

RESSENYES

CoŞKUN, Altay; WENGHOFER, Richard (eds.)
Seleukid Ideology: Creation, Reception and Response
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Altay Coşkun and Richard Wenghofer have significantly contributed to the advancement of studies on the Seleukid Empire for many years. They have also made great efforts to establish links between various specialists in the Seleukid world, which undoubtedly promotes the exchange of ideas and collective reflection. This, in turn, explains the increasing interest generated by this topic. An instance of this is their frequent attendance at the *Seleukid Study Days*, a vital conference that facilitates academic connections and fosters collaborations, exemplified by Coşkun and Wenghofer's joint publication in this volume.

The friendship between the two editors resulted in them collaborating on *Seleukid Study Day III* (Bordeaux, September 2012). They subsequently organized *Seleukid Study Day VI* (Nipissing University, September 2017), titled *Reception, Response, and Resistance: Reactions to Seleukid Claims to Territorial Hegemony*. This conference sparked their interest in studying the ideology of the Seleukid dynasty and led them both to further explore this topic. The conference on *Culture and Ideology under the Seleucids: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, organised by Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides,

reinforced their interest in Seleukid ideology. Despite the Covid-19 pandemic, the birth of the *Seleukid Lecture Series* in May 2021 became a new meeting point for scholars. This has also added motivation to Coşkun and Wenghofer's interest in Seleukid ideology. Therefore, the authors intend to establish a new link between diverse specialists researching the Seleukid world and articulate the outcomes and musings from extensive years of studying.

The opening chapter (1. "Introduction: The Dialectics of Seleukid Ideology", p. 13-29), written by Altay Coşkun and Richard Wenghofer, examines the fundamental principles of ideology and its relevant areas of study concerned with the Seleukid kings. The authors discuss significant issues arising from the concept of royal power and detail the approaches taken by the rulers to develop the ideological framework of the empire.

The next three chapters are included in the first section of the book and focus on the Seleukid dynasty's strategies to acquire recognition of royal power and to reinforce their kingdom.

The first chapter of this section (2. "Royal Propaganda and the Creation of

Royal Status for Seleukos I", p. 33-60), written by Kyle Erickson, examines the actions taken by the founder of the Seleukid dynasty to create a legitimisation plan through discussions and negotiations with local and regional political entities. To achieve this end, the author analyses diverse modes of imperial propaganda, for instance, historical and mythological accounts that allude to the monarch and coin iconography. Erickson determines that Seleucus chose to shape his own dynastic image, abandoning his ideological connection to Alexander.

In the following chapter, Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides (3. "The King-Ship of the Seleukids: An Alternative Paradigm for the Anchor Symbol", p. 61-92) examines the reassessment of Seleukid ideological policies in Babylonia. In this context, the author contends that the anchor emblem is not solely a culturally specific allusion to the Graeco-Macedonians but is also symbolically significant to the Mesopotamian people. This is illustrated by the considerable importance of ships in different Semitic myths – including their portrayal within the religious items used in temples – and in the propaganda of the former Near Eastern rulers.

In the upcoming chapter, Altay Coşkun (4. "The First Seleukid Benefactions in Miletos and the Creation of a Dynastic Ideology", p. 93-111) reviews the relations between Seleucus I and Miletus, focusing on the honorary decrees passed by the civic community. The author highlights the integral role of Demodamas and the sanctuary of Didyma in Seleukid governance in Asia Minor and the selection of Apollo as the dynasty's patron. The author also underscores the intricacy of the association between the monarch and the city, which held an advantageous status and preserved its independence.

The next section focuses on the Seleukid court and its relationship with the territorial powers of the empire, emphasising on the polarity between the autochthonous governments and the royal jurisdiction over the land.

