

nation (no continuous pagination is added). Very brief addenda give a few subsequent bibliographic or documentary references, only rarely a return to some substantive issue. There is a substantial index of literary and documentary sources cited. The introduction to the volume gives brief summaries of the individual articles and links them to the theme of the volume. Despite these elements of added value, and the convenience of the volume, it is doubtful that many readers will find \$87.95 an affordable price for 336 pages of reprints. I have a strong suspicion that the libraries that will buy this volume are mostly the same that bought the original publications in which these articles appeared.

That would be a pity. M. is one of the leading scholars of our time in his field, with a command of the languages, literatures, history, documents, and the legal systems of most of antiquity. His articles are always carefully thought-out, beautifully written, fully documented, endowed with a rich bibliographic apparatus and (not least!) full of good sense. They deserve a wide circulation. I want to single out three I have found particularly valuable over the years. The opening essay, "Entre la cité et le fisc: le statut grec dans l'Égypte romaine", is an exceptionally illuminating treatment of how and why the history of Egypt's "Greek" cities was so different, especially for the first two centuries of Roman rule, from that of Greek cities elsewhere. No. IX, "La loi des Égyptiens": le droit grec dans l'Égypte romaine", reflects a further consequence of the Roman lumping of the Greeks with the Egyptians, in the use of the term "The law of the Egyptians" to refer to Greek legal traditions. And the continued importance of pre-Roman local juridical traditions in other eastern provinces is the theme of no. XII, "Ménandre de Laodicée et l'Édit de Caracalla". These are, if I am not mistaken, the last three in order of public presentation, and they give a good synthetic view of the results to which some of the more specialized studies (themselves well worth reading) have led. We can only hope that M.'s hopes to prepare a synthetic work based on his thesis in law, which will draw on all of his work, will be realized. For the moment, however, this collection affords a good view of the work of one of the most interesting minds devoted to this field in our time.

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Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judaean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1992). pp. xvii + 305.

Happily, the contents of this very attractively produced book fully live up to its physical appearance. During the 1980's, Yizhar Hirschfeld, currently director of the Tiberias excavations for the Department of Antiquities, Israel, and visiting lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, was one of the leaders of a large-scale systematic survey of all known archaeological traces of the many monastic establishments that existed from the fifth century AD onwards in the Judaean desert and the Kidron valley to the north-east and south-east of Jerusalem. The nine seasons of survey and excavation (the latter in particular at the monasteries of Martyrius, Khirbet el-Kilya, Khirbet ed-Deir, Chariton and Euthymius) have permitted many corrections to older accounts, as well as revealing monastic sites not known before; indeed, the total number of sites identified amounts to over sixty. The systematic work of excavating, surveying, measuring and recording was made possible by the Israeli acquisition of these areas in 1967 and was carried out by five survey teams, largely consisting of younger Israeli archaeologists like the

author. As the preface points out, they had a considerable advantage over earlier scholars in being able to use modern equipment and transport.

From the archaeological point of view, their results mean that we now have a scientific record and suggested identification of all or at least the vast majority of possible monastic or hermitage sites of the area, while certain establishments, such as the large coenobitic monastery of Martyrius, only 6 km. east of Jerusalem at Khirbet el-Murassas, emerge after excavation as sites of major archaeological importance. From the historian's viewpoint, while the comparatively small and limited area of the Judaeen desert, from the Phasaël valley in the north to the south end of the Dead Sea, had already been well recognised as a major centre of monasticism in the late antique and early Byzantine periods, this new work provides a secure base of data, much of it lacking before, which historians can use in order to give it the higher profile it actually deserves. Yizhar Hirschfeld's book also gives us invaluable material on the social and economic aspects of Judaeen monasticism — the diet and occupations of the monks, their dealings with the lay world, their close association with the church of Jerusalem, the changes in their situation brought about by the Arab conquests and the probable reasons for the decline of many, though not all, of the sites.

