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BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

Der *Orbis Terrarum* informiert über Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der Historischen Geographie der Alten Welt sowohl in der Form von Literaturberichten zu bestimmten Themen als auch von Rezensionen bzw. kurzen Notizen zu einzelnen Publikationen. Die geographischen und zeitlichen Grenzen der alten Welt sind, wie überhaupt in dieser Zeitschrift, nicht eng gefaßt.

Die Rezensionen sind in vier Rubriken unterteilt:
I. Literaturberichte
II. Sammelbände mit übergreifender Thematik
III. Monographien mit übergreifender Thematik
IV. Publikationen zu antiken Landschaften

I. Literaturberichte

Literaturbericht: Ancient Ports in Context

▷ FEUSER, STEFAN, *Hafenstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum vom Hellenismus bis in die römische Kaiserzeit: Städtebau, Funktion und Wahrnehmung*. Berlin: De Gruyter 2020. 391 p., illustrated. ISBN 9783110580327. (Urban Spaces 8).
▷ LEIDWANGER, JUSTIN, *Roman Seas: A Maritime Archaeology of Eastern Mediterranean Economies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press 2020. 323 p., illustrated. ISBN 9780190083656.
▷ MAURO, CHIARA MARIA, *Archaic and Classical Harbours of the Greek World: The Aegean and Eastern Ionian contexts*. Oxford: Archaeopress 2020. 115 p., illustrated in b/w and colour. ISBN 9781789691283.

Not so long ago, archaeological studies of ancient shipping were more or less synonymous with shipwreck excavations and amphora studies, but since the turn of the millennium, we have seen an increased focus on harbours, driven partly by new excavations at three important ancient entrepôts – Alexandria, Ostia-Portus and Constantinople – and partly by the growing popularity of network theory within classical archaeology.

The first comprehensive study of ancient Mediterranean ports was undertaken a century ago by KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, who in his doctoral dissertation on *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* traced the typological evolution of ports and their associated structures from the Dark Ages of Greece to the later Roman Empire.[1] His catalogue[2] included slightly more than 300 ports on the coasts of

1 LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, KARL, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Städtebaus im Altertum*, Leipzig 1923; reprinted Aalen, 1963.
2 LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN 1923, 240–87.

the Mediterranean, the sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, but as the subtitle of his book – *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Städtebaus im Altertum* – reveals, LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN's focus was on 'formal' ports. If one expands the definition to include the 'informal' or, to use the terminology of JUSTIN LEIDWANGER, 'inconspicuous', 'simple' or 'opportunistic'[3] interfaces between land and sea along the coasts of the Mediterranean and its adjacent seas, their number runs into the thousands, if not tens of thousands.

Viewed in the long perspective, formal ports are a comparatively recent phenomenon in the history of seafaring. The canoes and coracles of the Mesolithic and early Neolithic required no quays or piers, yet were capable of carrying navigators across the open sea to Cyprus, the Baleares, Sardinia and Corsica. By the second millennium BC, Egyptians were constructing large and sophisticated sail-driven river craft that required no port facilities but could be moored along the riverbank, as Nile steamers still are today.

In keeping with the scientific traditions of his time, LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN's approach was morphological and typological. Since then, the focus of classical archaeology has shifted, and currently the economy is very much at the centre of attention, as evidenced by the nineteenth International Conference on Classical Archaeology (Cologne and Bonn, 2018) with 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World' as its theme.[4] Many of the presenters approached their subject through 'big data', massive amounts of information extracted from the ever-growing corpus of excavation reports. While the potential of quantitative analysis and 'number crunching' has been forcefully demonstrated by OXREP, the Oxford Roman Economy Project,[5] the approach has its limitations within the sphere of maritime archaeology. Firstly, even if the number of our cases – ports or shipwreck sites – run into the thousands, these figures are puny compared to the amounts of data from, e.g., coins or amphorae. We cannot expect the 'law of large numbers' to cancel out the biases within the sample. And these biases are, as LEIDWANGER (p. 15) underlines, formidable: 'Unevenness in the discovery, reporting, and publication of wrecks, and in the preservation of different sites and materials, represents a crucial caveat when evaluating the data's representativeness and reliability as a resource for exploring economic questions'.

