exhaustive, and certainly 'not the whole truth'; and, I feel, to the liking of 'Lilly Kahil, whose shade presides, we hope approvingly, over this whole enterprise' (in the felicitous words of Richard Buxton, in the Preface: vol. VI, p. x).

*Athenian Myths and Festivals*²² is the posthumous publication, under the skilled editorship of Robert Parker (whose Preface explains the nature of his task and his work), of one of two projects in hand at the sudden death of Christine Sourvinou-Inwood, a leading scholar of Greek religion. It examines key questions about Athenian festivals and the myths underpinning them, not least the role of the *genē*, hereditary religious associations far more prominent in the more secretive and mysterious rites than in more open and universal festivals like the Dionysia and Panathenaia. There are six complete chapters ('Festivals and *Genē*: Reconstructions, Problematik, Methodologies' [including terminology and an introduction to the *genē*]; 'Cultic Myth and Others: Aglauros, Erichthonios, Erechtheus, Praxithea'; 'Reading a Festival Nexus: Plynteria and Kallynteria', with an appendix, 'Nagy on *chiton* and *peplos*'; 'Athena at the Palladion and the Palladion myth'; 'Athena Polias, Panathenaia, and the *Peplos*', including her 'reading' of the *peplos* on the Parthenon frieze [pp. 284–307] and an appendix, 'The *peplos* at the Panathenaia: a critique of other readings'; and 'City Dionysia, Bakchiadai, Euneidai, and other *Genē*'), and a seventh, '*Genē* and Athenian Festivals', which gives out, unfinished, where the author put down her pen – before an intended section on City Dionysia (ironically, the starting point for this study). Nevertheless, full of numinous, thought-provoking explanations and interpretations that are clear evidence of a great talent lost. Obviously, no concluding chapter. A few illustrations, which again point to the unfinished state of the work – somewhere between Bruckner's Ninth and Mahler's Tenth.

²² C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Athenian Myths and Festivals: Aglauros, Erechtheus, Plynteria, Panathenaia, Dionysia*, edited by R. Parker, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xiii+377 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-959207-4.

Christopher Kremmydas's *Commentary on Demosthenes Against Leptines*,²³ a revision and expansion of his 2005 London doctoral dissertation supervised by Chris. Carey, is the first such commentary in well over a century. Demosthenes' long oration, his earliest surviving public speech, argues for the repeal of Leptines' recent law abolishing most honorary exemptions from festival liturgies. The Introduction houses sections on 'The Context' (political background, the liturgical system, the mechanics of passing and repealing legislation: pp. 3–33), 'The Trial Against Leptines' Law' (including details of those involved, dating the speech, its rhetorical aspects, etc.: pp. 33–60) and an account of ancient and modern scholarship on the speech (pp. 61–69). The text (based on Dilts's 2005 work with emendations) and, in parallel, a rather humdrum translation, follow (pp. 72–173), the latter sometimes of contestable accuracy; then the full and wide-ranging commentary (pp. 175–458). The bibliography is a little inconsistent (inclusion of series, placing of 'de', publisher in lieu of or in addition to place of publication, etc.) and careless (the conflation of Peter Rhodes and David Lewis as P.J. Lewis) – surprising, in view of the background and the publisher.

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner,²⁴ the outcome of an eponymous workshop held in Granada in June 2009, offers an *aperitif* by a chef, an editorial *hors d'oeuvre*, and 11 courses assembled by scholars from the United Kingdom (mainly Sheffield), Spain, Israel and Canada, providing a variety of theoretical and methodological fare for the study of food and feasting (rituals) in prehistoric Europe and the Near East: where, when, why, by whom, in what circumstances, etc. Thus, 'Appetite Comes With Eating: An Overview of the Social Meaning of Ritual Food and Drink Consumption', 'Commensality Rituals: Feeding Identities in Prehistory', 'Feasting and Social Dynamics in the Epipaleolithic of the Fertile Crescent...', 'Evolving Human/Animal Interactions in the Near Eastern Neolithic...', '... Feasting in Late Neolithic Britain', 'Political Cuisine: Rituals of Commensality in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean', '... The Social and Symbolic Context of Commensality Rituals in the Bell Beakers of the Interior of Iberia (2500–2000 BC)', '... Funerary Rituals in the Bronze Age Societies of South-Eastern Iberia', 'Feasting Metals and the Ideology of Power in the Late Bronze Age of Atlantic Iberia', '... Staple Foods and Ritual Practices in the Phoenician Diaspora', 'Consumption Relations in the Northern Iberian Household' and 'The Archaeological Identification of Feasts and Banquets: Theoretical Notes and the Case of Mas Castellar'. Suitably illustrated – though no list of figures – and well edited. Alas, no index to act as a *digestif*.

Ceramics

*La céramique dans les contextes rituels*²⁵ is a larger format, well-illustrated set of papers from a round table held at the University of Rennes 2 in June 2010. An introduction by Mario

²³ C. Kremmydas, *Commentary on Demosthenes, Against Leptines, With Introduction, Text, and Translation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xi+489 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-957813-9.

²⁴ G. Aranda Jiménez, S. Montón-Subías and M. Sánchez Romero (eds.), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner: Feasting Rituals in the Prehistoric Societies of Europe and the Near East*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2011, x+245 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-985-7.

²⁵ M. Denti and M. Tuffreau-Libre (eds.), *La céramique dans les contextes rituels: Fouillet et comprendre les gestes des anciens*, Actes de la table ronde de Rennes, 16–17 juin 2010, Archéologie et

Denti and Marie Tuffreau-Libre leads on to their individual papers, the two forming the 'Problématiques et Méthodologie' section. Then follow the Bronze Age, with three papers, that by Ilaria Tirloni, on depositions in cultic sites in the south of Italy, crossing into the Iron Age, five papers: 'Le cratère, l'hydrie et la cruche à haut col. Des céramiques au service des premiers rituels à Éréttrie (Grèce)', 'Dépositions de céramique et significations des contextes rituels à l'époque proto-archaïque en Italie méridionale' (Denti again), 'Amphores et gestes rituels. Usages et fonctions d'une catégorie céramique aux périodes proto-archaïque et archaïque au sein du monde grec', 'La céramique du sanctuaire celtique de Capote ... Les gestes du banquet à travers l'étude fonctionnelle de la vaisselle' and 'Variations des associations de vaisselle métallique dans quelques tombes au mobilier luxueux entre Seine et Danube, VIIe–Ve siècle av. J.-C.', Roman and Mediaeval (four papers), a summary of the discussion between the 15 participants and Jean-Paul Morel's 'Des céramiques aux "gestes", des "gestes" aux rites: impressions finales ...' conclude proceedings; abstracts and a general bibliography conclude the volume.

*Early Iron Age Pottery: A Quantitative Approach*²⁶ brings us the proceedings of a round table organised by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Athens in late 2008: 14 papers, all but two in English, divided under the headings of 'Sanctuaries', 'Settlements' and 'Case studies: burials and survey', by scholars such as Xenia Charalambidou ('Quantitative analysis of the pottery from the Early Iron Age necropolis of Tsikalario on Naxos'), Birgitta Eder ('The Early Iron Age Sanctuary at Olympia...'), Stefanos Gimatzdis ('...Sindos: Pottery consumption and construction of identities in the Iron Age'), Michael Kerschner ('Approaching aspects of cult practice and ethnicity in Early Iron Age Ephesos using quantitative analysis of a Protogeometric deposit from the Artemision'), Antonis Kotsonas ('Quantification of ceramics from Early Iron Age tombs'), David Mitchell and Irene Lemos ('... Pit 13 on Xeropolis at Lefkandi'), Cathy Morgan ('Isthmia and beyond. How can quantification help the analysis of EIA sanctuary deposits'), Emanueka Santaniello (typology of pottery from Gortyn), Vladimir Stissi (field surveys in Boeotia and Magnesia), Sara Strack (two contributions on Kalpodi) and Vicky Vlachou (fine, wheel-made pottery from Oropos); plus Samuel Verdan's Introduction and his concluding 'Pottery quantification: Some guidelines'. Necessarily and appropriately heavy on graphs, charts and tables. A five-language glossary/concordance forms an appendix.

*Naturwissenschaftliche Analysen vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Keramik IP*²⁷ contains 16 papers (just under half in English) from two workshops held at Hamburg University in February

Culture, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2013, 238 pp., illustrations, 36 colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-7535-2105-6/ISSN 1761-8754.

²⁶ S. Verdan, T. Theurillat and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer (eds.), *Early Iron Age Pottery: A Quantitative Approach*, Proceedings of the International Round Table Organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, Athens, November 28–30, 2008, BAR International Series 2254, Archaeopress, Oxford 2011, 172 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0821-0.

²⁷ B. Rammiger and O. Stilborg (eds.), *Naturwissenschaftliche Analysen vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Keramik II: Methoden, Anwendungsbereiche, Auswertungsmöglichkeiten*, Dritter und vierter internationaler Workshop für Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler in Hamburg am 13. Februar 2010 und 5. Februar 2011, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorische Archäologie aus der Abt. Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie der Universität Hamburg Bd 216, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn, 2012, 317 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-3810-6.

2010 and 2011 on scientific analysis of prehistoric and early historic ceramics. The current volume opens with ‘Absolute dating of fired-clay ceramic using rehydroxilation kinetics’ and spreads as far as eastern Sweden and northern Nigeria via Lower Silesia. The papers likely to be of most interest to readers are: ‘Illuminating the pottery production process at Çatalhöyük West Mound (Turkey)’ (Franz and Ostapchouk), ‘Untersuchungen zum inter- und extrainsularen Umlauf der bronzeitlichen Keramik im Äolischen Archipel (Messina, Sizilien, Italien) mit Hilfe der Petrographie und Geochemie’ (Fagnoli *et al.*), ‘Pottery from Southwestern Paphlagonia I: Terra Sigillata and Red-Slipped Ware’ (Laflı and Kan Şahin) and ‘Import oder indigen? Methodische Überlegungen zu Fabricbestimmungen pergamenischer Importkeramik in Ephesos’ (Asuman Lätzer-Lasar). All the papers have abstracts in both German and English. Well illustrated; furnished with all manner of graphs, charts and plans (but alas no list of them); and benefiting from a large format (and a large, perhaps overlarge typeface, misapplied on pp. 218–19). No index.

*Pottery in the Archaeological Record*²⁸ is the first in a series of monographs named in honour of Gösta Enbom, a Swedish businessman who was Danish Consul-General in Greece, intended to publish the results of the Danish National Museum’s research programme ‘Pots, Potters and Society in Ancient Greece’, in this case the proceedings of a colloquium held in Athens in mid-2008, which Enbom’s foundation had sponsored. An Introduction by the editors, Mark Lawall and John Lund, leads on to a dozen chapters, predominantly by scholars based in North America: Eleni Hasaki (‘... Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Spatial Organization in Pottery Workshops in Greece and Tunisia’, Murphy and Poblome (‘... Interpreting Workshop Organization at the Potters’ Quarter of Sagalassos’), Lawall (‘Greek Amphorae in the Archaeological Record’), Lund (‘Iconographic Evidence for the Handling and Use of Transport Amphorae in the Roman Period’), Søren Handberg (‘Amphora Fragments Re-used as Potter’s Tools in the Rural Landscape of Panskoye’), Kathleen Lynch (‘Depositional Patterns and Behavior in the Athenian Agora...’), Benjamin Costello (‘The Waste Stream of a Late Roman House...[at] Kourion’), Archer Martin (Olympia), Kathleen Warner Slane (‘Repair and Recycling in Corinth...’), Roberta Tomber (‘Reusing Pottery in the Eastern Desert of Egypt’), Susan Rotroff (‘... Repairs to Ceramics at the Athenian Agora’) and, last but by no means least, Theodore Peña, with ‘... Some Follow-Up Comments’ on the colloquium itself and to his monograph *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge 2007), where he advanced a new conceptual framework for the life-cycle of Roman pottery, and which prompted the colloquium and set its agenda – how vessels were made, used, reused for secondary purposes, then discarded; reconsideration of his models, approaches and examples from other geographical and cultural perspectives; developing interpretative models of ceramic life-histories in Mediterranean archaeology; etc. Attractively and quite lavishly produced, and extensively and very well illustrated.²⁹

²⁸ M.L. Lawall and J. Lund (eds.), *Pottery in the Archaeological Record: Greece and Beyond*, Acts of the International Colloquium held at the Danish and Canadian Institutes in Athens, June 20–22, 2008, Gösta Enbom Monographs 1, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2011, 168 pp., illustrations (many colour). Cased. ISBN 978-87-7934-587-4/ISSN 1904-6219.

²⁹ The second volume is reviewed below at p. 426.

The third volume in the series, again edited by Lawall and Lund and produced to the same high standard, *The Transport Amphorae and Trade of Cyprus*,³⁰ houses 17 papers (by authors drawn from Australia, Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Israel, Poland, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and North America), covering the period from 700 BC to AD 700, to illuminate the (changing) nature and patterns of the import and export trade and fluctuations in economic activity. Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen opens with 'Transport in Ancient Cyprus'; Kristina Winther-Jacobsen closes with 'Supply Mechanisms at Non-agricultural Production Sites. Economic Modelling in Late Roman Cyprus'. In between are a case study of three shipwrecks off the Turkish coast, Late Roman trade from underwater survey, Cypriot basket-handle amphorae (from Kenderes; and in Hellenistic Cyrenaica), Late Archaic to Late Classical Cypriot trade, Cypriot amphorae and amphora-stamps (from Alexandria; found in Israel), Rhodian amphorae from Cyprus and Cypro-Rhodian trade links in the Hellenistic period based on amphora finds, Early Roman amphorae from Cyprus as evidence of trade, Roman amphorae from the Polish excavations at Paphos, petrological analysis of 'pinched-handle' amphorae from the Akamas peninsula, possible Cypriot amphorae in Ephesus, Cypriot LR1 amphorae (typologies, distribution, trade patterns), Late Roman amphorae and trade in the Vasilikos valley.

*The Context of Painted Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*³¹ grew out of a session at the 2009 meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists organised by the editor, and combines papers presented there supplemented by a few from would-be attendees: Alexandra Alexandridou ('Early Sixth-Century Directional Trade: The Evidence of Attic Early Black-Figured Pottery'), Dimitris Paleothodoros ('Sex and Athenian woman: A contextual analysis of erotic vase paintings from attic graves of the 5th century BC'), Manolis Manoledakis ('Red-Figure Pottery from Minoa on Amorgos' – including a detailed catalogue of 147 fragments), Vincenzo Baldoni ('Forme, immagini e rituali: osservazioni sulla ceramica attica dalle necropoli di Marzabotto', with a summary in English), Federica Weil-Marin ('Adria e Forcello: Alcune considerazioni sulla ceramica attica figurate proveniente dagli abitati') and Diego Elia ('Birth and Development of red-figured pottery between Sicily and South Calabria', with an appendix by Marco Serino).

Helga Di Giuseppe has travelled from participation in the British School at Rome's Tiber Valley Project, via a doctorate spurred by study of 7000 black-gloss fragments collected during the South Etruria survey, to the book of it: *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy* (with effusive acknowledgments),³² which has the twin aims of seeking 'to reconstruct a geography of black-gloss ware workshops in ancient Italy, including aspects of the organization and management of production ... and reconstruct local and regional histories of ancient

³⁰ M.L. Lawall and J. Lund (eds.), *The Transport Amphorae and Trade of Cyprus*, Gösta Enbom Monographs 3, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2013, 244 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7124-213-3/ISSN 1904-6219.

³¹ D. Paleothodoros (ed.), *The Context of Painted Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Seventh–Fourth Centuries BCE)*, BAR International Series 2364, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, iv+116 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0951-4.

³² H. Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy: Production Management and Local Histories*, BAR International Series 2335, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, xvi+198 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0918-7.

Italy in relation to the growth and development of Roman power' (p. xv). An Introduction and Conclusions top and tail four chapters: 'Black-gloss ware: a brief history of the studies and methodology of the present work', 'Theoretical models for the organization of black-gloss ware production' (with observations on Morel's models), then Chapter 3, which addresses the first aim, 'Black-Gloss ware. Forms of production and management from the 4th to the 1st century B.C.' (distribution of kilns; literary and epigraphical sources), and Chapter 4 'Historiographic approach to black-gloss ware. Consumption and local history in Italy', which deals with the second – quantification, centred on a series of areas in southern, central and northern Italy (Basilicata, Calabria, Puglia, Campania, Lazio, Tuscany, etc.) for which data are available, and explaining their different histories, the relationship between towns and territory, workshop and context, artisans and place of production, etc., through the changing of vessel shapes and types of production and distribution. Index of toponyms.

*La Ceramica Grigia di Efestia*³³ is a laudably prompt publication of pottery found during the excavations undertaken between 2003 and 2006 at Hephaestia on Lemnos by the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens, active on the island intermittently since the 1920s. It offers an initial typology of Early Iron Age grey ware on Lemnos, based on the embankment fill of a recently excavated part of an Archaic fortification wall, while contributing to the continuing debate on inter-Aegean networks in the post-Mycenaean period – the first chapter addresses inter-regional communications in the Aegean after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces; the next unpicks the complex terminology in which discussion of Bronze and Early Iron Age grey wares is couched; and the third examines the confused contextual and stratigraphic evidence of the embankment fill (see also Feredriksen, reviewed above, pp. 59, 148–49). Chapter 4, the core of the work, provides detailed catalogues of the various ceramic groups from the embankment: grey ware (159 entries), Protogeometric amphorae (11), beige ware (32), G 2/3 ware (10), some impasto, etc. Chapters 5 and 6 place the grey ware from Hephaestia in the broader context of that from elsewhere on the island and the rest of the northern Aegean and western Anatolia. In the concluding chapter, it is argued that local ceramic production continued uninterrupted from the Late Bronze Age until the 6th century BC. An appendix in English contains chemical analyses of a sample of the ceramics from the embankment fill. The volume makes a significant contribution to our understanding of cultural developments in the Early Iron Age northern Aegean. Attractively produced in a large format.

*Ceramics of the Phoenician Punic World*³⁴ brings a collection of essays from a workshop held in Malta, a suitable mid-way point between the Lebanon and Morocco, in early 2007 (contributors from Germany, Italy, Spain, Tunisia and Australia). Substantial in all senses; and well produced and well illustrated, as one expects from this series. Following Claudia

³³ L. Danile, *La Ceramica Grigia di Efestia dagli Inizi dell'Età del Ferro all'Età Alto-Arcaica*, Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XX, 2/1, Lemno 2, Scavi ad Efestia 1, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Rome 2011, 238 pp., illustrations, 34 plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-98397-9-2/ISSN 1970-6146. English summary.

³⁴ C. Sagona (ed.), *Ceramics of the Phoenician-Punic World. Collected Essays*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 36, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2011, ix+450 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2379-9.

Sagona's Introduction, much of the volume is taken up by Andrew Jamieson's 'The Iron Age Pottery from Tell Beirut 1995 – Bey 032: Periods 1 and 2', a detailed technical, shape, quantitative and comparative analysis (pp. 7–122) rounded out with 91 tables, a concordance of pottery and (pp. 187–276) a catalogue. Francisco Núñez Calvo follows with 'Tyre – al Bass. Potters and Cemeteries'; Aranegui *et al.* consider cultural contact, ethnicity and hybridity with '... Local Communities in Phoenician Lixus (Larache, Morocco)'; Telmini and Bouhel undertake a 'Petrographic and Mineralogy Characterisation of Local Punic Plain Ware from Carthage and Utica'; and Karin Mansel opens 'Carthage's Vessel Cupboard: Pottery of the Middle of the seventh century B.C.' (room T1 at Carthage on rue Ibn Chabat, excavated by the German Archaeological Institute). The final three papers focus on Malta itself, where survey and excavation work has experienced a strong revival: Recchia and Cazzella's 'Maltese Late Prehistoric Ceramic Sequence and Chronology...', Sagona's 'Observations on the Late Bronze Age and Phoenician-Punic Pottery in Malta' and Alessandro Quercia's 'Typological and Morphological remarks upon some vessels in the repertoire of Pottery in Punic Malta'. A suitably broad spectrum of approaches.

Glass, Metal, etc.

*Molten Color*³⁵ provides a succinct, up-to-date, thoroughly and colourfully illustrated introduction for non-specialists to glass-making in antiquity, based largely on material housed at the Getty Villa (supplemented where necessary from the Corning Museum in New York and the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne), written in a clear and accessible manner by a Getty curator. The focus is on glass from the 2nd millennium BC to late antiquity, with a concentration on Roman material that reflects the balance of the Getty's collection and the expertise of the author. After a brief Introduction, seven chapters run through 'What is Glass?', 'The Birth of Glass: Mesopotamia and Egypt' (cast glass, core-formed glass), 'Glass in the Mediterranean World' (especially mosaic glass), 'The Discovery of Inflated Glass' (i.e. glass-blowing and the blow out in the availability of glass), 'Glass in the Roman World' (techniques, mould-blowing) and 'Glass in the Later Empire: Regional Distinctions', to 'How was Glass Used?'. A glossary, index and a very brief bibliography/further reading.

*Amber and the Ancient World*³⁶ is of a similar format, also published by Getty, though footnoted and with 'Frequently Cited Sources' by way of a bibliography. It focuses on the appreciation and use of amber (how and why) in the ancient Mediterranean, especially Italy, from roughly the 7th century BC to the 2nd century AD, again using material from the Getty collection as a basis. Roughly 120 pages of main text, divided by headings but not further, cover all aspects and approaches: 'Jewelry: Never Just Jewelry'; 'Amber Magic?'; 'What is Amber?'; 'Where is Amber Found?'; 'The Properties of Amber'; 'Ancient Names for Amber'; 'Color and Other Optical Characteristics: Ancient Perception and Reception'; 'Ancient Literary Sources on the Origins of Amber'; 'Amber and Forgery'; 'The Ancient

³⁵ K.B. Wight, *Molten Color: Glassmaking in Antiquity*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2011, viii+136 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-60606-053-7.

³⁶ F. Causey, *Amber and the Ancient World*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2011, 152 pp., 60 colour figs. Cased. ISBN 978-1-60606-082-7.

Transport of Amber'; 'Literary Sources on the Use of Amber'; 'Amber Medicine, Amber Amulets'; 'Archaeological Evidence for the Use of Figured Amber...'; 'The Working of Amber: Ancient Evidence and Modern Analysis'; and 'The Production of Ancient Figured Amber Objects'.

Ancient Metalwork from the Black Sea to China in the Borowski Collection,³⁷ with a Foreword by John Boardman, is a catalogue of the objects acquired by Elie Borowski, mainly in the 1960s and 1970s while he was living in Switzerland, and now housed at the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem. Few comparable collections exist either in private hands or in museums. Most items are from 'Eastern and Central Asia', predominantly North China and Inner Mongolia but stretching as far as Siberia and Sinkiang, 2nd millennium/13th century BC–7th/8th century AD (195 entries, some for multiple items – belt plaques and hooks, garment plaques, buckles, appliqués, finial statuettes, spoons, knives, seals, personal ornaments, pendants, rings, harness pieces, etc. – often small, suited to nomadic life and, in subject matter, related to the 'Animal Style' work known farther to the west). 'Western Asia' is represented by Georgia and the Caucasus, 8th century BC–3rd century AD (nos. 196–203); the Scythians, mainly from the Ukraine and Bulgaria, 6th–1st centuries BC (nos. 205–216 – no. 204 is a bronze pendant dated 'vaguely' to the 3rd millennium BC); Iran, from 1200 BC, divided between vessels and relief plaques (nos. 218–225), statuettes and pendants (nos. 226–236) and Late Persian (nos. 237–244, 3rd–6th centuries AD); and single items from Lydia and the Yemen. An attractive, well-produced and comprehensively illustrated volume – and with some interesting maps, especially that of China on p. 13. English text; some German punctuation.

Eleni Zimi's *Late Classical and Hellenistic Silver Plate from Macedonia*³⁸ is another doctoral dissertation (1997) revised and matured for publication (2008) and issued in the *Oxford Monographs* series (2011). Attractively produced in a decent sized format, well illustrated (205 photographs plus line drawings, diagrams, tables and maps), and extensively indexed (pp. 279–308). The material comes largely from excavations in northern modern Greece over the last 30 years which have yielded considerable quantities of silverware of the 4th–2nd centuries BC placed as grave-goods (status symbols). The 170 examples presented here are set in their cultural/societal context as well as set against comparanda in clay, bronze and glass, i.e. sociological and art-historical approaches are combined. The text (pp. 1–125) is arranged as Introduction, Epilogue and five chapters ('Macedonian Silver Plate in Perspective' – its production and circulation, meaning and function in Macedonian society, and ownership; 'Forms' – 26 from hydria to spoon, plus fragments; 'Chronology' – notably the tumulus at Vergina; 'Inscriptions'; 'Technique'); there are five appendices (tables of decorative motifs and chronologies, composition of silver alloys and sources of silver, all for Macedonia silver, as well as 'Hellenistic Silver Plate beyond Macedonia') and

³⁷ U. Jäger and S. Kansteiner, *Ancient Metalwork from the Black Sea to China in the Borowski Collection*, edited by M. Kunze, Verlag Philipp Rutzen, Ruppolding/Mainz 2011, 186 pp., 285 colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 3-447-06496-X.

³⁸ E. Zimi, *Late Classical and Hellenistic Silver Plate from Macedonia*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xxxiv+308 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-955044-9.

a bibliography; then the 'Catalogue' containing both catalogue and a gazetteer of sites, etc. (pp. 167–278). Disparity between catalogue and photograph numbers may confuse.

Art

*Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*³⁹ is arranged with the bibliography first (pp. xiii–xxxix), 12 chapters of text – 'Names or comments? The Birth of Political Personification in Greece', '... Local Personification and Athenian Imperialism', 'Goddess before personification? Right and Retribution' (Nemesis, Themis), 'Visual personifications in literature and art: Aristophanes' Eirene and her attendants', 'The mother of wealth: Eirene revisited', etc. – and a Catalogue, divided between reliefs, monumental paintings, statuary and vase paintings, plus seven indexes (political terms, artists, other personal names, topographical, monumenta, testimonia, general). This is an investigation of political personifications in the visual art of Athens between 480 and 323 BC, public and private – representations of the state, the people, the events and the underpinning virtues – and how they can be used to shed light on the intellectual and political climate.

*Un art citoyen*⁴⁰ publishes Thomas Brisart's 2009 Brussels doctoral dissertation on Orientalising art. This is not a narrowly art-historical work: it is firmly grounded in specific archaeological context, additionally employing literary evidence where necessary or appropriate, and broad in scope and argument, edging towards the social history of art. It is arranged as Préambule, eight chapters, grouped into three parts ('Technê', discussing general issues, definitions, sources, methods, scope, types of material to be examined, etc. via 'L'art grec orientalisant', 'Expliquer l'orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque'. Next 'Agôn': 'Prestige de l'Orient' and its art as a consciously chosen form of cultural self-referencing/self-definition for the new elites, open or closed, of the nascent *poleis*; 'Honoré les dieux, pleurer les morts: Piété et ostentation', using material from the necropoleis of Argos and Athens; and 'Banquets, jeux et parfums'. And 'Polis', focused on Crete: 'Une autre cité?', discussing *polis*-formation and Archaic Cretan society; 'Aphrati'; and 'La plastique dédalique crétoise. Un "art de la citoyenneté"?) and conclusions. The Orientalising phenomenon is not a steam-hammer from the eastern Mediterranean crushing all before it, nor is Greece a uniformity (the focus is kept to Athens, Argos and Crete) – Brisart follows others in considering that there were two basic models of *polis*-formation. While he shows how the phenomenon worked in Greek communities, he does not tackle why it emerged, or how it came to affect other aspects of Greek thought, institutions, literature, etc. – surely through cultural contact. Moreover, it is evident well to the west where the Phoenicians and their trading networks must have played some part. No index.

³⁹ A.C. Smith, *Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*, Monumenta Graeca et Romana 19, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2011, xlv+202 pp., 32 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-19417-5.

⁴⁰ T. Brisart, *Un art citoyen: Recherches sur l'orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque*, Mémoire de la Classe de Lettres collection in octavo, 3e série, Tome LIV, Académie royale de Belgique, Brussels 2011, 352 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-8031-0278-5/ISSN 0378-7893.

North-West to East

*Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC*⁴¹ developed from a conference held in Durham in 2007. There are 33 contributions by 51 scholars, mainly from the area covered – defined as the British Isles, the Iberian peninsula, France and Belgium – grouped under ‘Landscape Studies’, ‘The Social Modelling of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Societies’, ‘Continuity and Change’, ‘Rhythms of Life and Death’ and Exploring the European Research Tradition’, following the editors’ long introductory ‘Crossing the Divide: Opening a Dialogue on Approaches to Western European First Millennium BC Studies’, which summarises the volume’s contents, attempts to set them within the major trends and theoretical underpinnings of current research agendas, considers current concerns and approaches in Iron Age scholarship, and how ‘our archaeological traditions have converged and diverged between and within major Western European countries’ (p. 2) – a laudable if ambitious aim, well essayed. Each section is kicked off by a leading specialist introducing major themes: Gonzalo Ruiz Zapatero, ‘Settlement and Landscape in Iron Age Europe: Archaeological Mainstreams and Minorities’; John Collis, ‘“Reconstructing Iron Age Society” Revisited’; Barbara Armbruster, ‘Approaches to Metalwork: The Role of Technology in Tradition, Innovation, and Cultural Change’; Robert Van de Noort, ‘Crossing the Divide in the First Millennium BC: A Study into the Cultural Biographies of Boats’; and Richard Hingley, ‘Iron Age Knowledge: Pre-Roman Peoples and Myths of Origin’. Niall Sharples provides ‘Boundaries, Status, and Conflict: An Exploration of Iron Age Research [and researchers] in the Twentieth Century’ as an interesting closing piece. Quality papers and a coherent focus make this an important addition, not least for bringing work and developments from French, Spanish, Portuguese and Flemish scholarship (about half the content) in an accessible form before an Anglophone readership. But a few of the contributions are overburdened by theoretical baggage or draw inappropriate modern comparisons, and several authors might ponder that today’s thrusting new interpretations will be tomorrow’s rejects, just the latest instalment of ‘children of their time’ (‘How could people possibly have believed that?’). Indexed.

The Punic theme returns with *Fenicios en Tartesos*,⁴² new, (in the main) archaeologically based perspectives on the Phoenician presence in the Iberian peninsula. A brief introduction by Manuel Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and a dozen papers, all in Spanish with English abstracts (some opaque): Cyprus and the Iberian peninsula since the 2nd millennium BC based on recent finds and research (José Blázquez Martínez); commercial and cultural exchanges between Sardinia and the Iberian peninsula at the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age (Massimo Botto); Carthage and the Iberian peninsula in the 8th–6th centuries BC, using amphorae, other pottery and bronze fibulae as evidence (Karin Mansel); the town of Castillo de Doña Blanca near Cadiz as a colonial foundation by Sidon (Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero); the Phoenician colonisation of Tartessos, conflict, identity, etc. (Carlos Wagner); new archaeological evidence from Le Rebanadilla, Malaka and elsewhere around the Bay of Malaga (Arancibia Román *et al.*); locals, Phoenicians and

⁴¹ T. Moore and X.-L. Armada (eds.), *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC: Crossing the Divide*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xxvii+690 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-956795-9.

⁴² M. Álvarez Martí-Aguilar (ed.), *Fenicios en Tartesos: nuevas perspectivas*, BAR International Series 2245, Archaeopress, Oxford 2011, ii+248 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0809-8.

Tartessians in the west of the Iberian peninsula (Portugal) (Ana Arruda); a Darwinian-inspired examination of Phoenician colonisation (José Escacena Carrasco); Phoenician ethnic identity and Graeco-Roman perceptions, perspectives and texts (Eduardo Ferrer Albelda); worship in Phoenician Gadir compared with Tyre, Carthage, etc. (M.C. Marín Ceballo); stratigraphic analysis of Avienus' *Ora maritima* to restore the historical framework of Massaliot visits to Tartessos (Luca Antonelli); scrutiny of Livy, Cato and Strabo regarding the location of the Turdetani (Pierre Moret). The papers, from various perspectives, touch on the diversity of origins and identities of 'Phoenician' communities, homogeneity and heterogeneity, the forging of new political and ethnic identities, how to differentiate the local from the colonial in the archaeological record, and other topics of similarly broad interest. Well illustrated.

*The Roman Empire and Beyond*⁴³ grew from eponymous sessions, organised by the editors at the 2006 and 2007 meetings of the European Association of Archaeologists, to cater for the increasing amount of work conducted in Central and Eastern Europe, with particular reference to Roman–Native and Native–Roman interactions within and without the empire. To offer a flavour: 'Maritime Villas on the Eastern Adriatic Coast...' (Begović and Schrunk), '... the Link between Hadrian and Philippopolis, Thrace' (Ivo Topalilov), 'Early Christian imports and local imitations of imported goods in the territory of the Central Balkans' (Olivera Ilić), 'Western Germanic Tribes and the Romanization of Central European *Barbaricum*' (Artur Błazejewski), '... Provincial Models in a Sarmatian Pottery Center on the Danube Frontier' (Kulcsár and Merai), 'The Roman-Age Settlement at Csengersima-Petea and Pottery Workshops from the Upper Tisza Basin' (Gindele and Istvánovits), iron smelting in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains of southern Poland (Szymon Orzechowski), 'The Barbarians and Roman Dacia. War, Trade and Cultural Interaction' (Coriolan Opreanu) and 'Influence and Observation: Towards a more Concrete Understanding of the Roman-Dacian *limes*' (Daniel Weiss). Eric De Sena concludes with 'Through the Looking Glass: Perceptions of Ethnic and National Identity in the Roman Balkans and Beyond', using literary and archaeological sources and works of public and private art from Rome. Very well illustrated throughout.

*Lag Troia in Kilikien?*⁴⁴ marshals an impressive collection of authors (Walter Burkert, Johannes Haubold, Wolfgang Kofler, Giovanni Lanfranchi, Andreas Mehl, Barbara Patzek, Kurt Raaflaub, Robert Rollinger, Christoph Ulf, Josef Wiesehöfer, to name but half) in response to Raoul Schrott's *Homers Heimat: Der Kampf um Troia und seine realen Hintergründe* (Munich 2008), in which Homer, an Akkadian-speaking Greek from Cilicia, compiled the *Iliad* by projecting Near Eastern sources read in the original onto older Greek epic about the Trojan War, mixing in contemporary Cilician rebellions against Assyrian rule, etc.: Troy modelled on Hittite Karatepe, Greeks as Assyrians, Cilicians as Trojans. An array of opinions, Ulf's not unfavourable, are expressed or discussed, touching on all aspects of

⁴³ E.C. De Sena and H. Dobrzanska (eds.), *The Roman Empire and Beyond: Archaeological and Historical Research on the Romans and Native Cultures in Central Europe*, BAR International Series 2236, Archaeopress, Oxford 2011, 173 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0798-5.

⁴⁴ C. Ulf and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 2011, 448 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-534-23208-6.

Homer, the *Iliad* and its dating, Troy and its location, Greek contacts with the Near East and reception of Near Eastern literature, Gilgamesh, Greek presence or absence in Cilicia, onomastics, etymology, Hittite sources, Akkadian literature, (comparative) epic composition, etc. Most contributors do not dismiss Schrott out of hand, unlike some reviewers – indeed, some applaud (softly) Schrott's drawing attention to Near Eastern influences on Greece. Thus, this volume suggests that Schrott's theses do at least deserve serious attention (prior to rejection?). Overall, 20 papers, two of them in English. Indexed.

*Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas*⁴⁵ contains 17 essays from an interdisciplinary colloquium, 'Die Ursprünge Europas und der Orient...', held at Friedrich-Alexander University, Erlangen-Nuremberg, in February 2006. A selection must suffice: Susan Sherratt, with 'The history of East Mediterranean and Aegean interaction: some when, how and why questions', opens; Helene Sader gives 'Phoenicia and the Mediterranean: New Evidence from Recent Excavations in Lebanon' and Marco Bettelli, 'Interaction and acculturation: the Aegean and the Central Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age'; and the late Nicolas Coldstream makes one of his final contributions in 'Far-flung Phoenicians bearing early Greek pottery?'. Joachim Latacz considers 'Strukturiertes Gedächtnis. Zur Überlieferung der Troia-Geschichte durch die "Dunklen Jahrhunderte"', Norbert Oettinger, 'Invasion und Assimilation von Griechen in Kilikien: Konsequenzen aus den Berichten über Mopsos/Muksas', Robert Plath, 'Kulturbeziehungen in der mykenischen Zeit auf der Grundlage der Linear-B-Texte', Matthias Recke, 'Pamphylien zwischen Ost und West. Die Ausgrabungen von Perge als Fallbeispiel'. Itmar Singer makes 'Eine Deutung des Briefpaares RS94.2530 und RS 94.2523' in 'Schiffe nach Lukka...', Michael Weissl examines 'Die großen ionischer Heiligtümer an der Grenze Lydiens' and Kurt Raaflaub, 'Das frühe politischen Denken der Griechen im interkulturellen Zusammenhang des Mittelmeerraumes', leading to Robert Rollinger's 'Der Blick aus dem Osten: "Griechen" in vorderasiatischen Quellen des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.'. Annie Caubet concludes with 'La question des faïences grecques archaïques'. Multilingual volumes, as I know, are always a problem to edit. The major problem here is an erratic mixture in the bibliographies, all 16 headed 'Literatur', and the titles of contributions, of English- and German-language practices and punctuation within and across those languages, either the language of the contribution or that of the particular item of bibliography (Hrsg. or Hg., single or double quotation marks, what is italicised, etc.) – while Caubet gives all her bibliography as footnotes. A minor distraction, but surely avoidable. Large format and well illustrated.

*From Pella to Gandhara*⁴⁶ presents the proceedings of a conference held in Oxford in May 2009 – 11 papers, an Introduction by one editor, a Conclusion by another, and a Foreword by John Boardman – for young scholars from/based in the British Isles (Oxford plus TCD), Western Europe, Israel and the United States, fortified by keynote contributions from Boardman and Michael Vickers, and grounded on discussions between doctoral

⁴⁵ H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger and S. Schröder (eds.), *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas: Kulturelle Beziehungen von der Späten Bronzezeit bis zur Frühen Eisenzeit*, Philippika 42, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2011, viii+289 pp., 43 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06414-9.

⁴⁶ A. Kouremenos, S. Chandrasekaran and R. Rossi (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*, BAR International Series 2221, Archaeopress, Oxford 2011, xii+193 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0779-4.

students at Lincoln College focused on the usage (and abuse) of various theoretical terms that sprout, weed-like, in current archaeological scholarship: it is refreshing to see the younger generation grip these meaning-gouging bulls by the horns. Terminology, as I have written several times before, can become master not servant in lazy hands; as Boardman notes, quoting (p. x) Roberto Rossi, “The important element is that the material leads the discussion”. Vickers opens with ‘Alcibiades, “a classical archetype for Alexander”’; other chapters include ‘Hybridisation of Palatial Architecture: Hellenistic Royal Palaces and Governors’ Seats’, “Hellenising” the “Cypriot Goddess”: “Reading” the Amathourian Terra-cotta Figurines’, ‘The Ruins of Mount Karasis in Cilicia’, ‘A Hybridized Aphrodite: the Anadyomene Motif at Tel Kedesh’, “Hybrid” Art, Hellenism and the Study of Acculturation in the Hellenistic East: The Case of Umm el-’Amed in Phoenicia’, ‘Cultural interaction and the emergence of hybrids in the material culture of Hellenistic Mesopotamia... terracotta figurines, ceramic ware and seal impressions’, ‘Temple Architecture in the Iranian World in the Hellenistic Period’, ‘Cultural convergence in Bactria: the votives from the Temple of the Oxos at Takht-I Sangin’, ‘From Gandharan Trays to Gandharan Buddhist Art: The Persistence of Hellenistic Motifs from the Second Century BC and Beyond’ and ‘Model and Metaphor in the Archaeology of Hellenistic Arachosia’. Well illustrated.

