

these collections. What follows are detailed interpretations of the collections and their contexts and, as R. emphasizes, the often ambivalent message they disseminated to cement imperial authority such as the tension between stability and destruction, violence and culture, or the intertwining of Greek and Roman history and culture. A particularly interesting read is R.'s analysis of the collection of the Temple of Concordia, where he proposes an alternative understanding by highlighting the imprint of Tiberius' personality and proclivities on the collection rather than an Augustan narrative, as is commonly held.

Chapter 8 ('Access and Upkeep', 287-309) shifts the focus from the contextual meaning of cultural objects to a more pragmatic aspect and considers the problem of — to put it in modern terms — "cultural heritage preservation" at Rome. R. painstakingly investigates the process of building construction and restoration, as well as the issue of finance, security and general upkeep of cultural property; at the same time he does not fail to link his observations to the overarching question of what these measures tell us about the underlying Roman mindset: the maintenance of Rome's patrimony served the elites to wield their socio-political power, but also to perpetuate the city's physically cemented *romanitas*. The monograph closes with a brief outlook on the cultural shifts under the influence of Christianity in late antiquity (Chapter 9: 'Epilogue', 311-314).

R. is well aware of the fact that his book addresses several issues that have been widely discussed in scholarship before; occasionally, he (somewhat apologetically) points to the great number of previous studies, which is also attested in the book's thorough bibliography. But *Ancient Rome as a Museum* is far from being the proverbial old wine in new skins: R.'s valuable contribution lies in narrowing down the vast ocean of material to a number of pointed questions which are grounded in a fresh perspective on the object, its context and meaning in ancient times. Throughout the chapters, his argumentation remains compelling and focused on the main purpose of the study. Even though some of his interpretations might impart more sophistication to Rome's visual culture than it apparently had, the large spectrum of observations and ideas R. has assembled in his analysis presents many original insights and perceptive lines of thoughts that invite further reflection. This is especially owed to R.'s knowledgeable grasp of the source material and his sharp eye for interesting detail and information. The book's focus on Rome's aesthetic world is, as it were, intensified by the aesthetic experience which this richly illustrated and elegantly written work offers to the reader. In sum, R.'s monograph is a very stimulating study that sensitizes the reader to the importance of the language of objects. It is a trove for any classicist interested not only in the factual history of artefacts, but in the narrative behind the objects.

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Sandra Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 135*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009. 336 pp. ISBN-9789004138469.

The problem of the Alexandrian riots of 38 CE is not only that of a local event reproducible only controversially by means of an elaborate, often difficult-to-interpret corpus of evidence. It is, perhaps first and foremost, an issue concerning a variety of far greater topics, among them the conduct of the Principate *vis-à-vis* dynamics within the provincial system as a whole, and the emerging tensions between Jewish communities and their neighbors on the one hand, and the central government on the other. A book dealing with the riots is, therefore, welcome, if only for the sake of reopening to discussion some premises which had rigidified as early as Philo's presentation of the events.

Sandra Gambetti (hereafter G.) has opted to focus mostly on the local aspects of the conflict, and specialized readers will find here an invaluable discussion of the relevant sources, and a bold suggestion for their interpretation. The book, however, does not make pretenses to locate Alexandria of the year 38 within the wider context of the Roman provincial system — not even when struggling to explain difficulties in the narrative by means of discussing such universal issues as ‘Roman Law’. It therefore remains for scholars of related fields to draw lines between the events discussed in this book and, say, the Roman approach to tension in the provinces, or to the status of the Jews in the Roman world in the early first century CE, or even to other local issues such as that of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*.

The first chapter (‘Unwrapping Philo’s Narrative’), brief as it is, serves as an appropriate *caveat* insofar as regards the problematic nature of Philo as our main source for the events of 38. Firstly, Philo’s ‘double standard’, whereby he ascribes blame for the attacks on the Jews to Flaccus in the *In Flaccum*, and to Gaius in the *Legatio*, is highlighted. Next, the discussion delves more deeply into the *In Flaccum*, seeking to demonstrate internal contradictions which deny it historical reliability.