What applies to shipwrecks applies *a fortiori* to ports, which have a far greater variation in size, design and purpose, and a far longer service life, than ships. In consequence, any attempt to replicate LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN's Mediterranean-wide survey a hundred years later would involve a very real risk that 'big data' end up becoming 'bad data'. Instead, each of the three volumes reviewed here has a

3 LEIDWANGER, JUSTIN, *Opportunistic Ports and Spaces of Exchange in Late Roman Cyprus*, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 8, 2013, 221–43.

4 The proceedings of the conference are in the process of publication in digital form by Propylaeum Verlag, Heidelberg. Some fifty volumes are planned, of which a score have already appeared and can be accessed at https://books.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeum/catalog/series/aiac2018.

5 http://www romaneconomy.ox.ac.uk/.

clearly delimited focus – chronologically, geographically or in combination – allowing the authors to address their research questions in depth and take due account of the biases imposed on their material by taphonomy and other factors beyond the investigator's control.

After an Introduction (p. vii–viii) and a summary of previous research (p. 1–8), CHIARA MARIA MAURO guides us through the prehistory and early development of ancient harbours in the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East (p. 9–24). To date, the earliest archaeologically attested harbour basins are found in the Indus estuary, in Mesopotamia and in Egypt (third millennium BC; p. 9–12); in the Aegean, 'formal' ports make their first appearance during the second millennium BC (p. 12–5). With good reason, MAURO rejects the traditional notion of a complete breakdown of maritime trade towards the end of the Mycenean period. Rather, we seem to be witnessing a shift from the Aegean to the Levant, where one finds the first recognizably 'modern' seaports (Athlit, Tabbat-al-Hammam, Sidon, tenth to eight centuries BC), which may have served as models for Aegean harbours of the Archaic period (p. 18–9).

In the last section of chapter 2 (p. 22–4), MAURO explores the interplay between natural conditions and manmade port facilities, forming a bridge to chapter 3 on 'The Geomorphology of Greek Harbours' (p. 25–43). In this especially rich chapter and the two that follow, the perspective narrows from the big picture to the 'mesoscale', focusing on the ports of the Aegean, Crete and the western coast of Asia Minor. Here, MAURO establishes a typology of four types of seaport, depending on the nature of their interplay with the natural environment: places sheltered by headlands and promontories; island ports; ports in bays (including landlocked bays); and ports in river estuaries. Each of these main types can be broken down into sub-types depending on natural conditions and the nature of human interaction with, or modification of, the physical environment. A fifth category includes ports combining elements of several types ('mixed typology'). The chapter concludes with a ranking of the different harbour types in two categories derived from the *Odyssey*: λιμὴν εὔορμος, 'harbour well suited for mooring'[6] and the superior λιμὴν κλυτός, 'renowned harbour'.[7]

Chapter 4 (p. 44–65) explores a series of case studies of Greek harbours of the Archaic and Classical period, applying the taxonomy laid out in chapter 3. Completely artificial harbours created by human hands are a rarity; in nearly all cases, the shelter offered by the natural environment is complemented by one or more man-made structures: breakwaters (p. 47–53), quays (p. 53–5); shipsheds (p. 55–60) and towers, including lighthouses (p. 60–2). The sequence more or less corresponds to their chronology, with breakwaters no doubt (inspired by Levantine models) making their appearance as early as the eighth or seventh century, towers from the sixth century onwards (p. 60–1). We also see a shift of emphasis from function

6 Hom. *Od*. 9.136.
7 Hom. *Od*. 10.87.

to representation: while breakwaters were severely functional in their design, shipsheds also 'became a status symbol, their monumentalisation and efficiency being considered in proportion to the *polis*' prestige' (p. 57).[8] Brief mention is also made of the *skeuotheke* at Athens and the *diolkos* at Corinth.