*Seleucid Dissolution*⁴⁷ is another volume in the *Philippika* series, offering papers from a ‘Seleucid’ conference organised in Exeter in 2008, prefaced by an Introduction by the co-editors. The contributors, based in the United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, Canada and Germany, are a mixture of young and established scholars: David Engels (‘Middle Eastern “Feudalism” and Seleucid Dissolution’) and Gillian Ramsey (‘Seleucid Administration – Effectiveness and Dysfunction Among Officials’) provide the political; Kyle Erickson (‘Apollo-Nabû: the Babylonian Policy of Antiochus I’), G.G. Aperghis (‘Antiochus IV and his Jewish Subjects: Political, Cultural and Religious Interaction’), Altay Coşkun (‘Galatians and Seleucids: a Century of Conflict and Cooperation’) and Cristian Ghiță (Nysa – A Seleucid Princess in Anatolian Context) contribute on integration, interaction, diplomacy, influence, etc.; Nicholas Wright (‘The Last Days of a Seleucid City: Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates and its Temple’) and Heather Jackson (‘A Late Seleucid Housing Insula at Jebel Khalid in North Syria...’) are archaeological; and Daniel Ogden (‘Seleucid Dynastic Foundation Myths: Antioch and Seleuceia-in-Pieria’), Paolo Ceccarelli (‘Kings, Philosophers and Drunkards: Athenaeus’ Information on the Seleucids’) and Johannes Engels (‘Posidonius of Apameia and Strabo of Amasia on the Decline of the Seleucid Kingdom’) focus on written evidence and literary themes. Zohreh Baseri, a curator at the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, provides, as a coda, a selection of previously unpublished Seleucid coins from the Museum. Indexed.

*Kurgan Studies*⁴⁸ brings together two dozen contributions by 26 Hungarian, nine Russian and one American scholar, fruits of a Hungarian-Russian project, arranged as an

⁴⁷ K. Erickson and G. Ramsey (eds.), *Seleucid Dissolution: The Sinking of the Anchor*, Philippika 50, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2011, 209 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-06588-7/ISSN 1613-5628.

⁴⁸ Á. Pető and A. Barczí (eds.), *Kurgan Studies: An Environmental and Archaeological Multiproxy Study of Burial Mounds in the Eurasian Steppe Zone*, BAR International Series 2238, Archaeopress, Oxford 2011, x+350 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0802-9.

introduction ('Requiem for kurgans' – interesting to see a reference to Teleki Pál) and three sections ('Perspectives on Kurgans', 'Archaeology' and 'Environmental Sciences', the last further divided into 'Anthropology', 'Geography, geomorphology, geochemistry', 'Pedology, palaeopedology', 'Palaeozoology', 'Palaeo-ethnobotany' and 'Botany'). The Eurasian steppe zone of the secondary title is, in effect, the Great Hungarian Plain/modern attenuated Hungary on the one hand, and the Urals on the other (half the Russians are based in Orenburg). Thus, section one contains 'The complex condition assessment survey of kurgans in Hungary' and 'On the history of the Bronze Age studies in the steppe near the Ural Mountains'; and section two has 'Research of Pit-Grave culture kurgans in Hungary in the last three decades' and 'Hajdúnánás-Tedej-Lyukas-halom – An interdisciplinary survey of a typical kurgan from the Great Hungarian Plain region: a case study (The revisions of the kurgans from the territory of Hungary)', extensive pieces occupying about a third of the volume, balanced against the three much shorter 'Pit-Grave Culture of the South near the Ural Mountains', 'Timber-Grave culture in the basin of the Samara as an example of the Skvortsovsky and Labazovsky burial grounds' and 'Nomads of the steppe near the Ural Mountains in the Middle Ages'. Fully illustrated with drawings, maps, charts, tables, photographs, etc. (some colour). Russian bibliography transliterated; Hungarian in original and translation.

*The Archaeology of Power and Politics in Eurasia*⁴⁹ publishes papers from the Third Conference of Eurasian Archaeology, held in Chicago in 2008. It is pleasing to see the progress of some of the participants in the previous such conference⁵⁰ – these events bring together established scholars (Adam Smith, Philip Kohl, Katheryn Linduff) with people earlier in career (David Peterson, Irina Shungiray) and doctoral students (Michelle Negus Cleary, Alan Greene, MaryFran Heinsch), many, of course, connected with Chicago (a sign of strength), but others from across North America, Australia, China, Russia, etc. An editorial introduction, 'Regimes, Revolutions, and the Materiality of Power in Eurasian Archaeology', leads on to 'Part I. The Rhetoric of Regime and the Ideology of Revolution' (the intersection of nationhood, identity and political culture with the built environment): 'Archaeology and the National Idea in Eurasia', revised from the keynote speech of Victor Shnirelman; '... Cultural Heritage Interpretation in Xinjiang'; '... Archaeological Repertoires, Public Assemblages, and the Manufacture of a (Post)-Soviet Nation' – much of interest on the Soviet-era architecture of Yerevan; '... Representations of Military Encounters between Central Asia and the Achaemenid Persian Empire'; '... Perspectives on the Communication of Power in Ancient Chorasmia'; etc.). 'Part II. Materialities of Homeland, Practices of Expansion' opens with 'Homelands of the Present and in the Past: Political Implications of a Dangerous Concept' (erstwhile Yugoslavia as well as Transcaucasia), then the first of two bioarchaeological examinations (the second is on Xiongnu expansion in Iron Age Tuva), 'Ethos, Materiality, and Paradigms of Political Action in Early Medieval

⁴⁹ C.W. Hartley, G. Bike Yazıcıoğlu and A.T. Smith (eds.), *The Archaeology of Power and Politics in Eurasia: Regimes and Revolutions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, xviii+470 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01652-1.

⁵⁰ The previous conference was published in *Colloquia Pontica*, the then monograph supplement to *AWE*: D.L. Peterson, L.M. Popova and A.T. Smith (eds.), *Beyond the Steppe and the Sown* (Leiden 2006).

Communities of the Northwestern Caspian Region', etc., etc. And 'Part III. Regimes of the Body, Revolutions of Value' moves back from 'Kazakhstan, Postsocialist Transition, and the Problem of Multiple Materialities' and '... Metallurgy and the Politics of Value in Bronze Age Eurasia' through the Late Bronze Age South Caucasus, the Tsaghkahovit Plain and '... Technical Variation in Kura-Araxes Horizon Pottery of the Eastern Caucasus', to '... the Bronze Age Tell at Százhalombatta, Hungary', concluding with Geoff Emberling's brief summarising piece. A unified bibliography – perhaps not the best option – with relatively few inconsistencies.

Celebration and Commemoration

Andrew Sherratt, who died untimely in 2006 and thought on a large scale about a wide range of matters, is commemorated in two broadly framed volumes, both handsomely published by Oxbow, both resulting from events held in Sheffield in his memory: *Dynamics of Neolithisation*⁵¹ from a meeting in October 2007; *Interweaving Worlds*⁵² from a conference, 'What *Would* a Bronze Age World System Look Like? ...', six months later (with only one overlapping contributor). *Dynamics* has 16 contributions from the United Kingdom, Hungary (appropriately recognising the importance of the Great Hungarian Plain/Carpathian Basin/Transdanubia as the natural setting for examining the process of Neolithic transformation), Western Europe and the United States, plus editorial Introduction and a short but illuminating Foreword, 'Andrew Sherratt and the Neolithic of Europe', by John O'Shea, opening, appropriately, with a quotation from V. Gordon Childe. *Dynamics*, drawing together and reflecting on patterns across Europe, ranges from '... Recent advances in mathematical modelling and radiocarbon chronology of the neolithisation of Europe' and 'The Neolithic Revolution: an ecological perspective' to studies, with varied focus, of particular regions (Greece, the Balkans, Spain, Central Europe, Britain, Scania and Northern Europe), embodying plant and animal domestication, social organisation, monumental architecture, social identity, the cultural transmission of technology and, of course, secondary products. Overall, these reflect the stage Sherratt's own work had reached – pursuing 'the big picture' by moving beyond the mono-causal to the construction of models seeking to understand and integrate a complex of cultural, ecological, economic and social factors and data. In this volume disparity and different perspectives are seen as potential strength, though some may wish that the pudding had a stronger theme notwithstanding the quality of the ingredients. *Interweaving*, a broad cloth, has 23 contributions, including a fragmentary one by Sherratt himself ('Global Development', pp. 4–6, somewhat polemical); its contributors range from Nils Anfinset to Norman Yoffee via Philip Kohl. The world-systems patina is obvious in the first section, 'The Warp: Global Systems and Interactions',

⁵¹ A. Hadjikoumis, E. Robinson and S. Viner (eds.), *The Dynamics of Neolithisation in Europe: Studies in Honour of Andrew Sherratt*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2011, xvi+389 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-999-4.

⁵² T.C. Wilkinson, S. Sherratt and J. Bennet (eds.), *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to the 1st Millennium BC*, Papers from a Conference in Memory of Professor Andrew Sherratt, 'What *Would* a Bronze Age World System Look Like? World Systems Approaches to Europe and Western Asia, 4th to 1st Millennia BC', Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2011, vi+308 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-998-7.

Philippe Beaujard's initial chapter the most explicitly so, but does not sweep all before it, as Cyprian Broodbank opts for examining micro-ecologies in 'The Mediterranean and Mediterranean World in the Age of Andrew Sherratt', and succeeding chapters address 'Ingestion and Food Technologies...' and undertake a critical examination of 'Revolutionary Secondary Products...' (another of Sherratt's concerns). Part B, inevitably, is entitled 'The Weft: The Local and the Global' (12 chapters on the southern Levant, metals in the royal tombs of Alacahöyük in north-central Anatolia, an emerging Black Sea 'community' in the Early Bronze Age, the prosperity of Judah and Philistia in the 7th century BC, north-east Africa and the Levant 'a World-Systems Perspective on Interregional Relationships in the Early Second Millennium BC', 'Strands of Connectivity... Long-Distance Exchange of Silk in Later Prehistoric Eurasia, the beginnings of urbanism in the southern Levant, bridging India and Scandinavia, first systemic contacts twixt Crete and the eastern Mediterranean, emergence of Mycenaean civilisation as glocalisation, 'Anticipating the Silk Road: Some Thoughts on the Wool-Murex Connection in Tyre' and '... Mesopotamia and its World'). Both volumes would have benefited from indexes. 'Lord Colin Renfrew' does not exist.

Sir Fergus Millar, long associated with *AWE*, happily does – his honour fortuitously coinciding with a colloquium/seminar in Lille in June 2010, published in *Rome, A City and Its Empire in Perspective*,⁵³ that drew together young scholars and old, to discuss the mains aspects of his research, its reception and reactions to it, etc.: Stéphane Benoist, 'Fergus Millar, un historien dans la cité'; Frédéric Hurlet, 'Démocratie à Rome? Quelle démocratie? En relisant Millar (et Hölleskamp)'; Francisco Pina Polo, '*Contio*, *auctoritas* and Freedom of Speech in Republican Rome'; John Ma, 'Relire les *Institutions des Séleucides* de Bikerman'; Peter Eich, 'Centre and Periphery. Administrative Communication in Roman Imperial Times'; Clifford Ando, 'The Roman City in the Roman Period'; Philippe Blaudeau, 'Sources conciliaires et histoire de l'empire romain: une lecture de Fergus Millar'; Jean-Baptiste Yon, 'Pluralité de langues, pluralité des cultures dans le Proche-Orient romano-byzantin'; and, not least, Millar himself, 'The Roman Near East from Constantine to Mahomet: Report on a Research Project', indicative of just how wide his interests in Rome roam, something confirmed by the Millar Bibliography on pp. 183–89. A well-deserved tribute to a profoundly influential scholar. Fully indexed. Uneasy English in the front and end matter.

*Demeter, Isis, Vesta, and Cybele*⁵⁴ is one of two volumes published to honour Giulia Sfameni Gasparro. There are 14 contributions on these female deities, and it is the transcultural and multifaceted aspects of them that are emphasised in pieces adopting varied methodologies (classical, anthropological, etc.). Alberto Bernabé's 'A brave netherworld: the

⁵³ S. Benoist (ed.), *Rome, a City and Its Empire in Perspective: The Impact of the Roman World through Fergus Millar's Research/Rome, une cité impériale en jeu: L'impact du monde romain selon Fergus Millar*, Impact of Empire 16, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2012, viii+211 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-23092-7.

⁵⁴ A. Mastrocinque and C. Giuffrè Scibona (eds.), *Demeter, Isis, Vesta, and Cybele: Studies in Greek and Roman Religion in Honour of Giulia Sfameni Gasparro*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 36, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2012, 248 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10075-5.

Orphic Hades as utopia' is followed by 'Demeter in Megara', 'Koré-Perséphone entre Déméter et Hadès and 'Demeter and Athena at Gela: personal features of Sicilian goddesses'; Laurent Bricault's 'Associations isiaques d'Occident' leads on to 'Neotera and her Iconography', 'Isis, Cybele and other oriental gods in Rome in Late Antiquity: "private" contexts and the role of senatorial aristocracy' and 'Isis, the crocodiles and the mysteries of the Nile floods: interpreting a scene from Roman Egypt exhibited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 30001)'; then 'Vesta and the Vestals, protectors of Rome' and 'Flamines, Salii, and the priestesses of Vesta: Individual decision and differences of social order in late republican Roman priesthoods'; and finally Cybele, with Richard Gordon's "'Ut tu me vindices": Mater Magna and Attis in some new Latin Curse-Texts', 'The name of Cybele in Latin poetry and literature: Cybela, Cybebe or Cybele /Cybelle?', 'On bulls and stars: sacrifice and allegorical pluralism in Julian's time' and 'Le circuit rituel de la *lavatio*'. A pity that the brief account of the honorand is not balanced by some details of the contributors.

*Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*⁵⁵ grew out of 'A day in honour of Simon Price', held in Oxford to mark his premature retirement on health grounds in 2008; he died before the volume went to press and a brief appreciation is included. After an introductory chapter by the editors, it is Price himself who sets the tone in his previously published 'Memory and Ancient Greece', followed by J.A. North's 'Sappho Underground', 'Memory and Its Uses in Judaism and Christianity in the Early Roman Empire: The Portrayal of Abraham' (Martin Goodman) and 'Statues in the Temples of Pompeii: Combinations of Gods, Local Definitions of Cults, and the Memory of the City' (William van Andringa) to conclude Part I. Beate Dignas, one of the editors, opens Part II, 'Defining Religious Identity', with 'Rituals and the Construction of Identity in Attalid Pergamon', leading on to Richard Gordon's 'Memory and Authority in the Magical Papyri', John Scheid, on restoring a fragmentary graffito at Sulmo, and Lucia Nixon's 'Building Memory: The Role of Sacred Texts in Sphakia and Crete'. Part III, 'Commemorating and Erasing the Past', has D.S. Levene on 'Roman Historians Remembering to Forget' (Tacitus, Livy), Aude Busine on the use of inscriptions and oracles to legitimise new cults, Peter Thonemann on 'Abercius of Hierapolis: Christianization and Social Memory in Late Antique Asia Minor' and R.R.R. Smith 'Defacing the Goods of Aphrodisias' (the sculpted reliefs of the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion).

Sailing to Classical Greece,⁵⁶ an attractive, large-format volume from Oxbow, is offered as a *Festschrift* to Petros Themelis, one of the leading archaeologists of modern Greece, known best for his work at Messene in the Peloponnese. 'An Archaeological Bibliography 1962–2010' is followed by 15 essays in English, German, French and Italian, reflecting the breadth of the cast of contributors. These open with Alexander Cambitoglu's 'A Melian fenestrated stand in the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney', and move on through 'Ténos – Délos: réflexions sur quelques problèmes d'histoire et d'archéologie' (Roland

⁵⁵ B. Dignas and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xix+338 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-957206-9.

⁵⁶ O. Palagia and H.R. Goette (eds.), *Sailing to Classical Greece: Papers on Greek Art, Archaeology and Epigraphy Presented to Petros Themelis*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2011, vi+109 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-422-7.

Étienne), ‘La Sibilla Cumana’ (Umberto Pappalardo), ‘Alkiabes’ (Stephen Miller) and ‘Athenian decrees of 404/3 to 86 B.C. passed at the same meeting’ (Stephen Tracy), to ‘New perspectives on the workshop of the Derveni krater’ (Beryl Barr-Sharrar), ‘Arsinoe Philopator und Menander. Zwei griechische Portraits in Norfolk (Virginia)’ (Hans Goette), ‘Limestone reliefs with raised hands from Messene’ (Olga Palagia), ‘Eleuthernean pilgrims inside the Melidoni Cave (Tallaeum Antrum)’ (Yannis Tzifopoulos) and ‘Kaiserzeitliche Theaterbauten in Griechenland’ (Hans Isler), to take some examples; and overall, from the Geometric period to the Roman empire, and from Macedonia to Magna Graecia via Crete.

Before and Beyond Antiquity

*Britain Begins*⁵⁷ is another broad-brush *tour de force* by Barry Cunliffe. It seeks to cover the story of the origins of the British and Irish peoples, islanders on the fringes of continental Europe, both linked and separated by the sea, from before 10,000 BC until *ca.* AD 1100, using archaeological evidence fortified by scientific techniques (DNA, for example), presented through a combination of historical and thematic chapters: ‘In the Beginning: Myth and Ancestors’ (Herodotus, Diodorus, Bede, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Leland, Camden, Speed, Aubrey and ‘Ossian’ and ‘Iolo Morganwg’, and many others, mixing the heroes and villains of the search for origins), ‘Britain Emerges: The Stage is Set’, ‘Interlude: Enter the Actors’, ‘Settlement Begins, 10,000–4200 BC’, ‘New People, New Ideas, 4200–3000 BC’, ‘Mobilizing Materials: A New Connectivity, 3000–1500 BC’, ‘Interlude: Talking to Each Other’, ‘The Productive Land in the Age of Warriors, 1500–800 BC’, ‘Episodes of Conflict, 800–60 BC’, ‘Interlude: Approaching the Gods’, ‘Integration: The Roman Episode, 60 BC–AD 350’, ‘“Its Red and Savage Tongue”, AD 350–650’ and ‘The Age of the Northmen, AD 600–1100’, plus a brief Epilogue containing thoughts on the last millennium, and a 35-page ‘Guide to Further Reading’. Easily readable by a non-specialist: a who, what, where, when, how account for visualising a long sweep of the past, with a clear path to digging deeper into ‘Our Island Story’. Extensively and colourfully illustrated (including maps, plans, charts, sites, objects).

*The Horse*⁵⁸ was published to accompany an exhibition staged at the British Museum in 2012, with the bulk of exhibits from its own collections: a sumptuous coffee-table product written by two long-time collaborators from the Museum. It contains five brief but well-illustrated chapters (‘The Horse in the Ancient Near East’, ‘The Horse in the Islamic World’, ‘The Horse in Arabia’, ‘The Arabian Horse and the Blunts’ and ‘The Horse in Modern Britain’), a single page of notes, ditto of further reading, and, at its heart, the catalogue of 256 exhibits divided unequally according to those chapter headings – from the Standard of Ur (*ca.* 2600 BC) to the Queen Elizabeth II Stakes Cup (2011) via Egypt, Luristan, Nimrud, Nineveh, Carchemish/the Neo-Hittites, the Achaemenids (including the Oxus Treasure), the Scythians, the Parthians, etc. (just to reach the end of the ancient Near East at the numerical half-way point in the exhibition – the Arabian section contains

⁵⁷ B. Cunliffe, *Britain Begins*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xii+553 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-960933-8.

⁵⁸ J. Curtis and N. Tallis, with A. Johansen, *The Horse: From Arabia to Royal Ascot*, The British Museum Press, London 2012, 268 pp., 290 black-and-white and colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-1183-4.

further objects from antiquity). Naturally, Stubbs, Sartorius and the Godolphin Arabian feature in the 'Modern Britain' section.

*Neglected Barbarians*⁵⁹ grew out of two sessions at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo in 2005. Well edited by Florin Curta of the University of Florida, the other contributors stretch across a dozen European countries from Spain to Russia, many of them based in Central and Eastern Europe; the temporal focus is Late Antique/Early Mediaeval (ca. AD 300–900). The pieces are substantial, 'peripheral' in geographical terms, 'central' to our better understanding of this period, grounded on archaeological evidence, and posing questions about methodology or of broader application: the 'Backcountry Balts', the Aesti of what is now Lithuania and southern Latvia and their trade in amber; the Olsztyn group and the 'Mysterious Barbarians of Mazuria' (the south of old East Prussia), material culture and migration; the Sclavenes and Antes – problems of equating archaeological 'cultures' with historical people, and nationalist historiography; 'Bosporus, the Tetraxite Goths and the Northern Caucasus Region during the Second Half of the Fifth and the Sixth Centuries' (by Gavritukhin and Kazanski) – comparing and identifying archaeological cultures, seriation; a Hun era burial in Budapest (context, emergence of 'buried' data), and a 5th-century burial in Old Buda; the disappearing Gepids and how to identify them, (1) in relation to a 6th-/7th-century cemetery in Bratei in Transylvania, and (2) in the Balkans; Bohemia in late antiquity; the Herules and the migration mythology of their wanderings between Scandinavia and the Sea of Azov (and German nationalism); 'The Justinianic Herules: From Allied Barbarians to Roman Provincials'; 'The Making of the Slavs in "Dark-Age" Greece' (pp. 403–78, by Curta) – a substantial examination of archaeological, numismatic and historical evidence to discount a Slavic conquest of Greece; the Astures, Cantabri and Vascones of the Spanish North – integration into Roman then Visigothic structures; Suevic coins and kings, 'The Visigothic Connection' (and Roman and Byzantine); Vandals in North Africa; and Frexes in North Africa 'in the Shadow of the Vandal Kingdom'. Peter Heather concludes the volume with 'Neglecting the Barbarian' – for the 1st millennium AD, this 'is a pastime with a long pedigree' (p. 605). Some have been more ignored than others. This volume readjusts the balance, and promises more redress for the future, by examining less accessible groups, posing questions about why certain groups have been neglected, asking what and how much we know and can know about given groups, and what courses future research might pursue to fill gaps and deepen and broaden our knowledge. Helpful maps.

One *Legacy of Byzantine Cherson*⁶⁰ is this extremely opulent, large-format volume, trilingual in Russian, Ukrainian and English – 118 pages of text (prefatory and chapters on 'Byzantine Archaeology at Tauric Chersonesos' and 'The Artefacts', 285 pages of colour illustrations and 257 of catalogue, divided between stone, metal, bone, clay, glass, and

⁵⁹ F. Curta (ed.), *Neglected Barbarians*, Brepols, Turnhout 2010, xx+629 pp., illustrations, 14 maps and 10 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-2-503-53125-0.

⁶⁰ T. Yashaeva, E. Denisova, N. Ginkut, V. Zalesskaya and D. Zhuravlev, *The Legacy of Byzantine Cherson*, 185 Years of Excavation at Tauric Chersonesos, Telescope Publishers, Sevastopol and Institute of Classical Archaeology, of the University of Texas at Austin 2011, 707 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-966-1539-22-7 (Telescope); 978-0-9748334-2-2 (ICA). Parallel text in Russian, Ukrainian and English.

mosaics and frescoes (with colour illustrations), plus bibliography – reuniting a mere selection of the material housed in Chersonesos/Sevastopol, the Hermitage in St Petersburg and the State Historical Museum in Moscow, with the co-operation of the University of Texas at Austin, long involved in excavation (and conservation) at Chersonesos. The photograph on p. 34 suggests little difference in massing between the architecture of that university and ‘Stalin Gothic’. A magnificent production. Indexed.

‘What have the Greeks and Romans done for us?’ is the subtitle of *The Long Shadow of Antiquity*,⁶¹ which focuses on showing the numerous ways in which modern practices and the modern world have been shaped and influenced – consciously, self-consciously but often unconsciously – by classical antiquity (the publisher, Continuum, is appropriately named), i.e. its relevance not irrelevance. An approachable work in eight chapters: ‘The bare necessities: Food and shelter’ (including banquets, cook-books, money); ‘From the cradle to the grave: The family and the journey of life’ (childhood, education, marriage, sexuality, old age and burial, but also the calendar and holidays and festivals); ‘Living the good life: Entertainments and leisure activities’ (sport, athletics, competition, celebrity and fans, gambling, bathing and travel/tourism); ‘Power to the people: Systems of Government’ (the *polis*; democracy – the good, the bad and the ugly; representative government in the Roman Republic, but also ‘Looking back to go forwards: The [American] Founding Fathers and Classical Antiquity’ and ‘The Empire strikes back...’ including more eagles, Bonaparte as consul and emperor, Mussolini’s Third Roman Empire and Hitler); ‘Understanding and shaping the material world: Architecture and science’ (the Colosseum, the Pantheon, town planning, infrastructure, building methods and design elements, theatres and triumphal arches, scientist-philosophers, engineers, inventors, medicine); ‘Understanding and shaping the spiritual world: Superstition and religion’ (magic and witchcraft, astrology, Graeco-Roman religion, Christianity and its borrowings from paganism, etc.); ‘Words, ideas, and stories: Language, law, philosophy, and literature’ (including alphabets, etymology illustrated with many quotidian examples; classical myths, poetry, theatre, biographies, advice manuals, modern versions of ancient stories); and ‘Conclusion: You can’t escape the past: Popular culture and antiquity’ (rediscovering antiquity, film and television, etc.). From Washington (‘the American Cincinnatus’) in a toga to Washington on the Tiber/Potomac (and all those other Capitols), via Charlottesville and Monticello, a thoroughly American book.

Linacre College, Oxford/University of Nottingham/
International Hellenic University, Thessaloniki/
University of Bucharest

Gocha R. Tsatskhladze

⁶¹ G.S. Aldrete and A. Aldrete, *The Long Shadow of Antiquity: What Have the Greeks and Romans Done For Us?*, Continuum International Publishing, London/New York 2012, xi+365 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4411-6247-2.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS

P. Bahn (ed.), *The History of Archaeology: An Introduction*, Routledge, London/New York 2014, xxi+255 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-414-84172-6

B. Fagan (ed.), *The Great Archaeologists*, Thames and Hudson, London 2014, 304 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-500-05181-8

Different but overlapping: Bahn illuminates the history of archaeology, considered regionally, with text-boxes containing brief biographies (spotlighting 53 individuals); Fagan uses 75 biographies (many of them of the same people), arranged within thematic sections, in part to illustrate those themes but also to interweave some general aspects of the history of archaeology. How (whether?) to hyphenate Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers has taxed both editors and brought different solutions (Robin Lane Fox is not a contributor).

Fagan's volume consists of 59 sketches (of individual scholars, pairings and one trio), provided by 41 authors, predominantly Anglo-American in origin or domicile, and grouped into six sections, 'The Antiquity of Humankind' (six, from William Stukeley to Henri Breuil), 'Discoverers of Ancient Civilizations' (18: Johann. Winckelmann, Giovanni Belzoni, Karl Lepsius, Austen Layard, the Schliemanns, Arthur Evans, Aurel Stein, Gertrude Bell, Howard Carter, Gertrude Caton-Thompson, etc.), 'The Art of Excavation' (11: Pitt Rivers, Flinders Petrie, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Leonard Woolley, Mortimer Wheeler, William F. Albright, etc.), 'Decipherers of Ancient Scripts' (four: Jean-François Champollion, Henry Rawlinson, Michael Ventris, etc.), 'Discovering World Prehistory' (14: Dorothy Garrod, Okladnikov and Semenov, the Leakeys, Kathleen Kenyon, Graham Clarke, Desmond Clark, etc.) and 'Thinking about the Past' (six: V. Gordon Childe, Daniel and Piggott, Clarke and Binford, etc.), each with a very brief introduction, each in rough date order, the whole prefaced by 'Searching for the Past', which provides an overview of the six sections. Many of those included tend to select themselves: the Anglosphere predominates, seasoned by other Europeans, a handful of scholars from Latin America and a brace of Chinese; and all areas from ancient Egypt to Polynesia are covered. Semenov is treated more kindly here than by Klejn,¹ but to include just three Russians (in two shared entries) seems extremely parsimonious. Other reviewers will have their own list of candidates/absentees; some of those included were popularisers and (self-)publicists known to the general public; many well-known within the discipline or to scholarship as a whole; a few, perhaps, the 'captain's pick'; all interesting. Thoroughly illustrated, often in colour, and produced in a respectably large format; useful 'Further Reading' that combines works by those selected for inclusion with works about them. The 'great man' (or woman – Bell, Caton-Thompson, Garrod, Kenyon) syndrome treated thoughtfully and applied to a subject in which the team work of the excavation melds with individual achievements and headline-making individuals with more retiring folk.

¹ L.S. Klejn, *Soviet Archaeology: Trends, Schools, and History* (Oxford 2012), reviewed below at pp. 399–400.

While it is gratifying to see Zambia cross-referred to 'Rhodesia, Northern', the correct form in context, it is a pity not to find 'Rhodesia, Southern' as an index term linked to Great Zimbabwe: instead, there is a mention of South Africa. Winchilsea should be spelt thus (p. 16), and it vastly under-eggs the pudding to call Gertrude Bell's father an 'iron foundry owner' (p. 98): even 'prominent Teesside ironmaster' would barely suffice.

Bahn contains 14 authors and 14 chapters, the former again predominantly Anglo-American (stretching to South Africa) by origin or affiliation, the latter stretching, with a degree of 'compare and contrast', from the editor's 'The archaeology of archaeology: Pre-modern views of the world' (a *tour d'horizon* by Bahn) via 'Ancient Europe: The discovery of antiquity' (where Pitt Rivers, Childe and Wheeler run up against Gustav Kossinna and 'Archaeology in the service of nationalism' – *recte* National Socialism), 'The Aegean world', 'The Classical world: Antiquarian pursuits' (from the Earl of Arundel to Sir William Hamilton and the Hope collection, but also 'From excavation to survey') and Egypt, through 'Western and Southern Asia' to Africa, the Far East, North America, Mesoamerica, South America and 'Australasia', a term well met. Russia receives a chapter to itself (by Igor Tikhonov, a co-author of work with Klejn), a rarity and a deliberate corrective to past sins of omission (Semenov goes unmentioned). The format is footnote-free with many individual chapters offering further reading (further also to the extensive list appended to the editor's Preface). The 'Conclusion' is actually Colin Renfrew, one of the editor's regular collaborators, on 'The future of archaeology' for the century to come (DNA data; the enemies of 'heritage'; whose past and who owns the past?; etc.).

As well as the biographical 'boxes' are a dozen on 'key developments', such as radiocarbon dating, underwater archaeology, aerial photography, decipherment, excavation techniques, the antiquities trade, etc.

Those noticed in only one of the volumes are likely to be found in the index to the other; the geographical arrangement of Bahn's volume encourages it to cast a wider biographical net: four Chinese scholars, five Russians (Uvarov, Artsikhovskiy, Rudenko, Artamonov and B.B. Piotrovskiy – all except the 19th-century Uvarov placed under the lens in Klejn's work, sometimes with the same 'mug-shot'). Both works hit their mark: by short, illustrated, but informed biography in the one; through a general introduction to the discipline and key stages of its development in the other, but still focused on people. A degree of overlap, a larger degree of complementarity. Both are evidence of how far the history of the discipline is now a burgeoning subject itself.

Leeds, UK

James F. Hargrave

A. Avramidou and D. Demetriou (eds.), *Approaching the Ancient Artifact: Representation, Narrative, and Function. A Festschrift in Honor of H. Alan Shapiro*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, xxv+590 pp., illustrations and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-030873-0

This is a splendid tribute to a leading scholar of classical iconography. With no less than 40 contributors it is not possible in a review to do justice to them all. But the prime motive for the book is worth noting – not just the traditional tracking and explanation of images, but a close attention to their meaning, both in the context of other arts but also of the

history and society of their day; altogether a nice demonstration that one of the most traditional classical art pursuits has much to offer, even to other disciplines. Thus, we consider the role of what might seem secondary subjects to a main theme, such as the Embassy for the return of Helen rather than her rape (S. Morris), women as gift-bearers at funerals (W.E. Clostermann), the three Graces and the Panathenaia (O. Palagia). Or iconographic conventions, as for falling objects (B. Cohen). The naming of figures in the genitive (B. Kreuzer) reveals an attitude to their identity. The Laonians show some originality in depiction of Dionysos (C. Reusser and M. Bürge). The contribution of pets to erotic iconography gives some value to the dogs and hares often shown in such contexts (J. Neils). The mastos cup is a visual pun (H.A. Coccagna). Ruler images of today are not without recall of those in Rome (C.B. Rose). Comparative studies involving both Greek and Roman iconography should be particularly welcomed, not merely for traces of derivation but for the light they shed on the very different attitudes of the two peoples to myth and the divine. The iconography of mourning is given a separate section with studies ranging from consideration of Athenian state monuments for war dead (J.M. Barringer) to the myths shown on Roman ash chests (D. Boschung).

Above all this offers a tribute to Shapiro and to all scholars prepared to use their eyes, imagination and knowledge in searching for the explanation of images which were part of the life and experience of all classes in classical antiquity; a discipline which may bring us closest to an understanding of their views of the world, of their gods and of each other; of what formed classical society and of our debt to it. Jennifer Neils touchingly recalls accompanying Alan Shapiro to Dietrich von Bothmer's vase seminars in New York. These studies may seem to some old fashioned, but there is probably no more stringent and rewarding discipline for students anxious to share and properly exploit their classical experience.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

V. Becker, M. Thomas and A. Wolf-Schuler (eds.), *Zeiten–Kulturen–Systeme: Gedenkschrift für Jan Lichardus*, Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 17, Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach 2009, iv+387 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-941171-34-3

This *epitymbion* is dedicated to the memory of Jan Lichardus, a Jewish Slovak who as PhD student in the late 1960s emigrated to Germany, where he enjoyed a brilliant career as a full professor in Saarbrücken University, with a number of devoted pupils, despite his never speaking German properly and having a half-French wife – a biography of particular interest. He was one of few in the German-speaking milieu who took seriously the challenge of Lewis Binford and his followers; one of the first papers in the volume under review is devoted to this theoretical archaeology as applied by some for interpretations of early prehistory. Lichardus's main book on Neolithic and Eneolithic Europe (*La protohistoire de l'Europe*)¹ was published in French, never in German. He supported, by scholarships and participation in his projects, young colleagues from the former East, but he became well

¹ J. Lichardus and M. Lichardus-Itten, *La protohistoire de l'Europe: le Néolithique et le Chalcolithique entre la Méditerranée et la mer Baltique* (Paris 1985).

known in south-eastern Europe notably for his excavations in the Drama region in Bulgaria, where, despite his very right-wing political position, he formed a friendship with Alexander Fol. Beyond his Neolithic and Early Bronze sites he also investigated some Late Bronze Age deposits in which he allegedly saw Mycenaean imports, which, however, were later recognised as Greek Archaic Ionian pottery. His biography in the volume is written by F. Bertemes, and a long paper on theoretical archaeology by R. Gleser ('Archäologie und Geschichte'). Some ideas on the interpretation of different kinds of archaeological sources are reasonable, but the specific German 'newspeak' needs translation into more generally used language. For the rest of the volume, nearly all papers are devoted to the Neolithic, Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age in Central and Western Europe, thus lying outside the scope of this periodical. One of the few exceptions is the paper on the Pit (Yamna) culture in Bulgaria by I. Iljev; a second is that on salt production in Neolithic Bulgaria by B. Nikolov. A few papers are also devoted to Celtic and Roman provincial settlements and burials in south-western Germany.

Charles University, Prague

Jan Bouzek

T.C. Brennan and H.I. Flower (eds.), *East and West: Papers in Ancient History Presented to Glen W. Bowersock*, Loeb Classical Monographs 14, Department of Classics, Harvard University, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2008, x+208 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-03348-1

The Grand Condé had no need to display all his titles to show who he was. Although he possessed a constellation of noble titles, the two words 'Grand Condé' were enough to indicate the presence of this important political and military personality of 17th-century France. This, however, was not the case for other nobles who made unending reference to an ever-growing number of titles and distinctions to their names in an attempt to rise above their own insignificance and to become more widely known. Such is the historical parallel which, *mutatis mutandis*, comes to mind, when one sees this small and stylish volume, containing just eight texts, dedicated to Glen Bowersock. Bowersock is an historian, who, over the past 30–40 years, has been unceasingly active, has been extremely influential, and has opened up new avenues of thought in the study of antiquity and, particularly, in the study of later Greek and Roman society. He has frequently concentrated upon the diverse relationships and osmotic processes involving the cultural trends, phenomena and values of this society in relation to the East. Any volume entitled *East and West*, then, renders in the most eloquent way possible the intellectual and academic weft that the honorand of the volume has woven through his work over the length of his academic career. It is precisely this intellectual path of Bowersock that forms the object of the first contribution in the present volume, a piece by Aldo Schiavone. It goes beyond a dry, encyclopaedia-like account of Bowersock's life and work and forms a densely written review of his personality and contribution to academic life over recent decades.

The subject matter of the rest of the contributions is extremely varied, although it certainly reflects the definition, continually recast over time, of what constitutes East and West at any particular moment. Thus Walter Ameling, in his treatment of the work of Agatharchides of Cnidus, an historian of the 2nd century AD who was resident in

Alexandria and wrote of the Red Sea and the world of the fish-eaters, reflects upon the changes undergone by the distinction between East and West in the years after Alexander, this being the context of thought and reflection in which Ameling deals with the work of Agatharchides.

The volume is chronologically arranged. And so, after the Hellenistic Agatharchides, we move to the Rome of the 1st century BC, to the dreams of Sulla and the attempt by Andrea Giardina to read them. Plutarch, Appian and Pliny the Elder certainly mention the seriousness with which Sulla viewed omens and dreams in particular. What emerges from Giardina's reading, apart from Sulla's stress on his own piety towards the gods and his linking both of Aphrodite and Ares and of the foundation myths of Rome to his own political propaganda, are Sulla's conscious actions and behaviour that mark him out as a man who seizes opportunity (*kairos*). 'A man of *kairos* knows how to seize the occasion to turn the tables in his favour. But he also knows the right time to call himself out.' Indeed, through the study of Sulla's dreams and religious choices, we acquire an understanding of the political and military thinking of a major player in the *res publica romana*. Miriam T. Griffin moves in the same area as regards subject and history, when she considers the question of the criticism levelled by the Romans themselves, mainly over the 1st century BC, at Rome's imperialistic policy, a matter on which much has already been written. Griffin concentrates on philosophical texts by Cicero (*De Officiis*, *De Re Publica*), though she does not ignore the evidence of other writers, Julius Caesar included. Although the content of the paper is ostensibly purely Roman, Griffin certainly does not avoid reflecting on intellectual relations between East and West. In her view, Roman criticism of imperialism was fed to a considerable degree by Greek and Hellenistic political thought.

The following contribution, by Christopher Jones, deals with the Imperial period and the Second Sophistic – in fact, with the historicity of literary criticism. It centres upon the rhetorical output of the 2nd–4th centuries AD and attempts to measure the reputation it enjoyed from the time of Philostratus to the mid-Byzantine period. An intelligent piece that manages, with the aid of inscriptions of the period collected by Bernadette Puech,¹ to prise away the established and almost absolute view of Philostratus regarding the sophists of his time. Mid-Byzantine literature bears witness to the existence and activity of orators from whom Philostratus either distances himself or about whom he is silent. Philostratus' estimate of the orators in question is not the same as that held by Byzantine writers. Literary, and in this case, rhetorical production is subject to cultural and political needs over time, to which, however, rhetoric never ceases to give expression. The volume continues, dipping ever further into the period of late antiquity. Robert Penella transports us to the 4th century AD and to the educational activity of Himerius and, incidentally, to that of other contemporary teachers of rhetoric, such as Libanius and Genethlius of Petra. Penella examines *declamationes*, the speeches that Himerius delivered to his students and in which are to be found reference to life in the classroom and frequent reference to the actions of mythical heroes. These two sources of inspiration offered Himerius the vital ingredients for putting together imaginary stories both of quarrels and conflicts and, on the other hand, for praising heroic deeds. These stories he employed to teach his students how to treat their

¹ B. Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale* (Paris 2002).

subject as if it were a serious legal case or, conversely, the rules for composing panegyrics. For the 4th century AD, the glorious past continued to be a source of inspiration and point of reference for rhetoric, even when dealing with legal cases of routine and limited importance.

The next section of the volume considers the metaphysical anxieties of the 3rd–4th centuries AD and the activity of Manichaeans throughout most of the empire. Peter Brown examines the response offered by Manichaeism to the worries of its catechumens regarding the results of offerings made to God, to ensure the rest of souls of deceased loved ones. The spread throughout the empire of this religious trend from the east is linked to the way in which its priesthood was organised and above all to the *do ut des* between the faithful and God. The exchange of material goods for spiritual benefits makes this very clear. And precisely in the context of this way of thinking the question is put of how effective such offerings are. Manichaeistic texts offer important information both on what other sources do not talk about and on the formation of the Christian view of things, both of this world and metaphysical.

