

chronology and findspots associated with the offering trays of the sanctuary. The most stimulating part of the chapter, in particular for the more general reader, is the interpretative section in which P. makes an attempt at interpreting the evidence available to her. P. suggests that the offering trays attested show affinity in function and use with large open trays depicted on 7th-6th century Corinthian vases and were used as support for the foodstuffs required in the ritual. During the 6th century BC these large open trays took the form of winnowing baskets and it is this shape that more closely resembles the miniature versions of offering trays identified in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. Chapter 5 directly links with chapter 4 as it presents the catalogue entries of the offering trays attested and discussed.

In sum, *the Greek Lamps and Offering Trays*, is a highly valuable addition to our knowledge about the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. B. and P. provide in this lavishly illustrated book an expert overview of both the lamps and offerings trays attested. The book, however, is primarily geared towards the specialist reader although a clear attempt is made by the authors to offer more than the typological and chronological overview, commonly associated with pottery catalogues. The main focus of the book, however, naturally is on the various types of lamps and offering trays unearthed at the sanctuary and as such it engages but little with the wider archaeological, and socio-historical context in which the material in question was used, produced and discarded. The specialist reader will take from this book a greater understanding of the various lamp and offering tray types attested within the sanctuary and will be particularly enthused by the important discussions regarding the typological and chronological development of the objects in question. The book in this respect will certainly make an important mark on the wider scholarly community dealing with ceramics of the Greek world by fine-tuning our understanding of the occurrence, use and development of well-known lamp types (e.g. the Broneer series). Of most interest to the general reader are the sections in which B. and P. put forward their observations on how the lamps and offering trays were used and might have functioned within the ritual of the sanctuary. The thorough presentation of the various types of objects attested is something which most likely only the dedicated specialist can appreciate. This remains a problem of publications of this nature, especially those that focus on a particular and highly specific material category, such as in our case lamps and offering trays. Viewed in addition to the rest of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore book series, this volume provides, however, another building block towards a better understanding of the archaeology and history of this important

shrine. The book of B. and P. is in this respect an excellent example of how a multi-year research and publication project, focussing on a specific site, is able to gradually build up a highly detailed picture upon which future research can build and expand.

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**Volker Grieb, Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowska (eds). *Alexander the Great and Egypt: history, art, tradition*. 2014. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. ISBN 978-3-447-10270-4 hardback €83.**

This volume, comprised of twenty-two papers delivered at a two-day conference in Wrocław/Breslau in 2011, belongs to the series 'Contributions to the Study of Ancient World Cultures.' The goal of the conference was to investigate Egypt under Alexander and his successors, particularly the concept of Alexander as pharaoh, from an Egyptian viewpoint and using largely Egyptian sources, rather than the more common Hellenistic or Macedonian approach. These aims have largely been achieved in this collection of papers on wide-ranging but often highly specialized topics.

Yet, ironically, the essays begin with an example of the conventional approach: Meißner's examination of Egypt's role in late fifth- and fourth-century B.C. Greek 'strategic discourse' (p. 15), particularly concerning Greco-Persian relations, which concentrates largely on the period before Alexander's arrival in Egypt. The author's focus is on policies among Sparta, Athens, Cyprus, and Persia with Egypt as a frequent pawn in this game, and the essay assumes familiarity with all the players and events in this complex period of ancient Mediterranean history. What we do not receive is a thorough discussion of Egyptian strategies and responses.

Ulanowski considers Alexander's engagement with Egyptian religion by comparing Alexander with the seventh-century B.C. Neo-Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon, who had two victorious campaigns against the Egyptians, and how each of them dealt with Egyptian religion. Esarhaddon made a point of plundering Egyptian sanctuaries to benefit Mesopotamian temples and placed images of Assyrian kings in Egyptian temples, while Alexander demonstrated greater 'respect' and

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tolerance, although one might say that Alexander was politically more astute, shrewd, and calculating than Esarhaddon. There are numerous points of interest in this essay but also some puzzling statements, perhaps because the author seems to be a Mesopotamian specialist and not deeply familiar with Greek culture. For example, ‘Greek civilization had been associated exclusively with rational factors but deep analysis proves that this could be a very misleading diagnosis’ (p. 40). No citation accompanies this claim. The author also conjectures whether the Greeks imitated the Mesopotamian practice of divination, seeming to ignore the long history of divination in Greek religious practice and literature (it is in the Homeric poems, for example) and possible influence from other areas, including Etruria and other eastern realms (he notes that Herodotos names Egypt as the source of the Greek practice). Divination, particularly Mesopotamian divination, is the focal point of much of this essay but rather than considering how such predictions were used and manipulated by Alexander’s contemporaries or by later authors recording his history, the author simply reports them as cause and event.

