BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN


Die Rezensionen sind in vier Rubriken unterteilt:

I. Sammelbände mit übergreifender Thematik
II. Monographien mit übergreifender Thematik
III. Publikationen zu antiken und mittelalterlichen Autoren und Schriften
IV. Publikationen zu antiken Landschaften

Innerhalb dieser Rubriken sind die Publikationen alphabetisch nach Herausgebern bzw. nach Autoren geordnet.

AT THE WATER’S EDGE


Mankind’s relationship to the sea has always been complex and ambiguous. Humans cannot survive in water; neither can we survive without it. The urban civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean world could not have existed without access to water transport, yet at the same time their citizens feared, and with good reason, the sea for its destructive powers and for the raiders whose ships might appear over the horizon at any moment. Many ancient thinkers also feared the pernicious
influence of ‘the corrupting sea’ (to quote the title of HORDEN and PURCELL’s now classic study of the Mediterranean\(^1\)).

Those who wish to understand the relationship of the ancients to the sea around them are fortunate to have at their disposal a large body of texts, reaching from Homer and Hesiod into the Byzantine period. The interpretation of the evidence has, however, often been blinkered by the preconceived idea of a fundamental difference between positive ‘Greek’ and negative ‘Roman’ attitudes towards the sea. This dichotomy, whose origins can be traced back to Polybius,\(^2\) was forcefully restated by LIONEL CASSON in his magisterial volume on *The Ancient Mariners* (1959):

> The Romans are an anomaly in maritime history, a race of lubbers who became lords of the sea in spite of themselves. Only a nation of born landsmen ... when they ultimately became the chief naval power of the Mediterranean, they felt so uncomfortable in the role that they let a mighty navy rot in the slips ... the lubbers found that, like it or not, they had to try the water.\(^3\)

Understandable as CASSON’s statement may seem in the context of the 1950’s, a time when ‘cultural history’ or *Sittengeschichte* had not yet evolved into the methodologically more stringent *histoire des mentalités*, it is more surprising to find it repeated word for word – including the word ‘race’ – in the revised edition of 1991.

In fact, this simplistic dichotomy between ‘Greeks’ and ‘Romans’ is contradicted by much of our textual evidence, e.g., the epitaphs of Roman naval personnel (where ‘Greeks’ are rare\(^4\)) or the recently discovered fragments of Poseidippos (which reveal that Propertius’ use of the terrors of the sea as metaphors for his amatory sufferings is based on Hellenistic originals\(^5\)). But while the notion of Romans as landlubbers whom necessity turned into mariners has now been largely abandoned, its converse: that Greeks were naturally gifted seafarers enjoying a symbiotic relationship with the watery environment, lingers on. Indeed, as MARIE-CLAIRE BEAULIEU writes in her introduction to *The Sea in the Greek Imagination*, ‘Looking at the Mediterranean, bright blue in the Greek sunlight, one might expect to find the sea associated with positive concepts in Greek literature, especial-

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2  Pol. 1.5.1–2.
ly, nourishment, beauty, and divinity … In the same line of thought, the sea has been put in parallel with the earth as a nurturing mother, particularly in view of the sea’s role in the Greek cosmogony’ (p. 1).

Yet as Beaulieu goes on to point out, the sea was not always conceived of as positive, fertile or feminine, and its place in the Greek cosmology is ambiguous. On the one hand it is life-giving, bringing forth men and gods; on the other hand, it is associated with death and the world of the dead. According to Beaulieu, the spatial contradiction between Hades as a subterranean underworld and as a distant place beyond the sea is more apparent than real, since ‘On the Ocean, the water meets the vault of the sky and the corresponding chasm of the Underworld … Thus when death is represented as a sea voyage to the Ocean, it can lead either to the Underworld or to the Islands of the Blessed’ (p. 3). And while mainstream mythographers tend to place the realm of Hades underground rather than overseas, they also agree that it is reached by travelling across water – the river Styx, herself a daughter of the mighty Oceanos (p. 9).

For Beaulieu, then, the sea is a ‘mediating space’ in Greek mythology; a liminal zone which ‘separates the visible and the invisible worlds and marks the difference between men, gods, and the dead’ (p. 16). This idea is explored and developed in the six case studies which form the core of the book.

Chapter 1, ‘Hygra keleuthea; The Paths of the Sea’ (p. 21–58) explores the sea as a waterway in more than one sense of the word: as a space over which men, heroes and gods may move, and also as ways along which the waters themselves flow, a ‘hydrological network’ of springs, rivers and the Ocean.

Beaulieu’s assertion that salt water was conceptualized as inherently sterile (p. 32–3) is open to question. Homer regularly uses the epithet atrygetos for the sea; while this may be – and often is – translated as ‘barren’, its literal meaning is ‘un-harvested’. Elsewhere in the Homeric corpus, the sea is described as ‘fish-filled’ (p. 34) or ‘productive of fish’. According to Aristotle, drinking salt water makes ewes more eager for intercourse with the ram while feeding them salt will increase the size of their udders. Some even claimed that by licking salt, female mice were able to conceive without being impregnated by a male. Thus salt seems to be connected with fertility at least as often as with sterility.

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6 E.g., Hom. Il. 1.316; 1.327; 15.27; 24.752; but compare 17.425 where atrygetos is used of the air. ‘Barren’ is clearly not the intended meaning in Hom. Od. 5.51–3, describing sea-birds diving into the bays of the atrygetos hals and catching fish.
7 Hom. Il. 9.4.
9 Aristot. hist.an. 6.19 (574b).
10 Aristot. hist.an. 8.12.3 (596b).
11 Aristot. hist.an. 6.30 (581a).
12 The tradition that the Romans sowed the fields of Carthage with salt to render them barren has no support in ancient sources, see R.T. Ridley, To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage, CPh 81 (1986) 140–6.
In chapter 2, ‘Heroic Coming-of-Age and the Sea’ (p. 59–89) the sea is likewise seen as a waterway, over which heroes travel in their quest for adventure – but also, as BEAULIEU notes, in search of ‘paternal recognition and political leadership’ for the three protagonists: Perseus, Theseus and Jason. Once again, the image of the sea is ambiguous: its waters are inhospitable, unforgiving and dangerous; but precisely these qualities make the sea an attractive venue for a young man to demonstrate courage and leadership. Male coming-of-age rites typically involve facing danger under controlled circumstances such as warfare or the hunt; the sea offers a similar opportunity to display one’s daring by sailing (Perseus, Jason) or diving (Theseus) into the unknown. Significantly, the hero’s decision to sail or dive off is in each case prompted by the taunt or challenge of a male social superior.

Chapter 3, ‘The Floating Chest: Maidens, Marriage, and the Sea’ (p. 90–118) explores the mythological topos ‘unwed mother sent to sea in a box’. The story of Perseus’ mother Danaë forms the point of departure and is compared to those of Auge, daughter of king Aleos; Rhoio, daughter of Staphyllos; Phronime, daughter of king Etearchos. In each case, the girl’s chastity is compromised through no fault of her own (three become pregnant by gods or heroes, while Phronime is a victim of slander); in retaliation, the father either locks his daughter in a box that is cast into the sea, or entrusts a sailor with the task of drowning her. Though the story of Danaë has a less than happy ending (p. 99–103), all four sea voyages mark a new beginning for the protagonist, lending support to BEAULIEU’s interpretation of the sea as a zone of transition. As in the previous chapter, the sea voyage is symbolic of the transition to adulthood: ‘in the case of Auge, the passage at sea is a dangerous, yet ultimately successful separation from her original oikos that prepares the way for the establishment of a new family’ (p. 112). Though three of the protagonists are already mothers when they go to sea, BEAULIEU argues, based on the work of GIULIA SISSA,13 that they are not yet gynai in the true sense of the word. Having reached land, Auge and Rhoio find royal husbands, while Phronime becomes the concubine of a wealthy citizen. According to some versions Danaë, too, eventually finds a husband but Pindar has her become an ‘enslaved concubine, a dreadful alternative to marriage for a Greek girl of aristocratic birth’ (p. 100). Danaë’s transition from parthenos to gynê thus remains uncompleted and according to Pindar, Danaë’s son Perseus needs to make another sea voyage to redeem the status of himself and his mother (p. 65–6).

In all four narratives, the sea, as BEAULIEU noted in her Introduction, constitutes an intermediate zone between the world of the living and that of the dead. Danaë’s father does not send her to the Underworld (i.e., have her killed) but neither is she allowed to retain her place among the living: at first she is imprisoned in a subterranean cavern, then sent to sea in a box with her child (p. 95–6). Given the cleansing properties attributed to seawater (p. 33), one could argue – although

BEAULIEU does not – that her immersion is intended to wash away the stain on her father’s honour produced by Danaë’s pregnancy.14

Dolphins, the subject of chapter 4 (p. 119–44) constitute an ambiguous species – fish-shaped mammals – in an ambiguous environment. From the Classical period onward, Greeks came to ascribe quasi-human emotions to dolphins, as many people still do today. Stories about dolphins rescuing drowning men were particularly popular (p. 119–20; 134–44), none more so than the tale of Arion the singer whom sailors forced to jump overboard to certain death. Like the girls of the preceding chapter, Arion undergoes near-death at sea before returning to the world of the living. In the stories of Hesiod and Melikertes, the protagonists are already dead when thrown into the sea but dolphins bring their corpses ashore for proper burial (p. 124–34). The theme of drowning is treated from a different angle in chapter 5, ‘Leaps of faith?’ concerned with dives – mainly suicidal – from a high point into the sea. The motives for such an action can be many and complex, but recurrent themes in Greek literature are erotic passion and madness, alone or in combination.

The cycle of stories about ‘Dionysus and the Sea’ (chapter 6, p. 165–87) combines narrative elements which are by now familiar from the earlier chapters: Dionysus and his mother Semele are locked in a chest and cast into the sea; Dionysus dives overboard to save himself; after serving them wine, Dionysus forces a group of pirates to jump into the sea, where they are changed into dolphins (p. 168–76). The latter half of the chapter explores the theme of diving and transformation into dolphins as metaphors for the Dionysiac symposium transporting ‘the banqueters out of their ordinary activities and into the eternal sphere of the sacred and the afterlife’ (p. 183). The Conclusion (p. 188–97) summarizes the results of the case-studies, offers a brief review of the gods of the sea (p. 194–6) and convincingly concludes that to the Greeks, the sea was ‘both a positive and negative space, where one can experience luck and success or the most dreadful kind of death’ (p. 197).

Like the sea itself, the port constitutes an ambiguous zone at the interface between the ordered world of the terra firma and the polis on the one hand, the unfathomable and uncontrollable waters on the other. In his Satyricon, Petronius takes us on a tour through the half-world of a port city (almost certainly Puteoli) and introduces us to some of its inhabitants. These are largely lower-class and (by implication) morally inferior individuals with whom respectable people should not associate, a familiar theme in Greek and Latin literature.15 Given this focus on

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14 Cf. the purification rite at Leukas (Strab. 10.2.9, quoted p. 33) which involved throwing a convicted criminal into the sea, apparently not with the intention of killing him. For a similar practice in Cyprus, likewise associated with Apollo, Strab. 15.6.3.

15 E.g., Plut. Tim. 14.2 ‘spending his time in the fish-market or sitting in a perfumer’s shop, drinking watered wine from the taverns and arguing with prostitutes in full public view’; Iuv. 8.171–5, ‘you will find him in Ostia, lying down beside some hired assassin, among sailors, thieves and fugitive slaves, murderers and makers of cheap coffins’.
the corrupting, or corrupted, nature of port societies and their inhabitants, literary sources are of limited use for understanding the topography, operation or economic life of ancient ports. For these aspects, we must draw on the evidence of epigraphy and archaeology; and for their inter-relationships, on the emerging and rapidly growing discipline of marine network studies.\textsuperscript{16}

Topographical and archaeological studies of individual ancient ports have taken place since the eighteenth century but took a major step forward with L\textsc{e}h-mann-H\textsc{art}leb\textsc{en}'s ground-breaking, comparative study \textit{Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres} (1923) with a catalogue of ports classified according to type.\textsuperscript{17} The American excavation of the Roman port of Cosa on the Tyrrenian coast from 1968 onwards demonstrated the potential of the evolving discipline of underwater archaeology for harbour studies and was among the first major research projects to situate a port in its wider economic and societal context.\textsuperscript{18} Despite this and other successful projects, it is fair to say that for most of the latter half of the twentieth century, work in coastal and harbour archaeology was overshadowed by the spectacular results of wreck archaeology, a trend that has continued into the twenty-first century where the employment of underwater ROVs (remote operated vehicles) and more recently AUVs (autonomous underwater vehicles) have extended the scope of wreck searches and wreck archaeology into previously unreachable depths of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Nonetheless, during recent decades a number of important studies of individual sites have added a great deal to our knowledge of ancient ports.

Sailors on the high seas have traditionally looked with disdain on their inland colleagues, and expressions such as \textit{Süßwassermatrose} or \textit{navigatore d'acqua dolce} often carry an ironic or downright derogatory connotation. Yet the great rivers and lakes of north-western Europe were as important for the region’s economy as the sea, and the power of their waters – graphically described for us by Gregory of Tours, among others\textsuperscript{19} – were no less destructive than that of the ocean. Nor were the \textit{mores} of their port communities much better than those of seaports: Horace describes the canal port at Forum Appii as \textit{differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis}.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} E.g., \textsc{Johannes Preiser-Kapeller} and \textsc{Falko Dajm} (eds), \textit{Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems}, Mainz: RGZM 2015, reviewed this volume, p. 293–296.
\item \textsuperscript{17} \textsc{Karl Lehmann-Hartleben}, \textit{Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres}, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Städtebaues im Altertum, Leipzig: Diederich 1923; reprinted Aalen: Scientia 1963 (Klio, Beiheft 14).
\item \textsuperscript{18} A.M. \textsc{McCann} et al., \textit{The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa}, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1987; A.M. \textsc{McCann}, \textit{The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa: A Short Guide}, Rome: The American Academy in Rome 2002.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Greg. Tur. Franc. 4.31, 5.32.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Hor. sat. 1.5.4.
\end{itemize}
Early surveys of inland navigation in Gaul and Germany were published by Pierre Bonnard (1913) and Johannes Ledroit (1930) but more wide-ranging studies have until recently been lacking. As part of their study of a Roman port on the Rhine, Höckmann, Peschel and Hornig (2002) proposed a typology of lake and river ports based on a selection of seventy-eight ports, mostly in northern Europe and the Balkans.

