young men, parallel to those ceremonies for young girls at Brauron. His work highlights the continued development of cult rituals resulting from exposure to other traditions.

R.'s study focuses on three Roman female portrait heads from the Agora. She analyses the dates and identities of the figures, then considers them in the broader context of honorific statuary. She traces their Byzantine afterlives, revealing that they were damaged and eventually removed from view to renounce their pagan spirits. Her work reminds us of the power of statuary for communicating values and identities.

M.B. Richardson takes a more literary approach, considering Demosthenes' courtroom speeches and mining them for references to inscribed monuments. Her work illustrates the familiarity of the Athenian audience with inscriptions in the mid-fourth century BCE.

C.A. Salowey focuses on evidence from the theatre, proposing to understand Sophocles' *Philoctetes* as a pointedly Athenian interpretation of the cult of Heracles meant to instruct the citizens on the cult of the hero-god and serve as an inspiration to the youths in need of encouragement at the end of the Peloponnesian Wars. Her work reminds us that Athenian drama was created to speak directly to its audience and must be interpreted in that context.

As a whole, this volume is very successful in highlighting both the complexity and multivalent nature of the archaeology of ancient Athens and the impressive range of fields, disciplines and students that John Camp has informed and inspired.

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HOUSE BUILDING ON THE EUPHRATES

JACKSON (H.) *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates. Volume 4: the Housing Insula*. (*Mediterranean Archaeology* Supplement 9.) Pp. xxx + 646, CD, figs, b/w & colour ills, maps. Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology, 2014. Cased. ISBN: 978-0-9580265-5-0.
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Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates in north Syria is a fortified town that was established in the mid-third century BCE, if not a little earlier, and was abandoned in the late 70s or 60s BCE It was probably founded by Seleucus Nicator, who was credited by Appian with founding 60 sites (*Syr*. 57); a hypothesis that is supported by the significant number of coins from the early third century (Seleucus I, Antiochus I). The site is important as it is purely Hellenistic, attributed to two major phases of occupation, phase A in the mid-third century and phase B after 150 BCE, associated with the appearance of Eastern Sigillata A. It was not heavily disturbed by Roman or post-Roman occupation, like other major Seleucid cities in north Syria and the northern Levant, such as Antioch on the Orontes.

This is the fourth volume of the Australian Mission at Jebel Khalid and is dedicated to the Housing Insula – measuring 35 m east-west and 90 m north-south – that lies on a steep south-facing slope, 900 m north of the Acropolis, where the Governor's Palace is situated. This is the only insula to be excavated over a period of 20 years (1987–2006). It follows after the report on the first ten years of excavation (vol. 1), the terracotta figurines (vol. 2) and the pottery (vol. 3). The excavated houses are not modest, but rather show evidence, in their architecture and finds, of being elite housing – either for the officers of the Macedonian military settlement in its early stages or perhaps for wealthy businessmen

using the shipping trade along the Euphrates in a later phase. The largest is the so-called *House of the Painted Frieze*, named after the decoration in area 19, the *oikos* of this house, which features a Masonry Style painted wall with figured frieze (see also H. Jackson, 'Erotes on the Euphrates: a Figured Frieze in a Private House at Hellenistic Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates', *American Journal of Archaeology* 113 [2009], 231–53).

The volume consists of fifteen chapters and is accompanied by a DVD that reproduces all the plans and figures in the volume, contains a full inventory of small finds as well as drawn pottery profiles. The book's first chapter introduces the insula and discusses its size, location and orientation vis-à-vis other Hellenistic housing districts, its chronology and phasing as well as the history of the excavation and the excavating and recording techniques. Chapter 2 discusses the ways in which the boundaries of the houses were established, the building material and construction techniques (walls made of irregular stones and mortared with clay or mud; floors of packed earth/clay, crushed limestone and powdered limestone; probably flat roofs) and the methodology that J. used in her analysis of the individual houses and areas, embracing material evidence as well as plan and movement analyses.

Chapters 3–11 are the heart of the volume, and each of them is dedicated to the nine identified houses in the insula. In these chapters, J. discusses the layout, stratigraphy, datable finds, chronology, phases and use of every room within the houses, associating the data discussed with the documentation of the excavation. Each chapter summarises the overall layout and phase changes of the houses, tackling the use of the houses on the basis of patterns of movements and activity, inferred from material remains as well as an architectural analysis of the house.

