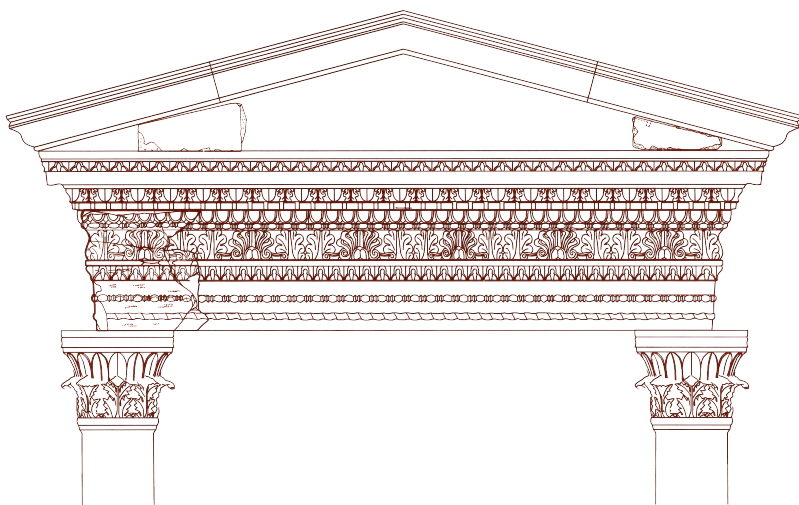


ΤΟΠΟΙ



Volume 28/2
2025



ORIENT - OCCIDENT

Volume 28/2
2025



Ouvrage édité par
la Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach
et l'École française d'Athènes

Comité d'honneur (au 01.01.2026):

Jean ANDREAU, Alexandre FARNOUX, Ian MORRIS, Catherine VIRLOUVET

Comité de Rédaction (au 01.01.2026):

Marie-Françoise BOUSSAC, Roland ÉTIENNE, Pierre-Louis GATIER, Olivier HENRY,
Laurianne MARTINEZ-SÈVE, Jean-Baptiste YON, Julien ZURBACH

Responsable de la Rédaction : Marie-Françoise BOUSSAC

Adjoint : Jean-Baptiste YON

Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée — Jean Pouilloux

5/7 rue Raulin, F-69365 Lyon Cedex 07, France

marie-francoise.boussac@mom.fr

<https://www.mom.fr/recherche-et-formation/collections-topoi>

<https://editions.efa.gr>

© Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach

© École française d'Athènes

ISSN : 1161-9473

ISBN : 978-2-86958-706-9

Illustration de couverture : Détail de la *scaenae frons* du théâtre de Messène (adapté de R. Yoshitake, *The Theatre at Messene: An architectural study*, Wiesbaden [2025], p. 77, fig. 43, «Detail of the valvae regiae entablature and pediment, second floor»).

Illustration du dos : *Mnaieion* de Ptolémée V daté de la 5^e guerre de Syrie (CPE 1108). Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Fonds général 259 (source : gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8490010x).

SOMMAIRE

Fascicule 2

Sommaire	263-266
--------------------	---------

Historiographie

A. SCHNAPP, D.J. Sherman, <i>Sensations: French Archaeology between Science and Spectacle 1890-1940</i> (2025)	267-270
A. ZAMBON, L. Taborelli, <i>L'Instrumentum domesticum dall'erudizione antiquaria alla scienza storico-archeologica. Un'indagine nei periodici francesi de Archeologia dei secoli XVIII e XIX</i> (2025)	271-273

Mondes méditerranéens

Chr. SCHLIEPHAKE, Ch. Chandezon, B. D'Andrea, A. Gardeisen (éds), <i>Circulations animales et zoogéographie en Méditerranée ancienne x^e siècle av.-1^{er} siècle J.-C. apr. J.-C.</i> (2024)	275-281
A. ESPOSITO, S. Maudet, <i>Le scarabée et l'amphore. Histoire des échanges en Campanie du milieu du IX^e siècle au début du VI^e siècle av. n. è.</i> (2023)	283-288
A. ESPOSITO, T. E. Cinquantaquattro, M. D'Acunto (éds), <i>Euboica II. Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West</i> (2021); T. E. Cinquantaquattro, M. D'Acunto and F. Iannone (éds), <i>Euboica II. Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West</i> (2024)	289-298
C. BERRENDONNER, M. Helm, S.T. Roselaar (éds), <i>Spoils in the Roman Republic. Boon and Bane</i> (2023).	299-308
D. MARCHIANDI, K. Bowes et M. Flohr (éds), <i>Valuing Labour in Greco-Roman Antiquity</i> (2024)	309-317
J. DES COURTILS, S. Holzman, <i>Retrospective Columns: Ionic Capitals and Perceptions of the Past in Greek Architecture</i> (2025)	319-325