Though the book draws throughout and in detail on the results of Hirschfeld's own and the other archaeological surveys, it is not itself a publication of the archaeological evidence as such but rather an analytic discussion of the phenomenon of asceticism and monasticism in the area from the fourth and fifth centuries AD onwards, with chapters on such subjects as the types of monasteries (*lavras*, *coenobia* and others), the actual building of monasteries, the daily life of the monks, their means of livelihood and the forms of monastic architecture. Many of these subjects are effectively approached for the first time here and provide fascinating material for the social and economic historian. Especially interesting from this point of view are the discussions of monastic building (illustrating the high level of economic activity in the area presupposed by so many complex buildings), monastic diet (raising many questions applicable to other areas in the late antique period) and monastic occupations (showing the monks in relations of buying and selling with the surrounding population). More and more studies and surveys of the general area of the Near East in late antiquity indicate an impressive density of population and high level of agricultural activity even in marginal areas such as the Negev; the question thus arises as to how monasteries fitted into this social and economic pattern. While it has already been suggested, for example by Evelyne Patlagean, that they were not simply parasitic on the general economy but themselves played an active role in economic exchange, it has been difficult up to now to find detailed studies on which to carry the question further: the present book effectively does the job for this important group of such sites. Another of the many interesting points made here is that the monastic establishments were themselves rather closely connected, and deliberately so, to judge from their carefully chosen locations. Moreover, the desert itself was criss-crossed by a network of footpaths and trails, many of them revealed during the survey (see Map 5, p. 206), which were used as much by monks and holy men as by pilgrims and other visitors. For though individual seclusion in a hermit's cave was often practised for long periods, these were not enclosed monasteries in the later western medieval sense, and we often hear of monks travelling, sometimes over long distances, and even in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods when sources such as the *Life* of Stephen the Sabaite (d. 794) indicate the possible danger to an unwary trav-

eller. Nor are many of the sites surveyed very far from Jerusalem, and there is much evidence of contact between the monks and the patriarchate there.

The sheer variety of monastic and ascetic life, and of the sites themselves, is also very striking. The monastery of Martyrius, already mentioned, is built on a very large scale, with a refectory capable of holding 150-200 and a suite of accommodation for visitors, including stabling for their animals. At the other end of the scale are the individual hermits' cells which generally belonged to a *lavra* to whose central buildings the monks who lived outside would go once a week to celebrate the liturgy and probably also for food. Many such cells still exist, often dug out of caves, and some with surviving wall paintings done by their inhabitants; some have been occupied until very recently. But again, while access from outside may be difficult, the cells themselves are quite often in fact close together, and vary from the rather large cells permitted by Sabas at the Great Laura to those that were deliberately made small and uncomfortable. An individual monk might alternate in his monastic life between periods of seclusion in such a cave-dwelling, and stretches in the main monastery, and in some cases he might move from one monastery to another. Nor were the hermits themselves completely isolated; they depended on the main *lavra* or *coenobium* in various ways, not least because their cells in practice belonged to it, having in some cases been built to the specification of the founder, and even provided with such necessary amenities as cisterns and garden plots.

Such variety makes generalisation difficult — indeed, the new material presents us with the opportunity for a far more nuanced picture than before, even given the extensive literary sources for the monastic life in the region, such as the important lives of the early founders, Euthymius, Sabas and Cyriac, by the sixth-century monk Cyril of Scythopolis (see the forthcoming study by J. Binns), the anonymous sixth-century life of Chariton, that of George of Choziba (early seventh-century) by his follower Antony of Choziba, and the ninth-century life of Stephen the Sabaite by his disciple Leontius, which survives mainly in an Arabic version. It now becomes possible to supplement or in some cases counteract this literary material with the more down-to-earth evidence of the sites themselves. While some centres such as the Great Laura (Mar Saba) had extensive libraries and engaged in the copying of texts, the survey suggests that reading and literary production were not among the primary activities of the majority of the Judaeen monks. Mar Saba, one of the few monasteries in the region to have continued in operation until today, was the monastery of John of Damascus and played a central role in literary activity in Greek in the seventh and eighth centuries, as did the monastery of Theodosius, burial place of John Moschus. By the Islamic period, Mar Saba was also highly cosmopolitan, and it became a major site of translation of Greek works into Arabic and vice versa. But this case must be set against the whole spectrum of Judaeen monastic sites, many of which now went into decline — a phenomenon for which Hirschfeld provides a convincing economic explanation in the gradual breakdown of the extensive and finely balanced ecclesiastical and secular network which had formerly supported them.

