in these dreams against the background of contemporary culture constitutes a valuable contribution to the understanding of this fascinating text.

Theofried Baumeister's contribution on Coptic martyrology first surveys recent work in the field, especially new editions, and then traces some of the characteristics of the Coptic tradition that distinguish it from its Greek models, notably its stress on the repeated healing and restoration of martyrs before their final death. He tentatively connects this to the centuries-old Egyptian concern with bodily integrity as a key to the afterlife, and dates the solidification of this distinctive tradition to the sixth century. In the final paper, Tilman Seidensticker surveys the concept of martyrdom in Islam from the Qu'ran to contemporary suicide bombers, emphasizing a progressive loosening in the use of the term; he believes that there are enough similarities with Christian ideas of martyrdom to suggest some influence, but that the Islamic concept differs fundamentally in treating the martyr as one who dies in the active defence of the faith rather than as the passive victim of oppression.

Such, briefly, are the papers. Add the absence of an index, a general bibliography, or even a list of abbreviations, and the overall impression is one of a quantity of fine sand. More cement would have been helpful.

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MENDICANT MONKS

D. Caner: *Wandering, Begging Monks. Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 33.) Pp. xvi + 325, maps. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002. Cased, US$65/£45. ISBN: 0-520-23324-7.

Daniel Caner's excellent study turns a light on a neglected and (at least in antiquity) much-maligned group of ascetics: the wandering, begging monk. C. argues that rather than being a heretical branch of 'orthodox' monasticism, the itinerant monk adhered to a *modus vivendi* that was much older than the coenobitic pattern promoted by the church in later centuries. The appearance of vitriolic polemics against this way of life in the late fourth century was the product of a church that was firming up its hierarchical structure and an episcopacy jealous to protect its authority and claim to alms.

C. opens his study with an examination of the attitudes toward work and stability preserved in the stories of the Egyptian desert fathers. He suggests that wandering monks were a feature of Egyptian monasticism from the beginning. Stories about wandering monks were preserved to suggest the monk's freedom from cares as well as God's sustaining presence and provision everywhere in the desert. Nevertheless, these accounts existed in tension with apophthegms that promoted stability and manual labor. The balance between a wandering life and stability tipped towards the latter as more monks moved to the Egyptian desert and communal cooperation became a requirement for group survival.

In Chapter 2, C. turns his attention to the evidence for early Syrian asceticism. This examination focuses on two documents suspected to have a Syrian provenance: the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* and Pseudo-Clement's *Letters to Virgins*. The former is read as offering an apostolic paradigm for the wandering ascetic, while the latter is

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judged a manual written to instruct wandering ascetics on how to conduct themselves. Taken together, these works demonstrate that the wandering ascetic was a feature of the third-century Syrian scene. C. postulates that these apostolic ascetics filled a leadership vacuum in an unsettled land and their influence accounted for the more ascetic nature of Syriac Christianity.

Further evidence for the priority of the wandering ascetic paradigm may be drawn from the polemics against the Messalian heresy. C. examines this controversy in Chapter 3, challenging the traditional view that sees Messalianism as a movement that arose in the late fourth century. On the contrary, the practices labeled 'Messalian' (a refusal to perform manual labor in order to devote oneself to constant prayer, and the claim to support from others), were nothing new. Messalianism was a label employed by an increasingly hierarchical church to oppose an established and pervasive ascetic tradition.

The conflicts that could emerge when an apostolic, Syro-Mesopotamian monasticism made contact with the hierarchical church are illustrated in Chapter 4, where C. discusses the career of Alexander the Sleepless. Alexander, after a lengthy sojourn in the East, settled in Constantinople with a large band of followers who, organized into shifts, made it their practice to sing psalms without ceasing. This discreditable band was eventually driven from the city (possibly charged with Messalianism), an action that suggests that Alexander posed a threat to the authority and standing of the established clerics.

