

how it was soon realized that the evidence would not allow this (quantitative methods are employed in chapters 4 and 5, but not SNA). This is a refreshingly honest appraisal of how projects change their focus from conception to end, and as such it offers a useful reflection, not only on some of the methodological difficulties of network studies within the context of the ancient world, but also on the discursive contexts of the evidence that survives and on which such studies might be based. In fact, these limitations have a silver lining: the use of a looser network approach here not only sheds light on the discourses of the evidence itself (the Delian inventories are hardly an unproblematic archive, for example; a point that comes clearly to the fore), but also allows Constantakopoulou to examine the construction of identities in different historical and epigraphic contexts. What emerges is that a region is not a fixed and unchanging entity, but the product of a dynamic process of multidimensional interactions, identities and recording practices. At the same time that the political institutions of the Islanders' League created a strong regional identity uniting its members, the insularity of Delos was critical for the competitive display that took place there and the awarding of honours to foreigners, and the patterns of dedication at the sanctuary demonstrate that the island acted as a node within the Aegean world.

Together, then, these case studies demonstrate the connections – and tensions – between different scales of historical analysis and also the opportunities that are present in attempting to piece together these multiple entanglements. The book, therefore, stands alongside the work of Claude Vial, Véronique Chankowski and Gary Reger in providing a fuller picture of Delos, and its networks, in antiquity.

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CANEVA (S.G.) **From Alexander to the *Theoi Adelphoi*: Foundation and Legitimation of a Dynasty**. Leuven: Peeters, 2016. Pp. xvi + 289. €94. 9789042932890.

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This book's central argument is that Ptolemaic dynastic continuity was shaped by 'the combination of a variety of ideological motifs stemming from different agents and occasions of communi-

cation' (217), rather than by a top-down imposition. Current scholarship pays attention to various imperial and local agents, yet to trace such a composite process in detail and to analyse the multiple processes with a holistic take on the sources is a challenge, one which Caneva embraces successfully. One of the strengths of the volume is the author's expertise in analysing Greek and Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, ancient authors, archaeology and numismatic material, while drawing on theoretical approaches adopted from sociology and religious studies when necessary. Each of the six chapters can be read as individual pieces, as stressed by Caneva. While chapter 1 explores the multiple messages stemming from Alexander's visit to Siwah, chapters 2 to 5 offer a coherent chronological development of the representation of the dynasty down to Ptolemy III (246–221 BC), with allusions to Ptolemy IV. The epilogue (chapter 6), on Alexander's legacies in Roman Alexandria, is detached from the rest by its chronology and methodology.

Chapter 1 explores how cultic honours for Alexander developed at different but non-conflicting geopolitical levels, with cities individually voting cultic honours to commemorate their liberator, while Alexander's claim to be Zeus-Ammon's son belonged to Panhellenic propaganda. Chapter 2 turns to Ptolemy and brings several new insights. For instance, Caneva's narratological analysis of the hieroglyphic satrap stele underlines the role of priests in legitimating the *de facto* king, a model for the later trilingual priestly decrees. The return of Egyptian statues by Ptolemy is presented as innovative and inspired by Alexander (to which reference to Alexander returning the statues of the Athenian tyrannicides from Susa to Athens could be added: Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.7–8, 7) and fitting anti-Persian traditions in Egypt. Caneva convincingly connects Ptolemy's appropriation of the title king to the defeat of Demetrius in Rhodes (thus in 305/304), rather than to Ptolemy's defeat of Demetrius in Egypt in 306/305. He also reconstructs the use of the epiclesis Soter: first by the Rhodians for their civic cult, then spreading via diplomacy and finally chosen by Ptolemy II to characterize his father. Important too is Caneva's conclusion that a dichotomy between Successors with a globalist fixed strategy and those with a regionalist one is inappropriate, since their plan depended on circumstantial power relations and propagandist choices.