The final contribution is by Maurice Sartre. It differs from all the rest in numerous ways. Written in French, it considers a matter that extends over a lengthy period, of six or seven centuries, from the 3rd century BC to the 4th century AD. It examines both the trends in thought and action from East to West and those moving in the opposite direction – from the West towards East – and with the way certain populations of Judaea and Arabia received them. Sartre deals with the adoption of certain patterns of life by Jews and Nabataeans. These, although they created their own forms of government as they resisted the Seleucids, nevertheless continued to be influenced in cultural terms by the Hellenistic world and, moreover, in geographical areas that had initially refused Greek ways of life.

In addition to looking again at various striking terms and concepts, such as ‘Hellenisation’, ‘Romanisation’ and so on, the work gathered here in this neat collective volume invites yet again to consider the continual osmosis of ideas and patterns of behaviour occurring around the Mediterranean coast and further afield, towards the east. The essays also make it clear that the boundaries between East and West are under constant review and redefinition, not only for today’s scholars, but even for the protagonists of history and historiography themselves, such as Agatharchides of Cnidus. Indeed, Bowersock should be particularly pleased to take in his hand these *hommages* from friends and colleagues, which follow the same lines as his own great work.

Panteion University, Athens

Panagiotis Doukellis

H. Bru, *Le pouvoir impérial dans les provinces syriennes: Représentations et célébrations d’Auguste à Constantin (31 av. J.-C.–337 ap. J.-C.)*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 49, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2011, xxii+420 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-20363-1/ISSN 1566-2055

The current political turmoil notwithstanding, Roman Syria is a thriving area of research; and thanks to Maurice Sartre, Tours is a thriving place for research in Roman Syria. The most recent achievement of the Sartre school is the present volume on the presence of imperial power in the Syrian provinces – from Augustus to Constantine. Hadrien Bru is the

author of a number of studies in the area; in all these works he displays an impressive mastering of the Roman Near East's epigraphy and the region's material culture more generally. B. applies the term 'Syrian provinces' generously, including *provincia Arabia* (Bostra) and parts of neighbouring Mesopotamia (Edessa) and Cilicia (Tarsus) in his geographical focus.

The present study is devised in three main sections: in the first ('L'empereur et l'espace syrien') B. investigates representations of the emperor in relation to the rural and urban landscape of Syria. Of specific interest and highly innovative are his ideas concerning the symbolic impact imperial rule had on Near Eastern urbanism. Striking is his interpretation of the colonnaded roads so characteristic for the Near East as a kind of social and visual coordinate system, which helped inhabitants and visitors to find their places, literally and symbolically. B. convincingly points out that the Roman emperors quickly recognised the potential such symbols held for them – which prompted them to generously fund building in the major Syrian centres.

Section 2 investigates the religious, political and artistic representations of Roman emperors. Exploiting epigraphic evidence and numerous images, B. shows how deeply the emperor's image, his name and the notion of his divine nature had penetrated the Syrian countryside. In his survey of local feasts and celebrations, he demonstrates how the locals were reminded of the emperor's presence in periodical ceremonies, too.

He turns to a specific cultic bond between the emperor and the local population in Section 3: the Imperial cult. B. investigates the functioning and role of the local *koina* and the practice of the Imperial cult in client kingdoms, from Herod's Judaea to Commagene and Osroene. Finally, he reviews what we know about the personnel involved in the cult.

B. has presented a valuable study not only in Roman Syria, but in the *arcana* of Roman imperial rule in its periphery more generally. Through his meticulous study of a broad variety of sources not easily accessible, B. leads the way towards a better understanding of the ways centre and periphery interacted in the Roman empire. Following him on his voyage through Syrian landscapes, we learn how crucial the role of the emperor was for the unity and coherence of the empire.

Karl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg

Michael Sommer

B. Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, Cincinnati Classical Studies, New Series 9, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2004, xxx+422 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 90-04-12578-7/ISSN 0169-7692*

This is an important book, crammed full of information which raises lots of interesting questions. It will prove an extremely useful reference work for further research into a whole range of significant topics, including the world of the 'Second Sophistic' and 'being Greek under Rome', the relationship between *polis* and *koinon*, how the Romans ruled their provinces, the role of the emperor in the Roman world, and the respective parts played by the provincial elite, Roman senators and emperors in shaping emperor-worship (to list just some of the possibilities).

* The Editor-in-Chief apologises for the late publication of this review.

The book sets out all available evidence relating to the institution of the *neokoria* (broadly speaking, the system whereby an individual *polis* was designated by its *koinon* as guardian of a temple for an emperor on behalf of all *koinon* members). It gives equal emphasis to literature, inscriptions, coins and archaeology. Its coverage is impressive in scope and depth. It is well presented, with generous provision of plates, which include ground-plans of all known *neokoros* temples drawn to the same scale, photographs of possible cult statues and coins. No inscription, however, is illustrated. Comprehensive indexes aid navigation. Finally, a table presents a clear overview charting the gradual accumulation of grants of *neokoriai*.

An introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the creation and development of *neokoriai*, and a few methodological considerations. Part One provides a detailed city-by-city analysis of all available references to each *polis* to have received the title *neokoros*, in geographical order by *koinon*, and then by chronology. Relevant coin types are listed, and at the end of each chapter is a summary of inscriptions referring to the city as *neokoros*. The problem with summarising the content of inscriptions in this way, however, is that it does not reveal the context in which the *neokoros* title is proclaimed. As the book makes clear, our numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the institution is far from evenly distributed, chronologically or geographically, and ignoring the contexts in which the title is included in inscriptions makes it impossible to discern any patterns in its usage. After these 37 chapters, Part Two consists of thematic chapters ('Historical analysis: the development of *neokoria*'; 'The temples'; 'The cities'; 'The *koina* and their officials'; 'The Roman powers'). Many readers will find it most rewarding to read the book backwards, starting with the general discussion in Part Two, and then following up individual debates in the more detailed analyses of Part One.

A number of interesting themes come forth. Some common factors behind the spread of *neokoriai* emerge, even though Barbara Burrell refuses to mould the evidence into some universal pattern, resolutely insisting on the diversity of experience. Rivalry between cities recurs as a reason for a city to request the title of *neokoros* for itself in the first place, and then appears to lie behind many cities' decisions to publicise their titles on coins and inscriptions. Inscriptions mentioned a city's status as *neokoros* above all when the city felt that its status was in dispute. The institution develops over time, and its development reveals a flexible approach from emperor, Roman senate, *koinon* and local elite, who responded to local conditions.

It may be useful to draw attention to B.'s brief discussion of unpublished material. She alludes to an inscription from Sardis (p. 114, no.6, inv. no. IN 74.7), attributing to the Roman senate the grant of *neokoriai* to the city.

The book raises a number of questions which deserve further consideration. There is no clear answer to the question why the title *neokoros* started to be conferred upon cities at some point in the second half of the 1st century AD, when cities had effectively been acting as *neokoroi* for some time before then. Other significant shifts in practice can be pinpointed: under Trajan, Pergamon was the first city to receive the title 'twice *neokoros*', and under Hadrian we see for the first time that more than one city within a *koinon* can be designated *neokoros*. Another shift is the gradual 'municipalisation' of *neokoriai*, partly a response to the increasing pressures on civic finances. At the other end of the chronological spectrum, B. assumes that claims of *neokoriai* declined following the Christianisation of

empire after Constantine (p. 357). She simply dismisses as unimportant an inscription from Sardis of AD 459 which records the city as twice *neokoros*. Even if, as B. argues, the title had been copied down from some obsolete inscription, the choice was still made to do so; it was not an action entirely ‘without any meaning’ (p. 304). Several times, her discussion takes its lead from the famous passage in Cassius Dio (51. 20. 6–9) describing the establishment of the first temples of the Imperial cult in Asia and Bithynia. Dio draws a simple distinction between practice in the Greek provinces and that in Rome and Italy. As Ittai Gradel has clearly documented,¹ Dio’s statement that living emperors were not worshipped in Italy is problematic. B.’s brief discussion of differences in the Imperial cult between East and West is over-reliant upon Dio’s misleading statement, and this is one topic on which much more needs to be said.

University of Warwick

Alison E. Cooley

P.J. Burton, *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353–146 BC)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011, x+395 pp., 1 table. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-19000-8

How we look at the story of Rome’s expansion invariably depends, it seems, on our own outlook on contemporary international politics. Back in 1979, William Harris had in mind modern expansionist, totalitarian regimes when he developed the idea of the Roman Republic as a militarist warrior-state;¹ in the early 2000s, Arthur Eckstein described the world order of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC as an ‘interstate anarchy’ in order to explain the Roman Republic’s rise to hegemony.² Now Paul Burton argues that analysing the ‘language of friendship’ is key to understanding Roman foreign politics. While Harris was inspired by, partly Marxist, theories of imperialism and Eckstein by the then dominant strand of neo-realism, B.’s theoretical approach owes much the so-called constructivist school of international relations. His main point of reference is Alexander Wendt’s *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge 1999).

The book is a revised version of B.’s University of Maryland doctoral dissertation. The argument is clearly devised, the book well written: B. proceeds from a brief discussion of his theoretical prolegomena (Chapter 1) and general remarks about friendship in antiquity (Chapter 2) towards the initiation (Chapter 3), development (Chapter 4) and finally termination (Chapter 5) of inter-state friendship. Chronologically, the study spans an arc from the dissolution of the alliance between Rome and Caere in 353 BC to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BC. To B., friendship is a ‘privately negotiated’ (p. 38) tie that is informal (‘not mediated by institutional laws or exogenous rules’: p. 38); furthermore, it is founded on mutual trust, Latin *fides*.

The same holds true, he argues, for the political friendship between states: how states deal with each other is determined by habitus, language and psychology rather than by pure *raison d’état*. Hence it is practices, discourses and forms of communication B. is after, not

¹ I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford 2002), especially Chapter 4.

² W.V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 B.C.* (Oxford 1979).

³ A.M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley 2006).

so much structural conditions. He scrutinises such 'soft' factors with skill and rigour: for instance when he uses the Roman reaction to Capua's defection to Hannibal in 216 BC to show what impact moral considerations (in this case the Romans' disappointment with the Capuan elites switching sides) had on political decision-making; or when he highlights the fluidity of friendship (and the role emotions such as anxiety and tension had in it) in Hieron's II dealings with the Roman senate.

Nothing of this may be entirely new. But the extra-legal dimension of interstate politics in this decisive period of Mediterranean history has never been demonstrated so lucidly and in such a theoretically informed way. B.'s book is a major achievement in the study of the relationship between the Roman Middle Republic and its Eastern and Western competitors.

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Michael Sommer

A. Chaniotis (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation*, Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 49, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011, 390 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-09916-5

This collection of papers was published following the 'Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual' conference held at the University of Heidelberg between 29 September and 2 October 2008. The key topic of the contributions was 'the understanding of rituals as complex socio-cultural constructs that are connected with tensions: tensions within the cult community; tensions between norm and performance, expectation and reality, traditional significance and re-interpretation, stereotype and variability' (Angelos Chaniotis, p. 10). One cannot argue with this statement as, indeed, any ritual is a motion and a process administered within the frames of pre-set yet mobile coordinates of sacred time and space; and as this motion is social in its nature, it presents quite a collection of social changes, nuances and overtones (historical, sociological, gender, emotional, etc.). The papers in this publication therefore cover a variety of topics, interconnected by the core theme of ritual metamorphoses viewed from different angles. Elisa Perego writes about agency and ritual in pre-Roman Veneto; Mireia López-Bertran tries to describe the ritual mastery in Punic shrines; Paraskevi Martzavou concentrates her attention on the priests and their role in the Isiac cults of Roman Athens; Eftychia Stavrianopoulou explores the role of tradition in the forming of rituals in ancient Greece following the Thirtieth Oration of Lysias and the Athenian *lex sacra* on the renewal of the festival of Thargelia;¹ Fritz Graf considers the restoration and innovation in the Greek cities under the Roman rule (Ephesus and Akraiphia); Ioanna Patera follows the changes in the Eleusinian cult from the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD; Synnøve des Bouvrie dedicates her study to the investigation of Attic ritual theatre; Flavia Frisone contributes to the study of norms and changes in Greek funerary rituals; Matthew McCarty narrates about ritualistic changes in Hadrumetum in Tunisia; Alexandra Verbovsek writes about the correlation of rituals, emotions, and literature in Ancient Egypt;

¹ F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cites grecques: Supplément* (Paris 1962), no. 14 = SEG 21, 469c.

Chaniotis is occupied with the theme of initiates, citizens, and pilgrims as emotional communities in the Greek world; Françoise Létoublon makes an exposition of the rituals of supplication and prayer in Homer; Joan Connelly tries to investigate the ritual motion of human body in the sacred landscape of ancient Greece; and finally Martijn Icks pays an attention to the cases of ritual failure as described by Roman historiographers. In my opinion this monograph can be highly recommended to everybody who works on the history of ancient (and modern) religion.

Lomonosov State University, Moscow

Alexey V. Belousov

J. Cherry, C. Scarre and S. Shennan (eds.), *Explaining Social Changes. Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew*, McDonald Institute Monographs, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge 2004, viii+239 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-902937-23-6/ISSN 1363-1349

Social archaeology, or the archaeology of human society, is a recent field of archaeology that arose out of the 'new archaeology' of the 1960s and early 1970s. Colin Renfrew – to mark whose retirement this *Festschrift* has been compiled – was an early champion of this new field, if not one of its founding fathers; his *Approaches to Social Archaeology* (Edinburgh 1984) helped to set its agenda for the next two decades. The studies in this volume, however, are not a retrospective on that early period, but a forward-looking body of research that points toward future possible directions for the field.

Explaining social change forms one of the major themes of this book, with chapters on the origins and spread of farming (A. Sherratt); the role of trade in the genesis of civilisation in Mesopotamia (J. and D. Oates); climate change during the transition to the Upper Paleolithic, and how it contributed to the extraordinary array of cultural innovations that occurred during this time (P. Mellars); and the ways in which people and things became ever more entangled during the course of the Holocene, with major shifts in the relationship between people and material culture associated with horizon events like the development of agriculture and metallurgy (I. Hodder). Other chapters cover the formulation of a social archaeology of the Paleolithic (C. Gamble); the correlations between hunter-gatherers' social behaviours and their beliefs about death (L. Binford); Neolithic settlement patterns in eastern Thessaly (Johnson and Perlès); the social archaeology of the Neolithic/Early Bronze Age settlement at Sitagroi in Greece (E.S. Elster); the history of the notion of the 'Neolithic chieftdom' in the archaeology of prehistoric Europe (A. Fleming); cycles of collapse in Greek prehistory (J. Whitley); and the use of tomb construction, grave-goods and body position in an Early Bronze Age barrow-tomb to indicate the status and social position of the deceased (M.L.S. Sørensen).

The archaeology of island societies – a sub-field of social archaeology that Renfrew has been especially active in promoting – forms a second major focus, with chapters on the urbanisation of Phylakopi on Melos in the Late Bronze Age (T. Whitelaw); the distribution of anthroponyms derived from the names of Aegean islands, and what this distribution might say about past movements of people in the region (C. Doumas); an 'outside-in' view of insularity as constructed through a study of travellers' accounts of visits to Kythera over the last seven centuries (Broodbank *et al.*); the possible social meanings of the stone circles

on Orkney (C. Richards); and the long-term prehistoric settlement patterns on South Uist in the Outer Hebrides (M.P. Pearson). As Pearson points out, islands are not just isolating, but also heavily interconnected; perception of a threat from the outside world can cause the dropping of 'heavy cultural anchors', leading to conservative retention of older traditions and technologies. This same theme is the focus of a fascinating chapter on the definition of Maltese insularity (Malone and Stoddart): was the distinctive character of Maltese material culture in the Zebbug to Tarxien periods a product of cultural isolation, or an expression of indigenous individuality in the face of increasing connectivity with the outside world?

Finally, in what is becoming a welcome trend, we are introduced to the archaeology of cultures elsewhere on the globe, with chapters on the changing patterns of obsidian use during the past 35 millennia on the Willaumez peninsula in Papua New Guinea (R. Torrence), and on the formation of the first states in the region later occupied by the kingdom of Angkor in Cambodia (C. Higham).

The *floruit* of social archaeology in recent decades reflects a fundamental change in our discipline: the old-fashioned antiquarian focus on artefacts has taken second place to a primary focus on the people behind those artefacts. The 19 studies in this book will therefore be of the greatest interest to any modern archaeologist.

University of Melbourne

Brent Davis

B. Dreyer and P.F. Mittag (eds.), *Lokale Eliten und hellenistische Könige: Zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation*, Oikumene – Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 8, Verlag Antike, Berlin 2011, 325 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-938032-43-5

This volume is the product of work carried out by a Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft-funded research network (p. 9). An introduction is followed by eight papers: B. Dreyer and G. Weber deal with Greek civic elites in general; A. Niebergall with the civic elites' stance towards Mithradates VI; A. Coşkun with the Gauls and their elites in Asia Minor; T. Boiy and P. Mittag with Babylonian elites; A. Blasius with local elites in Ptolemaic Egypt; S. Pfeiffer and J. Wilker with two Jewish elites, the Tobiads and the Maccabees respectively; the last paper, by R. Schulz, tackles the important issue of Greek elites in their relationship with the Roman power; finally, Dreyer and Mittag weave the threads of the individual papers into a comprehensive synthesis.

A perhaps pedantic remark I have to make outright is that the papers are not always relevant to the volume's title: one finds plenty of *lokale Eliten* here, but not enough *Hellenistische Könige*. The focus on non-civic, non-Greek and sometimes peripheral elites in five out of the eight papers between the introductory and closing chapters is legitimate and potentially enlightening, but the relationship between these elites and the Hellenistic royal courts is not the central theme of all papers, as the volume's title would suggest. Moreover, of the three papers focusing on civic Greek elites, one (Schulz) is by definition outside the chronological scope of the volume's title and another (Niebergall) deals with a king of a minor Late Hellenistic kingdom. Finally, the emphasis on the period of Roman rule in at least three out of the eight papers (Niebergall, Coşkun, Schulz) has the side effect of presenting the relationship between local elites and higher, supraregional powers as a unitary phenomenon, regardless of whether the *altera pars* is a major Hellenistic kingdom, a minor

kingdom or the Roman state. Such an interpretation, however, cannot serve as an axiomatic dictum; some would claim that the period after the mid-2nd century BC, when the Romans had become firmly established as the sole and undisputed superpower in the eastern Mediterranean, was rather different than the preceding period of multi-polar power balance, and posed different challenges for local elites.

Readers interested mainly in the Hellenistic period and in Hellenistic kingship may therefore be left with some of their expectations unfulfilled. Coşkun, for example, examines thoroughly and fruitfully what little evidence we have on Gaulish elites, their strategies of legitimation and representation, and their interaction with supraregional powers. The earliest piece of such evidence, however, dates from the 1st century BC (p. 91); one of the paper's sections may well have the term 'Hellenistic' in its title, but the only Hellenistic king to be found here is Mithradates VI and otherwise the paper deals almost exclusively – and understandably – with the interaction between Gauls and Romans (*cf.* pp. 93–95). Blasius's paper, stretching over 58 pages and resembling a summary version of a monograph, draws a convincing picture of local Egyptian elites with an imposing presence in the realms of economy and status; as far as the king is concerned, however, Blasius, in his attempt to challenge the *communis opinio* on the Ptolemies as the only source of real political power in Egypt, goes to the other extreme: outside Alexandria and Memphis, the king is portrayed as a parameter of little consequence in the local equations of power, status and honour (see p. 180).

By the above critical notes, I do not intend to downplay the quality or the originality of the individual papers. On the contrary, one finds much of merit here. Dreyer and Weber make a number of pertinent and insightful observations on the civic elites' structural role between city and king in the first third of their study (pp. 16–25; they then devote the remainder of the paper to internal civic developments). Niebergall convincingly refutes Deininger's simplistic theory on the stance of the Greek *poleis* towards Mithradates VI. The paper on Babylonian elites by Boiy and Mittag is a model of what an informed reader expects to find judging by the volume's title; the authors systematically document the local elites' source of wealth and power, the stability of their sway over local populations, their role as a communication hub between the royal or satrapal administration and the locals, and the set of mutual expectations in their relationship with the king. Pfeiffer presents a useful account of how the house of Tobias exploited its connections with the Ptolemaic and then the Seleucid courts in order to strengthen its local status *vis-à-vis* Jews and non-Jews alike. A minor objection: it is perhaps misleading in this case to speak of *Einsetzung von Oben* (pp. 213–14; Polybius 2. 41. 10 puts it more eloquently). The attachment of a pre-existing local elite family to a royal house was a common – and often unavoidable – weapon in the armoury of local elites trying to protect themselves from competitors and advance their status and privileges. This is well illustrated by Wilker's insightful analysis on the Maccabees, who rose to power as radical military leaders against the Seleucids and ended up trading their military prowess for the recognition of their leading role in Jewish society by the Seleucid power structure. Her analysis would perhaps have benefited from Hellenistic parallels: Aratus of Sicyon also began his career as the major threat to the Macedonian rule over the Peloponnese but managed to save his status as a local leader only by becoming a close friend, adviser, officer and member of the privy council of Macedonian kings.

The volume is well produced, with useful indexes and few typos, almost all of them involving Greek texts (for example pp. 153, 160, n. 88, 205, n. 59, 206, n. 62, 207, n. 66,

222, n. 28), and I only have a minor editorial quibble: the citation of epigraphic texts without editorial *sigla* in cases where different supplements have been discussed for decades (see, for example, p. 21, n.18) is not the safest choice.

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Paschalis Paschidis

U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, D. Pausch and M. Rühl (eds.), *Kultur der Antike: Transdisziplinäres arbeiten in den altertumswissenschaften*, Verlag Antike, Berlin 2011, 453 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-938032-41-1

This is a very German book. Many German scholars in the humanities have a theoretical and conceptual awareness rarely perceived by their non-German colleagues. There is also a huge potential for cross-disciplinary work in German academic culture. Lavishly funded graduate schools, interdisciplinary research units and the more recent 'clusters of excellence' provide an institutional framework for cross-disciplinary research, which could indeed provide a model to emulate for many overrated Anglo-Saxon institutions. Yet, interdisciplinarity has still not fully taken possession of German lecture halls. This book tells you why.

Manfred Landfester's introduction ('Begriff und geschichtliche Entwicklung') is a rather uninspiring account of past initiatives to introduce interdisciplinarity to the various fields of classical scholarship – strictly limited to German-speaking scholarship. Landfester mentions landmark projects such as Mommsen's *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and the various corpora of classical artefacts. But is this the whole *problématique* of cross-disciplinary research? This reviewer does not think so. Landfester omits the crucial question as to how interdisciplinarity can be achieved without compromising intellectual rigour.

The remaining contributions are arranged in four sections under rather abstract headings, suggesting that they are guided by overarching analytical foci. In fact, the four themes turn out to be placeholders for either quite traditional or dangerously elusive concepts: 'Darstellen' looks at representations, either of specific 'types' in different – textual or visual – media or within given texts. The only truly interdisciplinary approach in this section is Christian Ronning's study in 'Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit in den römischen Grabinschriften'. Ronning very convincingly argues that the antipodes of 'male' and 'female' were not necessarily once and for all times established, as it were static, categories, but floating and embedded in underlying discourses and performances.

Section 2 ('Repräsentieren') is concerned with various types of chiefly material evidence. Very instructive and quite useful for teaching purposes is Peter Franz Mittag's outline of the potential (and limitations) of ancient numismatics. Mittag shows how ancient coins can be investigated along various 'axes': as material relics, which are usually datable and contain complex textual and visual messages. He takes the debate about the missing 'Germanic horizon' in Kalkriese as an example for the risk of circular reasoning as a result of an interpretative overstretch of numismatic material.

Section 3 ('Fixieren') has no thematic focus apparent to this reviewer. The contributions collected under this heading deal with papyri as material used by historians and philologists alike (Peter Kuhlmann); with votive deposits as relics of acts of worship (Alfred Schäfer); with Troja as an Augustan memorial place as represented by Ovid and Virgil (Ulrike Egelhaaf-Geiser); and with the XII *tabulae* 'between memory and history' (Vera Binder).

Finally, Section 4 ('Verweisen') collects four chapters concerned, in the broadest sense, with the semantic dimension of ancient texts and objects. Once again, the heading allows for sprouting associations; accordingly, the four papers cover a rather disparate field of themes rather than responding to a common set of questions.

While many of the contributions collected in this volume undeniably have their merits and will prove useful for teaching purposes, the editors have failed to produce a compendium that does justice to the potential of cross-disciplinary work in the *Altertumswissenschaften*. This is partly due to a lack of clarity (both on the part of the editors, who have essentially collated a bunch of incoherent papers, and on the part of some, not all, of the authors who, unfortunately, all too generously apply the gibberish of German *Wissenschaftssprache*). But it is to be hoped that this volume, by having made explicit the deficiencies of interdisciplinary research so far, will inspire further efforts in this vital field.

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Michael Sommer

Y. el-Masry, H. Altenmüller and H.-J. Thissen (eds.), *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.*, Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte 11, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 2012, viii+270 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-87458-622-3

Synodal decrees are the signature monuments of Ptolemaic Egypt. They were passed by annual meetings of priests assembled from all of Egypt to express thanks and grant honours to the reigning Ptolemy in return for benefactions bestowed on Egypt and its temples. Although 14 such decrees are preserved in whole or part spanning the period from 143 BC to 161 BC, hitherto only three – the Canopus decree honouring Ptolemy III, the Memphis decree honouring Ptolemy IV, the Rosetta decree honouring Ptolemy V – have survived virtually complete with their hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek inscriptions. *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria...* is the long-awaited publication of a stele containing the hieroglyphic and demotic copies of a new decree that was passed in a synod held at Alexandria in December 243 BC.

The stele was discovered in the winter of 1999/2000 in the ruins of a Ptolemaic temple at the site of El-Khazindariya about 40 km north of modern Akhmim. The stele was deliberately broken into ten pieces in antiquity but, fortunately, is otherwise complete. Although the text provides for the publication of the decree in the usual three scripts – hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek – and the stele contains sufficient space for the inscription of all three versions, only the hieroglyphic and demotic versions were actually inscribed. Over a hundred fragments of a copy of the Greek text, however, were discovered at Elephantine and are now preserved in the Louvre. Thanks to the new inscription, it was possible to completely reconstruct the Greek text, and it is also included in the present work.¹

By itself the discovery and publication of a new synodal decree is an event in Ptolemaic studies, but this is particularly true in the case of the Alexandria decree. Not only is it the earliest extant example of the genre, but it also provides important new evidence for the

¹ The text of the Greek version is reprinted from the then forthcoming publication of F. Kayser, 'Le décret sacerdotal de 243 A.C.'. In E. Delange (ed.), *Les fouilles français à Eléphantine (Assouan 1906–1911)*, Archives de Clermont Ganneau et Clédat (Paris 2012).

first years of the reign of Ptolemy III and the development of the literary form of the synodal decrees. Besides revealing that Ptolemy III began his reign by increasing the endowments of the Egyptian temples and confirming their tax privileges and issuing an amnesty for debts owed the king and releasing prisoners, the decree provides new details about Ptolemy's Asian campaign, confirming that he reached Susa and brought sacred images back to Egypt. The decree also provides important information about the king's participation in the cults of the sacred animals and innovations in the celebration of the dynastic cult authorised by the priests. Equally important, the many parallels in language and organisation between the Alexandria and Rosetta decrees make clear that the basic form of the synodal decrees already existed, when the former was composed in 243 BC.

A monument of this importance deserves an exemplary publication, and it has received it in this excellent volume. The volume is divided into 15 sections. The first is in English and provides a lucid introduction to the decree, describing in detail the site, its principal archaeological remains, and a text, transliteration and translation of the hieroglyphic version of the decree. The following three sections are in German and constitute the publication proper. They provide a physical description of the stele, line-by-line digital photographs and transliterations of the hieroglyphic and demotic texts of the decree, and a thorough and meticulous philological commentary, together with German translations of the two Egyptian and the Greek versions. An appendix containing analysis, texts and German translations of the extant sources for the Third Syrian War is followed by a chapter of general conclusions, an analysis of the Egyptian of the decree, a chart comparing the structure of the Alexandria decree with the Memphis and Rosetta decrees, and continuous texts and German translations of all three versions of the decree. A glossary, bibliography, indexes, and plates of the ten fragments of the stele complete the volume.

As one would expect from the distinguished scholars involved in its preparation, the quality of this edition of the Alexandria decree is consistently high. Its interpretations are closely based on the text and informative and illuminating. Particularly interesting is the authors' analysis of the Egyptian of the synodal decrees with its demonstration that the hieroglyphic versions are composed in an artificially archaic form of Middle Egyptian characterised by the consistent avoidance of words and phrases found in Demotic even if they already existed in standard Middle Egyptian. Also valuable is their lucid discussion of the significance of the Alexandria decree for understanding relations between the Ptolemies and Egyptian priests, highlighting the essentially *do ut des* nature of that relationship and the fallacy of attempting to find evidence of Egyptian resistance to Ptolemaic rule in these decrees. While more detailed treatment of the historical context of the Alexandria decree might be desirable, the fact remains that this is a model publication of an important text and an indispensable tool for future studies of the synodal decrees.

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Stanley M. Burstein

B. Emme, *Peristyl und Polis: Entwicklung und Funktionen öffentlicher griechischer Hofanlagen*, Urban Spaces 1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2013, xvi+388 pp., 99 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-028065-4/ISSN 2194-4857

Burkhard Emme's book is based on his doctoral thesis. Its core is a catalogue which lists 86 examples of peristyle courtyard buildings, most of them illustrated with plans. Of these,

31 are given a fresh investigation and detailed analysis, including personal inspection of the visible remains. He divides these into six categories: sanctuaries; feasting buildings; *prytaneia* and related official structures; gymnasia; market buildings; society buildings and related structures. The essential criterion is that they comprise an enclosed space with surrounding colonnades on all four sides and with distinct entrances: that is, internally they are shut off visually and effectively from the streets and areas outside. (An exception to this is the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, whose stoa with dining rooms does not constitute a completely enclosing structure, though E. includes it in his account of feasting buildings.) E. accepts the re-dating of the feasting building in the Argive Heraion to the late 5th century or later and therefore sees the 5th century, and preferably the latter part of that century, as the earliest date for the development of these peristyle buildings.

They have to be distinguished from public open spaces – the agora, in particular – which are not closed off but have streets passing into and through them. Such spaces may be bordered by stoas of the various types defined by Coulton, but these do not close off the space completely, even though the Agora of Athens could be closed to retain citizens after they had voted in an ostracism.

Further sections investigate the architectural form of these buildings, emphasising their exclusivity. An interesting suggestion concerns the way rooms behind the colonnades were illuminated, not, of course, from outside, but by windows set high in the courtyard walls above the surrounding colonnade roof, though it is difficult to see how these, being inaccessible, could be closed with shutters. E. discusses the works of art – statues in particular – which are attested in these buildings, mostly, but not exclusively, placed in the courtyards, but does not discuss any mural decoration nor the possibility of tapestries which Aristophanes in *Wasps* 1215 suggests a learner symposiast ought to admire in the courtyard of presumably upper class but peristylar houses of the time.

A final section discusses the importance of peristyle buildings for the definition of urban space, using particularly the example of Miletus (where a reasonably large portion of the city has been excavated), Pergamon and Megalopolis, which are all cities either originally laid out to a grid plan, redeveloped after destruction or whose expansion belongs essentially to the Hellenistic period. He also looks at examples from Athens, including the outlying gymnasia of the Academy and the Lyceum. He concludes by emphasising the role of these peristyle buildings as a tool for organising social space, and particularly the exclusivity of restricted groups.

E. sees peristyle buildings as a defining type in ancient Greek architecture, and begins his book with the parallel example of the minaret as a defining element in Islamic architecture, illustrating that, rather unfortunately, with the reproduction of a Swiss poster promoting an anti-Islamic vote in a recent referendum. But Islamic architecture is not dependent on the minaret, nor is Greek architecture primarily a matter of peristyle courtyards.

There are, of course, two conflicting concepts within Greek architecture. First of all, buildings which stood in open space and were viewed externally, obviously temples. Secondly, buildings which surround and enclose space and are viewed internally. The latter predominate in private houses after, perhaps, a simple Dark Age origin when a house was little more than a hut, attested in places which did not develop much beyond the Dark Age such as Emborio in Chios. Thus the normal classical house has rooms round a central, but usually non-colonnaded courtyard. It is remarkable that the Dema house, in open country outside Athens, though it had rooms only on three sides of the courtyard nevertheless shut

off the fourth side with a wall which prevented viewing of the courtyard from outside. This emphasis on internal domestic privacy is universal in Classical Greece. The addition of a peristyle to the internal court is a matter of available space in the larger houses and the necessary wealth to pay for it. But this is a matter of status, rather than the introduction of a new or defining concept. The forms of Greek architecture originated with the temple, and it is only later that resources are extended to other categories of building. It is within this that peristyle buildings come into being.

It is a pity that E. does not include in his catalogue and discussion the Kaisareion at Cyrene. A courtyard complex which in the Roman period contained a temple to the Imperial cult, it originated in the Hellenistic period as a gymnasium courtyard building, along with the adjacent *xystos*. It is a particularly splendid example which collapsed in late antiquity as the result of an earthquake, to be re-erected during the Italian occupation of Cyrenaica, so that its well-preserved structure can illustrate the form of these buildings more strikingly than the drawings and models used by E. Its Doric details differ somewhat from normal Cyrene form, indicating that probably an Alexandrian architect was involved, with the Ptolemies in the place of the later Imperial cult. This in turn suggests the Gymnasium at Alexandria and its role as a place of social distinction within a Greek city environment as a prime influence on the development of peristylar courtyards in the Hellenistic period attested by the majority of E.'s examples.

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L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis: 'Enduring is the Perfection'*, Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 214, Peeters/Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2012, viii+443 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2546-5

This volume forms the proceedings of a conference entitled 'Memphis in the First Two Millennia', held at Macquarie University, Sydney, in August 2008, and comprises 22 papers along with a section of abstracts by non-contributing speakers.

The chronological span of the papers is from the late Predynastic through to the end of the New Kingdom, with the subjects covered within this span varying widely. There is not space here to discuss in detail the contents of any of the papers, but simply to mention their themes. However, it should be noted that one of the many positive aspects of this book is that the papers often cut across traditional boundaries and so could be classed under several headings.

Whilst many of the papers concern archaeology, perhaps the most directly archaeological is that by David Jeffreys, which elegantly summarises the work of the Survey of Memphis project and makes a case for prioritising an understanding of the 'processes underlying the occupation, growth and abandonment of Memphis' (p. 225). Yvonne Harpur deals with the matter of adequately recording and making available the decoration of scenes in decorated Old Kingdom tombs and describes the processes used by her Oxford Expedition project, providing not only a guide to its use but in so doing a model which others might follow.

On the theme of Old Kingdom representation is the paper by Ann McFarlane on 'Occupied Carrying Chairs at Memphis in the Old Kingdom'. She notes that these are not common elements of Old Kingdom wall decoration and seeks to review their appearance

between the reigns of Snefru and Pepy II, finding that before the mid-5th Dynasty all occurrences of such chairs in Memphis are exclusive to the royal family. After that time their use becomes widened to include high-ranking, but non-royal, persons.

Miroslav Barta compares the tombs of Inpunefer and two of the sons of the vizier, Qar – Qar Junior and Senedjemib – and examines the differences between them ‘against the background of the state and the social development and transformations’ (pp. 27–28). In a similar vein, Audran Labrousse provides a useful summary of recent discoveries at the Pepy I necropolis at Saqqara made by the French Archaeological Mission. However, the Old Kingdom is not the only period whose funerary archaeology is considered, and Beatrix Gessler-Löhr examines the tomb of the God’s Father Hatiai at Saqqara. After commenting on the destruction of these tombs over the last millennia she examines the likely date of the tomb, concluding that the lintel, now in the Louvre, ‘cannot have been sculpted before the reign of King Tutakhamun and completed at latest during the reign of King Horemhab’ (p. 190). Boyo Ockinga picks up the theme of the destruction of the New Kingdom tombs in his examination of the evidence for such tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North. Whilst the evidence is ‘sparse and extremely fragmentary’ (p. 395), he nonetheless gives an insight into what was clearly an important area of New Kingdom Saqqara. Susan Binder considers the importance of some of the New Kingdom officials in her study of Memphite officials and the gold of honour, and finds that this group are not ‘special’ although they are notable during the reign of Amenhotep III and the post-Amarna period. The work of Alain Zivie on the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara is well known, and it is aspects of this project which he conveniently summarises here.

Of much earlier date is the work covered by Lisa Mawdsley, who points out that ‘the evolution of complex society and the growth of elite-controlled urban centres were not restricted to Upper Egypt but...occurred simultaneously along the Nile Valley in the late 4th Millennium BCE’ (p. 331), before looking in more detail at the Fayum region and, in particular, at Tarkhan in Naqada IIIA2. Christiana Köhler has conducted important work on the early tombs of Helwan but is here concerned specifically with the orientation of cult niches and burial chambers at the site. She concludes that ‘there is no tangible evidence in support of a general religious concept of the west during the Pre- or Early Dynastic period, neither in the Memphite region nor in other parts of Egypt’ (p. 297), and she reminds us that ‘Egyptian ideologies were not cast universally or instantaneously at the beginning of the pharaonic period’ (p. 297), something which is all too often overlooked.

The architecture of the North and South Chapels of Senwosret III at Dahshur are the subject of an interesting paper by Adela Oppenheim, who notes that such buildings were frequently destroyed by robbers so that their architecture and decoration have not survived well. She nonetheless provides an excellent reconstruction based on the evidence from Dahshur.

The volume includes a series of useful ‘historical’ overview papers. That by V.G. Callender provides a ‘cautionary tale’ in her reassessment of Reisner’s work on the family history of the 4th Dynasty. It looks critically at his work as well as setting it in the context of its time, so making a contribution to the history of the discipline as well as to Callender’s main theme. Aber El Shahawy examines the interaction of iconographic ideas between Thebes and Memphis, in which he sees ‘cultural radiation’ (p. 143) and considers the ways that such radiation might have taken place. Naguib Kanawati’s paper also links the Memphite region and Upper Egypt in an examination of the ‘Memphite Control of Upper Egypt

During the Old Kingdom' which takes Edfu, Abydos and Akhmim as case studies. The eldest sons of provincial administrators were, he argues, brought up at the Memphite court in order to train them in the ways of the state and so 'indoctrinate' (p. 252) them in a way fitting to succeed their fathers and to serve the state. Christian Knoblauch takes as his subject the Memphite area during the late First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, a time when our understanding of the area is poorly understood. He reviews the data and proposes a three-phase chronology before developing a model for understanding the period.

Katherine Eaton examines 'Memphite, Theban and Heliopolitan gods of rule in the New Kingdom', looking at how the depiction of these gods is affected by local conditions as well as how Memphite practices may sometimes be reflected elsewhere. Religion is also the subject of Rehab Assem's paper, which provides a very convenient summary of the Hathor cult at Memphis from the Old Kingdom onward.

We then come to four papers which have aspects of crafts or professions at their core. That by Lesley Kinney examines 'Butcher queens of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties' and looks at the role of butchers as ritual performers in the context of the 'Acacia House', linking ritual, royalty and profession. Michelle Hampson deals with her discovery of two previously unrecorded scenes showing carpenters from the tomb of Khuenre, part of the Menkaure Cemetery, at Giza. This had originally been mistaken for a rope-making scene by Reisner. The same tomb also has scenes showing leatherworking – including hide stretching.

Christopher Davey provides an interesting review of Memphite tomb scenes that include metallurgy, especially with reference to a particular crucible type which, he argues, contained the fire as well as the metal. He notes that the scenes are 'didactic in that they depict stages of the process' (p. 105), a point which the reviewer, along with Sarah Doherty, has argued elsewhere for pottery. One would like to see some of the hypothesis presented in the paper further tested by experimental archaeology.

Last of all, Angela La Loggia discusses 'Architects, Engineers and Builders in Early Dynastic Memphis', providing an enlightening summary of their proficiency in the Early Dynastic cemeteries of Saqqara and Helwan. There is a useful – and impressive – tabulation of the volume of earth excavated, and number of bricks used in a variety of tombs at Saqqara and Helwan which reinforces the scale of these early works.