The present volume by Christina Wawrzinek, *In Portum Navigare: römische Häfen an Flüsse und Seen*, is a far more ambitious project, covering no less than 291 locations where remains of a Roman port have been identified (catalogue A, 92 sites) or the presence of a Roman port has been assumed, typically on the basis of a literary source (catalogue B, 199 sites). Most of these are located in Italy, Gaul or northern Europe, with a single example from the Levant. Roman Egypt, with its millennium-long tradition of river navigation, is not included in the survey. The entries in catalogue A typically include a description of the site and the installations, notes on its historical and geographical context, a summary of its research history and references to selected secondary literature. The entries in catalogue B contain a summary description and references to the secondary literature. The book is, however, by no means a mere catalogue; it also attempts a systematic analysis of the port as an institution, its structures and layout, and its place within networks of civilian and military transport. Essentially, Wawrzinek has done for Roman freshwater ports what Lehmann-Hartleben did for the seaports ninety years ago; and like the work of her predecessor, that of Wawrzinek will provide a foundation and a point of reference for systematic harbour studies for a long time to come. The critical remarks which follow below should not detract from the overall impression of her work as a major landmark in the study of freshwater shipping in the Roman world.

One obvious challenge is that of definition. A ‘port’ may be defined functionally: as a point in space where goods are loaded or unloaded from boats – or formally: as an artefact possessing certain features. The author has chosen the second option: ‘ports’ are defined as ‘künstlich angelegte Häfen’ (p. 9) which are, indeed, the ports most likely to be discernible in the archaeological record. The distinction between ‘sea’ and ‘river’ harbours poses a more difficult problem. Some of the world’s great ocean ports, such as New York and Melbourne, are located on river estuaries; but these are not ‘river ports’ in the usual sense of the word. According to Wawrzinek, the port of old Ostia should be considered a ‘river’ harbour because the sandbar prevented sea-going ships from entering the estuary, forcing them to offload their cargoes into lighters (p. 330, though this is to some extent

contradicted by Livy’s claim, cited on p. 445, that large warships could go up the Tiber to Rome). Trajan’s harbour at Portus, on the other hand, is considered a seaport, since it represents ‘die Weiterentwicklung des claudischen Hafens … der zweifelsohne ein Seehafen war’ (p. 10). Perhaps it would have been useful to include a separate category of ‘interface’ ports which at one and the same time served inland and seagoing vessels, as was the case at Ostia or, e.g., Aquileia. The author admits that her categories are not unambiguous and among ‘doubtful’ cases she cites Sevilla and Ravenna (p. 10, n. 3) of which the first is included in her study (p. 434), the second not. Other examples which might have been categorized as seaports rather than river-ports are London (p. 284–307) and Pisa (p. 428–9), on which more below.

The problem of definition surfaces again in the short chapter on man-made waterways: canals in everyday language and ‘künstlich angelegte Wasserläufe’ in Wawrzinek’s terminology. Since canals are integral to many harbour projects, there are good arguments for including them in the study; since in spatial terms they constitute lines, whereas ports are nodes, there could be equally good arguments for omitting them. The author has chosen to include some, but not all, known canals in her brief survey (p. 34–9), but the criteria for selection are not stated. The Cambridgeshire Car Dyke is quoted as an example of an artificial water transport route, with reference to publications of the 1940’s and 1960’s, but more recent studies suggest that its primary purpose may have been drainage.

Two minor Italian canals qualify for mention (p. 35), but not the waterway through the Pontine Marshes on which a regular overnight passenger service operated, nor its harbours. Abortive canal projects in Gaul and Bithynia are dealt with at some length, but not Nero’s uncompleted ship canal between the Bay of Naples and the Tiber.

In the chapter on vessels (p. 61–72) the author lists the characteristics of selected types: beam, displacement, draught etc. (table 2, p. 64). The question of propulsion is only touched upon briefly (p. 66), the author correctly noting that naval vessels were more likely to be rowed than freighters, types of rigging are not discussed and towing is not mentioned. The iconographic evidence suggests, however, that towing by men or animals was a common practice on the rivers of Gaul and Germany.

The following chapter on the physical harbour installations is more clearly structured and argued, and demonstrates the author’s mastering of a large amount of evidence which is analyzed and compared in a systematic fashion. Especially useful is the chronological survey in tabular form (p. 123–8) and the discussion of commercial as against military ports (p. 131–63), leading the author to reject the

24 Liv. 45.35.3; 45.42.12.
26 Hor. sat. 1.5.4; Strab. 5.3.6 (C 233).
27 Tac. ann. 15.42; Plin. nat. 14.61.
theory of a typological distinction between the two categories (p. 160–1). Nor is it possible to establish a separate typology of freshwater port installations as distinct from those of sea ports (p. 171–2).

The catalogue that forms the main body of the book is followed by a selection of literary sources or ‘Testimonia’ (p. 441–52) for ancient harbours. This is organized in alphabetical, not chronological, order and includes a number of text excerpts which have little to say about inland navigation as such (e.g., Isidor of Sevilla: *navalia sunt loca ubi naves fabricantur*28); omitted, on the other hand are Rutilius Namatianus’ description of his journey down a silt-ridden Tiber to Portus29 and the *Mosella* of Ausonius. The mention of *navalia Pisae* by Claudian30 (quoted on p. 442) clearly refers to facilities for sea-going warships, not river craft.

The epigraphic appendix (p. 452–65) is even less helpful. It consists of a series of facsimile snippets from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* reproduced without comment or translation. Since the reader will in any case need to consult CIL for the date and find-spot of the inscription (which are not given) a simple list of CIL references, without facsimiles, would have been equally useful; the paper and effort saved could have been more profitably devoted to an index of sources, which the book lacks.

The wide scope of this book is at the same time its strength and its weakness: it attempts many things at once, with a consequent lack of focus and direction in some chapters. Even so, there is no question that WAWRZIÈK has laid a solid foundation for future investigations into the topography and archaeology of Roman river ports.

From the perspective of harbour archaeology, it is unfortunate that many ancient seaports were so well sited that they remain in use today. The excavation of the Roman docks of Marseille or the ancient port of Cádiz, the Zea Harbour Project in the Piraeus and the Yenikapi excavations in Istanbul all share the challenges posed by a constrained excavation site in a functioning urban environment. Fortunately, other port sites remain accessible, having been abandoned due to depopulation – e.g., Phaselis in Turkey; Caesarea Maritima in Israel; silting – e.g., Cosa and Ostia; or a combination – as at Aquileia on the northern Adriatic or Empúries in Spain. From the somewhat cynical viewpoint of the archaeologist it is especially fortunate that all Rome’s ports at the mouth of the Tiber were eventually rendered useless by silting, though the advantages this offered the archaeologist have to some extent been nullified by the inexplicable decision to locate Rome’s international airport on top of the Claudian harbour at Portus. Receding shorelines have left other ancient harbours offshore and under water: for instance, Amathous on the south coast of Cyprus or Olbia (Hyères) on the south coast of Gaul. An especially striking case in this category is the ancient port city of Thonis (later

29 Rut.Nam. 179–85.
30 Claud. gild. 483.
Herakleion) in Aboukir bay, 6.5km to sea off the present Mediterranean coastline of Egypt.

From the Late Period and well into age of the Ptolemies, Thonis-Herakleion was Egypt’s main entrepôt, where Mediterranean merchantmen unloaded their cargoes to await shipment up the Nile by river-boat: an ‘interface’ port comparable to Roman London or Ostia. After the foundation of Alexandria, the settlement went into a slow decline (p. 9) that was aggravated by seabed subsidence (p. 3–4). By the end of the first millennium AD, the site of Thonis-Herakleion was below sea level and the city all but forgotten.

Since its rediscovery in 2000, Thonis-Herakleion and the neighbouring city of Kanopos, to which it was linked by a canal, have been studied by the Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology in collaboration with the Institut Européen d’Archéologie Sous-Marine (IEASM). The results have been published in a series of attractively produced volumes,\textsuperscript{31} which includes monographs as well as conference proceedings; the ninth and most recent is \textit{Thonis-Heracleion in Context}, edited by DAMIAN ROBINSON from the University of Oxford and FRANCK GODDIO, the director of IEASM.

The volume contains revised versions of sixteen papers presented at a conference in Oxford in March 2013, organised under four main topics: religious landscapes (FRANCK GODDIO, SANDA S. HEINZ, AURÉLIA MASSON), local trade (BRIAN MUHS, ANNE-SOPHIE VON BOMHARD, ANDREW MEADOWS, CATHERINE GRATALOUP, ELSBETH SOUS-DER WILT), ships (DAVID FABRE, ALEXANDER BELOV, DAMIAN ROBINSON) and trade beyond Thonis-Herakleion (ALEXANDRA VILLING, ROSS THOMAS, MARIANNE BERGERON, MOHAMED KENAWI, PENELope WILSON) and framed by an excellent introduction by the editors titled ‘Thonis-Heracleion and the “small world” of the northwestern Delta’.

Within ancient maritime studies, the concept of ‘small worlds’ has been explored in the recent work of IRAD MALKIN and THOMAS TARTARON. For MALKIN, strongly inspired by contemporary network theory, the ‘small world’ is virtual and spatial proximity plays a secondary part, if any.\textsuperscript{32} TARTARON, on the other hand, while acknowledging the importance of medium- and long-distance contacts conceptualizes his ‘small worlds’ or ‘Mycenean coastal worlds’ as spatially coherent, as ‘aggregates of many neighbouring coastscapes’.\textsuperscript{33} The editors of the present volume describe ‘small worlds’ as ‘groups of communities tied together in a relatively limited geographical area through dense social and economic relationships’ (p. 1), a definition closer to that of TARTARON than to MALKIN. Thus the site of Thonis-Herakleion is seen not only as a point of interface with a long-distance

\textsuperscript{31} An updated list of all volumes in the series, with summaries, is available online at http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/OCMA-publications.html.
\textsuperscript{33} THOMAS F. TARTARON, \textit{Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World}, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013, 190; also 194–5.
trading network but as one node in a regional network of trade and exchange which also included Kanopos and Naukratis. As particularly successful attempts to explore the latter aspect one might mention the chapters by MEADOWS on coin circulation (p. 121–35), by FABRE on ship types (p. 175–94, especially p. 180 and 184–5) and by BERGERON on imported fineware pottery at Naukratis (p. 267–81).

Perhaps because they share a common set of methodological tools and environmental challenges, marine archaeologists in different periods have a tradition of cooperation and exchange of ideas across the *longue durée*. This is clearly brought out in two recent edited volumes, one spanning the period from the Etruscans to the Vikings, the other from the Ertebølle culture to the eighteenth century.

In *Häfen im 1. Millennium AD: Bauliche Konzepte, herrschaftliche und religiöse Einflüsse* the editors, THOMAS SCHMIDTS AND MARTIN M. VUČETIĆ, have collected the proceedings of a conference that took place in 2014 under the auspices of the *Schwerpunktprogramm* ‘Häfen von der romischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Mittelalter’. Of the nineteen papers, about one-third deal with Mediterranean ports (p. 9–116), another third with river ports of northwestern Europe (p. 119–228) and a third group with the Atlantic and North Sea coasts (p. 231–321). The final chapter (WOLFGANG RABBEL et al., p. 323–40) discusses the challenges involved in the application of geophysical prospection methods in wet or waterlogged environments, based on field experience in all three periods and regions (Ainos in the Aegean; Drachenfels on the Rhine; Leiruvogur in Iceland). A further example of the potential of geophysical prospection is the chapter by ANDREAS VÖTT et al. on the river harbours of Ostia (p. 23–34): using a combination of stratigraphic coring and electrical resistivity tomography (ERT) the team was able to identify two phases in the evolution of the river port, an older basin in use from the fourth to the second century BC and a more recent construction, its quayside closer to the river, in use from the second century BC to the first century AD.

Of special interest in the present context are the papers by STEFAN FEUSER (p. 35–51) and MARGARETA SIEPEN (p. 141–9) on the place of religion in port communities. FEUSER discusses the limited evidence for *Schwellenritualen* or ‘rituals of transition’ in Italian ports, while SIEPEN reviews the finds from the port of Gelduba, modern Gellep near Krefeld, where an auxiliary fort was established in the late first century AD. The site underlies the river harbour of modern Krefeld and during dredging operations in 1975, massive numbers of Roman small finds came to light and were picked up by local enthusiasts and treasure-hunters. MARGARETA SIEPEN and her colleague CHRISTOPH REICHMANN have succeeded in tracing a large part of these finds in private collections, some 20,000 objects in all, including 5,583 coins, a strikingly high number. Equally striking is that despite the destruction of the fort in AD 353, coins continued to find their way into the harbour basin, along with bangles, rings and fibulae. This suggests that by the end of the third century, the function of the harbour had evolved from a simple transport node to become a liminal cultic site (*Brückenopferplatz*) (p. 145). One
wonders if a similar process of transition from port to sanctuary might be observed at other late Roman sites in the region (could this, for instance, explain the inclusion of the enigmatic portus (a)bucini in the Notitia Galliarum?\textsuperscript{34}).

Among other contributions of interest to students of ancient navigation one should also mention Julia Daum on Tyrrhenian harbours (p. 9–22), Helmut Brückner et al. on the fortifications of Ainos (p. 53–76), Albrecht Berger on the harbours of Constantinople (p. 77–88) and Alfred Schäfer on the relation of the Roman river port at Cologne to the city’s street plan and defences (p. 119–32). Constanze Höken’s paper is devoted to the question of trade flows into the Roman Rhineland as documented by pottery finds (p. 133–40). Among the papers dealing with later periods, one finds two contributions by Ewald Kislinger et al. (p. 89–92) and Dominik Heher et al. (p. 93–116) on Balkan ports and trading networks during the Byzantine period, as well as a long and particularly rich chapter by Lukas Werther et al. (p. 151–85) on the Fossa Carolina which was dug in the late eighth century to link the basins of the Rhine and the Danube.

