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PEETERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial
James HARGRAVE VII

ARTICLES

Julian DEGEN, Argead Macedonia in the Western Borderland of the Achaemenid Empire 1
Roberto DAN, The Hişet Fortress in (V)ostan/Gevaş: An Urartian, Orontid, Arsacid and Mediaeval Site on the Southern Shore of Lake Van. 23
Arvin MAGHSOUDLOU, A Palace Built into a Mountain: Exploring the Modes of Audience Interaction and Reception at the Great Ayvan of Taq-e Bustan in Late Antiquity. 43
Mario BAGHOS, Elder and New Romes: Constantinople and its Predecessor in Late Antique Historiography. 69

THE LIFE AND WORK
OF GOCHA TSETSKHLADZE:
II

Oksana RUCHYNSKA and Sergiy POSOKHOV, Gocha R. Tsetskhladze and Kharkiv University 103
James HARGRAVE and Michael KOLESNIKOV, A Bibliography of Gocha Tsetskhladze's Writings, 1986–2025 117
Gocha R. TSETSKHLADZE (†), The Archaeology of Colchis: New Thoughts on Some Old Problems [*ca.* 1997]. 139
Gocha R. TSETSKHLADZE (†), Archaeology of the Cimmerian Bosporus: Past, Present, Future [2000] 151
Gocha R. TSETSKHLADZE (†), Anatolia and the Caucasus [2001] 159
Gocha R. TSETSKHLADZE (†), Foreword [to the proposed *Society and Economy of Colchis (6th–1st Centuries BC)*] [*ca.* 1995]. 167

SIR JOHN BOARDMAN

Dimitris PLANTZOS, 'Unprovable; Improbable'. John Boardman and the Making of a Classical Archaeology of Greece for the 20th Century 175
John BOARDMAN (†), Art and Myth in the Colonial World [1997] 189
John BOARDMAN (†), Pontic Art [1997] 207

BOGDAN FILOV

James HARGRAVE, A Background Note to the Public Life of Prof. Bogdan Filov . . . 229

Tsvete Lazova, Prof. Bogdan Filov: Culture-Historical Archaeology for Bulgarian Nationhood 237
Evgeni I. Paunov, Prof. Dr Bogdan Filov (1883–1945): A Concise Biography 257
Evgeni I. Paunov, Full Bibliography of Prof. Bogdan Filov's Writings 277

ANNE KEENLEYSIDE

Anne Keenleyside (†), The Contributions of Physical Anthropology to the Study of Greek Colonial Populations [*ca.* 2000] 293

NOTES

Edward Herring, Some Thoughts on Paestum 6193: The Sagon Plate 319
Stefan Bojowald, Einige Worte zur Biene als Verkünderin froher Zeiten im Griechischen und Ägyptischen 329

A CLASSIC REVISITED

Alexander Skinner, *The World of Late Antiquity* by Peter Brown and the Need for a New Sociology of Empire 337

REVIEWS

H. Andres, *Bruderzwist: Strukturen und Methoden der Diplomatie zwischen Rom und Iran* (E.W. Sauer) 377
S. Bartsch, *Plato Goes to China: The Greek Classics and Chinese Nationalism* (Zilong Guo) 379
S. Bernard *et al.* (eds.), *Making the Middle Republic* (N. Donoghue) 381
J.M. Burdajewicz, *Late Antique Wall Paintings from Porphyreon* (U. Scharrer) 384
R. Chowaniec and F. Marta (eds.), *The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Akrai/Acrae* (M. Jonasch) 387
T. Daryaee and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Iran and its Histories* (M.N. Weiskopf) 389
J. Degen, *Alexander III. zwischen Ost und West* (M.I. Vasilev) 391
C. Deglau *et al.*, *Volker Losemann, Antike und Nationalsozialismus* (M.N. Weiskopf) 393
D. Demetriou, *Phoenicians among Others* (S.A. McDaniel) 395
J. Fraser *et al.*, *Luxury and Power: Persia to Greece* (M.R. Thatcher) 397
S. Greaves and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Rome and the Colonial City* (J. Sewell) . . . 399
M. Hoo, *Eurasian Localisms* (M.N. Weiskopf) 402
S. Huber and W. Van Andringa (eds.), *Côtoyer les Dieux* (R.A. Tomlinson) 405
E.E. Intagliata and P. Everill (eds.), *On the Shoulders of Prometheus* (I. Demetradze-Renz) 407
V.S. Jigoulov, *The Phoenicians* (A.J. Domínguez) 410
R. Jung and E. Kardamaki (eds.), *Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces* (S.C. Murray) 412
L. Kealhofer *et al.*, *Ancient Gordion* (L.E. Roller) 414
A. Kellner, *Die griechische Archaik* (U. Walter) 417

A. Klingenberg, *Die ›Iranische Diaspora‹ in Kleinasien* (M.N. Weiskopf) 420
R.P. Krämer, *Etruskische Heiligtümer des 8.–5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (A. Piccioni) 421
A.-L. Krüger, *Hieronische Architektur auf Sizilien* (R.A. Tomlinson) 423
A.D. Lee, *Warfare in the Roman World* (E.L. Wheeler) 425
M. Leese, *Making Money in Ancient Athens* (S.A. Kovalenko) 428
A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Architectural Elements, Wall Paintings, and Mosaics: Jerash* (R.A. Tomlinson) 430
L. Llewellyn-Jones and A. McAuley, *Sister-Queens in the High Hellenistic Period* (A. Kendall) 432
U. Mania (ed.), *Hafen, Stadt, Mikroregion* (C. Ulf) 434
M. Mazis, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, Vol. 7: The Metals* (M.Y. Treister) 436
M. Mineo *et al.* (eds.), *The Submerged Site of La Marmotta (*R.D. Whitehouse) . . . 439
H. Mouritsen, *The Roman Elite and the End of the Republic* (C.J. Smith) 442
J. Muñoz Sogas, *Thirsty Seafarers at Temple B of Kommos* (C. Aamodt) 444
B. Obrador-Cursach and I.-X. Adiego (eds.), *Phrygian Linguistics and Epigraphy* (F. Réveilhac) 446
E.I. Paunov, *From Koine to Romanitas* (S.A. Kovalenko) 447
G. Polizzi *et al.* (eds.), *From Hydrology to Hydroarchaeology in the Ancient Mediterranean* (A. Glennie) 450
S.E. Psoma, *Corcyra: A City at the Edge of Two Greek Worlds* (R.A. Tomlinson) . . . 452
D.W. Roller, *A Guide to the Geography of Pliny the Elder* (J. Engels) 454
R. Rollinger and J. Degen (eds.), *The World of Alexander in Perspective* (M.N. Weiskopf) 458
G. Styhler-Aydın, *Der Zuschauerraum des Theaters von Ephesos* (R.A. Tomlinson) . . 460
Shanshan Wen, *Communal Dining in the Roman West* (A.-I. Pázsint) 462
E. Zampieri, *Politics in the Monuments of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar* (F. Santangelo) 463

Books Received 467

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REVIEWS

H. Andres, *Bruderzwist: Strukturen und Methoden der Diplomatie zwischen Rom und Iran von der Teilung Armeniens bis zum Fünfzigjährigen Frieden*, Oriens et Occidens 40, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2022, 559 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-13363-0

Just as with NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the era of the Cold War, the Eastern Roman empire and Persia in Late Antiquity were arguably powers of equal status. Hansjoachim Andres explores the diplomatic relations between these great powers from the partition of Armenia in AD 387 to the 50-year peace treaty of AD 561/2. He astutely observes that it was in this era that the concept of diplomacy between equal superpowers was born (p. 77) and explores the diplomatic strategies employed over the long period under examination.

Topics examined centre on the balance of power between the two empires, and A. is able to show that Roman emperors and Persian kings considered themselves to be equals who addressed each other as brothers. Religion at a time when the two empires championed mutually exclusive faiths with a claim to absolute truth posed challenges to brotherly relations, and A. explores how they found a *modus vivendi* by often adopting a neutral position on religious matters. Diplomatic exchanges tended to avoid explicit statements and criticism concerning the religious beliefs of the other, remarkable at a time when there was little tolerance for religious nonconformity within the Roman state. Strong evidence for equal power ideology is provided by Arcadius approaching Yazdgerd I to act as the guardian and protector for his son and chosen successor Theodosius II – and later by Kavad I seeking adoption of his son Khusro I by Justin I. There would have been little point in seeking protection from a much weaker state without the power to intervene decisively. A. perceptively explores the potential benefits and pitfalls involved in such arrangements: any would-be assassin of the chosen successor had to fear retribution by an imperial force with a convenient excuse for plundering their assets and seeking to depose them. On the other hand, formal adoption would have involved the risk that Khusro might have attempted to claim the Roman empire as his inheritance.

A chapter on intelligence gathering compiles important testimonies on the phenomenon. Ambassadors were normally under constant guard to prevent them from spying on military and economic assets, whilst they could also be shown strong defences and military units for the purpose of deterrence (pp. 269–92). In this context, it would have been worth discussing the Roman ambassadors Constantinus and Eusebius who travelled as far as the Gorgan Plain in north-eastern Iran to meet the Persian king Peroz I. The king received Constantinus at Gorga, the place where the Persians were reportedly encamped at the time. This must be ancient Gorgan where archaeology has revealed a major cluster of large fortresses immediately south of the Gorgan Wall, the Late Antique world's longest fort-lined linear barrier which was under construction or already completed at the time of the ambassadorial visit in *ca.* AD 464/5. Peroz had delayed the embassy by a long time, then made the ambassador travel from Edessa to beyond the Caspian Sea, hosted him for a few days only to dismiss him without serious negotiations or answers. Showcasing massive investment in border security to keep northern enemies at bay would have strengthened the case

for Roman financial contributions to Persian efforts to guard the Caucasus passes. Eusebius joined Peroz on campaign and ventured even further east about a decade later. That he witnessed an unforeseen military setback will have been unwelcome.[1] Otherwise, these visits would have provided ample opportunity – similar to the advice provided in the *Peri Strategias* (43), cited by A. (pp. 271–72), on information management in the case of embassies to Roman territory – to demonstrate Persian military might to the ambassadors. Doing so would have been safe, as intelligence on military assets so far from Roman lands would have been of little practical use in case of a future war.

Other topics explored include the use of third parties (such as bishops) as ambassadors. Allegiances with principalities in the buffer zone between the empires and their zones of influence, from the northern steppes and strategically pivotal Transcaucasia to Arabia, Axum and the Indian Ocean, played a crucial role in proxy wars and the military and mercantile competition between the two power blocs.

A list of attested diplomatic missions, their dates and geographic range, supported by maps, would have been useful. A. adopts, however, a very traditional text-centred historical approach, and no map and, apart from the cover, no image features in the work. Whilst recent broader studies by archaeologists are occasionally cited, there is no attempt to explore what material evidence may contribute to the questions under examination. Archaeology does not normally, of course, shed light on diplomacy *per se*, but there are many passages where an arguably more nuanced assessment could have been presented if all evidence at our disposal had been considered. This applies, for example, to the hypothesis that wars between Rome and Persia were ultimately unwinnable and that neither empire would have been able to inflict a total defeat on the other (for example, pp. 73, 80, 210). There is no question that A. is right that any attempt to do so would have been extremely costly and destructive and that this was recognised at the time. But how can the military capabilities of empires be gauged solely by the written sources, especially as the vast majority reflect a western perspective? The evidence for military equipment and massive Persian military investment in the period under investigation, as well as for Persian and Roman fortress cities in the border zone, surely is relevant here. The latter are mentioned frequently (for example, pp. 152–53, 168, 217–26, 297, 302–04), but without any discussion of their physical dimensions.[2] A. is aware of some of the evidence for Sasanian defensive infrastructure (for example, pp. 52–53, 88), but does not examine the architecture and distribution of relevant fortifications. The occupation density and size of Persian fortresses would also have helped him to evaluate the potential size of armies at the time, discussed elsewhere (for example, pp. 229–33). The argument that neither great power was capable of inflicting a total defeat on the other, or even that this was believed to be the case at the time, seems speculative and not entirely persuasive. Looking at evidence beyond the period at the heart of the study would also have contributed to a more nuanced discussion. In the early 7th

[1] Priscus *Excerpta de legationibus* 11–12 (in R.C. Blockley [ed. and trans.], *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, II [Liverpool 1983], 346–49); Procopius *Bella* 1. 3. 8–13; J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, IIA (Cambridge 1980), 317–18; E.W. Sauer *et al.*, *Persia's Imperial Power* (Oxford 2013), 596–97. Eusebius is discussed by A. elsewhere (pp. 199, 300–01, 453).

[2] E. Rizos (ed.), *New Cities in Late Antiquity* (Turnhout 2017).

century, of course, the Sasanian and Roman empires fought to near mutual destruction. One wonders if the Arab conquest soon after would otherwise have succeeded in annihilating the Sasanian empire, probably not because it was weaker than the Roman empire (p. 53) – which also suffered major territorial losses – but because its core was closer to the epicentre of Islamic expansion. How can we be sure that any Sasanian onslaught on Roman territory in the 5th or 6th century was doomed to failure, if wars in the 7th century succeeded or nearly succeeded in inflicting total defeat on major imperial powers? That wars between the great powers in the period under examination indeed often had the aim of strengthening the aggressor's negotiating position rather than at making territorial gains does not necessarily prove that a major war was unwinnable, only that decision-makers preferred not to take the risk or to pay the heavy price.

A. argues persuasively (p. 485) that the greater focus on previously less important theatres of war in the 6th century is related to the difficulties involved in breaking through strong defences in traditionally fought-over land. A thorough examination of the fortification belt both empires had built up over centuries in Upper Mesopotamia would have strengthened the argument. More emphasis on material evidence would also have allowed A. to present a more nuanced assessment of the treatment of religious minorities. Was it really essentially the same in both empires (pp. 131–32) and, if so, how do we explain that church construction boomed in Sasanian-controlled parts of Transcaucasia, whilst there is much evidence for the destruction of non-Christian monuments and places of worship and little evidence for their erection in the late Roman state?

A. has thoroughly examined a wealth of written sources on the diplomatic relations between Rome and Persia over almost two centuries. He provides important new insights on how the two great powers used diplomacy to pursue their interests. Overreliance on textual evidence means that the brotherly strife between Roman emperors and Persian kings is seen largely through the lens of Roman writers, with little attention to the copious material vestiges that shine a light on the phenomenon from a different angle.

University of Edinburgh Eberhard W. Sauer

S. Bartsch, *Plato Goes to China: The Greek Classics and Chinese Nationalism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2023, xv+279 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-22959-1

This book offers a variety of insights into Classical reception in modern China and is fascinating on three fronts: a leading Latinist's study of the Greek Classics, a British-American observer's view of a rising China, and a female scholar's reflections on a patriarchal (if not misogynistic) academic circle. It should be read by anyone interested in the reception of any 'classical' texts, Western or Eastern, ancient or modern.

The Greek Classics are important for Europeans and Americans as significant formative elements in their past. Is there an interconnection between 'Classical' antiquity and 'Western' modernity, or what might be called cultural determinism, whether it be good (the Renaissance and the Enlightenment) or not (Platonic *sophronisterion* and the Holocaust)? Shadi Bartsch, likewise, is concerned with the Athenocentric notion that developments in democracy and science in the industrial society can be traced back to 'causes as old as the

culture of Classical Athens' (p. 11), but she focuses her efforts on a new question: how did the (ab)uses of the Classics in political discourse influence China as a modern nation-state? By addressing these general issues in the Introduction, B. embarks on an odyssey from the late Ming period to contemporary China, a process scholars refer to as China's globalisation and modernisation. Aiming for a broad coverage of Classical reception in modern China, Chapter 1 begins with the Jesuit mission in the mid-16th century and finishes with the 1989 incident at Tiananmen Square. Although contacts between China and the Mediterranean world began as early as the reign of Mithridates II through diplomats and middlemen across the trade networks, the arrival of the Jesuits marks China's encounter with the Classics. According to B., while Matteo Ricci and the other missionaries appropriated Aristotelian and Stoic philosophies to serve Christian purposes, the first wave of China's reception of the Classics resulted from a series of military defeats from the mid-1800s, when political elites and gentry scholars started to abandon the old worldviews in their efforts for an old empire's regeneration. In particular, Aristotle's *Politics* was used as a source in the robust attempts to transform the Chinese people from 'subjects of the emperor' to 'citizens of a nation'. This philhellenist interpretation experienced its peak development in the pro-democratic movement in 1980s that advocated total 'Westernisation' of the nation. The clear chronological framework provides a useful guide for the neophyte. Chapters 2–7 examine the second, rather mishellenist wave in the post-Mao era, with special focus on the darker faces of Plato and Aristotle. Prevalent among nationalist thinkers is the analogy between Athens and the United States, and anti-Athenocentrism is actually opposition to the current American-led world order. Chapter 2 discusses Aristotle's justification of slavery (the pre-1865 South) and exclusionism (American imperialism), with forays into the reception of Thucydides and Plato's anti-democratic attitudes and the malicious rejection of Graeco-Roman antiquity as mere Renaissance fabrication. Chapter 3 explores Plato's 'Noble Lie', which encourages deception among fellow citizens and a hierarchical society. To the nationalist thinkers, it simultaneously suggests a 'bad' Plato who is the original sin of Western civilisations and a 'good' one who may serve the ideology of Communist China. Chapters 4–5 are Weberian and Straussian interludes oscillating between mishellenism and philhellenism. Max Weber's critique of 'instrumental rationality' is utilised to allude to a 'bad' Plato as the source of all the evils of capitalism and modernity. At the same time, the case of the Protestant ethic, along with Leo Strauss's esoteric reading of the Greek Classics, suggests a 'good' Plato whose cultural determinism may assist the elite party rulers in coercing the masses. Thus a new conservatism emerged, believing that the human rights of some people could be sacrificed for the rejuvenation of the entire nation. In Chapter 6, we see how these interpretative models are deployed to crystallise a modern counterpart of the Platonic Kallipolis; that is, an authoritarian Confucian state. B.'s command of both Indo-European and Chinese languages is impressive, but one is more tempted to compare *homonoia* (rather than *harmonia*) to Confucian 'political harmony'. Chapter 7 discusses Classical repercussions such as the 'Thucydides Trap' in Sino-American relations and concludes that many interpretations, nationalist or not, are essentially oversimplification and reductionism.

On the positive side, the book fills gaps in scholarship and opens up perspectives. But I have reservations regarding the chronology and methodology. Although we see the rise of mishellenism in the post-Tiananmen era, it lurked in Mao's 1941 party purge when he

expressed concern about the intellectual tendency to 'Hellenise' China. I also find it odd that there are very few places where Classicists and historians in universities are dealt with. B. apologises to them and acknowledges 'conflict in Chinese academic circles', but in the case studies she is obsessed with bit-part bloggers, pro-government influencers and even venture capitalists. Aside from these grandstanding wordsmiths who used sophistry and whataboutism in the guise of academic discussion, we should pay due attention to the dynamics of the intelligentsia at large. It is important to note that many Chinese journals are ideologically driven, so that high citation scores unnecessarily indicate serious debates (*cf.* 'ritualistic citation' in D. Jew *et al.* [eds.], *M.I. Finley: An Ancient Historian and His Impact* [Cambridge 2016], 290), and there is no strong evidence that nationalist thinkers, apart from the notable 'princelings' such as Pan Yue and Chen Haosu, have any influence on the party rulers, since we rarely find Greek Classics in President Xi's reading list. On the other hand, B. neglects the contributions of underground historians and thinkers, including Lin Zhao, who wrote a lengthy ode to Prometheus shortly before the Cultural Revolution (*cf.* I. Johnson, *Sparks: China's Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future* [2023]). Many of the scholars that B. describes as 'apolitical' are competent researchers trying to put things right, and they are 'depolitical' due to the crude propaganda and ideological manipulation! Without addressing these figures, it is impossible to write an intellectual history knowing both regression and progress. B. also overlooks the institutional factors leading up to distortion and misinterpretation, especially how ideology shapes the Chinese reading of the Classics. For example, the National Office for Philosophy and Social Sciences plays a significant role in the promotion of early-career researchers. It is overseen by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party, which some might call a counterpart of Orwell's Ministry of Truth, and which publishes annually (until 2023 at least) ideologically-based guidelines that funding applicants must follow, making it the primary vehicle through which the Party influences academics. The book's analytical path, combined with a bulk of exclamatory sentences, seems to match what critics would call the style of sensational news reports.

B. is not Icarus – the fear that haunts her in the Preface (pp. xi–xii). Given the methodological problems, however, the book reads more like Cassandra's prophecy, warning us of the Trojan Horse but possibly not fully to be trusted due to the unusual manner of presentation. The book tells only half the story and fails to answer the question, 'What *is* the Chinese reading of Classical antiquity?' This in itself is an oversimplification and reduction of China's intelligentsia. An in-depth study of 'Hellenomania' in China remains a desideratum.

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S. Bernard, L.M. Mignone and D. Padilla Perallta (eds.), *Making the Middle Republic: New Approaches to Rome and Italy, c.400–200 BCE*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York 2023, 348 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-009-32798-5

This volume, stemming from a 2019 Princeton conference, presents twelve essays that examine the Middle Republican period through an interdisciplinary lens, emphasising

transformative processes across the Italian Peninsula.[1] Building on an article that views the Middle Republic as a period of numerous temporal, geographical, methodological and historical interconnectedness, the editors in this article emphasise the Middle Republic's active engagement within broader Mediterranean and Eurasian historical contexts.[2] This view is expanded in this volume, with the Middle Republic defined as a chronological period spanning the 4th to 3rd centuries BC, but with intentionally flexible boundaries to facilitate interdisciplinary approaches to studying the 'collusion of multiple developmental processes in Italy, not all of them necessarily or strictly connected at first, produced new and enduring social forms' (p. 15). The scope of this volume is ambitious, as it attempts to bring an interdisciplinary lens to a period by using approaches developed in distinct disciplines of Classics. Following the introduction where the editors outline their framework for the 'Middle Republic', this volume is structured in three parts around bodies of evidence, including historical sources, material sources, and architecture and art.

Part I, 'Historical Sources', contains four chapters that approach historical sources differently. Wright and Terrenato, in 'Middle Republican Roman Magistrates', utilise the *Fasti Consulares* to demonstrate that Italian elites composed a significant portion of the Roman *nobilitas* throughout the Republican period. These individuals acted as political representatives for their local communities and as leaders of the plebian cause in land distribution and *nexum* issues. This recasts the traditional understanding of the Struggle of the Orders as one influenced by the conflict between the old and newly settled elite families. While it is impossible to identify the background of each name listed in the *Fasti*, this work builds on the past research of the authors in Archaic Italy. It is inviting to think that the phenomenon continued through the Middle Republican period. In the following chapter, 'Long Shadow of *Tributum* in the Long Fourth Century', Tan argues that traditional sources like Livy reflected a later financial system and distorted our understanding of Early Republican fiscal structures. He highlights the importance of the *Tribuni aerarii*, a large body of magistrates that included many plebeians, responsible for managing Roman finances. Tan asserts that while '*tribuni plebs* were the face of plebeian politics in the city; the *tribuni aerarii* were the strong arm in the countryside' (p. 39). These officials were active members of civic life and '*Tributum–stipendium* thus helped to create the functions and duties that located all citizens within a more institutionalized civic hierarchy' (p. 63). In 'Paying for Conquest in the Early Middle Republic', Rosenstein examines the development of logistical support for the manipular system and emphasises raising taxes from conquered populations as a primary source of funding for the army, rather than relying solely on citizen manpower. He argues that citizenship with voting rights was primarily granted as a means of securing this economic support. Finally, Scheidel's 'Building up Slaveries in Ancient Italy and the Central Sudan' challenges traditional understandings of Roman slavery by employing a comparative approach with nineteenth-century sub-Saharan Africa. While acknowledging the limitations of comparative approaches, Scheidel demonstrates that widespread slavery could emerge without relying on intensified production or a developed export market for slave-made goods. His comparative approach offers much 'food for

[1] 'The Roman Republic in the Long Fourth Century', Princeton University, 16 May 2019.

[2] S. Bernard and Dan-el Padilla Paranta, 'Middle Republican Connectivities'. *JRS* 112 (2022), 1–37.

thought' and is particularly useful in that it highlights issues with comparative perspectives to colonial-origin slavery in New World scholarship. This section demonstrates a variety of innovative approaches to the interpretation of historical sources, though these approaches sometimes lead to contrasting interpretations.

Part II, 'Material Sources', explores the economic and environmental transformations of the Middle Republic. In 'The Strangeness of Rome's Early Heavy Bronze Coinage', Yarrow reconsiders traditional understandings of early Roman coinage, arguing that the focus on precise weight was less crucial than maintaining a consistent diameter, suggesting that it was a form of fiat money. The innovative use of scholarship about coinage no longer available for study and statistical analysis is commendable in this chapter and the conclusions call the relative dating of the coins into question. De Haas, in 'Rural Transformations in Middle Republican Central Italy: An Archaeological Perspective', demonstrates that the 4th and 3rd centuries BC were a period of significant rural transformation in Central Italy facilitated by newfound sociopolitical stability, and characterised by expanding land use, specialised production, and increased investment in infrastructure, such as land drainage. Trentacoste and Lodwick, in 'Towards an Agroecology of the Roman Expansion: Republican Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in Context', use bioarchaeological evidence to investigate agricultural and animal husbandry practices. While Roman expansion did not fundamentally alter agricultural production patterns, it appears to have accelerated changes in animal husbandry, with evidence suggesting increased mobility of pastured animals and shifts in animal sizes, such as larger cows but smaller pigs, potentially due to domestication. The essays in this section make use of large-scale archaeological data to shed new light on transformative processes across the Italian landscape during the Middle Republic.

Part III, 'Architecture and Art', explores the diverse ways in which the Italian landscape was shaped and understood in the Middle Republic. Palombi emphasises that terraces served as crucial elements, monumentalising key urban functions within specific topographical contexts. In 'No Longer Archaic, Not Yet Hellenistic: Urbanism in Transition', Palombi challenges the notion of Romanisation, arguing instead for a process of 'Latinization' where urban planning drew upon local Latin traditions rather than a standardised Roman model. Davies, in 'On Architecture's Agency in Fourth-Century Rome', shifts the focus from passive recipients of architectural change to active agents. By examining how monumental architecture created an 'object-scape', Davies argues that these built forms not only reflected but also influenced access to power and contributed to the stabilisation of social and political change, to an extent that Romans may have been able to perceive a 'new era dawning' for Rome. Finally, Bernard, in 'Becoming Historical in Oscan Campania', demonstrates the development of 'becoming historical' outside of Rome. These visual narratives, reflecting elite self-representation in line with Wright and Terrenato's observations, offer insights into Oscan commemorative practices and their role in shaping local historical consciousness.

The concluding chapter, 'Becoming Political: Middle Republican Quandaries', by Smith, explores the processes by which citizenship, community and the *res publica* gained definition in the Middle Republic, through the evidence of the Twelve Tables, Latin rights and land ownership. The conclusion focuses on the authors' confidence in identifying the direction the Romans took after the victory over Veii. While the exercise in 'reading forward and backward' is an interesting one, and it would be difficult to neatly tie up

a volume with such a variety of approaches and about a period with such tricky evidence, the conclusion at times glosses over the multiple approaches in the volume, such as the varying degrees to which the authors trust the literary sources or view the transformative processes during this period.

This volume reflects current scholarly trends and is sure to stimulate further debate. While admirably embracing multiple approaches, the volume necessarily presents contrasting perspectives on key issues. For example, as the introduction notes, Tan and Rosenstein cite taxation as a primary driver of transformation, while Scheidel argues that taxation rates were relatively low. These discrepancies, which make it such a valuable contribution to the field, could be more explicitly acknowledged and discussed for the reader. Nevertheless, this volume includes contributions from some of the most prominent scholars in Republican history and is a valuable resource for specialists. It significantly advances our understanding of this period, demonstrating its transformative impact on not only Rome but the entire Italian Peninsula.

Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA Nora Donoghue

J.M. Burdajewicz, *Late Antique Wall Paintings from Porphyreon in the Sidon Hinterland*, Polish Publications in Mediterranean Archaeology 7, Peeters Publishers, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2022, xlii+541 pp., illustrations (chiefly in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-5056-6

Compared with the extensive research especially on Roman, Byzantine and Mediaeval wall painting as well as Islamic decorative art, the wall paintings of the 'period in between', Late Antiquity, apparently tend to be rather neglected. This applies to Mediterranean as well as to Sassanid or, for example, early Sogdian, specimens. The prime reason for the rather eclectic research status – in comparison to other media such as mosaic or sculptural artworks – is the scarcity and poor state of the evidence, which makes ample research a challenging undertaking.

Hence, Julia Burdajewicz's book under review here is to be welcomed, since apparently this is the first comprehensive study of findings from one site, originally the author's Warsaw doctoral thesis on *Late Antique Wall Paintings from Jiyeh (Porphyreon) in Lebanon. Iconographic Study, Technique of Execution, Conservation Issues* from 2019. The coastal town of Porphyreon, modern Jiyeh (or Jieh), is located on the Lebanese coast between Beirut and Sidon; in 2024, in response to the Israeli attacks, the site, alongside 33 other cultural places in the Lebanon, received 'enhanced protection' by UNESCO. Ancient Porphyeon has a somewhat complicated history of archaeological research (see *AWE* 18 [2019], p. 515). Currently, the site has been excavated and studied by the Polish-Lebanese Mission to Chhîm and Jiyeh, which revealed a long history from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Islamic period. In the context of the mission, B. conducted her own work in the years 2014–2019. Her research – and especially her book – profits from her qualification as both conservator and archaeologist, as well as from her studies on other Near Eastern sites.

Essentially, the volume consists of two parts, the text itself and a catalogue, being reasonably arranged by the motifs of the nearly 300 fragments of Porphyrean Late Antique wall painting, which are crosses, geometric motifs, human figures, animals, vegetal motifs,

inhabited scrolls, so-called genre scenes, inscriptions and illegible fragments. Each catalogue entry provides a picture as well as – among others – concise information about the actual provenance, on the stone, the mortar/plaster, the paint layer, and its conservation treatment by B. herself. Already the catalogue invites to browse the various themes and subjects depicted at Porphyreon.

After a brief Introduction, the volume starts with a succint outline of 'material and written evidence' on 'Late Antique wall paintings from the Levant', covering archaeological and textual sources. Mostly, textual and archaeological evidence attests to wall paintings in churches, rather less in secular spaces; in addition, there are some Late Antique archaeological examples from sepulchral contexts. B. recapitulates, that 'wall paintings were much more common in both sacred and secular Late Antique buildings than hitherto assumed' (p. 17), and stresses the significance of the Porphyrean findings in terms of the great variety of motifs assembled at one place. In addition, she challenges the *opinio communis* that ancients primarily perceived the floor mosaics (p. 5).

In Chapter 2, B. turns to 'The site and the discovery of the wall paintings'. After having provided a general characterisation of Porphyreon and its ancient economic, social and political settings, in more detail she traces the entangled history of the site's discovery and exploration since the mid-19th century, naturally leading into a discussion of the wall paintings: unfortunately, only five fragments have passed down *in situ*, three of them from the residential district (Complex 8), two from the basilica. The bulk of the other fragments, found by earlier missions, but only randomly documented, does not have a proper record of provenance, though at least the paintings can be attributed to either the basilica or the residential district. Consequently, B. provides a dense description of both locations. The 'Basilica Q', by a mosaic inscription, dates to AD 477, though B. cites a suggestion for an earlier construction. A problem outlined is the attribution of the mosaics to the church, since there have been alternative suggestions – not discussed here.

In this chapter, B. also stresses the poor condition of the wall painting fragments, when she began her work. They are housed in the nearby Beiteddine Palace – itself a fine example of late 18th/early 19th century Lebanese architecture. In Chapter 4 the author provides an instructive report on the conservation work she conducted herself in order to preserve the fragments.

Before that, however, in Chapter 3, B. offers a detailed 'archaeometric study' of selected wall painting samples, analysing mortar and plaster composition as well as binders and, most importantly, paint layers and pigments. Here, she can distinguish between different painting techniques, a topic so far rather unexplored with respect to Late Antiquity. The widely divergent technology and quality of the paintings thus indicate different painting teams working. Especially revealing are B.'s studies of the pigments. Thus, the painters throughout used pigments which were rather inexpensive. Only occasionally was the expensive 'Egyptian Blue' employed. Against the background of the different provenance of the pigments – green, for example, from Cyprus – B. suggests further research on colour trade patterns (p. 99). Eventually, she notes that there are no particular technical differences between the paintings in the basilica and the residential district.

The longest chapter (5) scrutinises the iconography, according the arrangement of the catalogue, including the painted inscriptions (together with the great epigraphist A. Łajtar), some of which have been published previously (see *SEG* 32, 1475–1479), though (reasonably) the

mosaic inscriptions from the basilica (see *SEG* 47, 1963) are omitted here. Throughout, B. provides comparative material, especially from Levantine mosaics and manuscript illuminations. At the end of the chapter, the comparanda are presented in a tabular overview (Table 5-1).