In summary, this is an interesting and engaging volume which has sufficient variety of papers to interest a wide range of Egyptologists and archaeologists. The conference brief excludes the later history of the Memphite region and it is to be hoped that a similar meeting, dealing with this later history, might be held and so complement this volume. This is a book which all Egyptological libraries will want and which will be of value to students and professionals alike.

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Paul T. Nicholson

L. Grig and G. Kelly (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xvi+465 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-973940-0

This engaging collection of essays represents a challenge to the conventional 'teleological' tale of two cities whereby Rome declined as Constantinople rose in importance,

proportionally and intentionally. Rome, the editors (and most of the contributors) argue, remained culturally vibrant and politically relevant well into the 5th century AD, while it took a long time for Constantinople to supplant Rome as *the* imperial capital.

Part I begins with the editors' Introduction, which both previews the volume's papers and begins to make the case for its revisionist thesis. Lucy Grig's chapter which follows looks at the competing representational topographies of Rome and Constantinople. Until the 5th century, she argues, 'Rome was not just an urbs or even *the* Urbs', but the supreme ideal – the 'aloof goddess Roma, rather than a mere Tyche, which distinguished other 'second-rank' cities. Even though Rome was forcibly 'twinned with her upstart "sister," Constantinopolis' (p. 43) at the beginning of the 4th century, Rome's ongoing 'precarious supremacy' is indicated by its position as the central reference point in the late 4th-century Peutinger Table. The following essay by Bryan Ward-Perkins is a physical comparison of the two Romes. The author contrasts the deliberate destruction of the Christian fabric of the city of Constantinople by Muslim conquerors with the preservationist tendencies of the Late Antique aristocracy of Rome. Constantinople's Late Antique urban fabric is therefore less recoverable than Rome's during the same period.

Part II, on urban space and development, opens with John Matthews's very useful text, translation of and commentary on the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, an early 5th-century description of the city's physical infrastructure, which adds a bit more flesh to the bones of the physical remains discussed by Ward-Perkins in the previous chapter. The following two chapters by James Crow and Carlos Machado focus on, respectively, the Constantinopolitan water supply and aqueducts (which, by the end of the 6th century, rivalled Rome's own), and Roman aristocratic housing (which enjoyed a boom in the 4th century as Roman aristocrats began building over formerly restricted imperial and public spaces by then abandoned by the central authorities).

Part III, 'Emperors in the City', begins with Mark Humphries's chapter on Valentinian III, the longest resident emperor in Rome since Maxentius. Humphries's chapter is an avowed attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of Valentinian, who is usually wrongly regarded as an inept and ineffectual ruler. He successfully tussled with Pope Leo the Great – no mean feat in itself – and Humphries shows that Leo needed Valentinian's authority and backing more than the emperor needed the pope's. Peter van Nuffelen's chapter echoes Humphries's in the sense that his main concern is the competition for authority and prestige between emperors and church leaders, this time during public ceremonies in Constantinople. Van Nuffelen argues, contrary to the *communis opinio*, that emperors could hardly stage-manage public rituals, especially in the presence of powerful and ambitious bishops. Additionally, the emperor had to improvise responses to the Constantinopolitan people's spontaneous demands, insults and acclamations on such occasions.

Part IV, on panegyric, begins with Roger Rees's essay on the seemingly random collection of texts assembled by Pacatus, the *XII Panegyrici Latini*. Rees believes that the organising principle behind the collection was to show 'an enduring record of Gallic loyalty' to the emperor (p. 210), to assert the primacy of the Roman empire and to praise Theodosius as Trajanic *optimus princeps*. John Vanderspoel's chapter speculates that the strong pro-Constantinople material that appears at the end of Themistius' *Oration 3*, delivered in Rome in AD 357, was added later for consumption by a Constantinopolitan audience. The problem here is that even circumstantial evidence is lacking to support Vanderspoel's

argument, although he invokes some thought-provoking parallels to bolster his case. The final two essays of this section, Gavin Kelly's on the poet Claudian and Andrew Gillett on Claudian's main innovation (Latin epic verse panegyric) and purposes, are mutually illuminating. Kelly argues that the poet is reluctant to credit Constantinople as the New Rome (and not just in the fiercely anti-Constantinopolitan *In Eutropium*, where Constantinople is an 'ersatz Rome': p. 256), although he ultimately 'raises the possibility [that] Constantinople [is] the equal of Rome ... and then refuses to confirm or deny' it (p. 258).

Part V, entitled 'Christian Capitals?', opens with two close studies of documents whose relation to thematic concerns of this section is somewhat obscure. Benet Salway's chapter on the travelogue and pilgrimage narrative, the *Bordeaux Itinerary* (dated to AD 333), is a fascinating explication of the history of this strange text and reaches the radical conclusion that the original destination of the writer (who Salway speculates was a member of a Western VIP's entourage, a lay Christian in his thirties) was Constantinople, and that the tour of the Holy Land that followed whatever business brought his boss to Constantinople was later 'grafted on' to the original trip. John Curran's chapter is a close study and defence of the intellectual respectability of the 4th-century poetess Proba's *Cento* – a re-telling of episodes from the Bible using exclusively lines from Virgil's poems. The poem epitomises 'a certain [Roman] Christian milieu renegotiating a [pagan] literary tradition' (p. 343). The final two essays of Part V focus on the negotiations of the relative status of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople through religious councils and the canons emanating from them. Neil McLynn's acutely argued chapter focuses on the third canon of the Council of Constantinople in AD 381, which established Rome's primacy as the papal see and gave the bishop of Constantinople nothing but second place after Rome (i.e. before other metropolitan sees – Alexandria, Antioch, etc.). The impetus behind the canon's formulation was to prevent the successor of Gregory of Nazianzus as bishop of Constantinople, the 'innocuous nonentity' Nectarius, from gaining any undue honour or privilege. Philippe Blandeau's chapter studies the papal correspondence of the years 518–521 in order to show the 'discrepancy between Petrine ideology' – which asserted the universal power of the papacy – 'and Realpolitik', represented by the emperor Justin I ignoring the will of Rome when choosing bishops of Constantinople. These two chapters capture nicely the theme of Rome and Constantinople jockeying for primacy in matters of religion and Christian orthodoxy.

An Epilogue by Anthony Kaldellis discusses the identity of the people we usually refer to as 'Byzantines'. He drily notes that 'Byzantine studies is possibly the only field that actively denies the identity of its subjects' (p. 387), who called and thought of themselves as Romans and called their empire Romanía. He argues that after 700, what we call the Byzantine empire was actually a nation-state, that is, it was not a multiethnic empire but a unified state with common customs, religion, language, state apparatus and a homogeneous culture. There is much food for thought here (for example, what we call 'Romanisation' should be regarded as 'proto-Byzantinisation', and the history of what we call the Byzantine empire should be seen to begin in the 2nd century) – and thus a suitable way to end a radically thought-provoking and fine collection of essays.

S. Günther (ed.), *Ordnungsrahmen antiker Ökonomien: Ordnungskonzepte und Steuerungsmechanismen antiker Wirtschaftssysteme in vergleich*, Philippika 53, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, viii+275 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-06722-5/ISSN 1613-5628

This collection derives from a workshop held in Mainz in 2010, bringing together young scholars from across Germany to consider different aspects of ancient economic history around the general theme of ‘Organisational frameworks of ancient economies: concepts of order and mechanisms of control of ancient economic systems in comparison’. The collection extends chronologically from the Mycenaean period, with Fischer’s study of the palace economy seen through Linear B texts, to late antiquity (though not much beyond the 3rd century), and geographically across the whole extent of the classical world (although neither Africa nor Egypt – excepting Droß-Krüpe’s study of the ways that the state and the army organised the supply of textiles – features strongly). The definition of ‘economic’ encompasses the euergetic activities of women in Miletus (Burgemeister and Köcke), the role of provincial *concilia* in local economic life (Edelmann-Singer) and the organisation of river transport (Vögler), as well as more familiar topics such as the different means employed to mobilise resources for common purposes in Athens and Sparta (Rohde), the financial crisis of AD 33 (Schartmann), the economic implications of tying *coloni* to the land (Schipf), and surveys of the archaeological evidence for the distribution of foodstuffs and other goods (Ehmig) and for oil and oil lamps at Heidelberg (Hensen).

Even the best of such collections tend towards a certain miscellaneousness, as the ability of conference organisers to compel their contributors to engage with and limit themselves to a specified agenda is always limited. This collection feels more miscellaneous than most, a selection of generally interesting papers that do not speak to one another at all, or address any common questions (the ‘comparative perspective’ is provided by the mixture of topics, not by any explicit comparisons). In part, this may be because the theme is so broad, or at least has been interpreted as such. Günther’s brief introduction sets out clearly the aim to move beyond the old primitivist–moderniser division – a ritual that every publication on this topic must perform – and, more promisingly, questions the exclusive focus of much recent work on the ideas of the New Institutional Economics; the idea of ‘frameworks’, he suggests, will draw into the discussion the ideas of economic geography and network theory as well, and emphasise complexity. In practice, however, concepts like ‘framework’ and ‘space’, which have substantive content in those disciplines, become in the hands of these ancient historians vague and empty, an opportunity for them to summarise their recent research rather than to employ that research in the development of a new theoretical approach. Even more than most collections, therefore, this is a book to consult because one chapter is relevant to your particular interests, rather than a book to engage with as a whole.

I found the experience of reading the whole work most interesting as an opportunity reflect on the different national traditions of studying the economies of antiquity – not least, a reminder that the English-language tradition with which I am most familiar is by no means the only one worth bothering with. For every moment where I felt the lack of engagement with the scholarship I know (Finley remains the most-cited Anglo-American ancient historian here, with little reference to more recent works like the Scheidel, Morris

and Saller collection),¹ there was mention of some interesting-looking German work that has hitherto escaped my attention. Of course, no national tradition is ever completely homogeneous; while many of these papers felt, from my perspective, under-theorised and too focused on the basic compilation of information rather than considering the wider implications – and I fully accept that this may simply be because they were not engaging with questions that I think are important – there were also papers like that of Rollinger on the role of personal relationships in the operation of credit systems in the late Roman Republic, entirely familiar with the English-language literature and current debates while developing his own approach, where I can only hope that enough of my Anglo-American colleagues will make the effort to read some German.

I would also note two aspects of this collection which highlight a certain gap in the English-language tradition at present. The first is a focus on ancient economic thought, broadly defined, moving beyond simplistic attempts at establishing, for example, Aristotle as the founder of modern economics, or (more commonly) dismissing all ancient ideas as primitive and irrational. Priddat on Aristotle's conception of the market as an arena for social justice, Günther on Xenophon's image of the Persian king as the ideal economic actor and Page on Pliny the Younger all seek to set these ideas in their historical context and explore their implications – albeit in both cases they might take this much further – as does Rollinger in his reflections on the idea of *amicitia*. The second theme is the focus on the *limes*, the 'developing world' of the Roman empire, a reminder of how many English-language debates in Roman economic history tend to return to the familiar territories of Italy, Gaul, Africa and Egypt. For these reasons, as well as for the general principle of encouraging the exchange of ideas across linguistic frontiers, it is important to keep an eye out for publications like this that offer an insight into the range of work being done beyond the usual confines of the debate.

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D.S. Habermehl, *Settling in a Changing World: Villa Development in the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Amsterdam Archaeological Series 19, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2013, ix+240 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-8964-506-7

Diederick Habermehl's book is the result of his PhD studies at the Free University of Amsterdam. It is part of a broader research programme: 'Roman villa landscapes in the North: Economy, Culture and Lifestyles'. The 'Changing World' is the northernmost continental part of the Roman empire, extending up to the northern Rhine frontier. It embraces a region which now includes areas of Germany, Holland, Belgium and France. More important than these modern political divisions are the geological ones. The northern part comprises sand and clay. To the south of this is a loess region, in turn bordered by the hilly area of the Eifel and the Ardennes. The sand and clay area was forested and best suited to animal raising, while the loess is arable and in Roman times probably produced mainly wheat.

¹ W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2007).

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. 'Settling' might seem to imply the arrival of newcomers, but H. emphasises rather the continuity of population from the Late Iron Age into the times of the Roman empire. The subtitle of the book, *Villa Development...*, is also a point of argument. H. in fact argues against the term villa, seeing that this implies the importation of a concept from Classical Italy (and, especially, Classical Latin terminology). It also recalls, perhaps, the concept of the rural villas of the Veneto owned by the wealthy inhabitants of Renaissance Venice. The point is that the settlements discussed in this book were the normal residences of the farming communities that worked these lands.

The book catalogues 270 of these community settlements. Their distribution is illustrated by small scale maps which not only mark the positions of H.'s various categories (Figs. 3.15, open and enclosed areas, 3.17, axially organised complexes, 3.30, houses to three degrees of monumentalisation, 4.7, houses according to the number of rooms) but also the distinction (by shading) between the sand/clay and loess regions, together with four towns, Cologne, Tongres, Bavai and Amiens. These towns were linked by a major Roman road, and the majority of the settlements clustered along this line, as H. points out in his text, but he does not mark this road on his maps. It would have been useful to have included a larger scale and more detailed map such as that in the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (map 11), which shows more roads and more named places, highlighting the comparative emptiness of the sand/clay region, and which would offer a more useful framework for the more precise location of the settlement sites. The majority, obviously, are in the loess region which from its geological nature sustained denser agricultural exploitation. They comprise simple groupings more akin to individual farmsteads, too small to be called villages or even hamlets, which had already formed the extensive settlement pattern of the Late Iron Age, before the coming of the Romans. H. traces the way these developed in the Roman period, with improved building techniques and increasing complexity of plan, into what are normally termed villas in the context of Roman archaeology, for Roman Britain as well as for the Continent and the area of this study.

Improvements in the Roman period include the demarcation by ditches or fences of the settlement area. H. points out that the Iron Age structures and their form continue into the time of the Empire; above all, simple rectangular wooden structures comprising a single room divided with a line of internal posts supporting a thatched ridge roof. These communities would have been essentially self-supporting, the houses constructed from locally available timber. Those in the sand and clay region farmed livestock, and part of the interior of these simple houses functioned as byres.

The arrival of Roman political control, and the presence of the Roman army on the Rhine frontier introduced new techniques; so the houses now have stone footings, quarried perhaps some distance from the settlement, not from within the property, terracotta tiles commercially produced, and plastered walls, all implying a more developed economic system. (I recall a fragment of a vault at the house at Bad Neuenahr, 070 in H.'s catalogue, made of plaster on a semicircle of wooden laths rather than stone). The plans of the houses become more complex, with separate rooms for different purposes, and increased privacy. The exterior appearance may be enhanced by porticoes across the front, perhaps between square rooms attached at the corners of the main structure. Bath buildings may be included or added – the implication is that of the blandishments of Roman civilisation which Tacitus sees seduced the inhabitants of Roman Britain.

Some of these houses become very extensive. Settlements might come to be grouped round a dominating big house, with ancillary buildings for the lesser inhabitants or for distinct agricultural purposes. These places are more than self-sufficient; in the loess region above all they are producing surpluses of corn (stored in granaries) to be transported to serve the needs of the army and the urban centres.

This is a very thorough and convincing study. It is based on a wide understanding of the published material, extended particularly by recent excavation, including rescue excavations in the areas of Germany affected by open-cast mining for lignite, though some of this is available only in preliminary reports. The result is a much clearer understanding of what the establishment of the Roman provincial system meant to the existing population and their descendants outside the more obviously Roman element of the towns, the *coloniae* and the military.

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A. Hartmann, *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie: Objektbezogene erinnerungspraktiken in antiken gesellschaften*, Studien zur Alten Geschichte 11, Verlag Antike, Berlin 2010, 846 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-938032-35-0

The published doctoral dissertation of this reviewer has 302 pages. The page count of the present book, which earned the author the same degree from the University of Eichstätt, accounts for almost 1000 pages. Lack in quantity does most certainly not indicate a lack in quality. Nor does abundance in quantity. The bulky study in memorial culture presented here by Andreas Hartmann is a formidable piece of research and, incredible but true, a rather enjoyable read. H. takes his reader by the hand and guides him through the fascinating panopticum of ancient memorial practice.

Unavoidably, however, we are confronted first with a few preliminaries on 'concepts and terminology' (Chapter 2). What is a memorial landscape? In order to unravel this mystery, H. takes refuge to a whole array of theories, from Assmann to Halbwachs, and from the other Assmann to Gadamer. We are then introduced to the terminological couple *Relikt/Reliquie* (both translated as 'relic' in English; but while *Reliquie* has a specific religious meaning, *Relikt* encompasses anything that has survived from the past).

The dealings of the ancients with such relics are then the subject of Chapter 3 ('Umgang mit Relikten'). H. surveys the whole landscape, including artefacts, natural relics such as fossils, and bodies. He discusses such seemingly modern concepts as monument protection and memorial places (*Gedenkstätten*). With H. as our guide, we visit the Flavian Templum Pacis, where artwork from all over the empire was put on display. And we join the dealers of antiquities and memorabilia, who increased the price of their commodities by adding the symbolic value of memories to them.

Chapter 4 ('Überreste der Vergangenheit in der antiken Literatur') surveys the reflections of the use and abuse of relics in ancient literature. Of particular interest in this part is a section on 'textual objects' (*Textobjekte*), in which H. addresses the problem that most of the objects he writes about are attested only owing to texts; here he shows that ancient authors often were in quite the same position: as an example, H. cites from an inventory from the temple of Lindos listing some 40 objects. The inventory contains votive gifts,

which never formed an ensemble of objects present in the temple at one given time. By presenting this piece of evidence, H. illustrates how dangerous it can be to take constructed textual objects at face value.

Chapters 5 ('Bedeutung und Funktionen von Relikten') and 6 ('Von Athen nach Jerusalem') form the analytical core of the thesis and produce the bulk of its intellectual added-value. Here, H. explains the role of material objects in the construction of collectively shared memories. Relics can act as 'Repräsentanz einer fundierenden Vergangenheit' (p. 497) – through their sheer presence, they contribute to the construction of a past constitutive for a community's identity. H. takes the Acropolis in Athens and the memorial landscape of Archaic Rome as examples; they can also provide protection through their 'talismanische Wirkung' (p. 543), as did the *palladium* in Rome; finally, they act as sources of legitimacy, like the relics of Alexander the Great for the Ptolemies.

In the final chapter, H. discusses the rise of Palestine as a memorial landscape and destination for pilgrimage in late antiquity, from the finding of the Holy Sepulchre to the spread of relic- and martyr-worship. The chapter exposes the structural similarities between pagan hero-worship and the Christian cult of martyrs: in both traditions, magic qualities were attributed to relics, a belief that survives in many regions of the Mediterranean till the present day.

H.'s thesis is an important contribution to the study of the handling of the past by humans. While massive and extraordinarily rich in material of very disparate kind and origin, it still impresses with its astonishing ease and lucidity: highly recommended for anyone interested in memorial culture and anthropological approaches to the classical world.

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Michael Sommer

O. Hekster, S. Schmidt-Hofner and C. Witschel (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire*, Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network 'Impact of Empire', Heidelberg, July 5–7, 2007, Impact of Empire 9, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2009, xii+376 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-17481-8/ISSN 1572-0500

The study of rituals has proved to be an important area of research in the social sciences. Sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists have studied, and continue to study, the rituals of various communities, developing methods and coming to conclusions. Roy Rappaport noted in 1999, 'I therefore take ritual to be the social act basic to humanity'.¹ Walter Burkert, in his turn, wrote, '[ritual] a form of standardised behaviour whose function is communicative, and whose pragmatic basis may be secondary, or even vanish completely'.² A useful definition, but not necessarily to be accepted in its entirety. Obviously, a ritual includes actions performed for their symbolic value, without this necessarily implying that they lack a basic social function in expressing, fixing and reinforcing the shared values and beliefs of a society, which are sometimes conceived of in cosmic terms. In

¹ R.A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge 1999), 31.

² W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur* (Heidelberg 1984), 28.

any case, it is generally accepted that rituals contribute to the creation of strong social or other types of bonds within a community and so contribute by extension to the feeling of joint belonging and collective identity.

The publication of the proceedings of a conference with which we are concerned here juxtaposes rituals with religious change over the Imperial period. The whole perspective offered by the book becomes clearer if we recall that the matter of ritual dynamics and religious change is to be viewed as part of a more general reflection, as the fruit of lengthy and high-calibre international scholarly co-operation on the matter of the impact of empire, which has to its credit workshops and more than ten collective volumes. The present volume contains 17 papers, set in a tripartite structure, and one, by Angelos Chaniotis, that functions as an introduction. This refers to various historical examples and sets forth the principles on the basis of which the papers that follow fall into place, that is, ritual displacement, agency, transfer, emulation and ritual dynamics. The first part of the book, 'Ritualising the Empire', contains five papers, the first of which, by Stéphane Benoist, examines the development of the office of Pontifex Maximus during the first five centuries of the Christian era, thus establishing continuities in the exercise of religious power, even as Christianity was consolidating itself. The next four papers deal with matters of *histoire événementielle*. They refer to the use of symbols, rituals, religious connections in the service of the new regime and in the consolidation of personal power. There are three contributions here, by Ida Östenberg, Patrizia Arena and Oliver Hekster. These revolve around the well-known matter of the gentle devaluation of the content and type of rituals of the Republican period, with the aim of giving expression to the new regime founded by Augustus. To these papers is to be added the contribution of Martijn Icks, on the religious initiatives of Helagabalus and the reactions that they provoked.

The second part of the book, 'Performing Civic Community in the Empire', focuses upon the provinces, the reception and acceptance of elements symbolising or forming Roman imperial power. Thus Christer Bruun deals with the particular case of the civic rituals of Ostia, the city that was the immediate neighbour of Rome, and the impact of Rome on these rituals. Frits Naerebout singles out the matter of dance as ritual and tracks its fate in Roman culture. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou addresses the general subject of public *symposia*. Anne-Valérie Pont considers the honorific rituals with which provincial cities received Roman governors and with the motives that lay behind the assigning of these honours to governors. This part of the book closes with the contribution of Werner Eck. This deals with the true vehicles of Roman power in the provinces, that is, governors, military officers and so on, and the symbols of power, such as portraits of the emperor on coins and his statues. The title of the third section, 'Performing Religion in the Roman Empire', would seem to suggest that it contains matters pertaining to religion, in contrast, one supposes, to the first two sections, which refer to rituals. The first paper is by Greg Woolf, who disarmingly poses the question of the stereotypes that we have so far used to deal with religion in the provinces in Imperial times. Emily Hemelrijk, in her turn, considers the question of the participation of women in rituals of sacrifice. Arbia Hilali examines the role and significance of funeral banquets in the Africa of the Imperial period, for the maintenance of collective memory. Günther Schörner chooses the example of the worship of Saturn in Africa to reflect upon the local and temporal peculiarities that the worship of well-known deities presents in the empire as a whole. Christoph Auffarth traces changes in Greek religion

wrought by the influence of Rome. Nicole Belyache examines the feedback and renewal that the worship of Luna underwent at Pisidia in Antioch, under the pressure of Roman influence and local needs. The final paper, by Joachim-Friedrich Quack, deals with similar questions in Roman Egypt.

One could comment further on any one of these pieces. Although the general context consisting of the linking of feasts, religious ceremonies and events, symbolism and ritual with imperial power and ideology recurs in scholarly production over recent decades, the elaboration of various aspects and of particular cases, as here, is always welcome. What, however, is slightly surprising, and so tends to work against the volume and the whole argument, is the absence of more general reflection on, and review of, the general matter of ritual and, in particular, on the expression of it, as appears in the title of the volume. As we have said, discussion of rituals has attracted particular interest over recent decades in the fields of ethno-archaeology, anthropology and the study of religion. To go beyond the examples and particular cases quoted in this volume might very well help in the analysis and interpretation of ritual procedures of the early Christian period in the Mediterranean. Had this been done, it would have greatly increased the importance of the book and would have made it a work of reference. Similar observations can be made regarding the second theme of the book, which deals with religious change. At this point, it should be noted that perhaps in none of the papers is there any discussion of change. In fact, the case is quite the opposite. Benoist, among others, shows that even in the case of Christianisation, where we can talk with clarity about change = conversion, the archives that she examines in her paper show that we are dealing with transformation, rather than change, at least as regards the political aspect of religious behaviour.

As already noted, there is no widely accepted definition of ritual. Even the definition given by Evangelos Kyriakides, 'ritual is an outsider's or "etic" category for a set of actions, which to the outsider seems irrational, non-contiguous, or illogical... (and for) the insider or "emic" performer as an acknowledgement that this activity can be seen as such by the uninitiated onlooker',³ still presents problems. These problems appear very clearly in the pages of the present volume, too, both as regards the limits of rituals considered case by case and the methods of dealing with them and thus, in connection with the distinction made by Kyriakides, regarding the external and internal actor. Roman society is not always suitable for this. The same may, perhaps, hold for members of our own scholarly community. In particular one should question whether it is possible to examine dance as a ritual, when it is severed from the particular context within which it is realised (Naerebout). Does all dance have the same weight, the same content and the same symbolism? Does even the recording and updating of the *Fasti* (Bruun) necessarily refer to the conceptual category of rituals?

To sum up: this collective effort would have added more to scholarly debate had it overcome its preoccupation with particular cases and gone more deeply into the reality of symbolism and ritual, in whose continued shaping the impact of imperial power is clearly definitive.

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Panagiotis Doukellis

³ E. Kyriakides, *The Archaeology of Ritual* (Los Angeles 2007).

A. Heller, *Das Babylonien der Spätzeit (7.–4. Jh.) in den klassischen und keilschriftlichen Quellen*, Oikumene – Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 7, Verlag Antike, Berlin 2010, 557 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-938032-38-1

In recent years, historians of the classical world have become increasingly aware of the wealth of material contained in Babylonian archives relating to events well known from accounts by Greek and Roman writers, such as the collapse of the Assyrian empire, the fall of Babylon to Cyrus of Persia, Xerxes and Babylon's temples and last, but not least, Alexander's conquest of Babylonia. Particularly interesting is the fact that this material can, and does, provide an alternative picture of those events, which may be rather more reliable (certainly different) than stories circulated by individuals unfamiliar with Mesopotamian society and culture, given that they lived at a considerable physical and, more often than not, temporal remove from them.

However, there is the problem that the relevant material survives in a language (and script) with which most classical historians are unfamiliar, i.e. Akkadian cuneiform. But this problem is being gradually overcome by more and more young scholars being encouraged to study Akkadian and familiarise themselves with Mesopotamia's rich culture. Still – the task is not easy and guidance to the complexities of the documents and archaeological evidence is badly needed. This, in effect, is what André Heller sets out to do in this book. It is based on his doctoral dissertation, supervised by Peter Högemann, well known for his strong interest in the Near East – yet H. does not hesitate to disagree with his 'Doktorvater' on certain issues as references at various points indicate. His work is rigorous and detailed, discussing and analysing the relevant evidence (including biblical as well as classical sources) in considerable detail, although it is not quite as unique as he maintains (pp. 11–12).¹ Beginning with a long section on the sources (archaeological sites, classical authors, cuneiform texts), he then sets the scene by giving a sketch of Babylonian society, which (perhaps inevitably) concentrates heavily on its temples. Here the work of the multitude of researchers working with Michael Jursa and Caroline Waerzeggers proves invaluable, and he will doubtless have welcomed the detailed study by the latter of the prebendal system based on archives from Borsippa² which, contrary to his assertion (p. 107), provides considerable insights into the cultic functioning of the temples.

Despite H.'s attempt to provide a narrative history, the lacunose nature of the evidence makes that difficult, and his longest and most satisfactory sections are devoted to detailed analyses of the topics that will most interest classical historians: the Assyrian empire in its later stages, Cyrus' conquest, Darius' seizure of the throne leading to two Babylonian revolts, Xerxes' reorganisation of cults and the resultant increasing regionalism of Babylonia,³

¹ See F. Joannès, *La Mésopotamie au 1er millénaire* (Paris 2000) (English translation: *The Age of Empires* [Edinburgh 2004]).

² C. Waerzeggers, *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa: Priesthood, Cult, Archives* (= Achaemenid History XV) (Leiden 2010); see also C. Waerzeggers, 'The Babylonian priesthood in the long sixth century BC'. *BICS* 54.2 (2011), 59–70.

³ The effects of Xerxes' action in Babylonia was subjected to detailed scrutiny in a Workshop held in Leiden in January 2014, organised by Caroline Waerzeggers.

Alexander's victory at Gaugamela,⁴ the Babylonian response to Alexander as suggested (still mystifyingly) by the *Dynastic Prophecy*, the *omina mortis* leading to the unsuccessful enactment of the 'Substitute King' ritual and the Macedonian ruler's death.⁵ This he does with great lucidity, displaying an impressive command of the literature, including Briant's crucial clarification of Alexander's action in relation to the *katarraktes* on the Tigris, showing that it was part of the regular, seasonal irrigation works. Here is an instance where he firmly rejects his supervisor's understanding of the episode (pp. 436–40).

Naturally, there is the occasional slip: for example, the Persian palace in Babylon dates to Artaxerxes II (not Darius I) as both François Vallat and Ernie Haerincx have pointed out;⁶ the idea that Xerxes resided in Babylon as Crown Prince is an old one based on references to the 'house of the crown prince', which simply means Xerxes' *land-holding* in Babylonia, something well-attested by the estates granted to members of the royal family and Persian nobles documented in the later Murašû archives (both p. 270); the 'Bessos' (if read correctly), in the now published Bactrian documents, is extremely unlikely to be Artaxerxes V (p. 361, n. 48), as both Robin Lane Fox and Pierre Briant have pointed out;⁷ as a Babylonian solar eclipse tablet indicates, Artaxerxes III was not murdered (p. 426).⁸ Very curious is what must be a slip (or have I misunderstood this?) on p. 225, where he has the Achaemenids fearing an invasion from the Iranian highlands into the East Tigris area. Although the development of that region in the Achaemenid period is striking, as well discussed in Gauthier Tolini's recent thesis,⁹ I cannot understand how it connects to the Persians being worried about an invasion from Iran, rather than developing the area in order to link Babylonia more closely to Susa. There are also omissions, such as Eichmann's excavations in Tema, which have brought a stele of (almost certainly) Nabonidus to light, to which can now be added an inscribed relief fragment from Padakka, Saudi Arabia.¹⁰

⁴ Add now R. Rollinger and K. Ruffing, "Panik" im Heer – Dareios III., die Schlacht von Gaugamela und die Mondfinsternis vom 20. September 331 v.Chr.'. *IranAnt* 47 (2012), 101–15.

⁵ Definitely dated to 11 June 323 (see A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia I: Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.* [Vienna 1988], 322, obv. 8').

⁶ F. Vallat, 'Le palais d'Artaxerxès II à Babylone'. *Northern Akkad Project Reports* 2 (1989), 3–6; E. Haerincx, 'Babylonia under Achaemenid rule'. In J. Curtis (ed.), *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period* (London 1997), 28–30.

⁷ J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria from the Khalili Collection* (London 2012), Chapter 1 (pp. 174–85); cf. R. Lane Fox, 'Alexander the Great: "Last of the Achaemenids"?'. In C. Tuplin (ed.), *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire* (Swansea 2007), 267–311, at 297; and P. Briant, 'The empire of Darius III in perspective'. In W. Heckel and L. Tritle (eds.), *Alexander the Great: A New History* (Malden, MA/Oxford 2009), 141–70, at 147, n. 28; note further the afterword in Naveh and Shaked 2012, 259–60.

⁸ H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia V: Lunar and Planetary Texts* (Vienna 2001), Text 11 (BM 71537) III' rev. 9–10; cf. A. Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London 2007), 423–24.

⁹ G. Tolini, *La Babylonie et l'Iran: les relations d'une province avec le coeur de l'empire achéménide (539–331 a.n.è.)* (thesis, Université Paris I, 2011) (not yet published).

¹⁰ R. Eichmann, H. Schaudig and A. Hausleiter, 'Archaeology and epigraphy at Tayma (Saudi Arabia)'. *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 17 (2006), 163–76; cf. F. Joannès in *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* (2014), n. 51.

Damien Agut-Labordère's clarification of the *Demotic Chronicle*,¹¹ may well have come too late for inclusion, but not Tolini's article on Nabonidus' defensive preparations to meet the Persian attack in 539 BC.¹² But these are relatively minor points that do not undermine the book's general usefulness, which many a teacher will reach for with a sigh of relief when asked to teach the history of the 7th–4th centuries BC.

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Amélie Kuhrt

J. Hoffmann-Salz, *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der römischer Eroberung: Vergleichende Untersuchungen der Provinzen Hispania Tarraconensis, Africa Proconsularis und Syria*, *Historia Einzelschrift* 218, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011, 561 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-09847-2

The ancient economy is back! After decades of utter lack of interest, scholars are rediscovering the fascination of the 'livelihood of man' (Karl Polanyi), and they are doing it by cunningly applying new questions and new methodologies. Julia Hoffmann-Salz's Bonn-Cologne doctoral dissertation is just another proof of the unbroken vitality of a subject that deserves better than quantitative nit-picking.

H.-S. sets out on her epic journey through three Roman provinces with the assumption that the conquest of a region had 'serious consequences' for the lives of its inhabitants (p. 11). Her purpose is to define these consequences in detail and on the basis of a broad variety of material and textual evidence (*Einleitung*/Chapter 1). Chronologically, she covers everything from the period immediately following the first Roman conquests in Africa Proconsularis and Hispania Tarraconensis in the early 2nd century BC up to the period of firmly established rule in the three provinces under scrutiny. The choice of Spain, North Africa and Syria does not require much explanation: these areas were, first, crucial areas for the 'Mediterraneanisation' of the Roman state, Roman society and economy; and they are, second, among the most dynamic areas of archaeological research. Few regions have enhanced our knowledge about the Roman empire more over the last 20 years than this empire's extreme west, south and east. Thirdly, each of the three areas confronted Rome with entirely different socio-economic conditions and challenges.

Likewise strictly logical is the structure into which H.-S. divides her work: in Section 2 she discusses the evidence geographically, for each of the three provinces under scrutiny. Each of the subsections features some regional case studies, each with a closer look at settlement and population structures, ecological conditions, land use, economic activities and the organisation of the labour force. Each subsection concludes with some preliminary remarks on the economic consequences the Roman conquest had for the province in question. Every single one of the areas she investigates was radically reconfigured by the arrival of Rome. While in Spain Roman interest in mineral resources was crucial, North Africa was

¹¹ D. Agut-Labordère, 'Darius Législateur et les sages en Égypte: un addendum au Livre des Ordonnances'. In C. Moreno García (ed.), *Élites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne: épigraphie, littérature et archéologie* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq 2009–10), 1–6.

¹² G. Tolini, 'Quelques elements concernant la prise de Babylone par Cyrus (octobre 539 av. J.-C.)'. *Achaemenid Researches on Texts and Archaeology* (<http://www.achemenet.com>) (2005), note 003.

vital for feeding Italy's urban population and accordingly integrated into the supply chain for grain. In Syria, the impact of Roman rule was more manifold and guided by a variety of interests; yet it affected even the remotest areas of the Syrian steppe.

In Section 3, H.-S. summarises the results of her survey systematically. Here she attempts at quantifying the factors of continuity and change as well as the mechanisms of integration. Given the immense variety of ecological, social and economic settings she explores, her result that Rome almost invariably stimulated economic and demographic growth is, on the face of it, surprising. Less surprising is that the measures Rome implemented and that ultimately led to a booming economy, were quintessentially non-economic in character: urbanisation and the integration of the provincial elites into a growing imperial elite, finally the stimulating effect of the Roman army's presence – all this affected the entire Roman periphery, no matter what structures Rome encountered in a newly conquered province.

Not everything H.-S. explores in her impressively knowledgeable thesis is new; but overlooking a sheer infinite pool of evidence, she has further accentuated the complexities of Roman conquest and economic integration. She has proven how fertile comparing case studies from different geographic angles Rome's empire can be. The ancient economy is very much alive.

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Michael Sommer

I. Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space: The 'Classical City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 193, Peeters/Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, xii+1028 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 987-90-429-2302-7

Ine Jacobs's volume presents a significant and timely addition to our understanding of the Late Antique city, in a systematic well-supported manner. The work aims to elucidate its physical appearance, as well as the motivations behind those who initiated construction, and thereby regulated the aesthetic of urban space. The monograph is based on case studies in Asia Minor and, to a more limited extent, the Near East, and stems from J.'s PhD thesis (2008). The author lays out her argument within an Introduction and eight chapters: Chapter 1, 'Fortifications'; Chapter 2, 'Streets and Squares'; Chapter 3, 'Decorative Monuments'; Chapter 4, 'Religious Architecture'; Chapter 5, 'Statuary'; Chapter 6, 'Late Antique and Early Byzantine Architectural Changes'; Chapter 7, 'Initiators and Constructors'; and Chapter 8, 'Using Urban Space'. There is also a Conclusion, as well as two useful appendices ('Short Description of Core Sites'; 'Overview of Monuments Discussed'). Each of the chapters and sections within the book is further subdivided into numbered hierarchies of subheadings, or at times italicised subsections.

J. is to be admired for her command of the archaeological record of the case study cities, both in publications, and from her personal experience. In Asia Minor the cities are Aizanoi, Sardis, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, Xanthos, Sagalassos, Perge and Side; and the Near Eastern cities are Apamea-on-the-Orontes, Gerasa, Skythopolis, Resafa, Zenobia, Abu Mina and, although not mentioned in the Introduction (p. 15), Antioch-on-the-Orontes. J. also makes use of inscriptions and primary sources to support her arguments. She admits her bias toward Sagalassos on p. 16, and this is evident within the text.

J. informs us that her focus is on the perception of a visitor to a city, rather than a resident (a framework that is not necessarily borne out; in Chapter 7, the discussion centres around elite residents). She then slices up the Late Antique city from pavement to roof tile, examining in detail the types of materials used and reused, the reasons for their placement, the categories of buildings and decorative monuments that were newly constructed or survived from the previous era and their fate in late antiquity. Some were dismantled or destroyed, while others were maintained and repaired. She also examines more complex motivations behind this, especially in her Conclusion, and the overall effect such activities had on the entire cityscape and the interrelationship of such constructions. She brings the Late Antique city vividly to life in this thorough and exacting study.

J. also assembles a number of useful and generally well-referenced summaries on the political and social situation from the 4th century AD to frame her discussions. Many of her keen observations on the effect of the cityscape on the observer, such as the fortification walls (p. 63), help to shake modern prejudices of the way we view interior and exterior urban space in the Late Antique city. J. successfully provides rhyme and reason to that often chaotic urban space a modern visitor or researcher is faced with: the 'Late Antique city'. One example of this is her investigation into and explanation for the use and reuse of columns and other architectural elements both on streets and in squares, as well as inside churches (pp. 112, 371). Her extensive and thorough discussion on religious architecture will be of enormous value to archaeologists and other researchers (p. 272). She expertly handles the fate of pagan temples at the, perhaps, not so violent hands of the Christians (pp. 285–99), and provides an engaging explanation of all aspects of early church construction and layout (p. 366). Her research on the systemisation and reasons behind the reuse of architectural elements within a Late Antique context successfully challenges preconceptions that the process was random and uncontrolled (p. 404). Likewise, J.'s exposition on the motivations behind the survival and reuse of some but not all pagan statues is compelling and authoritative (pp. 428–40).

Despite this publication's immense value, the reviewer feels that, on the whole, the work falls short of communicating its central thesis in a sustained fashion at times: there are too many competing themes at work. A comparative study such as this one, with its parallel examples and typologies, is strongly reminiscent of W.L. MacDonald's methodology in the second volume of *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*.¹ The strength of MacDonald's volume is, however, brevity. The vast subject matter of the *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space* would have been better served by two or more volumes, one of which could have been based on the summaries of each chapter. It is within these sections that the greatest clarity is achieved. With such a wide range of subjects, there are bound to be weaknesses. For example, it is odd that J.'s discussion on the initiators of construction did not take into account the practices and systems that were already well-established in the preceding Imperial period. There is a small mention of initiators from the 1st to the 3rd century AD on p. 480, but the relevance of the section is unclear and probably should have been omitted. The typographical errors within the text further point to the necessity of closer editing (Preface, pp. 271, 294, 335, 389, 486, note 50, etc.).

¹ *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II: An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven/London 1986).

The use of the word 'aesthetic' in the title and arguments could trouble some purists who may point out that, when the modern definition of the word arose in the 19th century, there was a controversy about its incorrect use in referring to the perception of beauty, when the Greek is clearly limited to the act of perceiving only – the false inference here is that ancient observers shared our modern sense of aestheticism.