J.-C. MORETTI, R. Yoshitake, <i>The Theatre at Messene : An Architectural Study</i> (2025).	327-336
M. ZARMAKOUPI, T. Busen, <i>Die römische Kaiservilla Pausilypon</i> (2023); Fr. Villedieu (dir.), <i>La Vigna Barberini III. La cenatio rotunda</i> (2021) ...	337-344
N. KYRIAKIDIS, T. Lucas, <i>L'organisation militaire de la confédération béotienne (447-171 av. J.-C.)</i> (2023)	345-353
D. DANA, E. Rathmayr et V. Scheibelreiter-Gail, <i>Inschriften in Wohnhäusern I. Griechenland und der Balkan</i> , vol. I-II (2023)	355-358
K. HARTE-UIBOPUU, S. Aneziri, <i>Greek Endowments in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods</i> (2025).	359-365
L. SERRAT, E. Stavrianopoulou, <i>Agir et subir : Femmes et familles face aux mutations de l'époque hellénistique</i> (2024)	367-371
F. QUEYREL, W. Raeck, <i>Konkurrenz und Charisma. Porträts in der politischen Kultur des antiken Griechenland</i> (2025).	373-378
E. LE QUÉRÉ, R. Sweetman, <i>The Archaeology of the Cyclades in the Roman and Late Antique Periods. Globalization, Christianization and Resilience</i> (2025)	379-387
M. SARTRE, M. Facella, F. Santangelo et G. Traina (éds), <i>Pompey's New Order in the Mediterraeen East (67-61 BCE)</i> (2026)	389-394
H. BERTHELOT, F. Chevrollier, <i>Histoire de la province romaine de Crète-Cyrénaïque, de Pompée à Dioclétien</i> (2024).	395-399
M. FLÜCK, J. Bemann, S. Ortisi, M. Schmauder (éds), <i>From Germania Inferior to Arabia Petraea. New Perspectives on Roman Legionary Camps</i> (2024)	401-412
J. BARBIER, C. Brélaz et E. Rose (éds), <i>Civic identity and civic participation in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages</i> (2021).	413-415
<i>Proche et Moyen Orient antiques</i>	
V. MATOIAN, A. B. Knapp, <i>Cyprus and Ugarit, Connecting Materials and Mercantile Worlds</i> (2024)	417-425
J. WIESEHÖFER, P. Briant, <i>Sur les traces de l'empire des Grands Rois : Enquête historiographique (1931-2023)</i> (2025)	427-432
R. KING, S. Aliyari Babolghani, <i>The Great King's Word under Ahura Mazdā's Protection. Trilingual Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions of Susa I</i> (2025) ..	433-435
M. SARTRE, Chr. Feyel, L. Graslin-Thomé et L. Martinez-Sève (dir.), <i>Crises, effondrements et rétablissement de l'autorité séleucide</i> (2025)	437-442
H. AUMAÎTRE, H. Gitler, C. Lorber, J.-P. Fontanille, <i>The Yehud Coinage: A Study and Die Classification of the Provincial Silver Coinage of Judah</i> (2023).	443-448

M. SARTRE, M. Sommer, S. Magnani et A. Castiello (éds), <i>Palmyrenes Abroad. Diasporas from Rome to Mesopotamia and Beyond</i> (2025)	449-457
M. SARTRE, R. Raja et E. H. Seland (éds), <i>Palmyra, the Roman Empire and the Third Century Crisis</i> (2025)	459-467
A. USCATESCU, A. Lichtenberger, R. Raja (éds). <i>Jerash, the Decapolis, and the Earthquake of AD 749. The Fallout of a Disaster</i> (2025)	469-477
J. MARCHAND, H. Möller, with a contribution by St. Merkel, <i>Ceramic Finds in Context (Roman to Early Islamic Times). Final Publications from the Danish-German Jerash Northwest Quarter Project VII</i> (2024) . . .	479-482
C.E. BIUZZI, C. Shepardson, <i>A Memory of Violence: Syriac Christianity and the Radicalization of Religious Difference in Late Antiquity</i> (2025) . .	483-491
M. ZELLMANN-ROHRER, G.Fr. Grassi, <i>Die semitischen Personennamen in den griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften aus Syrien und dem Libanon</i> (2024)	493-502

