

appreciate the importance of the Thasian amphorae stamp chronology for Athenian deposits and vice versa. The book will of course be an equally valuable tool for amphorae and pottery specialists actively engaged in the study of comparative material and greatly assist the identification and interpretation of Thasian amphorae stamps attested elsewhere. The chronology presented by T. will no doubt equally impact local site chronologies. T.'s book, therefore, is an excellent addition to the Athenian Agora Series and a prime example of how highly specialist scholarship can be presented in a way which is easily accessible to a wide variety of readers.

Grace, V. R. 1934. Stamped amphora handles found in 1931-1932. *Hesperia* 3: 197-310.

— Standard pottery containers of the ancient Greek world, in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (Hesperia Suppl. 8): 175-189. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

MARK VAN DER ENDEN  
UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER  
mv92@leicester.ac.uk

**Pierre Leriche (ed). *Art & Civilisations de l'Orient Hellénisé: rencontres et échanges culturels d'Alexandre aux Sassanides*. pp. 328, colour and b/w illustrations. 2014. Paris: Picard. ISBN 978-2-7084-0983-5 hardcover €65.**

The growing interest in the eastern part of the Hellenistic world has resulted in a number of recent papers, conferences, and books discussing the ebb and flow of cultural contact in previously under-explored regions. Developed from an international colloquium held in September 2009, this edited volume attempts to give an overview of as well as introduce new approaches to understanding the cultural engagement in the Hellenistic East 'from Alexander to the Sassanids'. No mean feat, the book covers a variety of topics in 30 short chapters in both French and English, giving a true impression of the internationality of this work. Covering such a broad range of themes and regions, an extensive treatment such as this would be intimidating for any cover-to-cover reader, but the volume is helpfully separated into three sections: from confrontation to koine, serving primarily as an introduction to the various regions, cultures, and archaeology; from the Hellenistic East to the Hellenized East, taking

a closer look at well-known 'fusion' case-studies; and a postlude, which looks further afield, both geographically and thematically.

The book opens with a brief introduction from the editor, Pierre Leriche, detailing the current situation, advances, and problems in the study of the Hellenistic East. Here, Leriche addresses the mine-field of terminology and the ever-evolving nature of labelling a culture or artefact as 'Hellenized', before 30 pages of colour images immediately immerse the reader in the diverse material culture of the vast region. This segues rather neatly into the first section which introduces the main proponents, and components, of the Hellenistic East starting with a quick yet thorough introduction to the Persian Empire by Amelie Kuhrt. As the first considerable power the Macedonians encountered in the east, this chapter seeks to set the scene for a pre-Alexander region by covering the intricate workings of the Persian culture and governance with many references to primary sources for evidence, which are given at the end along with a king list. Moving from where the Macedonians would settle to how, Leriche reappears to deliberate whether the transformation of the landscape and its cultures was through urbanization or colonisation. Ranging from the more well-known Antioch and Dura-Europos to Ibn Hani and Dilbergine Tepe, Leriche analyses the archaeological evidence alongside its setting and potential purpose. He suggests that while certain cities developed organically and persisted through the centuries attesting to their cross-cultural significance, others appear to have served more to blanket the territory, becoming beacons of occupation rather than necessary settlements. One such town is perhaps Ibn Hani, the occupation of which only lasted about 50 years before being abandoned once power was lost. Leriche also details the reasons behind certain settlements such as military outposts on naturally defendable outcrops and how occupation and power was passed down once the next stage of transformation began.

The next chapter by Mona Haggag shifts geographically but stays in the general region of occupation and cooperation with a brief look at the royal portraiture of Ptolemaic Alexandria. Handling a topic rather large for its seven pages, Haggag attempts and, to a relatively good degree achieves in, detailing not only how the Ptolemies engaged with Egyptian art but why. As an inherently Greek city, the visual vocabulary of Alexandria needed to remain accessible to Greeks while at the same time satisfying the indigenous idea of kingship and its projection.