The final chapter (6) sets the motifs and their provenance into context, which is a demanding task against the background of the poor documentation mentioned above (see p. 235). Here, I can only highlight some aspects. First of all, B. observes that in the basilica monochrome genre scenes are not attested – unlike the residential district (p. 243). Generally, she suggests reasonably, that the paintings in the basilica stem from the upper parts, whereas the decorations of the lower parts are not clear (pp. 260–62). However, here painted scrolls seem to emphasise architectonical divisions (p. 256), also in the lower parts of the building. With regard to the inscriptions in the basilica, the author follows the notion, that these were not subordinate, but ornamental features in their own right, as such being perceivable also to illiterate persons (pp. 275–77) – an observation, we can actually make in representative buildings of all kinds throughout the ages. With regard to the residential district, B. suggests that most of paintings should be placed in the upper floors, since, here, people would receive guests (pp. 263, 267–68). Although there we find so-called genre scenes and depictions of humans, B. postulates, that the iconographic programs in domestic contexts were generally similar to that in the basilica, noting the overall presence of religious motifs. Finally, B. alludes to the style, which is two-dimensional with hardly any illusion of space. In this context, the author proposes that there are stronger iconographic relations to illuminated manuscripts than to mosaics. It is assumable, as B. explains, that the artists used model books. Finally, B. discusses the problems of dating the paintings, which allow only for rough placing into the 6th century.

In her ‘Concluding remarks’, B. points to a wide range of open questions concerning style, techniques and the motivic correspondence of different artistic means such as painting, mosaic and manuscript illumination. We may add that there could be some further research on the wanderings of painters, since the wide ranging mobility of artisans of different professions is well attested for Classical Antiquity.[1] Maybe, in the future, it might be possible to reconstruct Late Antique artistic networks. Furthermore, at the beginning of her monograph, B. expounds, that with the extant fragments from Porphyreon we have partial matches to literary accounts, hitherto unattested (p. 5). Since she did not pursue this point, there is room for further research, which I cannot offer here. Eventually, there are still open questions of dispersion and transmission of motifs and techniques, both geographically and chronologically. Certainly, B.’s meticulous study is a major advance in this direction. The volume, throughout, is well illustrated. Meanwhile, being also available in open access,[2] up to now, B.’s book seemingly has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. It is really time for that to change.

Saarbrücken, Germany Ulf Scharrer

[1] See, for example, K. Ruffing, ‘Die regionale Mobilität von Händlern und Handwerkern nach den griechischen Inschriften’. In E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *„Troianer sind wir gewesen“ – Migrationen in der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart 2006), 133–49; and K. Hornig, ‘Wandernde Künstler und ihre Rolle in Migrationsprozessen’. In Olshausen and Sonnabend (2006), 200–10.

[2] *https://www.peeters-leuven.be/pdf/9789042950573.pdf* (retrieved on 05.03.2025).

R. Chowaniec and F. Marta (eds.), *The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Akrai/Acrae, Sicily*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, vi+318 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11862-0

This is the third multi-authored volume in a series dedicated to the work of the Italian-Polish Archaeological Mission in the ancient city of Acrae in south-eastern Sicily. It comprises nine chapters on different groups of material from the Roman to the Byzantine periods excavated in the residential area between 2009 and 2020. Three further chapters deal with less recent finds from various periods and three chapters broaden the spectrum to include the surrounding landscape and examples of applied natural science. The arrangement of the chapters in the book does not follow the logic applied here.

After a foreword by the editors with a brief presentation of the archaeological context, Cristina Soraci (pp. 9–19) provides the historical background by discussing the survival of smaller settlements such as Acrae in south-eastern Sicily during the Roman imperial period.

The first chapter on material culture is by Roksana Chowaniec (pp. 21–60) and deals with an assemblage of lead-seals from the residential area of Acrae. In addition to presenting this interesting material in a concise catalogue, the author also offers a welcome introduction to the practice of sealing in antiquity, the history of research on lead seals in Sicily and the technique of making lead seals. She also highlights the potential of this material for the study of trade routes and the processing of commercial goods.

Laurent Chrzanovski (pp. 61–138) discusses oil lamps dating from the Late Republican period to the 3rd century AD. Of particular interest is the significant percentage of lamps manufactured in Tunisia and Tripolitania. The text is accompanied by an index of 75 lamp types recorded at Acrae, an iconographic index of 53 decorative schemes, an epigraphic index of four different manufacturers' marks, and a catalogue of 125 lamps found in Acrae.

Krzysztof Domżalski (pp. 139–47) deals with the change in use and supply patterns of fine potters between the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods, indicated by the displacement of locally produced black gloss and colour-coated pottery and the spread of Terra Sigillata vessels. The author argues that the import of Eastern Sigillata from the Levant in the 1st century BC triggered the development of a local production of red slip pottery in south-eastern Sicily (Orange Terra Sigillata) and led to the gradual abandonment of the production of local black gloss vessels (Campana C). The author thus introduces a new hypothesis into the discussion on the origin of the Orange Terra Sigillata vessels, which deserves further (archaeometric) investigation.

Marcin Matera (pp. 149–68) gives an overview of the transport amphorae found at Acrae. The author briefly describes the Hellenistic and Late Republican specimens. A majority of 75% of all amphorae were, however, produced between the 1st and 7th centuries AD. They attest to a wide range of production sites, among which North Africa, Spain and Sicily seem to predominate.

The next chapter by Jerzy Oleksiak (pp. 169–76) deals with kitchen and cooking wares found between 2017 and 2019. The typological, technological and chronological classification of a statistically significant number of 2218 diagnostic sherds allows the author to trace patterns of use and changes in import strategies between the 1st century BC and the Byzantine period. Interestingly, a relevant local production can only be identified from the 6th century AD onwards.

Jolanta Młynarczyk (pp. 177–99) gives an overview of the different shapes, fabrics and functions of large containers used for food preparation. Intriguing are her efforts to speculate on the use of the various vessels in the processing of ingredients for dishes known from Latin and Greek written sources.

The study of roof tiles has become increasingly important in recent archaeological research. The most popular are those that bear stamps, as they allow us to discuss production processes and economic aspects beyond pure technical matters. Weronika Stanik's contribution (pp. 201–12) focuses on 14 fragments of tiles with such stamps found at Acrae. They include combinations of letters, symbols and graffiti. Unfortunately, the discussion remains superficial while lacking backup from recent publications of similar material.

Marta Fituła and Aleksandra Konrad (pp. 213–36) present 22 selected fragments of terracotta figurines from the domestic area of Acrae. The selection includes, in particular, representations of popular goddesses and female figurines of the Tanagra type. The authors offer a solid iconographic classification of the individual fragments and sound comparisons with similar material from other sites in Sicily and beyond.

The last chapter on material excavated from the residential area is by Ireneusz Jacubzyk (pp. 255–73) and deals with a series of 42 bronze fibulae most of which date to a narrow period between the first half of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD. In addition to a typological classification, the author suggests a plausible connection of the fibulae with the movement of the Roman army in the 1st century BC and the settlement of veterans after the civil war.

Two contributions by Angela Maria Manenti and Ermelinda Storaci present particular bronze finds (pp. 275–81) and a pair of pinakes (pp. 283–87) from older excavations in the urban area of Acrae, dating from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A third chapter by Agostina Musumeci (pp. 247–54) recalls the discovery of an Attic red-figured pelike from the 5th century BC in the countryside of modern Palazzolo Acreide.

Matilde Stella and Girolamo Fiorentino (pp. 297–312) aim to reconstruct the landscape of ancient Akrai/Acrae through archaeobotanical analysis. The identification of plant remains from well-dated strata over a period of 1000 years (3rd century BC to 7th century AD) allows them to detect changes in the natural vegetation and in cultivation strategies. While the strong presence of the 'Mediterranean triad' of olives, vines and cereals confirms their economic importance over the centuries, a wide range of other taxa testifies to the diversity of species in the urban area.

An interesting approach to ceramic provenance studies is furthermore presented by several authors from the universities of Catania and Messina (pp. 237–46). An artificial neural network (ANN) was trained to identify the provenance of 118 fine pottery samples by comparing their chemical properties with a database of 65 sedimentary deposits in south-eastern Sicily. The clear advantage over conventional statistical methods lies in the complexity of the information that the ANN can process and weight. As fascinating as this tool is, it requires proper training and the availability of a representative database.

Finally, the chapter by Paolo Daniele Scirpo (pp. 289–96) presents two caves carved into the rocky terrain that forms the plateau for the urban area of Acrae. First investigations suggest a continuous usage from prehistoric to modern times.

On the whole, one has to pay the Italian-Polish Archaeological Mission at Acrae a compliment for its consistency in publishing preliminary results of its work at such frequent

intervals. It is also to be commended for its interdisciplinary collaboration and for highlighting groups of material that are often neglected elsewhere. Probably due to the preliminary nature of the studies, however, the archaeological context remains largely excluded. There is clearly much potential here for further analysis. The book is, therefore, an excellent preview of a comprehensive presentation of the work carried out by the Italian-Polish cooperation. Future publications should undergo more thorough linguistic revision and editing.

German Archaeological Institute, Rome Melanie Jonasch

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

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

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

Iranian prehistory to early state formation consists of three studies. Georg Neumann (pp. 65–97) discusses the Iranian plateau from the Palaeolithic to Bronze Age beginnings. Here is a detailed account of excavations with a well-documented bibliography (pp. 88–97). Hunter and forager camps gave way to longer-term habitations, pottery enabling storage, thus settlement outside mountain valleys. Technological advancements led to more complex and specialised settlements. In the second half of the end of the 4th millennium the growth of metal working and larger trading networks existed until an ecological disaster, in the 3rd millennium, caused settlement abandonment. Hans Neumann (pp. 97–110) discusses

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

western Iranian relations with Mesopotamia in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium based on cuneiform sources which outline 'the complexity of political-diplomatic and economic-commercial relations', often involving the exchange of Mesopotamian agricultural and textile products for Iranian precious stones and metals. Elizabeth Carter outlines with care how Anshan developed from an ally of the Ur III state to the outpost of Elamite kings (pp. 111–29). Weakening Mesopotamian dynasties led to a highland power holding Susa. Anshan's growth (p. 126) can be attributed to the Ur III decline.

Focus now turns to the Assyrians through the Achaemenids. Giovanni Lanfranci (pp. 133–48), in a discussion of 'training for empire', describes how the western Iranians participated to reduce resources available to Urartu, although some decided to support both Assyria and Urartu. Those supporting Assyria became partners in the imperial army and were involved in dynastic politics. Members of this Assyrian ruling class joined with the Babylonian king to topple Assyria proper. Thus Cyaxares (in Assyrian service) and the Babylonian Nabolassarus (p. 145) plotted together, making Polybius 30. 10 applicable, the *translatio imperii*. Matt Warters (pp. 149–61) highlights the Achaemenid debt to Assyrian imperial thought (epithets, images, palace reliefs). The Parsagadae reliefs are reflective of direct borrowing from Assyria. That state placed a distant second to Cyrus' achievements, but remained a solid foundation for such. Hilmar Klinkott (pp. 163–88) offers a long discourse on the Achaemenid 'world system' and how to approach it, focusing on source problems and their level of flexibility, offering a summary of his approach on pp. 176–79. Although the empire was not known for 'cultural imperialism binding the ruled together' (p. 177), a successful Weltreich is not devoid of such. Ask the British.[2] Margaret Cool Root (pp. 189–237) presents a learned discussion of Queen Irtashduna and her seal (PFS 38), examining visual evidence and texts, thus highlighting the 'integrated special economies' in the empire. The seal 'recalls' Neo-Assyrians glyptic traditions, especially in its main designs, but the presence of the infant Horus in a papyrus thicket and hints at a silphium image evoke Egypt. The hero in the seal's 'lush symbolic landscape' (pp. 226–27) plus echoes of dynastic fertility points to Darius' extension and stabilisation of Achaemenid Egypt. Julian Degen (pp. 239–87) presents a thoughtful examination of Alexander's use of the figure of Dionysius in claiming a Macedonian world empire, i.e. transforming the Achaemenid perception of empire to Graeco-Macedonian myth. Dionysius' deeds provided a model for Alexander's own expansionist aims (given the 'absence' of an Achaemenid India), including crossing the Syr Darya, visiting Nysa (with its Dionysiac echoes) and his acceptance as legitimate ruler of both Macedonians and Asians.

The final section discusses the empire and its borderlands. Henry Colburn (pp. 291–36) treats the African periphery, making use of Wallerstein's 'world-systems analysis' and its application to the Roman empire by Woolf (especially pp. 292–94), a 'useful framework'. Herodotus does not consider questions from a core-periphery stance.[3] Susa, Ecbatana and Babylon all possess feature of a core. Core and periphery connected by roads and sailing routes. Military domination was an Achaemenid feature with a number of garrisons. Political domination was exercised with the Great King as pharaoh, supported by the local

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

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

Battiad dynasty in Cyrene, while the Kushite rulers worked through the satrap of Egypt as a means of maintaining autonomy. The Achaemenids encompassed all earlier types of kingship and ideology (pp. 316–21). Kush was valued for its 'exoticness', there was nothing to rule beyond. Conquest of this periphery was expensive, administering it certainly less so. Potts (pp. 337–48) discusses the Indian holdings of the empire. No explicit foreign policy goals are presented in the Persepolis tablets for Inida. The empire was (pp. 339–40) an 'unintentional facilitator of the transmission of mathematical, astronomical and astrological knowledge'.[4] It was reasonable for Indians to seek technical data from Babylonian realms; most journeys done by land. Pott argues for the 'presence of few, if any, institutions of Achaemenid governance in the region' (p. 348). However, the purpose of a Weltreich is to make available a world of physical and intellectual treasure to those competent enough to achieve it. Kai Ruffing (pp. 349–67) discusses the Achaemenids and the Mediterranean. It was Achaemenid control which exercised influence on how the Greeks later perceived Athenians activities in the years after the major battles with Persia. Ruffing offers a comparison between the Herodotean account and the Athenian activities in the Aegean during the Pentecontaetia (especially pp. 355, 357). The motif which prompted Greeks to withstand Persia were the same inspiring resistance to a Hellenic enemy. Cara al sol, an Achaemenid admiral could press on westward, but 'bye-bye empire, empire bye-bye; shallow water, channel, and tide …'.[5] Stanley Burstein (pp. 369–78) discusses the Black Sea as an Achaemenid frontier, focusing on I Sinope 1 (published in 2004), a treaty of alliance between Sinope and the ruling family of Heraclea in the 350s–340s. Here the Great King acts as ultimate arbiter lest cities here go to war and damage the empire (especially pp. 373–76).

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

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J. Degen, *Alexander III. zwischen Ost und West: Indigene Traditionen und Herrschaftsinszenierung im makedonischen Weltimperium*, Oriens et Occidens 39, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2022, 489 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-13283-1

The book represents a revised version of Julian Degen's doctoral thesis submitted in 2020. It consists of an introduction, three main chapters, a conclusion, an extensive bibliography (pp. 419–76) and an index. The voluminous Introduction (pp. 11–51) lays the foundations of the study. It is divided into six parts, which clarify and justify important aspects of the work: methodology, approaches, terminology, aims, geographical scope, etc. Here D. notes some methodological weaknesses of most modern works – such as following uncritically ancient narratives, relying mostly on Graeco-Roman sources, etc. – and presents ancient and modern views on Alexander's empire. He also explains why he prefers the

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

[5] T. Dolby, 'One of our Submarines' (1981).

term Macedonian world empire for Alexander's system of rule: despite its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character, the Macedonian element was influential in the conception of elite culture; the term Macedonian empire is not appropriate in the case of Alexander's, as his rule was much more extensive and complex than his father's. The aim of the study, as formulated by D., is to discuss the power structures of the Macedonian world empire by comparing Alexander historiography with local sources, as the central questions are how did Alexander position himself in relation to the different cultural contexts of his empire and what influences did they have on his understanding of power? There are also preliminary notes about the basic analytical categories D. uses: concept of power (*Herrschaftsverständnis*), symbolic actions (*Symbolhandlungen*), role expectations (*Rollenverständnis*), strategic hierarchy (*Positionierungsstrategie*) and external representation (*Außendarstellung*), royal language (*Herrschersprache*), official language (*offizielle Sprache*) and 'Propaganda'. The geographical scope of the discussion does not cover the whole of the Macedonian world empire, but it is limited to Greece, western Asia Minor, Babylonia and Iran.

Next are the three main chapters. They are divided into numerous thematic subchapters (most of which are subdivided into sections) and contain brief and not-so-brief interim and final summaries and conclusions. The first – 'Alexander als Hegemon des Korinthischen Bundes' (pp. 52–249) – deals with Alexander's role as a hegemon of the Corinthian League. D. thinks that Alexander's understanding of rulership changed a little between 336 and 324 BC and that he did not cease to consider himself a hegemon after 330 BC, but simply played several roles intended for different audiences in his empire. To illustrate this point, D. advances two arguments: Alexander was aware of the decisions of the συνέδριον regarding the punishment of Agis' allies; he continued to emerge as a hegemon through consecrations in Greek shrines. The lack of evidence of political measures taken by Alexander as a hegemon after 330 BC is explained by the changed political situation (with the collapse of the Achaemenid empire the Corinthian League was no longer important as an offensive instrument for a further war of conquest) and by the view that ancient sources concentrated on Alexander as an individual who operated in the eastern Asia only and who significantly ignored events in the western part of the empire where, for the Greek world, Antipater embodied the Macedonian hegemony.

The second – 'Alexander und das babylonische Königtum' (pp. 250–301) – focuses on Alexander's efforts to position himself in the Babylonian cultural context. D. first traces in local sources the ideal image of the Babylonian ruler in the Neo-Asyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Teispid-Achaemenid periods. He finds three important points that were decisive for the presentation and acceptance of a ruler in Babylon at that time: expansion and care of city shrines; affirmation of the *kidinnūtu* privileges of the citizens; expansion of Babylon's infrastructure, which reinforced the idea that it was an imperial city. Next he finds parallels with Alexander's policy during his two stays in Babylon: his choice of Babylon as a stately residence and his presenting it as the centre of the world; his care for the Babylonian canals; the shape of Hephaestion's funeral pyre, etc. This leads him to the conclusion that the Macedonian conqueror did not change his understanding of rule, but he rather consciously followed role models which had positive connotations in the local context and that he demonstrated a profound understanding of imperial traditions and Babylonian ideas about legitimate rule.

The third – 'Alexander und das achaimenidische Imperium' (pp. 302–408) – examines Alexander's relationship to the Achaemenid legacy and the adaptation of his royal persona. D. believes that the positioning strategies of the Macedonian king were not limited to the adoption of Persian elements in the court ceremonies and the wearing of Macedonian-Persian dress during audiences. By comparison of Graeco-Roman with Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian sources, he finds more such examples: for example, geographical fictions narrative of Alexander's official language, and his symbolic actions, etc. Thus, Alexander presented himself as superior to the Achaemenids before his Asian subjects who, since they were familiar with the Achaemenid conception of legitimate rule, were able to accept him as their legitimate new ruler.

The strong point of the book is the use of local (Assyro-Babylonian and Persian) sources and their juxtaposition with Graeco-Roman ones. It is well worth reading, and makes a useful contribution to the topics it discusses.

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C. Deglau, K. Droß-Krüpe, P. Reinhard and K. Ruffing, *Volker Losemann, Antike und Nationalsozialismus: Gesammelte Schriften zur Wissenschafts- und Rezeptionsgeschichte II*, Philippika 160, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, ix+452 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-11839-2/ISSN 1613-5628

This volume is a complement to the earlier collection of Losemann's works and offers a reprint of his important initial study (1977) of National Socialism's perception of antiquity (here pp. 1–226; few copies of the original are extant).[1] The editors' introduction (pp. ix–xvi) explains the historiography of Losemann's contributions, building upon and continuing the work of Karl Christ of Marburg. Although facing a stiff *Gegenwind*, his dissertation became the standard study and an impetus for scholars to continue along his path (p. xii). But as Losemann himself later warns us (pp. 366–67), *Stultitia* never sleeps.[2] Losemann's work has carried on.[3]

Following the printed 1977 piece are two papers on the continuities between Hitler's and National Socialist thought (pp. 231–87). The first, on worldview and administrative practice (pp. 231–64), demonstrates that the February 1920 25-point programme represented

[1] See M.W. Weiskopf. 'Archaeology and Ancient History during the *Kaiserreich* and Its Successors'. *AWE* 19 (2020), 315–41.

[2] K. John-Stucke and D. Siepe (eds.), *Mythos Welwelsburg. Fakten und Legenden* (Schriftenreihe des Kreismuseums Welwelsburg 10) (Leiden 2021). Vol. 12 in the same series is the English translation (2022). G. Wiechman, *Von der Deutschen Flugscheibe zum Nazi-Ufo. Metamorphosen eines Medialien Phantom, 1950–2020* (Leiden 2022). Also the seemly forgotten but well documented study by J. Altairac, 'Un mythe technologique: la légende de V7'. *Scientifictions. La Revue de l'Imaginaire Scientifique* 2.1 (1997), 29–134.

[3] While pp. ix–xxii cite references to the most recent work, please add M. Eickhoff *et al.* (eds.), *National-Socialist Archaeology in Europe and its Legacies* (Cham, CH). Note that pp. 11–12 in that volume given references to proceedings of recent congresses leading to its construction.

the desire to undo the Weimar state. Antisemitism and Anti-Marxism become a bonded pair, the world (p. 240) divided into *Kulturgründer* (Aryans), *Kulturträger* (Japan) and *Kulturzerstörer* (Jews). Ancient Sparta was to be the model. The second, focusing on the ideology about race, traces Anti-Semitic publicity in Germany, 'grounded' on imaginings without scientific basis and readily grasped by Hitler (especially p. 276).[4]

Six studies (pp. 289–384), although their contents overlap, offer a comprehensive picture of the use and reception of Arminius as a personification of National Socialist desires. The first (pp. 291–315) outlines National Socialist Germanic ideology, a result of the reception of Tacitus' *Germania*. H.S. Chamberlain, admired by the later Alfred Rosenberg, prepared the National Socialist-foundation, an early response to which was written by Cardinal von Faulhaber, disputant with Johann von Leers (1934).[5] Von Leers was of the same mind as Hitler on racial purity, and the antithesis Roman-German grew in popularity (for example, pp. 308–09). For Himmler this became a *großgermanische Reichsidee* (p. 312), now continuing to exist, so Losemann, just under the surface (p. 315). The next (pp. 318–43) traces the German perception of the 'tension' between Arminius and Augustus. After the French loss in 1870/1 the *Hermanndenkmal* illuminated and was illuminated by the figure of Wilhelm I, reaching a nuclear level in 1909, nineteen centuries after Teutoburg. Chamberlain's writing soon bore fruit under National Socialism until the Cherusker underwent a denazification, represented by D. Timpe (1970, *cf.* pp. 340–43). The reception of Arminius (pp. 345–62) indicates by 2009 he had lost his status as *Freiheitsheld*, in spite of previous perceptions as the embodiment of resistance. Then two short pieces from a student-inspired project at Marburg University library (pp. 363–67), its 'high' point Claus Peymann's version of the Kleist *Hermannsschlacht* accompanied by tee-shirts reading 'CHErusker'. The next (pp. 369–84) offer a recap of *Die 'Kulturhöhe' der Germanen* plus a useful bibliography (up to 2009). Although Himmler aimed for a protective *Blutswall* in his February 1942 speech, the National Socialists instead have become the unwilling executors of ahistorical narratives, written and now broadcast on *Netflix*.

It is difficult to imagine Sparta (pp. 385–433) as a *Vorbild*, particularly after the Achaemenid era when the city cemented its status as a failed state, but the National Socialists, drawing upon earlier, sometimes erroneous, traditions were not dismayed. Losemann's article in *Der Neue Pauly* (pp. 387–402) summarises the reception of Sparta. It was Günther in the 1920s who, emphasising the increasingly popular *Rassentheorien*, provided the impetus for Darré's musings. Hitler's rise lead to the increased use of Sparta as a model for National Socialist reality. Only after 1945 was criticism of totalitarian structures popular,

[4] In 2005, Cambridge University Press published an uchronian work by G.D. Rosenfeld, *The World Hitler Never Made. Alternate History and the Memory of Nazism.* Absent is any reference to the work written by consultant and computer specialist Prof. D.N. Chorafas under the pen-name 'Sissini': *Samuel Hitler* (Darmstadt 1973). In it a Jewish Hitler, inspired by nationalist feelings, undoes Versailles, while Germany achieves atomic power and develops computer technology. I found only one reference to the work on the internet: *https://www.zeit.de/1973/48/wenn-hitler-jude-gewesen-waere*. Sites detailing Chorafas's writing are silent. I discovered the work because of my penchant for dystopian literature. On a more learned level I suggest those interested in artificial intelligence might consult pp. xx–xxi, 296–327 for Chorafas's predictions on the subject in the novel.

[5] M. Finkenberger, *Johann von Leers (1902–1965)* (Göttingen 2023).

save that Ernle Bradford amazingly assigned to Leonidas and the Thermopylae Spartans credit for the survival of individual freedom (p. 401). In a publication from 2013 (pp. 407–28) Losemann discusses the literary reception of Sparta during the Third Reich, placing emphasis on the decided – but cautious – criticism of the regime in the writing of Stefan Andres (especially pp. 411–25), whose life reflected *innere Emigration*. Fortunately, his 1939 work, *Der Mann von Astori*, remains extant, and the volume's editors are to be thanked for adding this study. Prussia's reception of Sparta (pp. 429–33) is the last presentation. The still anonymous slogan *Berlin sey Sparta*, beginning with the war of 1756, finds its clearest expression in the training of cadets to be *Spartanerjünglinge*, a feeling restated in 1987.

Again, I must stress the importance of Losemann's work and my gratitude for the editors' creation of a complementary volume.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

D. Demetriou, *Phoenicians among Others: Why Migrants Mattered in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2023, xxiv+207 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-763485-1

In this book, Denise Demetriou makes highly adept use of relatively scarce and difficult historical evidence, primarily inscriptions, to illuminate the challenges Phoenician immigrants living among other cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world (especially the Greeks) faced, the adaptive strategies they employed, and the ways in which they integrated themselves into and transformed their 'host' communities. The work is well grounded in historical evidence, employs sound historical methods, and includes exhaustive footnotes, but also remains cogently written and accessible to non-specialist readers. D. approaches the topic with a refreshing and innovative perspective, centring upon a group that wider classical scholarship has largely ignored and demonstrating their importance to the communities they inhabited and shaped.

The Introduction (pp. 1–14) begins by discussing probably the most famous Phoenician immigrant in the Greek world, the founder of Stoicism, Zenon of Kition. It then summarises who the Phoenicians were, discusses the history of scholarship on the Phoenicians, and highlights how this monograph improves scholarly understanding of them and their role in shaping the Mediterranean.

Chapter 1 (pp. 15–49) discusses the adaptive strategies individual Phoenician immigrants employed in Athens, Demetrias and Rhodes from the 4th to 2nd centuries BC to fit into their larger communities while still retaining their native culture. These include various strategies related to names (for example, adopting Greek names unconnected to their Phoenician names, adopting Greek names that resembled their Phoenician names, and Hellenising their Phoenician names by adding Greek endings to make them more comprehensible to Greeks while remaining discernibly Phoenician), adapting their customs (for example, adopting the Greek convention of only identifying oneself by a patronymic rather than a longer list of ancestors as was the norm in Phoenician cities, commissioning epitaphs in both Greek and Phoenician or sometimes only in Greek, adopting local styles of tombstones while maintaining language and imagery that held additional meaning for Phoenician viewers, and translating the names of Phoenician deities as their closest Greek equivalents), and,

especially in the later Hellenistic era, participating in Greek civic institutions (for example, by intermarrying with Greeks and participating in the *ephebeia* and athletic competitions).

Chapter 2 (pp. 50–69) discusses a particular group adaptive strategy that Phoenician immigrants in some parts of the Greek world also employed: forming what D. calls 'trade associations'. The earliest evidence for these is an Athenian inscription dated to the 360s BC, but much more extensive evidence for highly organised, named associations (the Tyrian Herakleistai and Berytian Poseidoniastai) comes from 2nd-century BC Delos. These organisations could petition their host states (as a Kitian association did in Athens in 333/2 BC for the right of *enktesis* in order to establish their own sanctuary to Aphrodite/ʿAštārt), help maintain traditions of their home states, and honour their host states to improve the standing of the Phoenician immigrants in their communities.

Chapter 3 (pp. 70–91) discusses how Phoenician home states and their citizens in the Greek world maintained relations. Phoenician home states took diplomatic actions to negotiate privileges for their citizens abroad and enable them to maintain both citizenship in their home state and their native cultural traditions. Meanwhile, Phoenician citizens abroad participated in trade associations and made benefactions through them that improved their home state's reputation with both Greeks and Phoenicians.

Chapter 4 (pp. 92–119) discusses the honours and privileges that Greek *poleis* bestowed on some Phoenicians, which include monetised awards, honorific awards, various kinds of legal awards (which included *isoteleia* or the privilege to pay the same tax as citizens, *ateleia* or exemption from taxes altogether, *proedria* or the privilege of special seating in the theatre at state expense, *asylia* or inviolability of person and property, *aspheleia* or right of security during travel, etc.) and even, in rare cases, citizenship.

Chapter 5 (pp. 120–56) explores how Phoenician immigrants outside the Greek world adapted to and shaped their host cultures. It shows that these immigrants used many of the same adaptive strategies as Phoenician immigrants in the Greek world, but local conditions and administrative policies also shaped their identities and adaptive strategies in different ways. For instance, from the 4th century BC onward, Carthage consolidated its hegemony over other Punic cities of the western Mediterranean and stressed those cities' common origin as Tyrian colonies in its propaganda, which may have led descendants of Tyrian immigrants in Carthage to continue to identify by their prestigious Tyrian ancestry even when they were many generations removed from it (pp. 130–32). Meanwhile, Egyptian administrative policies segregated resident foreigners in cities like Memphis from both the native Egyptian population and each other on the basis of ethnicity, and grouped all 'Phoenicians' together regardless of their city-state of origin, which may have contributed to Phoenician immigrants in Egypt abandoning their traditional identification by their city-states of origin and instead adopting a broader identity as simply 'Phoenicians' (pp. 143–46).

The Conclusion (pp. 157–59) briefly discusses how the processes described in the preceding chapters transformed the Mediterranean by the 1st century BC into a cosmopolitan world in which ethnic distinctions were more fluid and less ideologically important. Finally, it reflects on how the integral role of Phoenician immigrants in shaping Greek society, ideas and institutions 'serves to challenge, or at least complicate, the idealization of ancient Greek culture and the presumed exceptionalism of Western culture' (p. 159).

My only significant criticism of this book is that – apart from her brief acknowledgment at the end of Chapter 5 that, when Greek *poleis* granted honours and privileges to foreigners,

they mostly did so to the richest ones who could afford to lavish their host states with extravagant donations (pp. 118–19) – D. engages in little reflection on how the groups and individuals attested in the epigraphic record may be atypical or unrepresentative of Phoenicians who lived or travelled abroad in general. One must consider that the groups and individuals who were most likely to set up inscriptions themselves or be honoured through inscriptions set up by others (including the state) were those who possessed the most financial resources and social clout. In other words, the individuals and groups who are attested in the surviving records are most likely the ones who were most privileged and whose efforts to fit into their host communities were the most successful. The relative privilege that allowed these people to enter the epigraphic record almost certainly also greatly affected their experiences and adaptive strategies in other ways compared to the less affluent Phoenicians who were never able to enter the epigraphic record.

In light of this, even though D. amply supports her narrative with historical evidence, it is only a part of the picture. For every individual such as, say, Abtanit/Artemidoros (pp. 31–32) who got to set up a fancy tombstone or Herakleides (pp. 92–94) who was honoured with a stele on the Athenian Acropolis there must have others – perhaps *many* others – who knew only squalor or slavery in life, were buried in simple, unmarked graves, and are forever lost to history. When all the evidence that survives is of the 'success stories', it is impossible to say how representative such individuals were of the larger category or how many others there were who did not 'make it'.

In the most striking example of this, D. devotes relatively minimal consideration to Phoenicians who had no choice about living in lands outside Phoenicia: those who, in various ways, ended up as chattel slaves in the Greek world and their descendants. The Greek historian Arrian claims that, when Alexandros sacked Tyre in the summer of 332 BC, he sold some 30,000 Tyrians and resident foreigners into slavery (*Anabasis* 2. 24. 5). Even if these numbers are inflated, the number of those he enslaved must have been in the thousands if not tens of thousands – and the sack of Tyre was certainly not the only event or process that contributed to the presence of enslaved Phoenicians in the Greek world. To some extent, D.'s lesser attention to slaves is understandable, since they are not nearly as well attested in the epigraphic record as the free individuals and groups she focuses on. Nonetheless, slaves almost certainly made up a significant proportion of Phoenicians and persons of Phoenician ancestry who permanently resided in the Greek world and their existence must necessarily complicate any narrative about Phoenician 'immigrants' and their adaptive strategies.

Brandeis University, MA Spencer McDaniel

J. Fraser, with L. Llewellyn-Jones and H.C. Bishop-Wright, *Luxury and Power: Persia to Greece*, The British Museum Press, London 2023, 240 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-1196-4

According to many ancient Greek sources, Greeks and Persians were very different peoples. Persians were subordinate to the Great King and beholden to luxuries that made them soft, valuing wealth above all else. Greeks, especially Athenians, rejected all this, sharing power among equals and living austere lifestyles that promoted virtue. These polar opposite

cultures had little to learn from each other, and they rarely interacted in ways that were not hostile. Few scholars today would accept this picture as historical, but nonetheless it has demonstrated enormous staying power, since it underlies the modern practice of 'Orientalism' and the ongoing relevance of the distinction between East and West. *Luxury and Power* seeks to overturn this standard narrative by bringing together luxury objects and the social and political dynamics of their use across three times and places: Achaemenid Persia, 5th-century Athens, and the Macedonian kingdoms. Although the book was written to accompany a 2023 exhibition under the same title at the British Museum, in no way is it a traditional exhibition catalogue: although it is lavishly illustrated with high-quality photographs (and this is one of the real strengths of the volume), it is rarely clear which objects were actually part of the exhibition. The book is meant to stand alone, and to be accessible to broad audiences.

