

Christian MAREK, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, unter Mitarbeit von Peter FREI, 2., durchgesehene Auflage, München: C.H. Beck, 2010, 941 pp., 24 maps, 114 pictures, € 44.00.

Nothing testifies more clearly to the importance and popularity of the topic than the second printing of the thick and scholarly book within a year. The newest and by far the most extensive synthesis of Asia Minor in antiquity is, for the most part, an *opus magnum* of the Zurich ancient history professor Christian MAREK (M.), with contribution of Peter FREI (F.), mostly in chapter four on late bronze age civilization. Their stated definition of Asia Minor (pp. 7, 19) is rather broad as a land corresponding more or less to modern Turkey. This certainly helps the modern, non classically educated reader to conceptualize Asia Minor but it goes beyond the usual definition of Asia Minor whose eastern border is roughly speaking the line from Trabzon in the north, along the northern section of the Euphrates before it bends in the direction of Mesopotamia, to the Iskenderun Bay in the south. This leaves outside of Asia Minor ca. 1/3 of Asiatic Turkey, including Turkish Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria. In their narrative, however, M. and F. rarely go beyond the Euphrates. The upper chronological limit of the book is quite low, effectively ending at the end of the crisis of the third century. M. explains this approach by the changing nature of sources after the third c. AD: the disappearance of municipal coinage, sharp drop in inscriptions, proliferation of Christian writings (pp. 679–682). This is a conservative approach which disregards the continuation of ancient, largely urban society in the increasingly more Christian late Roman empire. On the other hand one can easily understand the need to mark a limit of the narrative in an already thick volume.

In the first chapter (“Einleitung: Anatolien zwischen Ost und West”) M. points out that the name Asia Minor is not attested before Claudius Ptolemaeus, Anatolia being even later, while the name Asia was in use already in the second half of the second millennium BC. Its original meaning, known from Hittite texts, was limited to an area in the west of Asia Minor. M. proclaims in the second chapter (“Die Erforschung Kleinasiens in der Neuzeit und Moderne”) the discovery of ancient cultures of Asia Minor a hallmark of modern scholarship (p. 39). The chapter begins with a both informative and entertaining account on early travellers through Asia Minor, first, from Egeria to Ibn Battuta pilgrims interested almost exclusively in monuments of their religion. Discovery and description of antiquities begins, M. shows, with journeys of European enterprising businessmen, the best known being Ciriaco Pizecoli of Ancona, and with visits of European diplomats, beginning in earnest with Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq of the mid-sixteenth c., who brought to light the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (pp. 42 f.). Himself an accomplished traveller and a leader of epigraphic surveys in Asia Minor, M. describes a bewildering array of organized research, archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic in Asia Minor from their beginning in the 18th c. (pp. 44–72).

In the third chapter (“Von der Prähistorie zur ältesten Schriftkultur”) M. shows Anatolia as a bridge area between the East and Europe, manifest among others in the Near Eastern origin of ancestors of all Central European cattle as proven by DNA research (p. 77). He further asserts Eastern Anatolian sites of Göbekli Tepe and Nevalı Çori as places where monuments of religious architecture predate those of Mesopotamia by millennia (pp. 77–81). For all recent research on Neolithic sites, the famous Çatal Höyük including, a number of questions are still unanswered, M. shows (pp. 87 f.), of the social structure in the seemingly uniform Neolithic society, of causes of war, of the role of trade in economy. Perhaps the biggest transformation of the early and middle bronze age in Asia Minor was the emergence of centralized, palace-centered entities, like those of Arslatepe, Beycesultan, Kültepe (pp. 89–94). Writing came to Anatolia with Assyrian colony Kaneš in Kültepe which produced over 20,000 tablets, most of which still remain unpublished (p. 96).

F. in chapter four (“Spätbronze- und Eisenzeit”) acknowledges chronological shortcomings of reconstructing Hittite political history. He concentrates instead on a lucid presentation of workings

