

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 *Romanace*.

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.

In part 1 ('Phantom Phoenicians'), Quinn sets out on her journey from present-day Lebanon, where 'Phoenicianism', much in the style of the narratives providing the charter myths for 19th-century European nation states, is used as a common element connecting an otherwise hyper-fragmented country. From there, she travels back into the Levant's distant past, the period of 'Phoenician' expansion and of such cities as Tyre and Sidon, soon to become commercial hubs serving the Mediterranean and the Near East. Not only in the Iron Age, but through much of the 'classical' periods of Greek and Roman antiquity, hardly any trace can be found of people describing themselves as 'Phoenician'.

Quinn then changes perspective (in part 2, 'Many worlds') from emic to etic, briefly recapitulating Greek and Roman narratives about the Phoenicians, including the abounding stereotypes of Phoenician slyness and *Punica fides*. There is, obviously, no lack of scholarship on Homer's Phoenicians. Yet, one would have expected Quinn to deal with the conspicuous terminological shift from the *Iliad*'s 'Sidonians' to the 'Phoenicians' prevalent in the *Odyssey* – a footnote, but perhaps a significant one. Pots are of course pots, and Quinn duly (and rightly) disregards the material evidence as a marker of 'Phoenician' identity. She observes how, with a closer look, the boundaries between the supposed Phoenicians and other groups become blurred, both in the 'cosmopolitan cities' of the Levantine motherland and in the diaspora, which Quinn, somewhat irritatingly to a continental reader, keeps calling 'colonial'. The rather uncritical obsession with the colonial paradigm, in this reviewer's opinion, is the one major conceptual drawback of this otherwise formidable piece of scholarship.

Its analytical astuteness fully unfolds when Quinn tells the stories of the Tophet and of 'Melqart's Mediterranean'. In accepting that children were indeed sacrificed in the Tophet, she swims in the mainstream of current research, but introducing the Tophet as the cult place of religious dissenters is a brilliant move that could explain many of the archaeological oddities. Equally convincing is Quinn's interpretation of Melqart as a new narrative that owed its sweeping success to a growing awareness of belonging together in the Phoenician-speaking diaspora across the Mediterranean. The first catalyst in this movement was, of course, Carthage; the second was the Greek Herakles, with whom Melqart, in all likelihood an initially aniconic deity, was soon to be identified.

The 'first Phoenician' – at least the first we know of who claimed a Phoenician identity for himself – was Heliodorus of Emesa, a Greek writer living in the third century AD. In part 3 ('Imperial identities'), Quinn traces the invented tradition of Roman Imperial 'Phoenicianism' back to the destruction of Carthage and the attempts of those speaking a Phoenico-Punic language to find their place in the brave new world of Roman cosmopolitanism. The final chapter deals with the invention of the Phoenicians as a distant alter ego on the British Isles. The complementary intellectual history of Central Europe, which led to the vilifying image of the Phoenicians put forward in the 1943 volume edited by Vogt, would have been a welcome addition.

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HÅLAND (E.J.) **Greek Festivals, Modern and Ancient: A Comparison of Female and Male Values.** Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. xix + 565. £63.99. 9781443831505 (vol. 1). Pp. xiv + 587. £68.99. 9781443831512 (vol. 2).  
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This extensive monograph in two volumes, translated into English by the author herself, draws on Håland's PhD dissertation (University of Bergen 2004). Through a comparative analysis of a selection of modern and ancient religious festivals, Håland aims to shed light on the position of women in ancient and modern Greece, and to fill the gaps in the sources describing ancient festivals. She asserts a cultural continuity between ancient and modern 'popular' cultures in the same geographical area: that is to say, between agricultural societies sharing a common repertoire of symbols and rituals. Within this research frame, the comparison between festivals is based on an analysis of the fertility cult that permeates them. In the author's view, a new approach to ancient Greek society is necessary, an approach that goes beyond the 'traditional source-criticism of the philologically oriented school' (1.5) and the 'androcentric' perspective of 'Western male' researchers who wish to identify themselves with the 'ancient male elite' (1.8–9).

Håland shows herself well aware of the problems aroused by survivalist, 'pseudo-survivalist' and anti-survivalist research (chapter 2).