As the authors lay out in the introduction, the book contrasts Greek attitudes found in written sources with historical realities recovered mainly from visual sources to break down the East-West boundary and demonstrate that these regions were in fact tightly linked. Moreover, they show how, in all three regions, luxury and power were intertwined: luxury goods were not mere frippery but modes of both embodying and responding to imperial power. Not all readers will follow the authors in drawing such a stark distinction between written and visual sources, however, since art, just as much as literature, can be biased and crafted to depict an ideology, not reality. Still, the authors' critique of the standard picture is timely, if not entirely new, and its use of material culture is an important step forward.

The first chapter, on Achaemenid Persia by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, seeks to break through the lens of the Greek sources and analyse Persian concepts of luxury and power from the inside, as Persians would have understood them. This means focusing on art, material culture, and inscriptions, along with testimony from Greeks such as Xenophon, who knew Persia well. These sources enable a strikingly detailed reconstruction of the lifestyles of the rich and famous, demonstrating how customs such as dining and drinking, gift-giving, dress, and personal grooming bound the court and nobility to the king and displayed his power throughout the empire. Emulation of these court practices by elites in the provinces helped tie the empire together. L.-J. thus successfully redefines Persian luxury as a form of soft power. The final section of the chapter hints at the cross-pollination between Greece and Persia that occurred in places such as Cyprus and Anatolia, and thus segues nicely into the Greek material. This is a fascinating chapter, and one that might play well to students eager for non-Greek perspectives.

James Fraser's chapter on 5th-century Athens discusses both the problem of luxury as Athenians saw it and the ways they incorporated it into their imperial culture. As the Athenians gained wealth from their empire, they needed to reconcile their desire to enjoy that wealth with the negative association of luxury with the east. F. shows that the appearance of eastern luxury in Athenian art was far more complex than usually appreciated: easterners were presented not only as soft and cowardly but also as objects of fascination and aspiration. Athenians dealt with the anti-democratic aspect of luxury in their city in part by making it a shared possession of the Athenian people, through public festivals, buildings, and dedication of Persian spoils. Individual Athenians also adopted prestigious elements of Persian culture such as peacocks and parasols to display their wealth and status, but defused the danger by firmly rooting these items within Greek cultural paradigms (for example, by

incorporating peacocks into the worship of Hera and by having women use parasols, not men as in Persia). This chapter covers an enormous amount of material, including some (such as lyric poetry from Ionia and Solon's laws, brought in as background) from outside of 5th-century Athens. This expansive scope makes the argument somewhat diffuse.

The final chapter, on Alexander and the Hellenistic kingdoms by Henry Bishop-Wright, places the Hellenistic world at the intersection of east and west, rejecting the 'spread of Hellenism' model for understanding the culture of this period. Instead, it shows how the region's elites drew on both Greek and Persian antecedents through hybridised styles that appealed to their diverse populations. Sumptuous materials such as aromatics and ivory obtained through long-distance trade helped display the international reach of the major kingdoms, and public festivals enabled them to showcase their wealth and thus maintain their power. At a lower point on the socioeconomic spectrum, cheaper versions of luxury products were available, such as clay bowls made to imitate a specific Persian style normally wrought in silver; by using them, people showed their aspiration to a more luxurious lifestyle. B.-W. successfully traces not only the east-west connections seen in the earlier chapters, but also the diachronic continuities between the Hellenistic and earlier periods. Finally, the book concludes with a brief discussion by F. of the Thracian Panagyurishite Treasure, consisting of nine gold drinking vessels discovered in Bulgaria in 1949, which shows the Balkans as a bridge between East and West in the Hellenistic period.

Luxury and Power does a great service in breaking down misconceptions and painting a new and important picture both of the interconnections between east and west and of the work done by luxury in cementing imperial power. Some readers, however, may feel that the book's view of power is incomplete and surprisingly positive, with no attention to the extractive nature of imperialism and to the sources of wealth that enabled all this luxury. This would be a good avenue for future research that would nuance the conclusions drawn in *Luxury and Power*. In the meantime, the book's re-evaluation of received attitudes constitutes an important step forward, and should inform every reader's understanding of East and West.

Boston College, MA Mark Thatcher

S. Greaves and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Rome and the Colonial City: Rethinking the Grid*, Impact of the Ancient City 3, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2022, xix+411 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78925-780-9

This is the third of three volumes resulting from the 'Impact of the Ancient City' project,[1] focused on reassessing the ancient city and its post-Classical impact, funded by the ERC between 2016 and 2021, with Andrew Wallace-Hadrill as its Principal Investigator. The title is somewhat misleading. While the themes of the book's 19 chapters align with the 'Impact of the Ancient City' project's multiple objectives,[2] not all of them relate to the

[1] The other two volumes are E. Key Fowden *et al.* (eds.), *Cities as Palimpsests? Responses to Antiquity in Eastern Mediterranean Urbanism* (Oxford/Philadelphia 2022); and J. Martínez Jiménez and S. Ottewill-Soulsby (eds.), *Remembering and Forgetting the Ancient City* (Oxford/Philadelphia 2022).

[2] *https://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/the-impact-of-the-ancient-city-1*.

book's title. Roman urbanism is a reference point in the majority of the chapters, but it would be wrong to infer that the title's 'colonial city' is always Roman, and not all the cities discussed are colonial. Moreover, rethinking 'the grid', as in an orthogonal street-system, is not undertaken in all chapters. Chronologically, the concept of the city from the Greek Archaic period to the 20th century is discussed. Geographically, it includes settlements in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

In the introduction, the editors discuss the post-Classical reception of Hippodamus and Vitruvius. They also focus particularly on Francis Haverfield's over-simplified perception of Roman urbanism, his colonialist belief in the grid as an expression of civilised values, and the long-term impact of his ideas. The volume seeks to look beyond Haverfield's vision, and evaluate the variety of meanings and purposes of the grid over time. The ideals of city planners are explored in case studies, as are instances of Roman-period experimentation in urban form and the agency behind it. Also addressed is how post-Roman urbanism has drawn upon and redefined the Roman model. The book is thus divided into three parts: 'City planning and ideals of the city'; 'Roman colonisation and urban experimentation'; and 'The impact of the Roman urban model'.

Part 1's seven chapters are on 'planning and ideals of the city'. Given that such a substantial section of the book is dedicated to the theme of 'ideals', this should have been reflected in the book's title. Although physical evidence for the city is drawn upon, discussions in Part 1 focus more on how ideals in relation to the city are expressed in textual sources. Irad Malkin considers egalitarianism and the foundation of western Greek *poleis* in the Archaic period. He suggests that the grid was employed at the moment of founding to distribute urban/non-urban land near-equally to the first generation of settlers. Changes in property boundaries over subsequent generations, he concludes, reflect an unrestricted diversification in the quantity of individuals' property. Wallace-Hadrill again references Haverfield's desire to link the grid with ideals of civilisation, and reassesses by examining what ideals ancient authors *actually* associated with the grid in their writings. Above all, it is health and environmental concerns that occupy Aristotle and Vitruvius, rather than urban ideals. Wallace-Hadrill also explains how Vitruvius' difficult prose was misunderstood by architects from the 15th to the 17th centuries, leading, ironically, to their design of the radial city rather than the grid city. Keith Lilly expounds how the authority of Edward I of England was exercised spatially in mediaeval England, with Winchelsea as a case study. A symbol of the king's power, the rod, is described in sources as the *virga*, which is also the name both of a unit of measurement and a measuring rod employed in medieval town planning. Thereby, Lilly suggests, the *virga* represented a direct link between royal authority and town planning. Sam Ottewill-Soulsby introduces and partially summarises the gigantic twelfth book of Francesc Eiximenis' *Lo Crestià* written in Catalan in the late 14th century, which contains discussions on the physical city and the reasons for founding cities. The following chapter, also by Ottewill-Soulsby together with Javier Martínez Jiménez, examines how the cities of the New World were perceived and represented in the Latin works of the two humanist scholars, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1457–1526) and Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (*ca.* 1515–1575). The foundation stories of Kufa and Baghdad are explored by Edward Zychowicz-Coghill. Viewed from the context of early Islamic historiography, he discusses how the ideals of the foundation stories' authors are revealed in their writings. In the final chapter of Part 1, Reuben Rose-Redwood undertakes an

excellent analysis of the 'enframings' of modern North American grid cities. He evaluates how the concept and realities of the grid have been discussed in the last hundred years by diverse authors, in relation to democratic, economic and cultural ideals. Rose-Redwood's contribution epitomises the broader conclusion to be drawn from Part 1's chapters, that the ways in which the grid and, more broadly, the concept of the city have been understood over time have been extraordinarily varied.

In the five chapters of Part 2 on Roman urban experimentation and colonisation there is a particular emphasis on how regularised urban layouts changed over time and why. Roman colonial foundations along the *via Aemilia* in northern Italy are examined by Alessia Morigi. These settlements, she argues, functioned (and still do) as a 'maxi-city', an entity comprising multiple interdependent cities linked via the consular road. This interesting idea could have been explored in more depth. Instead, she devotes the bulk of her chapter to the archaeology and partially speculative town planning of Forlimpopoli and Sarsina. Andrew Dufton explores the long-term changes in the urban layouts and architecture of three North African sites, Thamugadi, Cuicul and Madauros, and the agency of the individuals responsible for these changes. Efthymios Rizos takes us on a fascinating chronological journey of colonial towns in the Roman east from Augustus to Justinian, which ends with the end of the grid! The circumstances that prescribed the utility of the grid had disappeared by the 6th century, leading the founding of new fortified settlements without rectilinear street-systems. Martínez Jiménez considers how cultural changes on the Iberian Peninsula from *ca.* 800 BC to AD 1200 manifest themselves in the physical changes seen in urban structures over the long term. In the last chapter of Part 2, Martin Millett exposes how the neatly gridded plans of cities published by archaeologists have sometimes been based on false suppositions. He advocates the application of remote-sensing techniques to enhance our understanding of Roman town planning. Using examples of sites in Britain and Italy he has worked on, he also suggests that our perception of ancient cities would be greatly enhanced if we more often imagine their cityscapes in three dimensions. The main takeaway from Part 2, emphasised by multiple authors, is that town planning is an ongoing process rather than one relevant only to the moment of foundation.

To the title of Part 3, 'The impact of the Roman urban model', could have been added 'or the lack thereof', as several authors labour to find a link between Roman urbanism and the post-Classical cities they discuss. Frank Vermeulen introduces Roman colonisation on the Adriatic coast, with the example of Potentia. He also likens the town planning of two post-Classical settlements in the region, Porto Recanati and Cervia, to that of Roman predecessors, but it is difficult to argue that the similarity is more than coincidence. Wim Boerefijn analyses examples of grids in European towns founded from the 12th to 14th centuries, but struggles to find evidence for a link between Roman and medieval town planning. Sofia Greaves delves into the writings of Ildefonso Cerdà who devised the Eixample, Barcelona's 19th-century gridded expansion. She discovers that although Cerdà engaged with Vitruvian ideas of salubrity in city-planning, he actively distanced himself from what he considered to be Roman values. His attitudes to Rome were based on his own personal interpretations of Greco-Roman textual sources, which were seemingly influenced by contemporary events and circumstances. Said Ennahid explores early 20th-century French colonial policy in Morocco, which included the large-scale excavation of mostly Roman urban archaeological sites. Ennahid also discusses French urban planning policy in Morocco,

which appears to have had virtually no points of contact with the Roman model. Robin Cormack investigates the planning of the British colonial capitals of Khartoum and New Delhi. He is mostly interested in discovering the symbolism of British imperialism in these cities' architecture. But he looks for the influence of ancient Rome too, of which there is little sign at Khartoum, but the chief architect of New Delhi, Edwin Lutyens, directly copied ancient Rome for the Indian capital. There are no problems in finding the impact of Rome in the last chapter by Aristotle Kallis, who examines the uses of *romanità* in Mussolini's new cities in the Pontine Marshes and urban redesigning in east Africa. Kallis describes *romanità* as the 'glue' that provided overall historic meaning for the Fascists' building projects.

For this reviewer, the book's primary problem is the discrepancy between its title and those of its three parts on the one hand, and the themes of the individual chapters on the other. Given the huge scope of the 'Impact of the Ancient City' project's objectives, the themes of its research output are correspondingly diverse. Finding pithy titles and headings for a volume containing papers of such varied subjects appears to have been a challenge. As a result, Part 2 of the book is the most cohesive. The volume is richly illustrated, with 127 figures. Only a few typographical errors were found. The quality of the research reflected in its contributions is mostly high.

Berlin, Germany Jamie Sewell

M. Hoo, *Eurasian Localisms: Towards a Translocal Approach to Hellenism and Inbetweenness in Central Eurasia, Third to First Centuries BCE*, Oriens et Occidens 41, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2022, 338 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-13315-9

'I see you dancing through my 64, 64 eyes on you'
(Talking Eyes [with Stylove], 'Computerized Love',
Global Music, GM0104, 2017)

Milinda Hoo has written an important work, one which I wish had appeared in 1970 when my interest in European empires melded with my study of the Hellenistic period. Her education (pp. 11–12) and the work's bibliography (pp. 275–327) are indicative of her mastery of a variety of materials, the results of her inquiries presented in a clear, concise form.

She presents the contexts of Hellenism (pp. 15–70) in her first section. H. (pp. 17–37) defines her term 'inbetweenness' (p. 19) as a 'neutral denomination for the unclassifiable remainders that fall between perceived opposites'. Or to paraphrase the Showa emperor, persistent attempts to define the undefinable. In Western and Russian narratives Central Asia was glorified as a world centre or a region of marginalisation (p. 24). Central Asia's 'geographical inbetweenness' placed it in a 'temporal inbetweenness' in both Classics and Indology (p. 28). Such is illustrated by the reconstructions of Tarn, Narain and Ghafurov – all of which possess value. Engaging with globalisation theories 'required a radical shift in fundamental structures of thinking about Hellenism and localism' (p. 35).

Debates over Hellenism engulf pp. 38–70. H. begins with Droysen and his British contemporaries (pp. 40–42) who posited the extant British empire as an indirect heir to the

Hellenistic kingdoms. For Tarn, the Hellenistic age was 'an age of world unity under an imperial flag' (p. 44). A less idealistic perception of empire followed the Second World War, with Momigliano (1975) indicating that both confrontation and interaction were quite varied. Briant (pp. 54–56) critiqued Hellenism and argued for local continuities. Thus a variety of interpretations: 'words on paper, written in sand'?[1] Hybridity and hybridisations became the new direction (pp. 56–64), and the 2000s began to emphasise 'cultural mixtures' (pp. 61–62) accompanied by 'networks, globalization, and global perspectives' (pp. 65–70). Strootman (p. 69) believed Hellenism served as a template for a cosmopolitan court culture.

The next large section (pp. 71–201) examines cases of Hellenism – and here her clarity stands out. Aï Khanum (pp. 73–108) was most notable in the mid-2nd century BC, its 'cultural character has been framed and conceptualized in a distinct relation to ethnic Greek identity' (p. 80). However, the site displays a mixture of building styles and innovations all present in the Achaemenid empire, but not frozen in time (*cf.* p. 100).[2] Holt's perception of a bitter, anachronistic, apartheid dystopia should be disposed.[3] The Oxus Temple at Takht-i Sangin (pp. 109–26), in existence in post-Achaemenid through Kushan times, was a hybrid site. It provides early evidence pointing towards the Kushan use of Greek letter forms. The Greek inscription of Atrosakes ('Mr. Fire', p. 119) and Iromois attempt to shape Bactrian language titulature into Greek.[4] As moderns propose, there is the imprint of every empire on the site (pp. 124–26), or, for Litvinskiy, zones of Hellenisation.[5] Old Nisa (pp. 126–54), or the Fortress of Mithridates, provided 'unique insights into the social, cultural, and ideological matters of the early Arsacid kings' (p. 128), while the rhytons found there did not slake the thirst for an accounting of philhellenism (p. 130). Pp. 130–45 provides an excellent report on the site, and I must point to the Red Building's structural similarity to the Heraios-House at Khalchayan.[6] The first mentioned appears to have served as an 'official pavilion' (p. 137, *cf.* pp. 135–37, 144–45). Questions about the political and cultural philhellenism among the Arsacids remain unsettled (p. 147 and n. 85), along with the discussion about continuity with Seleucid practices and the problem of the originality of Arsacid culture (*cf.* pp. 149–54). Seleukeia on the Tigris (pp. 155–75) was the first residential capital of the Seleucids and survived into the 2nd century AD. Its

[1] Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark, 'Telegraph' (VS580, 1983).

[2] Now see P. Bernard. *Opera Selecta*. Vol. 1*: Autour d'Aï Khanoum*; Vol. 2: *La Bactriane et l'Orient hellénisé* (Paris/Leuven 2022).

[3] An important corrective to Holt's view on pp. 105–06: J.A. Alvarez-Pedrosa, 'Los Branquidas en Bactriana. Una diaspora griego en los confines del Imperio aquemenida'. In A. Alvarez-Pedrosa *et al.* (eds.), *Del Indo al Egeo* (Madrid 2017), 63–85 (not cited by Hoo).

[4] On Hoo p. 121, n. 58: here I agree with Ivanchik ('Neue Inschriften aus Tacht-i Sangin und das Problem der Entstehung der baktrischen Schriftlichkeit'. In G. Lindstroem *et al.* (eds.), *Zwischen Ost and West. Neue Forschungen zur antiken Zentralasien* (Darmstadt 2013), 125–42 (in Latin letters *molrpalres*). *Molrogo* as a sealed document on p. 70 in S. Gholami *Select Features of the Bactrian Grammar* (Wiesbaden 2014).

[5] On p. 123, nn. 68 and 69, this should be identified as '1994b' on p. 278 = Bernard vol. 2 (per my n. 2, above), pp. 291–318.

[6] See M. Mode, 'Die Skulpturenfriese von Chalčajan. Neue Rekonstructionssuche zur Kunst der frühren Kuschan in Bactrien'. In Lindström *et al.* 2013 (as n. 4).

agricultural basis was well established, its history showing elements of Greek, Mesopotamian, and Persian influence. As a result, Invernizzi emphasises its Hellenism, but Messina its Babylonian. Attention paid to small finds, relying on the work of Menegazzi and Longin-Harper, has the latter conclude (p. 174) 'that ethnically based categories of "Greek" and "Babylonia" were not exclusionary social divisions'. Hence, cultural hybridity. H. challenges the view that post-Achaemenid Babylon (pp. 176–201) was a city in decline: it possessed a rich agricultural territory, was well-connected to trading routes, and densely populated (*cf.* pp. 185, 195). Although most of the site still remains unexcavated (p. 200), there is no need here for the too-frequent perception of a dystopic apartheid.

Part III (pp. 203–73) is devoted to 'Eurasian Translocalisms', beginning with a discussion of the paradoxes of Hellenism (pp. 205–28), the result of the 'varied intellectual perceptions of Hellenism' (p. 205, *cf.* pp. 209, 211 chart, 228). There remains the problem of 'Greek entities' *vs* 'acting in Greek fashion'. Perceptions, for example at Aï Khanum and Babylon, are 'based on a constructed notion of difference between an in-group and an out-group' (p. 224). Her translocal approach is presented (pp. 229–70), with her laying out the perception that 'translocalism is the promise of globalization' (p. 228). The 'theoretical toolbox of globalization' was important in advancing the study of Hellenisation (p. 231). Globalisation is a 'set of uneven processes', a 'complex connectivity' (p. 233), with flows and ebbs in connections and interactions (p. 237). Translocal views of the sites she discussed earlier are presented. Aï Khanum, in its art and structure, provides evidence on inbetweenness, 'deterritorialized cultural elements' (p. 250). Nisa, foremost a celebration of the Arsacids, possessed an architecture and material culture which addressed the variety of social spheres which composed the Arsacid realm (p. 255). Takht-i Sangin represented 'converging communities' (pp. 259, 261–62). Babylon and Seleukeia are characterised by 'multiple, diverse, and spatially distributed communities' (p. 264). Thus 'cultural features could be socially negotiated and confined in various translocal ways' (p. 270) appealing to the variety of inhabitants then populating Eurasia. She presents her conclusions (pp. 271–73): 'To move beyond the local/non-local conundrum, I proposed to approach apparent Hellenism and localism as both inherently *translocal*' (p. 272).

I have no complaints with her approach and conclusions, but wish to add some observations. Although she cites Paul Veyne (pp. 50–51),[7] she eschews any discussion of Gandharan art (especially p. 35). This I regret, for her intellectual acuity will permit her to build upon her present study.[8] I also point out the work of Lolita Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhara Style*.[9] As she states in her preface (p. xvii, *cf.* pp. 103–06): 'It became clear that although the Gandharan sculptures embraced a range of different stylistic traditions, the sculptures

[7] *Cf.* p. 228 'Hellenism's rendering as philhellenism grants full and active agency to royal oriental local adopting non-local imagery for political and aesthetic yet never for ethnic ones…'

[8] As for myself, I must cite Elvis Costello: 'My mind goes sleepwalking while I'm putting the world to right…', Elvis Costello and the Attractions 'Oliver's Army', 1979. But I can offer some bibliography. P. Stewart, *Gandharan Art and the Classical World. A Short Introduction* (Oxford 2024). All previous volumes in the Gandhara series may be summoned at *www.carc.ox.ac.uk/Gandhara-Connections*. Please note on p. 67 his reference to the forthcoming R. Bracey, J. Cribb and L. Morris (eds.), *The Kushan World* (London). Also note, with bibliography, the review of Stewart by M. van Aerde *BMCR* 2024.10.37.

[9] *Origins of the Gandhara Style. A Study in Contributory Influences* (Delhi 1989). Note F.R. Allchin's praise (pp. xiii–xv).

represented an independent expression which belonged wholly to none of the parent traditions upon which it drew.' Note that the Kushan emperor Kanishka in his Rabatak decree noted the multi-lingual composition of his realm as did the Achaemenid Darius, a composition mirrored in the imagery which appears on Kushan coinage.[10] Perhaps it is time to move away from Hellenism and examine an 'Achaemenid ornamentalism'.[11]

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

S. Huber and W. Van Andringa (eds.), *Côtoyer les Dieux: L'organisation des espaces dans les sanctuaires grecs et romains*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Suppl. 64, Collection de l'École française de Rome 602, École française d'Athènes/École française de Rome, Athens/Rome 2022, 258 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-86958-563-8/ISSN 0304-2456; ISBN 978-2-7283-1570-3/ISSN 0223-5099

Côyoyer les Dieux – Rubbing shoulders with the Gods – was the title given to a conference organised by the École Française d'Athénes in October 2016, a follow up to one organised by the School at Rome in the previous year on the foundation of ancient sanctuaries. It was concerned with the frequenting of Greek and Roman sanctuaries, not only the sacrifices, celebrations and prayers but also about the places and equipment devoted to this, and directed by Sandrine Huber and William Van Andringa.

It begins with an introduction given by Huber concerned with the types of spaces and methods of cosying up to the gods in the Greek and Roman worlds. She starts with an account of sanctuaries in the Greek world, the place of religion in the cities, both public and private. She distinguishes elements which were essential, those which were desirable and finally those which were additional. It involves sacrifices, feasting with the gods, living with the gods in the household, working with the gods in the workplace, banking with the gods – depositing financial reserves in the sanctuaries and dedicating statues or monumental offerings.

Then in the Roman world a recognition of what was sacred, the organisation of space, the recognition of sacred objects, the iconography, so showing respect for the religious spaces and contents (and quoting Cicero on the consequences of Varro's profanation of Ceres at Enna which provoked the anger of the inhabitants).

The first papers are devoted to the space which was frequented by humans in their relationship with the gods. They begin, appropriately, by looking at the two principal religious localities excavated by the French School, Delos and Delphi.

The first paper, by Hélène Brun-Kyriakidis, looks at the development of specific religious sites on Delos. She considers the elements which facilitated the involvement of

[10] N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, 'A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great'. *SilkRAA* 4 (1995/96), 75–142; N. Sims-Williams, 'The Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak. A New Reading'. *BAsiaI* 18 (2004), 53–68.

[11] *Cf.* D. Cannadine *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford 2001). For a different perception: P. Rummel *Ein foederales Imperium? Das britische Empire and das Modell griechischer Kolonisation, 1829–1920. Historische Grundlagen der Moderne* (Baden-Baden 2021); R. King, *The House of the Satrap. The Making of the Ancient Persian Empire* (Oakland 2025).

visiting worshippers in the sanctuaries, such as the theatre-like area of seating within the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods. She aims to formulate an archaeology of such visits.

Next, Huber, Anne Jacquemin and Didier Laroche consider the spatial implications for visiting worshippers at Delphi. Here there is a significant difference compared with Delos, since religious activity here is concerned largely with a single principal religious area, the Sanctuary of Apollo, with the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia distinctly separate and at some distance from the main site. Within the sanctuary of Apollo the area is arranged as a linked sequence of terraces with the actual temple and its adjacent altar placed centrally.

Thirdly, Petros Themelis discusses the Sanctuary of Messana, the titular deity of Messene following its refoundation by the Thebans after the liberation of Messenia from Spartan control, an account based, of course, on Themelis's own excavations. He identifies the Temple and its related structures and monuments within the full City plan, immediately adjacent to the Agora and the distinct sanctuary of Asklepios enclosed within a square colonnaded precinct edged with related cult structures.

The next group of papers forms a sequence entitled 'Espaces en mouvement' where there is evidence for significant change and redevelopment. This begins with a paper by Audrey Bertrand on vitality, decline and abandonment of sanctuaries and concerned with the fate of the sanctuaries of Central/South Italian religious sites following the incorporation of the area into the power and administration of Rome, specifically from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD. She looks at how the original Italian sanctuaries fare after the political rearrangements in the area which result from the integration into the Roman state and particularly the political rearrangement resulting from the development of cities within the area. She suggests that the argument that the pre-Roman religious sanctuaries were virtually abandoned needs further investigation to trace their continuity.

The next paper, by Van Andringa, concerns the integration into the Roman empire of cult sites in Gaul. He shows that there was a deliberate suppression of pre-Roman religious practices and attitudes in the various sites and that they were, as it were, covered or concealed by the creation of sanctuaries following the established Roman type (for which he gives as the established Roman type the sanctuary of the goddess Dia at Rome). He gives examples of the new Roman type in Gaul.

The following section of the book is entitled 'Espaces et Mémoires Gentilices'. The first paper, by Marine Garcia concerns sacred spaces within Greek houses and is especially illustrated by the evidence of Olynthus. She describes the evidence for identifying such religious elements within the plans of the houses using especially the results of Nicholas Cahill's treatise, *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven 2002). She considers whether there was in fact such 'sacred spaces' within the Greek House and that evidence for religious usage does not necessarily mean that there were areas of exclusively religious function within the domestic architecture.

Next in this section comes a paper by Cécile Durvye on Stesileos and Aphrodite – a family and a god in a Hellenistic sanctuary on Delos. Stesileos was a magistrate on Delos who on retirement dedicated a sanctuary to Aphrodite. Stesileos himself played a leading role in the operation of the sanctuary and this was continued by his family after his death. It contained a simple but well-built temple comprising an anteroom with a wide door (rather than a porch) leading to the cella. The paper discusses the documentation which records the full dedication and operation within the sanctuary.

The next paper, by Pascal Neaud, looks at the sanctuary at Sains-du-Nord in Gallia Belgica, with a map indicating its location close to Bavay at the node of the Roman road system in the area. It was uncovered in rescue excavations in 2010 and 2011. It appeared that the sanctuary was developed subsequent to the deposition of burials in the area, dated between 60 and 20 BC. It contained two Romano-Celtic type temples with square centrally placed cellas, with a central court and surrounding rooms or spaces.

The final section of the book is entitled 'Espaces et Images'. The first paper, by Guillaume Biard concerns the votive function of individual representation in Hellenistic sanctuaries. The first example is the statue of Aristonoe in the polygonal temple at Rhamnous which, after the construction of the late 5th-century temple there served as a treasury. It contained a colossal statue of a goddess dedicated at the end of the 4th century BC., dedicated by Megakles son of Megakles to Themis and Nemesis. By this was placed a statue of Aristonoe who served as a priestess of Nemesis in the 3rd century BC, dedicated by her son Hierokles. A second example comprises a statue dedicated in the Artemision at Messene, and a third, the statue of Hegeso installed at the entrance of the sanctuary if Demeter and Kore at Priene. This is followed by a section on commemorative monuments set up in Hellenistic sanctuaries such as that of Protogenes at Caunos. Bird considers the political and social purposes implied by such dedications.

The final paper, by Emmanuelle Rosso, considers associating with the gods in the Roman world through the abundant images of deified emperors and members if the imperial families, the existence of spaces within the cities where images and dedications of the emperors and their families were placed. The paper lists examples of such dedications, temples and sanctuaries and the individual emperors and members of the imperial family represented.

The book concludes with a summing up by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge on the forms examples and frequency of contacts between gods and their representatives and the human inhabitants of the Greek and Roman world.

Thus, this forms a wide-ranging study of contacts and relationships of the human inhabitants of the Greek and Roman world and the divine. This is, of course, an enormously important and basic element within the classical world. The examples treated here are representative rather than comprehensive (which would have been beyond the possibilities of a single conference and the papers presented at it). As well as the papers the book contains a lengthy and impressive bibliography, an essential element towards an understanding of what was, of course, a basic and essential element of human experience in the classical world.

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E.E. Intagliata and P. Everill (eds.), *On the Shoulders of Prometheus: International Collaboration and the Archaeology of Georgia*, Georgian Archaeological Monographs, Archaeopress, Oxford 2023, xiv+149 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-531-4

This collection of multi-authored articles considers the archaeological investigations conducted in Georgia in recent years. It covers both eastern and western parts of Georgia from

the Bronze Age till mediaeval times. It is organised into nine chapters in chronological order with an Introduction by Emanuele Intagliata and Paul Everill.

In Chapter 1 ('The Javakheti Plateau: Megaliths, Villages, and Obsidian Mines in the Prehistory of the Lesser Caucasus of Georgia'), Paolo Biagi and Renato Nisbet consider archaeological investigations conducted on the Javakheti Plateau of south-western Georgia during 2012–19. Environmental and landscape surveys revealed prehistoric obsidian mining places and possible routes among Bronze Age communities. The authors include aerial photography together with photographs of the sites and their stone tools. They help a reader understand how Bronze Age people managed to shape their surrounding landscape.

Their report suffers from a somewhat narrow range of data sources. A more expansive review of related studies or comparisons with other, similar, sites in the region would provide a deeper understanding of the specific characteristics of the Javakheti Plateau. The authors touch upon the cultural significance of these megalithic structures but omit a more detailed discussion of their symbolic and ritual meanings, found in anthropological or ethnoarchaeological literature.

Chapter 2 ('Household Archaeology and the Agricultural Economy of an Iron Age Village: the 10th–3rd centuries BC at Grakliani Gora, Shida Kartli, Georgia', by Katie Campbell, Davit Naskidashvili, Katya Turchin and Vakhtang Licheli), an excavation report, offers a glimpse into the agricultural economy and daily life of the settlement during the 10th–3rd centuries BC. The archaeological findings revealed residential buildings, storage facilities and ritual structures. These structures, along with a range of associated artefacts, provide key insights into the day-to-day activities of the inhabitants, as well as their economic strategies and agricultural practices. The research has enhanced our understanding of how household-level activities were interwoven with broader economic and social structures in ancient societies.

The article could benefit from a comparative analysis with Samtravo, another Iron Age settlement of Shida Kartli. Samtravo has a similar site organisation and clay ovens. A side-by-side comparison with Samtravo would offer a broader perspective and allow for a deeper understanding of regional variations and shared practices. The authors, however, consider the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük (p. 37). The article does not delve into areas for future research or further excavation strategies, which would be an interesting addition. The authors omit more detailed maps of the excavation site and its architectural plans. These would help readers visualise the findings and better understand the spatial and material culture described in the text.

In Chapter 3 ('The East Georgian Sanctuaries of the late Bronze and Early Iron Ages'), Simone Arnhold, Paata Bukhrashvili, Felix Blocher and Shorena Davitashvili, compile and briefly describe previously published prehistoric shrines of Kakheti. They combined archaeological evidence with religious and social interpretations but failed to examine the layout of sanctuaries and spaces designated for different rituals. The architectural features, altars, sacred enclosures and artefacts associated with these sacred sites could have been discussed in this context. One rare artefact is mentioned without any interpretation or context (p. 56, fig. 10).

Chapter 4 ('Work- and Lifescapes in the 1st Millennium BC Udabno', by Sabina Brodbeck-Jucker and René Kunze) provides a comprehensive archaeological report centred on the excavations of Iron Age Udabno. The authors coin the term 'lifescape' to refer to the

intersections of physical and social landscapes. They discuss how the subsistence strategies of the Ubadno inhabitants were influenced by geography and environment. Using a combination of archaeological methods (for example, stratigraphy, artefact analysis, calibrated dates) the authors reconstruct the lifeways of the Udabno inhabitants, which becomes the most valuable contribution of the article. They put the Ubadno findings into context comparing the site to other contemporary archaeological sites in and outside the Caucasus region. This situates Udabno within broader regional patterns of social and economic development.