The competition for resources and authority serves as the focus of Chapter 5, a study of the polemics against 'pseudo-monks' by John Chrysostom and Nilus of Ancyra. C. develops a model of the urban monk from these two sources, showing how these ascetics moved into a rôle that was once the preserve of mendicant philosophers. Casting themselves as spiritual teachers, these ascetics cultivated aristocratic patrons and claimed the teaching authority and alms that Chrysostom believed belonged to the clergy. The chapter concludes with an examination of the career of Isaac, a well-connected monk of Constantinople, who was an important factor in Chrysostom's ultimate downfall and exile. As the fifth century began, the bishop—even one as powerful as John Chrysostom—had no answer for the urban monk.

Chapter 6 continues the examination of the rôle of monks in the episcopal politics of Constantinople. Here C. focuses on the deposition of Bishop Nestorius and the rise and fall of the archimandrite Eutyches. Just as Isaac had played a prominent rôle in driving John Chrysostom into exile, so too did the first public appearance of the archimandrite Dalmatius (who had been sequestered in his monastery for forty-eight years) sway the emperor to oppose his bishop Nestorius. Seventeen years later, the monk Eutyches was able to mobilize a monastic army to intimidate the attendees at the Council of Ephesus (449) and overturn his excommunication from the preceding year. Two years later, the epicopacy asserted control over the monastic population through the legislation of the Council of Chalcedon.

C. concludes his work with a brief epilogue and an English translation of the *Life of Alexander the Sleepless*.

C. has done a remarkable job of substantiating his thesis. The idea that itinerant ascetics represented a long-standing monastic tradition and his location of opposition to this tradition in terms of a competition for material resources and authority is convincing. I am not certain that this is all of the story (John Cassian, for instance, opposes the wandering ascetic, but seems to have a theological motivation for his opposition), but C. has made an important contribution to an understanding of the

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development of monasticism. His analysis of Messalianism is particularly noteworthy, and will stimulate discussion for years to come. This is an important book and I would not hesitate to recommend it wholeheartedly.

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THE AEGEAN, 1100–900 B.C.

I. S. LEMOS: *The Protogeometric Aegean. The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology). Pp. xxiv + 245, ills, maps, pls. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Cased, £110. ISBN: 0-19-925344-7.

This book gives an up-to-date, concise account of the archaeology of the Aegean area—the title is carefully chosen, as we shall see—in the period described in its sub-title. Lemos argues, rightly, that the profusion of new discoveries justifies a fresh attempt to bring this material together. The first two chapters, accounting for nearly half the main text (pp. 1–100), are devoted to the largely pottery-based chronology of these years, and to the pottery itself. Chapters 3–5 deal more briefly with metalwork, arranged typologically; and with settlements, sanctuaries, and burial practices, arranged by region. The last chapter offers an unusually full and discursive set of Conclusions, and there are three invaluable appendices, listing respectively Near Eastern imports to the Aegean, Aegean exports to the Near East, and a register of the Aegean sites. The sequence of main topics and the organization of the sub-sections often recalls that of the late Vincent Desborough's works of 1952, 1964, and 1972; like Desborough, L. excels in handling the niceties of ceramic development.

Rather surprisingly, L. claims in the opening sentence of the book that 'It is a long time since the archaeology of the Aegean in the period between the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system and the formation of Early Greek towns has been thought an appropriate subject for detailed study'. But 'detailed study', of numerous aspects of this era, is surely exactly what the period has had during the past thirty years: what is needed today is, rather, an up-to-date synthesis to replace those of the late 1960s and early 1970s. How far does L.'s book fill this need? For all its undoubted value and first-hand expertise, two factors act to limit its utility.

First, there are the geographical exclusions. The main ones are honestly announced on the first page. 'Western Greece'—that is, the western Greek mainland—is not included, because of its slower recovery from the collapse of the palace system, and because of the apparently imminent publication of detailed area studies. More seriously, in a work with 'Aegean' in its title, Crete is not covered either, in this case because 'its character . . . is different from most of the rest of the Aegean'. On p. 6, we find that the sites of Kastanas and Assiros in inland central Macedonia are also 'situated outside the main geographical area of the present study', though happily the same does not apply to the recently excavated sites of the Chalkidiki, which feature in several contexts. The unspoken grounds for these decisions are ceramic: these are all regions which did not observe the canonical sequence of pottery-styles in these centuries. And, Crete apart, they are also regions which did not possess an Aegean coastline—hence the studied choice in L.'s title of 'the Aegean'. But these exclusions

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