Undoubtedly, this book is an invaluable addition to scholarship on the Late Antique city, and will prove to be of great use as a reference, or catalogue, for researchers wishing to easily find parallels of phenomena in urban planning and construction, thanks to its many convenient divisions of subject matter and their accompanying exhaustive lists of examples, tables, plans and extensive bibliographies.

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S.F. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xli+1247 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-533693-1

The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity presents itself as a 'thematic complement' to the *Cambridge Ancient History* XIII (1998) and XIV (2000), covering the period from the early 4th century to the 7th century, or 'from Constantine to Muhammad' (H. Inglebert, Introduction, p. 4). It is formulated in five parts: 'Geographies and Peoples'; 'Literary and Philosphical Cultures'; 'Law, State and Social Structures'; 'Religions and Religious Identity'; and 'Late Antiquity in Perspective', a section which addresses Rome in relation to other empires, and the early historiography of late antiquity (C. Celenza, 'Late Antiquity and the Italian Renaissance').

Throughout, it consciously separates itself from a classicising framework. In Part 1, where the *CAH* XIV (2000) devotes chapters to Italy and Greece (together with the Balkans), they make but a fleeting and self-effacing appearance (in terms of barbarian conquest) in the *Handbook*, where the corresponding chapters are 'The Western Kingdoms' (M. Kulikowski), 'Barbarians: Problems and Approaches' (M. Maas) and 'The Balkans' (C.H. Caldwell), focusing on Pannonia, Dalmatia and Thrace. While *CAH* lingers within the boundaries of the Roman empire with chapters on 'Asia Minor and Cyprus' and 'Vandal and Byzantine Africa', these are usurped in the *Handbook* by 'Central Asia and the Silk Road' (E. de la Vaissiere) and 'Ethiopia and Arabia' (C.J. Robin), although Egypt (A. Papaconstantinou), Armenia (T. Greenwood) and Syria (P. Wood) receive attention in both works.

In Parts IV (Religions and Religious Identity) and V (Late Antiquity in Perspective), the *Handbook* again breaks away from the confines of Europe and the Mediterranean with a chapter on Christianity in Central, South and East Asia (J. Walker, 'From Nisbis to Xi'an: The Church of the East in Late Antique Eurasia'), two chapters on early Islam (R. Hoyland, 'Early Islam as a Late Antique Religion'; S.J. Shoemaker, 'Muhammad and the Qur'an') and an over-arching chapter (J. Haldon, 'Comparative State Formation: The Later Roman Empire in the Wider World') drawing comparisons with India, China and the Islamic world.

The *Handbook* prioritises the study of ‘mentalities’, rather than pragmatic or material aspects of late antiquity. The whole of Part II (pp. 335–594) is dedicated to ‘Literary and Philosophical Cultures’; and Part IV (pp. 849–1108) is entirely devoted to ‘Religions and Religious Identity’, together comprising more than half the book, in addition to other chapters which also focus almost entirely on religious culture (A. Boud’hors, ‘The Coptic Tradition’, and P. Wood, ‘Syriac and the Syrians’, in Part I; P. Guran, ‘Late Antiquity in Byzantium’, in Part V). Literary, philosophical, legal and social thought are dealt with in Parts II and III, with chapters on ‘Latin Poetry’ (S. McGill); ‘Greek Poetry’ (G. Agosti); ‘Historiography’ (B. Croke); ‘Hellenism and its Discontents’ (A. Johnson); ‘Education: Speaking, Thinking, and Socializing’ (E. Watts); ‘Monasticism and the Philosophical Heritage’ (S. Rubenson); ‘Physics and Metaphysics’ (G. Smith); ‘Travel, Cartography, and Cosmology’ (S. Fitzgerald Johnson); ‘Marriage and Family’ (K. Harper); ‘Health, Disease, and Hospitals: The Case of the “Sacred House”’ (P. Horden); ‘Concepts of Citizenship’ (R. Mathisen); ‘Justice and Equality’ (K. Uhalde); ‘Roman Law and Legal Culture’ (J. Harries); and ‘Communication: Use and Reuse’ (A. Gillett). Christianisation and the expression and structures of Early Christianity are addressed in Part IV: ‘Paganism and Christianization’ (J. Maxwell), ‘Episcopal Leadership’ (D.M. Gwynn), ‘Theological Argumentation: The Case of Forgery’ (S. Wessel), ‘Sacred Space and Visual Art’ (A.M. Yasin) and ‘Object Relations: Theorizing the Late Antique Viewer’ (G. Peers).

Only two chapters are entirely devoted to economic issues: ‘Central Asia and the Silk Road’ (Part I) and ‘Economic Trajectories’ (J. Banaji, Part III), both of which also stand out from other chapters in drawing extensively on archaeological evidence. Substantial consideration is also given to economic developments within Chapter 7, ‘Egypt’ (also based on the valuable papyrological record), Chapter 19, ‘Agriculture and Other “Rural Matters”’ (C. Grey) and Chapter 34, ‘Comparative State Formation: The Later Roman Empire in the Wider World’ (J. Haldon), which considers climate, geography, demography and extraction of surplus as well as political and ideological structures. The material world of late antiquity is otherwise given little attention in comparison to the ‘mental world’ (Inglebert, Introduction, p. 6).

On this basis, Inglebert suggests that the western and eastern parts of the Roman empire ‘did not know cultural unity’ (p. 6). Yet an archaeologically attested commercial market stretching from Britain to Mesopotamia for nearly identical Mediterranean tablewares, olive oil and wines, reveals through its material remains a unity of diet, taste, exchange and cultural habits, drawing on classical tradition, right up to the 7th century.¹ Although such archaeological evidence has driven a reconsideration of many issues in late antiquity,² the

¹ See P. Garnsey, ‘Writing the Late Roman Empire: Method and Sources’. In D.M. Gwynn (ed.), *A.H.M. Jones and the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden 2008), 25–41.

² Among many sources, see, for example, papers in S.A. Kingsley and M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001); M. Mundell Mango (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange* (Farnham 2009); J. Plouviez (ed.), *Amphorae in Britain and the Western Empire* (= *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 10) (Oxford 2003); A.G. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond* (Oxford 2007); P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700: Ceramics and Trade* (London 2010).

Handbook surprisingly declines to ‘survey archaeological reports or present the results of complicated scientific analyses’ (S.F. Johnson, ‘Preface’, p. xvii). Such material evidence can, however, substantially inform our understanding of the real world of late antiquity, and can usefully temper the textual record, as demonstrated in the few chapters in which it is used.

The book is clearly laid out, with footnotes and reference lists conveniently located at the end of each chapter, black-and-white and a few colour illustrations, and some useful maps. Contributors range in affiliation from the USA and the UK to Hungary, Italy, France, Sweden and Australia.

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Tamara Lewit

T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, *Oriens et Occidens* 19, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010, 454 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-09715-4

This volume builds on a core of ten papers from a colloquium at Oxford in 2004, ‘“Client Kingdoms” in the Roman Near East’, supplemented by three more specially commissioned for the publication. But, as the editors note at the outset, the term ‘client kingdom’ is anachronistic, and to impose the Roman model of *patronus* and *cliens* on this complex system of allied states is fraught with difficulties. The types of evidence available are highly fragmentary; to appropriate a metaphor applied by L.D. Reynolds to Sallust manuscripts, these states appear abruptly in historical narrative like the smile of the Cheshire Cat, and in general we know nothing about their development or ultimate fate. Some of the important issues were in fact addressed in a survey by David Braund from 1984,¹ but a study such as this, which sets out to tackle underlying critical problems, then illustrates points with highly appropriate case studies, has long been overdue.

The editors astutely limit their discussion to the East, for which there is a shared Hellenistic culture providing far better evidence than for the West, and to a period extending roughly from that of Pompey to the fall of Palmyra in AD 271 – although the concluding study of nomadism by Schurrer carries the discussion forward until the 5th century. After a critical Introduction, which sets out the problems involving definitions (including ‘client kingdom’), the function and limits of *amicitia*, and the way in which these states were sandwiched between Rome and the Parthian empire, there follow four sections. The first, ‘Outlook’, contains contributions which look at these states from the Roman and Parthian points of view. O. Hekster’s study provides a useful summary of how personal relationships were fostered at Rome under the Julio-Claudians and Flavians between the imperial *domus* and the ‘trophy kings’; it is only marred by a confusion (p. 53) between Vitellius the *princeps* and his father. R. Fowler’s contribution gives invaluable perspective for Eurocentric classicists on the relationship of these states (exemplified by the case of Izates of Adiabene) to the Parthian kingdom; he shows effectively how the same tendencies to oversimplify and uncritically apply anachronistic terms such as ‘feudal states’ to these kingdoms permeate modern scholarship on the Parthians (*cf.* p. 72, n. 51).

¹ D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* (London 1984).

The second section, 'Themes', contains papers on specialist topics applicable to many different situations and areas. A. Raggi provides, in my view, one of the highlights of this collection with an examination of the award of Roman citizenship to allied kings, covering developments under Pompey, Antony and Augustus, and demonstrating the ways in which these grants reflected the very different policies of these Roman leaders. K. Dahmen presents a useful analysis of coinage in selected dependent kingdoms (including Mauretania) and of how portraiture and other compositional elements reflect the relationship between the reigning allied monarch and the *princeps* in Rome, while T. Kaizer demonstrates how state sponsored religion in Eastern kingdoms must be understood not only in light of inherited Hellenistic practice (notably in Commagene), but also in light of strong Roman influences (Palmyra) as well as of established indigenous cults (Nabataea). The final contribution by L. Morgan should probably have been included in the next section, but it provides an important counterpoint to other studies in this collection, analysing the literary techniques used by neoteric poets which produced such an indelible impression in Roman thought of the corruption and sleaze of the kings of Bithynia.

The third section, 'Case studies', opens with another highlight, the analysis of R. Strootman of the 'Donations of Alexandria' made by Cleopatra and Antony, and how this must be seen in light of long-standing Ptolemaic and Seleucid claims to supremacy, as well as Antony's actions on behalf of Roman interests. A. Primo explores a fascinating topic, the peripatetic dynasts of Pontus, but his discussion begins with a silly error regarding dates (p. 159), and also contains many minor errors of expression, which detract from its readability (see below). M. Facella's contribution deals with Commagene, and sets out clearly the precarious relationships of its rulers with the late Republic and early Principate. A. Kropp looks at the strange assembly of evidence, partly historical but mostly archaeological and epigraphic, for kings at Emesa, while M. Sommer discusses the kings of Osroene during a much later stage (between Trajan and Gordian III), while they were part of an integrated system of defences against the Parthians. He provides an interesting theoretical comparison with the writings of the 19th-century British colonial administrator Lord Lugard, who advocated devolving certain powers to native rulers ('Indirect Rule') – although just as with the idea of client kingdoms, we should be wary of drawing too much out of an anachronistic comparison.

The last section, 'Variations and Alternatives', deals with districts where allied kingship *per se* did not exist, but where some of the problems already examined did. J.-B. Yon examines Palmyra prior to the emergence of a monarchical system under Zenobia, and provides inscriptional evidence for the local magistracies in the Roman period, including valuable material in Aramaic, usefully translated. The final contribution in the book is also the longest. U. Scharer examines the problem of nomadic allies in the Roman Near East, first providing an overview of relevant theory, then proceeding through a detailed examination of literary and epigraphic evidence for a vast area encompassing Syria, Jordan, Iraq and northern Arabia over a period extending up to late antiquity. Unfortunately, the study reads much like a thesis, obscuring its relevance to the book as a whole; at times, the reader is overwhelmed by lengthy footnotes simply listing dozens upon dozens of Semitic inscriptions. When Scharer does give a systematic analysis of critical interpretations of these inscriptions as evidence for Roman nomadic allies, he frequently tends first to present the interpretation, then undercut it with a variant on 'Unfortunately, it is not clear from this

evidence'. There are occasional factual errors (on p. 333 Jovian appears as the predecessor of Julian), and the argument is again obscured by poor English expression. This is a pity, given that a whole range of useful information for historians of the eastern frontier is assembled in this part of the work.

In general I was greatly impressed by the standard of editing: the citation of Latin and Greek in this volume was particularly good, and the translations were very accurate. This makes it all the more puzzling why there are also so many minor mistakes in the contributions from Primo and Scharrer. The pressures on European scholars to write in English are undeniable, and there are quite naturally practical limits and even ethical questions regarding how much an editor should interfere in contributions. But while expressions such as 'in the clears' (pp. 271, 272) or 'contradictory evidence' (p. 276) might add a level of quaint charm to the book, cumulatively they add an extra layer of difficulty to discussions of highly fragmentary evidence, especially when they affect meaning – thus on p. 172 we are told twice that Polemo II is the nephew of Polemo I and Pythodoris, whereas he is their grandson. This is particularly relevant because the book lacks an index of names, which would allow readers quickly to cross-reference articles against each other; as already noted, the discussions of Primo and Scharrer contain much useful data which exemplifies many arguments elsewhere in the book.

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T. Kaizer, A. Leone, E. Thomas and R. Witcher (eds.), *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition*, Babesch Suppl. 22, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, viii+173 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-2905-7/ISSN 0165-9367

This ambitious volume sets out to identify the broad trends that connect the religious life of the Graeco-Roman citizen and the city, in both the Eastern and the Western empire, as well as the interaction between 'local and colonial religious behaviour' within the context of changing religious practice. The publication is based on a series of papers that were delivered at a conference entitled 'Cities and Gods', which took place in Durham in 2007. The work promises to address a variety of general questions within the framework of three sections, and does so with interesting and useful contributions from 15 writers. These sections are briefly introduced, and are as follows: 'Religious Architecture in Urban Contexts' (four chapters); 'Ritual and Perception of Sacred Urban Space' (five chapters); and 'The Impact of New Religious Traditions on Civic Space' (four chapters).

In the first section, and following a brief introduction, J. Stamper revisits the influence of Etruscan architecture on the development of Roman Republican temples in 'The Capitoline Temples of Rome and its Colonies: *Cosa and Pompeii*'. Stamper challenges Gjerstad's reconstruction of the Capitoline temple, and then goes on to discuss both Cosa's and Pompeii's temples. Overall, the reviewer felt that this article places too much emphasis on its author's proposed reconstruction of the Capitoline temple, which has little connection with the conclusion – or the title – of the chapter. L. Revell, with 'Gods, Worshippers and Temples in the Roman West', rightly points out the difficulties of inferring ritual from a building's layout, but perhaps too radically suggests that religious beliefs cannot be inferred from the archaeological record. Her analysis of the urban space at Spanish Munigua and its

connection to its temple complex supports her thesis on the nature of procession, and her insights into the changing religious spaces at Aqua Sullis remind us how much a cult centre could change over its history. She justifiably warns against a 'homogenous' view of ritual in the empire. Raja's mostly descriptive chapter, 'Changing Spaces and Shifting Attitudes', suffers from an unclear introduction, but then successfully charts the emergence of religious architecture in Gerasa in the 1st century AD. Her contribution contains a useful catalogue of buildings along with their dedications. Her general commentaries and conclusions on the complex nature of cross culture and identity would have benefited from more refinement.

Section 2 opens with C. Ando's 'Cities, Gods, Empire' where he discusses the locative nature of Roman religion versus a Christian utopian one, and highlights how a religion displaced from its homeland will necessarily take on new meanings. One oversight was his use of the term 'Empire', which fails to take into account the vast differences between the West and the East. Ando presents a powerful conceptual framework, though it could have been greatly improved by some specific case studies. In his 'Temples for Egyptian Gods within an Urban landscape The Roman Iseum Campense and the Red Hall of Pergamon as Case Studies', M. Bommas charts the adoption of the cult of Isis into Roman religious life, and informatively points out some of the common characteristics that one might expect from such cult buildings throughout the empire. Despite the title, the chapter disappointingly does not discuss the Red Hall at length. M. Sommer's 'Creating Civic Space through Religious Innovation? The Case of the post-Seleucid Beqaa Valley' provides a useful catalogue of the religious buildings in this valley, suggesting that the local population comprised of nomads living in a symbiotic relationship with agriculturalists, who all shared a cultural identity. He further argues that the religious buildings were 'inclusive symbols of integration'. However, Sommer's assertion that the nomads were necessarily brigands is tentative at best. P. Goodman, in 'Temple Architecture and Urban Boundaries in Gaul and Britain: Two Worlds or One?', examines the difference in meaning, if any, between temples located in cities and those outside them in Roman Britain and Gaul. Her clearly structured and well-argued chapter unpicks this complex issue, and is generously supported with empirical evidence as well as convincingly challenging a number of established theories on the subject.

The final section of this book opens, again after a brief introduction, with 'Gortyn: from City of the Gods to Christian City', by I. Baldini Lippolis and G. Vallarino. This, again, mostly descriptive chapter outlines the development of Cretan Gortyn, with an important focus on the period of overlap of pagan and Christian cults, and highlights that literary chronologies and the architectural remains of the city do not necessarily always match up. The description of the new *praetorium* is somewhat unclear, and it is a pity that the legend for the main plan of the city is incomplete. The ultimate conclusion, that this development represented a change in the definition of what a city is, enticingly promises a further elaboration which is not forthcoming. L. Spera's contribution, 'Characteristics of the Christianisation of Space in Late Antique Rome: New Considerations a Generation after Charles Pietri's *Roma Christiana*', clearly elucidates the relatively small change that the Christianisation of Rome had on the urban landscape until the sack of Rome in AD 414. Her acute observations on the manner in which the urban network changed in Rome following the depopulation and ruralisation of the city, provide an excellent case study of the changing nature of a cityscape under great political and economic pressure, and how a religion like Christianity reacted and evolved in the face of this. C. Sotinel, in 'From

Belenus to Peter and Paul: Christianity and the Protection of the City in Late Antiquity', offers a well-informed discussion on the overlap of pagan and Christian beliefs in the Late Empire, and is well supported by both archaeological and literary sources. The final chapter, 'Christian Ceremonial and the Earthly City' (A. Doig), proposes to explore the relationship between ceremony and architecture in the early Christian period in Italy. Much of this chapter is, again, descriptive of well-known Christian architecture, and at times comes across as unnecessarily emotive. Ultimately, it falls short of convincingly connecting architecture and ceremony due to a lack of clear examples, however, Doig does provide some useful general commentary on the evolution of ceremony in relation to an individual city.

In its Introduction, this publication posed a number of open-ended questions, which it set out to answer. Yet it soon became clear that this thematically grouped collection of papers, while providing the reader with insights into many diverse aspects of the complex phenomena of religion and civic space, lacked the cohesion and directed focus that had been promised. It perhaps would have been better to have accepted this unavoidable situation rather than attempt to neatly (and ultimately unsuccessfully) tie the threads together in the main Introduction, and in the brief introductions to each section. The overly catalogue-like nature of many of the chapters detracts from, rather than supports, the aim of this volume, and several typographical errors reflect poorly on the text (for example: Raja, p. 31; Crosbie, p. 47; Ando, p. 52). Nevertheless, the ample bibliographies provided in each chapter, as well as the great number of original and thought-provoking analyses from its contributors make this book a worthwhile addition to the field of Graeco-Roman religion and its place within the city.

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M. Kazanski, with the collaboration of P.-M. Blanc, S. Boulogne, J.-P. Sodini and V. Soupault-Becquelin, *Qal'At Sem'An vol. IV: Rapport final. Fasc. 3: Les objets métalliques*, Institut Français du Proche-Orient, Mission Française de Qal'At Sem'An, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 167, Beirut 2003, ii+152 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 2-912738-26-1/ISSN 0768-2506*

Der vorliegende Band eröffnet eine kleine Monographienreihe, die der Publikation der zwischen 1980 und 1994 durchgeführten französischen Forschungen in dem nach dem Tod des ersten Säulenheiligen Simeon 459 n. Chr. im nordsyrischen Kalksteinmassiv errichteten Pilgerzentrum gewidmet ist. Der nun als erster der gesamten Reihe erschienene Band IV/ 3 gilt den Metallfunden von Qal'at Sem'an; weitere Bände werden sich den Befunden der Sondagen und den unterschiedlichen Baukomplexen des Heiligtums, den unterschiedlichen Fundgattungen der Umgebung, der Flora und Fauna, den Bauphasen und einer historischen Zusammenfassung widmen. Der unter Federführung von Michel Kazanski entstandene Band IV/ 3 enthält jedoch wesentlich mehr, als der Titel vermuten läßt. Es beschränkt sich nicht auf die Metallfunde der zwischen 1980 und 1994 durchgeführten Sondagen, sondern greift mit drei weiterführenden Studien zu frühmittelalterlichen Gürteln und Zwiebelknopffibeln in Syrien sowie einem mameluckischen Armring weit über Qal'at Sem'an hinaus.

* The Editor-in-Chief apologises for the late appearance of this review.

Wie Jean-Pierre Sodini und Pierre-Marie Blanc im ersten Kapitel erläutern, handelt es sich bei den präsentierten Metallfunden um Objekte, die in Sondagen im Eingangsbereich des Komplexes, in der Westportikus des Baptisteriums sowie im Oktogon und der Westbasilika des Martyriums gefunden wurden. Hinzugezogen wurden außerdem Funde der früheren Arbeiten George Tchalenkos und des syrischen Denkmalamtes. Zusammenfassende Überlegungen zu den Metallfunden bereiten den anschließenden Katalog Kazanskis vor und geben einige knappe Informationen zur Befundeinbettung.

Der von K. verfaßte und kommentierte Katalog der Metallfunde von Qal'at Sem'an bildet das zweite Kapitel. Gegliedert in drei Abschnitte – Funde aus Eisen, anderem Metall und Schmelzriegel – präsentiert er alle Metallfunde der von Sodini geleiteten Grabungen mit Ausnahme einiger nicht identifizierbarer Objekte und stark oxidiertes Nägel. Bei den 296 katalogisierten Stücken handelt es sich zu zwei Dritteln um Funde aus Eisen und zu einem Drittel um Objekte aus Bronze. Hinzu kommen wenige Funde aus Blei und je eines aus Silber und Gold. Der Katalog umfaßt die entscheidenden Angaben zu den jeweiligen Objekten sowie ausführliche Listen zu Parallelen samt zugehöriger Literatur. Vergleichbare Funde hat der Verf. vor allem im östlichen Mittelmeerraum gesucht. Bei den Kleidungsbestandteilen und Waffen stellt er die Funde jedoch in einen weiteren, überregionalen Zusammenhang.

Insgesamt handelt es sich um ein Fundspektrum, das für mediterrane Siedlungsgrabungen in gewisser Weise typisch ist. Auffällig ist die große Anzahl an Waffenfunden, vor allem an Pfeilspitzen, die auf die verschiedenen Kampfhandlungen in der in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit zu einem Kastell umgewandelten Anlage hinweisen. Einige der Pfeilspitzen stammen aus der Schicht 138 der Westbasilika, in der Skelette von neun Individuen aufgefunden wurden, die zwischen dem 11. und 13. Jahrhundert einem Überfall zum Opfer fielen, grausam hingerichtet wurden und verbrannten.¹ Einige der Waffen und Rüstungsteile weisen einen steppennomadischen Bezug auf – eine Beobachtung, die sich nach Angaben in der Einführung von Sodini und Blanc auch in bestimmten Keramikgattungen abzeichnet.

Von besonderem Interesse sind auch die Gürtelschnallen und – garnituren des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts aus Qal'at Sem'an, die K. im dritten Kapitel mit Funden der Museen Aleppo, Damaskus und Palmyra zu einer ersten Sammlung von Gürteln dieser Epoche in Syrien zusammenstellt.² Der ausführliche Katalog und die Abbildungen vermitteln einen guten Eindruck des Spektrums frühmittelalterlicher Gürtel in Syrien, die, soweit möglich, nach der Typologie Joachim Werners gegliedert bzw. neuen Fundtypen zugeordnet werden. Durch die Einbindung zahlreicher Parallelfunde ist diese Sammlung nicht nur für östlichen Mittelmeerraum, sondern auch weit darüber hinaus von Bedeutung. Trotz seines

¹ J.-P. Sodini und L. Buchet, 'Réoccupation médiévale d'édifices religieux paléochrétiens: le cas de Xanthos (Turquie) et Qal'at Sem'an (Syrie)'. In L. Bucher (Hrsg.), *L'identité des populations archéologiques* (Sophia Antipolis 1996), 379–88.

² Zu Gürteln des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts vgl. M. Kazanski, 'Les plaques-boucles méditerranéennes de Ve–VIe siècles'. *Archéologie médiévale* 24 (1994), 137–98; D. Quast: 'Schmuckstein- und Glaschnallen des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts aus dem östlichen Mittelmeergebiet und dem "Sasanidenreich"'. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 26 (1996), 333–45; 'Ein byzantinischer Gürtelbeschlag der Zeit um 500 aus Weingarten (Lkr. Ravensburg) Grab 189'. *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 21 (1996), 527–39.

katalogartigen Charakters finden sich in dem Artikel auch Aussagen zu Fragen, die über den östlichen Mittelmeerraum hinaus von aktuellem Interesse sind. So spricht sich K. etwa dezidiert gegen einen steppennomadischen und für einen ostmediterranen Ursprung der vielteiligen Gürtelgarnituren aus, da die ältesten Exemplare alle aus dem byzantinischen Reich stammten. Leider ist die Monographie von Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm über die byzantinischen Gürtelschnallen aus dem Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum in Mainz³ fast gleichzeitig mit der Arbeit Kazanskis entstanden, ohne daß den Autoren die Arbeit des jeweiligen Kollegen bekannt gewesen wäre. In Anbetracht der zahlreichen Parallelen wäre eine gegenseitige Bezugnahme dieser beiden grundlegenden Arbeiten sicher fruchtbar gewesen.

Mit den Zwiebelknopffibeln aus Syrien und ihren Parallelen in der östlichen Reichshälfte nimmt sich Vanessa Soupault-Becquelin im vierten Kapitel einer weiteren wichtigen Fundgattung an. Von den zwölf Exemplaren, die alle aus Bronze sind, fehlt im allgemeinen der Fundkontext. Ihre kleine Zahl erklärt sich durch die Tatsache, daß die Forschung ähnlich wie bei den anderen Metallfunden auch hier noch am Anfang steht. Aber gerade hieraus erklärt sich die Bedeutung des kleinen Katalogs, in dem die Fibeln nach den Gliederungen von Pröttel und Keller untergliedert sind. Trotz der kleinen Fundzahl sind die meisten Typen von Zwiebelknopffibeln nun auch in Syrien belegt. Ein kurzer Annex von Stéphanie Boulogne behandelt einen goldenen Armring mamelukischer Zeitstellung aus Qal'at Sem'an, gefolgt von einem weiteren Annex, in dem K. und Blanc Metallfunde aus älteren Grabungen in Qal'at Sem'an auflisten.

Die Kenntnis frühmittelalterlicher Metallobjekte des byzantinischen Reiches beschränkte sich bisher weitgehend auf die nördlichen Grenzregionen, in denen durch umfangreiche Beigabensitten zahlreiche Funde bekannt und veröffentlicht worden sind. Wie K. anfangs zu Recht feststellt, ist die Bedeutung metallener Kleinfunde in Bezug auf die chronologischen Aspekte und die Bedeutung der Funde für die Rekonstruktion der Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte jedoch auch im Bereich der byzantinischen Archäologie, in der entsprechende Funde bisher eher eine Nebenrolle spielten, nicht zu unterschätzen. Die in dem vorliegenden Band geleistete Pionierarbeit trägt einen beachtlichen Teil zur Kenntnis der Kleinfunde der byzantinischen Zeit und des islamischen Mittelalters im Vorderen Orient bei und wird hoffentlich weitere ähnliche Grabungspublikationen in der Region nach sich ziehen.

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A. Kieburg and A. Rieger (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zu den Etruskern*, Beiträge der Tagung vom 07. bis 09. November 2008 am Archäologischen Institut der Universität Bonn, BAR International Series 2163, Archaeopress, Oxford 2010, vi+152 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0707-7

During the exhibition 'Rasna. Die Etrusker', organised in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum of the University in Bonn and illustrated by the eponymous catalogue edited by M. Bentz (Petersberg 2008), two symposia were arranged, both dedicated to Etruscan culture, the

³ M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum I* (Mainz 2002).

first one reserved to young scholars, the second for established academics.¹ The volume here reviewed contains proceedings of the first symposium, attended by 22 young scholars, mainly from Germany, but also from Italy and Switzerland. All contributions are in German. Martin Bentz remarks in his introduction that such meetings are especially important in the absence of a chair in Etruscology at any German university after the chair at Tübingen was left unfilled. But we are living through a good period for the subject, for general interest in the Etruscans is growing in Europe. (One can add that in the coming months a chair at the University of Vienna and a lectureship at the University of Oxford, both completely devoted to Etruscan culture, are being created.) The importance of the latter has been stressed in this journal by the late David Ridgway,² who unfortunately was not able to live to witness the success of his efforts.

The meeting in Bonn was organised around six main subjects: cultural contacts, handicrafts, architecture, sanctuaries, cemeteries and the interest for the Etruscans in contemporary culture. I will discuss here some contributions in line with my personal interest.

In the section devoted to cultural contacts, J. Weidig, the author of an impressive (now published) dissertation about the main cemetery in this area near modern-day Bazzano,³ deals not directly with Etruscans, but with the acceptance and modification of Etruscan products, i.e. Etruscan bronze belt plaques and sandals, in north-western Abruzzi in the 6th century BC (pp. 9–16).

For handicrafts, it is important to stress the contribution of L.C. Koch (pp. 33–41), devoted to glass *Vogelperlen*. Here Koch, who has written extensively about glass, argues that such *Vogelperlen* had been produced in Italy in the Orientalising period, too.⁴

In the architecture section three contributions (by M. Köder, J. Spohn and M. Lesky) are devoted to the Castellina del Marangone, a coastal Etruscan settlement near modern-day Civitavecchia, explored in the 1990s by a German-French archaeological project. Recently, the French team led by J.M.J. Gran Aymerich published the results of its own and of previous excavations.⁵ These are complemented by these three papers, which deal with the German sector of the same excavation.

Cemeteries always play an important role in a book about Etruscans: here they are represented in the contribution of E. Thiermann (pp. 101–06) about the Archaic phase of the Fornaci necropolis at Capua, the subject of a published dissertation defended at the University of Amsterdam.⁶ C. Colombi (pp. 107–12) illustrates her important thesis about the

¹ M. Bentz and C. Reusser (eds.), *Etruskisch-italische und römisch-republikanische Wohnhäuser* (Wiesbaden 2010).

² *AWE* 9 (2010), 43–61.

³ J. Weidig, *Bazzano, ein Gräberfeld bei L'Aquila (Abruzzen) Die Bestattungen des 8.–5. Jhs. v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu Chronologie, Bestattungsbräuchen und Sozialstrukturen im apenninischen Mittelitalien* (Mainz 2014).

⁴ L.C. Koch: *Die Glasbügelfibeln des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Etrurien. Ein Beitrag zur eisenzeitlichen Glastechnik und zu den Bestattungssitten des Orientalisierenden* (Bonn 2010); *Früheisenzeitliches Glas und Glasfunde Mittelitaliens* (Rahden 2011).

⁵ J.M.J. Gran Aymerich and A. Dominguez, *La Castellina a sud di Civitavecchia: origini ed eredità* (Rome 2011).

⁶ E. Thiermann, *Capua. Grab und Gemeinschaft. Eine kontextuelle Analyse der Nekropole Fornaci, 570–400 v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 2013).

still neglected but important subject – the cemeteries of Vetulonia in the Orientalising period. She recently published an Etruscan bronze amphora of this period preserved in the Zürich National Museum with a suspicious provenance from the Switzerland, which is probably to identify with a similar vase seen in the 19th century that later disappeared.⁷ V. Belfiore and G. van Heems consider some aspects of the longest Etruscan inscription, the *Liber Linteus*, which is the only linen book we possess from antiquity (pp. 113–22). The inscription was the subject of Belfiore's recently published doctoral thesis.⁸ Recently published too is the thesis of M. Sclafani, who here (pp. 123–30) deals with some aspects of Hellenistic cinerary urns from Chiusi.⁹

This book has admirably achieved its aim of giving many young scholars the opportunity to publish a preliminary report about the main subject of their research.

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L.S. Klejn, *Soviet Archaeology: Trends, Schools, and History*, revised English edition translated by R. Ireland and K. Windle, Oxford Studies in the History of Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xvii+411 pp., illustrations, 6 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-960135-6

Cranks, chancers and charlatans, apparatchiks and careerists abound; there are natural survivors and natural victims, plus surprises. I might be describing a dystopian 'Campus' novel; instead, it is an examination (excavation?) of Soviet archaeology and its exponents from the pen of one who was there, and who was a bit of a gadfly to boot. First making a well-timed appearance in Russian in 1991, the work has undergone updating and expansion with each Western translation, notably the German edition of 1997, as the Western world discovered Soviet archaeology, largely unknown thanks to language, political and cultural barriers. As Leo Klejn notes in his recent Preface: 'In my view, a book on the Soviet period in archaeology remains topical. All too topical.' A warning.

We are launched into Part I, 'History and the Present', with a chapter, 'The "Great Unknown"', examining Western and internal views of the phenomenon, then pass through the rock-strewn channel of a chronological overview from before the Revolution to the 1990s, broadening into 'Generations and Aspirations', and then the delta of 'A Spectrum of Trends' (archaeological history, archaeological ethnogenetics, archaeological sociology, descriptive archaeology, archaeo-technology, archaeological ecology and 'echeloned archaeology' – K.'s chosen stream), to sail into the choppy waters of 'The Arena of Debate': the insanity of the 1930s as 'all strictly academic debate of the slightest consequence inevitably assumed the nature of a ferocious political battle' (p. 87) – juvenile spats with potentially deadly consequences; the subject matter of the discipline and the subordination of archaeology to the 'history of material culture'; 'archaeological cultures', prolonged argument over

⁷ C. Colombi, 'Un bronzo etrusco da Giornico (TI) al Museo Nazionale Svizzero di Zurigo'. *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 67 (2010), 35–44.

⁸ V. Belfiore, *Il liber linteus di Zagabria: testualità e contenuto* (Pisa/Rome 2010).

⁹ M. Sclafani, *Urne fittili chiusine e perugine di età medio e tardo ellenistica* (Rome 2010).

the concept versus stability in the terminology, ideological ramifications, etc.; ethnogenesis, the Slavs, and even fiercer and more protracted debates; and the Varangians. But 'even in the conditions of Soviet reality it was nevertheless possible to expand freedom of research and gain opportunities to engage objectively in scholarship, difficult though it was' (p. 120 – hence better than the modern managerial university).

Next, Part II, the ebb and flow of 'Facets of a New Science', in which pithy and/or jaundiced subheadings chart the course: 'Panhistoricism', 'Bypassing Fundamental Source Study', 'Bypassing Relative Chronology', 'Vertical Structural Axes without the Horizontal', as 'archaeological history' became the dominant tendency, 'Imperial Internationalism', 'The Syndrome of National Sensitivity', 'Marxist Archaeology: Is it Possible?', 'Marxist Dogma and Soviet Archaeology', 'Soviet Archaeology and Political Expediency', etc. In fact, 'Soviet archaeology was not Marxist' (p. 145), 'Marxist archaeology... never existed and could not have existed... [but] archaeology under the influence of Marxism did exist... subordinate to Utopian dogma and political convenience... [which] more often harmed it and destroyed its scientific nature' (p. 154). Chapter 9 is devoted to '[V. Gordon] Childe and Soviet Archaeology', his disenchantment and death (melancholia, here forecast as likely to destroy him in circumstances other than Destalinisation, for other gods would surely fail too). Next comes 'Reading Between the Lines', where it was understood that 'if a colleague is silent, then he cannot say what he would like to, but is unwilling to say what is permissible' (p. 177), i.e. silence was a sign of rejecting. Scholars rendered unto Caesar but gamed the system, as far as they felt safe to do so (a major consideration in the time of Stalin), by various methods here decoded.

In Part III we encounter divers(e) members of the crew in 'Personalities in the System', with individual chapters on four decisive influences on Soviet archaeology – N.Y. Marr (genius or lunatic or both, Japhetology and Marxism, timely death, tasteless pomp of funeral, belated *damnatio memoriae*), V.I. Ravdonikas (ex-Party, but fighting to entrench Marxism in archaeology, 'The Red Demon', salesman of the snake-oil stadiality theory, drunkard), A.V. Artsikhovskiy and B.A. Rybakov ('overlord' of Soviet archaeology for 30 years; origin of the Slavs back beyond the Zarubintsy and Chernyakhov cultures – in the 3rd millennium BC!); and a fifth chapter to accommodate a batch of 20 others from A.A. Miller to A.A. Formozov (democrat or snob, ethicist or defamer?) via M.I. Artomonov (founder of *MIA*: was the acronym deliberate?), S.V. Kiselev, B.B. Piotrovskiy, A.N. Rogachev (Party stalwart who let his 'sober peasant realism' [p. 343] triumph over any Marxist dogma), S.I. Rudenko (a survivor, who bit his tongue before, during and after exile) and S.A. Semenov ('aspiring to reach a level of theory beyond his powers': p. 309) – one of not a few who, unless prematurely 'purged', lingered in positions of pseudo-leadership long after their powers had waned (as some still do), often in appropriate contemporaneity with Brezhnev, outliving their time, unable to make a dignified exit, their furred cerebral arteries forming a blockage to new thought and new people.

We make landfall near the start of our journey with 'Conclusion: Retrospective and Perspective' – no glad, confident morning here – plus a mild spat on the landing stage between K. and Formozov in two appendices. Not a pleasure cruise, but a very educational voyage.

- A. Kolb (ed.), *Infrastruktur und Herrschaftsorganisation im Imperium Romanum*, Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis III, Akten der Tagung in Zürich 19.–20. 10. 2012, Akademie Verlag (De Gruyter), Berlin 2014, 279 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-05-00631-6

In her introduction to this collection of papers Anne Kolb emphasises that while the Roman empire owed its outstanding stability to political, military and social structures, along with religion, it was also based on an effective infrastructure of organisation and function which has not been studied in such detail. The papers presented here are divided into three groups: administrative and economic structures; systems of water distribution; and transport structures. An underlying problem is establishing the way responsibility for undertaking and financing these structures was divided between the different levels of administration within the empire, the central administration of the emperor, the regional administration of the provinces, and local administration, whether municipalities or even private organisations. A further difficulty, of course, is the inevitable inadequacy of information available to us. We have nothing in the way of budgets or annual accounts from the empire, and the discussion is inevitably based on fragmentary information from the historians, chance discovery – and survival – of inscriptions and other archaeological information. Thus studies such as those in this book are based on material which is already well known, and produce very little new source material.

The first group includes four papers. 'Infrastruktur und politische Legitimation im frühen Principat' by Helmut Schneider, based essentially on an earlier article with the same title in *Opus* 5 (1986), 23–51, effectively recounts the involvement of Augustus and his immediate successors in the promotion of roads and water supplies and the legal backing for this. Christopher Jones discusses the extent to which the imperial authorities came to the aid of communities affected by earthquakes, suggesting that this was devoted only towards places of importance to the central government. Isabella Tsigarida looks at the way the creation of infrastructure helped the economic development of the coastal wetlands of the North Atlantic (by which she means rather the continental coast of the North Sea), in particular the production and supply of salt to the frontier provinces, especially to meet the needs of the army. Finally, Michael Speidel describes how, numerous though the legions and other army groups were, they were essentially stationed on the frontiers without, until later, any effective reserve force kept in the heart of the empire, so that if the emperor needed to mount a large scale campaign of attack or defence units had to be detached from the frontier force and moved to the area where they were needed, so that the imperial authorities had to maintain the infrastructure, particularly the road system, to facilitate these movements. In addition, means of supply had to be maintained, particularly granaries.

Water supplies, the subject of the second group of papers, afford a most obviously Roman imperial contribution to infrastructure. Christof Schuler discusses long-distance aqueducts in the Greek East as a specifically Roman imperial contribution, either by the emperor himself or the provincial authorities. In particular, he discusses the recently discovered inscription (*SEG* 57 [2007], 1673) concerning the Vespasianic repair of the aqueduct of Patara in Lycia after it had been damaged in an earthquake, an undertaking also mentioned by Christopher Jones in his paper. In contrast, Francisco Beltrán Lloris discusses

private irrigation supplies particularly in the dry areas of Spain and North Africa, either by individual landowners on their estates or through local groups or companies. This includes some interesting actual examples, especially the spectacular dams at Muel and Saragossa in Spain. Following this, Anna Willi looks at the centuriation division of settlement lands and the construction of water channels to feed them, sensibly placed along the lines of division.