of their state and society with its client kingdoms, feudal lords, elevated position of women, sarcastically compared to that of the twenty-first century in the similar pay disparity with male employees (p. 112). F. takes the majority view on Ahhiyawa as Greeks of the Mycenaean culture (pp. 127–129), remaining more skeptical about identifying Hittite Wilusa with Homeric Iliou or Troy (pp. 129–131). He tends to ascribe the causes of the collapse of the Hittite empire to internal troubles as much as to the invasion of the sea people (pp. 133 f.). Nevertheless he shows a radical brake with tradition in the centre of the Hittite empire from the 12th c. BC on while peoples of Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Cilicia and the Taurus Mountains region continued Hittite and Luvian idiom and culture until the last of the late Hittite principalities fell prey of Assyria in 708 BC (pp. 134–139). F. tentatively agrees with the hypothesis of the Balkan origin of the Phrygians but does not identify them with Muški of Assyrian sources (pp. 145–148). Although the destruction of Gordion can no longer be attributed to the Kimmerians, M. and F. show (pp. 148–152), the Phrygian empire ceased to exist around the time of their invasion. In his account of the Lydian kingdom M. juxtaposes Greek literary tradition, archaeological, Assyrian and Babylonian sources to question, among others, the conventional date of the fall of Croesus (547/6 BC) and to suggest that Sardis might fall to the Persians after Babylon, perhaps as late as 530 BC (p. 155). For all admiration elicited by Lydian power and luxury among Greeks, the greatest contribution of Lydia to the Western civilization was, M. shows (pp. 158 f.), the invention of minting coins, sometime in the second half of the 7th c. BC. Greeks of Asia Minor receive prominence in this chapter due to a comparative richness of sources. Although he learns little about the end of Mycenaean civilization settlements in Asia Minor or their survival except for Pamphylia, the reader will know that archaeology demonstrates that the post-Mycenaean colonization of the western coast of Asia Minor began in Aeolis with the earliest settlements attested in 10th c. BC Smyrna and Klazomenai (p. 160). M. places the Greeks of Asia Minor in the context of other peoples of the region, paying much attention to Hellenized female deities Artemis of Ephesus and Leto of Xanthus (pp. 167–169) or to the orientaling cultural milieu in which the *Iliads* and much of the earliest lyric Greek poetry were composed (pp. 174–176, 177–183). He rejects all the same the hypothesis of transmission of alphabetic scripture from Semitic to Greek via the Phrygian intermediary (pp. 176 f.).

Chapter five (“Der Westen des Perserreiches und die Welt der kleinasiatischen Griechen 547/6 bis 333 v. Chr.”) pictures a rational and comparatively benign rule of Great Kings in Asia Minor coupled with gradual inroads of Greek culture and language in the 4th c. BC rising to the position of the second official language of Anatolian satrapies alongside Aramaic (pp. 204 f.). Thanks to comparatively rich Greek literary, Iranian and Greek epigraphic, and mostly Anatolian numismatic and archaeological sources M. presents a complex picture of satrapies, Greek poleis and native principalities, most notably on examples of Lycia and Caria, two west Anatolian countries differing in their relations to the Achaemenid rule and both with increasingly more Hellenized dynasties in the 4th c. BC (pp. 208 f.). The longest lasting influence of the Achaemenid rule in Asia Minor can be detected, M. shows (p. 226), in the economic system of feudal, gift-based economy. In the realm of religion the imprint of the Persian presence in Asia Minor was also visible for centuries, with temples of originally Iranian deities and evidence of flow of Zarathushtrian ideas to Greek philosophy and religion (pp. 214 f.). Another interesting phenomenon of the late Achaemenid western Asia Minor was the gradual transformation of local settlements in polis-type cities (pp. 223 f.). M. tends to see much continuity between Achaemenid and Alexander’s rule in Asia Minor, pointing out, however, to a real breakthrough in Alexander’s recognition of Greek poleis with their land as entities separate from the royal territory and this was to last in the Hellenistic age too (pp. 228–230, 262–264).

Chapter six (“Monarchien, Vasallen und Städte zwischen Alexanderreich und Pax Romana (333 bis 31 v. Chr.)”) sketches the political history of Asia Minor from the endless wars of the age of the Successors to convulsions of the end of the Roman Republic without delving into unnecessary detail all too often putative. He dwells in some detail on the reign of Antiochus III, conspicuous both because of the greatest in Hellenistic times wealth of epigraphic evidence and because it marked a turning point in antiquity by dragging Rome into affairs of the Hellenistic world (pp. 280–290).