This discussion of coexistence is continued by Ehud Netzer in the case of Judea, focussing on architecture and the integration of established traditions with introduced innovations which complements the preceding chapter. François Villeneuve then turns the reader to the Nabatean cities of Hegra and Petra evaluating the aptness of designating each as 'Hellenized'. According to Villeneuve, while Petra shows a greater degree of Hellenistic influences including architecture, Hegra appears to follow neighbouring Arabian trends with less extravagance, offering an alternative to pure 'Hellenization'. This chapter fits into the growing discussion of the preservation of indigenous traditions confronted by foreign influences on the so-called periphery of the Hellenistic world, similar to the recent work by Rachel Mairs which too discusses the complex nature of identity and exchange in a number of eastern centres during this period. As a neat case study for this debate, Graeme Clarke and Heather Jackson use Jebel Khalid in northern Syria to discuss the ways in which different cultures may be identified through the archaeological remains. Greek architecture appears alongside Mesopotamian religious buildings with each culture represented in different ritual traditions, be it burnt offerings or libations. The discussion includes housing and the presence or absence of certain features; ceramics and cuisine with predominantly local pots for cooking and Greek vessels for consuming; as well as varied mortuary practices, figurines, and seals attesting to the diversity of the inhabitants.

The volume then moves to Mesopotamia where Francis Joannès introduces this area under Seleucid rule. As a region displaying exotic gardens, luxurious palaces, and monumental structures such as ziggurats, Mesopotamia offered a very foreign encounter to the Macedonia arrivals. The diverse inhabitants too created cosmopolitan centres, for which one need look no further than Babylon, where strong traditions and heritage persisted through the Hellenistic influences. This chapter offers an insight into the long and rich history of this region, including the Achaemenid era, as an insight into what the Seleucids encountered and how this would affect the foundation of their cities. Joannès also discusses the continuation of specific Mesopotamian traits such as the use of official titles including *shatammu*, *ammarakalu*, and *episkupusu* from the Greek *episcopos*, as well as evidence for the persistence of traditions through thousands of cuneiform tablets. Roberta Menegazzi then takes this further with a case study of Seleucia on the Tigris, noting the diversity of the city's architecture, with the theatre, agora, archive, and

stoa, as well as religious and funerary practices and a Mesopotamian temple complex, suggesting a similarly diverse citizen body as the aforementioned Jebel Khalid. The initial Seleucid rulers were also sensitive to established traditions with the king retaining his position in Mesopotamian lore as builder king and the simultaneous appearance of 25 000 seals depicting both local and Greek deities.

Focus then turns to Iran where Rémy Boucharlat gives a survey of the archaeological research of this region during the Hellenistic and Parthian periods. Here Boucharlat makes three key observations: that this region during these periods is often overlooked; there is a relatively low diffusion of information once research is conducted; and a general lack of absolute chronology which in turn hampers investigation, a factor certainly not limited to Iranian archaeology. The chapter follows a coherent structure dealing with each period separately, but equally, starting with cities, villages, and necropoleis; the elite palaces, residences, and tombs; and finally the religious spheres of temples and sanctuaries. Once again emphasis is placed on Hellenistic influences appearing alongside the continuation of local traditions. Moving away from the usual areas of study, Florian Knauss turns to the region of Transcaucasia – Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia – to highlight the different ways Hellenism may occur. With a strong prevalence of Persian and eastern architecture, including large palaces and monumental structures, the Caucasus exhibit a different path of Hellenization. With a low overall impact on this region, Greek and Mediterranean vessels, figurines, and a few architectural and artistic features such as the bronze sculpture and Ionian and Corinthian capitals at Vani, make up some of the evidence for foreign influence. In contrast to the apparent traditional manifestation of Hellenism in the preceding case studies, the archaeology of the Caucasus suggests it was relatively independent of direct foreign influence.

The next chapter by Noriaki Hashimoto, Guy Lecuyot, and Futuba Ueki diverts somewhat from the general flow thus far. Nevertheless, it gives an interesting insight into the digital resources becoming increasingly available, and valuable, to archaeologists today by briefly presenting the results of a project that compiled a 3D reconstruction of Aï Khanoum. As access to this site has been notoriously difficult since the Soviet-Afghan War of the 1980s, and looting has often led to the destruction and disappearance of artefacts and structures, work such as this at least allows for a wider audience to gain digital access to an endangered site. While the

reconstruction has been labelled as 'most likely', the imagery generated still offers a very valuable insight into this city at the edge of the Hellenistic world. Aside from allowing many sites to become globally accessible, considering the number of at-risk sites, or sites rendered temporarily inaccessible due to conflict, these types of digital resources mean important research can still continue in the interim.