Chapter 5 on 'Variation in harbour forms' (p. 66–76) develops and elaborates the typology of chapters 3 and 4 to include ports with two or more harbour basins. It also introduces a new and analytically powerful concept, the 'harbour system', defined as a settlement controlling several non-contiguous basins (p. 69). Corinth is an example of a 'simple' system with two basins, Miletus and Athens of 'complex' systems encompassing multiple basins. Other 'complex' systems not analysed in detail here include Megara, Halikarnassos, Aigina and Rhodes (p. 72–3). A short excursus at the end of the chapter discusses the concept of 'regional maritime spheres' or 'widespread harbour systems'; Athens, for instance, in the second half of the fifth century BC controlled not only its 'home ports' in Piraeus and the bay of Phaleron, but also Sounion and other, more distant harbours (might Oropos and Salamis be included here as well?). As MAURO notes, 'widespread harbour systems left no material traces, and their identification largely depends on their being mentioned in the written sources' (p. 75). The topic is not pursued further in this study but would deserve further investigation in the future.

The Conclusion (p. 77–9) summarising the findings of the study is followed by an Appendix (p. 80–101) listing 194 ports in alphabetical order from Abdera to Zea, with references to the ancient sources as well as the modern research literature, and by an extensive bibliography (p. 102–15). Regrettably, there is no Index.

With STEFAN FEUSER's study of *Hafenstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum*, we remain at the 'mesoscale' but the geographical focus shifts eastwards and the chronological focus downwards from the Archaic-Classical to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Following a short introduction (p. 1–22) offering an overview of the research history and outlining the theories and methods used, the study falls in two main parts. In the first part (p. 23–228) five case studies are presented: Miletus (p. 23–71), Egyptian Alexandria (p. 72–99), Ephesos (p. 100–47), Caesarea Maritima (p. 148–88) and Leptis Magna (p. 188–228). The second part is devoted to thematic discussions of harbour edifices (p. 229–51), harbours as liminal zones between port and city (p. 252–67), the integration of city and port (p. 260–82); ports as workplaces (p. 283–304, 319–22), as vehicles of self-representation, as sacred spaces and as *lieux de mémoire* (p. 305–18 and 323–40).

Like MAURO, FEUSER sees the port not as a manmade creation *ab ovo*, but as a modification of the physical environment, and each case study opens with a brief discussion of 'die litorale Topographie und ihre Entwicklung'. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the city's history and its urban development. Most chapters conclude with a discussion of religious rituals ('Maritime Riten und Prozessionen') and/or social conditions ('Die Bedeutung von Hafen und Meer für das gesellschaftliche Leben').

8 A similar point is made by FEUSER, p. 236–7 and 265–6.

Considering Alexandria's importance, the chapter devoted to its topography and history is disappointingly brief (28 pages). While it is true that archaeological investigations have been hampered by the existence of a modern city on top of the ancient (p. 98) – unlike the situation at Miletus or Leptis – the cumulative evidence is far from negligible and Alexandria was not the only port in the microregion. Here, it might be useful to apply MAURO's concept of the 'complex harbour system' to include the three harbour basins of Alexandria itself and, for the early Hellenistic period, the island port of Thonis-Herakleion seven kilometres offshore.[9] Furthermore, the meagre archaeological and epigraphic dossier for Alexandria is complemented by a rich literary record that could, inter alia, shed light on social conditions in the city, a topic discussed in the four other case studies, but not in this chapter. Port communities are often assumed to have been relatively cosmopolitan in composition, with a higher-than-usual proportion of foreigners and strangers, and the presence of outsiders is attested in Miletus (p. 67), Ephesos (p, 145–6) and Leptis Magna (p. 225–6); so far not in Caesarea, but this may be due to the limitations of the epigraphic record.

Compared to the cities discussed in the previous four chapters, Leptis Magna stands out as a seaport that was not oriented towards the sea, but towards *terra firma*: 'eine aufs Hinterland ausgerichtete Stadt' (p. 227) whose economic base was agricultural rather than commercial (p. 194). FEUSER rejects RENATO BARTOCCINI's reconstruction of the pre-Severan harbour[10] as a hexagonal basin on the model of Trajanic *Portus* in favour of a far simpler, more rudimentary layout taking advantage of the protection offered by the coastal topography and lacking artificial breakwaters (p. 195). The reign of Septimius Severus, himself a native of Leptis, fundamentally changed the maritime face of Leptis, whose waterfront was now adorned with colonnades and quays, protected by moles and even provided with a lighthouse (p. 204–24). As FEUSER takes care to point out, this extravagant construction was out of all proportion to the commercial importance or the practical needs of the city, and it may well have been seen as a liability rather than as an asset by the city fathers who had to finance its maintenance (p. 224–5).