The Niedersächsische Institut für historische Küstenforschung was established at Wilhelmshaven in 1938 and celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2013. To mark the occasion, the Institute published a collection of twenty papers which together illustrate the wide range of activities of its researchers, from submerged prehistoric landscapes to Early Modern dike construction. While many chapters deal with north European prehistory or the Middle Ages, the volume includes several which will be of interest to students of the north-western Roman provinces and the frontier zone, particularly the papers by Iris Aufderhaar and Annette Siegmüller on proto-urbanisation between the Weser and the Elbe (p. 123–44; 145–71) and by Annette Siemüller, Jutta Precht and Hauke Jöns on landing places along the lower reaches of the Aller and Weser (p. 173–90; 191–8).

From a methodological point of view, the discussion by Ingo Eichfeld (p. 217–37) of settlement, economy and waterways in East Frisia during the early Middle Ages is particularly interesting, and a timely reminder that the flat-bottomed vessels typical of inland waterways required little in the way of permanent installations, that many freshwater harbours ‘nicht über feste Einbauten in Form von Holz- oder gar Steinkonstruktionen verfügten’ (p. 220), in other words, were not ‘künstlich angelegte Häfen’ in the sense of Wawrzinek’s study (cited above). This problem, combined with the settlement continuity at many port sites in the watershed of the Rhine and its tributaries and the scarcity of textual sources for the transport geography means that our understanding of the role of river navigation during this crucial period in the evolution of the European economy is likely to remain, if not ambiguous, at least incomplete.

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\textsuperscript{34} Jill Harries, Church and State in the Notitia Galliarum, JRS 68 (1978) 41.
I. SAMMELBÄNDE MIT ÜBERGREIFENDER THEMATIK


G. BONNIN et É. LE QUERE publient les actes d’un colloque de juin 2012 (en français et en anglais), rapidité louable pour une édition d’excellente qualité qui, malgré son format, réussit à intégrer en contexte les nombreuses photos et illustrations nécessaires (utile carte des Cyclades, p. 122–3). Avec les conclusions limpides de R. Étienne, les index permettront une consultation rapide au chercheur pressé, mais il aurait tort de s’en tenir là.

Les éditeurs ont réussi le pari d’une double approche : le livre dresse le tableau chronologique des hégémonies qui se sont exercées sur les Cyclades (Naxos, Paros, Athènes, Lagides, Rome) ; mais grâce à la diversité des chercheurs conviés, il donne aussi une large idée des recherches qui entrent dans son élaboration – sources littéraires, archéologiques, épigraphiques, et numismatiques, et des problèmes qui s’y rencontrent. Au-delà des questions proprement cycladiques, sur lesquelles ce livre représente un progrès évident, j’y ai trouvé de remarquables leçons de méthode, qu’il s’agisse d’archéologie monumentale (F. PROST, J. DES COURTILS), d’archéologie des objets (B. RUTISHAUSER), d’historiographie (CH. PEBARTHE), d’épigraphie (N. BADOUĐ ; N. TRIPPE), de numismatique (E. LE QUERE), de céramologie (J.-S. GROS), ou même d’histoire littéraire (CH. CONSTANTAKOPOULOU). En plus du public des spécialistes qui en feront leur miel, je recommande ce livre aux historiens en herbe : ils trouveront à y ouvrir profitalement leurs horizons de spécialité.


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Le premier, sur lequel nous insisterons ici, concerne la géographie historique ou la topographie urbaine. Tandis que P. Moret (p. 273–82) corrige certains aspects des précédentes représentations cartographiques de la Gaule établies à partir du texte de Strabon (place des bouches du Rhône, tracé de la Garonne, inclinaison de la côte septentrionale), ce sont surtout le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule et l’espace pyrénéen qui sont au cœur de plusieurs contributions. Chr. Dieulafait (p. 181–96) livre ainsi une synthèse sur les sites de Saint-Liziers et Saint-Girons, probable chef-lieu des Consoranni depuis l’époque augustéenne, à partir des découvertes récentes – notamment un trésor monétaire, enfoui sous Probus, dont l’inventaire préliminaire est mené par Fr. Dieulafait (p. 197–216). Pour les Pyrénées méridionales, M. Magallon et P. Sillieres (p. 263–72) identifient Barbotum au


I. Sammelbände mit übergreifender Thematik

enfin H. POUSTHOMIS-DALLE analyse l’épitaphe d’un prêtre du XIIIe s. dans l’église de Notre-Dame-de-Sassis (Hautes-Pyrénées).

Le dernier ensemble, moins fourni, est centré sur des thématiques historiographiques : la construction de l’intrigue à partir du problème de la guerre et de ses revers comme fil directeur de la tradition historique chez Hérodote, Thucydide et Xénophon (P. PAYEN), la mise en regard des différentes sources relatives aux incursions maures en 721–732 en Aquitaine (G. PRADALIER) ou encore, les réseaux de sociabilité savante en Europe aux XIXe et XXe s. autour des figures de Ch. Roach-Smith (S. ESMONDE CLEARY, J. WOOD) ou de Fr. Cumont et G. de Sanctis (C. BONNET).

Selon la loi du genre, ces mélange rassemblent donc des textes hétérogènes, sur des sujets variés dont l’unité tient surtout au geste de l’hommage à leur destinataire. Les contributions sont de bonne tenue dans leur ensemble et l’ouvrage est édité de façon soignée, avec une belle qualité dans l’illustration : aussi bien pour des dossiers spécifiques que pour des synthèses plus amples, le spécialiste ou le lecteur curieux partageant les mêmes centres d’intérêt que R. Sablayrolles sauront assurément y trouver leur compte.

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This fascinating collection of articles, developed in connection with the Berlin excellence cluster TOPOI (‘Historische Geographie des antiken Mittelmeerraumes’) introduces readers to a new approach to the study of geographical references in ancient texts. In the two introductory essays ‘Common Sense Geography’ (henceforth CSG) is defined as a heuristic concept that allows scholars to examine ordinary people’s knowledge and use of the spaces they lived in. This ‘spread and application of geographical knowledge [sic] outside of expert circles’ (p. 5) is seen as a ‘lower’ kind of geography distinguished from the scientific geography of a few specialist authors. In the following articles, which present case studies, it becomes clear that – with few exceptions – almost all ancient writers wrote from the perspective of CSG and that there are blurred boundaries between ‘intuitive’, ‘scholarly’ and ‘fully reasoned’ geography (authors are listed under these rubrics in a table on p. 28–9). This approach distinguishes itself from the traditional study of ancient geographical texts which tries to trace a development toward a scientific geography in antiquity already. By contrast, the authors of this volume show that CSG was so common because it was, and still is, most useful to
people in everyday life, while scientific geography remained abstract and theoretical.

The case studies which constitute the main body of the volume concern a variety of ancient authors from the fifth century BC until the second century AD. PASCAL ARNAUD points to the connection between ancient mariners’ concrete experiences of sailing distances and the eventual development of maps which were based on this experiential knowledge. He argues that the periploi (descriptions of measured segments of the sea) were ‘armchair products’ (p. 40) relying on mariners’ ‘life-long repetition of a limited number of routes’ (p. 66). ‘It remains doubtful, whether they ‘had a coherent vision of the Mediterranean’ (ibid.). The CSG of the mariners should therefore be seen as ‘a sum ... of common sense perceptions of limited areas’ of the sea (ibid.). The limitations in ancient perceptions of space are also stressed by THOMAS POISS. With few exceptions, ancient writers present a linear perspective on how to get from point A to point B, the itinerary model or hodological view. Nevertheless, occasionally a different perspective, the so-called ‘bird’s eye view’ appears in the sources, especially when describing the gods’ views onto the earth from above. The author wonders why this perspective, which would have been available in some everyday life situations (e.g., shepherds on mountains; soldiers observing the approach of enemy armies) is so scarce in the texts and suggests practical considerations: the hodological view would have been most useful in daily pursuits. GIAN FRANCO CHIAI examines the mental perception of islands and insularity in the Greek and Roman world. He argues that the terminology was ‘used for encoding and defining places’ (p. 101) surrounded by something else and could therefore also be applied to the so-called insulae, shared living quarters surrounded by streets. Greeks used islands as trading posts and associated them with security; sometimes they fantasized about islands as unknown utopian places. For Romans, on the other hand, islands evoked the image of either forced exile or elite holiday resorts. As far as the island of Britannia was concerned, Romans distinguished between its southern part, which formed part of the oikumene, and its unknown ‘barbaric and alien’ (p. 126) northern part, as SERENA BIANCHETTI points out. TØNNES BEKKER-NIELSEN defines the shore between the land and the sea as a ‘soft space’ with ‘fuzzy boundaries’ (p. 132) in contrast to the ‘hard spaces’ defined by political, legal, and administrative regulations. The phenomenon that ‘the clear-cut dividing line between the sea and the land did not apply in real life’ (p. 138), where the social boundaries between fishermen and wealthy sea-view villa owners were crucial, indicates ‘the contradictory realities of Roman society’ (p. 145).

The following papers focus on specific ancient authors and texts. KLAUS GEUS points to the great variations in measurements of ‘a day’s journey’ in Herodotus’ Histories. Obviously, no exact measurements were used and the estimates were based on the personal perception of distances only. Statistical calculations of averages seem to have been ‘alien to Greek and Roman thought’ (p. 153). In her excellent examination of ‘common Greek mental modelling of spaces’ in Xenophon’s Anabasis (fifth century BC), ANCA DAN emphasizes the literary and fictitious nature of the text and our lack of information about the author and his audi-
ence. The *Anabasis* would have been inspired by personal experience and should be understood as *autohistoire*, that is, war memoirs with a ‘subjective purpose: to justify Xenophon’s misconduct’ (p. 166). One of the examples of CSG in the *Anabasis* is the perception of Hellas as distinct from the territory of the Persians and other ‘barbarian’ lands. Dan concludes that ‘Xenophon looks at space through the frame of the military and domestic organiser’ (p. 187). Passages that can be identified as reflections of scientific geography seem to belong to a later stratum of the text: ‘In the end, the Anabasis says little about what the Greeks of the 5th–4th century BC could really know about Persia ...’ (p. 191). **Florentina Badalanova Geller** argues that the biblical narrative of the four rivers running from Eden (Genesis 2:10–14) is based on the cosmological model of the Babylonian *mappa mundi*, which circulated orally and is depicted on a British Museum cuneiform tablet. Babylonia is also the location where Markham J. Geller locates Berossos’ writing of his *Babyloniaka*. In contrast to those scholars who view this text as a Greek composition written on the Greek island of Kos, he suggests that an original Aramaic version existed that was later translated into Greek. The *Babyloniaka* stands close to Babylonian *Listenwissenschaft*. As a Babylonian priest, Berossos would have had little reason to travel to Kos. A translation into Greek would have been made by others at a time when Kos became a centre of Greek learning. **Ekaterina Ilyushechkina, Günther Görz and Martin Thiering** focus on Dionysius Periegetes’ *Description of the World* (2nd c. AD), a didactic poem offering a comprehensive portrait of the world. They advocate an approach that uses ‘cognitive linguistics with corpus construction, annotation, and parsing’ (p. 247), with the goal of creating mental maps. Some of the major achievements of ancient CSG are highlighted by Kurt Guckelsberger: Eratosthenes’ estimate of the circumference of the earth, the engineering of the Upper Germanic *limes* and the construction of Roman aqueducts.

The final essay by Martin Thiering provides a theoretical and methodological outlook on how the study of CSG could proceed in the future. In the introductory chapter the editors had defined the term ‘common’ in CSG as ‘shared’ or distributed knowledge’ (8). Dan had suggested a distinction between ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ space perception (p. 161). What remains unexplored is the range of certain geographical notions and ideas, a question that can be answered on the basis of cultural comparisons only. Thiering hopes that future studies will be able to distinguish between ‘universals’ and ‘cultural specific spatial encoding processes’ (p. 267). The ‘linguistically dense topographic reference system for orientation’ (p. 305) in ancient texts has not been studied comprehensively yet. One may add that texts such as the Greek romantic novels, the various versions of the Alexander Romance, as well as the works of Josephus and rabbinic literature would provide interesting text bases for a further exploration of ‘Common Sense Geography’.

The book can be highly recommended to all scholars of ancient texts and cultures and to those interested in historical geography. It will hopefully encourage further studies along the lines proposed by its authors. The book ends with a general bibliography and indexes of ancient sources and (place) names. The text
contains a number of orthographic errors and would have profited from better copy editing.

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Since the pioneering work of André Tchernia and Ricardo Pascual the north-west of the Roman province of Hispania Citerior – roughly modern Cataluña – has been required reading for anyone interested in the spread of viticulture in the Late Republic. The region saw the appearance at the end of the second century BC or beginning of the first century BC of a villa economy based on viticulture and the production of amphorae. This volume consists of fourteen papers offering a multidisciplinary approach to the material evidence in order provide a comprehensive analysis of the development of the production and commerce of wine. Apart from two more theoretical papers at the start of the volume, this is achieved through a series of case studies.

The first section of the book consists of two papers offering theoretical approaches to the study of the development of viticulture and amphora production. The first paper by Víctor Revilla Calvo (p. 1–17) examines the archaeological and literary evidence for wine production. Rejecting the primacy of the villa model that has dominated much previous scholarship, Revilla Calvo stresses the deficiencies of the archaeological record and the ideological biases of the literary sources to suggest that wine production occurred at a wide range of sites of different scale, organization and social context. In contrast to the previous paper, Antoni Martín i Oliveras (p. 19–37) focuses on amphorae, and in particular on the context within which amphorae are found either associated with evidence of production, recovered from shipwrecks, or in locations of demand or consumption. Like Revilla Calvo, Martín i Oliveras stresses the importance of a holistic approach combining a variety of evidence together with the socio-economic factors influencing decisions of an economic nature such as the costs of production and shipment, and the social factors that determined the value of wine as a dietary component and source of prestige.