The following four chapters turn to more thematic discussions of temples and sanctuaries by Susan Downey, pottery by Lise Hannestad, coinage by Osmund Bopearachchi, and philosophy by Christina Scherrer-Schaub. Downey once again places emphasis on the diverse cultures coming into contact with one another and subsequent syncretism presented in the architecture. Here she uses the cities of Jebel Khalid, Aī Khanoum, Seleucia on Tigris, and Dura-Europos as case studies. Hannestad then follows from a similar angle with both imported and locally produced pottery in southern Mesopotamia, represented by Uruk, and the Persian Gulf, namely the island of Failaka. The conclusion here is that there seems to be a balanced representation of local and Greek vessels with less foreign influence and a greater degree of continued traditions. Bopearachchi's short chapter gives a somewhat detailed introduction to the coins of the Macedonian successors and the Kushan Empire looking at both the diffusion of Greek coins and local minting in the east. This is then followed by Scherrer-Schaub's discussion of the King Menander and his link to the Buddhist philosophers through the text *Milindapañā* which offers insight into the life of Menander. This chapter also provides a brief introduction to the Indo-Greek regions of Swat, Gandhara, and Panjab. These four chapters all give a good idea of the diverse material and intellectual culture present in these varied Hellenistic regions. This not only draws attention to the magnitude of evidence at hand but also the vast area available for study under the broad title of 'Hellenistic'.

This section is then rounded off by Joan Breton Connelly as she discusses Alexandrianism and the idea of an Alexandrian School. While this chapter may seem better-placed next to Haggag's Ptolemies, Connelly's approach with modern theories and 'post-colonial multiculturalism and diversity' re-evaluates the established perception of a mixed or two-tracked articulation in the Ptolemaic city. Using her project on the island of Yeronisos, she highlights the integration of both local and Ptolemaic influences present in the mostly ritualistic finds from these excavations. Through the evidence of continuation and adoption, this deliberate incorporation of both traditions was used to emphasise the legitimacy of Ptolemaic rule. As this practice has no clear boundaries, Connelly

suggests that Alexandrianism was more dynamic and cyclical than previously perceived.

The next division of this volume centres on what can be considered the meeting of the Hellenistic and Hellenized East. Here case studies of Nemrud Dağ by Nevzat Çevik, Parthian Mesopotamia by Vito Messina, Palmyra by Michał Gawlikowski, Dura-Europos by Françoise Alabe, Hatra by Roberta Venco Ricciardi and Alessandra Peruzzetto, Nisa by Carlo Lippolis, Bactria by Pierre Leriche, Eduard Rtveladze, and Ségolène de Pontbriand, and Begram by Pierre Cambon focus on the varying results of the meeting of Hellenism and local traditions in each area. When considered as a unit, these chapters all offer an insight into the different ways Greek, Roman, and local cultures interacted during the Hellenistic period. While the manifestation of these interactions may have included syncretism and hybridity such as at Nemrud Dağ and Parthian Mesopotamia, other areas perhaps show a greater inclination to a composite representation such as at Nisa with its increasing insight into Arsacid art, and Palmyra's evidence for nomadic influences. Focussing on the far-flung location of Dura-Europos, Alabe considers whether there is evidence for Parthian art, evaluating the dress and frontal posture of figures in relief and painting. Certain sites, such as Hatra, especially with regards to origins and foundation, require further exploration and research to fully understand the levels of influence and continuity. While there is evidence for Romano-Syrian, Arsacid, nomadic, and Parthian influences, the lack of a clear chronology makes it difficult to fully understand the processes of development. Some areas also offer a less material influence, with Bactria, located at a crossroad of diverse cultures including Iranian, Chinese, and Indian, playing an important role in the spread of Buddhism. An equally isolated yet connected settlement, Begram is an 'excellent example of East-West relations in the heart of Eurasia', with an extensive network evidenced by the so-called Begram Treasure with its diverse contents, including ivory and Roman glass, showing trade with India, the East, and the Mediterranean.

