and the now-destroyed Ebstorf map. These are the subject of an absorbing chapter by Alessandro Scafi. Mario Casari examines religious views of Alexander (Zoroastrian, Jewish, Islamic and Christian), while the final chapter by Stoneman looks at the traditions on his death and burial.

The book is handsomely produced but structurally it tends to frustrate the reader. Instead of being divided into two halves, first the essays and then the catalogue, the editors have chosen to distribute selections of the catalogue entries among the essays and to precede each selection with an editors' introduction. This not only makes tracking the specific catalogue entries down more difficult than it needs to be, it also leads to repetition. Readers, however, will probably choose to dip into the fascinating catalogue of exhibition material rather than read the book from cover to cover.

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Djurslev, C. 2014. 'The Metal King: Alexander the Great in Heavy Metal Music', *Metal Music Studies* 1: 127-41.

Manteghi, H. 2018. *Alexander the Great in the Persian Tradition: History, Myth and Legend in Medieval Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris.

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Christelle Fischer-Bovet and Sitta von Reden (eds) *Comparing the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires: Integration, Communication, and Resistance*. pp. 440. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. ISBN 9781108479257, hardback £90.00.

This volume is a welcome addition to the comparative study of Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. In the introduction, the editors present the aims of the book, its structure and the approaches taken by the 10 contributions, most of which are co-authored. The volume is divided into three sections, which deal with the internal organization of the kingdoms, the forms of communication and exchange and the manifold relationship between the local elites and the kings.

The first part of the book 'Cities, Settlement and Integration', is devoted to the policies of Ptolemies and Seleucids regarding the formation of capital cities and settlements in their territories.

Von Reden and Strootman (Chapter 1: *Imperial metropoleis and Foundation Myths: Ptolemaic and Seleucid Capitals Compared*) deal with the formation of capital cities and discuss foundation legends associated with capital cities in both kingdoms. While Alexandria was indisputably the most important city of Egypt (the second city being Memphis, a religious centre), an administrative hub whose primacy no-one doubted, in the Seleucid kingdom the situation was completely different. The vast Seleucid empire, whose territory already contained numerous royal cities, needed a 'symbolical political center', a role initially fulfilled by Seleucia Piereia and subsequently by Antioch. The authors observe that the capitals of both kingdoms were symbolic and artificial constructs that therefore had to rest upon a number of conventions. In particular, they had to adapt themselves to existing administrative and religious traditions and their foundation tied to past, present and future. Such an endeavour involved propagating the idea that these capital cities enjoyed a privileged status and they were to be seen as universal entities. Thus the cities offered an arena in which rivalries between the Ptolemies and Seleucids could play out involving monumental space and architecture within the cities, the splendour of the ceremonies that the cities hosted and the fostering of Greek culture and of Greek literature in particular designed to promote royal ideologies.

Mairs and Fischer-Bovet (Chapter 2: *Reassessing Hellenistic Settlement Policies: The Seleucid Far East, Ptolemaic Red Sea Bassin and Egypt*) move beyond capital cities to deal with processes involved in the foundation, modification or renaming of existing cities and settlements in Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. Mairs employs historical and archaeological evidence to provide an account of early Seleucid military settlements in central Asia and, in particular, in Bactria. Although Mairs does not give an exhaustive survey of the process involved in foundation and re-foundation of cities in the Seleucid empire as a whole, she does make it clear that in the period in question the settlements of Bactria were strongly military in nature and indeed were established by military forces in important areas of the region in accordance with the settlement policy of the Seleucids (who followed Alexander's

settlement policy). Fischer-Bovet deals with settlements in Egypt and the Red Sea Basin, stating that they were not exclusively military in character. The Ptolemaic empire possessed a network of villages and urban settlements, old and new, whose type and function varied according to the nature of their region. Although these settlements were not *poleis* in any political sense and the inhabitants were not therefore citizens, local elites, the indigenous population and Greek elements co-existed, thereby shaping the settlements in accordance with both Ptolemaic policy and Egyptian tradition. Although the authors deal with two clearly different entities, that is military and civilian settlements, and do so over different kingdoms, spans of time and drawing upon diverse local sources, the internal policies pursued in these two types of settlement mean that they do indeed complement each other.