The second section examines the production and distribution of amphorae from three areas through the medium of the stamps found on the vessels. Albert Martín Menéndez’s paper (p. 39–54) looks at three ceramic workshops in El Maresme: El Mujal–El Roser (Calella) and Ca l’Arnau and Can Rodon de l’Hort (both Cabrera de Mar). In common with many of the sites covered in this volume none of the workshops has been excavated in toto, therefore, Martín Menéndez
outlines the archaeological context before discussing the amphora stamps associated with each. Particularly problematic has been the identification of the individuals named in amphorae, and their association with individuals named in other forms of epigraphy. MARTÍN MENÉNDEZ briefly surveys the existing work on the topic before concluding that the individuals named on amphorae are the merchants responsible for trading the wine, although the same individual may also be the owner of the estate upon which the wine was produced as, for example, in the cases of M. Porcius from Baetulo, P. Baebius Tuticanus from El Morè and P. Usulanus Veiento from Llafranc. The topic of amphora stamps is continued in the following chapter by PIERO BERNI MILLET (p. 55–66) that analyzes the stamps on Pascual 1 and Dressel 2–4 amphorae from several sites in the lower valley of the Río Llobregat – Sant Boi de Llobregat, Camí Vell del Llor, Sant Vicenç dels Horts, Can Tintorer and Can Pederol – sites that offer a sequence showing the economic transformation in the Late Republic and Early Empire and explore the impact of the foundation of the Augustan colony of Barcino. The analysis is based upon the catalogue of stamps from the Baix Llobregat published in 2013.¹ The lower valley of the Río Llobregat is the focus of the following paper by CÉSAR CARRERAS MONFORT that examines the distribution of the stamps across the Western Mediterranean, in particular the cargo of Dressel 2–4 amphorae from Grigalia (p. 67–78). In addition to the stamps discussed in the previous chapter, CARRERAS MONFORT suggests a connection between the stamps SYN/SYNE from Sant Vicenç with the augustalis C. Trocina Synecdemus named in an inscription from Castelldefels (HEp 5 (1995), 139). For the remaining paper (p. 79–90) the focus shifts to the hinterland of Tarragona where, despite the early appearance of locally produced imitations of Dressel 1 amphorae at El Vilar (Valls) large scale production only develops in the first century AD with the appearance of Dressel 2–4 vessels.

The third section focuses on trade examining the imported amphorae from three harbour towns: Empúries, Tarragona and Badalona. JOAQUIM TREMOLEDA, PERE CASTANYER and MARTA SANTOS (p. 91–108) examine the incidence of fine ware, local coarse ware and imported and locally produced amphora – local Dressel 1 imitations, Tarraconense 1 and Pascual 1 vessels – from the excavations of silos underlying the Forum area in Empúries between 1992 and 1999. Whilst Italian imports predominate for much of the first century BC, by the Augustan period Pascual 1 and later Dressel 2–4 are the most numerous. Similarly Italian imports are most common in Tarragona until 30/25 BC with local production in Pascual 1 amphorae only coming to predominate in the last quarter of the first century BC. PERE GEBELLÍ BORRÀS’ paper (p. 109–23) provides a statistical anal-

ysis of amphora rims from several locations in the lower town of Tarragona (the Roman theatre, Plaça de la Font and Calle Unió nos 5 and 14) in order to chart the changing consumption of wine in the city through the first centuries BC and AD. Badalona has featured prominently in studies of amphora in Laietania due to Montserrat Comas i Sola’s analyses of the amphorae and stamps from the town. Her paper (with Verónica Martínez Ferreras, p. 125–45) builds upon the work of the Equip de Recerca Arqueològica i Arqueomètrica at the University of Barcelona and presents the results of the archaeometric analysis of the fabric of 96 stamped amphorae from the town that enables the stamps to be attributed to particular ceramic workshops, in particular Illa Fradera-Estación Pompeu Fabra and Can Peixau.

The final section deals with the distribution of wine amphorae into Gaul and the Rhine frontier. The first paper (p. 147–63) focuses on the Port-Vendres 4 wreck. The wreck dates to c. 40–30 BC and carried a heterogeneous cargo of Pascual 1, Dressel 1B and Lamboglia 2 amphorae. Archaeometric analysis enables the authors to identify the sources of the amphorae: the Pascual 1 vessels from the vicinity of Mataró, the lower valley of the Río Llobregat and Badalona; and the Dressel 1B and Lamboglia 2 from Campania, Latium and Southern Tuscany. The trade between Tarracoensian and Southern Gaul is explored further in Corinne Sanchez’s paper (p. 165–80) examining the assemblages of amphorae from Port-la-Naute, the wreck of Montfort lying to the east of the harbour area, and three sites in Narbonne itself (the Médiathèque, Clos de la Lombarde and Rue de la Catalogne) that provide a sequence through the first centuries BC and AD. Fanette Laubenheimer (p. 181–92) surveys the distribution of Tarracensis amphora in Gaul to show that they were traded in large quantities along the Aude-Garonne to Bordeaux and the Atlantic coast (accounting for 76.9% of the total amphorae at Narbonne, for example). By contrast, far fewer travelled north along the Rhône to Lyon and Saint-Romain-en-Gal and are scarce further north along the Rhine and in Northern France and Belgium – save at Vindonissa (6.3%) and Dangstetten (5.7%). Rather than markets in Britain or along the Rhine, Tarracensis wine reached the communities of Aquitaine and western France. The penultimate paper (p. 193–204) examines a specific funerary assemblage including seven Pascual 1 amphorae from a tomb in the sanctuary of Antran (Vienne). Fabric analysis indicates that the amphorae originated in the vicinity of Badalona, perhaps at Illa Fradera-Estación Pompeu Fabra where the stamps R, F and VAS have been found. The final paper, by Horacio González Cesteros (p. 205–20) quantifies the presence of Pascual 1, Dressel 2–4 and Oberaden 74 amphora along the Rhine frontier during the reign of Augustus.

2 Montserrat Comas i Sola, Baetulo: les Amfores, Badalona 1985 (Monografías Badaloneses 8); Montserrat Comas i Sola, Baetulo: les marques d’àmfora, Badalona 1997.
The volume complements Verónica Martínez Ferreras’ earlier analysis of the fabric of wine amphorae produced in the region by applying the results of this research to broader fundamental questions concerning the scale and organization of production, the validity of the villa model, the role of harbours and infrastructure, and regional variations in the distribution of amphora. The papers – as one might expect from a cast of distinguished Spanish and French archaeologists – are of a high quality and several are provocative in advocating new avenues of research and methodologies, and in overturning previous conceptions. Whilst elements of the papers can be found published elsewhere, this book makes the most up to date Spanish and French research accessible to a wider audience. Although disparate in focus, the papers are complementary and will become required reading for any interested in the development of viticulture in the Late Republic and Early Empire.

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Published as one of the supplements to the journal Ancient West & East and strictly focused on cultural-historical phenomena occurring at and received through intermediaries from the periphery of the ancient world, this collection of papers – in the words of the series editor, Gocha Tsetskhladze – is very well suited to the series’ specific range of interests and aims (p. VII). The volume is divided into eleven chapters preceded by a Series Editor’s Introduction, a Preface by the volume editor, as well as a List of Illustrations, and followed by a List of Contributors and an Index. It presents the more recent work of established scholars from across Europe, including Russia, France, Poland and Italy. The papers cover a significant chronological span from the second half of the 2nd millennium BC to medieval elaborations on ancient conceptions of periphery. The effect of embracing all edges of the oikoumene has purposely been sought (p. 2). As a result, the collection can be regarded ‘as the first more-or-less systematic attempt to discuss these problems’ (p. 1).

In a broadly conceptualized Introduction (‘The Periphery of the Classical World as Seen from the Centre: Mastering the Oikoumene’, p. 1–5), Podossinov sets the stage for the multi-faceted methodology employed when dealing with real knowledge or speculative schemes of a cosmological, geographical, ethnographical or religious character. By posing eight research questions, he acknowledges

the pitfalls associated with turning ethnographical data collected in distant regions into desired sources for geographical and historical studies.

In a short etymological study called ‘Sail-Free Via Malea (ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν): The Wind from Kaikos in the Cultural and Military Context of the Eastern Mediterranean of the Second Half of the 2nd Millennium BC’ (p. 7–11), NIKOLAI KAZANSKY draws upon linear B documents, ancient literary accounts and linguistic analogies suggesting that Zephyros may have been derived from the archaic name of the Island of Melos, whereas Kaikias was named after the Anatolian Kaikos River whose mouth is aligned, from the north-east, with another navigation point, Cape Malea in Peloponnese. Overall, this article serves as an implicit prelude to the more daring and far-reaching geographical explorations in the post-Mycenaean centuries.

‘Centre et périphérie dans les mappemondes grecques’ (p. 13–29) by FRANCESCO PROTERA is a profound study juxtaposing the traditional notion of the inhabited world as a circle surrounded by the mythical Ocean with the ancient scientific theory of the sphericity of the Earth. By taking into account all geographical, cartographical and astronomical aspects of the evolution of the two models grounded in the works of dozens of writers from Hecataeus to Geminus, PROTERA concludes that, although imperfect and distorting the real distances, shape and size of lands and seas, the archaic circular world maps remained in use because they reflected the history of a civilization entirely constructed on ‘domicentric’ principles of space perception.

Being the author of so many seminal works on the history of ancient and medieval cartography, PASCAL ARNAUD here delivers another brilliant analysis by focusing his study on the most frequent issues the mapmakers had faced in the representation of the world’s boundaries. ‘Mapping the Edges of the Earth: Approaches and Cartographical Problems’ (p. 31–57) is an amply illustrated examination of extant maps such as that of Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Cotton, the Jerome and the Peutinger maps, as well as of core literary accounts in Plutarch, Agathemerus, Apuleius, Ptolemy, to name a few. ARNAUD rejects the suggestion that a particular map could be related to a particular culture. To him, lying some way between geometry and painting (p. 32), ancient and medieval cartography did not use a ‘unified image of the inhabited world but as many patterns as there were aims and purposes’ (p. 52). In the map-tablets, the physical limits also prevented the ‘realistic’ representation of what was thought or theorized of eschatia and perata. The ‘worn-out’ edge of the map readily became the space for ‘unintelligible or mistaken legends’, ‘simplification and banalisation’ (p. 57).

Taking the present-day catastrophic shriveling of the Aral Sea as his starting point, IGOR PYANKOV explores once more the intricate problem on ‘The Oxus and the Caspian Sea in the Ancient Geography of the Classical World’ (p. 59–66) in thorough retrospect. Most importantly, his survey is supplemented by recent archaeological discoveries from Turkmenistan and geological conclusions on the Sarykamysh delta of the Amu-Darya and the Uzboy as the Amu-Darya’s channel between the 7th century BC and the 4th century AD. In corroboration of his thesis that the Araxes, the Oxus, the Araxša and the Aredvī are ancient names of the
Amu-Darya, Pyankov provides readers with detailed analytical reconstruction of the ancient landscape of the waterfall where once the Uzboy added its waters to the Caspian Sea.

In ‘Figuren eines Erdeils: Das Afrika der Alten’ (p. 67–76), Pietro Janni takes the methodology of analogical reasoning by incorporating the principles of Gestalt-psychology and seeking for a conclusive explanation of the failure of ancient and medieval cartographers to delineate Africa. On the example of the figure-ground correlations between Italy and Adria he arrives at a more nuanced understanding of how the ancients developed two models of perception of the contour of Africa, the one that remained incomplete and was first represented in Herodotus, the other one by Ptolemy that proved to be completely wrong. In either instance, however, ancient mariners, geographers and cartographers gave form to the surrounding gulfs and seas, and did not deliberately search for the silhouette of Africa as a discrete continent.

‘Pomponius Mela’s Chorography and Hellenistic Scientific Geography’ (p. 77–94) explores the sources for Mela’s account of the oikoumene. In the first part of his project Dmitry Shcheglov distinguishes between two models of the inhabited world in Eratosthenes and Ptolemy called by him insular and continental respectively (p. 78). Noting that no scientific geography has survived from the period between Hipparchus and Ptolemy, in the second part, Shcheglov explains a series of oddities in Mela by drawing parallels with two overlooked passages in Plutarch and Pausanias, and suggesting a common source in a lost Greek work built on geographical and cartographical principles similar to those which lie behind Ptolemy’s Geography.

In ‘Die Alexandergründungen in den nordiranischen Ländern im Lichte der geographischen Tradition der Antike’ (p. 95–121) Marek Jan Olbrycht’s research focuses on the foundations in Parthia, Margiana, Areia, Sakastan and Arachosia. Systematic as it is, this expository survey encompasses the fragmentary discourse in Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Ammianus Marcellinus, Isidore of Charax and Stephanus of Byzantium. Although not explicitly linked to geographical and cartographical issues of the periphery, it contributes to the whole by showing the relativity of the concepts of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ in a large-scale colonization program.

In ‘The Northern Black Sea Region in the Geography of Strabo’ (p. 123–32), Lubov Gratsianskaya explores both the possible literary and non-literary sources of Strabo's narratives about a vast geographical area long deemed to be situated close to the edge of the oikoumene. The author comes up with the convincing thesis that the Mithridatic Wars may have triggered the transformation of the ‘peripheral’ region into a zone of central interest for Rome. All these features of momentary political conjuncture can be found mirrored in Strabo's accounts that have been borrowed from Theophanes of Mytilene, Artemidorus of Ephesus, Posidonius and Hypsicrates, but also perhaps from family memoires and lapidary archives.

The paper by the volume editor, Alexander Podoissinov, entitled ‘The Indians in Northern Europe? On the Ancient Roman Notion of the Configuration of
Eurasia’ (p. 133–45), deals with one of the most intricate accounts in Roman geography. Pomponius Mela\(^1\) and Pliny the Elder,\(^2\) who gave credence to Cornelius Nepos, record that in 62 BC, the king of the Boii presented as a gift to the proconsul of Gaul certain Indians who on a trade voyage had been carried off their course by storms to Germany. After having discussed the historiography of the topic, Podossinov wisely distinguishes between real-life occasions, such as the misinterpretation of the Slavonic ethnonym of Vindi (Venedi) or single visits of Eskimos washed to northern Europe by storms, and the true pretext for ‘utilization’ of this story for literary purposes. The detection of a huge gap in the spatial notion of the North representing Scythia as adjacent to India leads Podossinov to the conclusion that, literary, the whole story is an attempt to confirm the mythological and cosmological concept of the earth-encircling Ocean.

Grigory Bondarenko’s ‘Goidelic Hydronyms in Ptolemy’s Geography: Myth behind the Name’ (p. 147–54) is a short linguistic essay aiming at reconstructing fragments from the cultural historical bridge between Continental Celtic and Early Irish world-views before the adoption of Christianity. By taking a comparative approach and drawing upon Ptolemy’s onomastic data, Gaulish epigraphic material, Irish folklore and medieval glossators, Bondarenko highlights the origin of many Goidelic place-names and outlines the process of passing down of imaginary spaces from generation to generation.