It was not part of Hirschfeld's aim to discuss the spirituality of Judaeen monasticism or its place in the wider context of late antique and early Byzantine asceticism, though he makes excellent use of the many references to daily life and practice in the literary sources. The value of this enjoyable and important book lies in the fact that it makes accessible a large quantity of material evidence, either newly discovered, or newly recorded by modern methods, which in turn makes possible a different kind of history. The book is a pleasure to read, beautifully printed and provided with a hundred or more photographs

(many of very great interest) taken by Ze'ev Radovan, as well as maps, plans and architectural drawings, helpfully placed at the point in the text where they are most relevant, and which, taken together, give an extraordinarily vivid impression of the variety and drama of the desert sites and the human detail of the monks' life.

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R. Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*. I Teil: Text Nr. 1-114; II Teil: Text Nr. 115-260; III Teil: Indices (Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1990), pp. x + 1127 (*Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei*, Beiheft 1)*

Parmi les sujets "à la mode" qui ont attiré l'attention des historiens de l'Antiquité ces dernières décennies une place d'honneur revient à l'esclavage.¹ Ces recherches se caractérisent non seulement par la nouveauté de l'approche, la variété des aspects et des problèmes étudiés, mais aussi par l'élargissement des sources utilisées, en premier lieu aux sources archéologiques et documentaires, surtout aux inscriptions et aux papyrus. Étant donné que les papyrus dont nous disposons sont presque exclusivement de provenance égyptienne, c'est l'histoire de l'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine qui a bénéficié le plus de ce renouvellement des recherches.

Un des moyens les plus efficaces d'étudier un problème est la constitution d'un "corpus", englobant tous les textes le concernant. La constitution des "corpora papyrorum" n'est pas, pour les papyrologues, une innovation récente² mais le projet en fut défini dans toute son ampleur par une équipe de savants italiens avec à sa tête O. Montevecchi, qui a proposé d'élaborer et de publier une série de "Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum".³ Simultanément, H. Heinen, auteur d'un grand nombre de travaux consacrés à l'histoire de l'esclavage dans l'Antiquité et surtout dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine, a annoncé la

* Cité plus bas comme *CPtST*.

¹ A côté des recherches effectuées dans les anciens "pays socialistes", en premier lieu en URSS (cf. H. Heinen, ed., *Die Geschichte des Altertums im Spiegel der sowjetischen Forschung. Erträge der Forschung* 46 [Darmstadt 1980]), il faut mentionner les travaux publiés en Allemagne (21 volumes parus dans la seule série "Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei"), en France (l'école de Besançon), en Angleterre (les travaux de M.I. Finley, K. Hopkins, etc.), en Belgique, en Italie, etc. V. plus en détail: *Bibliographie zur antiken Sklaverei. Im Auftrag der Kommission für Geschichte des Altertums der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur I-II* (Mainz), hrsg. von J. Vogt und H. Bellen, neu bearbeitet von E. Herrmann in Verbindung mit N. Brockmeyer (Bochum 1983).

² V. I.F. Fikhman, *Vvedenie n dokumental' nuyu papirologiyu (Introduction à la papyrologie documentaire)* (Moscow 1987) 138-140, où l'on trouvera l'histoire du problème, y compris la liste des *corpora* déjà publiés et en préparation, y compris le *corpus* auquel est consacré notre livre (139 n. 255).

³ O. Montevecchi, D. Del Como et M. Vandoni, *Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum (C.P.Gr.)* dans *Aegyptus* 57 (1977), 276-277. Deux volumes de cette série, qui en comprendra plus de vingt, ont déjà paru (1984, 1985); un volume consacré aux "Contrats de vente d'esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine", compilé par J.-A. Straus (Belgique), comme nous en informe l'auteur, est prêt.