Contributing to the discussion of position of the polis in the Hellenistic age, M. stresses its importance to the kings as fortress, taxpayer, and supplier of human capital. He further shows continuation of fourth c. BC processes of assimilation of native communities into Greek urban patterns in the age of the Successors. The urban development of Asia Minor was then for the first time affected by royal power through planned and enforced synoecism and planting Graeco-Macedonian colonies largely populated by veterans of armies of the diadochoi (pp. 251–258). Later lesser rulers continued founding and repopulating cities, although, M. shows, on less favourable conditions, without the right to coin their money or to control their rural territory and having to cope with king's supervisors installed in them (pp. 295, 316–318). The degree of planned urbanization of the Greek type differed throughout Asia Minor, two dissimilar examples being neighbouring kingdoms of Pontus and Cappadocia (pp. 337–340). For all this development Hellenistic Asia Minor stayed for the most part non-urbanized, inhabited by bonded peasants living in villages of varying size and organization (pp. 261–263, 336). M. devotes much attention to the Attalid monarchy and to lesser powers of Asia Minor, among them to the Mithridateses of Pontus, the Iranian aristocrats active in the wars of the Successors and then slowly building their state on the Black Sea coast, sometimes associating themselves with Seleucid rulers (pp. 296–298). M.'s narrative successfully leads the reader through the complex array of alliances and petty conflicts of second c. BC Anatolia with Pergamon falling out of Rome's graces and with Bithynia prompted by Rome to play the role of counterbalancing the Attalids, much similar to that once played by the kings of Pergamon with respect to Antiochus III (pp. 288–303). M. attributes the impressive building programme and the cultural patronage of the Attalids to the search for recognition of the latecomer among Hellenistic dynasties as the promoter of Hellenism in Asia (pp. 303–310, 314). Inscriptions allow M. to draw a picture of continuity from the Seleucid to the Attalid to the Roman administration as well as to show the complexity of the bureaucratic machinery of the kingdom of Pergamon comparable to that of Ptolemaic Egypt (pp. 314–318, 325 f., 330–332). Thanks to honorific decrees for Greek cities' ambassadors to the Senate M. shows the shaping of the Roman rule in Asia Minor after the annexation of the Attalid kingdom and gives examples of the successful defence of rights of free poleis from encroaching of Roman officials. Many a reader will find it novel and interesting to learn that the rule of law could be and was successfully implemented by the Senate's decrees on prompting of Greek ambassadors (pp. 322–325). M. perceives the times of Mithridates VI as a momentous period for both organization of the Roman rule in Asia Minor and for the fate and orientation of Greek cities in Anatolia (pp. 338–370). He proceeds to the narrative of Mithridatic wars through the account of petty conflicts in Cappadocia and Bithynia (pp. 341–344), being much more sparse on the reasons for the broad support for Mithridates in Asia Minor and Greece. He accentuates the anti-Roman feelings in the province of Asia (pp. 346–348), not accounting plausibly for involvement of so many free cities on the side of Mithridates.

The largest portion of this book is devoted to early imperial times in Asia Minor, beginning with chapter seven "Imperium Romanum: die Provinzen von Augustus bis Aurelian" containing a concise account of Roman policy in the East until the crisis of the third century. M.'s particular interest seems to be in changing status of various areas of Asia Minor between their relative independence, their position as vassal states and finally annexation by Rome. He notices far slower rate of turning former semi-independent or client area into provinces in Asia Minor than in many western territories of the Roman empire and explains it by a relative convenience of indirect rule in urbanized Asia Minor (pp. 425 f.). Chapter eight "Kleinasien und imperiale Administration unter dem Prinzipat" leads the reader through the essentials of the imperial Roman rule in Asia Minor, known in amazing details thanks to innumerable epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources. Many a reader will be astonished to learn how many names of proconsuls of the early imperial *provincia Asia* are known to the scholarship (over 80%), even if no official building serving the governor has been securely identified, or how small was the Roman imperial administrative personnel in this province, by far the most populous in the Roman empire: less than a hundred at a time from governor to the last slave-clerk in his office (pp. 453–459).