While this collection was evidently not intended as a textbook, it is already a valuable addition to the increasingly animated scholarly discourse on the subject. Most importantly, it incorporates material from across the academic community, removing linguistic barriers and conveying otherwise hardly accessible ideas. Differing in length and approach, these papers provide readers with the immediacy of the current research outcomes, the dynamic, shifting and incomplete picture of a frequently overlooked, and hence rarely investigated, subject.

Congratulations to the publisher, both the series and the volume editors, and to all contributors on the thoughtful content and the good-looking design. Projects like this are admirable because they satisfy the desiderata of polycentric research perspectives. Along the way, we might also arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of how spatial perceptions and cross-cultural knowledge transmission brought historical realities to life.

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\(^1\) Mela 3.44–5.
\(^2\) Plin. nat. 2.170.
This volume forms the proceedings of the International Workshop *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems* at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, 17–18.10.2013, within the framework of the Special Research Programme (DFG-SPP 1630) *Harbours from the Roman Period to the Middle Ages*.

The study of ancient and medieval harbours, like other fields of archaeology over the past half century, is being subjected to a re-examination, refining and reorientation process that attempts to render the discipline more formal and quantifiable in its methodology and results. This is proving a positive process, particularly with regard to maritime networks, which has stimulated new thought, fresh approaches and illuminating discussions in the world’s conference halls and in print. The present volume under review, *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems*, offers a variety of papers that contribute to our understanding of ancient and medieval harbours within the framework of complexity theory. This is an important collection of essays, well worth a close reading and full consideration of the innovative perspective it brings to a broad range of harbour investigations. Above all, the volume does an admirable job of addressing an audience that may be composed not only of already seasoned masters but also of apprentices and journeymen in the subject of complexity theory and other formal approaches to harbour studies, who will find its articles provocative and enlightening.

Complex systems, writes co-editor J. PREISER-KAPELLE, are networks of individual components – in this case, harbours – in which small interactions at a microscopic level affect the entire system, by producing changing complex patterns of behaviour at a macroscopic level. Such systems are ‘non-linear,’ as they respond to certain stimuli through feedback mechanisms in a dynamic, sometimes unexpected way. Their nature depends on both current conditions and their history. In general, they are stable but open systems, affected by their environments in complex ways, which occasionally exhibit transitions from one stable state to another through a build-up of small interactions that may reinforce each other. Given the innate character of harbours, then, or preferably ‘ports,’ as central or connecting nodes within complex, dynamic networks, it is clear that the complexity-

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theory approach espoused in this volume represents a highly appropriate conceptual framework for their study.

Before proceeding further, a word about terminology. PREISER-KAPELLER’S initial discussion of what constitutes an anchorage, harbour or port leaves something to be desired, as does the volume’s title itself. Although topographical definitions are instructive and useful, social and economic aspects must quickly be factored into them to attain a full sense of a maritime facility’s significance. Thus, while the term ‘port’ can indeed connote a permanent, complex, infrastructurally developed ‘port town’ that functions primarily as ‘a major node in a maritime network’, the term also encompasses more minor sites — as, for example, comparative premodern coastal evidence (‘proxy data’) in Cyprus illustrates. Such small ports were similarly permanent but often seasonally exploited, relatively or completely undeveloped and uninhabited anchorages and other small, local economic outlets that served as commercial gateways to/from the sea in mostly outlying, agricultural areas. Such local ports in premodern times point to the existence also in antiquity of networks of small ports that composed the lifeblood of the ‘micro-regions’ and ‘micro-ecologies’ distinguished by P. HORDEN and N. PURCELL, or the ‘small worlds’ more recently described by T. TARTARON. Ports, in the more complex sense of dynamic coastal sites that emerged, functioned interactively and faded away, are the true subjects of this volume, not merely ‘harbours’ in a more static topographical or general sense.

Ports constitute a particularly challenging class of archaeological sites. The life-cycle of a port (its establishment, use, maintenance, abandonment and in some cases later renewed use and further development) depends on a complex background of agents, forces and interactions that encompass the port site itself, its socio-economic hinterland (‘Umland’) and its greater region and neighbouring areas, parts of which may compose the port’s foreland. A host of local and regional characters, as well as networks of such individuals, are typically involved in the workings of a port, while its overall success or failure is governed by an array of dynamic economic, environmental and social factors. Into this mix of considerations, needed for a far-reaching analysis of ports, can be added more specific factors of culture, tradition, navigation and choice of sea routes. The whole question of decision-making, as PREISER-KAPELLER argues in the volume’s introduction, represents a fundamental issue in port studies, since every aspect of a port’s life-cycle is governed by decisions and, in analytical retrospect, can perhaps better be

understood or hypothetically predicted through formal, systematic scrutiny and
the modelling of potential or suspected decision-making processes.

Network analysis, modelling and other such formal heuristic tools aid in visu-
alizing the connectedness of ports, but they are not without limitations. A key
contribution to the volume is that of S.M. Sindbæk, whose paper offers valuable
insight and balance on the advantages and disadvantages of formal archaeological
analysis. Network analysis largely involves characterizing the structural pattern of
a known set of interactions. Archaeological data, however, is by nature fragment-
ary. Network analysis, Sindbæk asserts, may contribute to ‘better contextualiza-
tion’ of archaeological material ‘as evidence of past communication’, but also
may present models ‘whose basis is difficult to assess, and whose predictions may
be equally difficult to validate.’ He suggests this formal analysis is better suited to
synthesizing archaeological data and evaluating its strengths and limitations.

Sindbæk provides an overview of network analysis in archaeology, noting it
may assist in filling gaps between traditional tools and methods (maps, statistics,
Global Positioning System programs) by integrating spatial and non-spatial pat-
terns. He then presents an instructive model that graphically represents ‘the rela-
tive relatedness’ and ‘centrality’ of nodes (ports) involved in the medieval cook-
ing ware trade in tenth-century Northern Europe. Sindbæk examines the model’s
redeeming features and negative aspects, concluding that ultimately it illuminates
not actual past behaviour, but our own understanding thereof. Lastly, he highlights
eight important points: network analysis requires large data-sets, which are rare
in archaeology and, when found, generally too heterogeneous; sample biases are
amplified in network analysis and even small flaws can have a major effect on
results; archaeological data is subject to arbitrary boundaries in space and time;
defining of nodes is a subjective process; archaeological assemblages are ‘the un-
predictable result of multiple dynamics’; and archaeological sites are complex
formations characterized not by specific, directional links, but by ‘clusters of affil-
iations’. Harking back to the fundamental issue of site formation, Sindbæk
stresses that, for any single artefact, there can be ‘a number of equally plausible
itineraries through social and spatial networks’ to explain its deposition. Archaeo-
logical studies should include both formal approaches and flexible, informal ap-
proaches that may lead to ‘self-evident answers’ unattainable through purely for-
mal analyses.

The four papers by F. Goddio et al., M. Veikou, F. Karagianni and P. Ar-
naud represent less formal, narrative approaches to complexity theory. Goddio
underscores the role of socio-economic and possibly environmental factors in a
harbour’s emergence and decline, describing the life-cycle of the western Nile-
delta port of Thonis-Heracleion in Egypt from the rise of the Saïte Dynasty (664–
525 BC) through its eclipse by Alexandria in 331 BC.

5 M.B. Schiffer, Behavioral Archeology, NewYork & London: Academic Press 1976; id., For-
mation Processes of the Archaeological Record (Albuquerque, NM 1987).
M. VEIKOU considers similar factors in the development of Byzantine ports and small local outlets throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Although the paper rambles and needs a thorough editing, the breadth of the author’s perspective is inspiring. Perhaps her most interesting point is one with timeless implications: during the economically active Byzantine period, ‘there seems to be no correlation between extensive commercial activity and the use of ports with built harbours’.

F. KARAGIANNI delivers a descriptive report packed with data concerning Black Sea trade connections, especially at its peak during the ninth through the thirteenth century. Among the more intriguing evidence are travellers’ souvenirs that reveal ties between pilgrimage centres all around the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Seas. P. ARNAUD offers a fascinating glimpse into the evidence (or lack thereof) for Roman management and development of maritime facilities. Theirs was more a bottom-up than top-down system, in which provincial governors, cities and individuals made micro-interventions, while large infrastructure projects were the realm of imperial euergetism. The forces that ultimately drove port works were self-glorification, personal or collective status and relationships (networks) between individuals and groups.

The final paper, by J. PREISER-KAPELLE, is an impressive display of network-analysis muscle that brings to mind SINDBÆK’s earlier cautionary remarks. There is much to be learned here, as the author presents different model types and probes the potentially vast reach of network analysis. Somewhat tedious are the formal terms, as (to name only a few) a case study becomes a ‘relational toolkit;’ links – ‘entanglements;’ time periods – ‘time slices;’ dynamics – ‘logics;’ and trade – ‘affiliation networks’ or ‘ties of similarity’. More useful is ‘logic of cabotage’, referring to how spatial proximity contributes to port emergence in networks. In many cases, PREISER-KAPELLE’s discussion seems to reach conclusions about ports, ships and seafaring that we already know. Nevertheless, his remarks both here and in the volume’s introduction stimulate the imagination and encourage port analysts to go further. The application of hard science to archaeology is sometimes startling, as insect communication systems become points of comparison for past trade networks, but one never knows from where the next great breakthrough will come. The significance of ‘mental maps’ (i.e., traditional knowledge) and the phenomenon of indirect communication (attested by ant networks) are just two of the many intriguing concepts advanced in this volume worth further attention.

From a production standpoint, a number of typographical errors, including incorrect punctuation, missing or excessive articles and occasionally unintelligible language (e.g., ‘If we stick to our decision to stark from the controversies …’ p. 131), tend not to detract significantly from the overall high quality of the volume.

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The Punic Mediterranean: Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule arises from a workshop held at the British School at Rome in 2008 and it is basically composed of the papers given at that meeting.

The aim of the book is very interesting, both concerning the topic (since very little scholarly literature about Phoenicians has been published in English) and the scientific approach. The main question of this book is, indeed, to examine what ‘Phoenician’ and ‘Punic’ actually mean, and how Punic or western Phoenician identity has been constructed by ancients and moderns: is it still possible to talk of the existence of a ‘Punic world’ or is it an a posteriori construction? The attempt to reconstruct, in spite of the undeniable difficulties, an intangible reality (the ‘identity’) through the material culture (combining the use of archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic and literary sources) is certainly admirable.

The book is made up of two sections: the first is about general topics and the second contains papers focusing on a particular theme or case study; in both, the authors adopt a postcolonial point of view, in accordance with the current theories about the construction of identities. The Leitmotiv shared by all the contributors is the idea that the adjective ‘Punic’ does not correspond with a uniform identity, but with a sort of cultural substratum which interacts with local influences in different ways.

The first chapter, by J.W.R. PRAG, examines the problematic translation of the Latin term poenus, corresponding to the English ‘Punic’. In reality poenus is simply the transliteration of the Greek φοῖνιξ: in the modern languages, however, this term has caused a dichotomy, since it has been translated as ‘Phoenician’ (when the literary sources were Greek) or as ‘Punic’ (when they were Roman). The word ‘Punic’, therefore, does not indicate an identity transformation perceived as such in the ancient world and it is not even an ethnic label, since there are no elements to define any real difference between Punics and Phoenicians, or between eastern and western Phoenicians.

The following contributions by N. Vella (ch. 2), P. Van Dommeleen (ch. 3) and S.F. Bondi (ch. 4), deal mainly with modern construction of the ‘Punic’ identity: in particular, Vella warns us of the dangers of identifying a culture by conventional artefacts (i.e., metal bowls in the Phoenician case); Van Dommeleen addresses the problem of modern perception of Punic identity and of the way in which is (re)defined; lastly, Bondi proposes to recognize a substantial internal unity (institution, language, common divinities, cultural elements), which does not correspond to a homogenous identity, but to different ‘punicities’, each one corresponding to a settlement.

The papers by C. Gómez Bellard (ch. 5) and S. Frey Copper (ch. 6) in a certain sense introduce the second part of the book, since they they analyze ‘identity’ through two specific filters while maintaining a wide perspective. In the first
case, the distinguishing factor is the funeral culture, while in the second it is coinage. The authors agree that in the 6th century BC, the western colonies experienced a process of differentiation historically coinciding with the hegemony of Carthage, but on the other hand they clearly explain that this cultural homogeneity does not imply a political unity.


TELMINI, DOCTER, BECHTOLD, CHELB and VAN DE PUT (ch. 7) choose to examine the topic using archaeology and, in particular, ceramic and topographic data in order to see if there are any practical changes within this period.

H. and A. BEN YOUNÈS analyze the funerary world of the Numidian and Libyan areas: they notice that local cultures preserve characteristic traits, but that they borrowed freely from Punic world. J.C. QUINN (ch. 9) examines ‘Punicity’ through the myth of the Altars of Pihlaeni, reported by Sallust (Jug. 79). Her reading suggests that we could interpret this story as a Carthaginian wish to make use of a typical Greek model for defining themselves by a system of value opposed to the Greek one.

V. BRIDOUX (ch. 10) and E. PAPI (ch. 11) strengthen the idea of an in fieri identity, that is a local substratum which is affected by the contact with the new spheres of influence. The following papers, focused on the Iberian world (ch. 12 and ch. 13), underline the presence of hybridization phenomena which have to be interpreted in the light of Mediterranean patterns of trade, traffic and communication.

ANDREA ROPPA (ch. 14) offers a survey of the changes in settlement patterns and material culture in some case studies in Sardinia from the late sixth century until Roman times. His anthropological insight is particularly interesting and clarifies that social identity is created from the interaction of macro and micro-contexts, stressing its working at different scales and levels.

C. BONNET (ch. 15) takes us back to the oriental world, exploring how Alexander’s conquest affected the Phoenician cities and the relationship between the eastern and the western Mediterranean.

The last chapter is entrusted to A. WALLACE-HADRILL, who openly denounces the marginality of Phoenicians compared to Greek or Roman studies, although
they had an important role in the Mediterranean dynamics. Concerning identity, Wallace-Hadrill affirms that Phoenicians thought of themselves as a people or culture united by common practices, even if they did not feel as belonging to as a single *ethnos*, but rather to various cities.