Péninsule arabique

F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, S. Fares (dir.), <i>Kilwa. Preliminary Archaeological Assessments</i> (2023)	503-505
A. PRIOLETTA, Ch.J. Robin, <i>Najrān en Arabie – la ville des 200 martyrs chrétiens</i> (2025)	507-512

Égypte

D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE, D. ALMEIDA PIRES, K. Jansen-Winkel, <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil V : Die 27.-30. Dynastie und die Argeadenzeit</i> (2023)	513-528
D. AGUT-LABORDÈRE, M.-P. Chaufray, <i>La fonction du lésônis dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque saïte à l'époque ptolémaïque</i> (2023) . .	529-534
J. OLIVIER, C.C. Lorber, <i>Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire, Part 2: Ptolemy V through Cleopatra VII. 3 vols</i> (2025)	535-545
D. DANA, A. Almásy-Martin et Y. Broux (éds.), <i>Greek Personal Names in Egypt</i> (2025)	547-563
A. RICCIARDETTO, «Les signalements dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. À propos de l'ouvrage récent d'Ella Karev», <i>Physical Descriptions, Biometrics, and Eikonographia in Graeco-Roman Papyri from Egypt</i> (2025)	565-583
M. PAGANINI, C. Römer, P. Kopp, <i>The Village Gymnasium at Philoteris/Watfa in the Fayum</i> (2025)	585-593
I. LE GOFF, P. Georges-Zimmermann, P. Bailet, C. Harlaut et al., <i>La crémation antique. De la fouille des urnes à la restitution des pratiques funéraires</i> (2023)	595-603

V. SCHRAM, B. Haug, <i>Garden of Egypt. Irrigation, Society, and the State in the Premodern Fayyūm</i> (2024)	605-610
D. RATHBONE, A. Free, <i>Polis und Metropolis im römischen Ägypten. Städtisches Selbstverständnis in Hermupolis Magna</i> (2024); A. Wojciechowska, <i>Metropoleis in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt to Septimius Severus</i> (2024)	611-617
C. FREU, M. Stern, <i>Taxes and Authority in the Late Antique Countryside: The Reach of the State and the Pagarchs of Byzantine Egypt</i> (2025) ..	619-627

Asie centrale, océan Indien et mondes indiens

L. MARTINEZ-SÈVE, M. Ferrario, <i>District Twelve. Northeastern Central Asia from Cyrus to Antiochos: Local Histories of a World Empire</i> (2025) ..	629-634
L. MARTINEZ-SÈVE, L. Colliva, A. Filigenzi, L.M. Olivieri (éds), <i>Le forme della città. Iran, Gandhara e Asia Centrale. Scritti offerti a Pierfrancesco Callieri</i> (2023)	635-646
V. LEFÈVRE, P. Olivelle, <i>Ashoka, roi philosophe</i> (2025)	647-652
C. FERRIER, Ashish Kumar, <i>Beyond Borders. Indo-Sasanian Trade and Its Central Indian Connections</i> (2023)	653-658
M. MINARDI, M. Shenkar, <i>Kings of Cities and Rulers of the Steppes</i> (2025) ..	659-664
V. LEFÈVRE, C. Ferrier (dir.), <i>Histoire ancienne et médiévale de l'Inde du Nord</i> (2025)	665-670
V. LEFÈVRE, G. Ducœur and O. Bopéarachchi, <i>Sacred Texts and Iconographies relating the Life of the Buddha</i> (2025)	671-676
A. DE SAXCÉ, N. Mahajan, <i>Moorings. Voyages of Capital across the Indian Ocean</i> (2025)	677-682

Compte rendu

M. SHENKAR, *Kings of Cities and Rulers of the Steppes: Representations of Kingship in Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie 22, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag (2025). ISBN: 978-3-447-12344-0.