Identifying conflict over territory as a main feature in the events leading to the riots of 38, the next two chapters (‘The Rights of Residence of Alexandrian Jews in the Ptolemaic Period’; ‘The Rights of Residence of Alexandrian Jews in the Roman Period’) deal with the Alexandrian Jews’ rights of residence in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods respectively. For the earlier period, G. discusses the location of the Jewish D quarter in Alexandria and suggests the existence of a *politeuma* for that community through an apt presentation of the military origins of Alexandrian Jews, and of the parallel, better-documented situation in Heracleopolis. With the advent of the Romans, an emphasis is placed by the author on the idiosyncratic approach of the new administration towards the Alexandrian Jewish community: initially, under Augustus, recognizing their rights; then, under Tiberius, scrutinizing and undermining individual cases.

Chapter Four (‘The Prefecture of Flaccus: The Early Years’) dives into the text of Philo, demonstrating at once the dependence of the narrative of the riots upon it, and the difficulties which arise from its biases and lacunae. Sometimes it is the Jewish thinker’s ‘tone’ alone which clarifies for G. the sides taken by the various parties in the brewing conflict (83). The topic of the chapter is Flaccus’ early years as Egypt’s governor, from 32 to 37 CE, and G. is keen to show an initial identity of interests between the governor and the Jews in their hostility towards the Alexandrians; a general lack of stability during Flaccus’ term in office, despite Philo’s praise of the governor’s earlier years; and Flaccus’ inability, rather than the malice of which he is accused by Philo, to deliver the greetings of the Jews to Gaius upon his accession.

Flaccus’ motives in his actions *vis-à-vis* the Jewish community remain the focus of Chapter Five (‘The Precedence for the Riots’), in which G. dedicates some 50 pages to the reinterpretation of P. Yale II 107. This fragmentary text, which is presented here in all its complexity, deals with two groups pleading before the emperor Gaius on a judicial matter, the one titled ‘the Alexandrians,’ the other ‘the enemies of the Alexandrians’. It is usually accepted that the latter group lost the case and suffered punishment, and that the emperor concluded the case by sending a letter to Alexandria.

G.’s main suggestions regarding this questionable source are that the losing group consisted of Alexandrian Jews, and that the ‘the reason for this loss was residence’. The consequent anti-Jewish actions of Flaccus are accordingly read as having stemmed from the instructions the governor received from Rome, and not, as suggests Philo, from his wish to please the

Alexandrians and save himself. This is one of the book's main attempts at innovation, and discussion of the issue continues in Chapter Six ('Spring 38 CE'), which examines the immediate background for the events of spring 38. G. dismisses the orthodox interpretation, starting with Philo and surviving to our own day, which makes Flaccus' personal interests in the imperial court the main cause for his turn against the Jews. Instead, the entire focus is shifted to the letter — now regarded as a *decretum* (149) — allegedly sent by Gaius to Egypt's prefect, postulating that an investigation was ordered into the rights of residence and property of at least a part of the city's Jewish population.

Chapter Seven ('Agrippa in Alexandria') discusses the famous visit to Alexandria of Agrippa I, recently appointed king of the tetrarchy formerly ruled by his uncle Philip. G. pushes strongly the suggestion that Agrippa did not merely find himself in Alexandria while making his way from Rome to the Levant, but rather served as the emperor Gaius' emissary for delivering his newly renewed *mandata* to Flaccus. Renewals of provincial governors' appointment happened on a regular basis, without the central government in Rome having to rely on the arbitrary intervention of distinguished travelers. Agrippa's vilification in the gymnasium, while it adds little to our understanding of the reasons for the tension, serves as an appropriate prelude to the riots themselves, to which G. finally turns in Chapter Eight ('The Riots of 38 CE').

G. dedicates much attention here to the possibility that Gaius' deification may have played a direct role in the attempt to install images in the Jewish meeting-houses, going as far as to premise that the *mandata* from the emperor supplied Flaccus with the instruction to do so. While much of G.'s hypothesis relies on events which had not yet occurred in the summer of 38, related recent tensions, involving the prefect of Judea, Pontius Pilate, and the governor of Syria, Lucius Vitellius, concerning the same issue of images, are ignored. The focus on the *mandata* continues throughout the chapter, with G. ascribing most of the responsibility for the following events to 'policies' dictated in Rome, including Flaccus' edict and the banishment of the Jews from most parts of the city. Despite Philo's conviction, Flaccus, we are led to believe, could not have been deposed and arrested by Gaius for reason of his treatment of the Jews, since he was merely following orders on this account.