The third group of papers discusses the infrastructure of communication, by sea as well as by land. Pascal Arnaud looks at harbours and harbour works, specifically designated as public enterprises in Roman law. Nevertheless, he shows how private initiative, inevitably, was also involved. He concludes by pointing out that the available evidence is inadequate and unsatisfactory – but with little probability that this will soon change. Christina Kokkinia explores the importance of Ephesus and its harbour as the principal marine entry point for travellers from the Roman West to the eastern provinces of the empire; this is despite the known problem of the harbour silting up. She discusses the inscription recording the edict of L. Antonius Albus, proconsul of Asia in the time of Antoninus Pius, which lays down punishment for the obstruction of the harbour with timber and the detritus of stone carving. Michael Rathmann plays down the innovative role of the emperors and the imperial authorities in the construction of roads. He points out that the earlier empires – the Assyrians and their Persian successors – also constructed long-distance road communications: yet it is clear that road construction was a vital element in securing newly-conquered areas and provinces. Jens Bartels looks at milestone inscriptions from the reign of Gordian III, following on from Maximinus Thrax, for the maintenance and reconstruction of the road system in the provinces of Thrace and the two Moesias. Particularly important (and numerous) are those relating to Moesia Inferior, suggesting a systematic imperial programme of repair following incursions from across the frontier. Finally Stephen Mitchell reviews how the horses, essential for the maintenance of the imperial post system, were acquired, by a programme of breeding (and therefore of imperial stud farms) rather than requisition, thus reverting to the conclusion initially put forward by Rostovtzeff but then countered by Kolb.

As a conference report, this book essentially gives brief overviews of work achieved or in progress rather than definitive accounts. It will become a useful reference book, given the very full bibliographies which are attached to the individual articles. There are occasional illustrations, mostly colour photographs, though these are not always clear: the view of the aqueduct of Aspendos (Abb. 1 on p. 12) is particularly murky and meaningless to anyone who does not actually know that splendid example of Roman construction (the view of the Pont du Gard on the cover is much clearer but is only mentioned in a footnote as a structure of uncertain date). This book may be summed up as stimulating – but not definitive.

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A. Konecny, V. Aravantinos and R. Marchese, with contributions by M.J. Boyd *et al.*, *Plataiai: Archäologie und Geschichte einer boiotischen Polis*, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften 48, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna

2013, 479 pp., illustrations, 4 fold-outs. Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-65-9/ISSN 1998-8931

Plataiai/Plataea is situated on a foothill of Mt Kithairon, a site that slopes up gently to the north terminating in a more abrupt scarp. Reasonably well defensible, it has an abundant water supply, the Μέγαλη Βρύση, and so is an ideal location for a settlement. It is strategically placed to command the passes over Kithairon into Boeotia from the south, so its historical importance is essentially linked to its relationship with Athens to the south (and, more distantly, the states of the Peloponnese), and to Thebes and the Boeotian Confederacy to the north.

Its remains were described by early 19th-century topographers. There were excavations by the American School (H.S. Washington) in 1891, which uncovered the temple of Hera. The present study by the University of Vienna (Konecny), the University of Minnesota at Duluth (Marchese) and the Ephorate of Boeotia (Aravantinos) greatly extends our understanding of the town; a crucial element in this is the geophysical survey carried out by Michael Boyd of the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens. This book is therefore a most pleasing example of international collaboration.

In addition to the geophysical prospection a thorough survey of the visible surface remains was carried out, along with the collection of surface material. Together this made possible the planning of the complete line of the town's fortification walls along with the towers and locating the gates. In turn this facilitated the selection of key sites for small scale excavations – those at the West Gate provided stratified evidence for its construction and chronology which confirmed a date at the aftermath of Alexander the Great's destruction of Thebes and the promotion of Plataea as the leading state of Boeotia – at least until the revival of Thebes by Cassander some two decades later.

Another interesting result of the survey is the absence of any material from the Late Bronze Age, though there are enough finds from the earlier Bronze Age and back to the Neolithic. This suggests that Plataea was not inhabited during the Late Helladic supremacy of Thebes, and in turn seems to confirm that Plataea's inclusion in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships demonstrates the post-Bronze Age composition of that list.

Until the late 4th-century development the town was probably limited to the north-west part of the site, the 'plateau' or 'Acropolis'. An excavation here produced material from the earliest settlement. Slight remains of its fortifications show that they probably date to the late 6th century and that it was these walls that endured the two-year-long siege by the Spartans at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. A much more substantial wall across the southern end of the Acropolis mimics the 4th-century wall in appearance, together with towers, but is built from reused materials and mortar and is Roman in date. A south cross wall, the 'diatichisma', abandoning the southernmost part of the enlarged 4th-century enceinte, Konecny suggests was the result of improved siege techniques in the Early Hellenistic period which made that part of the town indefensible.

Within this framework the most extensive results come from the geophysical survey. The account of this gives a clear demonstration both of the potential of geophysical survey and its limitations. Boyd describes the methods used. A substantial proportion, over one third of the area enclosed within the walls, was surveyed. The account of this is illustrated with the computer print outs together with line drawn interpretation of them. This

confirms the indication already visible on the surface of the street grid plan, streets aligned approximately north-south and east-west, giving *insulae* invariably about 40 m in width (east to west) and with lengths depending on the exact position of the east-west streets varying from a little over 70 to around 115 m. The width of the streets is generally around 5 m. Within this plan the most significant discovery is the agora, clearly visible in the geophysical survey, with a building along its eastern edge which Konecny describes as 'mehr wahrscheinlich' (a phrase which inevitably occurs elsewhere in the account) a two-aisled stoa at least 160 m in length, and with the temple of Hera to its south. The cost of revealing a structure like this by excavation would have been considerable, but at the same time without excavation there is no way of establishing the date of its construction or other details. To the east of this is an area interpreted as a precinct of Dionysus, and to the south of this the outline of a theatre with stage building and a semicircular *cavea* and orchestra, and so Roman in date.

Other aspects of the town are perhaps less clear. Two blocks of *insulae* which seem to have been occupied with ordinary housing are drawn out on Figs. 105 and 108 but have a rather confusing wall pattern. Some seem to show the boundaries of individual house and suggest an original division into 5×2 houses each of about 20×20 m square. In some cases internal courtyards can be made out. In Fig. 108, part of the Acropolis, Konecny suggests the southern part of *insula* IIIb is occupied by one particularly large house, probably with a peristyle and belonging to an exceptionally prominent or wealthy individual. However, in general the divisions are less clear, showing nothing like the plans of individual houses discovered by excavation at places like Olynthus.

This book gives an excellent illustration of what can be achieved by modern research methods without the expense and destruction of large-scale excavation. Together with the archaeological evidence the book also provides a succinct account of Plataian history (Konecny) and a discussion of the cults (Aravantinos). The discussion of finds from survey and excavation includes sculpture (a marble head and a fragment from a relief) by Konecny, of the pottery found in the excavation of the West Gate and surface survey (Konecny) and of the Acropolis, prehistoric by K. Sarri, Archaic and Classical by K. Kalliga. We now have a much fuller understanding of this town.

Birmingham, UK

Richard A. Tomlinson

A.N. Kovalenko (ed.), *Prichernomor'e v antichnoe i rannesrednevekovoie vremya: Sbornik nauchnikh trudov, posvyashchennikh 65-letiyu profesora V.P. Kopylova/Black Sea Region in Antiquity and Early Middle-Ages: Papers Presented to Prof. V.P. Kopylov on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Nauchno-metodicheskii tsentr arkhologii YuFY, Rostov-on-Don 2013, 433 pp., many illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-5-37815496-8 (papers in Russian, English and French)

This volume, celebrating the 65th birthday of the leading scholar of Rostov University, investigator of the Elizavetovskoe native settlement and the Taganrog site, brings a useful insight into minor *emporía* and rural settlements around Olbia, the Crimea and the Taman peninsula, study of which has not been included in the Greek project on Black Sea

colonies¹ or in other volumes published in English, the Black Sea congresses and the several surveys edited by G.R. Tsetskhladze, including a series of BAR volumes.² It also brings forth material on old digs and projects and several fundamental papers based on extensive study of Classical Greek and Near Eastern written sources. The opening papers contain a biography and bibliography of Kopylov and a history of Rostov University's Centre for the Study of Archaeology. A.Y. Alekseev writes on the Amazon from Panskoe (Hellenistic or Roman). M.N. Daragan and V.A. Odobed discuss the chronology of the Chernogorovka culture, V.P. Erlikh a pre-Scythian horse bit from Bogazköy, T.M. Kuznetsova the foundation dates of Histria and Borysthene (ca. 620 and ca. 608 BC respectively). P. Dupont and S.L. Solovyov publish a group of candle sticks from Berezan, and the latter also Anatolian pottery (Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, etc.) from the site. N. Yefremov writes on the Carians in the north-western Black Sea, S.R. Tokhtasev on Graeco-Iranica terminological problems and F.V. Shelov-Kovelyaev tries to refute the existence of the Archaeanactid dynasty of the Bosporan kingdom. D. Braund discusses the city of Kremnoi, J. Bouzek parallels between Greek penetration of the Don and Maritsa rivers, V. Licheli contributes on Achaemenid influence in Iberia. S.Y. Saprykin considers sea routes in the Pontus, and V.D. Kuznetsov writes on Greek colonisation in the area of the Cimmerian Bosporus. V.N. Zinko reports on Tyritake, M.Y. Vakhtina on an altar at Porthemion, Y.A. Vinogradov on cymbals from a minor site at Taman. Y.M. Paromov discusses royal tombs on the Taman peninsula and V.A. Goroncharovskii the chronology of the Semibratskie *kurgans*. A.P. Medvedev publishes settlement features at the place of the later Phanagoria Eastern Cemetery. V.I. Gulyaev contributes a survey of the boar motif in Kuban art, Y.V. Boltrik on territorial centres in Scythia and its royal tombs. S.A. Yatsenko offers a survey of figural art in Scythia in the 4th century BC, E.E. Fialko of the dress of the Amazons, Kopylov himself and A.N. Kovalenko clarify the relationship between Elizavetskoe and Nedvigovskoe: the latter is later and without any overlap.

In this brief survey much has had to be omitted, including important excavation reports on minor sites in the *chora* of Olbia, Chersonesus and the Bosporan area, and on the Roman *limes* along the eastern Black Sea by A. Gabelia. Anyway, the volume is indispensable for anyone studying the northern Black Sea coast in antiquity.

Charles University, Prague

Jan Bouzek

¹ D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos (eds.): *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki 2003), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2*, 2 vols. (Oxford 2007); E.K. Petropoulos, *Hellenic Colonization in Euxeinus Pontos: Penetration, Early Establishment, and the Problem of the 'Emporion' Revisited* (Oxford 2005); E.K. Petropoulos and A.A. Maslennikov (eds.), *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea* (Thessaloniki 2010).

² G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.): *New Studies on the Black Sea Littoral* (Oxford 1996); *North Pontic Archaeology. Recent Discoveries and Studies* (Leiden 2001); *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History* (Oxford 2012); G.R. Tsetskhladze *et al.* (eds.), *The Bosporus: Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC–5th Century AD)* (Oxford 2013). But see V.P. Kopylov's forthcoming article on Elizavetovskoe, 'New data on the dynamics of relations between Greeks and barbarians at the mouth of the Tanais river in the final stage of Scythian history (5th–3rd centuries BC)'. In G.R. Tsetskhladze *et al.* (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC–10th Century AD)* (Oxford).

N. Kramer, *Diokaisareia in Kilikien: Keramik und Kleinfunde aus Diokaisareia*, Ergebnisse des Surveys 2001–2006, 1, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2012, viii+84 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-022215-9

Allegedly founded by Ajax and boasting one of the finest skylines of Asia Minor, Olba/Diocaesarea (modern Uzuncaburç, Mersin province) owes much of its renown to the Hellenistic sanctuary of Zeus Olbios. The conversion of the latter into a church during the 5th century AD, in particular, attests to the city's continuum of settlement and relentless revamping of its built environment.

In general, human occupation at Diocaesarea and on the surrounding Isaurian plateaus harks back to the 2nd millennium. Although the founding agencies and original forms of settlement are not known, the city was not slow in manipulating this distant, uncanny past into narratives of heroic founders. In the 2nd century BC, the local high priests styled themselves as 'Teucer', thus linking Olba to the legendary past of Troy.

Be that as it may, it is plain that multi-layered archaeological contexts like that of Olba present ideal conditions for the archaeological documentation of a quintessential Graeco-Roman city of Rough Cilicia, and provide insights into the nucleation of the community. Although the book in object dismisses this line of inquiry, it sure bears witness to the complex palimpsest of human activities that occurred at Olba.

Written by Norbert Kramer, this monograph pulls the threads of the 2002 season of archaeological survey conducted under the auspices of the Olba investigations directed by Detlev Wannagat. As for the methodology employed, the overlay of a grid enabled the archaeologists to systematically collect artefacts and ceramics within a geo-referenced space, spanning the ancient city proper and its environs. Aptly, a lavish corollary of plates in the book illustrates the spatial situation of each of the finds. Yet, the survey approach and methodology of the survey are glossed over by K. The shape of each individual transect appears to have been dictated by modern field systems and roads, rather than by a specific sampling strategy. What is more, modifications of Olba's ancient landscape, it seems, greatly impaired the strategies of collection.

All in all, an ensemble of approximately 4000 finds was recovered by the survey; of these, only a small portion ended up in the publication.

By way of introduction ('Einführung'), Chapter 1 offers an authoritative, yet concise survey of the history of Olba/Diocaesarea, from the early days of the pre-Hellenistic epoch to the apparent demise of the city in the 8th century AD. The subsequent presentation of finds conform to this narrative, and hardly calls into question the realities of the historical continuum or the possibility of Olba's survival in the Early Islamic age – nor does the conclusion in Chapter 6 deviate from this armature.

The successive Chapters 2 ('Die Durchführung des Surveys') and 3 ('Die Probleme hinsichtlich der Auswertung') illustrate the archaeological survey's rationale and interpretative challenges. Following, Chapter 4 engages the nitty-gritty of the book by delving deeply into the description of the ceramics. After a brief excursus on criteria for fabric analysis, K. illustrates the diversity and intricacies of pre-Hellenistic pottery, which ultimately attest to the fusion of Eastern and Anatolian traditions of the Iron Age. Next is the section on Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman fine wares, in which various classes of sigillata figure prominent. Common wares are included in the catalogue, too. Of course, the rigorous

description of the finds will no doubt please the ceramics specialist; it is regrettable though that the author didn't adopt a broader 'Cilician' perspective in tracing comparanda. Recent pottery studies from Cilician sites such as Karasis and Elaiussa Sebaste¹ are missing from the discussion. Furthermore, much as the quality of the drawings is acceptable, the absence of a visible scale confuses the reader.

Next is the discussion of small finds. Glass, marble revetments, mosaic tesserae, stone vessels, to cite but a few illustrate the breadth of materials recovered by the survey. The remarkable quality and diversity of marble fragments from Asia Minor and beyond, in particular, invites further scrutiny.

Last, the coins. 28 specimens dating from the Early to the Late Empire are included in the catalogue. Oddly enough though, none of these appear in visual format.

In conclusion, a few remarks about the format of the book. Austere looking and perhaps a tad too quaint in its realisation, the volume nevertheless has the merit to offer a thorough and diligent description of the finds, in textual, analytical and visual terms. The maps, in particular, have much to commend, and indeed serve the purpose of suggesting cultural trends over space. What remains to be determined, however, is the kind of readership that a book of this nature is going to serve. The pottery specialist will no doubt find much for their palate. But, truth be told, any specialist interested in Cilicia and Asia at large should not overlook this book. Combined with already extant literature about Olba, this data can indeed open interesting vistas onto the life of the city during classical and late antiquity, while giving us a sample of its extraordinary material culture.

Florida State University

Andrea U. De Giorgi

S. Lipkin, *Textile-Making in Central Tyrrhenian Italy from the Final Bronze Age to the Republican Period*, BAR International Series 2369, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, 163 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0956-9

Research into the ancient textile industries of Southern Europe and their technical methodologies has lagged nearly a century behind corresponding research in Northern and Central Europe. To a large measure this can be attributed to the eye-catching quality and interest of the surviving archaeological textiles in the north and the comparatively meagre remains in the south; but the striking new finds of toga-like mantles and evidence of highly sophisticated textile production at the Villanovan site of Verucchio in North Italy suggest that a rethink is now due.

In 2008, Margarita Gleba's discussion of the later prehistoric textile industry of Italy¹ took as its focus the large but scattered corpus of prehistoric textile implements from Italian archaeological sites of every type, supplemented by information gleaned from the few extant scraps of contemporary fabric. Sanna Lipkin in the present volume extends this approach, but for a restricted region around Rome (Latium Vetus, South Etruria, and the Faliscan

¹ S. Polla, 'Tracing the Occupation History of the Fortress. The Pottery Record from the Karasis Survey 2003–2005'. In A. Hoffmann, R. Posamentir and M. Sayar (eds.), *Hellenismus in der Kilikia Pedias* (Istanbul 2011), 87–96; E. Equini Schneider, *Elaiussa Sebaste III: LAgora Romana* (Istanbul 2010).

¹ M. Gleba, *Textile Production in pre-Roman Italy* (Oxford 2008).

and Sabine countryside). Her literature search and hunt for unpublished relevant material in museum collections has been commendably thorough. Those who have conducted similar kinds of exercise on parallel archaeological material will appreciate how much effort such data collection entails, and sympathise with L.'s occasional complaints of inadequate recording of facts, figures and find-spots. Terracotta loom-weights and spindle-whorls bulk large in the database, together with metal and bone objects, the function of which is not always unequivocal. The data assembled here offer a sound, statistically reliable, basis for hypothesis-building.

The traditional steps in pre-industrial textile manufacture from harvesting and processing the raw fibres (in Italy principally wool and flax), to spinning and weaving, and ultimately the construction of an economic and social framework for the industry inform the course of the overall discussion. There are stimulating excursions, too, into the new world of archaeological textile experiment. L. is by and large well informed about current understanding of prehistoric and early historical textile processes. The text is densely argued and well referenced, as one might expect of what began as a doctoral dissertation; but in places the richness of the apparatus is in danger of obscuring the central line of argument. The broad conclusion of the study is that, while the role of household spinning and weaving continued at a vigorous pace, there are signs of increased specialisation in later prehistory and of the rise of production units identifiable by find concentrations of textile implements, as at Poggio Civitate in Etruria (p.109). This hypothesis accords well with the views of other scholars working on prehistoric textiles across Europe

L. gives appropriate space to describing and reviewing the results of spinning and weaving experiments, particularly in connection with the Centre for Textile Research in Copenhagen University. It is extremely valuable to have the facts and figures which emerge; but L. is suitably cautious about the amount of weight they can be expected to carry. In Appendix 4, however, she reports on a project at the University of Oulu to weave a 'Coptic' tunic. The techniques adopted were a curious hybrid of those attested for Northern Europe and for the Nile valley, and probably did not deserve her attention and publication here.

The English is workmanlike throughout, but there are a few obscure passages, and lapses in the sections that were written last. The quality of some of the line drawings, however, is not up to standard (for example Figs. 6 and 19), and the almost complete lack of scales accompanying the images is surprising and regrettable in an archaeological work. Nonetheless, such blemishes aside, this study represents a significant and valuable building block in constructing a history of the early textile industry of Italy.

University of Manchester

John Peter Wild

N. Marriner, *Geoarchaeology of Lebanon's Ancient Harbours*, BAR International Series 1953, Archaeopress, Oxford 2009, vii+307 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0436-6

Nick Marriner is, together with his French colleague Christophe Morhange, one of the major specialists in the field of the geoarchaeology of ancient harbours, at least regarding the Mediterranean. He worked at projects on ancient harbour archaeology at Marseilles, the

Lebanon coast, Istanbul and even on the Black Sea coast at the site of the former Greek colony of Apollonia Pontica.

M. has now published this volume in the BAR series on the subject of the development of harbours on what is today the coast of Lebanon. These former (proto)Phoenician, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman harbours, more specifically those of Tyrus, Sidon and Beirut, were being used from at least the Bronze Age in the 3rd millennium BC until today. All of the three cities mentioned were built along natural anchorages which needed little reworking to be used as harbours, especially during the earlier periods.¹

It is, as the Introduction claims, indeed the first single monograph totally dedicated to this large subject, not only describing the history of these sites, but also all techniques used for this research. And this is exactly sometimes the weakness of this volume, as will be seen by the treatment of the first chapter.

In Chapter 1, M. gives a very comprehensively overview of the literature regarding the history of research on ancient harbours (only for the Mediterranean area), a typology of ancient harbours, geological processes, geophysical techniques and biology, and sets, as mentioned in the Introduction, ancient harbour geosciences within the wider context of Mediterranean coastal archaeology. In fact, too much for 45 pages. For example, the map on p. 13 showing the sites of ancient harbours is not only not exhaustive, as mentioned, but omitting, for instance, the important harbours at Thasos and Chios.

Chapters 2 and 3 are concerned with the ancient harbour of Tyre, and are a good example of the use of geoarchaeology to show how the Hellenistic construction works on this harbour changed the character of the Tyrian coast (Chapter 2) and how the position of Tyre's earlier ancient anchorages can be exactly relocated (Chapter 3). A very interesting part of the third chapter concerns dredging operations in antiquity (pp. 134–35).²

In Chapter 4 and 5, the harbours of Sidon (especially interesting regarding the place of the Bronze Age harbour) and Beirut are treated. For the latter, a lot of evidence was produced through excavations in the 1990s that preceded the redevelopment of the business district which occurred after the destruction of decades of civil war.

The final chapter is without doubt the most interesting. Here M. describes the interactions between humans and the coastal environment over several millennia and also proposes a general model of harbour evolution along the Lebanese coast since the Bronze Age.

Some technical knowledge of geoarchaeology is useful for reading this publication, although the enormous number of rich and clear illustrations (unluckily none in colour) make it possible also for the non-specialist to follow the thread in all chapters.

In spite of minor criticism, this book is a fine publication which shows that the use of geoarchaeology can be an essential for a further understanding of the maritime history of the Mediterranean and beyond. The same kind of treatment should be extended

¹ See also H. Frost: 'Proto harbours of the East Mediterranean'. *Thracia Pontica* 4 (1991), 323–38; 'Harbours and proto-harbours; early Levantine engineering'. In V. Karageorghis *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium 'Cyprus and the Sea'* (Nicosia 1995), 1–21.

² This subject was earlier treated by Marriner and C. Morhange in an on-line paper called: 'Mind the (stratigraphic) gap: Roman dredging in the ancient Mediterranean'. *Bollettino di archeologia online*, volume speciale 2008, 23–32.

to harbours outside the Mediterranean and inland harbours in northern and southern Europe.

University of Amsterdam

J.G. de Boer

A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, xx+343 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01441-1

From the beginning of papyrology in the late 19th century to the present the question of the continuity of the socio-economic and governmental structure of Egypt from the Macedonian to the Arab conquest has been one of the central problems of Egyptology. As the common references to Graeco-Roman Egypt in the literature indicate, scholars initially treated the period as a unity. With the steadily increasing evidence for the distinctiveness of Roman Egypt, however, the old consensus was replaced by the late 20th century by a tendency to consider Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt separate periods with their own specific characteristics. In this important book – a revised version of his Stanford doctoral dissertation – Andrew Monson argues that this consensus needs revision, since the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman Egypt was not abrupt but marked by both continuity and change.

Unlike most papyrologically based studies, which are empirical in form, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans* is a strongly theoretical work, being explicitly set within the framework of neo-institutionalism. The work is divided into four sections – each containing two chapters – that form links in a tightly reasoned argument.

The first section lays out the theoretical framework of the study. The first chapter of this section outlines the political economy of Egypt, summarising the various theories that scholars have advanced concerning the relationship between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and highlighting the central concerns of the study: population, land tenure and taxation. The second chapter identifies the two fundamental variables of the agrarian economy of Egypt: geography and population. Particular emphasis is placed on the regional variability of agricultural productivity – highest in the southern delta and the Nile valley and lowest in the Fayyum and the northern delta – and its correlation with the distribution of the Egyptian population both in antiquity and in modern times. M. suggests that the theories of E. Boserup and H. Demsetz, according to which increasing population leads to agricultural intensification and pressure for privatisation of land, best explains the trends in the political economy of Egypt documented in the papyri.

The second section analyses the land tenure regimes in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. In the initial chapter of this section, M. argues that the extent of ‘private land rights’ in Ptolemaic Egypt has been under-estimated by scholars because of over reliance on Greek evidence from the Fayyum. Consideration of Egyptian evidence and recently published land surveys, however, indicates that in accordance with the theories of Boserup and Demsetz the extent of communal and private land rights varied with population density, communal rights being highest in the more thinly populated Fayyum and private land rights being most common in the more densely populated Nile valley. The second chapter argues that the continuities in the land tenure regimes of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt indicate that the legal changes introduced by the Romans such as improved registration of property titles and limited privatisation of temple land cannot explain the social and economic changes in

Roman Egypt that resulted ultimately in its transformation in late antiquity into a country marked by large estates and the virtual disappearance of public land.

The third section deals with fiscal and administrative reform in Roman Egypt. M. maintains in the first chapter of this section that the increase in private land holding in Roman Egypt is best explained by a fundamental change in the tax regime instituted by the Romans. In place of the Ptolemaic system of relatively high harvest taxes and rents based on variability in productivity resulting from differences in 'soil and flood conditions' the Romans introduced a system based on a uniform assessment of taxes on private land at the low rate of one *artaba* per *aroura*, leading to a sharp rise in the value of land. In the second chapter, M. points out that the introduction of the new tax regime in Roman Egypt coincided with a fundamental change in the source of wealth for the elite, who now derived most of their income from land and economic activity instead of rent-seeking by exploiting the opportunities afforded by the holding of governmental and temple offices. The final section deals with the politics of empire and attempts to demonstrate the usefulness of M. Olson's theory of the predatory state in explaining the differences in tax systems characteristic of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, the chronically unstable and threatened Ptolemaic state being forced to employ short-term expedients to maximise revenue while the more stable Roman imperial government could afford to implement a less pressing fiscal regime.

From the Ptolemies to the Romans is one of the most significant studies of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt to appear in many years. M.'s establishment of the close connection between variations in land tenure and regional differences in population density and of the widespread existence of private property in Ptolemaic Egypt are both important contributions. So, also, is his convincing demonstration of the significance of the new tax regime introduced by the Romans for understanding the increase in land value in Roman Egypt. Without question, this fine work will provide a sound foundation for future studies of the agrarian economy of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

California State University, Los Angeles

Stanley M. Burstein

I. Morris, *The Measure of Civilization: How Social Development Decides the Fate of Nations*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2013, xvi+381 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-15568-5

Our 'civilisation' is addicted to quantification. Once serious newspapers bulge, reduced to tabloid form, with the 'top 10' this and 'best 10' that. Sometime almost serious universities now promote themselves in terms of their rankings in obscure tables, whereby 'Parkville' is the best and, more to the point, ahead of 'Darlington' and, heaven forbid, 'Kensington'. Research assessment exercises search for ever more (futile and) inventive ways of quantifying quality; thus journal rankings, having failed not once but twice (in Australia, always prone to reinvent the wheel, where they were launched after the European failure, and puffed as a great success until the very day of rapid burial and *damnatio memoriae*), will be tried a third time (by the faculty of arts at Parkville, of course, with un-dimmbable provincial arrogance – as the pigs fly overhead, *en route*, the gods laugh, to ranking publishers – if, that is, there is any time before the next of its almost perpetual reorganisations). So why not measure civilisation(s)? The preface is written from Singapore.

Too often, ours seems merely to be a world made safe for ‘human resources management professionals’, i.e. personnel clerks, and their like (in place of the telephone sanitisers of *The Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy*), in an explosion in the rent-seeking public sector of a kind not seen since the later Roman empire. No doubt such a society is very developed, can be quantified in (all too) many ways, and will score highly on some ‘index’. The price of everything and the value of nothing. ‘The Gods of the Copybook Headings [now spreadsheets] with terror and slaughter return’. The downward path of economic history is one of ‘lies, damned lies and econometrics’, i.e. to valuing regression models above empirical evidence, and regressing and declining in their wake.

I am entirely at one with the criticisms Ian Morris adumbrates in Chapter 1: I think that this exercise is ‘fatally flawed’ (p. 24) – though M. keeps up the pace, so that the bicycle does not fall over, in this his successor/sequel to *Why the West Rules – for Now...* (New York 2011), which was a more satisfactory ride. ‘Methods and Assumptions’ (Chapter 2) indeed contains some interesting thoughts on what is the ‘West’ (over time), and which bits of it should be compared with which bits of the ‘East’, and why we should leave out all those awkward bits in between, before listing a handful of ‘Major Objections’ (pp. 45–49), some of them straw-men, others objectionable to reviewer and author alike. At least I can regress from BCE to BTU [British Thermal Unit] in the next chapter, ‘Energy Capture’, the book’s core, before tackling ‘Social Organization’, ‘War-Making Capacity’ (we have the Maxim gun...; but capacity, will and application differ, a matter pertinent to numerous recent discussions linked to the centenary of the outbreak of the Great War) and ‘Information Technology’. But how much is it really s(tr)aying beyond the well-trodden path that the dynamic and inventive may/will surpass the sclerotic and effete, that a contest between transported newly industrialised Britons, even the dregs of society, and a population still mired in the Stone Age would be somewhat one-sided? Does it matter significantly that the difference is of a supposedly calculable factor of a score, a gross or a milliard? Indeed, how measurable is the multiplier? Not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts – in a widely attributed aphorism.

I prefer nuance to measurement when dealing with imponderables, and I feel that there is little usefully quantifiable in antiquity or for long thereafter. ‘Big history’, certainly, and other big historians and sociologists, some more fashionable than others, feature in the bibliography – Jeremy Black, Norman Davies, Niall Ferguson, Francis Fukuyama, Anthony Giddens, etc. – but so too do François de Callataÿ, Walter Scheidel and Anthony Snodgrass. A single index entry each for the Industrial and Agricultural revolutions and for property rights. A broad sweep – though broad can also mean bowling a ‘wide’. The book has won plaudits and will sell well. But will it be remembered?

Leeds, UK

James F. Hargrave

J. Morscheiser-Niebergall, *Die Anfänge Triers in Kontext augusteischer Urbanisierungspolitik nördlich der Alpen*, Philippika 30, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009, 258 pp., illustrations, 47 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06086-8/ISSN 1613-5628

The major Roman centre of Trier is sometimes claimed to be the oldest city in Germany, but hard facts are few and far between. On the Petrisberg, overlooking the city to the east,

there are remains of a Roman military encampment dated by dendrochronology to *ca.* 30 BC, while oaken piles recovered from the bed of the Mosel belonging to the first Roman bridge have similarly been dated to 18/17 BC. At some stage after AD 4 an imposing marble inscription was erected by loyal citizens for Augustus' two prematurely deceased grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and by the time of the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela, writing around AD 44, Augusta Treverorum, or Trier, could be described as the *opulentissima urbs* (most splendid city) of the Celtic tribe of the Treveri. But the phases of development in between are far less well understood or documented.

In her study Jennifer Morscheiser-Niebergall develops her dissertation at the University of Trier, and undertakes a comprehensive analysis of all available data for the foundation of the city. The primary goal of her investigation is not to determine the date of foundation, although this question is considered at various points, but rather to examine the development of the city in light of the process of urbanisation in northern Gaul and the Rhine valley which occurred in the later part of the reign of Augustus. This process transformed the North within a century of Roman rule from Celtic tribal areas loosely centred around *oppida* (townships), as described by Julius Caesar, into properly surveyed and centuriated territories, governed by model Roman cities which were connected by a highly sophisticated system of highways and river routes.

The introductory Chapter 1 describes principles for selection of material, the history of research, and how the natural environment of Trier impacted on its growth. M.-N. looks in depth at seven sites located in the city between the Viehmarkt and the Mosel for which there is evidence for the earliest phase of Roman settlement, including numerous small-finds, the street grid, building foundations and kilns; these sites are described in detail in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 classifies and analyses the finds under the headings of coinage, small metallic finds (mostly fibulae), glass and bone, gems and ceramics, and in particular looks at the contexts for both Celtic and Roman material. Chapter 4 proceeds to an overall evaluation of the first Roman settlement, supplementing detailed analysis of features within the area already surveyed (for example the street grid and the forum), with discussion of evidence from areas outside this, including epigraphic evidence (the inscription for Gaius and Lucius), and finds from the temple districts, the bridges, graveyards and the interregional road network. Structurally I found this the least satisfactory part of the book – for instance, Section 4.2 describing historical sources for the city really belongs in the introductory chapter – but it contains many key points for our understanding of the early development of the city, draws effectively on a whole array of previous scholarship, and deals with contentious issues clearly and in a well-balanced fashion. Throughout this chapter M.-N. argues that there is no evidence for the development of the Roman city earlier than the late Augustan period, which she locates roughly at the end of the 1st century BC.

Chapter 5 briefly summarises the situation prior to the development of Roman Trier, concluding that although there were probably small farmhouses in the area, there was no settlement of major significance. In Chapter 6, M.-N. turns at last to an evaluation of Trier in light of wider regional issues. First she looks at it in relation to the tribal centres of the Treveri, particularly Titelberg in Luxembourg, where she argues that early development as a Roman administrative centre ceased in the final decade of the 1st century (i.e. at precisely the same time as Trier was developed), and Belginum, half way between Trier and the Rhine in the Hunsrück hills, which was settled continuously by Gauls, and was developed

in the late Augustan–Tiberian period with a programme of street building. She then examines several centres in northern Gaul and the Rhine valley – Lyons, Augst, Nyon, Autun, Tongeren, Cologne, Metz, Langres, Besançon and Avenches – and analyses the patterns and stages of development in them immediately following the Roman conquest, concluding that Trier belongs to a second phase of Roman settlement which took place in areas suitably distant from the all-important Rhine frontier, and its construction belongs to a broadly applied policy of urbanisation characteristic of the late Augustan/Tiberian period. Chapter 7 provides a succinct summary of the previous findings, noting that the subsequent development of Trier makes it very hard to determine the exact progress of the first stages of settlement. M.-N. concludes her work with a comprehensive bibliography, extensive catalogues of ceramics and coins, and very clear and useful illustrations and tables.

M.-N. displays wide and up-to-date reading throughout her work; thus she makes use of the exciting new finds from Waldgirmes, the abandoned Roman city across the Rhine only recently identified. She also deals effectively with newly published material on fragments of a marble plaque with oak-leaf decoration, which the authors, Breitner and Goethert, had claimed dated to around 12 BC (pushing back the foundation of the city considerably), and astutely comments on how tenuous the underlying premises of their arguments about the dating of decorative styles really are.¹

In summary, this book contains a great deal of useful material for anyone studying the development of cities in the Roman North, whether from an archaeological or historical perspective. German-language scholarship has often been overlooked by Anglophone scholars in recent times, as much out of laziness as from inaccessibility, but this book is really worth the effort.

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V. Penna and Y. Stoyas, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Greece 7: The KIKPE Collection of Bronze Coins*, vol. 1, The Academy of Athens, Athens 2012, pp. 291, illustrations, 126 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-960-404-242-5

This volume of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, a series which holds for classical numismatists the same place as the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* for historians of Greek pottery, is remarkable for several reasons. For the first time it makes accessible to scholarly and public attention a considerable part of the impressive numismatic collection of the Welfare Foundation for Social and Cultural Affairs (KIKPE), which is now on loan to the Benaki Museum. It concentrates as well on the publication of bronze Greek coins, which is not at all common case for the *Sylloge* (as far as I know, out of more than 200 volumes of the series published so far, only two deal specifically with bronze issues: that of the John Morcom collection of western Greek bronze coins, published in 1999; and that for the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique covering the Marc Bar collection of bronze coins, 2007). In fact, here it is natural, as the principal feature of the KIKPE numismatic collection is the ‘almost exclusive presence of bronze/copper coins, partly in an attempt to promote the role

¹ For recent corroboration of her views, see also A. Heising in *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 14 (2011), 1011–15.

and importance of bronze coinage as medium facilitating everyday dealing', as the authors state in the Preface (p. 9). The scope of the material published in this volume is striking as well. Penna and Stoyas manage to describe 1233 Hellenic and Hellenised coins belonging to the huge geographical area extending from Hispania to Bactria and India, and from the Cimmerian Bosphorus to Mauretania, dating from the 5th century BC up to 27–25 BC. Any numismatist who has ever dealt with cataloguing coins in the *Sylloge* format understands pretty well what an enormous amount of work had to be done in this case, what extensive scholarly erudition had to be deployed, and what huge effort had to be made. An approximate idea of this is conveyed by the impressive list of literature used by P. and S. in their work (pp. 11–23).

P. and S. follow comprehensively the standard format of the *Sylloge*, giving proper descriptions of the coins that embody all metrological data and illustrating every piece. The high quality of the black-and-white photographs must be specially emphasised: it allows, on the one hand, easy checking of the accuracy of the text entries, and on the other turns the catalogue into really useful academic tool that allows further research to be conducted – for example, die-studies, etc. It is noteworthy, however, that P. and S. do not restrict the catalogue entries with standard references, but quite often suggest new attributions and chronology – further evidence of the undertaking of laborious research work before writing the catalogue itself.

One more thing becomes clear when reading the book: the scholarly care with which the KIKPE collection has been formed, which is clearly reflected in its *Sylloge*. I would say that the aspiration to completeness and, at the same time, a deliberate search for rare pieces might have been the main engines of this process. I have counted no less than six specimens that are previously unrecorded in the literature and which have been published for the first time here. The catalogue is supplied with two indexes to issuing authorities ('Geographical terms' and 'Historical persons'), though indexes of monograms, the names of magistrates, countermarks and overstrikes might have been useful as well.

It is always difficult to review a really good work as the review is compelled rather to cavil than to criticise. In my view, the only serious question which might be raised, is about the placement of the coin of the Scythian king Skilouros (no. 387) in the section 'Scythian rulers in Thracian lands', instead of ascribing it to the Sarmatian city of Olbia, where such coins, as P. and S. themselves seem to recognise, were being struck.

There are as well some probably casual omissions in the entries. In nos. 48–49, 139, 141–142, the dotted border clearly visible on the illustrations is not mentioned, though its presence otherwise is always indicated in the *Sylloge*. A relief pellet, which is a sign of denomination, is not mentioned in the description of no. 62. No. 51 is a cast coin and this is not indicated in the entry. It remains unclear why sometimes P. and S. mention the state of preservation of the coins using the word 'worn', but fail to indicate when the coin is broken (for example no. 660). The presence or absence of the beard on Heracles is also mentioned on an uncertain basis. The coin of Lesbos (no. 825), the earliest coin in the *Sylloge*, is made of billon and strictly speaking should not have been included in this catalogue of bronze coins.

Such trifles, however, cannot disguise the main thing: that we have at our disposal an impressive book, one that is really important for further numismatic and historical study and written in accordance with the highest standards of numismatic research. V. and P.

should be sincerely congratulated with this publication. One can only wish them every success in the continuation of their work on cataloguing coins from the KIKPE collection.

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Sergei A. Kovalenko

S. Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil: Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 v. Chr.–217 n. Chr.)*, *Historia Einzelschrift* 212, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010, 378 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-09650-8

The cult of the living emperor was no doubt one of the main features of the Romanisation of new provinces, and was prepared for in the 'Land on the Nile' by a three-century-long process of deification of the living rulers under the Ptolemies. This is probably the reason why the few existing studies devoted to the subject have focused on the restricted period of the beginnings of the Imperial times in Egypt and on the transition between Ptolemaic royal ideology and Roman Imperial cult. Thus, Stefan Pfeiffer's study fills a three-century gap, from the genesis of the Imperial cult under Augustus down to the reign of Caracalla, and aims at assessing the specificities of this institution in the so peculiar 'province' of Egypt. One of the main difficulties lays in the heterogeneity of the sources available, Greek and Latin on the one hand, hieroglyphic and demotic on the other. P. therefore provides us with a very useful synthesis and a thorough analysis of the cultural roots, political genesis and institutional structures of the Imperial cult in a multicultural society.