This book is the product of years of research and study conducted by Michael Shenkar at the Collège de France, the German Archaeological Institute and Oxford. The subject of the book is royal iconography in pre-Islamic central Asia, with focus on “the representations of iconography of the ruler” (p. 6) as an entity detached from the elite and all strata of the population under his sovereignty. The work is ostensibly organized in a diachronic fashion, beginning with the Arsacids, then moving to the “Greek rule,” the Saka-Yuezhi and Kushans, followed by the post-Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian period, and finally Late Antiquity – covering the “Huns”, Turks, and the Arabs – closing with a final section devoted to Ancient Chorasmia. Notably, the Sasanians, to whom the author refers numerous times, are not the subject of a specific section, possibly for geographical reasons. It should be noted that in the preface of the work which, according to the author, was conceived to compensate for a “deficiency” of studies on royal imagery – and which seems to have been adapted from a different project based exclusively on numismatic and seals imagery (the author even finds it necessary to devote a few words on “coins as a source”), and later developed into what we have now – Shenkar states that he has actually renounced attempting historical reconstruction or at least contextualizing the imagery he is dealing with. He writes (p. 2) that “I have also made no serious attempt to reconstruct a political history of the eastern Iranian world or the absolute chronology of changing rulers of numerous dynasties”, adding that “this is a deliberate choice, as I tried to avoid being pulled into long-winded and specialised discussions of chronology and nuances of political history of which we often know very little.” However, these cautionary statements here serve not only as an excuse for avoiding any appreciable scholarly work, but they are significantly contradicted by the author at least in one instance: he dedicates a whole chapter to provide the reader with a new, personal chronology of the paintings of Akchakhan-kala, thereby dismissing years of respected archaeological work carried out by numerous scholars – particularly the extensive work produced by members and collaborators of the Karakalpak-Australian Expedition to Ancient Chorasmia (KAE), much of which goes unacknowledged in Shenkar’s

study. As the field director of that expedition from 2010 to 2023, I find it necessary to focus specifically on this section of the book, as it is emblematic of the author's methodological approach. A quick comparison between the KAE publications and Shenkar's assertions already readily reveals that his observations are not only groundless but also tainted by hearsay. His bold claims regarding Chorasmia are generally unsupported by accurate research – as demonstrated by the factual error denying the existence of “long walls” in the area (e.g., Dévkesken), and his confused views on chronology and nomadism. Another example is his incorrect chronological reference to Fabrizio Sinisi's work: Shenkar dates the Chorasmian “nameless king” to the 3rd century AD (p. 110, fn. 1135), whereas Sinisi places the figure “well into the 2nd century AD”. As a result, Shenkar's assertions appear to be mere points of view, lacking scholarly foundation. In other words, the Chorasmian material seems considered outside of any proper archaeological context, in an arbitrary manner. For instance, when he considers the depiction of Srōsh as that of *farn*, and peremptorily affirms things such as: “Chorasmian iconography exhibits some distinctive features that set it apart from other regions and its chronology is even more uncertain than for the neighbouring areas” he just aims to challenge the work of others without feeling the necessity, or having the capacity, of demonstrating his opinions. Contrary to Shenkar's statements, the Karakalpak-Australian Expedition did not work at the excavation of Akchakhan-kala's Area 10 (that is the Ceremonial Complex) “for twenty years”, not continuously, nor in total, and this reviewer did not hide any information about coins from the stratigraphic accumulations documented as Shenkar implies (p. 112: “Oddly, no coins were ever published (...). In a 2021 article, Minardi states that ‘no Kushan coins have been founded during the excavations at the site’, but no information is given about the coins that *were* actually found.”): there are, until now, none found. The only numismatic specimens discovered, as far as I know as field director from 2010 to 2023, were surface finds (and Akchakhan-kala was partially reoccupied in Late Antiquity, a well-known established fact). Nobody denies that coins are an important source – it is self-evident – but as archaeologists, and if we are still concerned with understanding what archaeology is and we are not merely engaging with a vestige of antiquarianism, no one can deny that they are especially valuable when found within a stratigraphic context.

