

this act to pave the way to truly moving archaeology and our understanding of the ancient world forward and highlight the importance of challenging outdated traditional approaches and discussing and testing new methodologies in a discipline which can often adapt and develop at a frustratingly slow pace. Ultimately, this is a timely volume, and one which all archaeologists looking at ancient demography, land use, and the economy more broadly, would benefit from engaging with.

ANDREW MCLEAN,
L'INSTITUT CATALÀ D'ARQUEOLOGIA CLÀSSICA
(ICAC)
amclean@icac.cat

- Bowman, A.K. and A. Wilson (eds) 2013. *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production*. (Oxford studies on the Roman economy). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brughmans, T. and A. Wilson (eds) 2022. *Simulating Roman Economies: Theories, Methods, and Computational Models*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dodd, E.K. and D. Van Limbergen (eds) 2024. *Methods in Ancient Wine Archaeology: Scientific Approaches in Roman Contexts*. London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Grigg, D.B., 1980. *Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective* (Cambridge Geographical Studies 13). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanson, J.W., 2016. *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300* (Archaeopress Roman archaeology 18). Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell, 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lo Cascio, E. 2009. Urbanization as a Proxy of Demographic and Economic Growth, in Bowman, A. and Wilson, A. (eds) *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (Oxford studies on the Roman economy): 88-106. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marx, K. 1891. *Wage Labor and Capital*. Cologne.
- McLean, A. 2024. Modelling Viticulture in the Adriatic Region: A Quantification of Agricultural Suitability, in Dodd, E.K. and Van Limbergen, D. (eds) *Methods in Ancient Wine Archaeology: Scientific Approaches in Roman Contexts*: 225-242. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- McLean, A. and X. Rubio-Campillo, 2022. Beyond Least Cost Paths: Circuit theory, maritime

mobility and patterns of urbanism in the Roman Adriatic, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 138.

- Tchalenko, G. 1953. *Villages Antiques de La Syrie Du Nord; Le Massif Du Belus a l'époque Romaine*. Paris: French Institute in Beyrouth.
- Willet, R. 2020. *The Geography of Urbanism in Roman Asia Minor*. Sheffield: Equinox.
- Wilson, A. 2009. Indicators for Roman Economic Growth: a response to Walter Scheidel, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22: 71-82.

Georgios Deligiannakis, *A Cultural History of Late Roman Cyprus*. Cyprus Research Centre Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus XC. pp. 216, 42 ills. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2022. ISBN 978-9963-0-8169-1, hardcover 20 euros.

The title of *A Cultural History of Late Roman Cyprus* does not do justice to its content. The cultural element is dominated by religious questions. The introduction places the book among the work of historians, and the study draws largely on written sources and epigraphy, but also on archaeological evidence. The book discusses specifically the period from the reign of the emperor Diocletian (283-305) to the year 431 when the Church of Cyprus was granted the status of autocephaly. Finally, the analyses place the study of the island firmly in its wider Eastern Mediterranean context.

The book consists of five chapters on *Cypriot identities*, *The last pagans of Cyprus*, *Elite values and urban histories*, *Cypriot Christianity from Barnabas to Epiphanius*, and *Cyprus at the time of Epiphanius*. The chapters appear as almost independent essays, but none the less, they all support the same over-arching narrative of a strong elite interest in Greco-Roman urban culture and paideia unsuppressed by Christian ideology in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The author also argues for a seemingly peaceful co-existence of different religious groups and a non-violent transition to Christianity. Although the book is relatively short (150 pages) and its topic closely defined, it uses to its advantage a diverse source material to discuss and comment on too many aspects for this review to mention (35 pages bibliography). I will focus on the archaeological aspects.

The first chapter, *Cypriot Identities*, provides the historical context for the study with some reference to archaeological evidence. The next chapter on

The last pagans of Cyprus gives a brief review of the sparse evidence from the Cypriot sanctuaries especially the lack of evidence for extensive repairs after the earthquakes in the 4th century. The chapter then switches to the references of worship of a supreme god from epigraphic texts, which the author interprets as evidence for an atmosphere of religious competition between different religions, where worshippers could all offer the same praise to their supreme god. This chapter includes a short discussion of the mosaic verse inscriptions of the Eustolios complex at Kourion, which provides a reading of the owner's Christianity securely and comfortably anchored in the paideia of the "classical" past.