The first chapter (pp. 19–40) furnishes the reader with an empire-wide introduction to the Imperial cult. A distinction is made between emperor-worship and Imperial cult, the former addressing the emperor as a mortal with a special – divine – status, while the latter is clearly dedicated to the emperor as a god. As a matter of fact, the Roman emperor was actually addressed as a god and received a cult throughout the territories of the empire. Besides, the Imperial cult, either officially sanctioned by Rome or unofficial (municipal or even private), was equipped with temples, priesthoods, rites and festivals, and could be associated with different kinds of emperor-worship marks and activities, which are reviewed and analysed. According to P., the model of the civic Imperial cult devoted to Augustus and Roma in Asia Minor was initiated there by the local municipal elites and was later on exported by Augustus and his successors to the western part of the empire, where the Imperial cult served the Romanisation of the local elites. Therefore, the main issue of studying either emperor-worship or Imperial cult in Egypt is to assess the part it played in the legitimisation of the ruler *vis-à-vis* his subjects, and in the shaping of a common Romanised identity and loyalty towards the emperor. This introduction is completed by a panorama of the multicultural society that the Imperial cult addressed.

The book then combines a chronological approach, by discussing the personal relationships of the Roman emperors with Egypt and Alexandria (Chapter II), and a synchronistic analysis, exploring the religious, cultural, social and institutional structures underlying the Imperial cult (Chapter III).

As the province of Egypt personally belonged to the emperor, the first part (Chapter II) reviews the Roman emperors' relationships with Egypt during three centuries. Studying

their personal bond with the Land on the Nile certainly contributes to a better understanding of the specificities of the institution in Egypt. Thus, discussing the genesis of the Imperial cult under Augustus is crucial (pp. 41–61): since Blumenthal and Dunand,¹ it has been thought that no official Imperial cult was instaurated by Rome in Egypt, and that it was initiated by local authorities, especially local priesthoods, following the preceding Ptolemaic tradition of royal divinisation. Following Rigsby and Dundas,² P. aims at demonstrating that the Imperial cult in Egypt was officially instituted and controlled by Rome since the very reign of Augustus, that it marked a break with Ptolemaic traditions, and that it was intended to legitimise his power in the eyes of his subjects.

In a way, one of the specificities of the Egyptian Imperial cult – the fact that, in Egypt, Roma was never worshipped together with the emperor – should be understood within this frame: P. forcefully insists on the connection between the cult of Roma and the Roman senate, which had no power of control in this province. What was at stake was much more the personal relationships between the emperor and the province than between Rome and the province. In my eyes, Egypt thus retained its specificity within the empire.

The second part is dedicated to the analysis of the institutions associated to the Imperial cult in Egypt (pp. 217–316). P. first addresses the problem of the continuity between the traditional Pharaonic kingship, the Lagid royal ideology and the Roman Imperial cult. He insists on Augustus' will to break off with the Ptolemaic traditions after Actium – especially with the cult of the rulers as it had been established by the Ptolemies, in Greek and Egyptian temples. It is noteworthy that the Egyptian priests played no part in the Imperial cult, in contrast with the Ptolemaic period, and that the Roman emperor was never a *synnaos theos* in the Egyptian temples. P. points out the lack of collaboration between the Egyptian clergy and the Roman powers, as was the case in Memphis between the Great Priests of Ptah and the Ptolemies. The Roman emperors did not favour a cult of their person within the Egyptian temples, but they tried to capture their network: the chapels of the Imperial cult are usually built in the immediate surroundings of Egyptian shrines, allowing them to benefit from the numinosity and attendance of these spaces.

Like Alexander – but also like the Ptolemies – Augustus wanted to appear as the protector of freedom, after he had 'freed' Egypt from Antony and Cleopatra, and cultivated a proximity with Zeus *eleutherios*. P. focuses on the *sebasteia/caesarea*, in which the Imperial cult was to be performed. The rededication of the Sebasteion in Alexandria and the building of Imperial cult chapels in Philae and Karnak, with Hellenised architectural features, under his reign, are interpreted as elements of the establishment and promotion of a properly Imperial cult; yet the fact that their completion was under the responsibility of Roman officials, maybe the first prefects, and that their aspect was probably similar to Roman official buildings, does not imply that they were official imperial initiative. It is in my eyes one of

¹ F. Blumenthal, 'Der ägyptische Kaiserkult'. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 51 (1913), 317–45; F. Dunand, 'Culte royal et culte impérial en Égypte: Continuités et ruptures'. In G. Grimm, H. Heinen and E. Winter (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Mainz 1983), 47–56.

² K.J. Rigsby, 'On the High Priest of Egypt'. *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrology* 22 (1985), 279–89; G.S. Dundas, *Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator: The Roman Imperial Cult in Egypt* (Dissertation, UCLA 1994).

the weaknesses of P.'s demonstration: elements of continuity with the previous period remain manifold – Egyptian temple-building and restoration programmes, rededication of the Sebasteion built by Cleopatra, etc. Local initiatives in the setting of the Imperial cult under Augustus should not be underrated. For example, in some official documents such as petitions addressed to the prefect by members of the Egyptian clergy (BGU 1198, 5/4 BC; BGU 1200, 2/1 BC), Augustus is addressed as *sôter*, *euergetes* and, first of all, as *theos*, long before it was attested in other provinces. In BGU 1198, the priests of Isis, Sarapis, Harpsneis and Asclepius of Busiris stress the continuity with the previous dynasty by mentioning the period during which they were in charge, 'since the time of the queen until the year 25 of the god Caesar Augustus'. I still think that in the beginning the Egyptian clergy kept on addressing the ruler as a god and depicting him as a Pharaoh, as they used to do. During the beginnings of the Principate, Augustus was focused on the Roman politics and developed an ambiguous propaganda that almost equated him with a god, but never moved forward from *divus* to *deus*, at least in Rome. Egypt was certainly the first place where he was deified, and this process he only authorised, in continuity with the preceding period. The intervention of Claudius in the designation of the *neokoroi* of the Imperial cult in Alexandria shows the early attention the Roman authority paid to it – yet he refused to be addressed as a god.

More convincing is the attention paid by P. to the institutions of the Imperial cult, following Dundas's thesis that the Roman administration institutionalised the Imperial cult at a local level. In the metropolises, the office of high priest was exercised by liturgical officials belonging to the local elite, and P. addresses the issue of the frequently discussed lack of official clergy in charge of the Imperial cult in Egypt, as it existed elsewhere, for instance in Asia Minor: the high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt remains a difficult point and his function is usually deemed mostly administrative. P. argues in favour of a reassessment of the religious duties of the High Priest and thinks he was responsible for the emperor worship, and also for the cult of the Great Serapis, as well as procurator of all cult matters in Egypt. Usually a Roman citizen, he was appointed by the emperor, and the charge was part of the *cursus honorum*. Regional 'High priests of the city', are attested only from the 2nd century onwards, may date back to the end of the 1st century, and were probably subordinated to the High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt.

Though in Alexandria scarce examples of private piety related to the emperor are attested, in the *chora*, the emperor was never adored within the private area of domestic piety. Offerings made for the benefit of the emperor remained a way of showing loyalty, but not a cult as to a god. If one pays attention to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, it appears that even the Romanisation of the elites in Egypt was a complete failure. In the end it should be asked whether the Roman emperors ever attempted to create a common bond between the populations of Egypt through Romanisation. The same was asked with the Ptolemies, and as with the Ptolemies, I should like to ask: did they even care? Or were they only interested in plundering Egyptian resources? The Roman interest for Alexandria was exclusively due to its crucial role in the wheat supply. Sarapis and Isis, as symbols of Egypt's fertility, were early considered as emblems of the *pax deorum* that the Senatorial order and later the Imperial order were supposed to guarantee. Thus, the failure of the Romanisation of Egypt needs to be qualified, as it was probably never the aim of the Roman emperors.

D.T. Potts (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, 2 vols., Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA/Oxford/Chichester 2012, xxxvi and xxiv+1445 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4051-8988-0

This double volume, presenting an ambitious and encyclopaedic overview of Near Eastern archaeology from the Late Pleistocene to late antiquity, proposes to be of significant benefit to students of cultures within the broad geography, with each chapter presenting a particular aspect of the ancient Near East. Potts notes (p. xxix), however, that some significant elements are missing due to authorial withdrawal, but the work nevertheless remains comprehensive, written by several prominent scholars in their respective fields; and it offers plenty for students of the Near East to peruse and draw from.

The first volume deals with interpretative frameworks and the archaeology from the Late Pleistocene to the Early Bronze Age. In the first portion, the character of the geography, climate and natural resources are examined. However, the predominant focus is on the formation of Near Eastern archaeology as a discipline in the 19th century, the nature of scholarship, political impact upon archaeology, and the antiquities trade. The inclusion of this section is very welcome, as the issues discussed therein are highly pertinent to understanding the development of archaeology in the region and the mechanisms that continue to affect investigation today.

N. Chevalier's chapter on early excavations (I.3) provides a good introduction to the variety of projects that took place in the 19th century. However, she makes no mention of Schliemann's work at Hisarlık-Troy in I.3 in the discussion of early archaeological expeditions in Anatolia. Though much has been said about Schliemann's methods in the field, the infamy of his personality (augmented by scholarship) has tended to overshadow the significance of the discoveries – the Bronze Age culture of north-western Anatolia.

M. Garrison's chapter, 'Antiquarianism, Copying, Collecting' (I.2), deals with the root of these practices concerning an interest in the past, beginning in the scribal traditions of Babylonia, where the perpetuation and collection of texts amounted to gaining cultural capital, mirrored in the practices of 18th- and 19th-century antiquarians. Likewise, the chapters dealing with the political dimensions of archaeological practice and pedagogy, by R. Bernbeck (I.5), and the antiquities trade, by O. Muscarella (I.6), both present an impassioned and polemical stance on areas which affect the practice of archaeology in the region and the transmission of knowledge of its ancient societies.

The second section of the first volume briefly deals with the Late Pleistocene/Early Holocene communities in the Levant and Anatolia, followed by a section on the development of subsistence and various kinds of technologies. A. Simmons's chapter on the Levant (I.7) is particularly effective in its conciseness and ability to cover a wider range of issues, particularly those involving the journey of the Neolithic to Cyprus and pre-Neolithic activity at Akrotiri-Aetokremnos. K. Schmidt's chapter on Anatolia (I.8) predictably focuses on Göbekli Tepe, demonstrating the problematic nature on the sample of Late Pleistocene/Early Holocene sites in the geography, and the exceptional nature of Göbekli itself. In discussing 'special' buildings, it would have been useful to mention other excavated sites near Göbekli (though they are later chronologically), such as Çayönü and Nevalı Çori, and the manner in which cultural transmission played a role

Sections 4 and 5 of the first volume deal with settlement life across the Near East – the former with predominantly Neolithic to Chalcolithic, and the latter with Early Bronze Age

towns. D. Baird's chapter on the Epipalaeolithic to Chalcolithic in Anatolia (I.23) is very comprehensive, highlighting well the problems surrounding studies of the discrete periods, chronology, and presenting the chief strands of argument regarding issues such as the spread of the Neolithic, settlement patterns, adoption of domesticates, the transition from hunting-gathering to sedentism, symbolism and structuration of social life.

Curiously, discussion of the Early Bronze in Anatolia is nowhere to be found in the volumes. Instead, the reader is presented with the Middle–Late Bronze period in C. Bachhuber's chapter (which dovetails somewhat into T. Bryce's exposition on the Hittites in II.38). It is a curious omission (not mentioned by P. in the Preface), as the Early Bronze period in Anatolia is quite well attested and investigated, signalling a rise in urbanism, social stratification and centralisation of production. Bachhuber's chapter focuses on production, exchange and intensification of imperialistic tendencies, stemming from the impact of Anatolia's trade with Assyria, which laid an important foundation for the ultimate establishment of Hittite power.

The second volume of the *Companion* treats the imperial polities of the Near East, from Akkad to Byzantium and the Sasanians. It would have been useful, as an introductory section, to present a discussion of the problems regarding the concept of empire in ancient times, and how this changed through the time period that the volume covers. Certainly, there are several published works that discuss these points regarding particular Near Eastern empires, but the scope of the *Companion* is such that it would have been a nice counterpoint to the beginning of Volume I, and the work as a whole.

Some chapters in the second volume do allude to these problems of conceptualising empire, such as T. Bryce's (p. 730), revealing it to be tenuous and difficult to maintain, citing factors such as deficiencies in manpower and general human resources as being the chief obstacles in maintaining power and control. Likewise, A. McMahon's chapter on Akkad (II.34) discusses at length the meaning and extent of Akkadian imperialism in the 3rd millennium BC.

L. Khatchadourian's chapter on the Achaemenid provinces (II.51) illustrates best the problems of imperial control over vast geographies and calls for nuanced perspectives of satrapal power in respective locales, and of the responses to Achaemenid overlordship from various sections of society. Indeed, the Achaemenid empire itself is perhaps most appropriate thematically for such an analysis, given its territorial scope and the investments made in infrastructure and administration, and the chapter puts forward very well the notion of a multi-faceted impact of Achaemenid rule. As Khatchadourian notes, much has been made of the paucity of evidence of the Achaemenids themselves in the archaeological record, but this does not hinder to any degree our ability to discuss the way in which they influenced cultures they presided over, which in turn may articulate something about them.

Given the lack of discussion of the term 'empire' arguably allows some leeway in the presence of certain topics in the volume. This concerns the Iron Age polities of Lydia and Phrygia in western and central Anatolia respectively (II.42, 48), whose conceptions as empires in the classic sense is somewhat problematic. C. Gunter, in writing about Phrygia (II.42), aptly notes, however, that 'Biblical, Assyriological, and Classical frameworks' (p. 798) have dominated discussions of the polity, which is accompanied by particular uncritically accepted assumptions of what constitutes an empire, showing that the nature of Phrygian rule and projection thereof (particularly from a Phrygian perspective) remains far from clear.

Likewise, C. Roosevelt's discussion of Lydia (II.48) demonstrates the inconclusive nature of Lydian power. There is no doubt that there were imperialising tendencies and aspirations at work among the Lydian elite, demonstrated in the centralisation of Sardis as the pre-eminent settlement in its landscape, monumental works, and levies exacted from Greek city-states, but in terms of actual territorial control over a wide area and implicit involvement in non-Lydian politics, evidence is lacking. Scholars often like to cite historical information in lieu of absence of evidence (for example the Battle of the Eclipse between the Lydians and Medes in 585 BC, resulting in the drawing up of territorial boundaries at the Kızılırmak), but this merely shows the need to think more critically (using the archaeological record) about the nature of imperialism in Lydia.

Therefore, what is clear from reading the various chapters on imperial polities is that the concept of empire differs in respective contexts and time periods. There are ongoing discussions concerning the application of the term, and as a result, devoting a chapter to the issue would have been beneficial.

Several chapters deal with societies more peripheral to the imperialist ones, but which played an influential role among their more powerful neighbours. That by M. Frachetti and L. Rouse (II.36) on Central Asia and the Eurasian steppe 2500–1500 BC presents societies in the region as a middle men in interactions between Mesopotamia, the Indus and the Eurasian steppe in the flow of resources and iconographic motifs.

G. Rhossel's chapter on India's relations with the west (II.40) also falls into this category. It is also somewhat superficial though useful in listing various kinds of evidence from the Harappan culture present in Mesopotamia, the Arabian peninsula and Iran. The chapter would have benefited from a more synthetic discussion of the evidence in its context/s, and the manner in which this illuminates qualitative aspects of relations between the Near East and the Indian subcontinent.

Similarly, II.55 discusses the role of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean as conduits for interaction between disparate polities. Perhaps the chief limitation is the author's reliance on Graeco-Roman historical sources to clarify archaeological material, rather than allowing the latter more prominence on its own, but this is more suggestive of the present reviewer's scholarly predispositions.

The spread/influence of Hellenism in the Near East is treated to a limited extent in the chapter on the Seleucids (II.52), though L. Hannestad predominantly gives an outline of various Seleucid sites. The chapter on Rome, however, notes the multivalent character of the Near East under Roman hegemony, touching on the manner in which local non-western, Hellenising and Roman precepts influenced the running of the eastern provinces. Nevertheless, the chapter focuses mostly on the politico-economic role the eastern Roman provinces, rather than the social impact of Roman rule.

Occasional inconsistency in spelling of ancient names (for example, 'Assurbanipal' pp. 38–41, 'Aššurbanipal' on p. 43) and facts (Carsten Niebuhr was Danish, not German [p. 50]) may be observed throughout the volumes. Better consistency in the spelling of Turkish names should have been observed, particularly with regards to 'i'. Given that other diacritical conventions were followed, the substitution of 'i' for 'ı' is somewhat strange. A few other spelling errors have crept in (for example, 'Çan Hasan' as opposed to 'Can Hasan' [I.30], and 'Alaça Höyük' versus 'Alaca Höyük' [I.24]) but these are relatively minor criticisms.

My chief criticism concerns the treatment of the bibliography. It is situated at the end of the second volume, making cross-referencing somewhat laborious and necessitating the reader to have both volumes at hand. It would have been more useful for the full references to be present at the end of each chapter, so that the reader might immediately obtain the pertinent information. As such, the further reading sections at the end of each chapter are only partially successful, and I found myself desiring the full reference, particularly for unfamiliar source material.

The price of the two volumes renders them somewhat prohibitive for private consumption, but for a library collection they are ideal. Their scope and extensive bibliography make them a good starting point for research and for obtaining a preliminary overview of the chief strands of discourse on each topic. To that end, the *Companion* may be regarded as a successful contribution for students of Near Eastern archaeology, offering a copious amount of good quality material in two volumes that presents current state of knowledge about Near Eastern cultures from early prehistory to late antiquity.

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Damjan Krsmanovic

C. Ratté, *Lydian Architecture: Ashlar Masonry Structures at Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Reports 5, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2011, xvii+292 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-06060-9

The last decade has seen increased publication on the archaeology of Lydia,¹ ranging from specialised studies, such as this one, to more programmatic works detailing the archaeology of the region. This represents an important and welcome shift in the research on the Iron Age in central western Anatolia, which is gradually moving away from Sardis-centric foci to examine the wider region, and introducing long-unpublished data and synthesising studies to scholarship in general.

Despite the prominence of Sardis in historical narratives of the Iron Age, the archaeological levels of this period have been sampled only to a limited degree. This is in part due to technical restrictions, as they lie beneath substantial Hellenistic and Roman levels. Nevertheless, the recently published works on Iron Age Sardis have demonstrated well the cultural complexity of the site during this period, which should generate interest in new research. This volume, albeit a technical report and limited to a discussion of ashlar masonry structures at the site, is welcome in its augmentation of publicly available data about Sardis that scholars may draw on within a growing body of work on the site during the Iron Age.

The volume comes in rather elegant purple binding with gold lettering, and is presented with a copious amount of illustrations and photographs, which are high quality and laid out on each page in an uncluttered fashion. Given the subject matter, the volume may easily be construed as ponderous reading, but Christopher Ratté offers concise discussion in the five chapters and avoids heavy architectural jargon.

Chapter 1 contextualises all the monuments in the landscape around Sardis, and gives basic description of them and existing interpretations. Chapter 2 discusses the raw

¹ E.R.M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge 2003); C.H. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia. From Gyges to Alexander* (Cambridge 2009); N.D. Cahill (ed.), *The Lydians and Their World* (Istanbul 2010).

materials, and the issue of stone sources (further augmented by Appendix 4). Chapter 3 deals with construction methods, and R. makes a very detailed exposition of the manner and sequence in which the ashlar masonry was cut and laid during construction, as pertaining to the various types of finishes of walls found at Sardis (illustrated Figs. 6–14), with a particular focus on the architectural remains from the Karniyarık Tepe tumulus.

R. concludes that Lydian ashlar masonry was restricted in use, being present only in tombs, terracing and fortifications (p. 45). Such particularity offers scope for interpretation beyond the technical focus of the book. Regarding tombs in particular, most of the structures would no longer have been seen or accessible once a tumulus was constructed, thus highlighting the significance of the effort, organisation and solidity of social hierarchy in order to maintain the construction of these monuments and their various features.

Chapter 4 gives an overview of the chronology of the monuments incorporating ashlar masonry. R. combines the evidence of techniques employed by the Lydians (for example anathyrosis and chisel types), in conjunction with other archaeological and historical information. Augmented by a chronological table (p. 113, mistakenly referred to p. 116 on p. 48), positing a mid-6th- to early-5th-century BC date for the monuments.

The discussion extends to comparison with ashlar architecture from other contemporary societies in Chapter 5, such as Greece, Syro-Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt. Here, the Lydian tradition is contextualised, and R. discusses the nature of inheritance and its transformation under the hands of the Lydians. This chapter would be, arguably, of greatest interest to most scholars and non-specialists in masonry, and it does an admirable job of outlining the various issues. As R. notes (p. 45), based on current evidence, ashlar masonry saw restricted use in Lydia. On first impression, this may seem to be a hindrance to interpretation owing to lack of quantity, but instead it points to rather specific intentionalities governing the employment of this type of construction.

In discussing the Lydian adoption of burial tumuli, R. comments on their origins in Thrace (p. 54) via the Phrygians. This question remains a vexed one, tied up with the problems of the presumed Phrygian migration in the Early Iron Age; its magnitude and impact in central Anatolia; post-migration interactions with Thrace; and cultural retention of such concepts after a seeming intermission of several centuries (the earliest burial tumuli at Gordion date to the 8th century). On the whole, Chapter 5 demonstrates the need to engage with new ideas regarding cultural transmission in order to account for the complexity of interaction between Anatolia, the Aegean, the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean. The adoption of ashlar masonry in Lydia is but one component of this complex interactive web.

The second half of the volume is devoted to a catalogue detailing several of the discussed monuments and their excavation history; a detailed description; an inventory of finds associated with them; date; and a brief bibliography. The usefulness of this section lies in its presentation of primary data, and the ability to cross-reference with excavation reports.

The appendices offer more technical information, including information on architectural fragments (with the same format as the catalogue of monuments); the issue of whether the mound of Alyattes boasted a crepis wall; the altar of Artemis; and geological sourcing of the stone used to build the discussed structures.

In sum, this book is a welcome addition to the published corpus on Iron Age Sardis. In combining the evidence it presents with other categories, it ought to serve to augment understanding on the mechanisms involved in the fluctuations in the fortunes of Sardis in

the mid-1st millennium BC. R.'s work demonstrates effectively that the consumption of this type of architecture is one indicator of the rise in prosperity and prominence of Lydia in western Anatolia during the 6th century BC. While the impact of the Persian War need not be downplayed, it is clear from this book (and other recent research) that it was not so decisive as to reverse the fortunes of Lydia in its aftermath.

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Damjan Krsmanovic

P. Sanger, *Veteranen unter den Severern und fruhem Soldatenkaisern: Die Dokumentensammlungen der Veteranen Aelius Sarapammon und Aelius Syrion*, Heidelberger Althistorische Beitrage und Epigraphische Studien 48, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011, 413 pp., 14 Tafeln. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-09904-2

2011 ist die von Patrick Sanger verfasste Dissertation *Veteranen unter den Severern und fruhem Soldatenkaisern. Die Dokumentensammlungen der Veteranen Aelius Sarapammon und Aelius Syrion* als Band 48 der Reihe *Heidelberger Althistorische Beitrage und Studien* erschienen. Die Arbeit wurde von Fritz Mitthof und Bernhard Palme am Institut fur Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik an der Universitat Wien betreut.

S. legt mit dieser Studie ein Ergebnis grundlicher Beschaftigung mit Papyri als Quellengattung vor, das noch dazu interessante Einsichten in die Geschichte des romischen gypten ermoglicht.

Im ersten einleitenden Kapitel (S. 11–18) stellt S. sein Vorhaben vor. Thema der Arbeit sind die Dokumentensammlungen von Aelius Sarapammon und Aelius Syrion, zweier Veteranen aus dem *exercitus Aegyptiacus*. Die aus dem Dorf Ankyrnon im Gau Herakleopolites stammenden Archive beinhalten insgesamt 19 Texte, die nicht nur Erkenntnisse zum Privatleben von Veteranen in der Severer- und Soldatenkaiserzeit erbringen, sondern uberhaupt allgemeine Aussagen zu den sozialkonomischen Verhaltnissen in diesem Zeitraum erlauben.

Der zweite Abschnitt (S. 19–41) thematisiert den historischen Kontext der romischen Provinz gypten. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die beiden Dokumentensammlungen aus einem Gau stammen, der von der althistorischen Forschung bislang kaum beachtet worden ist, zumal die bekannten Veteranensiedlungen in anderen Regionen gyptens lokalisiert werden. Viel Neues, alte Meinungen Revidierendes begegnet wahrend der Lekture dieses Kapitels, wenn sich S. der allgemeinen Situation von Veteranen im gypten des 3. Jh. zuwendet und hierfur auf die Auswertung seiner beiden Papyrusarchive zuruckgreift. Anders als von einigen Forschern postuliert stellen namlich – und dies zeigen die beiden Dokumentensammlungen von Sarapammon und Syrion sehr deutlich – ausgesiente Soldaten eine wohlhabende und konomisch potente Bevolkerungsgruppe dar. Ein Grund fur deren finanzielle Starke konnte in den Solderhohungen der Severerzeit sowie in den nun regelmaig erlassenen Geldgeschenken, den *donativa*, gelegen haben. In diesem Abschnitt umschreibt S. ferner allgemein das Verhaltnis zwischen Militar und Zivilbevolkerung in gypten. Dabei setzt er bei den Zivilisten mogliche Neidgefuhle auf die materiell deutlich gunstigere Lage des Militars voraus. Nach einigen uberlegungen (S. 42–46) zur historischen Bedeutung von Ankyrnon, dem Fundort jener beiden Textsammlungen, wendet sich S. der Biographie von Sarapammon und Syrion zu (S. 47–65). *Aelius*, das *nomen gentile* der

beiden Protagonisten, lässt darauf schließen, dass deren Vorfahren einst das römische Bürgerrecht unter Kaiser Hadrian erlangt hatten. Beiden gemeinsam waren nach der Verabschiedung aus der Armee auch lange Jahre im Veteranenstatus.

Sarapammon könnte seine *missio honesta* insofern bereits in spätantoinischer Zeit gefeiert haben, als die anschließenden Belege als Veteran zur Gänze in die Severerzeit fallen. In den Papyri seines Archives tritt er als Darlehensherausgeber oder Verpächter von Grundstücken auf, dem auch der Umgang mit Rechtsangelegenheiten vertraut scheint und der offensichtlich in seiner Heimatgemeinde sehr angesehen ist.

Syryon, der zweite Protagonist der Archive, trat laut S. um 194 in die *legio II Traiana* ein. Nach seiner Entlassung aus der Armee erscheint er in den Papyri als vermögender Pächter, Grundbesitzer und Gläubiger, dem allerdings das Ausfechten von Rechtsstreitigkeiten nicht erspart bleibt. Der Besitz dieses Mannes war zum überwiegenden Teil den pekuniären Maßnahmen der Severerkaiser für das Heer geschuldet und muss im vorliegenden Falle beträchtlich gewesen sein.

Im fünften Teil des Buches (S. 66–115) werden spezielle Problemstellungen erörtert, die S. freilich diskutieren muss, um die rechtlichen und administrativen Belange im Alltagsleben eines römischen Veteranen in Ägypten zu verstehen. Behandelt werden die Möglichkeiten des Einspruches gegen ein Mahnverfahren beim *praefectus Aegypti*, ebenso wie der Ablauf von eidlichen Gestellungsverfahren bei Prozessen. In diesem Kapitel untersucht S. außerdem die Bedeutung von Gerichtsprivilegien, die für Veteranen bei Prozessen von nicht zu unterschätzender Bedeutung sein konnten. Fragen, die sich grundsätzlich mit dem administrativen Betrieb in der römischen Provinz Ägypten beschäftigen, werden hier auch gestellt: Wie verlief der Amtsweg einer Zensusdeklaration, jener Erklärung, die die Erfassung aller Steuersubjekte zum Ziel hatte? Darüber hinaus widmet sich S. der Bewirtschaftung von kaiserlichem Dominialland in Ägypten und den Aktivitäten der römischen Steuereintreiber im Lichte der papyrologischen Überlieferung.

Es folgt dann ein ausführlicher Editionsteil (S. 116–339), der abgesehen von der Vorstellung der beiden Veteranenarchive auch Allgemeines zur Aussagekraft dieser Quellengattung erwähnt. Diesem Kapitel schließen sich siebentens Tabellen an (S. 340–64), die über die vorgestellten Dokumentensammlungen hinausgehend alle Rechtsangelegenheiten festhalten, in denen Soldaten und Veteranen des kaiserzeitlichen Ägyptens verwickelt waren.

Im achten Kapitel bietet S. Korrekturen und Verbesserungsvorschläge (S. 365–68) zu gängigen Lesungsarten der Papyri aus den beiden Archiven. Dann folgen ein reichhaltiges Literaturverzeichnis (S. 369–86), ein Quellenregister (S. 387–91), sowie ein Personen-, Orts- und Sachregister (S. 392–99). Das Buch schließt mit einem Wortindex zum Editionsteil (S. 400–13) und einem Tafelteil (nach S. 413).

S. hat eine beeindruckende Monographie vorgelegt, die unbestreitbar neue Erkenntnisse zur Situation der Veteranen im severer- und soldatenkaiserzeitlichen Ägypten beinhaltet und ebenso grundsätzlich zu Fragen der Sozialisation des römischen Militärs in seinem Umfeld empfohlen sei. Ferner ermöglicht diese Arbeit eine adäquate Begegnung mit der Papyruskunde und unterstreicht einmal mehr deren Bedeutung innerhalb der Alten Geschichte.

S. Schierup and B. Bundgaard Rasmussen (eds.), *Red-figure Pottery in its Ancient Setting*, Acts of the International Colloquium held at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, November 5–6, 2009, Gösta Enbom Monographs 2, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2012, 180 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7124-051-1/ISSN 1904-6219

This is the product of a research programme on ‘Pots, Potters and Society in Ancient Greece’. There is always something new to say about Greek vases. Martin Langner explores the function and identity of the ubiquitous mantle figures; Annie Verbanck-Pierard, the Heracles four-pillar shrines treating him as divine, not just heroic; Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, the Xenophantos relief vases and their association with Cypriot myth – for the Persian aspect see the reviewer in *Persia and the West* (London 2000), 213–15; Athena Tsingarida, the distinctive character of white-ground cups as grave offerings; Maurizio Gualtieri, the significance and context of a grave group of South Italian vases from Roccalgoriosa; Helena Fraccia, the mourning Niobe motif in southern Italy; Victoria Sabetai, the status implied by grave offerings of Boeotian red-figure vases; Martin Bentz, a newly identified class of Elean red-figure from Olympia; Thomas Mannack, the character of Attic red-figure import to southern Italy; Stine Schierup, the heroic status of the Panathenaic amphora shape in southern Italy; and Guy Hedreen, the possibly independent interpretation of Achilles/Troilos scenes in Etruscan vase-painting, not wholly dependent on Attic. A notable feast and well illustrated.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

A.W. Schmitt, *Die Jüngereren Ishtar-Tempel und der Nabû-Tempel in Assur: Architektur, Stratigraphie und Funde. Mit interaktiv Architekturplänen und Fotos auf CD-ROM*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 137, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur A: Baudenkmäler aus assyrischer Zeit 14, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, xiv+272 pp., 281 Tafeln. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06508-5/ISSN 0342-4464

This monumental volume is the final publication of four temples at Assur spanning roughly six centuries: the Ishtar temple of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233–1197 BC); the ‘Ishtar of Assur’ (*Ištar-aššurītu*) temple of Assur-rēša-iši I (1132–1115 BC); the Šarrat-nip̄a temple of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC); and the Nabu temple of Sin-šar-iškun (626–612 BC). After a general description of the excavations between 1905 and 1914, and of the extant documentation, Aaron Schmitt reviews the *Baugeschichte* of each temple, room by room, in all of its architectural and stratigraphic detail. After some concluding remarks, he moves on to present a detailed catalogue of finds, sorted by type and material. A summary catalogue of 54 graves excavated in the course of exposing the temples, containing bibliographical references to primary publications, follows, as do concordances of museum numbers and copious photographs and drawings. A selection of folded maps (1:150) is included as well as a CD-ROM with further photographic images and digitised plans containing reference numbers of small-finds. Upon putting the cursor over these, thumbnail photographs appear of architectural elements or artefacts. It seems like a luxury to have both hard copies of plans and digitised versions but anyone working with this volume will be extremely grateful for both.

Without question the most famous find made by the German excavators in the Ishtar temple is the limestone, so-called *Symbolsockel* ('symbol pedestal') of Tukulti-Ninurta I (p. 107, Pls. 156–157). The function of this piece has generated much debate. Alternately termed a 'symbol pedestal' and an 'altar' by Anton Moortgat,¹ it is identified in a seven-line inscription on the object itself as a *nēmedu*, a term translated by A.K. Grayson as 'cult platform' or 'cultic chair'.² According to the text, the object was the 'cult platform of the god Nusku, chief vizier of Ekur, bearer of the just sceptre, courtier of the gods Aššur and Enlil, who daily repeats the prayers of Tukulti-Ninurta'.

One of the benefits of the CD-ROM included with this publication is of course the ability to see at a glance where an individual object was found. Although this information is given, when available, in the finds catalogue, the alpha-numeric coordinates or descriptor (for example 'Suchgraben eC/D6IV/V – "SO"') are not exactly easy to keep track of. Despite the fact that these excavations were conducted over a century ago, it was possible in many cases to assign finds to specific rooms in the Ishtar temple, though provenience is lacking for many finds. My one criticism of this extremely detailed catalogue is, however, that the individual objects within each finds category are listed in ascending order of their Ass (Assur) numbers, and are not grouped by room or other meaningful context. This simply makes it harder to see associations between finds within different parts of the building complex. Inevitably one has to choose in compiling such a catalogue between associational clusters of different sorts of finds, according to context; or clusters according to find type. In reality one must know both but the mechanics of making associations will no doubt keep generations of students busy as they work through the mine of information contained in this handsome and meticulously presented volume.

New York University

D.T. Potts

T.A. Schmitz and N. Wiater (eds.), *The Struggle for Identity: Greeks and their Past in the First Century BCE*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011, 305 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-09671-3

This attractive volume is the result of a conference held at Bonn University in October 2006. The scholarly attention towards the time immediately preceding the epoch of the so-called Greek Renaissance seems to be quite understandable and perfectly justified set against the incredible popularity of the Second Sophistic in the recent years. And indeed it is this period that became the incubator for the fundamental principles and moral axioms of the Second Sophistic's authors. The contributors of this work try to approach – from different points of view – the question of how Greeks understood 'the Greek' and themselves at the dawn of the Roman empire. The editors warn their readers that the word 'struggle' in the title of the volume is to be understood in purely symbolic sense. Their understanding of this word is close to that of Pierre Bourdieu, who defines this as a 'struggle over representations [of reality] in the sense of mental images but also of social demonstrations whose aim it is to manipulate mental images' (Introduction, p. 20). The volume

¹ *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London/New York 1967), 120 and captions to pls. 246–247.

² *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (Toronto 1987), 279.

begins with an Introduction, written by Thomas Schmitz and Nicolas Wiater, which provides the theoretical framework. The wonderful paper of Albrecht Diehle, on the continuity and destiny of Greek Classicism amidst historical transformations, follows. Then Wiater presents his report on the ideology of historiography in the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Matthew Fox tries to explain Dionysius as a critic and an historian, looking for his style of the past; Thomas Hidber writes about Greek authors and their Roman environment in the 1st century BC; Beate Hintzen deals with criteria of *ἑλληνισμός* in grammatical treatises of the time; and Dennis Pausch concentrates his attention on the image of Augustus in the *βίος Καίσαρος* of Nicolaus of Damascus. Glen Most, in his presentation 'Principate and System', looks for structural relationships obtained between the forms of ancient scholarship and the political transformations; Ewen Bowie reports on three Mytelenean poets of the 1st century BC: Theophanes, Potamon and Crinagoras; Tim Whitmarsh is occupied by the theme of 'Greek poets and Roman patrons in the Late Republic and Early Empire'; Barbara Borg investigates those who cared about Greek identity in Athens of the 1st century BC; and Schmitz discusses the image of Athens in Diodorus Siculus. Finally, Manuel Baumbach concludes the volume with his presentation on '*Paideia* and the Function of Homeric Quotations in Chariton's *Callirhoe*'. I would recommend this really valuable book to all who work on Greek literature and social history of Hellenistic and Roman times.

Moscow Lomonosov State University

Alexey V. Belousov

I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation: Transformation in Pharaonic Material Culture*, BCP Egyptology, Bristol Classical Press, London 2012, xiv+200 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-7156-3118-8

Ian Shaw's principal objective in this book is to describe the aspects of the changes and developments in ancient Egyptian technology. At first glance, this paperback with its many illustrations, tables, diagrams and an index seems accessible to a broad audience interested in arts and crafts and in the history of technology and science. However, closer examination reveals that specific knowledge of the subject is required to follow S.'s argumentation.

The study of ancient technology benefits from the number and variety of sources from ancient Egypt such as written records, iconographic scenes and the archaeological record. However, these resources are not evenly spread across all periods and subjects, and this might be why S.'s discussion focuses on the 2nd millennium BC. But they offer a wide range of opportunities to reconstruct developments or innovations in arts and crafts as well as the 'development of knowledge'. Despite the large amount of records, studies focusing on technological changes in ancient Egypt are rare, often related to Egypt's neighbours instead of concentrating on the Egyptian culture, and are often restricted to workshops or conferences.¹ Most studies about ancient (Egyptian) technology to date simply present

¹ Regarding technological change, see especially A.J. Shortland (ed.), *The Social Context of Technological Change: Egypt and the Near East 1650–1150 BC* (Oxford 2001); and J. Bourriau and J. Phillips (eds.), *Invention and Innovation. The Social Context of Technological Change 2. Egypt and the Aegean and the Near East, 1650–1150 BC* (Oxford 2004).

basic information about sources and finds relating to specific techniques² or are very specialised on particular subjects based for instance on chemical analyses. There is a considerable number of such contributions and they are undoubtedly interesting examinations in their own right, but their results have so far not adequately been placed in the framework of long-term developments or in a (socio-)historical context. The scope of S.'s book is considerably broader, making it both timely and relevant. It is an impressive attempt to identify different aspects of the changes and evolution in Egyptian technology, as well as wider cognitive and social contexts such as the ancient Egyptian propensity for mental creativity and innovation. S. considers the possibility that certain aspects of Egyptian society may have predisposed it to certain types of innovation and discusses this matter via case studies.

The volume is divided into three main parts. The first provides an introduction and offers a discussion of the conditions for and the nature of technological dynamics in ancient Egypt. In the main body, S. describes specific areas of technological development; case studies) include writing, medicine, stone-working, mummification, glass-working, chariot production and military hardware (pp. 24–126). While subjects such as writing, medicine and mummification are often omitted from discussions about ancient Egyptian technology, S. considers crafts to be an integral part of ancient Egyptian science. A further chapter examines how the practice and development of Egyptian technology was integrated into Late Bronze Age urban society and economy. This is illuminated by a case study of Tell el Amarna. These two elements, the inclusion of crafts and the examination of the broader environment, make the book innovative and enrich the discourse about the subject.

The Conclusion draws on some general thoughts presented in the Introduction and the second chapter. Unfortunately, only four pages to discuss the requirements of technological change in ancient Egypt seems a bit meagre and does not meet the objectives, in view of S.'s aim to contribute to the wider anthropological context. Disappointingly, he also makes only brief and basic references to his case studies when discussing his thesis regarding the mechanisms behind innovations in technology, their adoption and their development as well as the reconstruction of economic conditions. He prefers to refer to the other authors instead of developing his own conclusions. Furthermore, such references are incomplete: for instance, Andrew Sherratt's suggestion of a widespread and broadly contemporaneous set of innovations in Old World Farming and of accompanying social innovations is missing,³ although S. borrows terms or concepts introduced by Sherratt 30 years ago, such as 'bundles' or 'package' (p. 38) to describe the spread of innovations connected with each other.⁴ Other

² A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. revised by J.R. Harris (London 1962); and P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge 2000), in which the author of the book under review was involved.

³ A. Sherratt, 'Plough and Pastoralism. Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution'. In I. Hodder, G. Isaac and N. Hammond (eds.), *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke* (Cambridge 1981), 261–305.

⁴ Sherratt as in n. 3, pp. 262, 286.

references are not from archaeology or are obsolete: S. takes no advantage of studies on to the subject of mechanisms of innovations from the 1990s and 2000s.⁵

Appendices offer three brief outlines summarising the evidentiary material and sources on measuring space and time, astronomy and astrology. While these are welcome, one is left wondering whether these short summaries were originally meant to be discussed in the context of the case studies, or if they are unfinished case studies.