The first of two co-authored essays by Wojciechowska and Nawotka in this volume is a brief look at the chronology of events concerning Alexander’s time in Egypt. In particular, their goal is to assess the reliability of the accounts of Alexander’s foundation of Alexandria, his coronation as ruler of Egypt, and his trip to Siwah as presented in the *Alexander Romance*, which are usually dismissed by scholars. They argue that the text accurately preserves the dates of the foundation and coronation.

Epigraphy is the focus of Bosch-Puche’s contribution, which presents and discusses the Egyptian titles of Alexander inscribed on the walls of a shrine in the Luxor temple at Thebes, constructed during Alexander’s rule. An appendix corrects an earlier publication (1984) of this material by M. Abd El-Raziq.

Pfeiffer’s essay returns to the subject of Alexander as Egyptian ruler, specifically focusing on the legitimization of his rule. Claiming that there is no evidence that Alexander was crowned pharaoh (although he certainly was viewed as such), the author explains that the Macedonian took pains to fulfill all the basic requirements to hold this office and made a concerted effort to portray himself as the opposite of the sixth-century B.C. Persian king Cambyses, who had made Egypt a satrapy.

Sekunda takes up the issue of Alexander’s divine pretensions and the role of the oracle of Didyma announced in Memphis in 331 B.C. in them. As is the case with many of the essays in this collection, Sekunda

argues about the timing of events during Alexander’s sojourn in Egypt, in this case to try to pinpoint precisely when Alexander began to think of himself as the son of Zeus. This seems an impossible task, not only because we cannot access Alexander’s thought processes but also because it may not have occurred in a single Eureka moment but instead, was a more gradual development. How sincere this conviction (or political calculation) was, we cannot know.

The addition of ram horns to Alexander’s image is the subject of Fulińska’s thoughtful essay, which investigates the creator and origin of this motif. The author makes the good point that the choice to append animal features to a human form is a typically Egyptian manner of portraying deities, and not at all Greek where an animal may accompany a god as an attribute, yet he fails to consider the physical limitations of space on the coins discussed here.

The second of the two essays by Nawotka and Wojciechowska investigates the source of the title *kosmokrator* given to Alexander in the *Alexander Romance* and concludes that the concept embodied in this term is one that passed from Egyptian to Greek culture in the Ptolemaic period.

Schäfer offers an assessment of the pharaoh Alexander the Great, who ruled such a short time so as to be merely a minor figure in Egyptian royal history.

Grieb’s lengthy essay—the longest in this tome—contextualizes the founding of Alexandria in the late Classical southeast Aegean and eastern Mediterranean seas. In particular, the author examines the impact of this new harbor on the surrounding region, Alexander’s role in founding the city, and the intentions in locating the city at the Nile delta, as well as the reliability of the written sources for these events. Looking at weather systems and wind patterns, as well as ancient trade, Grieb takes the city of Rhodes as a model for illuminating the choice of Alexandria’s location.

The building program in Egypt, particularly in Thebes and Hermopolis—of Alexander and his immediate successors—Philip Arrhidaios and Alexander IV—receives attention in Ladynin’s essay. In both places, the construction continued what had been done by their predecessors in Dynasty XXX, and this is especially true for the processional ways for various festivals at Thebes.

Like Bosch-Puche, Moje considers titles given to Alexander though now in Demotic Egyptian sources from the time of Alexander and compares them with later texts, especially those that mention Augustus.

Malinowski takes up an intriguing topic: the ancient Greek effort, specifically Alexander's, to discern the reason for the annual flooding of the Nile in summer while other rivers were dry. Perusing the ancient and late antique written sources, the author suggests that an exploratory, possibly diplomatic, expedition, was sent out by Alexander to Meroe in 332/1 B.C. While the mystery would not have been solved on this occasion, data were collected that allowed others to do so later.

