

tions in relation to state religion. Wardle demonstrates that, in its context within the *Life*, the section falls within Suetonius' discussion of the *res urbanae* and it should be seen as part of Augustus' public career as *princeps* and *pontifex maximus* rather than reflecting his private religious preferences. Wardle offers a sound discussion as regards Augustus' religious reforms mentioned by Suetonius, e.g. the sensible interpretation of *sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit*.

David Hunt's paper, "Fellow-Servants of God: Roman Emperor and his Christian Bishops in the Age of Constantine", and David Noy's "Jewish Priests and Synagogue Officials in the Greco-Roman Diaspora of Late Antiquity" end the first part of the book. The second half covers priest-hoods outside the *Urbs*, both in Italy and in several Roman provinces.

In sum, this is an impressive and well-edited volume which no doubt will be of great interest, especially to those dedicated to the study of Roman religion.

Jyri Vaahera

Vom Nil aus um die Alte Welt: Rekonstruktionen ägyptischer, minoischer und griechischer Schiffe. Katalog einer Ausstellung im Winkelmann-Museum vom 27. April bis 22. September 2013. Edited by MAX KUNZE. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Mainz – Ruppolding 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06956-4. 96 S., 145 ill. EUR 30.

This exhibition catalogue shows ship reconstructions built by Michael Bormann, and the rich collection of ancient pictorial evidence on which they are based. The reconstructions include ships from Egypt, the Minoan culture, and Greece in the period of the great colonization. The detailed study and work on the reconstructions aims at showing how the ships and their rigging were actually built in the ancient world. Each chapter also contains information about the historical background of these ships and the archaeological excavations where the material was discovered. Besides Michael Bormann, other authors are Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer, Michael Haase, Frank Hildebrandt, Elke Mähltitz-Galler, Alex Rügler and Veit Stürmer.

Chapter one contains articles about the meaning of the Nile for Egyptian life and transport, the fleet of King Sahura (c. 2490–2475) in the Old Kingdom, and the fleet of Queen Hatshepsut (c. 1479–1458) in the New Kingdom. This is the fascinating thing about Egyptian society: that besides the Nile, they sailed on the Red Sea, to reach Punt – probably located in the area at the border of current Ethiopia and Sudan or on the coast of Somalia – and along the east coast of the Mediterranean, where the city of Byblos served as the centre for goods coming from Arabia and Mesopotamia and where the Egyptians would sail directly to take goods to Egypt. Egyptian society and culture and its high standard of living in so many different ways depended on these contacts and imported goods. Shipbuilding and its techniques can be analysed from many tomb paintings. The reconstruction of a boat from the fleet of King Sahura and a ship from the Punt expedition are shown in detailed photos and in discussions explaining their construction and stability at sea.

Chapter two deals with trade and transport vessels on the Nile in the New Kingdom. In tomb paintings they are often depicted in larger groups, with a crew from two to six men on board. The reconstruction of the transport ship is based on the depiction found in the tomb of Merire, the high priest of Aten in the service of Akhenaten (c. 1352–1336).

Chapter three discusses the different interpretations given to the dismantled ships placed in covered pits outside the pyramid of Khufu (c. 2580–2550) that were found in excavations conducted since 1954. Originally, there were several more boat pits, which were robbed already in antiquity; according to Mark Lehner, the great number of pits gave the pyramid the appearance of a “docking place on the journey from this world to the Netherworld” (Mark Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, London 1997, 118). The ship found in 1954 south of the pyramid contained 1224 separate parts made of cedar wood. It was put together and is now housed in its own museum next to the pyramid. Bormann has made a replica of the ship and a reconstruction of the Neshmet bark; it is based on a wall painting found in the tomb of Rekhmire, a high official of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in the 18th dynasty.

Next, the naval supremacy of the Minoans is discussed. The Aegean islands provided a suitable area for seafarers, who typically sailed along the coasts and made day journeys from one island to another. Crete with its many natural harbours offered the best possibilities for the building of the fleet and the exploration of the sea. Clay tablets discovered at Mari in 1933 attest to Crete’s contacts with Babylon and therefore, a position in international trade already in the 19th century B.C. Trade contacts between Crete and Egypt are attested under Thutmose I (c. 1504–1492) and Hatshepsut (1473–1458) in the 18th dynasty. Under Thutmose III, Cretan warships were built in Memphis and it has been assumed that Minoan ship carpenters also worked there then (Broodbank sees the contacts between Egypt and the Aegean generally as rare. Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*, London 2013, 373–375). The frescoes of Akrotiri, Thera, show a short-range festive procession of ships that are being paddled and on which the reconstruction of the Minoan ship is based. Again, Bormann describes the process of studying the structure of these ships: for instance, the width of ships cannot be estimated from the paintings but needs to be deduced from the function of the vessels and there are tricky questions about the attachment of the mast, the rigging and the sail itself following from the fact that there is just one ship depicted moving by sail.

