

and cultural features of the region under Roman rule without losing focus on the changes and developments during this period.

The first chapter, "Entstehung der Provinz Gallia Narbonensis" describes the integration process from pre-Roman times to the Augustan reforms. Gros manages to describe this process in wider terms than what is generally offered in traditional accounts of Roman conquest by integrating economic and cultural factors and the agency of the local populations in this process.

The second chapter, "Organization und Struktur", describes in detail the towns in the region as well as other forms of co-habitation and infrastructure. The first section, "Formen und Ziele der Urbanisierung in julisch-claudischer Zeit" is almost forty pages long, and includes a description of the major urban developments for each town in the province. The section is difficult to use, as it is structured around descriptions of individual towns, but this structure is not visible on typographic level; moreover, illustrations do not always match up with the text. The detailed description of Narbo on pages 38 to 40, for example, is accompanied by a map and a reconstruction of Arles. A division of the section into subsections according to the towns discussed would have helped to improve the usability of the section. The rest of the chapter discusses the development of the town centres, smaller habitation centres outside the towns, and the forms of housing and living both in the town and in the countryside.

The third chapter, "Grabarchitektur, Wirtschaft, Religion und Gesellschaft", discusses four themes in further detail: funerary architecture is used to demonstrate the existence of flourishing local middle classes; the description of economy focuses on the products of agriculture, amphorae and other ceramic vessels, and is mostly a summary of evidence of various types of production; the section on religion describes the practices of *interpretatio celtica* and the presence of the later mystery cults in the region; and the section on society is mostly about the Romanization process through the assimilation of Roman culture through education.

A short summary of the developments of the 3rd century ends the book, which thus does not venture into the complex developments of Late Antiquity. Admittedly, that is a discussion which would have doubled the size of the book without further illuminating the main focus of the book, namely a study of a prosperous, peaceful province as part of the Roman Empire.

The book serves various functions well: first, for its intended function as a popular presentation of a Roman province it is perhaps a little too detailed, though of course it does provide the interested reader with ample material. For a serious scholar, it serves as an introduction to either the province itself or as an interpretation of the position of one province within the Roman Empire. For anyone already specialized in the region, the book probably has little new to offer except for possible reinterpretations of some evidence.

*Harri Kiiskinen*

*Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome.* Edited by LUCINDA DIRVEN. Oriens et occidentis: Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben 21. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10412-8. 363 pp. EUR 61.

Hatra, a city located in the Jezirah region of present-day Iraq, was known as a city situated between

east and west. As a result, various powers have fought for dominance over it and thereby created another facet of the city's reputation, as its stubborn resistance against various sieges by Rome has become almost legendary. Hatra was also able to resist the Sasanians successfully for a long time and surrendered only after a lengthy and arduous siege. After this event, in 240 CE, Hatra was abandoned and never inhabited again. The ruins of the city remained in an excellent state of preservation and Hatra became an attractive place to visit for travellers and researchers alike.

This book is a collection of papers from a colloquium held at the University of Amsterdam in 2009 with leading experts on the subject contributing. The aim of the book is to describe the current state of research on Hatra, to determine the gaps in our knowledge, and to suggest where the research should be directed in the future. This is an important aim, as Hatra has been inaccessible to researchers for a long time. The book was published already in 2013 but Hatra is even more unreachable now. In 2015, the militant group ISIL was reported to have demolished the ruins of Hatra, and some of the city's treasures may have been lost for good. This makes the book most timely.

The seventeen articles of the book are divided into three sections, but in her commendable introductory chapter, the editor, Lucinda Dirven, explains that despite this division the articles can also touch upon issues actually belonging to the other sections and there is thus some overlapping between the different parts of the book. Dirven also notes that the contributors in each section may disagree on details and that nothing has been done to harmonize the views presented in the contributions. On the contrary, the intention was to emphasize potential disagreements in order to encourage new research.