In conclusion, S.'s book is an informative treatise on the developments in ancient Egypt's crafts and science, providing the basis for a general discussion of technology and science in ancient Egypt (excluding the Late Period). The value of the approach taken lies in S.'s innovative inclusion of crafts into contemporary science, and also his attempt to place the technological developments within a wider framework or context. It is something the reviewer has been missing in publications about ancient Egyptian technology published so far outside of Germany.

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Heike Wilde

M. Spanu, *Diokaisareia in Kilikien: The Theatre of Diokaisareia*, Ergebnisse des Surveys 2001–2006, 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2011, x+134 pp., 66 figs., 58 plates, 11 plans and 2 fold-outs. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-022221-0

The theatre of Diocaesarea (Uzunçaburç) is important and interesting. It is not large – Marcello Spanu calculates it could hold precisely 3361 spectators. Most significantly, it can be precisely dated by a dedicatory inscription, first noted by Theodore Bent in 1890, naming Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus with the single title Armeniacus, which therefore has to refer to AD 164.

S.'s account is based entirely on a surface survey of the visible remains. Although the *cavea* was cleared and minor excavations carried out in 1993 by a team from the Museum of Silifke, these have not been published. S. was not able to move blocks to get full details of them, and this results in the catalogue descriptions of them frequently stating that a block is only partly visible, with certain surfaces having to remain undescribed and measurements omitted. S. makes clear the difficulties that result from these limitations.

The theatre itself was constructed partly against the hillside (the lower section of the *cavea*) and partly built up with an external support wall, now robbed out or buried by the adjacent modern road. S. estimates that the upper zone of the *cavea* had six rows of seats, and this seems reasonable. There are three vaulted passageways (*vomitoria*) through this built up upper zone originally leading to the external ground level, one at the centre and one to each side but not symmetrically located. Only on the central passage does the roof partly survive. Otherwise the *cavea* is well preserved, and S. was able to make first-rate plans of the seating, with every block recorded in its present day state. S. includes earlier

⁵ Regarding copper metallurgy, see C. Strahm, 'Die Anfänge der Metallurgie in Mitteleuropa'. *Helvetica Archaeologia* 25 (no. 97) (1994), 2–39; regarding mainly Bronze Age innovations in ancient Egypt, see H. Wilde: *Technologische Innovationen im 2. Jtsd. v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 2003); and *Innovation und Tradition* (Wiesbaden 2011).

photographs, by Gertrude Bell in 1905 and others taken for the expedition (1914–25) of Keil and Wilhelm. Comparison with my own photographs which I took in 1987, just before the work of the Silifke team, shows some clearance of the *cavea* had been carried out prior to 1993.

A peculiarity of the *cavea* which S. reports is the presence of holes carved through the seats, some straight, some curved so that they emerge at the front of the seat blocks. S. interprets at least the curved examples as intended to secure ropes which would hold the awning over the auditorium in place during performances. He gives an illustration to show how this might work; the problem is the haphazard location of the holes, but his scheme, with the ropes anchoring long spars running from upright posts fixed in the rear wall, seems to be a structural impossibility, the spars too heavy, too insecure and making it impossible to remove the awning when it was not used – surely essential for its preservation.

The elucidation of the form of the stage building is important. S. reconstructs a *scaenae frons* with a single storey of columnar decoration. He supports this with the fact that all the elements which he has found from the order of the decoration are of single, coherent dimensions. There is absolutely no trace of smaller elements which could have been superimposed over the main order. Here the problem is one of chance, whether or not excavation would reveal remains of a second series. Another problem is that where the cornice blocks of the main order rest upside down it was not possible to see if there are traces on their upper surfaces of where an upper order was superimposed. It is a pity that this single storey decoration though very likely cannot be proved with absolute certainty.

The ground plan of the stage building and stage is also uncertain. Parts of it are visible at the present ground surface, an indication of the front of the stage and the centre part of the stage façade foundations, giving the position and dimension of the central door, flanked by the podium on which the nearest columns were placed, with a curved niche between them. The position of the back wall of the stage building, fortunately less significant, cannot be traced and has to be estimated. The flanking doors were probably separated by pairs of columns supporting an entablature and triangular pediment, but nothing survives of what was over the entablature of the central elements. S. suggests pediments with Syrian arches over the niches, but there is no evidence for this.

There is also uncertainty concerning the junction of the stage building and the *cavea*, the passageway through from outside to the orchestra, and the relationship between the stage and this passage. S. suggests an angled, trapezoidal form for the end of the stage, but this, though not unparalleled, is uncertain, and leaves a very restricted opening of only some 1.9 m for the passage. S. also has to find a home for a cornice block with carved decoration on three sides, i.e. that came over a column standing by itself. He puts this at the side of the stage where, in his attempted restoration, it clashes uncomfortably with the end pair of columns from the stage façade decoration.

S.'s catalogue of the constituent architectural pieces is full, with a detailed analysis of their decorative elements, thus giving significant dated comparanda for other buildings of this period.

The book is lavishly illustrated, with excellent plans, showing the position on the ground of the various architectural pieces, all carefully distinguished by colouring, with reconstructions of the plan of the *cavea* and the stage building. It will be welcomed as near

definitive, but the problem remains that without excavation it cannot be a truly definitive account.

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Richard A. Tomlinson

E. Stafford, *Herakles, Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World*, Routledge, London/New York 2012, xxvi+302 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-30068-1

The volume, which appeared in the series *Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World*, combines historical, religious and archaeological (*LIMC*) approaches to the greatest of Greek heroes. During my young years similar encyclopaedic projects were organised by academic institutions and led by international editorial boards composed of renowned scholars; now, with the market economy prevailing, it is by a commercial publisher for a larger circle of readers. It is good to target a wider public, but the danger of ‘dumbing down’ and of repeating what already can be found elsewhere without bringing much in the way of new ideas is great. However, Emma Stafford has tried to do her best. She has put much effort into her opus and has also compiled a rich bibliography. Heracles was a hero of great contrasts and, Asclepius apart, the only one who became a god (after a cruel death by self-immolation, of course). Chapters 1 and 2 give surveys of his heroic deeds as slayer of monsters, and here it is a pity that the narrative is too compact and only a little iconographic evidence is reproduced. The expansion of the individual stories and their interpretation during classical antiquity, including the Etruscan imagination, might be useful. The fulfilment of 12 deeds corresponded to the zodiac and the completeness of the spatial structure of the world; it gave the hero access to higher initiation. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to his heroic and comical sides. For Sophocles he was an idealised super-human being, even in his madness. Euripides made him more of a human tragic hero, and Aristophanes a caricature. Chapter 5 describes his use and abuse in politics and as a model ruler. He was used as a Peloponnesian hero by the Spartans and their neighbours; in Athens by the Peisistratids as an ideal aristocrat, and as folk hero by the democrats. He was also a model for the self-stylisation of several Roman emperors. Chapter 6 deals with his divine role in antiquity. The way towards Olympus started with his inner humble acceptance of punishments, even the maid service with Omphale, in helping gods against the Giants. Athena, the *Urgedanke*, helped him to clear his mind and brought him to Zeus, but Hera, still hesitating and unconvinced, unwillingly offered him her breast to fulfil the adoption into the community of the gods; from this act we have the Milky Way. The survey of cults and sanctuaries in the Graeco-Roman world is very useful; only the Etruscans are omitted (and the madness of self-stylisation of some Roman emperors, notably Caracalla). Finally, the last chapter deals with early Christian ambivalence towards the hero, and with the role of Heracles in the Mediaeval and later periods, when he served as an allegory of super-human strength, virtue, modesty and of surpassing the human sphere; he remains good material even for film and television. It is a pity that the wise Friedrich Dürrenmat’s play, *Hercules in the Augean Stable*, escaped her notice. In general it is useful book with much effort and industry behind it.

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Jan Bouzek

S.R. Steadman and G. McMahon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000–323 BCE)*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, xvii+1174 pp., illustrations Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-537614-2

Nach dem bei Routledge 2009 erschienenen kompakten Studienbuch *Ancient Turkey* von A. Sagona und P. Zimansky liegt nun ein weiteres Überblickswerk zu Kleinasien vor.¹ Das *Oxford Handbuch*, das 1174 Seiten umfasst und einen respektablen Zeitraum von fast 10.000 Jahren behandelt, ist untergliedert in fünf Hauptteile (I: 'Archaeology of Anatolia: Background and Definitions', S. 13–93; II: 'Chronology and Geography', S. 95–514; III: 'Philological and Historical Topics', S. 515–651; IV: 'Thematic and Specific Topics', S. 653–913; V: 'Key Sites', S. 915–1130). Diese bestehen jeweils aus (die Hauptteile übergreifend durchlaufend nummerierten 1–52) Unterkapiteln, deren innere Stringenz sich nur im chronologisch angeordneten Teil II, mit 419 Seiten der umfassendste (Kap. 5–21), durch die konventionelle Binnengliederung nach archäologischen Perioden (Prehistory, Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron Age) gut erkennen lässt. Teil IV ist nochmals durch Zwischenüberschriften gegliedert, die die Kap. 29–34 und 35–41 vereinigen.

Den Herausgebern ist durchweg gelungen, insgesamt über fünfzig große Namen für das Verfassen der einzelnen Kapitel zu gewinnen, alles ausgewiesene Fachspezialisten, oft die verantwortlichen Ausgräber bzw. führende Philologen, Historiker, Sprachwissenschaftler etc., und entsprechend ist das Niveau der Einzelbeiträge zumeist ausgezeichnet. Bereits das gründliche Studium des Inhaltsverzeichnisses lässt aber den Verdacht aufkommen, dass die eingereichten Beiträge die Gliederung gestalteten und nicht ein durchdachtes Handbuchkonzept, dessen Ziel ist, auf dem momentanen Forschungsstand 'to provide the most complete portrait of Ancient Anatolia' (S. 11) bis zum Tod Alexander d. Gr. Als Beispiel mag Teil III (Philological and Historical Topics) dienen: Kap. 22–25 behandeln die Sprachen Hethitisch (2. Jt.), Luwisch (2./1. Jt.), Urartäisch (1. Jt.), Phrygisch (1. Jt.), Kap. 23–25 gleichzeitig mehr oder weniger auch historische Aspekte zur jeweiligen Bevölkerung bzw. ihres Siedlungsgebietes, z.T. redundant zu anderen Kap. (z.B. 18–20). Es folgt mit Kap. 26 die politische Geschichte des hethiterzeitlichen Anatolien, in Kap. 27 historische Aspekte für das Kleinasien des 1. Jt., um in Kap. 28 mit Architektur und Bemerkungen zu 'Visual Culture' (vom Neolithikum bis in die Eisenzeit) Teil III abzuschließen.

Warum 'Troy' in Teil IV und nicht unter 'Key Sites' (V) erscheint, warum man für 'Hethiter' (II, Kap. 16), 'Hethitisch' (III, 22), 'Hethitische Geschichte' (III, 26), das 'Hethitische Reich' (IV, 40 archäologisch und 41 textlich basiert) sowie wichtige 'Orte des Hethiterreiches' (V, 48) so viele Zugänge gewählt und damit (letztlich unvermeidbare) Redundanzen in Kauf genommen hat, warum nach Teil II, Kap. 7–9 das Chalkolithikum erneut in Kap. 36 aufgegriffen wird, bleibt für ein Handbuch etwas undurchschaubar. Überhaupt erfordert es einiges Vorwissen, um Zusammengehöriges aufzufinden. Manche Kapitel decken immense Zeiträume ab (z.B. Kap. 28 oder 30).

Dann aber zeigt sich, dass bestimmte Komplexe recht gut durch die Zeitschnitte und von unterschiedlichen Ansätzen her aufgearbeitet wurden, innerhalb der Kapitel nach

¹ Ein zeitübergreifender Atlas für Kleinasien ist in Vorbereitung; vgl. Hadrien Bru, Historical and Archaeological Atlas of Ancient Asia Minor Project, Université de Franche-Comté (Besançon, France).

einem für den Nutzer erkennbar wiederkehrenden Schema mit jeweils knappen Zusammenfassungen, ausgewählten Anmerkungen sowie ausführlicher Bibliographie (klassische Primärquellen und Sekundärliteratur) am Ende: z.B. das Zentralplateau mit dem Reich Hattusa (s.o.) bzw. dem eisenzeitlichen Phrygien: Kap. 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 25, 27, 50, 51 oder Ostanatolien mit dem eisenzeitlichen Urartu: Kap. 9, 12, 20, 24, 27, 33, 49. Auch den unterschiedlichen Kontaktzonen – der kleinasiatische Nordwesten mit dem Balkanraum (Kap. 29, 32), der Nordosten mit dem Kaukasusgebiet (Kap. 30), der Osten und besonders der Südosten mit dem mesopotamischen und levantinischen Raum (u.a. Kap. 6, 8f., 14, 33, 35, 37–38) und der Westen mit der Ägäis (Kap. 15, 31) –, in denen sich verschiedene Kulturräume berührten, vermischten, überlappten oder Migrationen sich greifen lassen, wurde disziplinäre und interdisziplinäre Aufmerksamkeit seitens der Archäologie, Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie geschenkt. Aber hier gilt ebenfalls: man muss wissen, wonach man sucht.

Einige Regionen bzw. gewisse Zeitschnitte fehlen, vor allem im Verhältnis zu den üppig thematisierten (z.B. dem Zentralplateau oder der Bronzezeit) auffallend, fast völlig: so z.B. Nordwest- und Nordanatolien (außer Kap. 44: Ilipınar), vor allem in der Eisenzeit. Für Westkleinasien sind die Griechen und ihre materielle Kultur (Kap. 21) sowie in einem allgemeinen Überblick bis zu Alexander d. Gr. (Kap. 34) bearbeitet worden, auf die voraufgehenden Zeitschnitte wurde mit Ausnahme des Beitrags zur Spätbronzezeit (namentlich Arzawa und Ahhijawa: Kap. 15) verzichtet. Mysien, Lydien (vgl. aber: Sardis: Kap. 52), Karien, Lykien – auch in Bezug auf die Sprachen – werden nur gelegentlich erwähnt (z.B. in Kap. 21 oder Kap. 27) und sind über das Register auffindbar. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit eisenzeitlichen, nichtluwischen Landschaften (z.B. Pisidien) im Süden des zentralen Plateaus (aber: Kap. 43: Çatalhöyük). Die Gründe dafür mögen in ihrer bisher unzureichenden Erforschung liegen, dennoch wäre ihre Erwähnung wünschenswert. Sehr vernachlässigt wurden insgesamt die Perserzeit und die frühhellenistische Phase bis 323 v. Chr., letztere der erklärte untere zeitliche Rahmen (z.B. Kap. 19, 27). Außer dem Kapitel zu ‘Metallen und Metallurgie’ (Kap. 39) wurden Aspekte der Naturwissenschaften wie der Archäometrie, -zoologie, -bontanik, der Paläontologie u.v.m., die heutzutage einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Erkenntnis vor allem prähistorischer Phasen liefern, nicht komplex berücksichtigt.

Chronologietabellen, die man in einem Handbuch eher kompakt im Anhang und dadurch von allen Kapiteln aus leicht zugänglich vermuten würde, finden sich in Teil I, Kapitel 4: ‘Anatolian Chronology and Terminology’ (S. 56–93), und einige im folgenden Teil II (Kap. 5–21), aber auch z.B. S. 822 u.ö. An Primärzeugnissen werden in Kap. 2 nur sog. klassische Quellen vorgestellt, im wesentlichen Homer und Herodot, die gleichzeitig das konventionelle geographische Landschaftsvokabular mit einigen Erläuterungen über die zugrundegelegten Texte hinaus bieten, wie es spätestens mit Einsetzen der historischen Zeit in der Forschung allgemein benutzt wird wie Aiolia oder Paphlagonia, Pisidia usw. Unter dem Label ‘Background and Definitions’ ist das, trotz der einsichtigen Begründung des Verfassers und Mitherausgebers G. MacMahon, m.E. zu kurz gegriffen. In seiner Bibliographie fehlt gänzlich Sekundärliteratur zu Homer. Eine Konkordanz von antiken und modernen Ortsnamen wäre hilfreich. Insgesamt empfiehlt es sich, das Buch zunächst sorgfältig durchzublättern, um sich einen Überblick zu verschaffen, was es bietet. Die Einführung (Kap. 1), in der die Herausgeber ihr Vorgehen, ihre Auswahlkriterien, ihre Ziele

begründen, sowie das Kapitel 4 ('Chronology and Terminology') sollten, da sie Bezug auf das gesamte Werk nehmen, vorab gelesen werden.

Für die Belange eines Handbuchs (i.e. ein Nachschlagewerk in geordneter Zusammenstellung) wären m.E. im Gegensatz zu dem vorgelegten, komplizierten und nicht immer nachvollziehbaren Inhaltsverzeichnis, eine stringentere, in sich konsistentere thematische Gliederung und der leichte Zugriff auf Themen und die korrespondierenden Serviceleistungen (Tabellen, Karten, Konkordanzen usw.) zumindest einfacher zu nutzen. Gut gelungen ist die schwierige Auswahl der exemplarischen 'Key Sites' (V), neu die Idee, brisante Forschungsthemen und -ansätze (u.a. zur Problematik der Indo-Europäer, zur Halaf-Periode des 6. und 5. Jt., zu Uruk und den Beziehungen zu Anatolien, zu Metallurgie) herausgehoben, zum Teil chronologisch angeordnet, kritisch zu sichten, deren Auswahl sich unter 'Thematic and Specific Topics' verbirgt. Untergliedernde Zwischenüberschriften nennen 'Intersecting cultures: Migrations, Invasions, and Travelers' (IV, Kap. 29–34) und 'From Pastoralists to Empires: Critical Issues' (IV, Kap. 35–41, wobei die Kap. 40 und 41 dem Hethiterreich aus archäologischer bzw. aus textlicher Sicht gewidmet sind) als Auswahlkriterien. Hier zeigt sich besonders gut ein weiteres, von den Herausgebern formuliertes Ziel des Handbuchs: 'to allow the expertise and enthusiasm of the scholars ... to inspire the continuing quest to understand even more. ... an invitation to look forward to our continued exploration ...' (S. 11).

Erwartungsgemäß findet sich innerhalb der im Umfang schwankenden Kapitel-Bibliographien – auf eine Gesamtbibliographie wurde verständlicherweise verzichtet – vornehmlich englischsprachige, aber auch aktuelle und einschlägige anderssprachige Literatur. Im Gegensatz zu einigen Publikationen der vergangenen Jahre sind die Bibliographien erfreulich sorgfältig lektoriert. Leider fehlen gesonderte Hinweise auf Kartenwerke, wie den 'Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients', in dem ein Gutteil der Karten und korrespondierenden Beiheften Kleinasien gewidmet sind: z.B. M. Korfmann u.a. (B II 13) zur Frühbronzezeit, B. Kull/W. Röllig (BII 14) zur Mittelbronzezeit oder F. Prayon u.a. (B IV 9) zur Eisenzeit.

Die Qualität der Fotos (vertauschte Bildunterschriften in Kap. 10), Graphiken und Kartenskizzen ist z.T. nicht besonders gut und mindert vor allem bei den Fotos deren Aussagekraft. Eine eigene Liste der Abbildungen, die jeweils Kapitel intern nummeriert wurden (z.B. 45.1–7), fehlt. Dafür muss man das Register befragen (einzelne Stichworte, aber auch z.B. *sub voce* maps), um die Chance zu haben, Karten, Lagepläne, Tabellen (z.B. S. 59–60) als Einstieg in ein Thema zu nutzen oder grundsätzlich zu erfahren, was abgebildet wurde. Das Register ist mit 43 Seiten durchaus umfassend, es dient außer als topographisches, Namens- und Sachregister jeweils am Ende eines Stichwortes, nach dessen diversen Charakterisierungen, auch für Binnenverweise (z.B. *agriculture: see also food production*). Allerdings wurde es nicht dazu genutzt, unterschiedliche Konventionen der Fächer zusammenzuführen und erkennbar zu machen, dass es sich um ein- und dasselbe handelt: z.B. Midas Mound und Midas tumulus (MM).

Abgesehen von diesen Einschränkungen, ist *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia* ein Kompendium, das – hat man es durchgearbeitet – den Nutzer in hervorragender Weise auf den Stand der Kleinasienforschung bringt und ihm einen umfassenden archäologisch-historischen Überblick besonders für die voreisenzeitlichen Perioden verschafft.

L. Summerer, A. Ivantchik and A. von Kienlin (eds.), *Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos: Développement urbain dans le contexte anatolien*. Actes du colloque international, Munich, 2–4 avril 2009, Kelainai 1, Ausonius, Bordeaux 2011, 410 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-35613-043-3

To make up for the lack of systematic archaeological excavations at the site of Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos, the Afyonkarahisar Museum started surface surveys of the site in 2008. Within the framework of this project, and in collaboration with the Universities of Munich and Bordeaux and the CNRS Bordeaux, an international colloquium organised in 2009 scrutinised the city and its territory. The acts of this symposium appear here in published form.

The contributions presented at the symposium are organised in three sections. The first one, entitled 'Kelainai und Umgebung aus historischer Perspektive/Kélainai et sa région dans une perspective historique' (pp. 17–133), contains seven papers. A. Nunn studies the city and the wider region in the pre-Achaemenid period, starting with the Neolithic and paying special attention to the Hittite era and the Iron Age. The region of modern Dinar belongs to the Phrygo-Lyidian sphere, as confirmed, among other types of evidence (ceramics, coins), by old-Phrygian inscriptions found on several sites and a newly found Lydian inscription. L. Summerer provides a summary of our current knowledge on the Persian army in Kelainai and its archaeological traces on the ground. Of particular importance in this respect is the famous Tatarlı Tomb with painted scenes of processions and battles. C.M. Draycott devotes her contribution to the Tatarlı convoy painting, proposing to understand it as a Persian-style military convoy, contrary to Summerer, who sees it as a funerary procession. L. Sementchenko discusses the sources of the Maeander and Marsyas rivers as described in classical texts, while C. Tuplin's interesting contribution concentrates on Xenophon's eye-witness account of Kelainai and vicinity in 401 BC, discussing the physical appearance of the city, its rivers and Persian palaces and *paradeisoi*. The contribution of N. Zwingmann is devoted to the myths of Kelainai involving Marsyas and Noah's Ark (the city's epithet 'Kibotos' (the chest) led to the assumption that Noah's Ark – also named Kibotos – first landed on the hill of Kelainai, as shown on coins minted in the city from Septimius Severus to Trebonianus Gallus), myths that helped the city achieve a high status within the province and the empire. C. Barat gives an account of the early travellers in the region of Dinar and their accounts of the site of Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos, starting with the Revd F.V.J. Arundell's three visits in 1826 and 1833, after the failed attempts of R. Pococke in 1739, R. Chandler in 1764 and W. Leake in 1800.

The second section, 'Ergebnisse der Feldforschung in Kelainai-Apameia/Résultats des prospections à Kélainai-Apamée' (pp. 137–315), contains ten papers. The first one, written by A. Ivantchik, A. Belinskiy and A. Dovgalev, reviews the results of the first three surveys conducted in the city of Dinar and its region, illustrated by excellent maps and photographs. F. Maffre and C. Barat offer a summary of their archaeological prospection in the city of Dinar in 2008 and 2009, while A. von Kienlin returns to the question of Kelainai's topography and architecture, paying special attention to the theatre and the stadium. V. Mathé, M. Druetz and R. Chapoulie report on their 2008 geophysical prospection in Kelainai-Apameia; K. Misiewicz supplements this by his study on the results of geophysical surveys in the vicinity of Dinar in 2008 and 2009. P. Dupont and V. Lungu discuss the

ceramic finds from 2008 season at Kelainai on the basis of 18,000 pieces dating from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine and Seljuk periods. The presence of a great quantity of Achaemenid cups confirms the importance of Kelainai as a satrapal centre. Epigraphy is represented by three contributions: the first, by T. Drew-Bear and J.-M. Fillon, presents a new inscription for a gymnasiarch. Drew-Bear and Ivantchik co-authored the second contribution, namely a publication of two bases and a slab inscribed with the virtually same text honouring Proclus Manneius Ruso. The text is already known since the publication of another base in the 19th century but requires more study to be completely understood. The study of A. Bresson offers a review of *ca.* 100 funerary inscriptions from the city, mentioning *en passant* a soon-to-be-published Lydian inscription. Although useful, this contribution at times dwells too long on the obvious and universally known facts about Greek funerary epigraphy in the Imperial period. The last contribution in this part, written by M. Arslan and Ü. Devecioğlu, is a preliminary report on a Hellenistic hoard of *ca.* 6000 bronze coins minted in Apameia between 133 and 48 BC and found in Dinar in 1991. The hoard's entirety consists of coins minted under one official – Antiphon, son of Menekles.

The third section, entitled 'Kelainai im Vergleich: Satrapien, Residenzen und Paläste im Perserzeitlichen Anatolien und Kaukasus/Kelainai dans son contexte: satrapies, résidences, palais en Anatolie et au Caucase à l'époque perse' (pp. 319–410), contains six contributions dealing mostly with other comparable cases of satrapal capitals and Achaemenid palaces in Anatolia and the Caucasus region. M.C. Miller gives a general overview of the Iranian presence in western Anatolia as reflected in artefacts – seals and seal impressions, horse trapings, tombs, vestiges of religious practice, burials and burial markers. She regards 'Persian-looking' items in western Anatolia as local products modelled after a Persian exemplar rather than Persian imports. F. D'Andria's paper concerns the site of Hierapolis and its *chora*, and J. des Courtil's the palatial tradition of Lycia from the Bronze Age to the Classical period as exemplified by Xanthos, where he rightly sees continuity with the Bronze Age rather than new developments due to the influence of Persian overlords. A.M. Carstens studies the palaces of Caria, W. Held the mixed architectural orders of *andrones* and *oikoi* in Labraunda and F.S. Knauß the residences of Achaemenid satraps and vassals and their models.

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A. Tuck, *The Necropolis of Poggio Civitate (Murlo): Burials from Poggio Aguzzo*, *Archaeologica* 153, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Rome 2009, ix+146 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7689-217-6/ISSN 0391-9293

The excavations at Poggio Civitate (Siena), begun by Kyle M. Phillips jr in 1966 for Bryn Mawr College (Pennsylvania) and continued ever since, are of extreme interest for the study of inland northern Etruria. Research has documented different phases of occupation: a first set of residential and craft buildings, decorated with architectural terracottas, was recently dated by Nancy Winter to the beginning of the Late Orientalising period (*ca.* 640–630 BC); around 580 BC a grand palazzo of almost square plan was rebuilt on the same site, with rooms arranged around an internal porticoed courtyard; the imposing architectural decorations of the palazzo, composed of antefixes, simas and frieze plaques with moulded

images, are complemented by an exceptional sequence of human figures, considered personifications of the ancestors of the residential family, accompanied by animals and mythological figures, variously interpreted as symbols of power and authority. The site is usually interpreted as an aristocratic residence designed to celebrate the strength and authority of the family group in control of the territory between the Val di Merse and the upper Ombrone valley.¹

This volume by Anthony Tuck is dedicated to the full publication of a small necropolis of nine *fossa* tombs excavated in 1972 in Poggio Aguzzo, at a short distance from the monumental Orientalising and Archaic complex. T. introduces the features of the necropolis on the basis of the meagre data available, recognising the non-exhaustive nature of the excavations on Poggio Aguzzo, a place that had already drawn the attention of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli in the 1920s, with sporadic finds from the Orientalising period that are visible today in the Museo Civico Archeologico di Murlo (pp. 5–10). The chronological framework of the objects in the nine burials (assigned to the mid-/third quarter of the 7th century BC) is introduced in the second chapter, through the definition of ceramic and metallic types, listed tomb by tomb with reference to comparisons inside the necropolis; an element of absolute chronology is provided by a Protocorinthian ovoid aryballos, dated to 655–625 BC, found in Tomb 5 (pp. 11–23). The morphological and typological characteristics of the ceramic forms are discussed in the third chapter, allowing comparisons with ceramics produced in northern and southern Etruria and emphasising the distinctive, and possibly local, features of the different products found in the necropolis (bucchero, buccheroid, orangeware, impasto) (pp. 25–48). Chapter 4 (pp. 49–72) provides a typology of the ceramic decorations with relevant comparisons, and could have been merged with the previous chapter; it also conspicuously lacks the illustrated and photographic documentation of the stamped and rouletting decoration required to precisely identify the moulds. The following chapters present the other ceramic objects, such as spindle-whorls (pp. 73–74), and metal objects (pp. 75–82). The volume concludes with a chapter on the social context of the necropolis (pp. 83–98) and a systematic catalogue of the objects arranged in groups of *corredi* or funerary goods (pp. 99–129).

The book makes an interesting attempt to recognise local cultural elements, with shapes recalling (even if from afar) the products of Chiusi and its extensive territory, the Orientalising ceramic repertoire of which has been studied by Alessandra Minetti, unfortunately not mentioned in T.'s bibliography.² Also noteworthy is the repeated presence at Poggio Aguzzo of a kyathos with a hemispherical bowl on a high foot with a wide tapering handle (in bucchero and buccheroid impasto), known as 'Calabresi type' and originating from Caeretan prototypes but widely reproduced by Populonian workshops, with a consistent circulation in northern Etruria.³ T. further recognises the difficulty in connecting the funerary complex of Poggio Aguzzo, which is substantially homogenous and middle class in the

¹ N.A. Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power: Architectural Terracotta Decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640-510 B.C.* (Ann Arbor 2009).

² A. Minetti, *L'orientalizzante a Chiusi e nel suo territorio* (Rome 2004).

³ F. Sciacca, 'I bucheri della tomba Calabresi: una produzione di prestigio dell'Orientalizzante medio ceretano'. In A. Naso (ed.), *Appunti sul bucchero* (Florence 2004), 29–42; V. Acconcia, E. Biancifiori, G. Galluzzi, M. Milletti, S. Neri, S. Picucci and S. ten Kortenaar, 'Il bucchero di

fossa types and composition of funerary goods, with the chronology (which seems slightly older than the nearby Orientalising complex) and above all the very high status expressed by the monumental residence of Poggio Civitate. The major difficulty, however, lies in the anomaly of Poggio Civitate regarding the formative processes of the coastal urban centres, above all Populonia and Vetulonia, which date back to the Final Bronze Age, and the centres that appear to have formed more recently, like Roselle. The inland region of Poggio Civitate is a corridor on the margins of the area of expansion of Chiusi and Volterra and actually seems to have been occupied by scattered settlements without sufficient demographic concentrations to lead to the birth of urban centres (pp. 93–98).⁴ The marked aristocratic character of the site of Poggio Civitate and the consistent presence of open sites of the late Orientalising and above all Archaic period, revealed today by systematic surveys carried out for the *Carta Archeologica* of the province of Siena, seem to indicate an innate gentilicial structure in the area under consideration that controlled a large range of farmable land in the Orientalising and Archaic periods and also had a remarkable level of autonomy from nearby urban centres.⁵

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Andrea Zifferero

S.B. Valchak, *Konskoe snaryazhenie v pervoi treti I-go tysyacheletiya do n.e. na yuge Vostochnoi Evropy* (Horse equipment in the first third of the 1st millennium BC in the south of Eastern Europe), Institut Arkheologii Rossiskoi Akademii Nauk (Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences), Taus, Moscow 2009, 292 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-5-903011-67-4

This book summarises the work of a number of specialists in Central Europe and particularly Russia/the Soviet Union writing between the mid-20th century and the early 21st on the subject of pre-Scythian horse furnishings in south-eastern Europe.

In Chapter 1 (on harness parts), Valchak underlines the necessity of a unified terminology for the various parts of the harness. He offers a clear description of what he means by harness, trapping, bridle, etc., paying regard to the functional and decorative details of the parts of the harness. He examines the genesis of the bridle and Early Iron Ages cheek-pieces, making extensive use of ethnographic material and discusses the views of those scholars who have linked the appearance of cheek-pieces to aesthetic requirements and magical attributes. Looking at other parts of the harness (girth, breastplate), V. believes that in ancient Eastern Europe many parts of the fittings were made from wood and therefore have not survived. He also provides a brief glossary of some important terms related to horse harnesses.

Populonia dalle ricerche dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza": nuove acquisizioni e problemi?. In *Tra centro e periferia. Nuovi dati sul bucchero nell'Italia centrale tirrenica* (Rome 2010), 9–96.

⁴ V. Acconcia, *Paesaggi etruschi in terra di Siena. L'agro tra Volterra e Chiusi dall'età del Ferro all'età romana* (Oxford 2012).

⁵ S. Campana, *Carta archeologica della provincia di Siena 5. Murlo* (Siena 2001), 275–97; F. Cenni, *Carta archeologica della provincia di Siena 8. Buonconvento* (Siena 2007), 317–30.

Chapter 2 presents a study of the characteristics of bridle kits, considered as formed of multiple components but having a single function. V. points out that for purposes of classification, attention must be paid to how the bits and cheek-pieces are connected, regardless of the shape of the constituent parts. By this means he distinguishes five types of bridle kit. Turning to the bit, V. identifies three types of links (rod-shaped, ringed, combined), three subtypes (single movement, dual, tripartite), and further divides them according to the design and configuration of their external terminals, refined by further subdivision into variants based on the details of the form/appearance of these terminals.

On the basis of the abovementioned principles of classification, V. provides a detailed description of pre-Scythian bit-forms and their specific find-spots in south-eastern Europe. Further, V. examines the shape of bit connections, identifying 11 types and drawing valid conclusions about the spread of certain types of connector and corresponding types of bit that are very important for the chronology of the bridle kits. The final sections of Chapter 2 consider additional bit linkages, divided by V. into three groups, leading on to his observations about the size of bit. He has devised a method for determining the basic metric characteristics of pre-Scythian bits and measuring real finds. V. reaches the correct conclusion that the production of long bits was due to the appearance of a new breed of horse in Eastern Europe, possibly larger and characterised by a wider jaw. But he does not know that E. Krupnov had already come to a similar conclusion in 1960.

Chapter 3 examines cheek-pieces and their component structural elements. Items are divided by the overall configuration of the body (symmetrical or asymmetrical front), then by the ratio of the size of the central and outer connectors. Each subdivision is further split into five groups by the general form of the fastening elements, then the groups are split into two subgroups based on the relative position of the fastening elements. Types of cheek-piece of a particular group or subgroup are defined by V. through the form of the ends and other elements. The types may have further optional variants.

In Chapters 4 and 5, V. identifies three sets of bridle groups and determines their chronology: 1. Complexes and bridle kits with three-looped cheek-pieces (types Fars 25, Fars 2-35 and a version of Rostov-Echivash 4); 2. Complexes with three-looped cheek-pieces of types Fars 14, Baksan-Filippovskaya, Berezovskii 26, and Upper Koban-Konstantinovka 375 and the pre-classic (first) version of Novochoerkassk type (Kochipe 5 – Zandak 38); 3. Bridle kits with cheek-pieces of the second (classic) version of Novochoerkassk type, which are known with a double-ring bit. These groups can be identified as pre-Novocherkassk (1: end of the 9th–middle of the 8th century BC), pre-classic Novochoerkassk (2: middle–second half of the 8th century BC) and classic Novochoerkassk (3: end of the 8th–first half of the 7th century BC). This terminology, as well as the chronology of the three groups as a whole, is acceptable, although the dating of the first group may need to be extended to begin in the middle, or even the first half, of the 9th century BC. It is difficult to agree with V.'s use of the term 'material culture of the classic type of Novochoerkassk'. In my opinion, it was not really a material culture as we understand it, but rather a military subculture covering diverse ethnic groups. Nor can I agree with V. that not all carriers of Novochoerkassk and early Scythian complexes in Eastern Europe were nomads. In general, I consider the study and interpretation of material presented here by V. to be skilfully executed and convincing. Nevertheless, it must be noted that he ignores or pays insufficient attention to the views of his predecessors and does not always take account of

some important discoveries. The main achievement of the book is that it provides a substantial and successful examination of the material and problems within its purview. This should guarantee it a long life.

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G. Weber (ed.), *Alexandria und das ptolemäische Ägypten: Kulturbegegnungen in hellenistischer Zeit*, Verlag Antike, Berlin 2010, 220 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-938032-37-4

The eight lucidly written papers in this volume were delivered at a conference entitled 'Kulturbegegnungen im ptolemäische Ägypte. Geschichte – Probleme – Perspektiven', held at the University of Augsburg in the winter term of 2007/08. The nature of the relationship between Greek and Egyptian culture is one of the central issues in the history of Ptolemaic Egypt. The purpose of the conference was to explore that relationship using the concept of *Kulturbegegnungen*, 'Cultural Encounters'.

In the first paper, Gregor Weber defines the concept of *Kulturbegegnungen*. Unlike previous approaches such as Hellenisation, which treated Greek culture as the dominant culture in Hellenistic Egypt, or its alternative proposed by Claire Préaux which assumed that Greek and Egyptian cultures co-existed but in isolation, *Kulturbegegnungen* privileges neither culture and focuses instead on the interactions between them. Weber identifies five areas of cultural encounter examined in the papers in the volume: the monarchy, the elite, religion, the countryside and resistance.

Sitta von Reden considers in the second paper the extent and nature of the transformation of the Egyptian economy during the reigns of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. The author identifies two extremes in previous scholarship: either the Egyptian economy was modernised through the introduction of coinage or it remained essentially a 'primitive' subsistence based economy. Her analysis reveals instead that the Ptolemies were pragmatic, gradually introducing coinage based transactions into some areas of the economy such as the temples and the monopolies while permitting the continued use of grain as currency in the rural economy while exploiting their control of the minting and design of coins to focus attention on the monarchy and the new capital of Alexandria.

The focus shifts to religion in the next four articles. Gregor Weber's paper discusses the exiguous evidence for the dynastic cult during the reigns of the first four Ptolemies. Despite the limited evidence – virtually nothing is known about the actual forms of worship – he argues that the initiative for the cult was royal and that its development was marked by flexibility. As its primary focus was the Greek and Macedonian population, particularly of Alexandria and the other Greek cities, its main function was to serve as a vehicle for reinforcing loyalty to the dynasty. Egyptian involvement by contrast was limited and centred primarily on the female members of the dynasty, particularly Arsinoe II and Berenike II. In the second paper of this group, Steffan Pfeiffer examines the Rosetta Decree and the evidence it provides for the relationship between Egyptian priests and the cult of the king. Based on a detailed comparison of the cult of Ptolemy V as described in the Rosetta Stone and Pharaonic royal cult, the author argues that the establishment of the cult of the living kings in Egyptian temples represented an innovation in Egyptian religious history. Although

modelled on the Greek dynastic cult, the Egyptian cult of the living king was expressed in traditional Egyptian religious forms and was created by the priests, who, along with the Greek army and the administration, formed the three principal pillars of support for the regime. Marianne Bergmann reviews in the third paper the role of the first four Ptolemies in promoting the cult of Sarapis. Dismissing the idea that Sarapis was intended to unite Greeks and Egyptians, she argues that the creation of Sarapis is best understood in political terms as an attempt by the Ptolemies to gain the support of the hereditary priests of Ptah, the most powerful priestly family of Memphis, and through them of the Egyptian priesthood in general, by prominently establishing at Alexandria the cult of a deity closely related to Osorapis, the Osirid form of the Apis bull. In the final article in this group, Stefan Schmidt analyses the grave design of the Alexandrian necropolises, emphasising not their iconography but their architecture, which he maintains was designed to facilitate ceremonial reunions of familial or other groups, thereby reinforcing social solidarity among the Greek population of the multi-ethnic society of Alexandria.

The focus then shifts to literature and the emphasis from cultural encounter to cultural resistance in the final two papers in the volume. So, Irmgard Männlein-Robert argues that in the *Aitia* Kallimachos sought to use poetry to create a sense of Greek identity for the immigrant Greek elite of Alexandria by establishing connections between their present life in a new land and the mythical Greek past, a programme that also supported the Ptolemies' goal of making Alexandria the cultural centre of the Greek world by establishing institutions such as the Museum and the Library. Similarly, Karl-Heinz Stanzel analyses in the closing paper of the volume how Kallimachos, Herodas and Theokritos reanimated with new content the old literary forms of the iamb and the mime.

This is a useful and well-written collection of papers. The concept of 'Cultural Encounter' is used effectively, particularly to illuminate the parallel development of the Greek and Egyptian dynastic cults. Yet, one cannot help noticing the limited presence of the Egyptians. Examining the growing body of demotic literature from this perspective would be interesting and would counter the sense that in Ptolemaic Egypt it was in the end only Greek culture that counted.

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