The 'entry' of the zodiac from ancient Mesopotamia, where it had a long history, into Greece is the subject of Ross' text, in which he argues that Alexander himself may have transmitted this information into Greece.

Łukaszewicz takes a very circuitous route through the sources concerning the manner and location of Alexander's burial in Alexandria. He reviews scholarly claims that the most likely location for the tomb is at Kom el-Dikka in modern Alexandria and argues against this. His conclusion? The tomb cannot be found. Surprisingly, no map accompanies this text that is so heavily dependent on topography.

The next chapter, by Matthey, also treats the tomb of Alexander but in the context of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (London, British Museum EA 10), which at one time was identified as that of Alexander (see also Łukaszewicz in this volume). The misattribution was discovered after the decipherment of the Rosetta Stone in 1822 and the royal cartouches could be read. Matthey explores the relationship of the find spot of the sarcophagus (believed to be that of Alexander) to the claims about the location of Alexander's tomb. Covering some of the same territory as Łukaszewicz, but in a clearer, more thorough, and comprehensible fashion, Matthey traces the history of the al-Attarin mosque (St. Athanasius), where the sarcophagus was recovered, how the sarcophagus came to be there, and the site's long association in the modern period with the burial place of Alexander. This is one of the most interesting and engaging essays in this collection.

When Alexander died and the Ptolemies took control of Egypt, how, if at all, did they use Alexander to legitimise their rule among Egyptians? Dumke investigates this question through texts and images. He claims that sculptures and portraits only 'represent the Greek Alexander,' but that is because he is not looking at architectural sculpture or for Egyptian images, which appear in Luxor, as Bosch-Puche described in her essay in this collection. To make things even more puzzling, Dumke explains that by the phrase Egyptian Alexander, he does not mean a Greek-style image with an Egyptian attribute, nor an Egyptian-style image with a Greek attribute.

One wonders then what he means because he does not explain. In any case, Dumke finds no evidence of Alexander integrated into Egyptian cult or included in Egyptian visual arts as part of Ptolemaic propaganda aimed at the locals. Perhaps, he proposes, this was because of Alexander's gradual accrual of Persian manners, anathema to the Egyptians, after his departure from Egypt.

Brophy's well-structured scrutiny of the location of royal statues in Ptolemaic Egypt seeks to tease out the criteria that controlled their display and style. Using the traditional categories (*pace* Dumke) of Greek, Egyptian, and mixed, to describe the styles of portraiture, Brophy maps the distribution of statues. She is careful to point out that numbers alone are not conclusive without more information about specific context, which is often lacking with this material. Her study reveals that Egyptian style statues come from Egyptian temple complex sites, while Greek style statues derive from urban locations, some of which may be shrines, often constructed with typical Greek architectural features. The chief exception to this picture is the Serapeion in Alexandria, where sculptures in both styles appeared framed within Doric and Corinthian architecture; this is hardly surprising considering that Serapis was a Greek invention and has Egyptian features.

As the Ptolemies and Seleukids warred with each other in 170–168 B.C., a series of bronze coins using Egyptian weights and images was minted in Syria; their imagery and propaganda value for the reigning Seleukid monarch form the subject of Anokhin's study. According to the author, the imagery refers to the alliance between the Seleukid ruler Antiochos IV and Ptolemy Philometor, Antiochos' nephew, and their efforts to restore Philometor to the Egyptian throne.

Ionescu concerns himself with the literary claim in Pseudo-Kallisthenes' *Alexander Romance*, that Nectanebo II was the biological father of Alexander the Great, and its possible links with a story recounted in Persian poetry that Sikander was the son of the Persian Shah Darius. The *Alexander Romance* is also the subject of Szalc's essay, which looks for Indian influences on this text. Likewise, the final contribution of this collection, authored by Kłęczar, focuses on another literary topic: the motif of the foundation of Alexandria in literature, specifically Jewish texts, from the Hellenistic period through the 14th and 15th centuries. A bibliography and indices of names, places, and sources conclude the volume.