We now pass to the second part of the volume, dedicated to a series of thematic analyses, not all of which draw on the case studies presented in the first part. While the section on lighthouses (p. 237–40) references the examples of Alexandria and Leptis Magna, the section on moles and breakwaters takes Elaia, the port of Pergamum, as example (p. 230); the sections on shipsheds (p. 232–7, 257–8, 265–7) cite examples from the Piraeus, Rhodes, Kos and Elaia. In the last chapters on life in the port cities, the focus shifts further and further away from the eastern Mediterranean, although according to FEUSER (p. 330) some 500 images of ports or maritime scenes have been preserved from the Imperial period, all six examples discussed in

9 D. ROBINSON / F. GODDIO (eds.), *Thonis-Heracleion in Context*, Oxford 2015, (Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology Monographs 8), reviewed in *Orbis Terrarum* 13, 277–8.

10 R. BARTOCCINI, *Il Porto Romano di Leptis Magna*, Rome 1960 (Bollettino del Centro studi per la storia dell'architettura, suppl. 13).

the concluding section on pictorial representations of port cities (p. 330–40) are taken from Italy.

The section on port structures as displays of power (p. 306–11), on the other hand, draws on two of the book's cases: Leptis Magna and Caesarea Maritima, in a particularly illuminating comparison of two ports which at first sight appear very different, yet show significant similarities.

Central to this second part of the study is the concept of the port as a liminal space ('Schwellenraum') between land and sea. This raises the question whether and to what degree harbours were subdivided into functional spaces, either through a division of a single basin or by assigning different basins of a multi-basin complex to different types of vessels (p. 247–52). Equally important for our understanding of ancient port cities is the degree of architectural and functional integration of the harbour area with the cityscape (p. 262–8). Here again, the analysis is not limited to the five cases laid out in the first part of the book but casts a wide net to draw on insights from Kos, Thasos, Iasos, Soloi-Pompeiopolis and Phaselis, among others. FEUSER observes that whereas in Hellenistic times, harbours and city centre tend to form a tight-knit unit ('Häfen zumeist eng mit den Agorai und den zentralen städtischen Bauten verbunden', p. 267) in the course of the first and second centuries AD, the two spheres or urban life seem to develop in different directions, into separated spaces sometimes visually delineated by conspicuous architectural features such as colonnades or gateways. More studies and comparison with landlocked cities in the Roman east will reveal whether this development is specific to port cities or indicative of a more general tendency of the first to third century, observable also in the Roman west,[11] for public spaces to close themselves off from the outside environment.

The volume is well produced, with clear, crisp typography and generous margins for those who wish to take notes. The same goes for the illustrations, though some of the photographs are rather small and on p. 26, a colour map showing the progradation of the shore at Miletus (fig. 3, p. 26) has been reproduced in black-and-white halftones; an unfortunate choice making it virtually impossible to discern Classical from Archaic remains, or land from sea around 2500 BC.[12]

In MAURO's study, we were shown the harbour as it appears to the sailor approaching from the sea, while FEUSER took us on a tour of the city beyond the waterfront. JUSTIN LEIDWANGER takes a step further inland to investigate the interactions between ports and their economic hinterlands. Like MAURO and FEUSER, he focuses his case study on a 'mesoregion' or, to be more precise, two: the Knidian peninsula (now known as the Datça peninsula) in southwestern Anatolia and the island of Cyprus. As the subtitle *A Maritime Archaeology of Eastern Mediterranean Economies* indicates, however, LEIDWANGER's goal is far more ambitious: he aims

11 T. BEKKER-NIELSEN, *Vom Raum zum Objekt: kaiserzeitliche Stadtfora der Nordwestprovinzen des römischen Reiches*, in B. EDELMANN-SINGER / S. EHRICH (eds.), *Sprechende Objekte: Materielle Kultur und Stadt zwischen Antike und Früher Neuzeit,* Regensburg 2021, 87–106 (Forum Mittelalter-Studien, 17).