The first section is called "Between Parthia and Rome". It includes three articles that discuss the relationship of Parthia with its vassal states on the one hand and with Rome on the other. Benjamin Isaac believes that Hatra was under Roman control in the second and third centuries CE. Michael Sommer disagrees, believing that Hatra became a vassal state of Parthia after Lucius Verus' Parthian war in 163–166 CE when the Great King of Parthia granted the lords of Hatra the kingship. Leonardo Gregoratti also sees Hatra as a Parthian ally but he believes that the alliance began already after Trajan's unsuccessful siege in 116–117 CE. Despite their different views, all three writers agree on Hatra's geopolitically important location and stress this fact as a reason for the interest of the city for both Parthia and Rome.

The second part of the book is called "The city and its remains" and its seven articles concentrate on the archaeological material from Hatra. Archaeology is an important source for the study of the city, as so little written material is available. Roberta Venco Ricciardi and Alessandra Peruzzetto, who have conducted fieldwork at Hatra, deal with the city's early years in their article. They have not found any evidence to support the theory of the Iraqi archaeologists that the site was in continuous use from the Assyrian period onwards. Permanent occupation does not seem to have started earlier than at the end of the first century BCE and building activity was most intense between 117 and 150 CE, implying that the development of Hatra happened very fast. Michal Gawlikowski sees Hatra's role as a sacred city as a reason for this. Others, such as Sommer, allude to Hatra's role in Caravan trade. Ted Kaizer, on the other hand, believes the wealth of Hatra to be a sum of many factors, with none to be stressed at the expense of others.

The articles of Krzysztof Jakubiak and Hikmat Basheer al-Aswad both deal with the small shrines of Hatra. These shrines, located in the domestic areas of the city, may have had many different functions, such as being commemorative places for ancestors. Through these functions, they

were closely connected to their community's social life. In her article, Susan Downey discusses clothed Heracles statuettes found at Hatra. Heracles was an extremely popular god in the small shrines. At Hatra, Heracles was assimilated to Nergal, the god of the underworld. Thus, the popularity of Heracles statuettes in the small shrines is explained.

The article of Stefan R. Hauser concludes the second section and appropriately deals with the final years of the city. Capturing Hatra was not only tempting but even obligatory for the Sasanians because it was the only way to secure their power in Mesopotamia. Possessing Hatra also provided an opportunity to invade Roman territory, but although it might have been a wise policy, Rome does not seem to have been interested in defending Hatra. This might be due to internal troubles in Rome at the time and so Hatra was captured. It remains yet to be seen why Hatra was left in ruins despite its advantageous location.

The third and final part of the book, "Culture and religion on the crossroads", also contains seven articles. They examine the way Hatra's position at the crossroads of many different cultures affected its cultural and religious life. Albert De Jong thinks that the traditional view of Hatra as a city "between" Parthia and Rome is incorrect. In his opinion, Hatra was clearly a part of the Parthian commonwealth and the influence of Rome is only to be seen in figurative arts. De Jong shows that Parthian influence is discernible for instance in Iranian loanwords, names, and titles as well as clothing, jewellery and weaponry. Loans of this kind of are a sign of elite acculturation as local leading families voluntarily adopted the lifestyle of the Parthian court.

The article of Jean-Baptiste Yon deals with the monumentalization of public space in Hatra and Palmyra. By comparing these two cities, Yon shows that although they belonged to different political entities they were still part of the same world and reminds us that the borders of cities or empires are not necessarily the borders of their people.