In the fifth chapter, Babett Edelmann-Singer (5. "Material Culture, Ritual Performance, and Seleukid Rule: Antiochos IV and the Procession at Daphne in 166 BCE", p. 115-34) analyses the parade of Daphne as a response to the victory of Aemilius Paulus and as a means of legitimising Seleukid rule. The author also highlights how the parade embodied Antiochus' fusion of local Eastern traditions with his universalist aspirations.

The next chapter, written by Stephen Harrison (6. "Antiochos at Daphne and Xerxes at Sardeis: A Comparative Perspective on the Seleukid Vision of Empire and the Creation of a Dynastic Ideology", p. 135-58), compares various Achaemenid testimonies – these include the royal processions described by Herodotus, the Apadana reliefs, and the Behistun inscription – with the Daphne parade, which is discussed by Polybius, Athenaeus, and Diodorus. For the author, in both Persian and Graeco-Macedonian contexts, these displays symbolized a desire to establish consistency in imperial rule. It is equally important to note the unifying role of both models of monarchy, considering the ethnic and cultural diversity of the subjects.

The seventh chapter, written by Rolf Strootman (7. "Ritual Mutilation and the Construction of Treason: The Execution of Molon and Achaios by Antiochos III", p. 159-76) examines a paradigmatic example of a Seleukid ruler who acted based on culturally Persian values. The author highlights that mutilation is necessary as a result of a revolt against the king's power, which was only pacified by banishing the rebels to a world outside of civilized society.

The ensuing chapter, authored by Ben Scolnic (8. "Second-Hand Propaganda: Polybios and Zeno on the Role of Antiochos IV at the Battle of Panion", p. 177-97), delves into the Battle of Panion to illustrate the pro-Seleukid bias of Polybius' source, Zeno of Rhodes. Scolnic argues that Zeno, or possibly other Seleukid officials, invented Antiochus IV's involvement in the battle, a claim that is dismissed by Polybius due to

his personal animosity towards the Seleukid king.

Section III comprises two investigations into local opposition to Seleukid authority.

Deirdre Klokow's chapter (9. "Connectivity and Rural Spaces in the Seleukid Empire", p. 201-18) highlights Seleukid control of land ownership as a means of territorial subjugation and the reaction of the native inhabitants. To this end, Klokow scrutinizes two important documents: *OGIS* 225 inscription and the "Lehmann-text" cuneiform tablet.

The second and last chapter of the section, authored by Gillian Ramsay (10. "Rebel *Poleis*: The Politics of Anti-Seleukid Violence", p. 219-34), examines the uprisings of multiple *poleis* against Seleukid authority, underscoring the regional nature of the rebellions in contrast to overarching justifications. The scholar highlights the potential communication breakdown between the monarch and the city as the root cause of the conflicts. Ramsay also stresses the employment of euphemistic language in Seleukid propaganda to mask the true reasons behind the uprisings.

Section IV comprises of three studies that examine the exercise of Seleukid rule in relation with the Armenians and the Jews.

Germain Payen's (11. "Le royaume artaxiade dans l'empire séleucide: de dominé à dominant [190-55 a.C.]", p. 237-60) explores the peripheral nature of the Armenian kingdom concerning the Seleukid Empire and its gradual increase in autonomy, primarily after the Peace of Apamea (188 BCE).

In chapter twelve (12. "Śar Wars: How a Judaean Author in the 160's BCE Transformed a Ptolemaic View of Hellenistic History into a Theology for His Time", p. 261-82), Ben Scolnic argues that the eleventh chapter of the *Book of Daniel* likely originates from a Ptolemaic source due to its anti-Seleukid tone. The author suggests that the content stems from a rewritten account of the wars of the Diadochi adapted to the circumstances

of the Jews during Antiochus IV's reign. Scolnic additionally contends that the term *śar*, which occurs frequently in the text, can be applied to both earthly kings and divine beings, leading to a potential dual interpretation of the conflict between the Seleukids and Ptolemies – one on an earthly plane and the other on a heavenly plane.