In our field one certainly must raise objections and give feedback to engage in debate. This process, when grounded with arguments, or just questions, is essential. Doing this with competence should also be more than a desideratum. Especially archaeologists are trained to offer their results, following a methodology (the stratigraphic one) to collect data as objectively as possible, to make them available to the scrutiny of colleagues and of the academic community. These data, inherently subject

to interpretation and reconstruction, should be always based on facts, on the evidence concretely collected. Shenkar is using a comparative method (evidence from other later sites) to dismiss the stratigraphic sequence and ^{14}C dating of Akchakhan-kala. Having said so, I would be willing to “raise my case” in a systematic and analytical way and reply to Shenkar’s “criticisms” and his late 3rd – 4th century AD dating of Akchakhan-kala’s Stage 3, but his are merely speculations and I do not feel the need of doing it: when one does not engage with the relevant literature, one is simply mistaken – regardless of the circumstances (and in this case, demonstrably so) – and adopts a position grounded in *a priori* assumptions and biases. For example, is the Chorasmian figure of the *yazata* Srōsh not part of one’s preconceived catalogue of Zoroastrian deities? Then considerable effort is made by Shenkar – resorting to interpretative contortions – to argue that it must refer to something else entirely. My theory (it is indeed a theory) on the identification of the “portraits” (they are not) of AK can be simply ignored, or dismissed, in favour of the standard “nomadic tale” without any explanation. Do these depictions at Akchakhan-kala, when decontextualized, appear to be of later iconographic origin, as I have already argued and tried to explain myself in papers and in details? Then they must be in defiance, first and foremost, of context (*pace* Shenkar, p. 112: “This dating is based entirely on radiocarbon analysis of ^{14}C samples”, and after a few lines: “(...) ^{14}C samples are the only basis for dating”), and of a consistent *series* of radiocarbon datings from stratigraphic accumulations (not one, nor two, and not from coal of “ancient trees” – again, context and literature are ignored, as “old wood” cases have been discussed. Moreover, ^{14}C samples came from several sites and they are cross-referred with material culture evidence: HELMS *et al.* 2001; BETTS *et al.* 2009; 2016; 2018; other still unpublished – Betts pers. comm.; and from human remains: BLAU and YAGODIN 2005; MINARDI 2023. Additional samples were collected in Bazar-kala and related to the new chronological model *yet to be fully demonstrated* but on which I am working – MINARDI and BEKBAULIEV 2024, MINARDI forthcoming. To override radiocarbon results, casually dismissing them (also echoing a theory already refuted by LYONNET and FONTUGNE in 2021?), in order to consider imagery much more relevant for chronology is self-explanatory of the criticism contained in this review. Following Shenkar’s reasoning – which ignores artistic roots, context, ways of transmission and history but only considers “iconography”, and does this throughout his book – for example, the imagery of the decoration of Maximianus’s cathedra, which is formally quite similar to some Gandharan reliefs dating centuries earlier, would mean that the Gandharan reliefs should date from the time of the bishop of Ravenna, although the geographical, religious and historical context says differently. The same issue arises with black market artifacts: an object without context is rarely more than a pretty item that has lost

most of its meaning. Shenkar evidently wants to lose the meaning of important material that he does not understand, or simply does not want to acknowledge, acting unscientifically.

The claim that the importance of iconography for “the study of eastern Iranian kingship, as well as for the entire political, cultural, and religious history of the pre-Islamic Iranian world (...),” which “cannot be overstated,” (cf., p. 6: “In this book I try to approach the iconography and representations of kingship as a historical and cultural source”) is at once obvious yet somewhat imprecise. Can this approach still be defined as art history? What new insights does it offer? Moreover, can cultural anthropology be conducted through iconography alone, as this statement implies? The answer is no, and the author demonstrates none of it, failing to prove otherwise. According to the author, context now appears almost redundant, and imagery is sufficient for historical analysis. Additionally, his assertion that the drawings on which his studies partially rely – produced by others – are “artistic reconstructions and contain numerous elements of interpretation”, again calls into question his grasp of methodology. In some cases, photographs of the original numismatic specimens are shown alongside the “artistic” drawings (as they should be). However, in most cases, they are not, and there is no reference in the captions to the originals. Are they, therefore, invented? In certain cases, they appear to be – e.g., fig. 153 – or at least misunderstood, or sometimes even only partially rendered, often omitting elements such as their legends, which are in this book apparently considered irrelevant in numismatics. This omission is certainly not due to a lack of space for illustrations. Iconography is best studied on original supports; when drawings are necessary, they must adhere as closely as possible to the originals (cf. a book that in Italy undergraduates used to read as their first one: R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 1976: *Introduzione all'archeologia classica come storia dell'arte antica*).