The longest part of the book comprising almost 1/3 of it, chapter nine “Materielle, politisch-soziale und kulturelle Verfassung in der kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen”, covers the best documented issues of economy, social life and religion of imperial Asia Minor. For all enormous research done on Roman Asia Minor, M. shows how little is known about its population: it was certainly much lower than assumptions of Beloch and Broughton of up to 11.5–13.5 million (pp. 493 f.). City is the focal point of this chapter, both because of its role as the foundation of the Greek life and because of the sheer number of cities, estimated at 282 in the province of Asia alone and about 600 in all of Asia Minor (pp. 515 f.). M. notices, however, that large parts of Asia Minor stayed outside *chorai* of Greek cities and rural communities were a stable component of the overall social structure of this land (pp. 555–560). M. mostly disregards different statuses of poleis of Asia Minor (p. 516), devoting much more attention to their leagues and *koina* (pp. 517–525). He consents with those who believe that titles *asiarches* and *archieus* of Asia refer to the same official (p. 521). M. argues that finances of poleis were in most cases sound and not over-dependent on the munificence of *euergetai*, whose position is over-represented in our sources because of their overwhelmingly honorific nature (pp. 535–542). M. discusses rivalry between cities and cultural Hellenization, contrasted with rather superficial Romanization of Asia Minor (pp. 561–592). In his account of *agones*, perhaps the most representative social and cultural phenomenon of early imperial antiquity, M. successfully argues for its universal character, appealing to Greeks and barbarians, to majority pagans and minority Christians alike (pp. 614–626). His overview of religions of Asia Minor in imperial times leads to the conclusion of the growing appeal of monotheistic beliefs in the third c. AD (pp. 647–649). The narrative ends with beginnings of Christianity in Asia until the edict of Milan, running briefly through the growth of the Church, its diversity, by the orthodox mainstream referred to as heresies, prosecution and cohabitation with the pagan majority.

While reporting enormous transformations of peoples and cultures in Asia Minor, the book gives also remarkable examples of tradition, long lasting customs and names echoing the forgone past, like the old Assyrian name of a colony Kaneš attested in Hellenistic times as Hanisa and in Ottoman documents as Kınış (n. 18 to p. 95), or Anatolian dug-outs known from Xenophon and Diodorus still to be seen in Turkey (p. 197 with pl. 31a). Such examples of the *longue durée* are most visible in religion in Asia Minor, as in the reflection of Hittite religious ideas in early Imperial Asia Minor (pp. 117 f., 645), or in the ecstatic cult of Artemis Perasia in Hierapolis-Kastabala whose priestesses danced on coals surviving in the similar dance of the dervishes of Konya (pp. 151, 633), or in the prehistoric cult of a goddess often referred to as (Magna) Mater pervasive in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, to be adopted in Christianity in the guise of Holy Mary (pp. 150, 168, 629–631).

In addition to what has been said above, one should reflect on what *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike* is and what it is not. The book of M. and F. is a very competent and detailed but never boring or cluttered with erudition for erudition's sake monograph of a vast and complex area throughout most of antiquity. As every good book it has its particular strength in what has been the scholarly forte of its authors, principally of M. who wrote more than 90% of it. Correspondingly, M.'s account of complexities of political and constitutional history is exemplary: well informed, versed in all categories of sources, up to date on the very ample modern research, capable of making a clear distinction between facts and hypotheses, lucid in its narrative, with a dose of well measured sense of humour. Obviously Pontus, Bithynia and Caria, to which M. had devoted so much attention prior to publishing this book, feature here prominently but never out of proportion. Similarly, his usage of epigraphic sources in reconstructing historical events is exemplary. Himself a noted traveller through what used to constitute the ancient world, on many an occasion M. has been able to convey to his reader the importance of studying geography and climate in modern research of antiquity. Not all aspects, however, of history of Asia Minor in antiquity fair equally well in M.'s and F.'s book. Some phenomena of the Hellenistic and imperial age have received perhaps a little less attention than they deserve, e.g. euergetism, especially in its transition from royal benefactions to those of towering civic figures, *les grands évergètes* of Ph. Gauthier, or working

of Greek democracy in Hellenistic and Roman times and what goes with them, the long debated issue of the government of notables in late Hellenistic and Roman cities. The chapter on culture in Asia Minor in the Early empire (pp. 593–613) has been written overwhelmingly with the help of entries in *Der Neue Pauly*, rather than with the author's independent research, hence it does not go far beyond registering (some) authors and (some of) their works. What suffers in particular is the discussion of the intellectual contents of the second sophistic.

M. and F.'s book is appended with a bibliography: the 624 entries are principally books; only a small portion of papers quoted in endnotes are listed and this applies to papers authored by M. and F. too. Every reader will appreciate good indices: the general index and the index of sources. There are two very useful appendices as well: the first consisting of lists of kings (including Parthian Arsacids and Persian Sassanians), princes, satraps and Roman governors but not tyrants of Greek cities, and the second, the timeline of Asia Minor; both end in the beginning of the fourth c. AD. Indices, good bibliography, sensible endnotes and appendices will certainly contribute to promoting the usage of this books by scholars, students and interested public alike. For many it will rightfully be a reference book for Asia Minor. Very high scholarly standards, the most up-to-date knowledge and a very good narrative mark M. and F.'s book as the outstanding monograph of one of the most important areas of near eastern and classical antiquity.

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