In Chapter 5 (on 'Nokalakevi-Archaeopolis: Twenty Years of Anglo-Georgian Collaboration'), Everill, Nikoloz Murgulia, Davit Lomitashvili, Ian Colvin and Besik Lortkipanidze summarise two decades of dedicated research at the important archaeological and historical site of Nokalakevi. They highlight the achievements of Anglo-Georgian partnership, not only in terms of archaeological discoveries, but also in view of the increased professionalisation of Georgian archaeology. They examine the long-term cultural significance of Nokalakevi from the Iron Age to the mediaeval period. They discuss the several important issues such as new calibrated radiocarbon dates and information about the diet of the locals. The section 'The people of Nokalakevi-Archaeopolis-Tsikhegoji' describes burials and their chronology, omitting any analysis of the residents of the centre (pp. 94–96). It lacks a discussion of Nokalakevi's social structure, which would increase the value of this chapter.

Chapter 6 ('Lighting up Arrian's Room: Preliminary Remarks on the Lamps Found in the Roman Fort in Apsaros [Gonio, Georgia]', by M. Jaworska) focuses on lamps found at the Roman fort of Apsaros. The lamps can be an eloquent source for understanding the domestic practices and military logistics of the Roman forts. The intriguing title, 'Arrian's room', suggests an attempt to connect the lamps to specific historical figures or specific moments in history, but artefacts are rarely linked to particular figures or events. The author considers the typology and distribution of the lamps. She relies on analogous materials from the Black Sea littoral to date Gonio's sunburst/ribbed lamps (pp. 103–04). This approach, however, leads to vague dating and questionable assumptions about their place of production (pp. 104–05). The author infers trade networks between the Black Sea's east and west coasts based on few lamp sherds and connects increased building activities at the fort to the Parthian wars (pp. 106–07). Neither of these conclusions seem reliable. Scarcity of the materials does not allow to make such assumptions and the Romans and Parthians fought no battles in the Black Sea. The article suffers from a difficult English translation. Nevertheless, the author's preliminary remarks should set the stage for future more in-depth studies, which will hopefully bring more clarity to the importance of the lamps.

In Chapter 7 ('Early Christian [4th–6th centuries AD] Monuments of the Kingdom of Lazica, West Georgia') Murgulia, Lortkipanidze, and Lomitashvili offer an overview of historical, political and religious dynamics that influenced the development of Christian monuments of the kingdom of Lazica. The article compiles and describes Christian churches and Greek Christian inscriptions, which help piece together the history of early Christian Lazica. It includes high-quality photographs, plans and drawings.

The article would benefit from a discussion of the evolution of Christian architecture from the earliest structures to more complex forms, thus illustrating how Lazica adopted and adapted to Byzantine architectural styles. Readers interested in a wider context of early Christian architecture may find the article's scope too limited, however. Those seeking

comparisons with churches of Asia Minor or a more global perspective on early Christian architecture may find the piece insufficiently comprehensive.

Chapter 8 ('A new Late Antique Church Complex at the Foot of the Greater Caucasus – Machkhomeri Hill [Khobi Municipality]', by Intagliata, Revaz Papuashvili, Andrey Vinogradov, Davit Naskidashvili and Gogita Chitaia) offers a preliminary report on the Late Antique church at Machkhomeri Hill that adds to our understanding of the spread of Christianity in western Georgia. The report is currently limited to the description of the excavated materials. It omits the use of such modern archaeological methodologies as stratigraphic excavation, landscape surveys and radiocarbon dating. Future work should pay attention to this and should discuss local building materials and how topography influenced site placement and church design. Hopefully, future reports will integrate building inscriptions within a robust historical narrative.

The mediaeval Samshvilde site is important due to its strategic location, defensive structures and political role. In Chapter 9 ('The Results of Landscape Survey from Samshvilde Environs [Chivchava River and Khrami River Valleys]'), David Berikashvili reports on preliminary results from a landscape survey. Such a survey is generally understood as an exploration of human-environment interactions. The report, however, describes only the historical context and new archaeological finds. It lacks survey methodologies, topographical mapping and space analyses, and fails to interpret landscape settlement patterns with respect to archaeological finds. The survey integrates traditional archaeological reconnaissance and GIS applications. Although these methods identify less visible traces of past human activities, such as agricultural systems, water sources and ancient trade routes, none are described in the report.

Overall, the book contains new archaeological materials and ideas for academics, researchers, and students in the fields of archaeology, history and art history. The authors should be congratulated for the publication of this volume. It is a promising start to what is hoped to be a new series of monographs on Georgian archaeology. The bibliographies need tidying up a bit and one may jib at some of the transliterations.[1]

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V.S. Jigoulov, *The Phoenicians*, Lost Civilizations, Reaktion Books, London 2021, 243 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-78914-478-9

In the Prologue, Vadim Jigoulov declares his intention to conduct a study based on the sources and, above all, to highlight the very biased approach, ancient and modern, which has contributed to multiple misconceptions when it comes to analysing who the Phoenicians were.

In the first chapter, 'The Phoenician Homeland: History and Archaeology', and in contrast to ancient views, which saw the origins of the Phoenicians as the result of emigration, J. highlights the essentially Levantine base of the populations that gave rise to Phoenician

[1] Our late Editor-in-Chief participated with Antonio Sagona and others in a collaborative excavation in Georgia and he was disappointed not to have been invited to become involved with this publication project.

culture; he also stresses the importance of kingship as an element of continuity and resistance. After reviewing the Assyrian influence on Phoenicia, he shows how competition and co-operation were the main features of the economy of the Phoenician cities; the main archaeological data known for the Phoenician cities during the Iron Age are also summarised, and the chapter concludes with an overview, more historical in nature due to the greater presence of classical written sources, of the political history of these cities up to the Hellenistic period.

Chapter 2, 'Lost in Translation: Portrayals of Phoenicians in Graeco-Roman Sources', starts from the premise that in the absence of Phoenician sources, we must make use of classical ones; the perception shown by these begins with the very name applied by the Greeks, 'Phoenicians', which by considering them a monolithic ethnic group would show the political and economic objectives present in this denomination; after that, he presents the main testimonies that exist about the Phoenicians from Homer to Virgil.

Chapter 3, 'At the Service of the Kings: Phoenicians in the Bible', focuses on how the Phoenicians appear in the biblical texts. The author is in favour of a late dating (in Persian times) of the Deuteronomic tradition, which leads him to highlight the absence of archaeological corroboration of what is suggested in the biblical text for the most ancient phases (relations between Hiram of Tyre and Solomon), as the situation described therein corresponds to the reality of the Persian period and not to the historical period in which the events are situated (10th century BC).

After these views of the Phoenician world from the outside, J., in Chapter 4, 'Rare Voices: Phoenician Writings', deals with Phoenician texts, of which only those made of non-perishable materials have survived; after some observations on the origin of the Phoenician alphabet, he presents the main known epigraphic testimonies of the various Phoenician cities.

Chapter 5, 'Money Matters: Phoenician Coinage', presents, after a brief summary of the origin of coinage (in Greece), the coins of the main Phoenician cities (Byblos, Tyre, Sidon and Arwad, in order of their appearance); he highlights the fact that the oldest known Phoenician coins are at least 150 years later than the Greek ones and would have arisen from their emulation. In his opinion, they originated from the need to pay for materials and labour after the defeats of the Phoenician fleets that supported the Persian king in the Persian Wars, as part of an intra-regional or local trade.

Chapter 6, 'Cities of Gods: Phoenician Religions', begins by highlighting that each Phoenician city showed a preference for specific divinities, generally headed by a pair composed of a male and a female divinity. After mentioning some features of Phoenician religiosity, he devotes some space to questioning the existence of child sacrifice in certain Phoenician environments, materialised in the tophet. This is a subject on which the positions of many authors are strongly ideologised, and it seems that J. aligns himself with those who doubt the existence of these sacrifices and consider them to be mere Roman propaganda. A more nuanced view of the archaeological evidence would have been welcome.

Chapter 7, 'Masters of Craftsmanship: Phoenician Art and Trade', begins by discussing the difficulties in defining 'Phoenician art', which, if it is characterised by anything, is by its eclecticism and its continuity with traditions already present in the Levant since the Late Bronze Age. In his analysis, J. pays attention to pottery, glass, ivories, metalwork, seals, terracotta, stonework, jewellery, minor arts and crafts and, of course, textiles and dyeing, with the famous Phoenician purple.

In the eighth chapter, ‘Travels and Trade: Phoenician Westward Expansion’, the problem of Phoenician navigation and its expansion is dealt with geographically. I do not understand why he introduces a section dedicated to ‘the Iberian Peninsula’ and another, different one, to ‘Portugal’, which, according to all indications, is part of the Peninsula.

In the Epilogue, the author reflects on what we know about the Phoenicians and establishes his hopes of knowing more about them based on new techniques and scientific discoveries, showing hope for projects such as some of the mitochondrial DNA analyses that allow us to trace a Phoenician ancestry. Undoubtedly, promising results may come out of this but, in our opinion, it is going back to obsolete concepts to try to link biological origins with ethnic identities. If this relationship is sometimes difficult to grasp in other cases, in the Phoenician case it is even more problematic; this idea is strange in a case like the Phoenician, where, as the author emphasises, appropriately, on several occasions throughout the work, it is the sphere of the city-state that seems to have been relevant for these people who, from the outside, were included in the exo-ethnic term ‘Phoenicians’.

In general, a correct general overview is presented, suitable for those who want to approach the Phoenician world without having too much previous knowledge, although perhaps this perspective makes him overlook some issues where there is no absolute unanimity among researchers. A more recent bibliography has been preferred, to the detriment of some classical works that are still valid and, on some occasions, in languages other than English, which is always welcome in a scientific panorama, such as that referring to the Phoenician studies, in which works published in languages other than English are predominant.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid Adolfo J. Domínguez

R. Jung and E. Kardamaki (eds.), *Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces*, Mykenische Studien 36, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 546, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2022, 324 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-700-18877-3

This volume represents the proceedings of a conference about the phenomenon of Mycenaean palatial destructions that is widely observable in the archaeological record at the end of the Bronze Age in the Aegean. When scholars of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean speak generally about the demise of Mycenaean palatial society, we often refer to this as a ‘collapse’ that occurred around the turn of the 12th century BC. This general description is accurate in its broadest brush strokes, but it has always been appreciated both that the palatial sites of mainland Greece experienced multiple destruction events prior to their final abandonment and that the destruction of all palatial sites did not occur at the same time. Despite many decades of research, the precise chronology of destruction events at many sites remains debated, as the volume editors discuss in their introductory chapter here (p. 13).

The timing of these destructions is important to establish. It is now widely accepted that the demise of Mycenaean palatial society was not a single, coherent ‘event’, nor is its cause, which has never been straightforwardly apparent, likely to have been simple or singular, as Maran’s paper in this volume emphasises. If we are ever to understand the complex

processes that resulted in this outcome, we require a strong empirical basis for reconstructing the cadence, order and simultaneity (or not) of their physical correlates. The papers in this volume thus constitute an important contribution, especially in providing up-to-date assessments of destruction layers by excavators and analysts who know the material first-hand. The primary concern is with refining dates assigned to destruction events through detailed analysis of pottery assemblages.

The volume covers material from numerous sites, with a center of gravity in the Peloponnese, including one paper each on the stalwart 'big three' of Mycenae (Shelton), Tiryns (Wirghová) and Pylos (Vitale, Stocker and Davis), and two on the more-recently excavated palace at Ayios Vasileios (Vasilogamvrou, Kardamaki and Karadimas; Hachtmann and Voutsaki). Another paper discusses Iklaina (Shelmerdine) – not a palace but of relevance due to its possession of a Linear B tablet – while two others reach beyond the Peloponnese to assess the situations at Thebes (Andrikou) and on Crete (Rutter). An historical reassessment of the potential causes of the collapse follows (Maran). The final paper in the volume reviews the dating of Mycenaean pottery found in destruction levels at sites on Cyprus and in the Levant (Jung). Evidence for destruction at sites not given chapter-length treatments is reviewed in the introductory chapter by Jung and Kardamaki, who also provide a useful table summarising the chronology of destruction events, updated to reflect the findings presented in the volume.

When it comes to evaluating ceramic chronology, the devil is often in the details, and readers who want to appreciate the many important observations on pottery assemblages offered are advised to read the volume themselves. This is very easy to do, thanks to the fact that it is fully open access. Here I briefly summarise the main points.

Shelton's paper on Petsas' House dates that structure's demise to LH IIIA2 Late, and ascribes its destruction and subsequent abandonment to a wider period of problems at Mycenae. The tables included in this chapter are very useful in illustrating the seriation of pottery shapes and their appearance in the phases of Petsas' House with admirable clarity. Wirghová's paper on Tiryns establishes that there was reasonably broad continuity (as opposed to dramatic change) in the site's ceramic repertoire between LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early, a conclusion that is perhaps not unexpected given the continuity of habitation at Tiryns through the LH IIIC period. Vitale, Stocker and Davis revisit evidence from Blegen's excavations at Pylos alongside finds from recent excavations, and argue that the palace's final destruction occurred in LH IIIC Early, rather than somewhat earlier or later, as had been previously speculated. The authors also note an earlier destruction, in LH IIIA2 Early, that might have marked an earlier 'disturbance' in the trajectory of Mycenaean palatial society. According to Andrikou's paper, the date of the Thebes fire seems slightly later than the destruction of Argive palaces, closer to the LH IIIC Early date at Pylos. Shelmerdine's paper dates the destruction event at Iklaina to LH IIIB Middle, considerably earlier than the demise of Pylos. She also posits that the similarities of the Linear B tablet from Iklaina with those in the fill from the LH IIIA2 destruction at Pylos indicate that Iklaina was probably integrated into palatial operations prior to the LH IIIA2 period. The paper by Vasilogambrou, Kardamaki and Karadimas establishes that the cadence of abandonment varied across Ayios Vasileios. While the west stoa was destroyed and left in ruins in LH IIIB Middle, the large court seems to have been reoccupied following this event. The authors emphasise that the ceramic chronology for the site remains a work in progress. Its refinement

is helped by the existence of a solid pottery sequence from an associated cemetery, presented in the paper by Hachtmann and Voutsaki. The burials terminate after the LH IIIC Early period, perhaps suggesting an overall date for the abandonment of the site.

Rutter's emphasis is on the wider difficulties in and importance of synchronising Cretan and mainland pottery chronologies rather than the finds from a particular site. His observations regarding the characteristics of Handmade Burnished Ware at Chania lead him to suggest that LM IIIB2 at Chania is contemporaneous with the phase LH IIIC Early 1 on the mainland, and (intriguingly) that mainland Greeks and Italians might have been immigrating to Chania during this time. Rutter closes with a call for scholars to pay more attention to population movement within and to Greece in LH IIIC, as opposed to a previous emphasis on outward migration.

Following an array of detailed and granular discussions of ceramic chronology, Maran's historical essay comes as something of a shock to the system. The paper highlights thoroughgoing problems with old theories about the Mycenaean collapse, especially those attributing it to earthquakes, and emphasises that we must see the destructions as the outcome of medium- and long-term structures and processes rather than short-term events. Although Maran's reconstruction of internal turmoil amongst elites arising from unchecked 'megalomaniacal' building projects and the aggregation of polyethnic warring groups seems a bit speculative, a general scenario where most destructions should be attributable to long-festering internal issues seems highly plausible.

The final chapter by Jung plunges readers back into detailed discussion of ceramic assemblages, reviewing the chronology of Mycenaean pottery in destruction levels at sites in the Levant and Cyprus. The chapter is the longest in the volume by far, at 67 pages. Its contents are important, but I wonder if they might have been condensed to more rapidly arrive at the salient points regarding the chronology of these deposits. It also might have fit more tidily in the collection if inserted prior to Maran's summative chapter.

In some disciplines, conference proceedings have a reputation for being of relatively minor importance as compared with, say, monographs or peer-reviewed journal articles. Roughly the opposite is true in Greek archaeology, because papers presented at conferences often provide access thorough descriptions of recent archaeological finds that may not appear in final publications for many years to come. That there are several outfits regularly sponsoring such conferences and promptly publishing handsome subsequent volumes is a phenomenon for which all Aegean prehistorians should be grateful. This volume is an excellent illustration of that phenomenon; it is handsomely produced and full of important material that will be widely read and used by scholars interested in the Aegean Bronze Age collapse.

University of Toronto Sarah Murray

L. Kealhofer, P. Grave and M.M. Voigt, *Ancient Gordion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2022, xiii+421 pp. illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-108-74839-1

Gordion, *ca.* 90 km south-west of Ankara, Turkey, is one of the few sites in central Anatolia with a continuous sequence of occupation from the Early Bronze Age through the mediaeval period and is also the most prominent Phrygian settlement known to date. Excavation

and study at Gordion under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania have been ongoing since 1950, and seasonal excavation reports and a number of specialised studies have been published. To date, however, there has been no single work that follows the site's development through its many centuries of occupation. The book under review is an effort to address this lacuna. Written by three anthropologists with deep knowledge of the site (Voigt was Gordion Field Director from 1988 to 2006), the book surveys occupation patterns at Gordion from the Late Bronze Age, starting *ca.* 1400 BC, through the Late Phrygian Period, ending in 330 BC at the beginning of the Hellenistic era.

The first four chapters of the book set forth the authors' aims and methodology. The authors review the history of the Penn excavations at Gordion, summarising the problems caused by uneven data collection and recording, especially during the years of the excavations directed by Rodney S. Young (1950–73). They outline their own approach, namely, an investigation into social group formation, with a focus on both social interactions and technological complexity in the site's population. They develop their analysis primarily with ceramic data, using both traditional methods of ceramic study through visual examination and data acquired from neutron activation analysis. Their goal is to follow the various patterns of group organisation over time and thus gain insight into the changing trajectory of the site's cultural and political status.

The book then moves to a chronological review of settlement periods at Gordion, starting with the Late Bronze Age, *ca.* 1400–1150 BC. While the excavated areas from this era are limited, the data indicate that Gordion was a self-sustaining agricultural community supported by cereal production and pastoralism. Most ceramic products were made locally, probably as part of specialised craft production. The shapes and decorative practices of the Late Bronze Age ceramics, however, show strong similarities to those of the Hittite capital at Hattusas (modern Boğazköy), suggesting a close relationship between Gordion and the Hittite kingdom. There is little evidence for excess storage capacity that might have contained agricultural products intended as tribute to the ruling authorities at Hattusas, as is documented for other sites in Hittite records. Yet the consistency of ceramic types and a handful of Hittite bullae and seal stamps on local pottery strongly indicate that Gordion lay within the Hittite cultural, and probably political sphere of influence.

The ensuing Early Iron Age levels, *ca.* 1150–900 BC, reveal notable changes. While the stratigraphic sequence shows no break in occupation, the household has now become the central unit for production. Some wheel-made buff ceramics are attested, but hand-made reduction wares (dark fabric) become more common. A lack of consistency in decoration and firing techniques indicates household manufacture rather than central workshops. The shapes and decoration of hand-made wares show affinities with similar wares in south-eastern Europe and north-western Anatolia, supporting linguistic evidence for the arrival of new population groups from that area. In later Early Iron Age levels, the ceramic assemblage contains a higher percentage of wheel-made buff wares. This could indicate increasing centralisation of ceramic production and the development of specialised labour skills, implying expansion of economic units beyond the household level. Such changes appear to set the stage for the greater level of complexity apparent in the subsequent Early Phrygian period.

The next chapter treats the Early Phrygian period, *ca.* 900–800 BC. The authors identify two phases, A and B, the second of which ended in a catastrophic fire that destroyed

much of the elite quarter (Rodney Young's Destruction Level). There was extensive development on the citadel mound that included construction of the first fortification walls and large buildings and the levelling of a central area to create an open space suitable for elite ceremonials. The construction of several burial tumuli, one of which still had valuable grave gifts intact, reinforces the picture of the growing power of an elite class. The ceramic sequence reinforces this picture, with a high percentage of vessels, especially smaller ones, produced in workshops rather than households. A portion of the vessels came from western Anatolia, from Lydia and Ionia, along with a smaller number of imports from sites east of Gordion, suggesting regular exchanges between the Phrygians and neighbouring regions. A rich series of vessels decorated with complex geometric painted designs, particularly jugs and kraters, were likely to be prestige vessels used for feasting. The cumulative effect of these developments provides insight into the formation of a new polity and the practices used by elite groups to create and maintain power.

The succeeding Middle Phrygian period, *ca.* 800–540 BC, begins with the rebuilding following the fire that destroyed much of the central Early Phrygian mound and ends with the Achaemenian Persian conquest of Anatolia. This is the longest and perhaps the most complex phase of Gordion settlement. Three sub-phases can be detected. During the earliest, a series of individual buildings in the elite quarter on the Eastern Mound was constructed around a central courtyard, whose plan largely replicated the arrangement of the Early Phrygian elite quarter. Additional construction units include a building with a series of small rooms, perhaps designed for grain storage. The earliest Middle Phrygian ceramic evidence shows a high degree of continuity with the preceding late Early Phrygian ceramics, with a greater number of locally produced wares, especially bowls and jugs potentially used for feasting. During this phase the largest number of tumuli were constructed, including the monumental Tumulus MM (later 8th century BC). Control and organisation of a substantial workforce would have been needed to construct such impressive architecture and burial mounds, indicating a class-stratified society, but there is little overt iconography advertising individual power, as was common in Assyrian and south-eastern Anatolian power centres. In the next phase, there was a significant retrenchment in construction programmes and a general lack of innovation. Ceramic evidence shows an increasing preference for locally made wares, a situation even more pronounced in the non-elite sectors of the site. Imported wares include a smaller percentage from sites east of Gordion, and an increasing number of pieces from western Anatolia. The final Middle Phrygian phase contains a large percentage of locally made wares; among the few imported wares are several characteristic Lydian types, suggesting Lydian influence at the site, although local Phrygian decorative forms are dominant in household ceramics. Tumulus construction tapered off during the second Middle Phrygian phase, then became more common towards the end of the Middle Phrygian era.

The Persian conquest of the Lydian empire in *ca.* 540 BC brought Gordion under Achaemenid control. This event, marking the transition to the Later Phrygian period, brought about significant changes in the spatial configuration of the central areas of the settlement. The series of buildings that had formed the site of elite power in the Early and Middle Phrygian eras appears to lose its central position and a new structure with a mosaic floor and columned courtyard was constructed; this may have served as a local centre of Persian authority. Gordion seems to have retained its status as an important production

centre, with evidence of craft manufacture throughout the site, including metalworking in the former elite quarter. Local ceramics from the early phases of the Late Phrygian period show continuity with later Middle Phrygian material, suggesting continuity of population. A few local wares imitate Achaemenian shapes, but Phrygian and Lydian shapes form the majority of the ceramics. Lighter buff fabrics are more common, although grey wares still form the dominant ceramic fabric. The percentage of black-glazed wares increases markedly, and among smaller shapes, roughly one quarter of the decorated wares were imported from west Anatolia, East Greece, and Attica. Such changes suggest a broader range of cultural contacts among Gordion residents.

Overall, the book provides a good introduction to the site. Readers may find some jarring shifts of tone in the chronological chapters, perhaps resulting from the volume's multiple authorship. Each chapter starts with a summary of that period's development and then moves to a description of the ceramic evidence, focusing on production and neutron activation analysis. The detailed ceramic data will surely be valuable to a specialist, more so when comparable data sets from other contemporary Anatolian sites become available. The shift in emphasis, however, can be confusing, since it moves the reader from an historical survey to a highly technical analysis of ceramics, creating some dense and difficult reading. I was not fully convinced that the extensive attention to ceramics fully explains group formation, particularly in the absence of a discussion of other classes of evidence. But despite these misgivings, the book presents a valuable overview of recent work at Gordion and helps confirm its status as one of the most important sites in central Anatolia.

University of California, Davis Lynn Roller

A. Kellner, *Die griechische Archaik. Konstruktion einer Chronologie im Wechselspiel schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen*, Philippika 156, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, xi+465 pp., illustrations, Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11780-7/ISSN 1613-5628

What conceptually is meant by the 'Archaic period' can be considered well researched. The historical-philosophical or pragmatic connotations of this epoch – 'Index of the "not yet"' (A. Heuss), 'Age of Experiment' (A. Snodgrass), 'Rise of the Greeks' (M. Grant), 'Greece in the Making' (R. Osborne) or 'Age of New Reckonings' (B.M. Lavelle) – no longer excite. More recent syntheses, moreover, circumvent the question of the delimitation of the Late Mycenaean period and the 'Dark Ages' by speaking summarily of Early Greece from about 1200 BC onwards, or by tracing central phenomena and processes from their beginnings to well beyond the old era border of 500 or 480/79 BC.[1]

In this sense, Angelika Kellner was wise to give a very brief history of the term Archaic period (Chapter 1 and pp. 11–12). The main subject of her Innsbruck doctoral thesis, supervised by Erich Kistler and Robert Rollinger and designed as a research report, is rather indicated by the subtitle. K. shows – she is not he first! – that the chronologies and datings that are still common and indispensable for scientific and non-scientific understanding are highly precarious: they depend on traditions and complex operations, the problematic

[1] The latter most recently in R. Schulz and U. Walter, *Griechische Geschichte ca. 800–322 v. Chr.* (Berlin/Boston 2022), vol. 1, 14; vol. 2, 28–29.

nature of which, however, is usually no longer reflected upon. Why many 'dates' have prevailed as scientific conventions is, however, obvious: both ancient chronography and ceramic chronology are considered less attractive fields of philology and ancient history or of classical archaeology. Once reconstructions have been obtained, they are therefore gratefully used as a basis for works on other questions and overviews, provided they have been neatly worked out and appear plausible. A generally accepted chronology is also needed, since it 'forms the basis for communication within classical studies and the study of the Archaic period' (p. 369 [all quotations are translated from German]).

K. focuses on the period from about 800 to around the middle of the 6th century BC (p. 2); in the spirit of her interdisciplinary approach, she would like to explore, among other things, 'which dating of ancient authors now determines the absolute chronology of the material legacy and especially of ceramic chronology' (p. 4). After two introductory sections unfolding the problem and the history of research, the first main section (Chapter 3: 'The Ancient Chronography and the Chronology of the Archaic Period', pp. 31–100) discusses the development and peculiarities of the Attic list of archons and the list of Olympic champions; an overview of ancient chronography and its working methods then explains how pseudo-exact dating was generated by means of intervals, generational calculations, *akmê*-approaches and synchronisms, and how persons or events were distributed over a longer period of time. Thus Cylon and Solon seem to be closer to Peisistratos in Herodotus and Thucydides (without exact determination) than in the established fixations (630s and 594 respectively). K. speaks aptly of the 'ageing' of the Archaic age.[2] Even the much-mentioned first Olympic Games in 776 were not yet considered a marker by the authors of the 5th century BC (p. 74). The more 'exact' and numerous ancient and modern datings appear on the scene, the more likely they are to be the product of harmonisations of contradictory circumstantial evidence – or disturbing voices are simply faded out.

Chapter 4 (pp. 101–56) explains 'how ancient authors, before the chronographic dating conventions of Hellenism, were able to locate events of the Archaic period in time' (p. 101); in this context, special attention is paid to genealogies – transmitted orally as well as in writing, but always inconstant. As is well known, Herodotus and Thucydides had great problems in fixing the time of events of the 6th century in the Greek world. K. rightly rejects the desperately optimistic view that later authors would have uncovered more accurate records that were not yet known to the authors of the 5th century or were ignored by them. It remains unclear how Thucydides arrived at his two series of dates for the founding of the *apoikiai* in Sicily; more recent findings on possible cults for oikists do not help either.

Chapter 5 (pp. 157–252) is devoted to these foundation dates and the dating of Corinthian pottery linked to them, and is the core of the study not only because of its length. First, the intervals given by Thucydides are discussed in detail, the difficulty of which is well known: Gelon destroyed Megara Hyblaea 245 years after its foundation, but it remains unclear in which year of his reign this occurred; moreover, the second series of intervals

[2] This also addresses the picture of a period brimming with events from *ca*. 560 to 480 with a corresponding 'void' of the 150 years before, which Pamela Shaw developed in 2003. It remained largely without consequences as it was not translated into an overall reconstruction; *cf.* U. Walter, *http://www.sehepunkte.historicum.net/2005/09/5969.html* (27 July 2023).

beginning with Naxos and Syracuse is not exactly intertwined with the first. Kellner then sifts through the scattered dating references from Pindar to Eusebius. Overall, she concludes unsurprisingly, 'the absolute dates for the colony foundations as used in modern research can only be regarded as [...] approximations' (p. 211). The dating of Corinthian pottery founded by Humfry Payne can be considered valid in terms of its relative style chronology, but fixing it in absolute dates remains problematic, since Payne chose for this purpose the foundation dates of Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Gela and Selinunte derived from Thucydides; also, according to more recent findings, a 'distinction between the production and duration of a ceramic style' seems to be called for.

From the East, too, little light is shed on the Greek ceramic chronologies (pp. 253–87, 289–322). Admittedly, Nicolas Coldstream has already linked the geometric pottery (900–700 BC) found at many sites in the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant with dating in the area of the Neo-Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian empires as well as Egypt. However, finds in destruction layers frequently cannot be linked to several historical events; for example, dating proposals from 926 to *ca.* 750 BC are discussed for layer III at Tell Abu Hawam. The various 'high' and 'low' chronologies for sites in this region also impact on the dating of the Greek finds. *Mutatis mutandis*, this also applies to the Phoenician foundations in the West. Whoever wants to orientate himself about the state of discussion on the Lydian chronology up to Croesus or the date of the foundation of Carthage will find exhaustive help desk in K.'s work. Chapter 8 deals with the 'fixed points of Attic black-figure vase painting' (pp. 323–47), especially on two problems that arise again in the so problematic combination of textual sources and artefacts: the foundation of Massalia and the establishment of the Panathenaea with their characteristic prize amphorae.

K. treats with astonishing brevity (pp. 349–61) and scepticism the scientifically based procedures with which fixed dates for Early Iron Age stratigraphic series of findings are to be obtained (^{14}C; dendrochronology). The discussion is called deadlocked (p. 360), a chronological chaos is stated for Italy (p. 358). At the end, only mention is made of the attempt by Gimatzidis and Weniger to construct a significantly higher chronology on the basis of undisturbed layers in Kastanas and Sindos.[3] Here it would have been desirable to find a more detailed presentation of the results achieved so far.

A summary (pp. 363–76), an extensive bibliography (pp. 379–455) and an index of cited ancient sources (pp. 457–65) conclude the book; unfortunately, an index of places and of persons is absent. The reviewer also misses a short analytical subject index that opens up the central terms, procedures and problems of locating events, people and artefacts in time.

K.'s writing could have been tauter, repetition is not lacking (pp. 144–45 and 162–63 are almost identical in text) and cumbersome formulations are distracting. Her own judgment is pleasantly critical, but the epistemological and research-pragmatic frameworks would have deserved more systematic attention. In any case, the book can be regarded as a prudent and substantial treatment of the unwieldy material. It clearly demonstrates how precarious the chronology of the Archaic period in Greece is. The dating, often accurate to

[3] See meanwhile S. Gimatzidis and B. Weniger, 'Radiocarbon dating the Greek Protogeometric and Geometric periods: The evidence of Sindos'. *PLOS ONE https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0232906* (27 July 2023).

the year, derived from ancient sources and so readily used by archaeologists to date their finds and findings, are at best learned speculations. What consequences are to be drawn from the largely deconstructive results remains to be seen. Future research and syntheses should not carelessly pass over the book.

Bielefeld University Uwe Walter

A. Klingenberg, *Die ›Iranische Diaspora‹ in Kleinasien: Kontinuität und Wandel des persischen Erbes nach dem Ende der achaimenidischen Herrschaft*, Asia Minor Studien 97, Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2020, xv+417 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-4261-5

In spite of my 1987 reservations (p. 193), the picture is far clearer thanks to this 2020 work (accurate as of autumn 2020, p. xvi) by Andreas Klingenberg. While defining the extent of the diaspora remains problematic,[1] K. presents a valuable set of tools to facilitate examination.[2] The introduction, tracing earlier studies, indicates the bases for examination to be place names, personal names, and traces of religious practice. But one must remain circumspect in the use of onomastics, for many specifics remain sealed from view.[3] In addition, as K. demonstrates, there are numerous problems in the ability of ancient sources to accurately report what they heard or saw, plus the problems in the manuscript traditions.

Toponyms (pp. 11–31) point to a continuity with Achaemenid times, whether settlements or land-grants, military and agricultural. Such names may drive from a putative founder, or non-local groups. For example, the onetime Maibozanoi (Flavian era) or the *Kardakon Kome* in Lydia (*ca.* 181 BC). Many remain uncertain in origin, but a few 'Iranian' are borne by rivers, hills, and by the 'paradeisos' in Caria. Personal names (pp. 33–105), only a few hundred recorded, are presented by sector. The result of Greek and non-Greek inscriptions, many are of a sepulchral nature. There are three categories: definitely Iranian, possible Iranian, origin uncertain (p. 38). Many point to deities (or may be slave names, p. 44), or are derived from history. Some display continuity over generations (the Artimas family, Lycia, pp. 56–58) and there is a greater concentration in Cappadocia and Pontus (*cf.* summary, pp. 103–05).