In the last chapter of this section, Eran Almagor (13. "To All Parts of the Kingdom": The *Book of Esther* and Other Jewish Responses to Seleukid Rule", p. 283-315) emphasizes the existence of several Jewish sources that depict the Seleukids in a relatively positive light, particularly the *Book of Esther* which was composed during the Seleukid era. Almagor's analysis suggests that the content of the book implies acceptance of Seleukid authority in Judea, in contrast to the portrayal in Maccabees I and II.

Section V comprises two examinations on Seleukid royal ideology and its legitimization claims, accompanied by displays of fidelity to the monarch.

In the next chapter, Richard Wenghofer (14. "Diplomatic Resistance to Seleukid Hegemony", p. 319-42), analyses *OGIS* 222, 229 and 223 civic decrees and contends that they mask their defiance to Seleukid authority behind established phrasing. The author recommends reviewing extant resources to reassess the effectiveness of Seleukid influence campaigns.

As a counterpart, the last chapter, written by Altay Coşkun (15. "The Efficacy of Ideological Discourse: Loyalty to the Seleukid Dynasty in Babylonia, Judaea, and Asia Minor", p. 343-66), focuses on some specific regions and contends that the propaganda strategies employed by the Seleukids resulted in a considerable amount of genuine backing from the populace. Imperial propaganda, according to the author, embodies the convergence of interests between the dynasty and indigenous powers. It is noted that these powers had often backed the Graeco-Macedonian monarchs without undue coercion being exerted.

Overall, the work edited by Coşkun and Wenghofer provides a fascinating insight into the ideological principles of the Seleukid Empire. The book features contributions from prominent experts in the field, with a collaborative approach from specialists across varying disciplines, allowing for an extensive examination of some aspects regarding the territorial diversity under Seleukid rule. Thus, this book assesses the role of the indigenous population and their interaction with the Graeco-Macedonians, a

topic of current relevance in Seleukid studies. This has immense significance for the progress of research on the Seleukid rule from a broad non-Hellenocentric perspective and avoiding outdated clichés.

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La production d'amphores à huile dans le moyenne vallée du Guadalquivir (conventus Cordubensis, province de Bétique)

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El llibre que es presenta a continuació és una altra de les publicacions de la col·lecció «Instrumenta» i suposa un salt qualitatiu en la recerca sobre les produccions d'àmfores oliàries de la vall del Guadalquivir. Si en els darrers anys hi hagut un gran avenç en l'estudi de l'epigrafia de les àmfores Dressel 20 i 23 de la mà de Piero Berní (2008)¹ i Juan Moros (2021)², tant pel que fa a l'associació dels segells al territori de la vall del Guadalquivir com a la interpretació de la seva funció, el treball d'Iván González Tobar proporciona una nova dimensió arqueològica a l'estudi d'aquestes àmfores.

Ja des del 1977, José Remesal (1977-78)³ demanava una visió holística arqueològica per analitzar la economia oleícola bètica combinant les dades obtingudes per les

prospeccions terrestres realitzades, a càrrec de William Clark-Maxwell, George Bonsor i Michel Ponsich, amb l'excavació de terrisseries d'àmfores, l'excavació de vil·les productores d'oli i l'anàlisi de l'epigrafia amfòrica. No és fins el 2013-2015 que el projecte *Oleastro* dirigit per Stéphane Mauné (CNRS-Montpellier) i Enrique García Vargas (Universidad de Sevilla) posa en pràctica aquesta filosofia fent un estudi sistemàtic de la vall del Genil (*conventus Astigitanus*) a partir de la terrisseria de Las Delicias, a Écija (Sevilla) (Bourgeon, 2021)⁴. La continuació del projecte, entre el 2016 i el 2019, va afegir l'estudi dels altres dos *conventus* de la vall de Guadalquivir, a partir de dues tesis doctorals, amb la codirecció d'Enrique Melchor Gil: el *conven-*

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