12 For comparison, see the similar map in colour, MAURO fig. 5.7, p. 71.

to ‘use the maritime archaeological record – especially shipwreck cargos but also ports – to study long-term economic structures’ (p. vii).

The book thus addresses two different readerships: students of ancient seafaring and students of the ancient economy. For the benefit of the latter, two introductory chapters sketch the outlines of the research history in the field (‘Maritime Interaction and Mediterranean Communities’, p. 1–24) and the state of knowledge on a variety of topics related to Roman shipping technology (‘Topography and Tools of Interaction’, p. 25–68). Given the general nature of these chapters, it is inevitable that some finer points of detail should have been lost. Not everyone would agree that the lateen rig was in use as early as the second century AD, nor that the spritsail ‘saw only limited use’ (p. 56–7), while the ‘storm’ of AD 62 recorded by Tacitus[13] is more likely to have been a tsunami (p. 36). We are told that an ‘influx of migratory fish like tuna represents a late autumn and winter economic windfall’ (p. 65), but the inbound migration of Atlantic bluefin tuna to the Mediterranean takes place from April to June.

With chapter 3, ‘Modeling Maritime Dynamics’ (p. 69–109), we move to an in-depth analysis of the driving forces behind movement across the Roman Mediterranean(s); as LEIDWANGER notes, drawing on the classic work of ROUGÉ,[14] the ancient Mediterranean was ‘not one sea but many’ (p. 69–70). As a well-chosen example, he points to Strabo’s description of Cyprus facing on to four different seas[15] (p. 75–6). Like MAURO and FEUSER, LEIDWANGER sees the maritime transport network as operating on two levels, long-distance trade versus coastal shipping and cabotage, but warns against applying simplistic binary models that ‘fail to capture the full variety of activity along a spectrum’ (p. 83). The last part of the chapter (p. 98–109) discusses the application of network theory to ancient shipping and forms the transition to chapter 4 on ‘Exploring Shipwreck Data’ (p. 110–53).

More than 1400 Roman and Late Antique wrecks are included in the OXREP database which also provides the starting point for LEIDWANGER’s discussion. Their chronological distribution, with a steep drop around AD 100, presents something of a puzzle to economic historians (fig. 4.2, p. 116). When the focus is limited to the 150 finds in the eastern Mediterranean, a different pattern emerges, suggesting an economic resurgence (‘the eastern boom’, p. 121) in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine period more in line with the evidence from terrestrial surveys (fig. 4.3, p. 117). When the focus is narrowed still further to include only the 54 wrecks found off southwestern Anatolia and the 13 wrecks from the waters around Cyprus, this trend is even more pronounced, though one should be wary of drawing inferences from such small samples (figs 4.5–4.6, p. 118–22).

The latter part of chapter 4 explores the potential of digital tools such as network analysis (p. 123–45) and geographical information systems (p. 145–53). Whereas most analyses of ancient maritime networks have been concerned with

13 Tac. *ann*. 15.18

14 J. ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain,* Paris 1966.

15 Strab. *Geogr*. 14.6.

connections between ports,[16] LEIDWANGER applies network analysis to links between cargo elements from wrecks and their areas of origin. A comparison of the Roman and Late Antique periods (figs 4.7–4.8, p. 130–5) appears to show an increasing geographical diversity of cargo assemblages and a shift of gravity from the central Aegean to the Levant.

The notion of distance as time is familiar to students of terrestrial transport geography, where mileages and gradients are easily converted into hours and minutes. For ancient sea travellers, journey times were more difficult to predict, and consequently for modern researchers to postdict. First, a passenger or a trader had to wait for a ship bound for his desired destination. Even then, the ship might have to remain in port on account of the wind: too much wind, too little wind or just the right amount of wind, but blowing in the wrong direction.[17] Mapping the prevailing winds in the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 4.16, p. 143) enables LEIDWANGER to construct isochrone maps showing average sailing times from Seleukia Pieria, Nea Paphos, Rhodes and Samos (fig 4.17–4.20, p. 146–7). The two first maps are particularly instructive, revealing that in general, higher average speeds could be attained within the Levant than when beating against the northwesterlies on the long haul westward to Crete and the Aegean. As LEIDWANGER himself acknowledges, however, the model as it now stands fails to take account of seasonality and as the data in the Appendix (figs A.16–A,26, p. 247–51) reveal, wind speeds and direction varies over the year, most markedly in the Gulf of Iskenderun.

