

Ch. 4, 'The Flavians in *Jewish War 1-6*' (74-185) is the main dish and occupies half the table. D. discusses Vespasian, Titus and Domitian in *BJ 1-6* under several themes: Vespasian as commander, in relation to the divine, the legitimacy of his accession and his virtues; Titus the same, but replacing accession legitimacy with his role in the destruction of the temple. The overall picture is that Josephus constructs both characters in the service of his purposes as a Jewish writer. He never openly criticises the Flavians but nor does he make them model heroes. He portrays father and sons in 'recognizably human' ways, leaving abundant material for an uncontrollable subtext; he is even fairly overt about Vespasian's 'dark patches' (141). A brief section on Domitian points out that the teenager is a negligible presence in *BJ 1-6*, accorded none of the adulation typical after his rise to power.

Ch. 5, 'The Flavians in *Jewish War 7*' (186-204), traces a few strands of the putative added volume 7. D.'s main contributions here revive and fill out the proposal that *BJ 7.85-87*, with its over-the-top praise of Domitian's role in quelling the Batavian Revolt (195), as well as passages that emphasise dynastic harmony, make the best sense as products of Domitian's Rome.

Ch. 6, 'Conclusions' (205-217), is again thematic. Josephus is not helpfully characterised as a liar, panegyrist, propagandist, or dissident, D. has argued. He was an independent historian. D. concludes helpfully with four suggestions for future research and, more puzzlingly, with a plea for classicists to take a greater interest in this author.

If D.'s interpretations of passages in Josephus and in current scholarship are sometimes doubtfully decontextualised, that seems to be a function of the thematic approach, which needs abstraction for external comparison. The most vulnerable postulate is a Domitianic *BJ 7*, but D. seems conscious of the potential weakness and, despite appearances, his contribution does not depend on it. All differences aside, I commend this diligent and stimulating investigation to anyone interested in imperial historiography and/or the world and works of Josephus.

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ELIZABETH D. CARNEY and SABINE MÜLLER (EDS), *THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO WOMEN AND MONARCHY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD* (Routledge Companions). London and New York: Routledge, 2021. Pp. xviii + 537, illus. ISBN 9781138358843 (hbk). £190.00.

Queenship studies focus on female roles and the gender element in monarchical rule from a *longue durée*, comparative or global perspective. They are fast becoming an established research field for more recent historical periods (e.g. E. Woodacre (ed.), *A Companion to Global Queenship* (2018)). Through the sheer variety of case studies assembled, the present volume will go some way towards anchoring the theme also in the field of Ancient History, where hitherto studies of single women or individual dynasties have prevailed, if the relationship between women and monarchical rule has not been altogether neglected. This is very welcome because monarchy and family are intrinsically linked historical concepts.

The volume offers a breath-taking panorama, taking the reader through the three millennia from the Old Kingdom of Egypt to the end of Sassanid Persia. After an introduction by the editors, the contributions are grouped into six parts, of which four are organised around regions or political entities: Egypt and the Nile valley, the ancient Near East, Greece and Macedonia, and the Roman empire. Within these sections, chapters are arranged chronologically with different endpoints: for Egypt, Greece and Macedonia this is unsurprisingly the arrival of Rome, for the Near East the seventh century C.E., while for Rome, readers are taken only up to the time of Constantine. The absence of the later Roman empire creates a slight imbalance in coverage, which is deplorable since the monarchical and dynastic element arguably became much stronger in the post-Constantinian empire. This arrangement also means that Hellenistic kingdoms and their relationships with each other are dealt with in several chapters and from many different angles. The editors, who are also specialists in Hellenistic history, have reined in this volume of

information by adding a fifth section on ‘commonalities’, which mostly focuses on aspects inherent to the role of women in Hellenistic monarchies. A short final part is dedicated to ‘reception’. It contains two very illuminating chapters on Roman authors’ use of ‘Eastern’ queenship to comment on archaic Roman and Roman imperial monarchy (Truschnegg on the Roman literary life of Semiramis; Hallett and Hersch on Livy’s caricature of Etruscan queens as Hellenistic queens), and one chapter that investigates the role of Roman empresses in twentieth-century film, finding it wanting (Wieber).

The editors have done an admirable job in pooling expertise, including non-Anglophone scholars, and the authors in keeping chapters short and succinct (most are around twelve pages long, including substantial, up-to-date and multi-lingual bibliographies). The chapters are invariably captivating and of high quality, and offer a variety of methodological approaches. The majority focus still rather conventionally on single women (Van der Perre: Nefertiti; Müller: Berenike II; Schäfer: Kleopatra; Dirven: Zenobia; Kunst: Livia) or on groups of women and women from different generations of the same dynasty (Bielmann Sánchez and Lenzo: Ptolemaic women; Fink: ‘invisible’ Mesopotamian women; Olbrycht: Seleukid women; Ruzicka: Karian women; Wilker: Hasmonean women; Wiesehöfer: Sassanid women; Cenerini: Julio-Claudian women; Priwitzer: the Faustinas; Bertolazzi: Severan women; Dirschl Mayer: Constantinian women). They feature some unusual suspects (especially sole-ruling Hasmonean women), offer many original insights, are important to provide historical background and will find their specialist readers. The uninitiated reader may, however, often find it hard to relate the details of biographies and political history offered here to conceptional questions about the changing roles of royal women in ancient monarchy more generally, or at least in Egyptian, Near Eastern, Macedonian or Roman monarchy, rather than in their very immediate historical contexts. At the very least, it would have been useful to have supporting visual materials, genealogical charts and timelines (in the entire volume, only Dirschl Mayer’s chapter includes a family tree, and there are very few images overall).