Traces of Iranian religious practices (pp. 107–68) are to be expected given the ancestral customs of settlers and as participation in local cults. Such practices were long lasting: Basileius of Caesarea reports the Magusaioi in AD 377 (pp. 113–14); Magoi in AD 465 in Priscus Panita *Excerpta* 31. 1 (Teubner edition; *cf.* p. 117). There is uncertainty over the

[1] *Cf.* p. 189, Commagene is assigned to the Armenian-Mesopotamian area, not Asia Minor itself. More on this below. For a more encompassing study, see C. Lerouge-Cohen, *Souvenirs du passé perse à l'époque hellénistique* (Brussels 2020).

[2] The text appears as pp. 1–202. A series of tables (pp. 204–314) details evidence for personal names (pp. 204–99), and for traces of Iranian religious practices (pp. 300–14). Then a bibliography (pp. 315–48), thereafter a register, arranged alphabetically by geographical sector, personal names, a *Sachregister*, and source list, all with page references (pp. 349–96). Finally, a series of maps and plates.

[3] R. Schmitt, 'Onomastics'. In B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (Hoboken 2021), 61–70, especially 64.

definite form of Anahita thanks to a Berossus fragment and Pausanias' (or his sources') confusion (Pausanias 5. 27). Problems remain in understanding the divergence of Mithra Iranian from Mithra in Roman practice. Existence of traces of Iranian religious practice are strong in both Cappadocia and Pontus.

Although stemmata are open to dispute, certainty remains that western Iranian dynasts were eager to establish their Achaemenid heritage (pp. 169–88). Pontic Mithridates' family (pp. 172–79) displayed notable continuities with earlier Iranian rulers. Ariarathes' family in Cappadocia (pp. 179–84) was supposedly a direct heir of the Achaemenid satrapal family. Further continuities in administrative structure are indicated by Strabo and epigraphic evidence. In spite of questions over Commagene (pp. 188–91) recent work places it firmly in the diaspora, as outlined by Versluys and Riedel.[4]

K.'s summary (pp. 193–202) points to the persistence of the diaspora, outlining his general conclusions. It is important to note both the continuities and changes, without forgetting local variations.

Berkeley, CA — Michael Weiskopf

R.P. Krämer, *Etruskische Heiligtümer des 8.–5. Jhs. v. Chr. als Wirtschaftsräume und Konsumptionsorte von Keramik*, Italiká 8, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, 342 pp., 28 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-95490-517-1*

At first glance, the six parts that form Robinson Krämer's book (Einleitung, 'Keramik als Konsumptionsgut in etruskischen Heiligtümern', 'Produktion und Gewerbe in Heiligtümern', 'Die Entwicklung und die politische Ökonomie der etruskischen Sakrallandschaft', 'Dokumentation der Heiligtümer, der Keramik und der Inschriften') may appear unnecessarily complicated, with numerous subdivisions in the Table of Contents. This is inevitable, given the complex nature of the book's topic – the consideration of Etruscan sanctuaries as places of commerce and production as well as pottery consumption. Nevertheless, the work's quality is not compromised.

While the first part (pp. 11–13, with the exception of 'Der aktuelle Forschungsstand') constitutes a general overview of Etruscan religion, the second part becomes more specific, offering a more in-depth analysis of various aspects. In total, 51 Etruscan settlements dating to between the 8th and 5th centuries BC were considered in the course of the research (p. 14). The book investigates three key areas, as detailed on pp. 14–15 ('Fragestellungen und Analysen'): 1) pottery as a consumable good in the Etruscan sanctuaries, which is the main topic of Chapter II; 2) production and commerce in sanctuaries, which Chapter III examines; and 3) the development and political economy of the Etruscan sacred landscape, which is the focus of Chapter IV. This overview clearly highlights the unique relationship between society and the economy of the sanctuaries.

[4] M.J. Versluys and S. Riedel, 'Beyond East and West. Hellenistic Commagene between Particularism and Universalism'. In M. Blömer *et al.* (eds.), *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods: Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context* (Stuttgart 2021), 11–30. Also consult M. Hoo, *Eurasian Localisms: Towards a Translocal Approach to Hellenism and Inbetweenness in Central Eurasia, Third to First Centuries BC* (Stuttgart 2022).

* He is now a colleague; he was not so when this review was compiled.

The research methodology is presented on pp. 25–28: K. investigates the notion that the Etruscans adopted the Greek symposium with all its trappings, albeit with several variations associated with the different cultural context ('Tatsächlich ist aber zu erwarten, dass in Etrurien mit seiner eigenen kulturellen Identität griechische Gefäße andere Funktionen als in Griechenland erfüllen konnten': p. 25); the research is based on quantitative methods for the study of pottery and its forms (pp. 26–27) and adopts Simpson's 'Index of Diversity' as an analytical tool (pp. 27–28). The analysis of the various pottery typologies in 27 sacral contexts follows, beginning with Cerveteri and ending with Vulci (pp. 28–60), arranged in alphabetical order rather than (as would perhaps have been more logical) with the division of the Etruscan territory into north and south. Each site is described briefly and accompanied by a chart detailing the pottery assemblages from the site according to class, typology, and provenance. The conclusion includes a useful synoptic chart of the pottery from all sites (p. 61) as well as a discussion of the society, including, for example, an exploration of how ritual actions may be regarded as constitutive of a community's identity (pp. 76–77), the social strata, and the role of the elites – for instance in the case of the *casa con recinto* of Roselle, which was interpreted as a *domus regia* (pp. 77–78)[1] – as well as the participation of urban communities and mass consumption inside the sanctuaries (pp. 79–80). K. suggests that the miniature vessels may be a special indicator of the sacred (p. 81),[2] noting that they were discovered in 31 of the 51 sacred places considered (pp. 81–86; especially chart at pp. 82–83).

The third chapter ('Produktion und Gewerbe in Heiligtümern') is devoted to the various kinds of productive activities and commerce that took place in the sanctuaries, beginning with pottery (pp. 101–03), clay (p. 103), metalwork (pp. 103–05), textiles (pp. 105–14) – including the production of *libri lintei* (pp. 114–17) – inscriptions, and schools of writing/*scriptoria* (pp. 117–20).

Chapter IV ('Die Entwicklung und die politische Ökonomie der etruskischen Sakrallandschaft') examines five social, religious and economic aspects of the sanctuaries' development: foundations; the construction of monumental temples; the constitution of pottery deposits; inscriptions on vessels, the first mention of Etruscan deities; and the introduction of cult statues (p. 125). Referring to the origin and development of the Etruscan sanctuaries (pp. 126–27), which is considered to have been promoted by social factors, such as the urbanisation process (p. 125),[3] K. proceeds to discuss the monumentalisation of the Etruscan sacred landscape, since through the creation of such monuments it was possible to make visible the power of the elites (p. 127). A convenient chart (pp. 129–30) details the dimensions of the temples from the 7th to the 5th century BC based on a study by M. Rendeli,[4] highlighting the significant differences in the temples' dimensions during the

[1] For the cults inside such houses, see A. Piccioni, *Culti domestici in Italia meridionale ed Etruria* (Regensburg 2020).

[2] See Piccioni, as in n. 1, 20.

[3] On urbanisation during the Archaic age, *cf.* Piccioni, as in n.1, 220–23.

[4] '"Muratori, ho fretta di erigere questa casa" (Ant. Pal. 14. 136). Concorrenza tra formazioni urbane dell'Italia centrale tirrenica nella costruzione di edifici di culto arcaici'. *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 12 (1989), 49–68.

various phases of the 6th century BC (p. 128). The chart is also cross-referenced with the descriptions of the sanctuaries in Chapter VI ('Dokumentation der Heiligtümer, der Keramik und der Inschriften'). Notably, K. highlights the practices in sanctuaries that constituted the bases of community identity (p. 131) – for example, the communal consumption of meat; the discussion of the elites and mass consumption in the urban communities is also particularly noteworthy (p. 132). Another significant point is the turbulence of the 6th century BC (pp. 148–49), as the religion became increasingly accessible not only to the elites but to the wider majority of people: this is marked by several key elements, particularly the monumentalisation of the cult buildings, their adornment with artworks sculpted in terracotta, and the development – in parallel to the sanctuaries – of monumental tombs and small settlements as border markers 'territoriale Markierungen': p. 149). K. terms these phenomena 'Prozesse der politischen Ökonomie' (*cf.* the synoptic chart on p. 151).

Chapter V offers conclusions (pp. 152–55), but it would perhaps have been more logical to locate the summaries in English and Italian at the very end of the book (pp. 156–64) to avoid interrupting the flow of the text.

As noted above, Chapter VI details the material remains of the sanctuaries between the 8th and the 5th centuries BC, and it proceeds – perhaps somewhat jarringly (see above) – in alphabetical order. The chapter's many charts help to clarify the topic and address the research questions based on quantitative analysis of the materials. A section of this chapter is devoted to the inscriptions on vessels from the sanctuaries (pp. 279–302) and constitutes an appendix of sorts, concluding the volume.

In conclusion, notwithstanding the minor issues flagged as problematic, this book provides a sound basis for a quantitative approach to sanctuaries as concrete centres of production of various materials and pottery consumption. The bibliography is rich, multilingual and multifaceted, in accordance with the requirements of the volume, which is well written, amply illustrated and easily accessible/understandable. The book is physically and aesthetically pleasing, with a clear, user-friendly layout.

University of Trier Aura Piccioni

A.-L. Krüger, *Hieronische Architektur auf Sizilien: Überlegungen zu einem modernen Forschungskonstrukt*, Philippika 158, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, ix+252 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-11792-0/ISSN 1613-5628

This book is a revised and partly extended version of Anna-Lena Krüger's doctoral thesis, submitted to the University of Tübingen in the winter semester of 2019/20. The Hieron with whom it is concerned is Hieron II, who ruled in Syracuse from 275 to 215 BC, in effect until Sicily was conquered and incorporated into Rome. She includes in figure 1 a map of Sicily marking the area of Hieron II's direct control, the south-eastern part of the island together with the other Hellenistic cities of the island.

For a discussion of the Hieronian architecture of the island there is an immediate problem. The art of the architect, obviously, includes complete buildings, their planning, their three dimensional form, their relationship with the setting in which they were placed, and for the architecture under the auspices of Hieron II all this is essentially lacking.

K. begins her study with a discussion of the area and nature of the evidence essential for establishing the relevant chronology – epigraphy and other written evidence, the evidence from excavations, numismatics, all of which is relevant but not particularly forthcoming for the actual architecture studied, except insofar as it can be related to the 3rd century BC.

From this the actual architecture which can be attributed to Hieron II is (to put it mildly) extremely limited. It comprises, essentially, the Great Altar in the Neapolis district of Syracuse itself, mentioned by Diodorus and excavated at various times from the end of the 18th century onwards. Here K. relies, sensibly, on the most recent study of the structure and its remains by Markus Wolf, which forms the basis of her plan of the monument and the various elevations.

The photographs of the altar included in this book, especially Abb. 19 show that only the substructure of the altar is preserved to any extent. The details and any reconstruction of the elevation depend on the survival of actual fragments of the architecture. By any reasoning the altar is exceptional, particularly its size, with the actual dimensions of the altar itself as listed in Tab. 5 of Anne Ohnesorg's Ionische Altäre of 99.07 × c. 17.41 m (taken from the 19th-century account of Koldewey and Puchstein). The only altar that even remotely approaches this in size is that of Zeus at Agrigento, *ca.* 56 by approximately 16 m (figures again from Koldewey and Puchstein).

In addition to the altar itself, which comprises the top surface for the actual sacrifices and an extended lower platform for the participants along the front, there was a colonnaded courtyard in front. Its dedication is unknown. K. suggests Zeus, which, on the analogy of Agrigento is likely but still uncertain. Both the altar itself and the platform for the participants are embellished with a conventional Doric entablature, and the forecourts also had a Doric colonnade.

From this there are two elements which K. uses for her analysis of Hieronian architecture, the inclusion in the Doric entablatures of a distinctive kymation moulding and the placing of figure supports in the form of Atlanties by the doorways and steps leading up from the courtyard to the participants' platform. These elements are found elsewhere and the investigation of them is the essential basis of K.'s discussion of Hieronian architecture in Sicily and beyond the area under Hieron II's direct control and then even further afield in Italy itself. In this area (but not on the altar) there are also examples of an Italian/Ionic capital.

The use of Atlantes-type figures is, of course, an echo (at the very least) of the Atlantes on the Temple of Zeus at Agrigento and can be seen as a specifically Sicilian contribution to the architecture of Hieron II. For good measure Krüger also includes with this the colossal ship, the Sirakosia, built for Hieron II and described in Athenaeus Deipnosophists (5. 206d–209e) which, somewhat improbably, had a whole row of Atlantes along the sides of its hull.

The book concludes with a chapter of examples of the architectural forms and details such as capitals and mouldings elsewhere in Sicily and southern Italy which can be attributed to the time of Hieron II and then a comprehensive catalogue. Thus the book gives a full and useful overview of the final period of Greek architecture in this significant region.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

A.D. Lee, *Warfare in the Roman World*, Key Themes in Ancient History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2020, xxi+228 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01428-2

Library shelves groan under the weight of Roman army books. But Romans cannot escape the socio-economic-cultural historiographical turn of the 'new military history', now a generation old. Largely devoid of strategy, battles and tactics, the work addresses *war* (not just the army) from a broader societal prospective to integrate Roman military history into the mainstream of Roman studies and extends coverage into the early 7th century, quickly surveying major themes in 180 pages of text with adequate maps, tables of events and emperors, a glossary of technical terms and a (largely Anglophone) bibliography. The work complements the author's *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007), frequently cited.

Doug Lee's originality lies in a thematic, if somewhat idiosyncratic, approach, which integrates material from all chronological periods into each chapter. Like other brief surveys of vast topics – by necessity derivative of others' work – the author extends his scholarly gaze beyond familiar Late Roman territory, sometimes with peculiar bibliographical choices and disputable interpretations. Specific examples here must be limited.

An 'Introduction' surveys the work's contents, before offering a bird's-eye view of Roman conquests and strategic aims (pp. 5–14). If Claudius' conquest of Britain becomes a bid to strengthen his legitimacy, characterisation of Trajan's original intentions in Dacia as "punitive" (p. 9) assumes unattested Dacian provocations by a Roman client-king. 'Preventive' might be more accurate, although the real cause, much debated, was probably not Dacian gold.[1] Curiously, a claim that the 299 Treaty of Nisibis added new Roman territory *east* of the Tigris (p. 11) conflicts with the geography of the acquired territory, mostly *north* of the Tigris, running west-east in this area. Nor does a view that Julian's 363 Persian campaign squandered Constantius II's stabile frontier (p. 12) appreciate intermittent hostilities in northern Mesopotamia AD 336–360 and Sapor II's 359 and 360 offensives, including the capture of Amida. However misguided in execution, Julian sought to end Persian incursions.

Treatment of the evolution of Roman armed forces (pp. 14-20) correctly discerns the legion's origin in a phalanx and the *triarii*'s retention of the long thrusting spear (*hasta*). Conversion of the manipular to the cohortal legion follows a conventional view that the Late Republican cohort anticipated that of the Early Empire, a unit of 480 with *contubernia* (tent units) of eight men and centuries of 80, replacing the Polybian size of six and 60 respectively. But this change, perhaps Flavian at the earliest, rests primarily on the Ps.-Hyginus (2nd century?), *De munitionibus castrorum* 1. Replacement of the Republican organisation based on threes and sixes with an Imperial system of fours and eights is not

[1] Lee (p. 87) follows S. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley 1999), 154–56, but *cf.* E.L. Wheeler, 'Rome's Dacian Wars: Domitian, Trajan, and Strategy on the Danube, Part II'. *Journal of Military History* 75 (2011), 211–13 with n. 162, and I. Oltean, *Dacia: Landscape, Colonisation, and Romanisation* (London/New York 2009), 105–06 on pre-Roman-conquest Dacian gold mining. On advanced strategic planning for Claudius' British invasion, see now E. Graafstal, 'Roman "Grand Strategy" in Action: Claudius and the Annexation of Britain and Thrace'. *Britannia* 54 (2023), 23–50. Such planning mitigates without eliminating purely domestic political purposes for campaigns early in a reign.

addressed.[2] If Augustus created a paid, standing army, modern sociological reasons preclude calling it 'professional' (p. 17).[3] Complexities of the post-Diocletianic-Constantinian army, summarily discussed, omit reference to the problematic *Notitia Dignitatum*, a chief source for the Late Antique army, now under attack and redated to the 440s with (if correct) considerable repercussions for the army's organisation and command structure.[4]

A final section addresses literary and non-literary sources. The brief survey of historiography and theoretical military works accepts (against much scepticism) John Lydus' composition of a history of Justinian's first Persian war (AD 527–532) and hails the value of the Ps.-Joshua the Stylite's *Chronicle*, written in Syriac and outside the Graeco-Roman historiographical tradition.[5] Non-literary sources (epigraphical, papyrological and archaeological finds) receive their due.

Chapter 1 treats attitudes to war and peace, ideology of victory, reaction to defeats, war and the religious calendar, Christian influence on interpretation of victories and defeats, and the presence (or absence) of emperors as field commanders. The revisionism of the 1970s, stressing the imperialistic and militaristic character of Roman society against an earlier emphasis on fetial law and 'defensive imperialism', finds only a partial check in emphasis on the *pomerium* separating military and civilian spheres. Yet the location of military rituals outside the *pomerium* did little to modify senatorial competition for distinction, nor mitigate militaristic elements of Roman society. For L., Eckstein's contextualisation of Roman expansion in an 'anarchy' of competing multipolar powers fails to explain continued Roman expansion after gaining supremacy.[6] Peace, however, came not only through an enemy's defeat. Buying peace and good behaviour from client-kings and external tribes was not exclusively a Late Antique phenomenon. Besides Domitian and Decebalus in 89, numerous other examples could be added: for example, Trajan and Hadrian with the Rhoxolani. The triumph continued as a ritual of victory into Late Antiquity, with the addition that defeat of usurpers and internal rebels could also be celebrated. Diocletian's 303

[2] See the discussion at E.L. Wheeler, 'The Legion as Phalanx in the Late Empire, Part II'. *Revue des Études Militaires Anciennes* 1 (2004), 160–64. Too recent for consideration, G. Brusca, *Le coorti nell'esercito romano di età repubblicana* (Pisa 2020) attempts to solve all problems of the Late Republican cohort, but unconvincingly: M. Petitjean in *Revue internationale de l'Historie Militaire* 11 (2022), 430–34 with further recent bibliography.

[3] For details see Lee's 'A professional Roman army?'. In E. Stewart *et al.* (eds.), *Skilled Labour and Professionalism in Ancient Greece and Rome* (2020), 362–82; *cf.* a similar denial of 'professionalism' for 4th-century BC Greek generals: L. Tritle, 'Virtue and Progress in Classical Athens: The Myth of the Professional General'. *Ancient World* 23 (1992), 71–89, with a critique at E.L. Wheeler, 'The General's *Métier*: The Lists of 'Great Captains' and Criteria for Selection'. In C. Wolff (ed.), *Le métier de soldat dans le monde romain* (2012), 436, n. 81.

[4] A. Kaldellis and M. Kruse, *The Field Armies of the East Roman Empire, 361–630* (Cambridge 2023).

[5] Bibliography on Lydus' supposed history, known only from *Mag.* 3. 28, at E.L. Wheeler, 'Strategic Surprise and John Lydus: Constantine's "Last Plans"'. In N. Hodgson and B. Griffiths (eds.), *Roman Frontier Archaeology – in Britain and Beyond: Papers in Honour of Paul Bidwell* (Oxford 2022), 363–64.

[6] Revisionism: especially W.V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 BC* (Oxford 1979); A. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley 2006).

triumph in Rome, however, did not include the Persian king Narses' wife, sisters and children, whom Galerius captured in 297 (p. 44).[7]

Chapter 2 addresses military service and courage, a somewhat peculiar marriage of themes. Service depended on citizenship and property, a link that Marius' recruitment of *proletarii* supposedly broke. Recent (mainly Anglophone) critiques of the so-called 'Marian reforms', already long questioned, are included, but not a major French discussion, perhaps too recent for consideration.[8] For Late Antiquity the supposed 'barbarisation' of the army is dismissed as misconceived and exaggerated, although recognising that Rome's increasing reliance on recruits and units from outside the empire qualifies complete rejection of barbarisation. Discussion of courage becomes a survey of the concept of *virtus* and recent exaggerations of the role of duels (*monomachiae*) in battle.

Chapter 3 supplements the previous chapter with treatment of manpower and money. Recent attention to demography, percentage of the population in the army, army pay etc. are treated. L. is rightly sceptical (pp. 80–83) of attempts to calculate the Roman state budget and the percentage of income devoted to military costs. If the resort to pay in kind (*annona militaris*) began in the mid-3rd century, the disappearance of the *aerarium militare* in the early 3rd century cannot be part of Diocletian's administrative reforms nearly 50 years later (p. 83) – a rare gaffe. Few would dispute that the loss of North Africa to the Vandals weakened the Western Empire or that Justinian's reconquests of North Africa and Italy had little positive economic impact. Justinian bequeathed to Justin II a diminished treasury.

Chapter 4 rehearses recent views of leadership, including pre-battle speeches and assertions of divine aid, before addressing punishments, mutinies and the perplexities of civil wars. Society and identity are treated in Chapter 5, focusing on the army as a 'community' and religion. The concept of the army as a 'total institution', cut off from civilian society – a view popular with some Anglophone scholars – receives an overly generous regard despite L.'s apparent scepticism and a thorough rebuttal of the concept elsewhere.[9] A re-evaluation of the *Feriale Duranum*, denying its purpose as a military calendar, escaped notice.[10]

Chapter 6 on culture and communication combines a hodge-podge of themes, such as borrowings of non-Roman equipment and arms besides types of units (for example archers, cataphracts), cultural and ethnic mixture within the Roman army, and the degree of documentation and literacy. Surprisingly, Polybius' myth about the origin of Roman naval forces in the First Punic War is essentially accepted, despite the existence of *duumviri*

[7] These, after retention in Antioch, were returned as part of the 299 Treaty of Nisibis. See W. Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*… (Frankfurt 2001), 179, n. 490, 234, n. 638.

[8] F. Cadiou, *L'Armée imaginaire: Les soldats prolétaires dans les légions romaines au dernier siècle de la République* (Paris 2018).

[9] Especially O. Stoll, *Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung: Die Religion des römischen Heeres im Nahen Osten* (St Katharinen 2001); *cf.* P. Wilson, 'Defining Military Culture'. *Journal of Military History* 72 (2008), 29–31.

[10] M.B. Reeves, *The Feriale Duranum, Roman Military Religion, and Dura Europos: A Reassessment* (Dissertation, SUNY Buffalo 2005), followed (unconvincingly) by I. Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces: The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans* (Oxford 2013), 200–06.

navales from 311 BC.[11] No 'Germanisation' of units or formations occurred in the Late Antique army despite the intrusion of non-Roman terms in some sources.[12] For L., the literacy in the army was probably greater than some allege, but he doubts the uniformity of documentation across the empire. Numerous papyrologists and epigraphers would probably disagree.

Chapter 7 on the experience of war first reviews debates about the so-called 'face of battle' and small unit cohesion, before L.'s own mini-study of the 43 BC Battle of Forum Gallorum, based on Ser. Sulpicius Galba's letter to Cicero (*Ad fam.* 10. 30). The effects of war on civilians concludes the chapter. L. discerns three categories: sieges, raids and protracted warfare, all of which involve enslavement.[13] A brief Epilogue concludes the work with the notable observation that Christianity painted a new patina on pagan rituals and offered a justification for war in the 6th and 7th centuries, but without mitigating the actual conduct of operations.

In sum, given the author's goals, the work achieves its purpose and can serve as a good introduction to social and cultural aspects of the Roman army or 'refresh' even specialists on some aspects. As often, however, with the 'new military history' sometimes the result is *Hamlet* without the prince.

Duke University, NC Everett L. Wheeler

M. Leese, *Making Money in Ancient Athens*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2021, xii+266 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-472-13276-8

The book by Michael Leese, which originated with his dissertation, represents essentially an attempt to draw a complex and multi-faceted picture of ancient Athenian society as one that was not alien to such capitalistic notions as economic rationality, maximization of profit and wealth, demand and supply. At first glance, it might appear that just one more disputant has joined the age-long and relentless clashes between modernistic and primitivistic approaches to the nature and character of the ancient economy. That is, however, an over-hasty snap judgment. In this not voluminous, but meaningful and thoughtful book, L. manages to gain a new insight into the mechanisms that propelled the economic life of the ancient Athens and demonstrates, to put it simply, that the economic motivations of the Athenians differed little from those of capitalists of modern times.

The book consists of Introduction, five chapters, followed by a separate concluding chapter, extensive bibliography, general index and an *index locorum*.

[11] See C. Dart, '*Duumviri navales* and the Navy of the Roman Republic'. *Latomus* 71 (2012), 1000–14.

[12] On the *fulcrum*, a continuation of a phalangical formation of infantry, add E.L. Wheeler, 'The Legion as Phalanx in the Late Empire, Part I'. In Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (eds.), *L'armée romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien Ier* (Paris 2004), 320–58.

[13] At p. 170 n. 61 'Volkmann 1990', not in the Bibliography, refers to H. Volkmann's *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner eroberter Städte in der hellenistich-römischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1961) in G. Horsmann's revised ed. of 1990.

The Introduction (pp. 1–16) offers a critical account of the principal writings on the nature and character of ancient economies. In L.'s view, the absence of a common accepted definition of the key notion of economic rationality is one of the main obstacles to the correct evaluation and understanding of ancient economic realities, precluding the overcoming of the primitivistic or modernistic prejudices of previous research. He argues that such a rationality, if put it simply, should be considered as 'maximization of profit or wealth by individual' (p. 11). It does not concern the aims of the economic action, but only the means to achieve them. It does not deal with either efficiency or with activity of institutions external to the individual. What matters is the economic behaviour of a man. Accordingly, the main aim of the book is, on one side, to detect patterns of the economically rational behaviour of the ancient Athenians, if there were any, and on the other, to distinguish those 'cultural, financial, political, psychological and social factors that affected individual behavior in ancient Athens' (p. 16). To achieve his goals L. uses a rich spectrum of sources, comprising writings of the Greek philosophers, speeches of the Athenian orators as well as epigraphic material.

Chapter 1 ('Hunger in Their Souls: Profit and Wealth Maximization in Athenian Thought', pp. 17–56) deals with the views of the ancient writers and philosophers Xenophon, Aristotle and Plato, regarding their characterisation of and attitude to the so-called 'art of moneymaking' or *chrematistike* in Greek. The very fact that this sort of activity was called an 'art' and attracted the attention of prominent Greek thinkers testifies, in L.'s view, to its wide spread and centrality to the daily life of the *polis* citizen. Money-makers or *chrematistai* demonstrate in their rush toward material gains creativity and inventiveness. Aristotle stresses that this quest has no end and combined with human genius and its achievements, such as invention of the coinage, is often 'beyond the limits permitted by nature alone'. Plato enumerates among three main types of human being: along with lovers of wisdom and victory, lovers of profit. This unlimited eagerness for profit and wealth, in L.'s words, 'resemble the profit and wealth maximization that is the cornerstone of economic rationality in modern economic theory' (p. 20). Further discussion highlights the notions of risk and safety as fundamental not just to the Greek decision-making process in general, but for the economic considerations of the Greek entrepreneurs too. Not only should money-makers take calculations of future profit into account, but also the possible risks of the whole venture should be evaluated. Conscious choice between risky and safe investments constitutes one more important element of the modern rational economic behaviour familiar to the ancient Greeks.

Next three chapters present case studies confirming the ideas expressed previously. Chapter 2 ('Making Money in the *Oikos*', pp. 57–95) exemplifies ancient Athenian economically rational estate management. Basing on the instances given, L. formulates its principles, main of which was diversification. The owners of estates did not concentrate on agricultural produce only, which depended highly on casual factors such as, weather, but employed strategies aimed at the long-term profitability of their household. Thence their commitment to the manufactures of various kinds, acquisition of cash-generating enterprises as well as lending. As L. states, 'lower-risk properties bringing a steady return were combined with more risky investments yielding higher profit' (p. 94). Such a strategy, L. observes, is quite similar to that of 'modern firms in their search for increased profitability' (p. 91).

Chapter 3 ('Moneymaking Strategies on Specialized Estates', pp. 96–135) deals with such types of specialised activity as silver mining, manufacturing of various kinds, banking and money-lending. Through all of these branches of the economic operations runs like a golden thread the aim to maximise profit and wealth, the signs of which are thoroughly registered and interpreted by L. Describing various examples of the risky enterprises undertaken by the Greek money-makers, he places emphasis on the proposition that neither risk aversion nor risk avoidance was the basis of their economic strategies, rather it was risk management aimed at minimisation of possible losses.

Chapter 4 ('Profit, Trust, and Deception in Ancient Greek Maritime Trade', pp. 136–77) is devoted to the characterisation of one of the most profitable and at the same time potentially one of the most dangerous kinds of ancient Greek commercial activity. L. stresses that honesty and trust were especially important in this line of business, where fraud and deception were not uncommon. Apart from the special economic measures aimed to secure bottomage loans, personal relations, either of friendship or kinship, between lender and borrower helped to minimize possible risks and to create an economic system, 'where cooperation was just as important as competition' (p. 171).

In the last chapter (5: 'Maximization in the Ancient Greek Economy', pp. 178–220), L. addresses the psychological roots of the economic activities of the ancient Greeks, stating that already in the Archaic period Greek poets and philosophers were considering a wish for gain and increase of wealth as an inherent element of the Greek soul. Different personalities could have been motivated in this respect by different reasons. Some just wished with the help of wealth to get security and safety from hardship, while others, driven by envy and greed, sought honour and power. Unjust pursuit of profit could cause social unrest.

Conclusions (pp. 221–31) sums up observations made previously. L. fairly justifies moving away from the dogmatic perceptions on the existence of free labour and capital markets as pre-requisites defining development of a capitalistic economy and advocates instead less static and more dynamic definitions of capitalism. Even though ancient Greeks surely did not achieve the level of the modern industrial capitalism, such elements of their economic behaviour as commitment to innovation, endless accumulation of wealth and continuous reinvestment of profit into productive enterprises merit this new flexible labelling.

L. undoubtedly opens here a new page in the study of the ancient Greek economy and its unbiased further understanding. He clearly demonstrates the fruitfulness of an open-minded approach and the rejection of rigid fusty attitudes. The book can be highly recommended to all students of ancient history and economy.

Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow Sergei A. Kovalenko

A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Architectural Elements, Wall Paintings, and Mosaics: Final Publications from the Danish-German Jerash Northwest Quarter Project IV*, 2 vols., Jerash Papers 9.1–2, Brepols, Turnhout 2022, ix+434 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-59666-2/ISSN 2736-7134

The north-eastern part of the ancient city of Jerash was occupied by a succession of habitations rather than substantial public buildings. These were subject to the normal depredations of time and destructive events. The present volume, number 9 in the final publications

of the Danish-German Jerash Northwest quarter project, is presented in two parts, 9.1 devoted to architecture and building ceramics, 9.2 to wall paintings and mosaics. They consider material down to the earthquake of AD 749. In part 9.1 Architecture comprises stone fragments, almost all of local limestone, with a very few marble pieces related to churches. What is clear is that the excavations produced much architectural material which had been used as fill and with no indication of the buildings from which it had originated. The material might be reused simply for bulk filling and levelling but some also were spolia collected from earlier structures and deliberately reused, a category which particularly involved tiles.

The architectural elements listed in the present volume include fragments of stone architecture, bases, column drums, entablatures and fragments of mouldings. The only certain chronological indications, however, are of destruction – that is, they come from the earthquake level indicating they were in use on buildings at that point, AD 749, but without any clear indication of their original date. They are almost all extremely fragmentary, with bases described simply as Attic-Ionic but with no certainty for the full details of the columns to which they originally belonged. Capital fragments can be identified as Doric (two examples, of uncertain date), Ionic (nine examples) or Corinthian (seven examples). Indications of date are very uncertain. For some, no indication at all is given. Others are simply listed as Roman. There are fragments of panels and simple moulding pieces.

The following chapter lists Byzantine interior decoration, elements related to church architecture and including pieces in marble. The next chapter is devoted to a single limestone block 'with altar iconography'. However the greater part of the architectural elements are ceramic, roof tiles, hypocaust supports and floor elements. These are described and given their chronological indications without discussing the evidence for this. Finally, chapter six gives an 'archaeo-scientific' analysis of the building ceramics.

Volume 9.2 is concerned with wall paintings and mosaics – or, rather, fragments of painted plaster and pieces of mosaic floors. The majority of the painted fragments are simply pieces with overall washes of a single colour, usually described as 'whitish' or 'whitish beige', though some may be 'reddish'. Patterning is extremely limited – occasionally pieces have indications of a painted band. Where a date is given it is attributed to the archaeological context in which the fragment was found, the fragments by themselves, either in terms of their colouring or any (usually very slight) patterning, being un-datable.

Chapter 9 discusses the evidence for the pigments used in the wall-painting fragments.

Chapter 10, encouragingly, is headed 'The mosaics in situ, floors and fragments'. These obviously include small pieces and loose tesserae. However, one building labelled as the 'so-called mosaic floor' did include two actual pavements, both with inscriptions which give their dates, one in AD 576, the other in AD 591. Both are patterned rather than figurative. The inscriptions record the man responsible for both of them – Stephen, son of Kosmas, who was a diakon of the Electi Iustiniani, explained as an administrator of a group of special forces. Other people named are a bishop, Marianos, and his money collectors Zacharius and Alexander.