Chapter 5 on 'Ports and Everyday Economies' (p. 154–97) traces the inland connections of ports, 'the everyday workings of maritime networks onshore' (p. 155). After a discussion of formal vs. informal ports (p. 156–66) we move to case studies of the Knidian peninsula (p. 167–172, 183–8) and south central Cyprus (p. 172–80, 188–97). The narrow and rugged peninsula was well served by 'formal' harbours at Knidos and Burgaz and numerous minor 'informal' ports, with most settlement sites located within one or two hours' travel from the nearest port (p. 186–7 and fig. 5.7). In southwestern Cyprus the picture was necessarily different, and the calculated average time-distance from potential farming settlements to the closest port is nearly double that of the Knidian peninsula (p. 189–91).

With chapter 6 on 'Maritime Networks in the Roman East', the author embarks on the most difficult part of his task: to tie the observations made in the previous chapters into a coherent history of the Roman and Late Antique economy of the East. The core narrative is an economic upturn from the fourth century onwards: 'recovery set in from the latter 4th century in the Aegean and then spread across Cyprus, its adjacent mainland and the eastern Mediterranean more generally … some interregional gravitational pull, from the Aegean or beyond, may have helped stimulate maritime activities in the study area' (p. 219).

16 See, e.g., J. PREISER-KAPELLER / F. DAIM (eds.), *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems*, Mainz 2015 (Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zu den Häfen von der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Mittelalter in Europa 2), reviewed in *Orbis Terrarum* 13, 293–6.

17 For instance, in AD 417, Rutilius Namatianus was weather-bound in Portus for more than two weeks: *De reditu suo* 206–7.

In Leidwanger's analysis, the 'pull' driving the economic upturn was the growth of Constantinople: 'the shift of imperial capital created new opportunities and demands' (p. 220). This is, however, no more than a hypothesis, albeit a credible one; there is nothing in the evidence presented previously which permits us to identify the underlying causes. Survey evidence from other parts of the Levant suggests that economic and demographic growth may already have been under way by the turn of the fourth century, well before Constantine's foundation of his new capital,[18] and that it affected not only the coastal towns of Anatolia but also the less accessible inland regions.[19] To trace the interaction between port and inland within the area under scrutiny, one would have to compare assemblages from a landlocked urban centre that received its seaborne imports through a distant port, such as Tyana or Tamassos. (Kalavasos-Kopetra, cited p. 199–200, is not a good example: Kalavasos is no further from the sea at Zygi than Athens is from the bay of Phaleron).

A shared weakness of FEUSER's and LEIDWANGER's books is an insufficient integration of evidence and analysis, of case studies and cross-cutting synthesis. The problem is less acute in FEUSER's case because the goal is to describe harbour towns as a category – in effect, creating a Weberian ideal type – whereas LEIDWANGER works on a much larger canvas, attempting to write the economic history of the eastern Roman Empire with all its variations over time and space through two meso-regional case studies. Yet even if their material does not answer each and every research question, the two volumes and their authors deserve credit for asking the questions in the first place, opening new avenues of inquiry and pointing in new directions for the study of ancient ports in their wider contexts.

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Literaturbericht: Nordwestgriechenland

▷ CHAPINAL-HERAS, DIEGO, *Experiencing Dodona. The Development of the Epirote Sanctuary from Archaic to Hellenistic Times*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter 2021. 264 p., illustrations, maps. ISBN 9783110727517.
▷ FORSÉN, BJÖRN (ed.), *Thesprotia Expedition IV. Region Transformed by Empire*, Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens 2019. 482 p., illustrations, maps. ISBN 9789526850047. (*Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens*, XXIV).

18 D. BAR, *Population, settlement and economy in late Roman and Byzantine Palestine (70-641 AD)*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67, 307–20.

19 A. IZDEBSKI, *The Economic Expansion of the Anatolian Countryside in Late Antiquity: The Coast Versus Inland Regions*, in L. LAVAN (ed.), *Local Economies? Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2015. 343–76.