The evidence on Hellenistic housing elsewhere – particularly in areas under Seleucid rule – is discussed in Chapter 12. What becomes apparent with J.'s survey of Hellenistic housing is that the architecture of the houses at Jebel Khalid, and in Northern Syria generally, cannot be analysed on the basis of standardised models of Greek housing – such as the '*pastas* house' (e.g. at Olynthus), the '*prostas* house' (e.g. at Priene) and the 'peristyle house' (e.g. at Delos). The climate, environmental conditions as well as the purpose of the settlement as a military outpost led to the design solutions that we encounter at Jebel Khalid.

In the following chapter J. analyses the distinct architectural design features of 'The Jebel Khalid House', addressing orientation, arrangement and room sizes. The variability of the architectural organisation at Jebel Khalid houses makes them comparable to the Delian houses that also feature irregular plans. At Delos, the *oecus maior* and *oecus minor* arrangement has been used to describe the design principles governing the architecture of the peristyle courtyard houses. Having only one insula from Jebel Khalid, it is not possible to identify an overarching design principle nor to address its variations as in Delos. However, all-encompassing design schemes are problematic because they cannot sufficiently describe the wide spectrum of architectural design decisions. At Delos, for example, quite a few houses do not fit into the *oecus maior* and *oecus minor* arrangement. J. is very careful in her discussion of design principles in Jebel Khalid. She identifies the essential design decisions that were taken: a north/south orientation of the houses and main rooms, relatively large rooms, arrangement around the courtyard and a symmetry in the arrangement of rooms belonging to the '*oikos* suites'. She also points to the missing elements: the *andrones*, *gynaikonites*, peristyle courts, bathrooms and latrines as well as the shortage of cisterns. The absence of formal *andrones* suggests that the principal *oikos* room could serve such a function, as the *oecus maior* room at Delos did. The absence of *gynaikonites* is not surprising, as such suites of rooms are not generally identifiable beyond the description of Vitruvius (*De Arch*. 6.7.2). The lack of peristyle courts is

probably due to Near Eastern traditions, as houses in Seleucid Syria, Palestine and the Levant are usually arranged around courtyards; for example, the Parthian houses at Dura-Europos and the Hellenistic houses at Marisa/Maresha (Tell Sandahannah). The lack of baths and latrines is probably related to the question of water supply – as the whole insula had only two cisterns, which were probably shared. It is possible that the large bath complex at the Acropolis Palace was publicly available and that there were public latrines at Jebel Khalid, although toilet vessels must have been used for private provision.

Chapter 14 analyses the activities that took place in the houses on the basis of the material evidence, and is followed by a chapter with concluding remarks. There is ample evidence of processing grains (basalt implements and grinders, pebble pounders and querns – usually in the courtyard) in the houses and the large deposits of loomweights in three houses (South-West House, North-East House 1 and North-West House 1) indicate that there was significant weaving activity in the insula. None of these activities were, however, carried out on an industrial scale.

The architecture of the Jebel Khalid houses presents an amalgamation of local and Hellenistic traditions. The three-room *oikos* suite is the most prominent feature and seems to have been an oriental influence – the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian tradition of the broad room with its associated group of rooms – adapted to Hellenistic function and taste, evidenced by the Masonry Style decoration in the *House of the Painted Frieze*.

From a well-organised military outpost in the middle of the third century BCE (phase A), with optimum orientation and large-sized rooms, the insula flourished after 150 BCE (phase B) – a period of major renovation in many areas within the insula, including the Masonry Style decoration. This activity at Jebel Khalid is roughly contemporary with the revised dates for the urbanisation of Dura-Europos as well as the expansion of Beirut and follows the creation of a new quarter in Antioch by Antiochus IV. After the end of the second century (phase B+), a downgrading of living standards (smaller houses and rooms) takes place. The low provision of water storage, which required large service staff, was probably one of the reasons for the abandonment of the site along with the protracted demise of the Seleucid empire.

This publication is an invaluable contribution to Hellenistic housing studies, presenting a full and detailed account of the excavation results of the insula as well as a concise analysis of the architecture of the houses that elucidates their cultural significance and historical implications of their evolution over time.

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THE POST-CLASSICAL GREEK AGORA

DICKENSON (C.P.) *On the Agora. The Evolution of a Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC – 267 AD)*. (*Mnemosyne* Supplements 398.) Pp. xviii + 480, b/w & colour ills, maps. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017. Cased, €175, US$194. ISBN: 978-90-04-32671-2.
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This book traces the architectural evolution of the Greek agora in the post-Classical *polis* and represents a significant contribution to studies of urbanism and public space in the