Another building is named, after what was found in it as the House of the tesserae. This had had two tessellated pavements in its upper storey, but which had collapsed in the earthquake of 749. Fragments of actual pavement were found as well as loose tesserae (thousands of them) and show that these pavements were decorated in simple geometric patterns.

Finally, Chapter 11 is concerned with glass tesserae found in this area. These were loose finds – there is no evidence for actual wall or floor mosaic incorporating such tesserae.

All told, these two parts of Volume 9 give a useful account of the different elements used in the construction and decoration of the less monumental – in other words, routine – buildings of Jerash from Roman into the later Roman and Byzantine period. Even if much included here cannot be attributed to specific structures, the element of continuity is very apparent. The editors and the authors of the individual chapters bring this useful study together for the understanding of the ordinary, less monumental side of the architecture of Jerash.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

L. Llewellyn-Jones and A. McAuley, *Sister-Queens in the High Hellenistic Period: Kleopatra Thea and Kleopatra III*, Routledge Studies in Ancient History, Routledge, London/ New York 2023, xiii+275 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-138-63509-8

This book reassesses the late 2nd century BC through the lives of two sister-queens, arguing that the period shows political vitality rather than decaying dynasties. This re-examination of the sisters argues that the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties were interconnected in a complex web that the authors term 'transdynasticism'. More centrally, the book argues that Kleopatra Thea and Kleopatra III exercised autonomy throughout their lives. The authors incorporate psychological studies and comparisons to Mediaeval and Early Modern European royal courts to understand the dynamics of Hellenistic royal courts. This allows the exploration of emotions, motivations and power dynamics in ways impossible from ancient material alone.

The first chapter contextualises the sister-queens in their Ptolemaic upbringing. As princesses, the sisters were exempt from some of the gendered expectations of the lower classes, a frequent prerogative of royal women as recent work on European courts demonstrates. This granted them a degree of agency even at a young age. The authors delve into the psychological environment of the girls' experiences using recent research on childhood relations and emotions. The chapter narrates the banquets, court functions, education, festivals and clothing that the princesses likely experienced in the palace. After briefly describing the legacy of the sisters' ancestors, the second chapter presents the young princesses as they enter the marriage market. We follow Kleopatra Thea to the Seleucid kingdom as her father barters her away to Alexander Balas in exchange for influence in the region. This leads to his subsequent interventions in the increasingly interconnected dynastic affairs in Syria. Meanwhile in Egypt, Kleopatra III marries her uncle, Ptolemy VIII, after her father's death and the subsequent civil war between Kleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII, during which the king murdered his own children from Kleopatra II. The authors examine the psychological motivations behind Ptolemy VIII's filicide and Kleopatra II's continued attraction to him, which recent studies suggest are the effects of paranoia and power. The chapter's main argument is that the two Kleopatrai were not passive princesses, despite the treatment of the ancient literary sources. Their later agency and determination later are evident in their early careers. Kleopatra Thea *chose* to act in accord with her father's wishes rather than make alternate arrangements for her second marriage to Demetrius II. Meanwhile,

Kleopatra III actively negotiated palace intrigues and strife between her mother and uncle-husband.

The third chapter best demonstrates the sisters' agency. Kleopatra Thea governed Syria and formed marriage alliances for herself after the death of her first husband, despite the psychological effects of widowhood. She employed her dynastic wealth to draw soldiers to her cause and away from less well-funded pretenders to the throne, even while she lacked a husband. As Thea remarried, she became a stabilising force in Syria while her successive husbands travelled on military campaigns. The authors reject the notion that Kleopatra Thea asserted an independent reign after the death of her third husband Antiochos VII. Instead, they situate Thea's solo coinage in the period before her son Antiochos VIII arrived from Athens to rule with her, again emphasising her stabilising role. Thea dominated Seleucid politics, and her co-rule with Antiochos VIII was the pinnacle of her power, not the frustrated results of a failed attempt at a ruling alone. Like her sister, Kleopatra III dominated the politics of her kingdom after her widowhood, though civil conflict divided her against her children. Her military forays into Syria against her son Ptolemy IX have been labelled ineffective, as her son survived. However, Ptolemy IX never again initiated hostilities, indicating Kleopatra's generalship was effective. The most striking sign of Kleopatra III's power was her increasing pre-eminence. She took positions of honour before her sons in dating formulae and temple reliefs, named herself priest of Alexander, and amassed unprecedented titles as the Goddess Euergetis Philometor, the Female Horus.

The fourth chapter evaluates the two Kleopatrai outside of the biographical framework of the preceding chapters by examining their titles, divine assimilations, cult positions and especially iconography. The iconographical evidence is unbalanced; images of Kleopatra Thea principally appear on coins, whereas Kleopatra III appears in statues and reliefs. Coin portraits show that Thea styled herself as Isis, bringing her Egyptian heritage to Syria. Meanwhile, images of Kleopatra III emphasise fatness, a manifestation of Ptolemaic *tryphe* – royal power demonstrated through wealth and splendour – which her uncle-husband Ptolemy III particularly emphasised. The authors identify several statues as Kleopatra III which had been previously misattributed to the more famous Kleopatra VII. This reassessment sets the last Kleopatra as successor to a legacy of powerful queens, rather than an anonymously powerful queen. The authors pursue this theme in the brief final chapter, tracing the intertwined dynasty to its end and re-contextualising Kleopatra VII as a natural continuation of her ancestors. Her autonomy, devotion to her son, self-representation and deft adaptability were all dynastic traits.

Overall, the authors' forays outside of Classical Studies are profitable. However, they occasional rely too heavily on comparative material from pharaonic Egypt to fill the gaps in Ptolemaic sources. This can be a useful strategy, but the assumption that evidence from the New Kingdom, some thousand years before the Ptolemies, is relevant in Hellenistic Egypt leads to questionable conclusions. On pp. 9 and 75, the authors invoke the assertion of the Amarna Letters that pharaohs did not send Egyptian royal women as brides to foreign kings. The directionality of international marriage alliances was certainly important in the New Kingdom, but there is little evidence that this tradition found the same importance a thousand years later among the Ptolemies. The book also contains some unfortunate errors resulting from the editorial process. Most egregious is a recurrent mistake which occurs ten times in pp. 185–201, where 'apitalize', 'apital' or other derivatives appear,

sometimes when 'capitalize' or 'capital' was meant, but at times when some other word is clearly missing. Beyond this striking issue, errors occur with a frequency one would not expect from Routledge Press. These, however, are minor quibbles with an otherwise excellent work of scholarship. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and Alexander McAuley's work is a welcome addition to the history of Hellenistic royal women and politics.

University of Michigan Allen Kendall

U. Mania (ed.), *Hafen, Stadt, Mikroregion*, Beiträge der Arbeitsgruppe 5 »Hafenorte«, der Forschungsclusters 6 »Connecting Cultures. Formen, Wegen und Räume kultureller Interaktion« und einer Tagung am 26. und 27. Mai 2017 an der Abteilung Istanbul des DAI, Menschen – Kulturen – Traditionen, Studien aus den Forschungensclustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 18, Forschungscluster 6 »Connecting Cultures. Formen, Wegen und Räume kultureller Interaktion«, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut/Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2021, xiii+153 pp., illustrations (a few in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-11744-9

This volume results from three conferences, held in Istanbul and Bochum in 2016 and 2017. The aim of these was to reveal the importance of ports 'as components of regional or supra-regional networks'. To overcome the notion of ports only as nodes in a network as developed by Fernand Braudel and by Peregrine Horden and Nicolas Purcell, ports should be analysed as dynamic systems kept in motion by 'a high number of actors with different interests' (p. xi). This also seems to be a conception that is directed against the widespread euphoria of globalisation in order to shed light on how human relations are constituted in smaller and larger regions, an undertaking comparable to the notion that goes under the term 'glocalism'.

In the first of two more theoretical studies, Stefan Feuser shows how to conceptualise the port not as 'the dot on the map' but as self-supporting city being part either of independent micro-regions or macro-regions. Matthew Harpster distinguishes between sea-regions of differing numbers of activity and their character often changing over time. This is based on the notion that the sea is an inhabited space, 'defined by the adjusted land' (p. 18).

The remaining eight contributions (five in English, three in German) deal with ports in various parts of the Mediterranean, on its west coast, Tarraco and Narbo Martius (Nicolas Carayon and Simon Keay), in Sicily, mainly but not solely Syracuse (Jon Albers), in the Adriatic Sea, Aenona and Iader (Julia Daum and Martina Seifert), the island of Delos (Mantha Zarmakoupi), on Lesbos, Mytilene (Yannis Kourtzelis and Theodoulou Theotokis), the west-coast of Asia Minor, Pergamon (Bernhard Ludwig) and the Lower Maeander valley (Jesko Fildhuth), and finally on the Rhine, Cologne (Alfred Schäfer). Each study has a focus on a special period in the history of the selected port(s). Thus, the chronological frame stretches from Archaic Greece to Byzantine times. The basic intention leading all studies is particularly well put by Caragon and Keay: The port 'comprises three distinct parts: a land area (town or city), a water area (harbour or navigable water) and the interface between both (the access).' And the definition of a port 'must include secondary harbours and other coastal sites' (pp. 53–54). In this view a port becomes a real platform of exchange

between maritime networks and micro-regions devoted to production. To make this complex situation transparent, the means of archaeology are often not sufficient enough but need the support of written sources, as is explicitly stated in the cases of Mytilene and Aenona and Iader.

Some ports show the linkage between port and smaller harbours or anchorages very clearly. The harbour of Syracuse together with further harbours and anchorages along the coast made a clear-cut hierarchical system. Quite similar was Tarraco, where related harbours and harbour-sites were parts of 'a broader maritime interface' and, from the 2nd century BC through the 1st century AD, became continuously stronger connected to the micro-region of the *ager Tarraconensis*. The northern harbour of Mytilene on Lesbos was not solely the main gate to the city, but, together with smaller ports and port facilities, also the entrance to the rest of the island. Chronological change shows Narbo Martius extremely well, where the number of sites occupied around the lagoon increased from 26 BC to AD 126. A special case is the area of the estuary of the Maeander in 13th century, the Late Byzantine period, when due to the now only small ships in use, a real concentration of port facilities emerged. Though Palatia (Miletus) still had its own port, Sampson (Priene), originally located next to the sea, was beside Doganbey particularly dependent on the port Spiliá which was 16 km distant from Priene but linked by roads and bridges with the city.

The hierarchy between ports became significantly stronger when a harbour-city had a special economic or administrative status. Delos, after 167 BC a big harbour, was a hub in the long-distance trade in the Mediterranean. The small commercial harbours next to the now formed neighbourhoods of the city and some anchorages around the island served the local trade. The port of the colony Iader was bigger than that of the municipium Aenona. At Roman times, a broad spectrum of different types of landing sites of functional diversity formed a system of structural hierarchy at the coast next to Pergamon: harbours, ports/opportunistic ports, *villae maritimae*.

The plan of a harbour-city was organised to fulfil the needs of the harbour. Broad roads led from the agora to the harbour in Syracuse. In Naxos and Tarentum, the agora was situated next to the port. In Mytilene, the orientation of the city to the harbour can be observed in its development over time. In the 4th century its defensive wall was being completed and the northern harbour installed. In the 3rd century, the wall was no longer in use, a two-storey stoa erected, its façade directed to the sea. Four more stoas in close distance indicate the location of the city's agora next to the harbour. When the lifestyle changed in Roman times a bath complex replaced one of the stoas. Outside the city a luxury Roman villa and minor scale marine infrastructures were installed. No less telling is the example of Delos. After 167 BC, when the Romans granted Delos *ateleia*, Delos changed its character from a religious centre to an important commercial base. This was accompanied by an unprecedented demographic growth and a redevelopment of the existing urban and harbour areas of the island: the construction of jetties, docksides, warehouses, shops and markets, but no large-scale storerooms at the harbour or in the city. The assumption is that slaves and commodities were sold next to the port. Finally, even in Cologne the river-harbour influenced the city-plan: five huge doors linked its forum with the harbour and its storerooms.

Further evidence for the above-mentioned connection of the harbour with the hinterland by a river or roads is provided by Selinunt, Narbo Martius, Elaia, Spiliá or Cologne. From Pergamon, which was 20 km inland, led a road to the next port Elaia, crossing the

coastal plain, a micro-region by itself. In the 14th century, the harbour for Sampson (Priene), Spiliá, served the entire district of Sampson, consisting of eight monasteries organised as a federation. Intensive traffic is also attested on the Maeander.

The sea as a space of communication is particularly well demonstrated in the case of Aenona and Iader. Both harbours served as means for settlers to reach the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea to which attest the same Roman family names in inscriptions on both sides of the sea. Several smaller coastal villages on Lesbos held close contact with Asia Minor by trade. Delos was integrated into two different spaces of communication, as commercial base into the vast space of the entire Mediterranean, whereas the rudimental neighbourhoods were linked to micro-scale activities between the island and Asia Minor, as was Spiliá to the island of Samos.

To sum up, the contributions as whole offer remarkable insights into how complex the connections of harbours with the sea and the hinterland were, even if not in every case this complexity is equally easily to detect.

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M. Mazis, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, Vol. 7: The Metals*, Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl. 12, MEDITARCH, Sydney 2023, vol. 7.1: xv+331 pp., vol. 7.2: vii+491 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-958026-59-8

This is the seventh and final volume in the Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates series, which presents the nearly 4000 metal finds recovered over almost a quarter of a century of Australian fieldwork at the site, the ancient name of which remains unknown, which was probably founded by Seleucus I Nicator early in the 3rd century BC, to be abandoned three centuries later when the Seleucid empire collapsed. Jebel Khalid has been heavily damaged by looting and fighting since the start of the Syrian civil war in 2011. Objects and samples stored for processing and future archiving have been lost, including most of those presented in this work. One of the most important aims of this volume, therefore, is to ensure that as much of the archaeological record as possible is formally documented and transmitted.

The book is published in two parts (Part 1: Chapters 1–5; Part 2: Chapters 6–9), which include richly illustrated catalogues and detailed discussions. The first introductory chapter (pp. 1–54) presents a short outline of the history of the site, an introduction to the catalogue focusing on general information and the constellation of its groups. It is stressed that 'the approach taken in this volume is to consider how metal tools, weapons and adornments might represent the experiences of the Jebel Khalid community, especially during the period of the Hellenistic military colony' (p. 10). In total, 11 groups are singled out: military finds, horse fittings, blades, tools and fine tools (Chapters 2–5); nails, general fittings and fasteners, security fittings, household items, objects of personal use and items of uncertain type or function (Chapters 6–9). Each chapter contains discussions and catalogue entries. Descriptions include observable measurements and features as well as information on relevant metallurgical analysis. The main areas from which the metal finds originate (pp. 12–18), the context and dating terms (pp. 18–28), as well as materials and manufacturing techniques (pp. 28–42), scenarios of metalworking at the site, the workspaces (pp. 42–47) are discussed in special surveys. Important for a general understanding of the

material is the fact that the majority of finds come from stratified deposits associated with the Hellenistic military colony, the material culture of which represents a confluence of Western and Eastern influences (pp. 47–49). Finally, approaches to the description, interpretation of the finds in the catalogue, as well as terminology are clarified (pp. 49–54).

Chapter 2 (pp. 55–134) is devoted to military finds and horse fittings and includes entries and discussions of weapon points, sling bullets, weapon butts and ends, as well as bladed weapons, cavalry armour and horse fittings. Military finds prevail, and there are only 12 of 122 entries in the section of horse fittings. They are represented primarily by so-called weapon points, i.e. arrowheads (mainly) and javelin-heads, subdivided into five groups, made primarily of iron, among them above all three-bladed/-sided with tang and two-bladed. The highest concentration of these objects occurred in the Acropolis group of buildings (pp. 63–78, 92–118, nos. M1–M80). Of special interest in this chapter are the finds of objects attributed as the cavalry and horse fittings, also because of the comparatively well state of preservation and the fact that seven of the dozen finds interpreted as horse fittings or related to cavalry came from relatively secure Hellenistic levels (pp. 85–91, 130–34, nos. HF111–122).

Chapter 3 (pp. 135–90) presents blades, i.e. the group of cutting tools used for domestic, personal, medical and/or agricultural purposes. These are knives, razors, scalpers, shears and sickles, 121 in total, all made of iron and found mainly in the area of the Temple and Housing Insula. The majority of finds are non-military, in the opinion of the author, many represented by small and very small fragments. Among what is in general ordinary material a bimetallic knife (p. 146, fig. 3.11; p. 170, no. B170) is singled out: the handle is bowed and with a moulded onion-top-and-reel finial; the comparison of the handle with moulded finials of the La Tène fibulae (p. 170) seems rather doubtful to me.

Chapter 4 (pp. 191–281) looks at metal objects, primarily made of iron, and related finds that are likely to have played an important part in the economic life of Jebel Khalid, including tools and tool parts, as well as metalworking samples an production waste, which provide evidence of construction, manufacturing, trading and food production, with the overwhelming majority of finds of this class associated with the Hellenistic military colony. Besides various chisels (pp. 194–98, 227–35, nos. T244–265), awls and punches (pp. 200–02, 239–43, nos. T283–296), as well as artefacts related to repair or joining work on ceramics, metal or other materials, such as joiners and plugs (pp. 220–22, 267–75, nos. T364–391), the attention is attracted by the rather numerous tools for writing, styli (pp. 210–12, 247–53, nos. T307–325), and for measuring, including scale-pans, steelyard and weights (pp. 212–16, 253–56, nos. T326–335).

Chapter 5 (pp. 283–331) unites a group of finely features objects of toll-like form that are made predominantly of copper alloy and used most likely for delicate and/or precise work. Most of 130 objects of leaded tin bronze are spatulas or part of spatulas (pp. 289–93, 295–319, nos. FT419–483; pp. 328–29, nos. FT528–533), coming mainly from the Housing Insula. Much less widespread were fine tools designed for distinctly different applications, such as probes, scoops and forceps.

Chapter 6 (Part 2, pp. 1–180) presents fittings and fasteners, including carpentry nails, masonry joiners and clamps, etc. with almost 2000 nails, the vast majority of them made of iron (pp. 1–23, 36–121, N 549–2483). Also numerous are general fittings and fasteners as well as security fittings. In total, these groups cover *ca.* 56% of all the metal objects from

Jebel Khalid included in the book. Of the finds presented in the chapter, of special importance is a rather small group of the so-called security fittings, including 12 keys and key-fragments (pp. 32–35, 174–80, nos. S2717–2733).

Chapter 7 (pp. 181–220) considers utensils and vessels, including those for cooking, drinking, food storage, collecting and handling water, oil and wine, etc., with the finds primarily made of tin and leaded tin bronze, mainly from the Housing Insula but also from the Temple precinct. The number of vessel fragments (pp. 192–97, 205–19, nos. H2755–2794) prevails over that of the utensils (pp. 185–92, 198–205, nos. H2735–2754). Of special interest is a bronze double-nozzle lamp with an ivy-lead heat shield over ring handle, which is undoubtedly dated to the 1st century AD, perhaps to its second half, which was buried in the collapse of the western façade of the Temple, said to have occurred in the late 2nd–early 3rd century AD (pp. 185–86, 198–99, no. H2735, fig. 7), and foot mounts, which were attached to the bottoms of metal vessels of the types characteristic for Late La Tène/Late Republican contexts (pp. 195–96, 218–19, nos. H2792–2794).

Lengthiest is Chapter 8 (pp. 221–386), which looks at the 674 objects for personal use, including those for personal ornamentation, dress and grooming, most of which were executed with specialised metalwoking techniques, such as wire-working, engraving, chasing, and also with inlays of glass and gemstones. The spectrum of types includes armlets, body rings, and bangles (pp. 236–41, 264–85, nos. P2795–2889), brooches and clasps (pp. 241–46, 285–304, nos. P2890–2994), finger rings (pp. 246–51, 304–316, nos. P2995–3040), earrings (pp. 252–53, 316–28, nos. P3041–3112), pendants (pp. 254–55, 328–32, nos. P3113–3134), chains (pp. 256–57, 333–36, nos. P3141–3159), pins (pp. 258–59, 349–71, nos. P3235–3404), needles (pp. 259–60, 372–77, nos. P3405–3434), discs and mirrors (pp. 262–63, 381–85, nos. P3448–3468), etc. Stylistically some subclasses embody Hellenistic design traditions, whereas others clearly evolve from Near Eastern and Achaemenid prototypes, some find Iron Age antecedents from the western Mediterranean and some objects even present La Tène types. To the latter belongs a completely preserved iron La Tène II fibula found in the layer dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC of the Acropolis (p. 243, 285, 287, no. P2899, fig. 8).

Hundreds of small metal fragments, which are too fragmentary for interpretation, are discussed in Chapter 9 (pp. 387–441).

Part 2 of the book also includes two appendices. Appendix A (pp. 443–53) presents the results of 116 metal analyses. Samples available for analysis included fine tools, adornments and items for personal use. The method used is X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectrometry. In addition, the results of metallurgical investigation a thick iron plate T301 are published (pp. 450–53). Appendix B lists 61 finds which are probably associated with Roman, Byzantine or later periods (pp. 455–58).

Overall, the book leaves one with some questions. There are evident and repeated mistakes, based on limited knowledge of aspects of archaeology on the fringe of ancient world. The best example is the many-times repeated formula 'come from the Tenginskaya burial grounds (near Hellenistic Tanais)' (pp. 78–79, 87, 90, etc.). The Cossack village of Tenginskaya whose burial ground was excavated is located in 23 km to the east of Ust'-Labinsk, Krasnodar region, on the Kuban river, whereas Tanais, the ancient city of the Bosporan kingdom is in the Don estuary, *ca*. 306 km to the north of Tenginskaya. Moreover, Tanais existed not only in the Hellenistic period but also in the first centuries AD.

Our attention is also attracted by the attribution of some objects. As an example I will mention button-and-loop fasteners and harness buckles (pp. 86–88, 130–31, nos. HF112–116). There is nothing specifically characteristic for cavalry in a button-and-loop fastener HF112, a fact acknowledged by the author (p. 87), and the closest parallel from Gamla, which confirm the Hellenistic date of the piece from Jebel Khalid, tells us nothing about its function. Coming to the so-called harness buckles HF113–115 with square frames with concave sides, which are called 'hyperbolic': again there are no distinct grounds to consider them harness buckles. The parallels from Dura Europos and Tenginskaya, mentioned by the author (pp. 87–88, fig. 2.16) vary from the finds from Jebel Khalid by the presence of articulated side-tongs. Moreover, the frame sides of the buckle from Tenginskaya are almost straight. It should also be mentioned that buckles with concave sides with hemispherical protrusions in the corners and side-hooks occur not only in Tenginskaya and Dura Europos but also in numerous complexes of Late Scythian culture in the Crimea, dated to the late 2nd–1st centuries BC, not to mention their possible Central European and Danubian prototypes.[1] But in any case, all of them are equipped with side-hooks.

Another interesting aspect of the finds from Jebel Khalid, already mentioned above, is the La Tène origin of certain objects. Though this is mentioned in the discussion of certain pieces, there are neither general conclusions nor attempts to show whether such unusual objects had been found before in the eastern Mediterranean or Asia Minor, and if so where.[2]

Despite certain deficiencies, some of which are briefly mentioned above, this is a very useful book for all those interested in Hellenistic/Early Roman metal objects of various purpose and functions. I would recommend it to those interested in archaeology, especially if they deal professionally with the study of ancient bronze objects.

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M. Mineo, J.F. Gibaje and N. Mazzucco (eds.), *The Submerged Site of La Marmotta (Rome, Italy). Decrypting a Neolithic Society*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2023, xii+156 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78925-871-4

The site of La Marmotta on Lake Bracciano in western Central Italy is one of the most important Neolithic sites in Italy, perhaps in the whole Mediterranean. Dating to the Early Neolithic (*ca.* 5700–5250 cal. BC), its unique importance lies in the extraordinary survival of organic materials, comprising house structures, five large dugout canoes and a wide range

[1] Discussed in detail by me in 'Imported bronze hammered cauldrons from Asian Sarmatia'. In J. Boardman, J. Hargrave, A. Avram and A.V. Podossinov (eds.), *Connecting the Ancient West and East. Studies presented to Prof. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze* (Leuven 2022), 1372.

[2] See, most recently, A. Coşkun, 'Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien: ein problematisches Kriterium für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Identität(en) der Galater'. *IstMitt* 64 (2014), 129–62; K. Parachaud: *Présences "celtiques" en Méditerranée orientale au regard des cultures matérielles de La Tène (Ve–Ier siècle av. n. è.)*, vols. 1–2 (Université Toulouse–Jean Jaurès 2015: *http://dante.univ-tlse2.fr/id/eprint/1417*); 'Les Galates en Asie mineure au regard de la culture matérielle. Hellénisation, maintien, acculturation?'. *Anatolia Antiqua* 26 (2018), 23–44.

of artefacts. The wooden artefacts include containers, cooking implements, a large number of sickles (some with flint inserts still in position), tools associated with spinning and weaving, bows and handles of axes and adzes, while the plant fibre artefacts include fragments of textiles, cordage, basketry and brushes. These are all artefacts that are rarely found in Neolithic contexts in Italy, where waterlogged sites are known mainly from the Bronze Age (in the north of the country). The survival of the organic remains results from the position of the site – buried beneath 9 m of water and 2.5–3 m of silt and thus protected from damage.

The site was discovered in 1989 when a new water pipeline was laid at the bottom of the lake. It was excavated in 29 seasons between 1992 and 2009 by the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico 'L. Pigorini' (now the Museo delle Civiltà) under the direction of Maria Antonietta Fugazzola Delpino. The finds were housed in the Pigorini Museum and conservation work was carried out there. A number of publications have appeared over the years, covering various aspects of the site and its finds, but nothing approaching a full account. From 2017 there has been a new collaboration between the Museo delle Civiltà and the Spanish Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas and a new injection of funds. The present publication represents the first major output of this new collaboration and involves studies by a considerable number of specialists in different fields. It is very welcome.

Having said that, this is rather an odd book. The first oddity is the subtitle, 'Decrypting a Neolithic Society', which is both pretentious and misleading. If it had read 'An interim report on the organic and lithic remains', it would have conveyed the content much better. A second oddity is the combination of commentaries of extremely general type with detailed accounts of types of artefacts and individual examples. This contrast appears both at the level of chapters and within chapters, where in some cases very general introductions to the study of particular materials are followed by detailed lists and descriptions of the finds from La Marmotta. Among the chapters, Chapters 1, 2 and 3 (introductory) and Chapter 11 (conclusions) are of the general type, while the others are of the detailed type. These detailed chapters deal with, in order, pollen analysis (Chapter 4), wooden structures and artefacts (Chapter 5), textiles, basketry and cordage (Chapter 6), food remains, phytotherapics and psychotropics (Chapter 7), botanical ornaments (Chapter 8) and lithic tools (Chapter 9), while Chapter 10 presents a brief introduction to the restoration of some of the artefacts.

The great virtue of the book is the presentation of descriptions and illustrations of many of the artefacts, some with the detail of individual catalogue entries, which provide vastly more information than was available previously. Analyses, however, are at a very early stage, and while we have some numerical work on, for instance, shapes and dimensions of some of the artefact types, in most cases we lack identifications of the materials used (at species level) and work on both manufacturing techniques and use wear has only just begun. The main exception to this relates to the lithic tools, but of course this is one area where La Marmotta is not exceptional in the Neolithic world. Another exception is the pollen analysis (Chapter 4) where traditional analytical techniques have been applied. The issue here is not the analysis but the source of the samples, which come not from cores through the lake sediments but from short sediment sequences within or attached to artefacts (three from a sequence within a single pottery vessel and two from sediment lumps adhering to sickles).

In spite of the limitations, these analyses provide useful information about both the tree canopy that would have surrounded the site and the impact of human activity on the environment, especially the appearance of cereals and grass pasture species.

In relation to the wooden artefacts, the species used for some of the wooden posts have been identified (mostly oak, but also laurel and some ash and alder) as have those relating to the dugout canoes (one oak, two alder, one poplar and one beech). However, identification of the species used for the smaller artefacts remains provisional or not yet undertaken. The analysis of the species used for textiles, basketry and cordage is still at a preliminary stage.

In terms of food and diet there are two main sources of evidence: as well as the seeds and fruits that commonly survive archaeologically (usually in carbonised rather than waterlogged form), there are also remains of cooked foodstuffs, including the contents of pots and cereal-based baked bread and dough-like material, as well as fragments that may represent the remains of oil-extracting activities. There was exceptional preservation of cereals including large quantities of whole ears as well as cleaned grains ready for use. The main cereals are all present, as are pulses, although these are far less common. A wide range of fruits and nuts has also been found. Grape seeds, wood and charcoal occur very commonly, although it is not known whether grapes were used to make wine. The most exciting discovery is perhaps the large quantities of well-preserved charred and water-logged opium poppy seeds, capsules and stigmatic discs, suggesting that the plants may have been cultivated for their mind-altering qualities – currently the earliest evidence from Europe.

The book is entirely in English, which is probably a good thing, given the current (regrettable) dominance of English in the academic world. However, there are a few places where translation has led to errors. The most serious relates to the location of the site, which is described in Chapter 3 as lying to the west of the promontory on which the town of Anguillara stands and to the north of the headland called Pizzo Prato. In fact it is situated *east* of the promontory and *south* of the headland. The book would also have benefited from more rigorous editing, since I noticed a few incongruities between statements made in different chapters, though none of these is serious (for example, did the current research collaboration begin in 2016, 2017 or 2018?).

What are the outstanding take-aways from this book? The most important is the enormous potential of the site and its finds for future understanding of the Italian Neolithic. The editors recognise this and use the term 'scratching the surface' for the work recorded here. As well as analytical work to identify the species exploited, techniques of manufacture and ways the artefacts were used, already mentioned, there is the study of the spatial distribution and specific locations of the various artefacts, which has the potential to inform on where different activities took place, how storage was organised, which activities were household-based and which were carried out by larger groups or the whole village. The construction techniques and lifespans of the houses is another field that can generate further research. A whole other area of research relates to the dugout canoes and the nautical technology employed by the inhabitants of La Marmotta. I could go on.

La Marmotta is an amazing site. I'm not sure one is allowed in the academic world to have favourite finds, but at a personal level – and just to give a taste of the site to those unfamiliar with it – the discoveries that grabbed me most include the wooden spindle with thread still wrapped round it, the little stone figurine of 'venus' type, already millennia old

when it was stored in House 3, and the evidence for poppy cultivation. These provide glimpses into the world of our Neolithic ancestors that we are rarely afforded.

We should be grateful for the work already done by the contributors to this book and for making it available so promptly to the scholarly world. We look forward to the work still to come and hope that this will involve the widest possible collaboration with specialists in the various fields.

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H. Mouritsen, *The Roman Elite and the End of the Republic. The* Boni*, the Nobles and Cicero*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York 2022, vii+322 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-009-18065-8

One of the most famous gentlemen in Shakespeare is Sir John Falstaff, a knight, sometime friend of a prince and commander of men. As he says,

> Now I'm, a man should speak truly, a little better than one of the wicked. I was as virtuously given as a gentleman need to be; virtuous enough; swore little; diced not above seven times a week; went to a bawdy-house not above once in a quarter of an hour.

The gentry of Shakespeare are a mixed lot, but they are everywhere in the plays. Some are profoundly dull, some are virtuous, some are wicked and their degrees of wealth vary enormously. But they are all 'gentle', a fascinating word implying a commonality which could no longer be familial, but could be plausibly seen as one of values, opinion, status.

The early modern notion of the gentry has resonance for Henrik Mouritsen's *boni*, a group which is at once seemingly identifiable and yet on examination, highly unstable and unfocused. They too span a huge range, and are perhaps a little less uniform than M. sometimes makes them; but this book demonstrates through detailed and painstaking scholarship that they are central to the drama of the Late Republic.

At the centre of any conversation about the *boni* is Cicero. By his own claim the founder of the *consensus omnium bonorum*, their defender, would-be leader, despairing critic and hopeful advocate, Cicero seems to have felt as great an affinity with this group as any. And no wonder; a new man, he could not claim the trappings of ancestry and his relationships with the more blue-blooded elite were complex. His affinity with Pompey came surely in part from that same distance from the historied elite.

Relying on Cicero's accounts of the *boni* is also to rely on Cicero writing for and to the *boni*. For however we may define them, and whatever we may think of Republican reading habits, it seems reasonable to assume that in their desire for *otium*, for the affordances of civility and culture, this was the group he addressed in the *corona* and this was the group Cicero had in his mind's eye. He may have hoped the senatorial elite would read copies of his speeches, but he wanted them to read him addressing, leading, and defining the gentry who were the backbone of his and their notional Rome.

[V]ir bonus est, Marce fili, colendi peritus, cuius ferramenta splendent. Varro wrote to his son that a good man is someone skilled in agriculture, whose iron tools shine. It is unlikely that the *vir bonus* was the man whose energetic farming brought the lustre of use to those tools; behind that lies the story of chattel slavery, abuse and dependency. The *boni* however

were, beyond anything else, the men of property. One of the most striking aspects of M.'s account is how much the discourse on the *boni* is bound up with property ownership and its real or threatened loss.