The book ends with Chapter Nine, surveying 'The Cultural and Religious Background of the Riots', and with Chapter Ten ('The Years 39 and 41 CE'), consisting of an account of related consequent events down to Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, sent soon upon his accession in 41 CE. A section of 'Conclusions', most welcome for the dense material that the book holds, is followed by no less useful appendices, five in number, which supply further information regarding such issues as the chronology of the texts and events discussed in the book, and the topography of Alexandria.

G.'s boldness in reconstructing the events may be epitomized in her absolute reliance — demonstrated clearly enough in this outline — on two debatable elements: P. Yale II 107, and the *mandata* allegedly delivered to Flaccus by the visiting Agrippa. The controversial papyrus, as G. is well aware, has recently been read altogether differently in an elaborate discussion by Andrew Harker of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. And our scant knowledge regarding the *mandata* which were given to governors upon their nomination can hardly offer solid support to G.'s hypotheses in this regard. If anything, the interaction between emperors and provincial governors can often present a different picture, one of very loosely defined central policies — if they may be called thus at all — regarding internal provincial affairs, and that of a wide room left to maneuver for local officials, even on the procuratorial level.

The book, nevertheless, offers an essential reading for scholars of early Roman Egypt, and demonstrates how far a flexible body of evidence can and should be taken. This is doubly true if we are reminded of the fact that at issue there lies a narrative put together by a biased contemporary, one hardly ever reinterpreted since.

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Joseph Patrich. *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palaestinae*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, 77. Leiden: E.J. Brill. 2011. ISBN 978 90 04 17511 2. Xii + 500 pp. 172 illus.

Caesarea Maritima was founded by Herod the Great close to the remains of Hellenistic Strato's Tower and became the main harbor and the capital of Roman Palestine as well as the most elaborated settlement of classical character in this region. As a multi-ethnic/religious city it housed Jews, Pagans, Christians and Samaritans who enjoyed a common urban armature. This armature is the central issue of the book discussed here: from the city's foundation throughout the changes that occurred due to historical events and developments. The author of this book, Joseph Patrich (henceforth P.), is one of the leading Caesarea archaeologists and scholars and this volume is partly based on the excavations that P. conducted in Caesarea between 1990 and 2000.

By warmly welcoming the book discussed here, I am joining reviews which have already been published about this opus,<sup>1</sup> as I did for another volume on Caesarea which was published by this author.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the latter, which is an archaeological report of a certain area, here we deal with a collection of the author's papers dedicated to Caesarea Maritima on various topics concerning its long lasting history. The book consists of twelve papers, originally published (either in Hebrew or English) between 1996 and 2010. They are here republished without major changes. Only Chapter 5 was written especially for this collection; others (announced in the book as forthcoming) have been published in the meanwhile.<sup>3</sup>

The papers discuss the rather complicated issues of Caesarea's history and archaeology from its pre-Herodian existence as Strato's Tower throughout its complex history as a multi-ethnic/religious urban center up to some aspects of the transition to the Early-Islamic urban epilogue of the city.

One of the main problems regarding the archaeological activity at Caesarea is the fact that it is split among various schools and scholars working there almost simultaneously yet not coordinating scientific evaluation of the remains. P.'s book is one of the attempts to bring together some of the results of various Caesarea teams since 1993.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For such reviews see: F. Rojas, <http://www.bmcreview.org/2012/12/20121221.html>; H.W. Dey, in *JRA* 24 (2012), 901-905.

<sup>2</sup> J. Patrich, *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Reports, Volume I. The Objects*, Jerusalem 2008; reviewed by M. Fischer, in *JRA* 25 (2012), 899-900.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Chapter 6 in the book under review, was published in K. G. Holum and H. Lapin (eds.), *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition*, Bethesda, MD, 2011, pp.33-64.

<sup>4</sup> A. Raban and K.G. Holum, eds., *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after two Millennia*. Leiden, 1996; see also K. Holum, J. Stabler and E. Reinhardt, eds. *Caesarea Reports and Studies: Excavations 1995-2007 within the Old City and the Ancient Harbour*, Oxford 2008.