Although in general the aim to investigate a culture using external literary sources is definitively difficult to realize (since ‘creating arguments from silence is more difficult than creating arguments from literary sources’, as pointed out by J.W.R. Prag in the second chapter), the topic proposed by the authors is very stimulating. As scholars we frequently avoid discussions about scientific terminology. In this way we risk passively using words reflecting misunderstandings or inaccurate renditions of the literary sources. If it is true that we have to label phenomena, then it is necessary to choose suitable words, since the scientific integrity of our discipline is guaranteed by the selection of appropriate and accurate terms. So, is it possible to talk about ‘Punic identity’ without being sure that ‘Punic’ means really something or without a scholarly agreement about what ‘Punic’ is?

The real problem has to be located – in my opinion – in this second question. There are some lexical expressions which are conventionally employed in order to identify specific events of the past and do not reflect an historical reality: nonetheless, they have been adopted by a scientific community which agrees on their meanings. In the case of ‘Punic’, as just pointed out, an agreement on its meaning does not exist and this could subsequently create misinterpretations, i.e. when the authors of a paper or book do not specify what they exactly intend. Is it therefore necessary to question the real utility of this term: is perhaps a fourth-century BC inhabitant of Carthage less ‘Phoenician’ than a Tyrian of the ninth century BC? Does he deserve to be labeled in a different way? And why, from the lexical point of view, is a fourth-century inhabitant of Syracuse as ‘Greek’ as a ninth-century Euboean?

The idea that emerges from the book is that cultural identity is not a static element, but changes according to space, time, purpose and social context. The Phoenicians established settlements across the Mediterranean, but probably never thought of themselves as a whole: they were conscious that their culture has some traits in common, but they never reached a political unity. Their identity changed when the Mediterranean scenario changed and this kind of transformation is not *per se* directly linked to the hegemony of Carthage, but rather to interactions with local realities.

The *Punic Mediterranean* raises many questions and opens several new possible paths in a branch of knowledge that is fundamentally recent. Wondering about our own tools and methods is a normal and necessary step in order to guarantee the growth and the improvement of the discipline. In this sense, the reflec-

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1 For example, the term ‘colonization’, which is normally used by scholars with the awareness that Phoenician and Greek cities of the ancient western Mediterranean were not ‘colonies’ at all, but rather ‘settlements founded far from the motherland’
tions offered by the different authors could encourage a stimulating debate: a new start is sometimes essential to shake up established patterns of thinking.

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II. MONOGRAPHIEN MIT ÜBERGREIFENDER THEMATIK


Le livre couvre la période qui sépare les débuts de la Ligue de Délos de celle qui suit Chéronée. Le plan est chronologique et énumère les étapes de l’hégémonie athénienne (intéressante réflexion initiale sur les notions de ligue, hégémonie, impérialisme et impérialisation) et souhaite renverser la perspective athéno-centricque de l’historiographie.

La tâche était ardue, tant est grand le poids des sources athéniennes, et l’auteur (désormais « A ») souhaite s’appuyer sur l’épigraphie (cycladique mais surtout athénienne, elle aussi) pour soutenir ses démonstrations.

La thèse générale soutenue par l’A. est que l’impérialisme athénien était certes implacable, mais que les Cycladiens l’ont finalement accepté parce que c’était leur intérêt. Du coup, il tend à minorer les révoltes et leur répression (Naxos, 127s., Délos, 194–197 et 260–264), Mélos (197–204), Thasos (215–216), Andros (217–219), Kéos (265–270 et 276–279) : l’existence d’un parti pro-lacéémonien à Délos est rejetée, le traitement infligé à Mélos « compréhensible » (ainsi l’A. souligne-t-il qu’un parti mélien avait ouvert la ville aux Athéniens (p. 204), et que le retour d’exilés implique que le massacre n’avait pas été total !). On touche parfois au paradoxe : « L’épisode thasien est lourd de sens. En effet, s’il constitue une révolte réprimée … il est aussi le reflet négatif de ce qui ne s’est précisément pas passé ailleurs … l’absence de réaction négative … peut être interprétée comme une forme d’adhésion positive aux choix athéniens » (p. 216). Tout ceci dans un chapitre qui analyse la participation d’insulaires à la conjuration de Pisandre !


Enfin, au chapitre des regrets, il faut dire quelques mots du style de l’A. (en particulier dans les p. 183–239), avec sa multiplication des formules creuses ou incompréhensibles (p. 224: « l’enrichissement et la corruption… auraient eu tendance à engendrer une forme critique pour les chantres de la tradition spartiate »), d’adverbes à contresens, son usage erratique des temps. Il est regrettable que la hâte de publier défigure à ce point un travail intéressant dans son sujet, bien documenté dans sa bibliographie, résultant à l’évidence d’une passion personnelle et d’un travail considérable : sa valeur scientifique, son appareil critique (bibliographie, cartes et indices) en imposera la lecture à ceux qui voudront faire le point sur la question, mais c’est dommage qu’il soit ainsi déparé.

Dawson’s Mediterranean Voyages is a remarkable book. It embarks on a study of the reasons and the mechanisms that drove the colonisation and abandonment of the Mediterranean islands in prehistory. It manages to take the reader on a fascinating mental voyage along the Mediterranean Sea but also through several strands of thought about the islands, the islanders and their destinies.

Recent decades have seen a burgeoning of research on the sea and on the various aspects of life by the sea in antiquity: insularity and island colonisation, seascapes, exploitation of marine resources are some of the most common themes.

Dawson’s work, which began as a PhD thesis, is one of the most recent examples of this trend. It is a comparative study of the archaeology of colonisation, abandonment and resettlement of the Mediterranean islands in prehistory, offering a fresh take, new data and a new theoretical perspective on a line of research that began in the 1980’s and has remained active ever since, with a series of important...
works such as Evans (1973),\(^1\) Cherry (1981),\(^2\) Patton (1996),\(^3\) Broodbank (2000),\(^4\) Fitzpatrick (2004),\(^5\) Rainbird 2007\(^6\) and Knapp 2008\(^7\) to name but a few.

Dawson takes a pan-Mediterranean perspective to explore the causes, processes and effects of island colonisation and abandonment through the millennia by bringing together a panorama of theoretical perspectives to the interpretation of a vastly rich and varied archaeological record from 147 islands. This record has been created in over a century of archaeological research, under a wide variety of research agendas, and has been published in different degrees of detail.

The book has a logical structure, where chapters on theory alternate with chapters presenting the physical evidence, thus succeeding in effortlessly blending theory and data. The first chapter provides a short introduction to the basic notions that are developed in the book and it is followed by a chapter on the physical and cultural spaces of the Mediterranean. Here, Dawson’s skill in amassing, synthesising and clearly presenting large amounts of disparate data begins to unfold. She introduces paleogeography, island resources and the physical and technical background of sailing in an exceptionally clear manner, where the physical and the cultural blend effectively. This blending and the presence of the ‘people who act as a binding agent’ (p. 41) is actually one of the recurrent themes and a particularly refreshing aspect of this study.

In the third chapter, which is one of the most central in the book, theories of colonisation are presented in detail. The ideas developed in island studies are critically presented in Dawson’s lucid, eloquent style. She highlights those issues that she considers useful for her own study. The themes of isolation and interaction and of ‘landscape learning’ and ‘place making’ are prominent ones; the role of the islander’s perception of islands, the notions of networks between islands and mainland coasts and the importance of the recognition of local dynamics in the search for pan-Mediterranean trends are also important issues. She pays particular attention to the semantics of the various terms used in the relevant literature, exploring their ability to express the multi-level approach she proposes. Dawson

\(^3\) M. Patton, Islands in time: island sociogeography and Mediterranean prehistory, London 1996.
provides a detailed critical presentation of CHERRY’S model of colonisation and BROODBANK’S work in the Aegean (2000), both researchers having cast a long shadow over colonisation studies. She discusses possible colonisation triggers as they are viewed by various researchers in different parts of the Mediterranean and presents the possible usefulness of genetic studies.

This chapter leaves the reader overwhelmed by the potential of such a wide range of ideas in understanding why people chose to move to certain islands at the time they did. The physical factors which were described in the previous chapter and were much favoured by the earlier wave of island colonisation studies (biogeographical) are here complemented by a multitude of cultural factors. In this framework, the author could probably find additional useful guidance in a distinct set of works, which rarely find their way into the island colonisation literature, despite the fact that they often highlight most emphatically, the cultural and historical intricacies involved in people’s decision to inhabit or abandon certain areas, being them islands or coastal sites. Also they do it in a level of detail that we could never expect to find in prehistoric studies. These are historical works on the Mediterranean islands, or island groups, from more recent periods. CONSTANTAKOPOULOU’S The Dance of the Islands (2007) offers a good example. She discusses how political and religious affairs became the moving forces that shaped the sense of insularity among islanders in Classical Aegean. Remaining in the same geographical area, research on Venetian and Ottoman history might illuminate the various driving forces such as domination, networks of power and commerce etc (e.g., DIMITROPOULOS 2004).

In the fourth and fifth chapters Dawson unfolds a narrative of early occupation and abandonment of all Mediterranean islands (innovatively including several near the North African coast) beginning at the west and systematically moving towards the east. This is based on archaeological data, amassed from a very large body of publications, some primary and some not. Certain trends begin to be apparent (these are analysed in following chapters). What strikes the reader as important is the uneven quality of the archaeological data and that this generally improves, the more recent the archaeological research is. In discussions on the early colonisation and abandonment of large islands such as Sardinia or Mallorca on the


Western Mediterranean, controversies over dating lead to great uncertainty as to the early presence of humans on them. By contrast, more robust field research (including dating) on Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean leads to a much clearer and definite picture of early colonisation, abandonment and re-colonisation. In cases, recent research has radically changed our knowledge, as is the case with Paleolithic and Mesolithic Crete.

Navigation through the masses of data in these two chapters is made easy with very useful maps, dating tables and references. One might notice some rare cases of omission of certain key references, such as the final publications of the Mesolithic cave of Cyclops at Youra in the Sporades and of the Mesolithic open-air site of Maroulas on the island of Kythnos. But these are works that only became available a short time before the publication of Mediterranean Voyages and their absence is understandable.

Chapter 6 provides a synthesis of the archaeological data and a first attempt to interpret them in light of the theoretical discussion in Ch. 3. The west-east geographical ordering is maintained in this chapter as well, with the discussion focusing on regional trends. Dawson claims that all through the Mediterranean, the Neolithic appears to have been the key period for colonisation although the archaeological record testifies to the existence of several earlier and later instances. Colonisation is seen not as a smooth ‘wave of advance’ type of process (p. 156); in order to understand it we need to take into account the relevant importance of different factors at a regional or even local level.

Dawson discusses the importance of islands’ configuration and she analyses the different colonisation strategies that might have been at play on each island or group of islands at specific points in time, viewing colonies as ‘activity sites’. Visitation/utilisation, permanent settlement, and establishment are viewed as different, often complementary goals, all related to colonisation. They could all have occurred on the same island/site, or some of them might, but they all fall within the intention of colonisation. Dawson analyses each of them in their own right drawing examples from the extensive data base presented in earlier chapters.

In the next chapter (Ch. 7) the author makes one of the most important contributions of this book, that is the analysis of the concept of abandonment. Dawson believes that the abandonment of islands (or of settlements on islands) should not be viewed as failure to establish a colony, but rather as an adaptive choice on the part of humans, which offered solutions in particular problems. Abandonment is rarely discussed in island colonisation studies and Dawson contributes into the

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theorization of the concept, drawing extensively on globe-wide ethnographic studies, and discussing both environmental and cultural factors as possible triggers for abandonment. She concludes that abandonment was probably a ‘multi-causal’ phenomenon, in the same way as colonisation itself. Here, many of the notions discussed in previous chapters are brought forward again.

The following chapters 8 and 9 wrap up Dawson’s exploration of early island colonisation and abandonment by condensing the observations made in earlier chapters and by highlighting the observed trends and her interpretations. Variability in the colonisers’ needs, intentions and world-views are fully appreciated as crucial factors in the colonisation/abandonment process, but their archaeological visibility is, according to the author, still less than adequate. That is why in these concluding chapters, the more clearly defined and more easily visible physical aspects of the islands appear as more prominent.

Perhaps here, in this somewhat anticlimactic observation, lies the bigger contribution of this wonderful book in colonisation studies. In a fascinating and competent way Dawson introduces the reader to the world of early mariners: the search for new lands, for new resources, for new homes, the shedding of roots in these new places, the up-rooting, the periodic visitations, the opening up of a world of possibilities to the inhabitants of this early, sparsely populated Mediterranean. And yet, Dawson demonstrates that we can delve into this world only as much as the quality of our data will allow us. The old data are there and Dawson has used them to the full. We are, however, left with a desire for more focused and nuanced research on islands, for research designs that will address the complex issues of colonisation and abandonment. Reading this book, such choices seem unavoidable.

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Il libro oggetto di questa recensione consta di sei capitoli a cui vanno aggiunte l’introduzione e la conclusione, la bibliografia posta all’inizio (così come la tavola delle traslitterazioni per l’alfabeto arabo e quello cirillico) e due indici in chiusura dell’opera (uno dedicato ai nomi di persona e uno ai termini geografici).

L’autore è uno storico nonché archeologo ben noto per le sue indagini condotte a Afrasyab (la Samarcanda pre-mongola) in quanto membro della missione franco-uzbeca attiva in loco dal 1989 e per le sue pubblicazioni sulle pitture kara-khanidi scoperte proprio in quel sito e altri studi su Abu Muslim. Profondo conoscitore del territorio, in quest’opera Y. KAREV dà prova di grande abilità nel maneggiare tanto le fonti arabe, persiane e cinesi quanto la letteratura critica in russo
e nelle principali lingue occidentali. Come è ovvio aspettarsi, anche i principali rapporti di scavo dei siti trattati in questo libro sono redatti per la maggior parte in russo, spesso in pubblicazioni difficilmente reperibili. L’attenzione dell’autore per queste opere in russo è davvero rimarchevole e utile per risalire alla bibliografia relativa, per l’appunto, non sempre accessibile.

Ricostruzioni meticolose degli eventi storici che hanno interessato il mondo iranico-orientale alla vigilia dell’invasione araba (circa metà del VII secolo) fino all’avvento di dinastie islamiche locali (circa metà del IX secolo) caratterizzano quest’opera destinata a diventare indispensabile per il lettore interessato a un approccio scientifico al problema.