The results of this contact with different cultures are certainly evident in Ghandharan and Indian art and its influences on South Asia, especially with regards to the life of the Buddha on a stūpa. This chapter by Christian Luczanits focusses on three aspects: vertical architectural features to divide scenes; the chronological progress of these scenes; and the presentation of the Buddha's robes. The only element to persist in South Asia was the latter aspect ranging from naturalistic drapery to idealisation of the body. This influence, however, did not last very

long and was eventually replaced by traditional, local conceptions. In Central Asia, though, this representation of clothing persisted for longer.

Michel Tardieu next gives a re-evaluation of Manicheism which he considers the first 'religion of the book', a practice aiding in its dissemination. This chapter not only gives an insight into the development of the religion, but also a look at the general understanding of text and literature during this period. One of the most insightful reflections emphasised in the final chapter of this section by Antonio Invernizzi, is that we should speak 'not only of one Hellenism, but of multiple Hellenisms'. The way in which different cultures have reacted to and adapted the Hellenistic or Mediterranean influences that faced them, while similar in some cases, can be quite varied in others. While a few areas show a greater degree of traditionally Greek influences, be it through coinage or architecture, speech and dress, others have been less obvious such as the Ghandharan expression of the life of the Buddha, and the diffusion of beliefs and philosophies. While the artistic manifestation of Hellenism has been the most obvious, the continuation of indigenous beliefs and practices still persists in the tell-tale ritual and religious spaces. While relatively brief, this chapter offers an informative assessment of much of the evidence presented in the preceding chapters in a holistic and well-rounded way.

The order of the chapters appears to be deliberate, and while the thread of relevance may be thin in some places, as a cover-to-cover read it does offer a somewhat natural progression before arriving at the last section or postlude. The final three chapters, which at first seem to be at odds with those preceding, build on the information already given and then push the perceived limits of the Hellenistic world further still. It opens with Ariane de Saxcé giving what she terms a 'panorama of the evolution of the maritime routes' focussing on the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, and the Persian Gulf as well as river systems such as the Indus Valley. The analysis looks at both coastal sites such as Myos Hormos, Ptolemais Theron, and ancient Aden, as well as the island of Socotra. Here attention is brought to the various artefacts including foreign ceramics and Ptolemaic coins at least indicating trade items, while graffiti from Hoq cave on Socotra in Greek, Brahmi, South Arabian, Palmyran, and Bactrian attest to the diverse peoples travelling these routes. De Saxcé also offers a more technical discussion looking at the advancements of knowledge and technology that allowed for these routes to be developed and the perils that the travellers faced. This includes using the monsoon winds for easier travel and the efficient technique of *τραχηλίζειν* or

tacking, as well as the very real possibility of piracy, shipwreck, and lack of compliance. Here she uses an example of a trading party being turned away by the Nabateans upon arrival at the port. This emphasises not only that trade and travel was occurring along these routes but that it required a great deal of intercultural cooperation to remain successful. The chapter ends with a discussion of southern India and Sri Lanka as case studies for the geographical extent to which this trade occurred.

The penultimate article by Maria Kampouri-Vamvoukou takes the reader perhaps further than they had anticipated on going with a relatively deep excursus on the treatment of Alexander the Great in Islamic literature and its impact on Islamic-era art. Including a discussion of Firdûsi's *Shah-Name*, Nizami's *Iskandarnama*, and Jami's *Haft Awrang*, this chapter focusses on the way Alexander, often in the guise of Dhû'l-Qarnayn, was viewed as a partly mythical figure being linked to a variety of adventures in the East. Kampouri-Vamvoukou also discusses the idea of Alexander cast as a prophet of Islam with roots in Iran, a veritable and somewhat refreshing inversion of the established perception of the flow of appropriation on the edges of the Hellenistic world. This too stretches the perceived chronological limits of Hellenistic influence, taking the discussion into the 15th century AD.