Clancier and Gorre (Chapter 3: *The Integration of Indigenous Elites and the Development of poleis in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires*) deal with the role of local elites in temple administration within the governmental structures of Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms and the process of foundation of *poleis*. Pre-Hellenistic temples were important religious centres with an important role in public life. In the pre-Ptolemaic period the Egyptian temple elite was representative of the local elite. It was subordinated to the crown and was relatively open to foreigners and to the outside world in general, an attitude that continued into the Ptolemaic period, when Egyptian temples were apparently relatively receptive to Greco-Macedonians. The Ptolemies, while granting temples a unique position, also exercised extensive control over them. The Ptolemaic monarch was the high priest, superior to all others. The systematic control of Egyptian temples by the Ptolemies and the ability of the temples to integrate the new elite made the foundation of *poleis* in Ptolemaic Egypt unnecessary. Thus the temples kept their traditional place as centres of public life and the priestly elite were absorbed into the upper ranks of Ptolemaic society, as servants of the crown. By contrast, things were different in Babylonia. There the temple elite remained closed, with the result that temple and royal administration are two separate entities. Furthermore, the Babylonian temple elite did not represent the local elite. Thus the Seleucids, who founded more cities than the Ptolemies, during the second century BC transformed various cities of Babylonia into *poleis* and nominated an *epistates* as civic leader of each, so as to govern the communities in their realms effectively. In the vast Seleucid Empire, the kings encouraged the adoption of a civic model of which socio-political activities and urbanization were the main components. This policy consequently diminished the power of the old Babylonian priestly elite.

Sänger (Chapter 4: *Contextualizing a Ptolemaic Solution. The Institution of the Ethnic politeuma*) considers why *politeumata* are attested only in Egypt and Cyrenaica. *Politeumata* were ethnic and cultic associations of inhabitants of Egypt and Cyrenaica and consisted mainly of mercenaries (rather than *cleruchs*) originating from the same homeland, living in particular urban areas and employing the same religious practices. Ptolemaic policy supported the institution of *politeumata*, because it strengthened the bonds between different ethnic groups and their place of residence, so reinforcing the stability that encouraged loyalty and respect to the central administration. Some members of these groups ascended the social ladder, broadened their social networks and participated in the royal administration. Furthermore, *politeumata* and their administration attracted new immigrants who desired to settle in the urban areas and offered them the opportunity of living in a small, ethnically homogeneous community. According to Sänger the *politeuma* was a complementary measure to the Ptolemaic cleruchic system. Thus, the *politeumata* illuminate an aspect of Ptolemaic policy, in which administrative and social status were negotiated, in order to fulfil the political and ideological aims of the regime.

The second part of the volume, 'Communication and Exchange', deals with the various forms and policies of communication between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms and between the imperial centres and the rest of the Hellenistic world. It deals with concepts of time, portrait sculpture and coinage, so demonstrating how such communication took place.

Kosmin and Moyer (Chapter 5: *Imperial and Indigenous Temporalities in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Dynasties: A Comparison of Times*) deals with the different policies in the foundation of epochs established by the Seleucids and Ptolemies and the important role played by the local elites in the royal temporal policy. The Seleucids introduced a new era, thus making clear their intention to distinguish their rule from the pre-Seleucid past. In his *Babyloniaca*, Berossus is aware of this temporal rupture effective from the reign of Seleucus I onwards. By way of contrast, the Ptolemies apparently follow a different policy. They retained local tradition and presented their reign in terms of traditional regnal years, as the advent of yet another period within Egyptian history. Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* defined thirty dynasties before the Macedonian conquest and so created a

temporal unit. Yet the Ptolemies also introduced some innovations to this dating system, such as the regnal year, the cult of members of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the eponymous priest of the royal cult, thereby showing their intention of instituting a new era, albeit within a traditional context.

Von den Hoff (Chapter 6: *The Visual Representation of Ptolemaic and Seleucid Kings. A Comparative Approach to Portrait Concepts*) deals with concepts of royal portraiture and how they were transmitted within the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. Portraiture of the Successors in both empires reflects royal ideology, the conventions that the artist had to deal with and expectations on behalf of populations that lived both within and outside the two kingdoms. Von den Hoff, who looks at a lengthy period, distinguishes three major periods, (1) 323-280 BC, during which there are notable and great similarities between Ptolemaic and Seleucid portraiture, (2) 280-160 BC, during which period old concepts fade away, to be replaced by more local forms, and (3) 160/40 BC - late second century, during which earlier forms of depiction return. The author concludes that strategies behind royal portraiture in Ptolemaic Egypt are more standardized and centralized than is the case in the Seleucid kingdom.

Iossif and Lorber (Chapter 7: *Monetary Policies, Coin Production, and Currency Supply in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires*) deals with monetary policies and coin production in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. Each monetary system is clearly different from the other, although in the second century BC certain common features appear. The Seleucids pursued a heterogeneous monetary policy after they annexed Syria and Phoenicia, upon which the Seleucids absorbed some Ptolemaic monetary practices. In these areas, royal monetary policy mingles with and absorbs local traditions and civic practices. On the other hand, in the upper satrapies of the Seleucid Empire, the edge of royal authority of the Seleucids is blunted by the goals and aims of non-Seleucid rulers in the area and that is depicted on coins. The Ptolemies had a monetary policy more based on state control and paid particular attention to the supply of metal. The planned and stable monetary policy of the Ptolemies affected mainland Egypt and the outposts of Ptolemaic kingdom, thus giving some space for regional differences and continuation of local practices. In both kingdoms the royal monetary policies were shaped in accordance with central policies and local practices.