The longest chapter on *Elite values and urban histories* takes up more than a third of the entire book. In this chapter, Deligiannakis analyses the figurative mosaics from the House of Aion and the Palace of Theseus in Paphos. The author argues against the overarching allegorical interpretation of the Aion mosaic formulated by the excavator W.A. Daszewski and developed by other researchers. Instead, the author argues convincingly for a reading of these domestic decorations in the context of the house owner's elite aspirations within the "classical" tradition with a possible reference to local festivals. The study of the Aion mosaic seems to be a perfect case for a deeper engagement with the material evidence. The author's argument is however based on the identification of two specific figures (Kassiopeia and Aion) and a motif (first bath of Dionysos) and their appearance in written and archaeological sources rather than a more holistic iconographical approach to the five individual panels. It seems a shame that there is no illustration, which allows the reader to see the individual figures on the Paphos mosaic. In the discussion of both Kassiopeia and Aion, the author refers to their form as well as the composition of the panel, and there are illustrations of parallel representations of both figures in the Eastern Mediterranean. The chapter also provides us to my knowledge with a first published academic discussion of the hippodrome mosaic from a luxurious villa in Akaki excavated by Fryni Hadjichristophi from the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia. Deligiannakis suggests that the villa belonged to a rich Cypriot landowner. He mentions the proximity between the Akaki villa and the Roman high-way between Tamassos and Soloi, but this road is in fact more than 7 km away as the crow flies, and it seems unlikely that this is of great importance to its location. The villa in Akaki has demonstrated that after several centuries dominated by the urban elite, the fourth century brought the rich landowners back to the hinterland.

In *Cypriot Christianity from Barnabas to Epiphanius*, Deligiannakis takes a chronological approach to the evidence. When Christians were still persecuted in 310/09, Christian prisoners from the copper mines in Palestine were dispersed among other places to the Cypriot copper mines for the crime of building their own churches. The discussion of prison labour in the mines of Cyprus is difficult to dismiss, and the author raises the possibility of sentencing Christian Cypriots to the Cypriot mines as a way to avoid bloodshed on a grand scale. There is however no evidence of Christian persecution in Cyprus or indeed any local early Christian martyrs. It anyway seems an inefficient way to punish a local group of people. The purpose of sending someone far away would be to deprive them of their support network thereby making escape very difficult.

Deligiannakis proposes a possible connection between the mines and the development of early Christianity in the late fourth century in Cyprus. The two earliest purpose built churches recorded in Cyprus are located in Soloi and Tamassos, which control the major copper producing landscapes of Cyprus. This argument could have been further developed with reference to the results of the large-scale survey projects, the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) and the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP), investigating the territories of Soloi and Tamassos (Given & Knapp 2003; Given, Knapp, Kassianidou, & Sollars 2013). TAESP recently re-dated the slagheap at Skouriotissa in the hinterland of Soloi (Manning 2013, 49, 54). Skouriotissa is the largest slagheap in Cyprus and the exposed part is dated from the late third/early-mid fourth to the mid-late seventh c. AD. In the rural hinterland, the third and fourth centuries can be difficult to register, because the dominating tableware, African Red Slip Ware, is relatively rare in Cyprus (Bes 2015, figs 99-100), and fewer transport amphorae penetrate into the hinterland. However, the statistics of Philip Bes do not include the material from the surveys in the northern Troodos, where African Red Slip Wares of Form 45 and 50 dated to the later third and fourth century have been recorded. In fact, Scott Moore (2003, 281-2) considered the proportion of African Red Slip Ware in the SCSP area an anomaly (see also Winther-Jacobsen 2022, 24-25). The appearance of African Red Slip Wares in the copper producing hinterlands of Cyprus does suggest a special economic significance of these landscapes at least during the fourth century, which is supported by the beginning of the large-scale build-up of waste from the copper production at Skouriotissa. This coincides with a dramatic increase in the number of bishops between the council in Nicaea in 325

(three) and the council in Serdica in 343 (12), which Deligiannakis interprets as reflecting an increase in the number of Christian worshippers during the fourth century.