Non si tratta solo di uno studio metodico delle fonti scritte ma di una loro trattazione, spesso ipercritica, atta a rendere un quadro storico quanto più verosimile e attinente alle interazioni tra i numerosi contendenti generalmente scontratisi nell’Est iranico e, in particolare, nella florida regione storica nota come Sogdiana (nelle fonti classiche), Sughd (nelle fonti primo-islamiche arabe e persiane) o anche Sute (nelle fonti cinesi). È questa una regione antica discretamente nota da un punto di vista archeologico poiché le missioni si sono susseguite senza interruzioni particolarmente prolungate dall’epoca sovietica fino ai giorni nostri. Per quanto concerne la storia della Sogdiana, le fonti danno un quadro abbastanza chiaro di un popolo radicato nelle proprie tradizioni iraniche preislamiche, spesso convertitosi all’islam per convenienza, molto insofferente alla dominazione araba e, per questo motivo, sempre pronto alla ribellione.

In termini molto generali, la storia della regione segue uno schema piuttosto regolare: all’eliminazione del leader rivoltoso fa seguito un periodo di relativa stabilità subito seguito da una nuova ondata di insurrezioni presto sedate. L’opera di Y. KAREV riflette esattamente tale schema essendo strutturata in maniera tale che, ad ogni parte dedicata a un capo ribelle attivo in un determinato periodo, ne segue una relativa all’intervallo compreso fino alla rivolta successiva.

Il primo capitolo è dedicato a Abu Muslim, alla sua carriera militare nonché politica protesa a combattere gli Omayyadi a favore degli Abbasidi, alla sua ascesa in qualità di capo carismatico (dalla genealogia poco chiara) nell’oriente iranico e in Asia centrale in quanto governatore dell’estesa provincia del Khorasan / Mawaranahr tra il 741 e il 755. Segue appunto il secondo capitolo in cui sono narrate le vicende di questa regione in un momento meno turbolento ma senz’altro problematico per i califfi abbasidi. Il capitolo seguente vede come protagonista indiscusso un altro personaggio chiave per la storia della Sogdiana: al-Muqanna. Di origini iraniche centrasiatiche, questi era riuscito in breve tempo non solo a fomentare la rivolta contro gli Abbasidi ma anche a fondare un movimento religioso di grande impatto sulla popolazione locale sempre piuttosto insofferente alla dominazione araba e alla nuova religione introdotta da questi. Anche nel caso di al-Muqanna, alla sua morte fa seguito un periodo relativamente tranquillo a cui è
II. Monographien mit übergreifender Thematik

dedicated il quarto capitolo, preludio a quello incentrato sulla figura dell’ultimo ribelle attivo in questa regione, Rafi b.Layth. A differenza di Muqanna, Layth era arabo essendo stato il nipote dell’ultimo governatore omayyade del Khorasan. Una volta riconciliatosi con gli Abbasidi, egli sarebbe stato eliminato solo successivamente senza grande clamore. Il capitolo conclusivo chiude anche la serie delle grandi ribellioni contro il califfato arabo degli Abbasidi e lascia spazio a una nuova era per la storia dell’Asia centrale e della Sogdiana in particolare, vale a dire l’avvento di dinastie di stirpe iranica oramai islamizzate come quella dei Ta-hiridi (circa 821–873) e dei Samanidi (circa 819–1005).

Come si diceva sopra, questo studio è senz’altro indispensabile per chiunque desideri approfondire diversi aspetti della storia dell’est iranico e dell’Asia centrale nella prima epoca abbaside. Qualche accenno agli studi di storia dell’arte sogdiana avrebbe potuto certamente arricchire ulteriormente il valore di questa pregevole opera. Per esempio, laddove l’autore tratta delle tecniche di assedio proprie degli arabi che utilizzavano anche le catapulte, ignote invece ai turchi (pagina 244), egli avrebbe potuto citare un articolo molto interessante di Boris Mar-shak incentrato proprio sulla ricostruzione di uno di questi marchingegni tra le pitture degli inizi dell’VIII secolo a Penjikent (Подъемная машина в храме древнего Пенджикента, Прошлое Средней Азии, Душанбе, 1987: 95–103). Si tratta comunque di un’osservazione di poco conto che niente toglie al lodevole lavoro di YURY KAREV nel presentare un ottimo libro per il qual tutti gli studiosi di faccende relative all’Asia centrale dovrebbero essere enormemente grati.

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This is a revised and expanded translation of the author’s book Geografia wojen rzymsko-irańskich. Działania Rzymu i Iranu w okresie sasanidzkim (2012). The core of the book is an atlas with commentary and bibliography to the military conflicts between the Roman and Sasanian empires AD 229–628, as well as changes in territories and borders following wars and peace treaties.

The book starts with a brief introduction to the project and a short historical sketch. The following atlas is divided into three parts: Military operations (23 maps), territorial changes due to peace treaties (four maps), and border changes (eight maps). Three additional maps show the Strata Diocletiana, landforms and altitude. While the maps on territorial changes visualize the annexation and ceding of territories, the border maps delineate the imperial frontiers in selected periods.
Each of the maps in the two first categories is accompanied by a short summary of events, a list of sources attesting activities in different locations, and a bibliography.

The references to sources mentioning places depicted in the maps are very useful, and solves the problem acknowledged by the author: that many of the sources contain dubious information, which is nevertheless of interest to the scholarly reader. The bibliography for each conflict contains references to relevant specialized studies as well as passages in general surveys of the history of the region. The bibliographies are up to date and include references to works in Russian and Polish, rarely cited by scholars from Western Europe and North America. This will no doubt be a valuable point of departure for students and scholars interested in particular periods and event.

Readers with interest in particular conflicts or topics are likely to take issue with some of the explanations provided for imperial policies and military campaigns in the historical sketch. This reader is, for instance, doubtful whether control of trade routes was ever a main motivation for wars between the empires, as the author suggests in a number of cases. A historical summary such as this, however, must necessarily simplify. Full references are given to the literature consulted, and the sketch fulfills its role as a narrative framework for the ensuing atlas.

While the historical part of the work is in most ways impressive, more effort and resources could have been invested in the maps. These are low-resolution and very basic, in grey, white and black, with sparse legends, thin lines, and arrows so small that directions are hard to discern. With the ready availability of sophisticated, but easy-to-use cartographic software this important work had deserved the use of colours, patterns and high-resolution basemaps which would have made it easier to read and use. It would also have been good with a map showing iso-lyrets in this region spanning both deserts and rich agricultural land, and perhaps some depicting politis and population centres at different times.

That said and more importantly, this is a highly welcome publication that will fill functions both as a point of departure for research and studies and as a companion volume to the many scholarly studies and sourcebooks which exist within the field, but lack detailed maps.

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This slim book of about 100 small pages – including a ‘lexicon’, a list of ancient authors, a brief bibliography and 16 pages of illustrations – published in the series *Illustoria* is an easily read presentation of a ‘new’ military weapon introduced
to the Greek and later Roman world after Alexander the Great’s campaign against the Persian king. Alexander’s army first encountered war elephants in the battle at Gaugamela in 331 BC. However, it was not until the battle against the Indian king Poros in 326 BC that the Macedonian army tasted the frightening experience of being attacked by a corps of elephants.

Schneider opens his book with a very useful and updated chapter on the different species of elephants, the main groups being the Indian and the African. The Indian elephant seems to have been already domesticated during the third millennium BC and is today known in at least three subspecies: the Indian, the Sri Lankan and the elephant of Sumatra. The African elephant may be divided into the large elephant of the savanna and the smaller forest elephant. Now extinct is a subspecies related to the forest elephant which lived in North Africa and which was to become the war elephant of the Carthaginians.

Chapters 3–5 follow the entry of the elephant into the armies of Alexander’s successors and to the Romans and Carthaginians. Alexander brought back from India 200 elephants, which after his death were part of the armies of his successors. Later, Seleukos I, whom one of his rivals nicknamed *elephantarchos* (master of the elephants) during his campaign in northern India was given no less than 500 elephants. Some of Alexander’s elephants were brought back to Macedonia where not least king Pyrrhus of Epirus made use of them. But Europe was not their natural habitat and the elephants only remained in use for a fairly short span of time in Europe, their most lasting impression being left by Hannibal’s elephants and their disastrous crossing of the Alps during the second Punic war (218–201 BC). The elephants of the Carthaginians were not of the Indian type but from Mauretania and Numidia.

Schneider makes very good use of quotations from ancient authors in these chapters, bringing both the shock that war elephants created in the first western armies to fight against them and the eagerness of the Hellenistic kings to obtain this new and very costly weapon for their armies alive to the reader. A number of descriptions of battles are included, among them the battle at Raphia (close to Gaza) between king Antiochos III with his Indian elephants and king Ptolemy IV with his Ethiopian elephants 22 June 217 BC. In chapter VI a more detailed presentation is given on how the elephants were trained and equipped, and how they fought in battle.

That the elephants made a deep impact on Hellenistic society is attested by the many coins depicting elephants, some of the most famous mentioned and depicted in Schneider’s book. The earliest was the unusual decadrachm depicting a war elephant and a horse-rider, who is often identified as Alexander. The coin, known only in a few copies, is fairly primitive and was undoubtedly struck in the east, probably during the lifetime of Alexander. Schneider follows Frank Holt in that

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1 Strab. 15.2.9.
the coins were struck in Bactria. At the time when Alexander’s funeral procession reached Egypt, to where it had been driven from Babylon, his satrap Ptolemy struck a coin with a portrait of Alexander wearing an elephant scalp as headgear (Schneider fig. 10). A quite common type of coin of Seleucus I, who frequently used the elephant on his coins, shows Athena driving an elephant quadriga. A small terracotta figurine from Asia Minor depicts a war elephant in battle. Apart from the elephant driver a kind of tower on the back of the elephant protects two or three warriors with spears or bows and arrows. In this case the enemy already trampled underfoot by the elephant is a Gallic warrior recognizable by the oblong shield (fig. 15; see also fig. 20). Gallic tribes had entered Greece and plundered sanctuaries and spread terror everywhere. In Asia Minor a famous battle by a Hellenistic king against invading Gauls in 275 BC may be reflected in the small statuette.

From the end of the third century, war elephants were used only to a limited extent, eventually to disappear entirely by the late first century BC. They had proven very costly and not always very efficient. Actually, already in 312 BC (in a battle also fought at Gaza) two of Alexander’s successors and most experienced generals had used a tactic where they had placed men to handle the spiked devices made of iron and connected by chains that they had prepared against the onslaught of the enemy’s elephants, and ordered their light infantry of javelin throwers and slingers to shoot without stopping against the elephants and those seated on them.2

Though disappearing from the military sphere, the elephant never lost its fascination for the Roman world. It became a popular element in the amphitheatre, either fighting against other animals or against gladiators.

Scheider’s small book provides both the professional historian and the amateur with an excellent presentation of a subject that still holds great fascination for the modern reader. One could wish it to be translated into other languages.

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2 Diod. 19.81.3.
III. PUBLIKATIONEN ZU ANTIKEN UND MITTELALTERLICHEN AUTOREN UND SCHRIFTEN


Le titre et le sous-titre du volume en indiquent clairement l’objet : il s’agit de mener une enquête sur la tradition alexandrine, c’est-à-dire sur l’influence qu’a pu exercer le modèle alexandrin (sous la période impériale) et plus particulièrement d’envisager – ce qui était une particularité caractéristique du milieu alexandrin – les contacts entre les domaines de la science, de la religion et de la littérature. Les treize contributions qui constituent ce volume ont été présentées ou bien dans une rencontre internationale qui s’est tenue en octobre 2011 à l’Université de Salamanque ou bien dans le cadre des activités du projet de recherche FFI2011–29180 financé par le Ministère espagnol de la Science et de l’Innovation et qui portait sur les interactions entre science, religion et littérature dans la Méditerranée gréco-romaine. En tant qu’il publie des communications, l’ouvrage ne prétend pas proposer un panorama complet de l’influence du monde alexandrin, mais offre à notre attention des aspects précis de celle-ci qui se trouvent être particulièrement remarquables.

Le volume s’ouvre sur un texte de J. LENNART BERGGREN « Mathematics and Religion in Ancient Greece and Medieval Islam » (p. 11–34) qui propose une thématique assez emblématique de l’héritage alexandrin et de son ancrage dans la polymathie, même si la contribution ne porte pas explicitement sur l’héritage alexandrin. L’auteur étudie en effet les relations entre religion et mathématiques en Grèce ancienne et notamment au sein de l’école pythagoricienne et dans le monde arabe médiéval. De cette enquête globale qui n’entend pas entrer dans le détail, l’auteur tire des conclusions opposées sur ces relations : dans la Grèce polythéiste, les découvertes mathématiques à partir du VIe s. av. J.-C. montrent que l’on peut trouver dans les nombres des moyens pour comprendre l’homme et la divinité et des fondements à l’ordre du cosmos et à la beauté. Dans l’islam médiéval monothéiste et placé sous l’autorité du Coran qui donne un accès direct au divin, les mathématiques sont controversées mais en viennent à jouer un rôle nouveau dans la société et la vie quotidienne. Le dossier iconographique illustre bien la présence des mathématiques dans certaines réalisations architecturales dans les deux périodes.

La contribution de JANE LUCY LIGHTFOOT centrée sur la géographie (« Between Literature and Science, Poetry and Prose, Alexandria and Rome : the case of Dionysius’ Periegesis of the Known World », p. 157–74) met bien aussi en évidence, dans le domaine particulièrement développé dans la culture alexandrine de la description du monde, l’étroite combinaison qui peut s’opérer entre science et littérature. Elle montre ainsi l’influence exercée sur Denys le Périégète à la fois par la tradition littéraire incarnée notamment par Callimaque et Apollonios de
Rhodes et par la tradition de la géographie scientifique d’Ératosthène que l’on connaît surtout à travers Strabon. Il ne faut donc pas négliger l’apport tardif de ce dernier pour lire de manière plus complète le poème cartographique de Denys qui sait combiner des sources multiples et parfois contradictoires pour la construction de son poème.