The main question that arose while reading this book is: who is the intended audience of this work? What does it offer that is new compared to the current state of the art? Is there anything original that would be of interest to specialists? Or is it, rather, a state-of-the-art summary – a work that could serve as a useful manual for, say, students? It does not seem to fall clearly into either category. As a result, its utility appears self-contained: it is published and thus qualifies as a scholarly work. The “deficiency on royal imagery” is not filled, and even the presentation of the state of the art on the topic does not achieve any results: the conclusions consist in three pages of generic statements and illustrations do not make up for the lack of literature. The volume presents an overwhelming number of large-format images – while most scholars are typically required to prioritize textual content over illustrations, which are usually available from their original sources – yet it is the text that should represent the product of original

scientific research. The work at times resembles an illustrated compendium, where elements that do not naturally align with the overarching narrative are nonetheless incorporated, occasionally at the expense of scientific research, available field data, and contextual consistency.

This book is not even the sort of pseudo-scholarly, more narrative volume occasionally produced by academics for a general audience – I mean those books that completely lack references and, in my very personal opinion, tend to confuse rather than assist the non-specialist reader. Here, footnotes are indeed present; however, they reflect an arbitrary selection of the literature, often misinterpreted or hastily assimilated. Or perhaps this is intentional – a form of academic conceit – an unfortunate attitude, even when the scholar in question can afford to adopt it. Be that as it may, the references in this volume consist of a handful of arbitrarily selected publications, used as if there were no need to engage critically with, or even acknowledge, alternative viewpoints. Most of the text is a collection of generic statements, lacking genuine academic depth or any serious attempt to advance scholarly research. This work does not reach the level of the author's earlier monograph, *Intangible Spirits...*, which engaged more effectively with written sources and better contextualized the subject matter.

Michele MINARDI

Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"

mminardi@unior.it

Works cited

- BLAU S., V.N. YAGODIN 2005, "AMS Radiocarbon Dates of Kurgans Located on the Ust'-Yurt Plateau, Uzbekistan," *Radiocarbon* 47/2, p. 235–241.
- BETTS A.V.G., V.N. YAGODIN, S.W. HELMS, G. KHOZHANIYAZOV, S. AMIROV, M. NEGUS CLEARY 2009, "The Karakalpak-Australian Excavations in Ancient Chorasnia: The Northern Frontier of the 'Civilised' Ancient World," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 15, p. 237–275.
- BETTS A.V.G., J. DODSON, U. GARBE, F. BERTUCH, G. THOROGOOD 2016, "A carved ivory cylinder from Akchakhan-kala, Uzbekistan: problems of dating and provenance," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 5, p. 190–196.
- BIANCHI BANDINELLI R. 1976, *Introduzione all'archeologia classica come storia dell'arte antica*, Roma, Laterza.
- HELMS S.W., V.N. YAGODIN, A.V.G. BETTS, G. KHOZHANIYAZOV, F. KIDD 2001, "Five Seasons of Excavations in the Tash-k'irman Oasis of Ancient Chorasnia, 1996–2000. An Interim Report," *Iran* 39, p. 119–144.
- LYONNET B., M. FONTUGNE 2021, "Back to the Iron Age Chronology in Southern Central Asia: From Yaz II to the Hellenistic Period," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 27/2, p. 337–377.

- MINARDI M., A. BEKBAULIEV 2024, "Report on the First Campaign of Excavations of 2023 at Bazar-kala, with Additional Considerations on the Urbanism of Ancient Chorasmia," *East and West* 64/2, p. 63–92.
- SHENKAR M. 2014, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images: The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World*, Leiden, Brill.
- SINISI F. 2018, "Exchanges in Royal Imagery across the Iranian World, 3rd Century BC - 3rd Century AD: Chorasmia between Arsacid Parthia and Kushan Bactria," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 24/1-2, p. 155–196.