The final and shortest chapter by Leriche focusses attention on the age-old problem of iconoclasm and destruction facing the Hellenized East. With the final words of the volume noting that the 'Hellenized East is threatened with death', this chapter draws attention to the current perilous situation in many areas and sites, such as the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha in Afghanistan and more recently the continuous threat at Palmyra. As present world politics becomes increasingly focussed on the role of immigration and cultural diversity, this volume certainly offers an ancient parallel to the current debate which may potentially temper Leriche's concern with a more hopeful tone of tolerance and preservation.

Adding to the debate on the expanding edges of the Hellenistic world, this book is easily complemented by Prag and Quinn's edited volume focussing on the opposite end of the Mediterranean. This too offers insight into the role of pre-existing cultures on the way in which 'Hellenization' occurred in different regions with an equal re-evaluation of what this term means in the various places. While the main themes of Leriche's volume centre on the bilateral cultural exchange in the eastern part of the Hellenistic world, the use of such a wide range of materials, cities, and people to illustrate the extent



of this engagement serves to emphasise the dynamic nature of this contact. Manifesting itself as not only an excursus of the art of the Hellenistic east, a task taken up by numerous other volumes, this book achieves in drawing together apparently disparate sources of evidence, from sailing techniques to philosophy, to encapsulate the complexity and scope of this area and its civilizations during the Hellenistic period and beyond.

As a collection of a wide variety of well-written and researched chapters, this volume would make a valuable addition to any university syllabus that deals not only with the Hellenistic regions, but the effects of cultural interaction in the ancient world. The dual language nature of this book though would perhaps limit this to postgraduate or a few students capable of comfortably and critically engaging with both English and French articles. Nevertheless, this volume offers a concise yet highly informative and thought provoking introduction to the cultural legacy of the Hellenistic and Hellenized East, which in turn is a valuable contribution to the ongoing reanalysis of the idea of 'Hellenization'; a term that is becoming increasingly difficult to accurately attribute.

Mairs, R. 2014. *The Hellenistic Far East: archaeology, language and identity in Greek Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Prag, J. and J. Quinn (eds) 2013. *The Hellenistic West: rethinking the ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MEG MOODIE  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH  
Meg.Moodie@ed.ac.uk

## Roman to Late Antiquity

**Manolis Korres. *The Odeion Roof of Herodes Atticus and other Giant Spans*. pp. 192, 103 b/w & 26 colour figures. 2015. Athens: Melissa Publishing House. ISBN 9-7-8960204-340-0 hardback €64.66.**

The Odeion of Herodes Atticus, built between AD 160 and 169, is a looming hulk of a structure. It could have housed, at a reasonable estimate, around 6000 spectators. Despite its size and relatively good state of preservation, the building remains something of an enigma. In particular, the thorny issue of whether it was roofed, open-air, or partially covered in some way has rumbled on for well over one hundred years. Any roof would have had to cover a space measuring c. 83m east-west and c. 56m north-south, which would make it the largest roof span known from antiquity. Undeterred by the staggering scale of the undertaking, Manolis Korres here presents his case for a roof. In this beautifully put together, stunningly illustrated volume, Korres combines careful study of the structural remains with detailed discussion of the practicalities of creating a roof of this scale. It would take a structural engineer to provide a full appraisal of many of the more technical aspects of Korres' reconstruction and so, in what follows, I will focus primarily on his archaeological and architectural observations.

Whether the *koilon* (or *cavea*) of the Odeion was roofed or not has been debated since at least W. P. Tuckermann's 1868 publication of the building.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have denied the existence of a roof altogether, while others have argued that it was only partially roofed. Tuckermann falls into the later category, as does G. Izenour, who includes the building in his monograph on roofed theatres, even though he argues against it being completely covered.<sup>2</sup> The case for a partial roof has also been pushed more recently by M. Galli and D. Dinelli.<sup>3</sup> Korres, famous for his direction of the Parthenon restoration works between 1983 and 1999, first turned to the question of the Odeion and its roof when he was commissioned to design a model of the structure, and the wider Acropolis area generally, for the *Ancient Athens* exhibition of 1985; his beautiful models have been seen by tens of thousands and are now in the new Acropolis Museum. In 1985, Korres came up with a solution for a roof that he was prepared to incorporate into

<sup>1</sup> Tuckermann 1868.

<sup>2</sup> Izenour 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Galli and Dinelli 1998.