The third section, 'Collaboration, Crisis and Resistance', examines the attitudes of local elites towards the Seleucid and Ptolemaic administration. Pfeiffer and Klinkott (Chapter 8: *Legitimizing the Foreign King in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires: The Role of Local Elites and Priests*) deals with the relations of the early Ptolemies and Seleucids with local temples, which were important religious, economic and social centres in pre-Hellenistic times. The Ptolemies insinuated themselves into the life of temples from the time of Ptolemy I, so as to strengthen the stability of their kingdom. Evidence derived from the synodal decrees of Ptolemaic Egypt shows the process of royal legitimation, the role of indigenous priesthood in this process and how the Memphite priests negotiated with the royal authorities even when royal legitimacy was at risk. The legitimation and the stabilization of Ptolemaic power in Egypt were the outcome of a long communication process and negotiation of interests between royals and indigenous priesthood. Although a similar process is revealed in Babylonian sources this relation is not documented in as much detail as in the Egyptian texts. The Seleucids are presented as legitimate rulers who participated in rituals. Babylonian texts reveal the negotiation of interest and the networks of communication between the kings and the priesthood and how the relations between king and priests shaped kingship in Babylonia.

Dreyer and Gerardin (Chapter 9: *Antiochus III, Ptolemy IV, and the Local Elites: Deal-Making Politics at Its Peak*) deals with the communication of Ptolemies and Seleucids with the local elites and the strategies that the kings pursued, as each side pursued its own interest. Gerardin explores the role of local elites in the loss of Ptolemaic overseas possessions during the reign of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V. Dreyer gives an account of the war between Antiochus III and Rome and of the role the local elites played in it. While the Ptolemies and Seleucids initially follow the same rules in their interactions with local elites, during the second century BC the rise of Rome as the dominant power in the area caused changes in communication between the two sides.

Honigman and Veïsse (Chapter 10: *Regional Revolts in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires*) compare the two major revolts that took place in periods of major political, economic and social change in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms, namely, the Great Revolt of the Thebaid (206-186 BC) and the Maccabean Revolt (starting in the 160s BC) respectively. The authors stress the internal and external factors that led to these revolts, both the similarities and the difference in strategy that the kings applied and the regional and traditional background of the Thebaid and Judea, which influenced the outcome of the revolts.

In conclusion, this volume offers a welcome collection of views on comparisons between Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdom. The ten essays of the volume provide much material on the royal policies of the two kingdoms and the network of communications and interactions that were laid down in the Hellenistic East between the central administration and the inhabitants of the kingdoms, both Greek and non-Greek. Various factors contributed to the creation of a dynamic network that determined and shaped the level of integration and communication within the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms. These factors included rivalry between monarchs, different royal policies and strategies, various types of cities and settlements, variation in local traditions and a range of attitudes and feelings on the part of the indigenous population towards Hellenistic rulers and towards immigrants who settled in newly conquered territories. The fact that most of the essays are co-authored makes for a clearer and more vivid evaluation on comparative projects. All ten contributions offer numerous insights that will certainly be a great aid to further research.

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ROMAN

Lucia Athanassaki and Frances B. Titchener (eds) *Plutarch's cities*. pp. xx + 378. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. ISBN: 978-0-19- 285991-4, hardcover $ 135.

This book, a collective volume, is the fruit of a revisited conference held in Delphi in 2013 in honour of Anastasios Nikolaidis, Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Crete, who has taken a particular interest in Plutarch throughout his career. This book has all the qualities needed for use by amateurs and specialists alike: a common bibliography for all the articles and two detailed *indices*: "*index locorum*" on the one hand, "names and subjects" on the other. It brings together an international panel of excellent specialists, most of whom focus mostly on classical Greek philology and literature, with the exception of the historian Katerina Panagopoulou.

The two editors clearly set out the aim and tone of the book in their introduction. The volume opens with a statement that is essential to the general questioning: "Greek cities still matter in the first century CE" (p. 1). For a historian, this is an obvious remark, but dealing with it from the point of view of the 1st c. AD moralist posed quite a challenge, as this particular theme was not the subject of a treatise or a dialogue as such, even if some texts come close to it. This explains why, until now, only two cities, Athens and Rome, had been studied through the author's lens (by J.L. Johnson in 1972 and J. Scheid in 2012). The volume therefore fills a gap in a welcome manner and provides an original angle of attack that is a breath of fresh air compared with traditional studies on Plutarch, which are not always sensitive to the context in which the Chaeronean wrote and thought. The aim here is to examine the Plutarchean city from three different angles, each of which forms a separate part: the city as a physical entity contemporary with the author, as "a lived experience and a source of inspiration"; the city of the past in its historical and socio-political dimension; and the city as a theoretical construct, one that enables the reader to think. Several fields are covered, from archaeology and topography to ideology and philosophy, not forgetting of course history, both past and present. In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the book contains seventeen chapters, harmoniously divided between the three parts.