Chapters 3 and 4, the longest, revisit old questions and often corroborate recent consensus. Chapter 3 interprets Dionysus' identification as Alexander in the well-known procession of the Ptolemaia as part of Ptolemy II's contemporary propaganda, with Alexandria as the centre of a new universal empire, and confirms a date after 275 BC. Chapter 4 provides a detailed reconstruction of the creation of the royal brother-sister couple as a strong element of dynastic legitimacy. This enhanced the divine status of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, who were conceived as the *Theoi Adelphoi* (Sibling Gods), a cult associated with the eponymous priesthood of Alexander in Alexandria already before the death of Arsinoe in 270 BC (date confirmed by Caneva) but reshaped afterwards. The posthumous cult of Arsinoe focused on her protection of the dynasty and geopolitical interests as 'Brother-loving', both in the Greek sphere as *Philadelphos* and in the Egyptian temples as *mr.sn*. The roles of various agents can be perceived here, since innovations occurred at slightly different moments and symbols varied (for example double cornucopias versus specifically designed Egyptian crowns).

Chapter 5 persuasively argues, based on the newly published trilingual Alexandrian decree (243 BC), that Ptolemy III changed the date of the Ptolemaia, which can now be safely identified with the Penteteris, in order to associate this festival with the Theadelphia. Thus Ptolemy III 're-interpreted and re-grouped festivals as flexible tools to give visibility to dynastic continuity' (197) even before Ptolemy IV fixed the dynastic cult by adding the *Theoi Sōtēres* (Ptolemy I and Berenike I) to the Alexandrian eponymous priesthood and by building a royal mausoleum. Caneva stresses how Alexandrian traditions were based on a Ptolemaic agenda. In contrast, the epilogue illuminates how Ptolemaic ideology was obliterated in the Roman period, whereas the civic identity of Alexandria was reconstructed in relation to Alexander – a clear aspect of the aetiological sections of the *Romançe*.

By offering multifaceted sources and considering the political, religious and cultural contexts in which the past was ideologically reconstructed, this historical study could productively be read in a graduate seminar on Hellenistic poetry. Some analyses may be challenging for readers not familiar with papyrological and epigraphic documents, or with Greek and Demotic, but most original texts can be found online with metadata at <https://www.trismegistos.org/>, thanks to the TM

numbers given in the source index. Nineteen small but informative figures complement the iconographic analyses. Historians of Alexander and the Hellenistic world will benefit from this reappraisal of Ptolemaic dynastic ideology in the third century.

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**QUINN (J.C.) In Search of the Phoenicians.**

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In 1943, by which point the Second World War had been devastating Europe for four long years, a collection of essays titled *Rom und Karthago* (Leipzig) was published. Edited by Joseph Vogt, already an eminent ancient historian, the book promoted the idea that the conflict between the two superpowers of the classical world had been provoked by an irreconcilable antagonism of race. According to one of the contributors, Fritz Schachermeyr, the Punic Wars were one single epic struggle between the Indogermanic Romans and the descendants of the 'characterless Levantine border-Semites of the Syrian coasts', the Carthaginians ('Karthago in rassen-geschichtlicher Betrachtung', 42). Perhaps not surprisingly, the volume was published as part of a multidisciplinary research project funded by Heinrich Himmler's SS, the 'War Effort of the German Humanities' (*Kriegseinsatz der deutschen Geisteswissenschaft*).

Over 75 years on, paradigms have changed profoundly. Ethnicity, ancient or modern, is no longer believed to be based on a shared genetic code or a common ancestry. Nations are viewed as imagined communities, rather than communities of descent, and collective identities as artificial constructs, not a matter of fate. When Quinn embarks upon her search for the Phoenicians, the traders and seafarers who to generations of scholars originated in the Iron Age Levant to spread across the Mediterranean in an unprecedented colonial venture, they are not even that: as the reader advances through the pages of this cleverly written book, the notion of a 'Phoenician' ethnicity melts into air. This view is not entirely new, as Quinn herself remarks (xxiv), but the image is presented here in fresh and very vivid colours.