In the final chapter, the author reviews the failed success of Epiphanius, Bishop of the capital city of Salamis and associated with the rise of Christianity in Cyprus in the 5th century, in converting the Cypriot elite to his specific Christian idiosyncrasies, his monastic profile, his adherence to biblical literalism and hostility to intellectual Christianity and Greco-Roman culture and education.

Over the five chapters, Deligiannakis successfully paints a picture of the third and fourth centuries as a period dominated by a well-educated privileged class transforming into a comfortable Christian elite based largely on evidence from Kourion and Paphos, but also on the priorities of the restoration programme in Salamis after the fourth century earthquakes and later. Written evidence from Salamis also suggest the importance of the private domus for public administration and entertainment during this period. In addition, the private domus may have been the meeting place of early Christian congregations, but the author records no *domus/aula ecclesies* in Cyprus. In this narrative, multiple religious groups including Pagans, Christians, Christian heretical groups, Samaritans and Jews co-existed and despite apparent hard-liners like Epiphanius, the bishop of Salamis, major confrontations are avoided during the third and fourth centuries.

Panayiotis Panayides and Ine Jacobs (eds) *Cyprus in the Long Late Antiquity: History and Archaeology Between the Sixth and the Eighth Centuries*. pp. 288, b/w and colour ill. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2022. ISBN 9781789258745, hardcover £50.00.

The 17 chapters in this volume are organised into five sections: *Introduction* (two chapters), *Cyprus in between Empires* (five chapters), *Urban and Rural Perspectives* (five chapters), *Production and Objects in Use* (four chapters) and one concluding chapter.

In the first chapter, *Cyprus between the sixth and eighth centuries*, the editors place the 7th century with the Arab appearance at the centre of enquiry to pay equal attention to elements of interruption and continuity as society changes gradually from “antique” to “Byzantine”. The first chapter draws on the following chapters to set up the

narrative of an island initially prospering from the misfortunes of the eastern provinces and gaining strategic importance as an imperial base for the Persian campaigns. Less emphasis is placed on the disruption caused by the Arab raids in the middle of the seventh century, but rather on the recovery by focusing on a combination of re-evaluated archaeological and non-archaeological evidence. In chapter 10, Maguire characterises the years 600-800 AD as a period of resurgence as envisioned by Annabel Wharton, Tassos Papacostas, Charles Anthony Stewart and Luca Zavagno “when perhaps for the first time the potential of autocephaly was fully realised” (p. 143).

According to the authors, archaeologists in the past relied too much on historical sources and epigraphic testimony focusing on discontinuity (p. 4). However, archaeological evidence has also paved the way for reversing the narrative of destruction and collapse. Two important archaeological articles illustrate notable and balanced studies of disruption and continuity. Firstly, Marcus Rautman’s seminal article from 1998 on the introduction of handmade cooking wares for the first time in a 1000 years to make up for the loss of imported wheelmade cooking wares. Rautman correlates the introduction of handmade cooking wares with the collapse of urban networks and long distance trade routes, strong evidence for the disruption of the existing world order. Smadar Gabrieli (eg 2020) has continued this research on the production of handmade cooking wares and has demonstrated continuous regional productions of this type of vessels into the 16th century. In *HEROM* 9, the perceived gap in the pottery sequence in the eighth to tenth century was addressed in the Eastern Mediterranean including contributions by Pamela Armstrong, Guy Sanders and Athanasios Vionis. Pamela Armstrong’s important article from 2009 on the chronology of Cypriot Red Slip Ware/Late Roman D had already demonstrated that production continued into the 8th/early 9th century and why the presence/absence of Late Roman D cannot be used to date assemblages before or after the Arab raids.

Chapter 1 also highlights the importance of revisiting old excavations to engage with unpublished material and overlooked theories to attempt to break the bias created by the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 of which the study by Pamela Armstrong is an excellent example. A study of the largely unpublished work of the Cyprus Survey on the north-western side of the Troodos Mountains would provide an invaluable extension of the large body of work done there in the 1990’s and the 2000’s and continued to be done. The *Life*