I remain puzzled about the order of the essays; the broad variety of highly specialized topics on an already limited theme makes organization a challenge, yet

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numerous essays overlap or touch on similar themes; these could have been grouped together and refer to each other. Copy-editing by a native English speaker, for several of the essays, including the Introduction, as well as some information about the authors, would have been helpful, and a subject index would have made the volume more user-friendly, particularly for students. As it is, Hellenistic historians, particularly those interested in Alexander and in Egypt, are likely to be those consulting this text most frequently.

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**Maja Miše. *Gnathia and Related Hellenistic Ware on the East Adriatic Coast*. pp. x+168, illustrated throughout in b/w. 2015. Oxford: Archaeopress. ISBN 978-178491-164-5 paperback £32; e-publication £19.**

Maja Miše's book *Gnathia and Related Ware on the East Adriatic Coast* is a timely addition to the field of Hellenistic pottery studies and an excellent overview of the regional occurrence of this well-known ware. M. presents in her book a thorough examination of the occurrence of Gnathia pottery in the East Adriatic and particularly focusses on defining the local Issaeon production of this ware. The occurrence of Gnathia pottery in the East Adriatic is contrasted by M. with the production of the Ware in Southern Italy (the Ware's area of inception), for which she devises a typological and developmental framework, sheds new light not only on the development of Gnathia pottery in Southern Italy but also across the Adriatic. M.'s book is therefore an excellent overview of Gnathia pottery, its origin and development, distribution in southern Italy and in the Adriatic and attempts to view the occurrence of this important ware within a wider socio-economic context.

*Gnathia and Related Hellenistic Ware on the East Adriatic Coast* is composed of five chapters. Chapter I: Gnathia Ware in Southern Italy, II: Gnathia Ware on the East Adriatic Coast, III: Related Hellenistic Ware on the East Adriatic Coast, IV: the East Adriatic Coast from the 4th to the 1st centuries BC, finally V: Catalogue of Gnathia Ware from the Greek and Hellenistic Collection in the Split Archaeological Museum. Each chapter is subdivided into a number of sections dealing with the various aspects of Gnathia pottery and its occurrence in the Southern Italy and the Adriatic. The different sections follow a logical order and facilitate a highly structured overview of

the topic at hand. The catalogue, for example, has been subdivided into 1. Imported Gnathia vessels, 2. Issaeon Gnathia vessels and 3. Unidentified vessels. Chapter I, lays out, for example, subsequent sections on shape, production centres, production technology and archaeological context.

M.'s book presents an excellent introduction and overview of Gnathia pottery and diligently discusses its origins, history and research, typological and stylistic development, distribution and relationship to other wares. In so doing the author has made an important contribution towards a greater understanding of Gnathia pottery and the socio-economic processes behind it. Her work has enabled her, for example, to identify different phases of production for local Issaeon Gnathia ware and in chapter IV, one of the most stimulating parts of the book, bring in the wider context in which Gnathia pottery was produced, distributed and used. The book as such is certainly a valuable addition to the expanding literature on Gnathia pottery and an excellent case-study of the local/regional imitation and production of the ware. At times, however, the book feels more like a summary of current research on the subject and the author's own conclusions and observations can be somewhat difficult to filter out from the wealth of data and knowledge she presents. The book retains in places the feel of a PhD, the format of which is not ideal to present the author's undoubted and significant contributions to the field.

The book starts off with a helpful section on aims and methodology. In it M. states that the reasons for writing this book are fourfold. She aims to present the distribution of Gnathia pottery in the Adriatic (her analysis based on all published Gnathia pottery), define the Gnathia production of Issa, identify other production workshops within the East Adriatic area and place her observations within a wider socio-economic context. M. identifies the last as being of particular importance and something which enables the pottery data to feature within wider historical debates. Another important point stressed by M. is that her analysis not only focusses on the stylistic characteristics and development of Gnathia Ware but equally takes into consideration the wider archaeological context (in particular other associated objects). As M. states herself the objectives and scope of her study are ambitious but have the potential to significantly contribute to increase our understanding not only of Gnathia pottery in the East Adriatic but also of the socio-economic and geo-political relationship of this area with the wider region.

Chapter I, Gnathia Ware in Southern Italy, in many ways sets the scene. In nine detailed sections M. discusses the origin, history of research, stylistic and