From the memory of Sulla and his henchmen to the disgraceful behaviour of Verres to the depredations of Rullus to the terror Marcus Antonius threatened, private property (including the ownership of labour) and its loss was the marker and manifestation of the health of the *res publica*. That ironic juxtaposition tells us everything about the interplay between individual and collective at the upper reaches of Roman society. And here the friction between *boni* and nobles begins to play out.

Everyone would claim to be a *bonus*; Mourstein-Marx brilliantly coined the phrase 'contional monotony' to describe the competition over the uncontested ground of civic virtue (*Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* [Cambridge 2004]). Everyone who spoke at Rome claimed to be *bonus*, but could be described by an opponent as *improbus* or any of a number of terms that spoke of one's declension from the true north of Roman civic virtue.

But the *optimates* and the *nobiles* were narrower definitions of a political elite, even in the hazy and shifting lexicography of the time. The *boni* went further down the orders; they could include the *equites* but more besides; and – critically – they were not just based in Rome. The *boni* are a good collective name for the villa owners, hoarders of coin, municipal magistrates and recruitment captains, aspirant poets and historians, exporters of wine, importers of low-level luxury and small-scale imitators of metropolitan manners whom Wallace-Hadrill so brilliantly identified in his account of a homogenising cultural revolution (*Rome's Cultural Revolution* [Cambridge 2008]). They are the grandfathers and fathers of the back-room backers of Octavian, all themselves *boni*, whom Syme ruthlessly exposed (*The Roman Revolution* [Oxford 1939]). We find them in the archaeology of the 1st century BC which Mouritsen completely ignores but in a sense perfectly explicates. Behind the shells and glittering stones spelling out the name of a Greek architect in the hill-top town of Segni, or its early polychrome mosaic floor, there is a *vir bonus.* Behind the rare and striking paintings we are occasionally fortunate to find in the towns of northern Italy such as Assisi, or the vestiges of old fashioned decoration preserved in 1st-century AD Pompeii, lies a *vir bonus*. And behind the flow and friction of Roman trade and taxes, spilling across the provincial boundaries and through the harbour towns, there are the *boni viri*, commercial and cultured, prosperous and precarious, frugal and fretful.

The nobles had one significant distinctive feature. They held political office at Rome. This group, so tight and narrow when one situates it in the context of Italy, is the placeholder for more than municipal ambition, more than local power, more than rural interest. Mouritsen charts the disenchantment of the *boni* with the *nobiles*, the gradual recognition by the group of the relatively, but not always spectacularly and often intermittently, well-off across Italy, that during the decades after the Social War they had lost, not gained. Internal strife between the political elite in Rome had eroded local capacity and creativity. They traded, they fought and they followed. And then – *boni non sequentur*. Cicero's devastating realisation that if he followed Pompey in his move to Greece, which Cicero knew to be an enormous strategic error, the *boni* would not follow. He makes it sound as if they would not follow him, but the truth was the *boni* were going nowhere. They were staying at home.

M. is the quiet technical analyst of Republican politics; he has always cared about words. This book is an essential compendium of Roman political language. It touches on so much of the Late Republican predicament, and both clears away misapprehension and restates fundamental truths about the significance of property and the desire for stability.

Somewhere behind this relatively dispassionate but impressive scholarship is a story we can just glimpse. It is the story of the (largely) conservative, landed, slave-owning, exploitative, inconsistent yet in their own terms civic-minded Italian men who across generations sought to be part of Rome, suffered for that desire, and then sought to be left alone in their villas and towns. Their last fight was for someone who learnt from Cicero the art of conjuring a consensus that came not from a vote but from a probably fictitious but uncontested *Zeitgeist – tota Italia in me sua sponte iuravit*. They swore an oath for me, Augustus would recall, years later.

What did the victory of the *boni* bring? What did it preclude? M. hints. As befits one of our finest historians of small-town politics, he leaves us in Pompeii, where candidate after candidate, who hoped to leave things exactly where they were, campaigned under the slogan *vir bonus.*

University of St Andrews Christopher Smith

J. Muñoz Sogas, *Thirsty Seafarers at Temple B of Kommos: Commercial Districts and the Role of Crete in Phoenician Trading Networks in the Aegean*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, ix+155 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-323-8

Thirsty Seafarers derives from Judith Muñoz Sogas's research as a PhD student. The aim of the book is to understand the role of Crete in the economic and cultural exchanges between Greeks and Near Easterners, namely Phoenicians, that took place in the Aegean during the 1st millennium BC. The author uses Temple B of Kommos on Crete as a case study, since the site has provided strong evidence for the presence, either permanent or semi-permanent, and various activities – commercial, religious, craft – of Phoenician traders and compares it with other sites found on Crete itself, the Greek mainland and islands, in an attempt to throw light on the nature and implications of this interconnection, as well as on the role of specific trading stops in the establishment and expansion of the Near Eastern trading network.

The book consists of an Introduction, three main chapters, the conclusions and a bibliography, while it is supplemented abundantly by maps, tables, photographs and figures of sites and objects. In the Introduction, the author states the context, the aim and methodology of the research, then presents briefly the site of Kommos located in southern Crete. The first chapter ('The Commercial Temple of Kommos') examines in detail Temple B and the finds that were uncovered in relation to it, and in buildings in its proximity that are of Near Eastern origin or inspiration. The second chapter ('Kommos and its Connections within Crete') looks into other Cretan sites with Near Eastern material in an attempt to define the nature of the presence of Near Eastern traders on the island. The sites are located in the central area of Crete and include Knossos, Eleutherna, the Idean and Diktean

caves. Each site demonstrates a different degree of Phoenician integration, with some attesting to permanent Phoenician residence, such as Knossos and Eleutherna, and others serving only as manufacturing and trading places, for example the Idean cave. In the last chapter ('Other Possible Commercial Sanctuaries') the focus shifts and broadens to include various Iron Age sanctuaries that had also a role in the interaction between Greeks and Phoenicians. The sanctuaries examined include, among others, Kition on Cyprus, the temple of Hera on Samos, Eretria on Euboea, the temple of Artemis on Ephesus and Artemis Orthia at Sparta. The aim of the chapter is to present a more nuanced understanding of the use of these sites by the Phoenicians, as well as the activities that took place there, which were often a combination of religious practices with commercial and manufacturing activity. Finally, in the conclusions the author summarises the main points of her research, namely the role that trading-stops on Crete, the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland played in the expansion of Phoenician trading activity in the Mediterranean, while it also addresses issues, such as the role of temples in trading activities and economic transactions.

Throughout the book, the research focuses on the thorough analysis of the Near Eastern material culture uncovered at the sites examined. Through the type of objects uncovered at each site, the author attempts to reconstruct the degree of Near Eastern infiltration and the character of intercultural exchange. Thus, the existence of cippi at Knossos and Eleutherna is a strong indication for permanent establishment, while the material from other sites, such as Artemis Orthia, suggests their temporary use as workplaces and trading places. Temple B at Kommos is the only example of a shrine with Phoenician influence uncovered so far in the Aegean. The material culture associated with the site and the shrine more specifically, such as pottery, terracotta, faience and bronze figurines and metal objects, indicates that Kommos was used by the Phoenicians as a regular stop along the main sea trade routes from east to west and back. Moreover, the evidence from the Temple suggests its cultic use by both Phoenicians and Cretans, with an emphasis perhaps on the veneration of divine triads. The temple, however, served also as a meeting point, where the visitors not only worshipped their deities, but also ate and drank.

By focusing on the objects of Near Eastern origin or inspiration, the author attempts to identify and assess the character of Near Eastern presence or influence at specific sites of the Aegean, in order to reconstruct the sea routes and trading networks established by the Phoenicians, but also to understand the process and the implications of this contact between different cultures.

Temples had an important role in trade networks, functioning as meeting points between locals and foreign seafarers under divine protection. They often served as storage areas for imported or locally produced Oriental material and facilitated not only trade, economic transactions and the diffusion of Near Eastern products to the Aegean, but also the transmission of knowledge and skills and the exchange of cultural and religious practices. This cultural exchange often led to hybridisation, apparent from the material culture uncovered at some of the sites. Thus, the 7th-century BC cippus from Palaikastro on Cyprus depicting a figure reminiscent of the Egyptian divinity Bes and featuring a Phoenician inscription to the Egyptian-Canaanite god Reshef clearly demonstrates the point.

The book is an important contribution to the study of trading networks established by the Phoenicians in the Aegean and the Mediterranean in general and the role of Crete and

other sites of the Aegean in these networks, as well as to the understanding of the processes of cultural exchange and hybridisation in commercial districts.

Thessaloniki, Greece Christina Aamodt

B. Obrador-Cursach and I.-X. Adiego (eds.), *Phrygian Linguistics and Epigraphy: New Insights*, Barcino Monographica Orientalia 20, Series Anatolica et Indogermanica 3, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2022, 179 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-84-9168-891-4

In addition to a foreword by the two editors, this collective volume contains six contributions in English on Phrygian. Each of them explores an aspect of the epigraphy or linguistics of this language, which is still relatively unknown, but whose corpus continues to be enriched by new inscriptions every year. Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach and Ignasi-Xavier Adiego emphasise (p. 9) the effervescence that currently characterises research in the Phrygian field.

It is to the two editors that we owe the first article in the volume (pp. 13–26), devoted to a monetary legend considered to be Phrygian and read as *Ata*. This work follows on from an article published previously by the two authors ('The Iman touch: a coin legend in Phrygian'. *Kadmos* 60, 99–115), which proposed reading *Iman* the legend written in the Old Phrygian alphabet on 16 coins found in auction catalogues and corresponding to an otherwise attested Phrygian personal name. The coins studied here would therefore provide the name of a second Phrygian dynast. The name itself could theoretically be interpreted as Lydian or Pisidian, but because of the associated iconography (helmeted head of Athena and bird of prey), similar to that used for Iman, the authors favour a Phrygian origin. Unfortunately, the reproductions of coins (including new ones bearing Iman's name) are of uneven quality.

Milena Anfosso then contributes (pp. 27–60) on the apodosis με δεως κε ζεμελως κε Τιη τι[τ]τετικμενος ειτου ('let him become accursed by Ti among gods and men'), which is often found employed in Neo-Phrygian funeral curse formulae. While this formula has been compared several times with a similar one attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian in Karkemish, the author argues for a parallel development, possibly from a common Proto-Indo-European heritage. On the other hand, based on a comparison with the Luwian Sun-god Tiwad and his invocation in curse formulae (as an all-seeing deity), the author proposes that Ti is a solar deity, while Bas is on the side of fertility, like the Luwian Storm-god (for another interpretation, see Obrador-Cursach in this same volume, pp. 125–34).

Maria Paz de Hoz (pp. 61–87) looks at the contact between Greek and Phrygian, as seen through the lens of the Neo-Phrygian corpus, continuing the sociolinguistic approach initiated by Claude Brixhe. On the basis of meticulous studies of bilingual and monolingual inscriptions, the author defends the idea that there were still Phrygian speakers in Phrygia in Roman times.

While two Neo-Phrygian inscriptions (nos. 42 and 87) have hitherto posed syntactic problems, Anna Elisabeth Hämmig (pp. 89–101) proposes to revise their reading on the basis of a convincing comparison with inscription no. 120. She thus uncovers a new curse formula, beginning with a probable imperative verb ουελασκετου (third person singular) /

ουελασκοννου (third person plural). The meaning of the verb and the syntactic construction of the formula are not yet very clear, but these new readings already make it possible to eliminate several ghost words from the Neo-Phrygian corpus.

In a substantial article (pp. 103–54), Obrador-Cursach provides a very useful and up-to-date overview of the deities attested in the Phrygian corpus, as well as the divine epithets known from Greek documentation. It is impossible to comment here on every theonym or epiclesis. I will simply contribute to the discussion on the epithet of Μήτηρ Κρανομεγαληνή, also called Μήτηρ Κρανοσμεγάλου and Μήτηρ (ἀπὸ) Κρανος Μεγάλου (to be corrected in the article, where it is written Κρανοσμεγάλη), referring to *SEG* 58. 1507, which rightly rejects the connection with κρήνη, of feminine gender and whose Doric variant here would be hard to justify (Aeolian would have the geminate νν). It is probably a geographical epithet: the name of the village itself could be of topographical origin and refer to a 'great rock' (*cf.* κραναός, 'rocky, steep') or a 'great peak' (*cf.* κάρᾱ, gen. κρᾱτός "head, peak", with oblique stem going back to **kr̥̄s-n-*). Similarly, the epithet *kraniyas* (gen.), associated with the goddess **Artimis* may not necessarily be a borrowing from Aeolic κράννα 'spring', but to be related also to κραναός or κάρᾱ. In any case, this article should henceforth serve as a starting point for any discussion of Phrygian divine names.

In the final chapter, Zsolt Simon (pp. 155–71) focuses on the Phrygian names attested in Luwian. He begins by refuting several (recently advanced) identifications of supposedly Phrygian proper names in the Anatolian hieroglyphic corpus, on the basis of phonetic and morphological arguments. In the end, according to the author, only /Kurtiya-/ (← *Gordios* / *Gordias*) and possibly /Nuna-/ (*cf.* Νουνας, Νουνα, Νυνη in Phrygia and Galatia) constitute Phrygian names in the hieroglyphic corpus. He nevertheless suggests a third possible Phrygian name in the Karaburun inscription: if we adopt the initial reading of the name /Sapis/, subsequently interpreted as /Sipis/ (which receives no explanation), it is then possible to relate it to the forms Σαβιος and Σαβις, attested in the Phrygian area in Roman times.

The volume concludes with two very useful indexes, the first of words (with a minor error in the hierarchy of subcategories: there is no 2), the other for quotations.

All in all, this is a fascinating work that perfectly reflects the current flourishing of the field of Phrygian studies. On the whole, the edition is correct, although we might have wished for more consistency between the articles, particularly in certain terminological choices (for example, both 'Neo-Phrygian' and 'New Phrygian' can be found). Nonetheless, the articles are all stimulating, either because of the additional material they provide, or because of the originality of their approach to a fragmentary corpus language that still holds many mysteries.

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E.I. Paunov, *From Koine to Romanitas: The Numismatic Evidence for Roman Expansion and Settlement in Moesia and Thrace (ca. 146 BC–AD 98/117)*, 2 vols., Verlag Dr Kovač, Hamburg 2021, xl+938 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-339-10972-9

The book by Evgeni Paunov makes its first striking impression due to its rather considerable size, which is not quite usual even for numismatic editions. Another shock awaits the

reader when he finds out that the author managed to register and to use for his study *ca*. 48,000 coins from the hoards, stray and site finds. It is indeed an impressive figure clearly showing the extent of the source base of the research is solid.

The starting point of this book, as P. states, was his doctoral dissertation, which in course of the further work was considerably revised and expanded. The first volume contains, if one can say so, the meaty part of the study, consisting of 12 chapters. The second volume houses a catalogue of the finds, being in fact the database of the research.

In the introductory Chapter 1 (pp. 1–8) P. formulates the main aim of the book, which is 'to examine the transition from Late Hellenistic to Roman coin system in ancient Thrace, from an archaeological and historical but primarily – from a numismatic perspective' (p. 1). According to it, the geographical frames of the study cover mainly the territory of modern Bulgaria with some adjacent regions and its chronological limits run from the establishment of Macedonia as a Roman province in 146 BC until the Dacian wars of Trajan in AD 101–102 and 105–106.

Then two rather descriptive chapters follow: Chapter 2, 'Geography and Archaeology of Bulgaria' (pp. 9–46), and Chapter. 3, 'History of Thrace, *ca.* 200 BC–AD 98' (pp. 47–122). There P. offers detailed characteristics of the subjects indicated in the chapters' titles, demonstrating profound knowledge of the ancient written and epigraphic sources as well as that of the relevant archaeological and historical literature. The reader gets a comprehensive impression of the multifarious contexts in which the subsequent narrative of the book will be developed.

In Chapter 4, 'The Nature of Evidence' (pp. 123–36), P. characterises the difficulties he faced while compiling the database for the study and analyses of the thoroughly peculiar features of the various categories of the coin-find (hoards, site finds and stray coins) as historical sources.

Chapter 5, 'Late Hellenistic Coinages in Thrace' (pp. 137–202), consists of two parts. The first (pp. 137–92) contains a detailed description of all Late Hellenistic issues, which were being circulated in the territory concerned during the 2nd–1st centuries BC. Questions of their typology, chronology and distribution are considered successively. Overall, P. registered in this survey more than 21,500 coins. The main conclusions regarding the general trends of coin circulation in Thrace that the author draws from the study of this huge boy of material are presented in the second, analytical part of the chapter (pp. 193–202). With the help of numerous charts and tables, P. clearly demonstrates that silver tetradrachms of Thasos and the Macedonian district were playing a crucial role in local trade and fully dominated the regional market from 146 BC to *ca.* 70–60 BC. The Roman authorities deliberately supported minting silver coinage of the Attic standard, making a profit from the equal exchange between the Roman denarius (3.9 g) and the Attic drachm (4.3 g). The transition to the Roman monetary system in Thrace, which meant substitution of the Late Hellenistic silver for the Roman denarii in the monetary pool, was, according to P., 'smooth and gradual' and lasted *ca*. 40–50 years, from *ca*. 60–50 BC to *ca.* 10 BC. Such important events of the Roman history in the 1st century BC as the Civil Wars and the struggle between Caesar's followers and opponents also contributed considerably to the inflow of denarii to the region during that time.

Chapter 6, 'Numismatics of the Late Thracian kings' (pp. 203–54), deals with the coin issues of the Thracian royal house during the 2nd–1st centuries BC. Analysis of the relevant

coin materials and their finds leads to the conclusion that royal coins of the period played a rather representative role aimed at emphasising the authority and power of each ruler rather than serving as a normal medium of everyday circulation. Noteworthy is the conclusion that Thracian coinage became markedly influenced by Rome as early as 42–41 BC.

Then comes the turn of the Roman coinage itself. The next four chapters are devoted to the thorough and complex study of the Roman coins found in the regions in question.

Chapter 7, 'The Republican *denarius* hoards' (pp. 255–300) comprises two parts. Part 1 deals with three groups of Republican hoards according to P.'s classification: homogenous hoards consisting of denarii only, so-called associated hoards (denarii mixed with other issues) and groups of denarii whose connection to the hoards is under question. Overall, P. registered *ca.* 110 hoards containing more than 16,000 coins. Analysis of the hoards allowed three phases of denarii penetration into Thrace to be distinguished: first appearance of denarii (*ca.* 90–70/60 BC), an associated phase, when denarii circulated together with the Late Hellenistic tetradrachms (*ca.* 60/55–47/46 BC) and a last phase witnessing the gradual formation of the dominance of the denarii in the Thracian markets. This last phase ended with the beginning of complete Roman political and economic control in Thrace in *ca.* 11–10 BC. The unprecedentedly high number of the denarii hoard-finds P. explains as evidence of the regular Roman payments or tributes to the local chieftains. In Part 2, the laudable attempt to compile a corpus of all known specimens of Thracian imitations of denarii is undertaken.

Chapter 8, 'The *denarius* system: how it worked' (pp. 301–29), has a theoretical character giving general knowledge on the structure and functioning of the Roman coinage.

The next two chapters deal with the Roman coins of the Imperial period. Chapter 9, '*Denarius* hoards of the Early Principate' (pp. 331–69), is devoted to compiling the most complete record of the coin hoards of the period supplied with maximally available data, which allows their further study. Chapter 10, 'Early Imperial Site Finds' (pp. 371–415), offers review and analysis of the coin finds made in the various archaeological contexts. Four exemplary case studies were fulfilled for sites with representative number of coin-finds: Novae, Serdica, Cabyle and Aquae Calidae. Composition of denominations as well as their chronological distribution were studied in every case and conclusions regarding coin supply of the corresponding site were inferred. Statistical data collected by P. shows that the overwhelming majority of the coin finds were made on the military and civil sites, which could be regarded therefore as the most monetised areas of the provinces in question. Roman coins were at that time playing a crucial role in the provincial economy and serving as important indicators of the process of the Romanisation of the provincial society.

In Chapter 11, '*Varia numismatica*: contemporary issues' (pp. 417–50), considers the coinages of the provincial mints operating during the Imperial period as well as questions on the countermarks encountered on Imperial bronze coinage and finds of the coin dies and coin hubs in Moesia and Thrace. Noteworthy is P.'s observation that countermarking and use of the countermarked coins reached its peak under the reigns of Claudius and Nero, when supply of the Imperial bronze coinage to Moesia was on the wane. The countermarking could have taken place in the main legionary camps and have been carried out by army commanders. Study of the extremely interesting phenomenon of the numerous finds of coin dies in the region testifies that while dies for the production of the Republican denarii could have been part of the forgers' equipment, the dies of the Augustan–Tiberian

period should be investigated within the Roman military context, i.e. connected with activity of the mobile military mints.

The last chapter (12: 'Conclusions: summary of analyses', pp. 451–61) sums up the results of the study and charts the perspectives of the further research.

The second volume of the book (pp. 523–938) contains a detailed Catalogue of the Finds, five Appendices, including a Gazetteer of the archaeological sites, comparative tables and charts of the hoards as well as indexes. Undoubtedly, it is very useful and impressive assemblage of the materials allowing the author's conclusions and observations to be checked and confirmed.

The few criticisms I make refer rather to the editor and publisher than to the author himself. First of all, the quality of the images, which are black-and-white and whose tiny size, especially in the case of numerous maps, often makes it almost impossible to understand the details. Some charts were obviously initially coloured and their reproduction in monochrome makes them meaningless (see Fig. 10.18 on p. 400, for example). Bad references to the figures in the text of the book are pitifully not rare (see pp. 389, 393). Some titles cited in the text are not given in Bibliography (for instance, p. 386, n. 71: Howgego 1982), which is organised in a rather chaotic fashion.

However, despite all these inconsistencies the book by P. presents fundamental work and undoubtedly opens an important new page in the history of the Thracian numismatics of the Roman era.

Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow Sergei A. Kovalenko

G. Polizzi, V. Ollivier and S. Bouffier (eds.), *From Hydrology to Hydroarchaeology in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Archaeopress, Oxford 2022, 166 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-80327-374-7

This edited volume, a collaboration of the HYDRΩMED/*Watertraces* programme and supported by the A*Midex Foundation (Aix-Marseille University), is a welcome contribution to the growing field of scientific approaches to environment-human relationships in the ancient Mediterranean world. The contributions focus on water management in pre-Roman and Greek contexts, largely in Sicily, with one chapter on Baia in southern Italy and another on Delphi in central Greece.

In their introduction, Sophie Bouffier and Vincent Ollivier note the inextricable ties between environmental modification, water management, and the histories of Mediterranean societies. They emphasise the need for interdisciplinary collaboration in applying a more scientific lens to ancient Mediterranean waterscapes in order to go beyond analyses of hydraulic architecture and technologies. Additionally, the authors outline the three chief objectives of their *Watertraces* project: 1) to understand human procurement of water; 2) to study water storage, particularly waterproofed features; and 3) to consider reasons for water loss, especially seismic and other natural risks, to which the collected works propose reflections.

Chapter 1, by Pasta *et al.*, explores the *longue durée* of Sicilian ecology during the Holocene. This contribution considers geomorphology, climate, sea-level, volcanic and tectonic activity, flora and fauna, and anthropic activity and its impacts. Many subsections

emphasise the importance of Sicily due to its centrality in the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, as the authors themselves admit, the chapter is light on its discussion of human management of water resources; to address this deficit they suggest further interdisciplinary research.

In Chapter 2, Bova *et al.* examine how seismic activity affects groundwater and the expression of thermal and non-thermal springs in the predominately karstic landscapes of the mountains around Thermae Himerenses (modern Termini Imerese, Sicily). Several of these springs fed the Roman-era Aqua Cornelia aqueduct. The authors trace the 15th–20th century archival evidence which reveals the aqueduct's various redesigns in reaction to diminished flow of the Roman original due to drought and various seismic events. It would be nice to see this project expanded to encompass a broader chronology using archaeological survey and targeted excavation.

Aurelio Burgio's contribution draws together geological, environmental, archaeological and toponymic data to sketch out the water management of Halaesa Arconidea (modern Tusa, Sicily) from its foundation in the 5th century BC. By contrast with the previous chapter which focused only on provisioning water, Burgio also considers water drainage and disposal features, necessary due to the high rainfall in the region.

In Chapter 4, Luca Zambito discusses Archaic cult activity tied to sulphurous and hot water springs in the province of Agrigento on Sicily. In modern work on such springs at Palma di Montechiaro, several votive deposits, including wooden *xoana* and clay figurines, as well as hydraulic cement lined basins to collect water, were found, possibly associated with a healing cult. He also uses mythology, toponymic studies and modern analogies to suggest that these waters were used for healing ointments and medications and additionally that shepherds led sheep through the hot and sulphurous springs to purify the animals' wool and to remove parasites. Though in the past such activity has been associated with Asklepios, Zambito suggest further research could reveal that Heracles was the focus of this cult activity.

The next selection, by Polizzi *et al.*, applies an interdisciplinary approach – wedding archaeological with environmental and geological practices – to the study of the ancient water management of Soluntum (modern Solunto) and Tyndaris (modern Tindari) in northern Sicily. Though it was previously assumed that rainwater harvesting would have provided a sufficient water supply, reconsiderations of the dry climate and modern rainfall analyses led to these explorations. Ultimately, their investigations suggest that the ancient water supply was supplemented by hydrothermal springs as well as an aqueduct in the case of Tindari. In their conclusions, the authors discuss how concerns about water management of these two settlements played into wider schemes of urbanisation and city planning.

In a chapter on Baia, Daniele De Simone tracks the divergent water management systems – for the baths and for consumption. Baia was utilising hydrothermal springs to supply bathing facilities by at least the Middle Republican period. At the same time, rainwater harvesting works, including massive, sometimes multi-roomed cisterns, were being employed to collect potable water. Moreover, in the Augustan period the Serino aqueduct was fashioned to bring drinking water to the region, and in Baia supplied several reservoirs. Both bath and potable water systems utilised the terracing system of the city to operate.

The final chapter, by Perrier *et al.*, takes the reader away from the Italian sphere to Delphi. As with other contributions, the authors weave together geological and

archaeological data to understand the site's water management. The limestone landscape is prone to karstification, flooding, and thus mud- and landslides. Ancient natural disasters are visible in the geological and archaeological record. Moreover, as early as the Mycenaean period efforts were undertaken to mitigate disasters, including the construction of dams, the creation of water conveyance and usage features, such as monumental fountains, to absorb the resources of naturally occurring springs, and the reinforcement of building foundations. From the Archaic to Protobyzantine periods, additional adaptations, sometimes utilising pre-existing constructions, were added to hold water – especially large reservoirs and bathing pools.

The strengths of this collection include the collaborative nature of the research and its emphasis on interdisciplinarity in ancient Mediterranean studies. It suffers from the lack of major unifying theme or themes beyond those of hydrology, hydrogeology and hydroarchaeology. And a minor quibble: the Anglicisation of Italian place names and the use of multiple place names to refer to the same site within a single chapter sometimes throws the reader; it might have been better to stick consistently with one way of referencing, perhaps utilising the ancient or modern place name – or both – across the chapter's text and images. All in all, however, this volume leads the way in joining archaeological and environmental studies, and represents a great beginning on which more can be built.

College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA Ann Glennie

S.E. Psoma, *Corcyra: A City at the Edge of Two Greek Worlds*, 2 vols., ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 83, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, Athens 2022, 747 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-7905-98-7 and 978-960-7905-99-4; 978-960-7905-97-0 (set)

I first visited Greece in 1953, in the days before cheap and frequent air travel. Our student route was by train from England via Paris and Rome to Brindisi and then a Greek ferry. Our first actual contact with Greece itself was, of course, Corfu/Corcyra, and this underlies the general historical significance of the island and its city, particularly in the reverse direction, as the point of leaving 'mainland' Greece for travel across the Adriatic to southern Italy and Sicily or beyond, and also northwards up the Adriatic itself. The importance of Selene Psoma's two-volume book is that it is concerned with the history of Corcyra itself, rather than as a mere staging post.

It begins, in Volume A, with a straightforward historical narrative from the earliest Greek settlement to its incorporation and fate in the Roman empire. This, of course, is based on the written historical sources which come from historians in the mainland Greek world rather than Corcyra itself, and the narrative therefore has to reflect this. This can be seen directly in the sequence of chapter headings. Chapter I describes 'The Island, the City and [inevitably] Its Geographical Position'. Next comes the beginning of its involvement in Greek history, its colonisation, looking at the original arrival of people from mainland Greece. In this, P. points out that there is no evidence for (prior) Phoenician settlement, that excavations have revealed no Mycenaean presence while 'according to Strabo' the earliest inhabitants (expelled by the Greek settlement) were Liburnians (later branded as pirates) who gave the island its name. The first Greek settlers are identified as coming from Eretria,

and this can now be confirmed on archaeological evidence. This leads to the next chapter of the book, the arrival of the Corinthian colonists and the expulsion of the Eretrians.

Having established the lasting Corinthian foundation, the next chapter of the book discusses the resources of the island's 'Wealth, Natural Resources and Economy' and is followed by a chapter, interrupting the continuity of the historical narrative, on 'The Corcyrean Coinage', illustrated by photographs of coins in the collection of the Numismatic Museum and the Alpha Bank and elsewhere.

After this the chapters follow in historical sequence. Chapter VI is headed 'From the End of the Tyranny to the *Kerkyraika*'. This follows the development of the trireme as the standard form of warship and a Corcyrean navy, the fortification walls of the city and the monumental architecture. This begins with a full account of the development of the Corcyrean navy, a sea battle between this Corcyrean fleet and that of the founding city Corinth, with Corcyra developing a naval interest north into the Adriatic coastal regions. P. considers the size of the Corcyrean fleet – sufficiently large for Corcyra to rate as an independent naval power or at least as a potential naval ally to the other Greek states involved in the naval engagements of the area.

With this goes the architectural development of the city, the provision of fortification walls and thus a fortified base for the fleet. Psara gives a description of this, which would have benefited from the provision of a plan of the city and the position of the naval base within it. From this she goes on to discus Corcyrean monumental architecture where again plans and other details of the buildings – the temples – would have been a useful adjunct to her account. In terms of historical events this obviously includes the Persian War where Corcyra was approached by Persia but where because of her geographical position, with her substantial fleet, Corcyra played no significant part in the actual warfare.

The following chapter is headed 'The *Kerkyraika*', the term in Thucydides referring to the end of the Pentekontaetia of Athenian power which included the affair of Potidaea and the joint involvement of Corcyra and Corinth. P. gives a full description of the resulting involvement in the Peloponnesian War with the attempts to bring about Corcyra as an ally of Athens and the resulting involvement in naval activity and battles against the Corinthians. This leads to Chapter VIII, the involvement of Athens and Corcyra as allies during the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides' account of Corcyrean involvement extending down to the narrative of Athens's fatal Sicilian expedition.

Chapter IX – '*Staseis*' – deals with the aftermath of this, conflict between Corcyra and the founding city of Corinth with internal disputes over divided support for the opposing sides in the continuing Peloponnesian War. Chapter X then looks at the efforts and divisions that followed the final defeat of Athens in the war and her eventual revival in the unsettled years that followed with Corcyra tending to continued support of Athens. This confusing period demonstrates how Corcyra was drawn into the continuing opposition of Athens and Sparta by virtue of her geographical position and the relationships between mainland Greece and Magna Graecia. In turn this gives way to the involvement of Philip of Macedon in the affairs of mainland Greece.

Chapter XI deals with the involvement of Corcyra in the affairs of the Successors to Alexander the Great and the extent to which Corcyra was able to maintain independence. Particularly significant here is the involvement of Corcyra with Pyrrhus, especially in view of Pyrrhus's westward policies which, of course, brought about the increased presence of

Rome in the affairs of the Western Greeks and the links between West Greece and the Adriatic, with Corcyra again involved through its geographical position.

This leads to Chapter XII, 'Corcyra and the Romans', and the Roman involvement with wars against the Illyrians stimulating the development of trans-Adriatic interests at Rome, with Corcyra emerging as an inevitable ally of Rome as Rome becomes more and more involved with the Hellenistic kingdoms which, of course, enhanced the significance of Corcyra's geographical position. This invokes a long period of political stability with Corcyra's history completely dominated by its position as part of the Roman empire.

P. follows this with chapters concerned with aspects of the internal history of Corcyra. Chapter XIII looks at the institutions of the city with a note on its constitution. Chapter XIV, headed 'The Corcyrean Saga', looks at basic elements in the city which it owes to its foundation by Corinth and therefore its historical definition as part of Dorian Greece.

This leads on to the second volume with continuing chapters reflecting differing aspects of Corcyrean society and specifically Corcyrean prosopography. This is backed by a series of tables listing all the recorded names of Corcyreans, then of Corcyreans with Roman citizenship and Roman names. Next comes a table giving the names of Corcyrean Prytaneis found on the city's coinage, then an appendix listing coin hoards from other parts of the Greek world which include silver and bronze Corcyrean coins.

Finally comes a very full bibliography, an index of editions of relevant Greek texts, an index of coin hoards, of Fasti and a general index, an index of relevant inscriptions and papyri and then of literary sources Greek and then Latin and an index of the Greek names discussed in Chapter XVII.