The articles of Klaas Dijkstra, Andreas Kropp and Simon James all deal with the western influence in Hatra. In his contribution, Dijkstra introduces a famous sculpted head on the wall of the main sanctuary of Hatra. Dijkstra interprets the accompanying Aramean inscription as "grgn", inferring that the sculpted head represents Gorgo. It would be unusual to use the Greek name of a divine being in Hatra and the fact that the head resembles Gorgo might have influenced the reading, but it is still evident that the head derives from a western model. Andreas Kropp writes about a statue that seems to be a copy of a famous cult statue of Apollo from Hierapolis, but with distinctive Hatrene elements attached to it. At Hatra, Apollo was assimilated to the god Nabu. The Hatra statue is clearly a local production but its existence in Hatra shows that the city had contacts with the Roman world. The article of Simon James deals with a cheekpiece found at Hatra which once was a part of a Roman-type helmet. There are many possible explanations for the fact that this piece was found at Hatra and thus the article shows just how complex the net of cultural interaction in Hatra is.

Jürgen Tubach writes about the most important deities of Hatra, the Hatrene triad. Tubach believes them to be of Babylonian origin and bases this theory on the assumption that Hatra was continuously inhabited from the Achaemenid period. As observed above, archaeological findings do not support this theory, but this does not exclude the possibility of Babylonian influence in Hatra.

In the final article, Sylvia Winkelmann deals with weaponry in Hatrene figurative art. Winkelmann catalogues different types of weapons depicted in Hatrene art and observes that weapons in Hatra and other cities on the western border of Parthia are similar to those represented in the eastern

part of the empire. This can be explained by their common source, which is the Parthian court. Like de Jong, Winkelmann sees elite acculturation as a starting point for the transmission of Parthian cultural elements into the cultural life of Hatra.

It must be said that the book has easily achieved its aims. While it does offer much interesting reading, it must be admitted that in order to be able to follow the argumentation of the authors without frustration one must have some previous knowledge of the themes the book deals with. To anyone interested in Hatra, Rome and its eastern neighbours and their relations this is a most inspiring book that provokes fresh thoughts concerning life on the border of Rome and Parthia. I hope this book will keep the existence of Hatra in people's minds and will encourage further research although the city itself is for the moment unreachable. Hatra deserves to be remembered.

*Kirsi Simpanen*

KYLE HARPER: *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275–425*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19861-5. XIV, 611 pp. USD 144.00 (hb).

Harper's book is based on his dissertation, although according to the author it is heavily revised version. This book is clearly the product of systematic research that is apparent in every chapter. It is divided into three parts. The first part tackles the question of the economy of slavery. The second part explores the role of slaves in society. The third part draws our attention to the institutional aspects of enslavement.

Harper presents Roman slavery as the most extensive and enduring slave system in pre-modern history. In the first part (pp. 3–201), the author assures us that the Roman slave system cannot be explained as the result of imperial conquest. Harper claims (p. 3ff) that Roman slavery was an enduring constant feature of an entire historical epoch, driven by the very forces that made Rome historically exceptional. Military hegemony, the rule of law, the privatization of property, urbanism, the accumulation of capital, an enormous market economy – the circulation of human slavery developed in step with these other characteristic elements of Roman civilization. This statement of the author is both compelling and justified. Slavery is an economic phenomenon, and a history of slavery must be situated within the economic history of the ancient world. Therefore, the author delineates on several pages the Roman economic system before late antiquity and how it developed over the course of several hundred years. The development is explained with the use of and reference to models and economic theories. The author carefully defines (pp. 33–66) slavery and slave society using both his sources and modern research on the subject. Chapter two discusses briefly the topic of the supply and the trade of slaves (pp. 67–99). Chapters three (pp. 100–143) and four (pp. 144–201) cover private households and slavery intended for production and agriculture. In late antiquity especially, slaves were skilled workers even if they worked in domestic production. Much attention is also paid to the subject of slave labor and agricultural estates in the eastern Mediterranean. According to the author: "in the Roman world, commercialization, intensification, and slavery were connected by deep and sinister logic that made control over human chattel the road to riches." (pp. 199–200).

Part two (pp. 203–349) explores the human relationships involved in Roman slavery. Four chapters concentrate on identifying moments of humanity in an abusive system. But there