Chapter five discusses the process of creating the penteconter with which the Greeks and the Phoenicians were able to found colonies all over the Mediterranean. Greek black and red figure pottery provide many good pictures of what a penteconter looked like; Bormann’s reconstruction deals with the type where rowers were placed on two levels. Contrary to what Bormann claims, the ships of this period were already equipped with a ram – shortening the penteconter and placing the rowers on two levels enabled an increase in speed, power and agility, also making ramming more efficient (John F. Coates, “The Naval Architecture and the Oar Systems of Ancient Galleys”, in Robert Gardiner and John Morrison (eds.), *Conway’s History of the Ship: The Age of the Galley. Mediterranean Oared Vessels Since Pre-Classical Times*, London 1995, 136–137).

The final chapter, written by Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer, sheds light on the long-lasting interest in ships in the ancient world. This piece of cultural history includes the early and profound work of Lazare de Baïf, born in 1485, who put together the evidence from ancient literary sources, and the work of Bernard de Montfaucon, born 1655, who published a compendium of ancient monuments and also studied representations of ships, especially those found on the column of Trajan. Interestingly, Johan Joachim Winkelmann paid attention to the interpretation of the scene in the Praeneste Nile mosaic rather than the details of the ships and their types. The *Description de l’Égypte* fol-

lowing Napoleon's expedition aimed at explaining every aspect of Egypt: the reliefs gathered also contain a large number of depictions of ships.

This richly illustrated catalogue is informative in many ways: it explains the difficulties in studying the sources and how that information can be turned into models of real ships; it also gives an insight into the history of archaeology and generally makes good reading.

Christa Steinby

EIVIND HELDAAS SELAND: *Ships of the Desert and Ships of the Sea: Palmyra in the World Trade of the First Three Centuries CE*. Philippika 101. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016. ISBN 978-3-447-10704-4. VIII, 112 pp. EUR 42.

Palmyra is known as a caravan city that owed its wealth to its successful long-distance trade. However, while many aspects of the cultural and social life of Palmyra have inspired research in recent years, the city's commercial actions have not been given much consideration. Eivind Heldaas Seland aims to amend this with his book *Ships of the Desert and Ships of the Sea: Palmyra in the World Trade of the First Three Centuries CE*. The book is associated with the Palmyrena projects (City hinterland and caravan trade between Orient and Occident, 2009–2013; Mechanisms of cross-cultural interaction: Networks in the Roman Near East, 2013–2016), in which the writer assisted, and which included three seasons of archaeological survey in the surroundings of Palmyra in 2008–2011.

Two questions serve as a starting point for the study: Why did Palmyra become prominent in long-distance commerce although there was no specific factor that could have explained its success? How did the people of Palmyra use their opportunities in order to make this happen? The book is divided into five chapters that purport to answer these questions.

The first chapter, "The caravan city" (pp. 1–7), introduces the reader to previous research, the sources, and the theoretical approach. The second chapter, "City, territory and hinterland" (pp. 9–25), describes the circumstances that influenced the city's development, including its history, territory, populace and their identity as well as their relationship to other nations. The third chapter, "Palmyra in the ancient world exchange" (pp. 27–61), outlines a picture of Palmyrene commerce by discussing the commodities, routes and yearly rhythm of the city's commercial transactions. The chapter fascinatingly conveys the nature of ancient long-distance trade: it was a vast entirety with many different matters to be taken into consideration. In many ways it resembled a jigsaw puzzle in which all the little pieces had to be fitted together to get it all functioning. As the title suggests, chapter four, "Organization and practicalities" (pp. 63–74), deals with practical issues of the caravan trade. It discusses the participants of commercial expeditions with their duties and tasks, as well as pack animals, security issues and daily routines on a journey through the desert. The final chapter, "Development of Palmyrene long-distance trade" (pp. 75–88), clarifies the reasons for the creation of Palmyrene long-distance trade and describes its development and expansion. Special attention is given to the different ways in which Palmyrenes were active outside their own town and how they formed networks that helped them in increasing their prominence. The chapter also describes the end of Palmyrene trade. A short summary ("Ships of the