This is an extremely valuable and full account of what has to be judged a second tier Greek city-state. But though it is not in the absolutely top row it played a significant part in the history and development of the Greek world, especially in southern Italy and the Adriatic. P.'s study gives not only a clear account of the development and fortunes of Corcyra but also forms an extremely valuable work of reference to an important element in the history of the Greek world, one valuable in its own right away from the particular history of the major Greek cities.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

D.W. Roller, *A Guide to the Geography of Pliny the Elder*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2022, xiii+486 pp., 6 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-1-108-48180-9

The book under review adds well to Duane Roller's earlier erudite contributions to ancient geography and his reference works on Juba, Eratosthenes and Strabo.[1] R. aims this time at providing the first modern handy one-volume commentary in English of the geographical books (2–6) of the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder. R.'s 'guide', as he modestly calls his scholarly commentary, is based on the Latin text of the French *Budé*-edition and on the

[1] See among his other books and articles, *Ancient Geography* (London 2015); *Scholarly kings. The Writings of Juba II of Mauretania, Archelaos of Kappadokia, Herod the Great and the Emperor Claudius* (Chicago 2004); *Eratosthenes' Geography* (Princeton 2010), and *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge 2018).

German *Tusculum*-edition of the *Natural History* with minor emendations of the text which R. discusses in his commentary.[2] R.'s guide surely will replace the often outdated notes in the widely used earlier English editions by Bostock/Riley and Rackham.[3] But as R. himself points out, readers are well advised to consult along with his guide also for critical passages the notes in the *Budé* and *Tusculum* editions.

Pliny's geographical books (2–6) offer the most detailed preserved ancient description of the *orbis Romanus* and its neighbouring regions in Latin. This work by far surpasses in richness of information and quality other Latin geographical preserved works such as Pomponius Mela's *Chorographia* and brief Late Roman geographical summaries such as the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*. The poor condition of preservation of Varro's geographical works makes any definite judgment on Varro as a key source for Pliny almost impossible.[4] Of course, Books 2–6 include the main body of geographical information in this vast 37-book encyclopaedia. But important additional pieces of information may also be found in other books, for instance on certain trade routes or the origin of special products.

Latin scholars and educated writers down to the age of Cicero regarded geography as a subject difficult to treat (see Cicero Epist. ad Att. 2. 6 Kasten) and unrewarding. A crucial problem which Pliny had to tackle in his encyclopaedia lay in the simple fact that in Greco-Roman antiquity cultural and mathematical geography (*chorographia* and *geographia* in the original Greek terminology) from the start had been almost completely Greek disciplines, which culminated in Strabo's *Geographika* (a *kolossurgia* in 17 volumes with additional information in his *Universal History*) and in Ptolemy's *Geographike Hyphegesis*.

In his *Natural History*, Pliny quoted from more than 100 earlier scholarly works. Hence its extremely learned, and sometimes 'bookish' character. His truly encyclopaedic list of sources (R., pp. 15–31) is a peculiar feature of Pliny's *Natural History* which is already advertised in the preface to the work. For his Books 2–6 Pliny lists first 44 domestic (Roman) and then 93 foreign (mainly Greek) authors as sources. R. suspects here a clear influence by Greek and Roman librarians, especially Kallimachos, Krates and Hyginus. One of the most important and 'semi-official' recent sources which Pliny often used was Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa's famous map of the world in the Porticus Vipsania based on his substantial historical-geographical *Commentaria*.[5] Pliny surely had the intention to update and to surpass this masterpiece of scholarship of a leading Augustan general and scholar.

[2] See Collection Budé, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle* (Paris): 2. ed. J. Beaujeu (1950); 3. ed. H. Zehnacker (1998); 4. ed. H. Zehnacker and A. Silberman (2015); 5.1. ed. J. Desanges (2003); 6.2. ed. J. André and J. Fillizoat (2003); 6.4. ed. J. Desanges (2008). And for the Tusculum edition R. König *et al.*, *Plinius Naturkunde*, 37 vols. (Munich 1973–96).

[3] See J. Bostock and H.T. Riley, *The Natural History of Pliny the Elder* (London 1885–87), and H. Rackham, *Pliny the Elder Natural History*, vols. 1–2 (Cambridge, MA. 1938–42) (the Loeb edition). A reliable modern English translation of the geographical books may be found in B. Turner and R.J.A. Talbert, *Pliny the Elder's World: Natural History Books 2–6* (Cambridge 2022).

[4] See, however, for an attempt K.G. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro: Versuch einer Quellenanalyse* (Berlin 1971).

[5] R. mentions 3. 17 (commentary at p. 118) as a good example for Pliny's use of Agrippa's geographical work. See P. Arnaud, 'Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and His Geographical Work'. In S. Bianchetti *et al.* (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition* (Leiden 2016), 205–22.

R. starts his 'guide' with a brief, but substantial introduction (pp. 1–14). It offers a sketch of Pliny's life and puts the *Natural History* in the appropriate literary context of Roman encyclopaedic writings and scholarly works (for example, those of Varro as his main Roman predecessor) and of Roman imperial ideology of Augustan to Flavian times. For this ideology influenced also Pliny's geographical views and his opinion on the importance of different regions of the known world. Modern scholars often label the *Natural History* a 'Roman encyclopaedia'.[6] However, R. rightly notes that strictly speaking a distinct literary genre called 'encyclopaedia' did not exist yet in Pliny's time, and this term was only coined considerably later. Hence, R. himself proposes as a more proper English translation: 'Research on the World' (p. 4).

Pliny's geographical books (2–6) may be divided into Book 2 as a cosmology and a general discussion of natural phenomena of earth and sea, and Books 3–6 as a Latin description of the known world in the Greek tradition of a *Periplous* or *Perihegesis tes oikoumenes*. Pliny started in the Greek tradition in Book 3 in Iberia and finished in Book 6 with Mauretania and the Fortunate Islands (modern Canaries). This order of description again shows some similarities with Strabo's arrangement of his *Geography* or with Artemidoros of Ephesos. However, as R. rightly stresses, Pliny obviously did not know of Strabo's *Geography*, written only two generations earlier. This striking fact tells of the very limited reception of Strabo's *Geography*. R. attempts to demonstrate that Pliny 'gives emphasis not only to the regions most recently important to Rome, but those particularly relevant to Pliny's own career' (p. 12). R. also stresses an ideological context of Pliny's *Natural History* which is visible right from the introduction to the work, where Pliny addresses the emperor Titus as the new Flavian ruler of the whole *mundus* or *orbis Romanus*. For instance, through the arrangement of his descriptions and the relative importance of certain places as expressed in his notes in Book 3, Pliny connects the two regions of Hispania and Italia, 'the two regions as the heart of the contemporary Roman World' (p. 104). On the other hand, the Balkans, Gallia, Germania or mainland Greece appear to be of less importance to Pliny, which R. regards as an ideological tribute to the Flavian dynasty. The introduction closes with cautious remarks on intricate problems presented to the commentator by Pliny's peculiar usage of Greek Latin and Latinised Greek toponyms and by the indication of distances and measurements in Pliny's sources in stadia, parasangs or even travel days which could only be approximately recalculated by him for his readers in more precise Roman miles.

Book 2 (R., pp. 32–103) deals with theories about the whole cosmos, the size and form of the earth and the continents, and general geographical topics and phenomena. The most important sources appear to be Cicero's *De natura deorum*, Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones*, and among Greek authors still Aristotle's *Meteorologika*. Book 3 on Southern Europe (pp. 104–85) reaches from the outlet of the Mediterranean at the west to the mouth of the Danube as the north-east excluding the Greek peninsula (treated in 4. 1–9). Hispania and Italia are given special attention as the two core regions of the Roman empire in his time according to Pliny's opinion and to the Flavian official ideology. Baetica offers a nice example of Pliny's systematic ordering of towns according to their legal status as *colonia*, *municipium civium Romanorum*, cities with *ius Latinum* and other urban settlements.

[6] *Cf.* T. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford 2004); S. Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History* (Oxford 2003).

Surprisingly the third Iberian province in Pliny's time, Lusitania, is reserved for Book 4. 110–120, 'since due to its Celtic population it was seen to some extent as an extension of Gallia' (p. 127). Pliny continues with Gallia Narbonensis (3. 31: pp. 129–32), a remarkably brief treatment compared with Hispania and Italia. In his eulogistic description of Italy (3. 38 ff: pp. 132–73) Pliny deviates from his earlier *Periplous* scheme. For here he organises his notes according to the 11 Augustan *regiones Italiae*.

Surprisingly, Book 4 on the Greek peninsula and interior Europe (pp. 186–246) is the shortest of Pliny's geographical books. He is much less interested in Greek geography, history and mythology than Strabo and other geographers. Nevertheless, Pliny (or his sources) show good knowledge, for example, of Central Greece, Boeotia and Thebes. Book 5 (pp. 247–320) deals with the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean including North Africa and Egypt. Pliny's sources on Africa (still mainly Eratosthenes, Polybius and Agrippa) appear somewhat out of date. For he does not duly acknowledge the increase of knowledge on Africa reached between *ca*. 25 BC and AD 79. Again, in striking contrast to Strabo and other learned geographers, in Pliny 5. 123 ff on the Troad und Mysia we find only few notes on Homeric issues without any serious discussion of localisation of Troy and the site of the Trojan War (pp. 310–12). Book 6 on the remainder of Asia (pp. 321–403) only in 6. 1–24 treats territories within the Roman empire, while 6. 25–205 cover the rest of Asia and the northern and eastern fringes of the world. Pliny marks regions outside the Roman empire in general as less important than Roman-ruled territories. A nice example is given in his description of the core area of the rivalling eastern Parthian empire. The 'lengthy discussion' (p. 368) on Mesopotamia, however, marks an exception. In my opinion, great differences in the richness of detail in the descriptions of eastern parts of the world outside the Roman empire have not yet been explained convincingly for every region. One of the most detailed descriptions in the *Naturalis Historia* (6. 81–91 with pp. 354–59) treats the remote island of Taprobane (Sri Lanka), which may have been caused by a recent 1st-century AD report of Annius Plocamus and by an embassy to Rome. The last chapters of Book 6 deal again with general problems of the measurement of the earth and with the system of geographical 'parallels' (6. 206–220). R. suggests that these final chapters are intended to underline once again the scholarly character of Pliny's *Natural History*.

R.'s guide comes with six illustrative maps: a reconstruction of the ancient world as known to Pliny, a map showing the geographical divisions of Books 3–6 of the *Natural History*, and four maps on places cited in Books 3–6 according to chapters. The reconstruction of the view of the world as known to Pliny prevents modern readers falling into the trap of evoking images of modern world maps in their mind. The maps with places cited in Books 3–6 show an interesting unequal distribution of entries among the regions of the *orbis Romanus* which visualise nicely places of importance to Pliny. Of course, R.'s bibliography cannot make any attempt to be comprehensive, but one must congratulate him on his prudent choice of books and articles. The index of Greek and Roman authors cited is useful and reliable, as is another general index.

To sum up, R.'s guide is a welcome addition to our scholarly literature on Pliny as a geographer. I recommend it strongly as useful reading to all students of Pliny and of Greek and Latin geographical literature, but also to more experienced scholars. Specialists on different regions and places might miss some hints to ancient sources or secondary literature, but this is inevitable under the limitations of a one-volume guide. This reviewer

might also have wished for more intense discussion of the still open question in what peculiar way Pliny's geographical books added to the progress of ancient cultural geography as a discipline. Perhaps his impressive storehouse of knowledge turned out to become in Roman imperial geography more of an obstacle than a stimulus to later ancient research and to writing geographical works of high quality?

University of Cologne Johannes Engels

R. Rollinger and J. Degen (eds.), *The World of Alexander in Perspective: Contextualizing Arrian*, Classica et Orientalia 30, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, viii+409 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-11908-5

The printed volume represents the proceedings of a 2019 conference concerning contextualising Arrian, a topic suggested by Julian Degen and edited by himself and Robert Rollinger, so joining the Wulfram 2016 volume on Curtius in presenting 'Alexander's Macedonian World Empire in holistic perspective …' (p. 3). Also available as a cost-free download per a 'Creative Commons' avatar[1], there are, save for a few manuscript errors, no black marks on its copybook. Each presentation is worth further consideration and investigation. Before turning to that portion of the work most commensurate with my own *paideia*, 'Arrian and Empire', I will offer a few comments on some of the other papers (*cf.* pp. 1–10 for the Editors' summary of such).

Degen (pp. 25–72) offers a well-documented consideration of traces in the *Anabasis* of Alexander's 'official language', i.e. 'the rhetoric of triumph' (p. 4). Alexander goes beyond all points of the Achaemenid mental map, in part to make his rule more acceptable to all imperial inhabitants. I accept Degen's view that the use of *pothos* was Arrian's own contribution. Stoneman (pp. 95–109) discusses the *Indica* in its 2nd-century AD context. Unfortunately, in the absence of widespread work on ethnology, India remained frozen under a Mauryan moon. But recent work does enhance further investigation into Palladius and the gymnosophists.[2] Leroy, whose recent publication with notes of *Tactical Art* and *Alexander's Successors*, here treats the chronology of Arrian's works and the possible date of the *Anabasis* (pp. 161–87). Both the *Successors* and *Anabasis* were products of Arrian's service in Cappadocia and tied to the AD 137 *Tactical Art*. Traces of confluence are noted on pp. 175–79, including the use of a technical vocabulary unique in the corpus of Alexander historians.[3] A number of contributions touch upon Book 7 of the *Anabasis* (see especially

[1] *https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/ddo/artikel/84347/978-3-447-11908-5_Free%20Open%20Access%20Do.*

[2] Now in a modern obtainable translation: P. Maraval (ed.), *Les mœurs des Brahmanes de l'Inde* (Palladios d'Hellenopolis) et *Correspondence d'Alexandre et de Didime* (Anonyme) (Paris 2016). A more Indian context for Calanus of Taxila can be found in G. Ducœur, 'Alexandre le Grand et les ascètes de Taxila: Calanos était-il un *acarya* bouddhiste?'. In G. Ducœur and C. Muckensturm-Poulle (eds.), *Mondes grec et indien d'Alexandre le Grand à Kanishka* (Besançon 2023), 13–37 and 227.

[3] For the Patron on pp. 179–81, see N. Sekunda, 'Patron the Phocian: a written "mercenary source"'. In K. Nawotka *et al.* (eds.), *The Historiography of Alexander the Great* (Wiesbaden 2018), 43–50, especially 48–49.

Pownall, pp. 243–53), in particular the grievance of the Macedonians at Alexander's 'orientalizing', as if they were 'Old Fighters' in the Third Reich angered at the admittance of non-Germans to the Waffen-SS.[4] Taietti (pp. 189–216) outlines Herodotean influences on Arrian's narrative, which sometimes leads to a melding of both Herodotus and Xenophon (pp. 207–08). Worthington (pp. 232–41) suggests Arrian gained an increased respect for Ptolemy based on his own research into the time of the Successors. In all, we should perhaps agree with Strootman (p. 391) that Arrian, like Tarn, was quite familiar with the workings of empire.

The portion 'Arrian and Empire' consists of six presentations which help elucidate reflections of Iranian tradition in the *Anabasis* (pp. 283–400). Shayegan (pp. 285–314) offers an excellent account of the contact between Darius and Alexander beginning with the problem of whether there was room for territorial concessions per the Achaemenid narrative. He offers as a comparison the aftermath of the AD 298 battle between Narseh and Galerius in which the royal train was captured followed by the Treaty of Nisibis. He argues (p. 289) that 'a certain permanence permeates the ideological worldview of all the Iranian empires of the past …' which are then applicable to Achaemenid times. Narseh's later relief depicts a new crown and a restored royal family: territorial concessions were subordinate to regaining the family, an attempt to buy time to ward off further evil advances and to repair the empire (p. 296). The surrender of territory to Alexander the Lie was a stratagem to slow his advance. Shayegan (p. 300, *cf.* Strootman, below) adds: 'Of primary importance was the preservation of the king's body, the recipient of Ahuramazda's mandate of rulership, and the main agent of the forces of light …; the cosmic struggle between good and evil could only perdure if the existence of the king was assured.' He then turns to consider Alexander as 'king of Asia', a title which may have its roots in the self-portrayal of pharaohs noted for expansionist policies (pp. 302–08). Thus, a reply to the Achaemenid universal claims.[5]

Klinkott (pp. 315–43) tries to explain Arrian's understanding of Alexander's control in the East. Arrian *Anabasis* 2. 4 explains 'Alexander's action to gain legitimacy in close correspondence to Achaemenid ideology' (pp. 317–21), but the extent of Alexander's knowledge remains uncertain. During the punishment of Bessus Alexander acted in continuity with Darius' power, but not 'as a legitimized and crowned Great King' (p. 326). Alexander visited Pasargadae twice, but was never crowned king there. Alexander continued Achaemenid tradition but with a 'clear distinction' (p. 338). Olbrycht (pp. 345–55) investigates how Arrian depicted the diadem and tiara of Alexander. Arrian *Anabasis* 4. 7. 4, in a digression about Bessus' capture, refers to the Persian *kitaris*. Alexander introduced his new concept of rule (p. 348) in Parthia-Hyrcania after Darius' death, but Arrian offers laconic accounts and omission of a detailed account of so-called 'orientalising reforms'.

[4] Expansion beyond non-Germans for military needs. J. Böhler and R. Gerwarth, 'Non-Germans in the Waffen-SS: An Introduction'. In J. Böhler and R. Gerwarth (eds.), *The Waffen-SS: A European History* (Oxford 2017), 1–15. Also J.E. Schulte *et al.* (eds.), *Die Waffen-SS. Neue Forschungen* (Paderborn 2014).

[5] Manuscript errors have taken a hand here. P. 291, n. 9: 'Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 30–31' is missing in the bibliography and cannot be resolved. And pp. 310, 313: defective references to Schäfer 2009 and 2011.

Daryaee (pp. 357–67) examines the ceremony at Pasargadae (Arrian *Anabasis* 6. 27. 5–7) at the Tomb of Cyrus, suggesting we have a reflection of a hero cult, the once-a-month horse sacrifice for Cyrus' soul (Frawartis). 'Such practices may be vestiges of a pre-Zoroastrian Iranian tradition at the time of Cambyses' (p. 364), who introduced such ceremonies. Ruffing (pp. 369–79) also ties Arrian to the past. The *Anabasis* 'is firmly rooted in elder literary concepts and uses the past to comment on' Arrian's own lifetime (p. 370). The wealth of the East (p. 372) reflects earlier Herodotean narratives, while Arrian also follows Xenophon (Arrian *Anabasis* 5. 11. 5) by having Persian state education rely on a Spartan model. We can detect (p. 376) the shaping of a warning about the over-extension of imperial rule.

Strootman (pp. 381–400, which has some echoes with Shayegan, above) discusses the image of Alexander's cosmopolitan empire – a mixture of Achaemenid, Hellenistic and Roman perceptions.[6] The image was based on the Achaemenid-Argead idea of a world empire, and secondarily based on Roman ideas of the empire in Arrian's time. The peace offered by Darius places Alexander in a subordinated position by using the somewhat inaccurate 'diplomatic language of equality'. Enemies framed on the basis of Achaemenid ideology (p. 386). Alexander's empire possessed a universal ideology encompassing the entire world (pp. 387–89, *cf.* Shayegan, pp. 300–08). Strootman rightly points to echoes of the idea of the unity of all peoples in the Hellenistic epigraphic record (pp. 390–91). Tarn was too optimistic.[7] One must recall: in successful imperial rule one size never fits all.

Berkeley, CA Michael Weiskopf

G. Styhler-Aydın, with contributions by M. Aurenhammer, T. Köberle and J. Weber, *Der Zuschauerraum des Theaters von Ephesos: Baubefund und architekturhistorische Analyse*, Forschingen in Ephesos II/2, Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2022, 248 pp., 400 pp. of plates, 52 loose plans in separate wallet. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7001-8268-9

This very full account of the auditorium of the Theatre at Ephesus is based, primarily, on the excavations conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. It begins with a summary of the work carried out from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th, the cleaning and restoration from the 1950s up to the end of the 1970s and then the consolidation and restoration from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s and then consolidation and restoration between 1993 and 2012.

The discussion of the seating area and its historical development follows the detailed account of the architecture and history of the Stage Building given in the previous volume, II.1 of the Austrian Forschungen in Ephesos with which, of course, it is directly linked. The site of the theatre was presumably marked out in the original planning of the Hellenistic city following its refoundation by Lysimachus, where it occupies two insulae of the city

[6] On Achaemenid influence on Macedon see Weiskopf, *AWE* 23 (2024), 402 with n. 6. On Strootman p. 390, n. 56, see also D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford 2001).

[7] Now see P. Rummel, *Ein föderales Imperium? Das britische Empire und das Modell griechischer Kolonisation, 1829–1920* (Baden-Baden 2021).

plan, though there is a slight variation in its orientation from that of the grid plan of this layout. The chronology of the original construction of the auditorium is determined by that of the stage building, for which the ground level was made up by material excavated from the site of the auditorium. The resulting theatre was exceptionally large. Even so, the auditorium was further extended with the post-Hellenistic development of Ephesus under Roman control, so that it became one of the largest theatre buildings of Roman Asia Minor. This development the excavators divide into three phases with monumental extension of the cavea in the late 1st and early 2nd century AD. This expansion is particularly investigated and discussed in the present volume.

Finally, the auditorium underwent considerable repair work in the late 4th century AD, presumably after a massive series of earthquakes.

These phases and the work involved make clear the importance of the theatre and the activities with which it was concerned through from its inauguration down to Late Antiquity, with graffiti on the stage building depicting actors and theatrical scenes as late as the 5th–6th centuries AD. Thereafter, though, the theatre structure is incorporated into fortifications and the early 7th century AD, is noted as the time when the theatre was destroyed.

After the initial description of the remains and account of the excavations and related research, the major part of the volume is concerned with the account of the buildings history of the auditorium, its seating, the support walls and the different structural parts of the building. Part 3.1 describes the auditorium in Hellenistic times, Part 2 the Roman cavea with, first of all building activity in the early Imperial period, then the development of the cavea in the periods of the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, where the more recent excavations have increased our understanding of the development and its sequence which included the portico that ran along its summit, and then development and repairs in the period of the Antonine emperors. Finally, Part 3.3 gives details of the alterations in Late Antiquity.

This is followed by Part 4, which gives an account of the sculptural decoration on the analemma and on then exterior walls. Finally, Part 5 contains an account of the mortar employed in the later construction details of the auditorium.

Thus, this is a very full and detailed account of the construction and subsequent history of the auditorium. Not only does it give a precise description of the actual structure and an analysis of the sequences involved in its construction but also a satisfactorily complete – and impressive – pictorial record of this. There is a very full section devoted to photographs of different parts of the actual structure with detailed photographs of specific elements within this and also comparison with comparable elements within other theatres in Asia Minor – in total a massive section with 400 *Tafeln*, all this within the main volume. Then in addition to this there is a separate folder containing 52 plans, detailed drawings of various elements in the plan of the auditorium, together with overall plans showing the position of particular elements, the existence of water channels running through the structure together with cisterns, and a similar plan showing the position of inscriptions.

All in all, this is a most magnificent publication. The authors and the Austrian institute are to be most heartily congratulated on such a splendid addition to the available theatre literature for Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic architecture.

Birmingham, UK Richard Tomlinson

Shanshan Wen, *Communal Dining in the Roman West. Private Munificence towards Cities and Associations in the First Three Centuries AD*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 457, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2022, 321 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-51686-1

This monograph is grounded upon Wen's PhD dissertation, coordinated by Prof. Luuk de Ligt and co-supervised by Dr Kim Beerden at Leiden University. The book is structured in five chapters, each with their own sub-chapters. It addresses in a thorough and comprehensive manner the phenomenon of communal dining in the western provinces of the Roman empire during the Principate, as reflected mostly by epigraphic sources (350 inscriptions), with reference to the scant literary sources. The approach comes 'from the perspective of political and social history', highlighting geographical and chronological patterns (p. 20), as well as the relationship between benefactors and beneficiaries.

The first chapter ('Roman Dining in Context: From Commensality to Private Munificence', pp. 1–24) represents an introduction to the topic, including references to the state of the art, but it also introduces the reader to the Latin (*epulum*, *cena*, *convivium*) and English (feast, banquet, dinner) nomenclature associated with 'dining activities', implying 'communality, the idea of abundance and a social context' (p. 8). As there is no correspondence between the two, W. stresses the importance of carefully examining them in context – that is private (pp. 11–13), public (pp. 14–15) or collegial (*corpora*, *Augustales*, pp. 15–16). Also discussed is the terminology regarding food-related euergetism (*munificentia*, *liberalitas*, *merita*) that has a variety of recipients (civic communities, one or more status groups, associations), the benefactions resulting from the benefactors' own expense (p. 10).

As reflected by the title, the second chapter ('Benefactors of Communal Dining', pp. 25–85) is an analysis of the categories of benefactors, W. differentiating between collective, private benefactors (236 men, and some 58 women), and benefactors of collegial dining (men and women), these being mostly prominent members. After presenting this overview, along with some relevant examples, the categories of benefaction are discussed (office-related benefactions, responsive benefactions, voluntary benefactions, testamentary benefactions), the aims and concerns of benefactors (these ranged from patriotic zeal and attachment to the community, to religious beliefs, sometimes concern for the well-being of emperors, or simply the celebration of birthdays and perpetuation of memories). Overall, most of the benefactors belonged to local elite families, the acts of *euergetism* being part of a local social and political dynamic enforcing vertical relationships.

In a logical manner, in the next chapter ('Beneficiaries and the "Concept of Community"', pp. 86–126) W. addresses the recipients of the benefactions. Even though these could include a large sector of the population (selected beneficiary groups, different groups, *decuriones*, *Augustales*, members of *collegia*, women and children, non-citizens residents), there was still a difference between 'councillors and male citizens' (p. 107); however, 'status, residence and gender also played their part' (p. 108). As to the setting of collegial dining, these were both inclusive (internally, based on membership) and exclusive (externally, by reference to the larger community). When it comes to the civic community, under the Republic the *populus* (meaning adult male citizens) was usually the recipient of such benefactions (p. 122), while in the Imperial period the beneficiaries were not only such people (p. 124), even though a certain hierarchy was in place. This dynamic between benefactors and beneficiaries was a way for the former to channel their ambitions via the latter.

Chapter 4 ('Geographical Distribution of Privately Sponsored Communal Dining', pp. 127–62) offers a mapping of the privately sponsored cases of communal dining, this being an important aspect when discussing such ample evidence across several provinces. W. first tackles privately sponsored public dining, rightly considering the epigraphic density of Italy and the western provinces and revealing uneven patterns. The results show that most inscriptions recording privately sponsored public dining in the area come from peninsular Italy, followed by Africa Proconsularis (Numidia) and Baetica, at the end of the spectrum being Gallia Lugdunensis, Lusitania and Noricum (chart 7, p. 130). Next, W. debates privately sponsored collegial dining, highlighting the difference in number of inscriptions: Regio I (Italy) providing the most, while Gallia Lugdunensis is among the least (chart 9). This distribution is obviously influenced also by the attestation of *collegia*. In both cases, the distribution is not always related to the epigraphic density, but also to the 'regional differences in the distribution of political, social and economic power as well as region-specific processes of adaptation to the requirements of Roman *humanitas*' (p. 161) – which are the key to understanding this phenomenon.

In the last chapter ('Chronological Distribution of Privately Sponsored Communal Dining', pp. 163–95) the focus is on the chronological distribution of public and collegial dining. It considers the changing epigraphic habit, as well as the changes in this practice. The phenomenon emerged under the Republic and increased during the Empire (p. 194), with a peak in the 2nd century AD. In the case of privately sponsored public dinners, chronological distribution is not solely influenced by epigraphic habit. More precisely, W. believes that the increase of their attestation is related to socio-political developments (pp. 194–95), while in the later empire their decrease is to be understood 'as a reflection of a gradual loosening ties between the wealthiest members of the municipal aristocracy and the communities from which they originated' (p. 195).

The Conclusions (pp. 196–202) highlight the most important aspects, such as popularity in particular areas (Italy, Spain, North Africa) and timeframes (especially in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD), as well as the dynamic between the benefactors and the recipients.

At the end of the volume are five very useful appendices (pp. 203–93); as well as a generous bibliography (pp. 294–314) and a succinct index (pp. 315–21). The volume also includes a rich series of illustrations (charts, tables, figures) that present the quantitative data found at the core of the research, summarising the most important aspects.

To conclude, this monograph is a noteworthy contribution on communal dining in the western part of the Roman empire, presenting in a clear manner its evolution over the centuries, with its specificities according to regions.

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E. Zampieri, *Politics in the Monuments of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies, Routledge, London/New York 2023, xv+209 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-367-52156-1

In this book – the revised version of her Leicester PhD dissertation – Eleonora Zampieri avowedly looks at material on which there is a large body of scholarship (*cf.* p. 4) and takes on two classic topics: the changes in the monumental landscape of the city of Rome in the

Late Republic, and the architectural and iconographic programmes of Pompey and Caesar. Making inroads on these fronts is difficult, even for someone who has a thorough command of the scholarly debates, and is able and prepared to make good use of recent and technically demanding literature (see, for example, the discussion of F. Coarelli's recent reconsideration of the Temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal, pp. 116–20).

What is distinctive about this lucid and informed book is the way in which familiar evidence and well-worn questions are laid out and connected with one another to construct a strong cumulative case. Its fundamental take-home point is that no self-respecting account of Late Republican politics can afford to marginalise the changes that intervened in the urban landscape.

The title of the book speaks of the politics *in* the monuments of Pompey and Caesar, rather than of the politics *of* those monuments. The distinction is slight, but surely not futile: Z. invites us to think of those public spaces as sites that are pervaded by political claims and contentions, and are infused with layers of political meaning; at the same time, she draws attention to the intentionality of the processes through which they came together. Pompey and Caesar had big points to make, and their monuments were there to convey them on their behalf. Z. makes ample use of the term 'propaganda', a notion that in the English-speaking classroom at least is skirted away, and whose analytical value has often been dismissed. She is well aware of the debate on that count, but is happy enough to use the term as a byword for 'directive communication' with a set objective (pp. 10–11): she is prepared to sacrifice a degree of terminological elegance (or precision) in order to impress more clearly the force of the political agendas that the two key players of Republican politics pursued and asserted. The *Commentariolum Petitionis* plays a significant role in this argument: the difference between the short-term tactics that electioneering entails and the longer-term strategies that large monumental projects rely upon and enable would have required more explicit recognition.

The first part of the book is an overview of the main themes of the self-representation of Pompey and Caesar, with a special focus on the associations with gods and divine qualities. Readers of this journal are likely to be especially interested in the discussion of how the connection with a deity is asserted in different terms in the Greek-speaking provinces and back in Rome (Pompey's Minerva is a fascinating case in point: pp. 20–23). Felicitas is shown to be of interest to Pompey and Caesar alike: it is surely significant that the latter appears to show an interest in it only after Pompey's death, first at Thapsus, and then with the dedication of a temple in Rome.

That discussion lays the foundations for Chapters 2 and 3, in which the building programmes of Pompey and Caesar are surveyed in detail. The interplay between Hellenistic and Roman traditions is central to Pompey's strategy, which aims to assert his role as a central political force, but still in a republican setup: hence the choice to place the projects on the triumphal route, and not to impinge on the 'traditional political centre of the city' (p. 83). Caesar has no such qualms: his building projects both compete directly with Pompey's by developing an area immediately to the north-east of the new theatre, and by enlarging the Roman Forum. Z. shows that Caesar was engaged in a competitive discourse with the Sullan legacy, on the cusp between discontinuity and reconciliation: hence the dedication of a temple of Felicitas, and the pointed choice to locate the rostra in front of the Tabularium. Dates matter, and can complicate our appreciation of intentionality.

Caesar did not have the chance to oversee the completion of his building programme: as Z. points out, we cannot tell whether the monumentalisation of the *Saepta* completed by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 27 BC actually mirrored Caesar's plan (p. 99).

Z.'s account of the evidence and the interpretive problems it presents is tightly organised and impressively well documented; some aspects of the analysis do not carry conviction (the frequent reliance on the notion of *popularis* politics, or the summary on 'manipulation' in Late Republican religion, p. 133), but they do not undermine the overall quality of the discussion, which is at its best in presenting and elucidating difficult material. The central claim of this book is persuasive, and the evidence on which it is based has been handled effectively. This book will serve as a valuable orientation point on matters large and small, and will enable and support further work in a similar vein.

The picture that Z. has sketched brings into sharper focus at least three questions that will require closer attention. Z. works on a model in which political communication is mostly concentrated in the economic and social elite (p. 13); some recent work has sought to expand, with varying degrees of sophistication and success, the terms of political conversations in Republican Rome. To riff on the title of A. Angius' excellent 2018 book, what place do the messages of the monuments discussed in this book take in the 'republic of opinions' that is Late Republican Rome? On a closely related note, the wider lived environment of the city would warrant greater attention. The city in which a host of new monuments take shape in the mid-1st century BC is also a place that is rife with disease, where hunger is an all-consuming political force, and conflicts over debt lead to a riot in 47 BC, with casualties in the hundreds. Against that backdrop, what is the traction of the politics with which those monuments are imbued? And how is it shaped by the wider climate? Monuments receive a great deal of attention in this book, and so do the aims and concerns of those who planned and paid for them; more could be said about the hands that built them. Some informed speculation should at least be possible on the role that slave labour played in the building of these new sites, along with the role of salaried workers. The place that the decrease in wages had in accelerating the decline of the Republic awaits proper study, and the material explored in this book offers a uniquely rich case-study.

These are questions for which the evidence is at best slight, but whose stakes are high: they do require some effort and ingenuity. Z.'s thorough and thoughtful discussion will steer the informed speculation that is needed to address them, and will further open up and problematise our readings of Late Republican Rome.

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