Une part importante des contributions de ce volume traite plus ou moins directement d’astronomie. Le spécialiste d’astronomie grecque JAMES EVANS dans son étude sur « Mechanics and Imagination in Ancient Greek Astronomy : Sphairoïa as Image and Tool » (p. 35–72) s’intéresse à la fabrication des sphères comme modèles du ciel et traite bien des interaction entre science, technique et imagination avec un intéressant dossier photographique. La diffusion de ces modèles mécaniques est associée au succès des Phénomènes d’Aratos. L’auteur accorde une place importance particulière à la découverte de la machine d’Anticythère en 1901 qui permet de comprendre la fabrication des sphères célestes, mais aussi certaines représentations astronomiques. Le champ de l’astronomie est complété d’abord par la contribution d’ANNE TİHON, « Alexandrian Astronomy in the 2nd Century AD : Ptolemy and his Times » (p. 74–95) qui offre une très bonne mise au point sur le contexte culturel de Ptolémée et présente surtout le Papyrus Fouad Inv. 267 (publié en 2014 par J.-L. Fournet et alii) qui contient notamment un fragment de traité d’astronomie de l’époque de Ptolémée et qui donne d’importants renseignements sur les connaissances astronomiques à cette époque, avec un point de vue différent de celui de Ptolémée.

On trouve ensuite une brève contribution de SEBASTIEN MOUREAU, « Note on a Passage of the Arabic Translation of Ptolemy’s Planetary Hypotheses » (p. 93–95) dans laquelle l’auteur montre que le traducteur arabe a interprété comme un phénomène réel ce qui n’était chez Ptolémée qu’une hypothèse mathématique sur les déplacements célestes.

C’est encore une question d’astronomie qui est étudiée à propos d’une épitaphe de l’Anthologie grecque (IX, 577) attribuée à Ptolémée par JUAN LUIS GARCIA ALONSO, « When I scan the circling spirals of the stars, no longer do I touch earth with my feet » (p. 233–44). L’auteur s’intéresse à une idée commune sur la perfection du cosmos, où l’on retrouve des remarques assez communes également sur les relations entre science et religion.

Deux contributions s’intéressent à la médecine qui fut à Alexandrie un domaine de pointe dans les recherches pratiques : l’étude de MARIA PAZ DE HOZ, « Lucian’s Podagra, Asclepius and Galen. The popularisation of medicine in the second century AD » (p. 175–210), met en lumière un autre aspect des relations entre science, littérature et pratiques religieuses. Elle s’intéresse au double aspect scientifique et pratique de la médecine dans les conférences publiques et les sanctuaires d’Asclépios. Quant à LAURENT BRICAUT (« Isis, Sarapis, Cyrus and John : Between Healing Gods and Thaumaturgical Saints », p. 98–114), à partir de données archéologiques et épigraphiques, il retrace l’histoire des cultes d’Isis à Menouthis et de Serapis à Canope ; ces cultes de divinités égyptiennes guérisseuses, hellénisés par les Ptolémées, dans la lignée des pratiques du sanctuaire d’Asclépios à Épidaure comme l’incubation et la visite du dieu en rêve. Le rôle de
ces deux cultes semble bien avoir été repris dans les cultes de Cyr et de Jean qui sont présentés par le clergé de Ménouthis comme deux saints thaumaturges, selon l’auteur qui reprend ici abondamment les analyses de Jean Gascou.

MARCO ANTONIO SANTAMARIA (« The Song of Orpheus in the Argonautica and the Theogonic Library of Apollonius », p. 115–40) et LAURA MIGUELEZ-CÁVERO on Nonnus of Panopolis (« Nonnus’ Natural Histories : anything to do with Dionysus? », p. 245–86) mettent en évidence l’existence chez ces deux poètes épiques de motifs scientifiques au sein du discours poétique. Le premier montre comment le chant cosmogonique exécuté par Orphée dans le chant I des Argonautiques comporte deux parties distinctes qui révèlent des influences différentes avec d’une part des souvenirs présocratiques et d’autre part une influence hésiodique. La seconde montre qu’il n’y a pas dans les Dionysiaques la présence d’une connaissance de spécialiste dans l’évocation du règne animal, mais assurément l’héritage de la tradition alexandrine et l’influence d’une connaissance livresque et littéraire de l’histoire naturelle. Mais il serait bon de poursuivre l’enquête pour essayer de mettre en lumière des liens plus étroits avec les traités d’histoire naturelle que Nonnos pouvait avoir à sa disposition. Le domaine de la paradoxographie, qui est à la frontière entre science et littérature, est abordé par LUIS ARTURO GUICHARD (« Paradox and the Marvellous in Greek Poetry of the Imperial Period », p. 141–56) qui étudie, à partir de la typologie de Giannini, des exemples de merveilleux dans quelques épitaphes de l’Anthologie Grecque, l’œuvre d’Oppien et les Posthemorica de Quintus de Smyrne, pour montrer que le point de vue rationaliste n’est pas nécessairement étranger à la poésie impériale, de sorte qu’on peut voir cohabiter crédulité et incrédulité. L’étude débouche sur un parallèle avec le miracle chrétien qui n’est malheureusement pas assez développé.

Ce rapport entre le monde païen et le monde chrétien est justement l’objet plus précis de la contribution de CLELIA MARTINEZ MAZA (« Christian Paideia in Early Imperial Alexandria », p. 211–31), à propos des échanges culturels dans l’élite alexandrine aux IIe et IIf siècles. Si l’éducation proprement chrétienne est encore une donnée domestique, les textes païens étaient lus dans l’ensemble de l’élite. Contrairement aux écoles athéniennes où les éléments religieux étaient encore prégnants, l’intérêt des écoles alexandrines pour les connaissances mathématiques et astronomiques, indépendamment des questions religieuses, a permis notamment des transferts de connaissance et une adaptation à de nouvelles conditions sociales.

La dernière contribution de GIANFRANCO AGOSTI revient sur l’opinion courante d’une décadence de la poésie tardive à Alexandrie, en s’appuyant sur les œuvres de Nonnos de Panopolis et les épitaphes de Palladas. En s’appuyant à la fois sur des données archéologiques et sur des témoignages littéraires, il montre que la culture à Alexandrie continue à être vivace, et que la poésie est à l’interface entre la littérature païenne et la culture chrétienne, et qu’elle connaît un réel succès dans l’ensemble de l’élite intellectuelle de ce temps.

Ce volume offre donc un bon éclairage sur la tradition alexandrine avec une grande variété d’approches qui ne peut que stimuler davantage les travaux interdisciplinaires associant culture scientifique et littéraure. Sans prétendre offrir une
vision complète dans les sujets abordés, le volume propose un large panorama de cette interdépendance des disciplines dans les milieux intellectuels, avec des contributions de qualités variées, mais toujours suggestives. Le volume est complété par un index des passages cités et un index des matières ; l’index des mots grecs et arabes est un peu trop succinct pour être tout à fait pertinent. Ce volume devrait susciter un intérêt redoublé pour étudier la présence des sciences dans les cultures hellénistiques et impériales.

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Wesentliche Faktoren, die dafür sorgten, dass sich in hellenistischer Zeit dieses neue Bild des Nordens durchsetzte, waren so unterschiedliche Dinge wie das Vordringen der Kelten in den Mittelmeerraum, die Etablierung einer neuen „Wir-

Nützlich ist die Zusammenstellung sämtlicher themenrelevanter Textpassagen samt deutscher Übersetzung (558 Stück). Nicht verständlich ist dagegen das Fehlen eines Sachregisters.

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So findet sich darin, was schon die RADT’sche Kommentierung enthält (vgl. den gesamten 10 Band seiner Ausgabe, Göttingen 2011), nämlich

1) ein Glossar nicht übersetzter griechischer Wörter (S. 778–81), die z.T. auch unter 4), dort aber mit Seitenverweisen erscheinen,
2) ein Index der von Strabon zitierten griechischen und römischen Autoren (S. 793–810),
3) einen Index der antiken Schriften, denen die angeführten Strabon-Fragmente (und Testimonia) entnommen sind (S. 782–8),
4) einen zuverlässigen Sach- und Namensindex (S. 811–89) und
5) eine bis 2011 reichende nützliche Auswahlbibliographie (S. 789–92).

Nützlich ist auch eine Stammtafel Strabons, die quellenbedingt nur die mit dem Königshaus der Mithradatiden verschiedentlich verbundene mutterliche Seite berücksichtigt – von seinem Vater und dessen Herkunft spricht Strabon nicht. Sie gibt in Verbindung mit einem Teil der Einführung (The life of Strabo’, S. 1–16) eine gute Orientierung über die Lebensverhältnisse des Autors, die besonders des-
wegen wichtig ist, weil Strabon seine *Geographika* sehr persönlich aufgezogen hat und dem Leser immer wieder in der Ich- bzw. wir-Form entgegentritt.


Die Übersetzung orientiert sich an der üblichen Buch/Kapitel/Paragraphen-Zählung des Strabon-Textes sowie zu Recht auch an der weniger geläufigen Seiten-Zählung, die in der vom hugenottischen Humanisten Isaac Casaubonus (1559–1614) besorgten Ausgabe von 1587 notiert ist. So ist sichergestellt, dass sich der Leser mithilfe der verschiedenen vorhandenen Textausgaben in der Übersetzung zurecht finden kann.


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Der Schweizer Alphilologie ALFRED STÜCKELBERGER, der in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten mehrere Arbeiten zur antiken Geographie und Naturwissenschaft publiziert hat, hat nun in der Bibliotheca Teubneriana eine kritische Ausgabe der Schrift des Johannes Philoponos über das Astrolabium (*De usu astrolabii eiusque*
III. Publikationen zu antiken und mittelalterlichen Autoren und Schriften

constructione) vorgelegt. Bisher war dieser Traktat nur in einer veralteten, von Heinrich Hase im Rheinischem Museum publizierten Ausgabe zugänglich.\(^1\)

Stückelbergers Ausgabe bedeutet dabei in vielfacher Hinsicht einen Fortschritt bzw. Mehrwert: Er hat von den textkritischen Überlegungen von Paul Tannery (1888)\(^2\) profitieren können und darüber hinaus einige weitere Handschriften berücksichtigt. Der griechische Text selbst zeigt seine Unabhängigkeit in nicht wenigen Abweichungen von Hases Text von 1839 (neben einer Zeilenzählung wird allerdings auch die Paginierung von Hase mitangegeben). Etwas gewöhnungsbedürftig sind die textkritischen Anmerkungen des Apparates als Fußnoten zum betreffenden Wort im Haupttext angelegt, was allerdings den Vorteil hat, dass der Leser gleich auf eine textkritische Anmerkung aufmerksam wird.


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1  H. Hase (Hg.), Joannis Alexandrini, cognomine Philoponi, de usu astrolabii ejusque constructione libellus, Rheinisches Museum 6 (1839) 127–71.
2  P. Tannery, Notes critiques sur le Traité de l’astrolabe de Philopon, Revue de Philologie 12 (1888) 60–73.
3  Eine frühere deutsche Übersetzung (J. Decker, 1928) sieht Stückelberger als sprachlich und sachlich defizitär an (S. viii: multa inveniuntur, quae vel rectius vel melius dici possint).
So bleibt abschließend nur zu hoffen, dass der wenig bekannte Traktat des Philoponos nun in STÜCKELBERGERS Ausgabe neue Leser nicht nur in den Altertumswissenschaften finden wird.

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Comme le résume le titre et le sous-titre du volume, P. V. cherche à trouver dans les textes classiques des parallèles à des questions et préoccupations propres aux sociétés contemporaines. L’exercice est loin d’être facile. Comme il le dit immédiatement dans son introduction, le risque d’anachronisme est grand. 1 Toutefois, estime-t-il, ce risque disparaît si l’on prend le terme « écologie » au sens large (i.e. l’étude de toutes les formes d’interactions entre le vivant et son environnement) : autrement dit, dès lors que les textes choisis concernent les humains, les animaux, les plantes etc., il devient possible de parler de « écologie » sans faire d’anachronisme. Dans ces conditions, les documents, effectivement, ne manquent pas.

On note, malgré cela, l’absence de textes importants (par exemple, les traités biologiques d’Aristote, les réflexions de l’école cynique sur l’ « état de nature » [φύσις] etc.). Par ailleurs, l’auteur commet plus d’un anachronisme, notamment par l’usage qu’il fait de termes inadéquats : pour ne donner qu’un seul exemple, les conseils que donne Columelle pour remédier à la pourriture des semences en terrain humide n’ont rien de commun avec la notion d’ « agriculture biologique » (p. 218).

On relève aussi la présence de commentaires fallacieux : l’introduction du livre 18 de l’Histoiore naturelle de Pline l’Ancien (les poisons produits par la na-

1 Il convient de préciser aux lecteurs ignorants des réalités de la France contemporaine que le terme familier – et parfois péjoratif – « écolo » est applicable à tout ce qui concerne, de près ou de loin, l’environnement et sa préservation : les dirigeants des partis « verts » sont des « écologues », tout comme est « écolo » le citoyen qui trie consciencieusement ses déchets ou une lessive censée être moins polluante.
turer) n’est en aucun cas une charge contre l’empoisonnement « des eaux, des airs, de la vie » (p. 148) : il n’y a pas, chez Pline, la moindre allusion à la pollution atmosphérique. De même, les conseils que donne Caton pour l’achat d’une propriété foncière n’ont aucun rapport avec le souci de l’environnement (p. 225) : il ne s’agit que de rentabilité financière.

Ces réserves étant faites, le lecteur intéressé (P.V. ne cible pas un public académique) trouvera dans cet ouvrage, réalisé par un défenseur des humanités classiques, un échantillon de textes dont la lecture ne le décevra pas et dont certains paraissent étrangement actuels aujourd’hui.

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IV. PUBLIKATIONEN ZU ANTIKEN LANDSCHAFTEN


T. FISCHER widmet sich den Bauten und Truppen des römischen Grenzheeres und ruft zu Recht in Erinnerung, dass dieser Grenzabschnitt in antiker Terminologie nicht als limes, sondern als ripa verstanden wurde. Leider haben sich auch in die fachlich höchst kompetenten Erläuterungen sprachliche Versehen eingeschlichen (S. 26: Auf der Bauinschrift in Intercisa sind latrunculi genannt; S. 31: die Lagerräume für Waffen und Geräte hießen arma). Das zivile Leben an der Grenze breitet P. SCHERRER im Lichte der jüngsten Grabungsresultate aus. Ein kleines Versehen: Mursa liegt nicht an der Bernsteinroute zwischen Poetovio und Savaria,
hier ist wohl Salla gemeint (S. 57), die constitutio Antoniniana ist 212 zu datieren (S. 60).


Die Ausstattung mit Bildmaterial, Plänen und Karten ist hervorragend gelungen. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass der neue Führer das Interesse für dieses historisch-archäologische Großdenkmal neu beflügeln kann und auch die Bemühungen um die Verleihung des Welterbestatus unterstützt.