More accessible in this regard are chapters focused on pertinent aspects of the female element in monarchical rule, such as the ranking of different kinds of royal women (Sabbahy and Mirón on royal mothers in Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt and Attalid Pergamon respectively); the meaning of titles (Ayad on the Egyptian ‘God’s wife’ title; Ramsey on the Seleukid *basilissa*); the factors determining co-regency or even sole rule (Minas-Nerpel on regnant women in Egypt); female religious and artistic patronage (Pfeiffer and Barbantani on the activities of Ptolemaic women in these areas; Moore on the patronage of Octavia minor); marriage alliances (D’Agostini on Seleukids; Ager on brother–sister marriage in Hellenistic kingdoms); and material forms of representation (Plantzos on Hellenistic jugate images; Alexandridis on Flavian female portraiture). These may serve more easily as a source of inspiration for readers working on similar topics in different eras, which is, after all, what a Companion volume should do.

Especially successful are those chapters where the discussion of particular dynasties is structured around such analytical categories, rather than biographical or political narrative (Lohwasser: royal women in Kush; Brosius: Achaimenid women; Madreiter and Hartmann: women at the Arsakid court; Müller: Argead women; Carney: Antigonid women). These chapters systematically explore the parameters laid out in the editors’ introduction as constitutive for charting the importance of women to royal ideology on the one hand and their actual spheres of action and access to power on the other: first, the extent to which women were included in royal representation to consolidate male power; second, the ways marriage was used to integrate a royal family into or exclude it from other social groups; third, whether monogamy or polygyny structured dynastic succession. To understand whether there was something like ‘Mediterranean ancient monarchy’, it would have been useful to have more comparative insights into similarities and differences on these points from across the case studies offered, beyond the very welcome discussion of Hellenistic ‘commonalities’. Here, Strootman’s chapter stands out, showing lucidly how the fluid boundaries between Hellenistic courts as households and as political centres seeking permanency turned women into cardinal points of power (this is, not incidentally, the only chapter that cites J. Duindam, *Dynasties. A Global History of Power* (2016), an indispensable theoretical reference point for the topic).

At over 500 pages, few readers will read this volume cover to cover. This is a shame because they would miss many threads worth following. An intriguing one concerns the role of Greco-Roman sources in shaping our modern Western understanding of (perhaps not only) ancient royal women, as many contributors here lament the fact that we owe to them, rather than to more indigenous sources, the image of the meddling royal woman in their respective historical scenarios. Another is the influence in antiquity of literary role models for royal women, starting with the

'queens' in Homeric epics and Greek tragedy, discussed here by Heinrichs and Roisman. A third, especially for readers of this journal, is the importance of women for the creation of a quasi-hereditary principle in the Roman empire, perhaps the most unusual monarchical construct discussed in this volume. Readers would really need a bit more editorial handholding to make the most of these and other prompts within the amount of material offered, but the volume will doubtlessly become an indispensable starting point for new, and much needed, research on ancient monarchy.

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VALENTINA LIMINA, *POTERI E STRATEGIE FAMILIARI DI VOLTERRA: IL CASO DI UNA COMUNITÀ ETRUSCA NEL MONDO ROMANO*. Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2021. Pp. xiii + 194, illus. ISBN 9781407357881. £48.00.

In this book — a revised version of her doctoral thesis — Valentina Limina offers an intimate and intricate study of the community of Roman-era Volterra through a focus on the long-term strategies for success of its elite families. Deftly drawing together a dense web of literary, archaeological and epigraphic material (both published and unpublished), she presents a robust account of people and landscape from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. L.'s Volterra and its leading lights are resilient and versatile, adapting to changing circumstances to retain, and sharpen, their competitive edge. Volterra has sometimes been characterised as a conservative society, clinging on to its Etruscan past, but L. shows how its elites strategically leveraged conservatism and tradition to keep themselves and their community relevant in turbulent historical circumstances. These, therefore, are not the immobile or rigid elites of some earlier scholarship, but more creative and dynamic agents. They are simultaneously masters of small town and big city; indeed, L. argues that it is precisely local elites' grip on Volterra that provides the platform for their influence in the city of Rome and the wider empire. She depicts the relationship between Volterra and Rome as one of constant dialogue and negotiation, making this a textured and nuanced case-study of '*romanizzazione*' (L. does not shy from the word, though uses it only intermittently).

L. is committed to a chronologically and thematically wide-ranging approach. The book takes us from the Volterran elites' struggles in the Social and civil wars of the first century B.C. to their eventual replacement by new powerbrokers in the changed and Christianised world of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. It explores social, political, economic and cultural strategies in turn. And it is firmly a history of both people and place: L. throughout emphasises the significance of physical landscape and devotes attention to geography and hydrology.

After a brief introduction to Volterra and to L.'s project, most of the book comprises four main chapters, each summarised in workmanlike abstracts in Italian and English and supplemented by illuminating maps, figures and photographs that display the impressive range of material that L. is drawing upon. Ch. 1 examines society and administration, analysing Volterra's demography, franchise, civic and political structures and offices. It devotes attention to the historiographical problems of reconstructing these, to prosopography, and to Volterra's relationship to structures and figures of Roman politics. L. argues for Etruscan elites' successful leverage of local family and client networks as a powerbase for long-term success. Ch. 2 turns to economic strategies, examining elites' management of resources and private property. L. considers elite commercial activities both in Volterran territory and abroad, and compares the lasting success of the Cecina family with the more fleeting success of the Venulei family. Local kinship and family networks, and effective negotiation of the wider political currents of the Roman Republic and Principate, emerge as central to economic success just as to political success.

Ch. 3 traces the archaeological visibility of different phases of Volterra's history. It uses field surveys to explore changing landscape and settlement patterns, both in the urban centre and rural hinterlands. L. also considers 'marginal landscapes', which she depicts as especially