address other social issues, such as politics and intra-state interaction. Vivers stresses the underlying importance of land laws and treaties, and suggests that they may have been deliberately arranged in order to tax external rather than internal trade. Stefanakis's paper is outstanding in that it is one of the few that combines Minoan and post-Minoan evidence in order to illustrate his theories regarding bursts of coin minting at certain periods, some of which may be linked to events such as returning mercenaries or military disturbances in the Aegean. He uses inscriptional evidence dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C. to show how Crete may have wrongly been regarded as a late-starter (i.e. the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.) in the world of coin-minting and usage. It is widely known that, despite the enormous range of evidence for the Roman period in Crete, little work has been done on collating the information, both archaeological and historical. Paton and Schneider have done an exemplary job in taking a specific area of material culture (what more appropriate for the Romans than imported marbles?), producing a contextual survey of it, and then using it as evidence in a discussion regarding the economy and society of Roman Crete. More work such as this would go a long way to make up for the dearth of our knowledge regarding Roman Crete. Marangou's article is one of the few that is well illustrated. Although in some articles plans and plates may not have been necessary, they are conspicuously lacking in others. The subject of Baldwin-Bowsky's paper is the prosopographical evidence for Roman trade on Crete; out of this, she addresses important social issues of Romanization. She concludes that the evidence suggests not only that Crete flourished because of its exports of all types, but that its wealth may also have attracted foreign traders to settle on the island. Despite being a preliminary report, Litinas's paper is very useful, with some good basic ideas, an example of how it would have been possible to present some of the survey evidence without necessarily discussing conclusions.

The concept and the theme of the volume are unprecedented, and one could justifiably say that it has two main achievements: the first is to highlight the lack of information pertaining to key periods of Cretan cultural history, such as the classical and archaic, and the second is to emphasize the importance of survey evidence for the island.

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PARTHIA

J. WIESEHÖFER (ed.): *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse. The Arsacid Empire: Sources and Documentation. Beiträge des Internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin (27–30 June 1996)*. (*Historia* Einzelschrift 122.) Pp. 570, maps, figs, tables, pls. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998. Paper, DM 196. ISBN: 3-515-07331-0.

As Wiesehöfer notes, the Parthian empire has generally suffered from a certain neglect, and in particular very little attention has been paid to the source material. While a series of workshops has dealt with Achaemenid history and another on late antiquity and early Islam has devoted considerable attention to the Sasanian dynasty, nothing comparable had been produced concerning the Parthians. With the

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publication of this volume and E. Dabrowa's proceedings of another conference held in 1996, entitled *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean World* (Cracow, 1998), this situation is beginning to change. But as is clear at once from A. Kuhrt's concluding remarks in W.'s volume, many questions remain unanswered and many promising fields of research are left. It can safely be predicted that we can look forward to further work on the subject, and indeed in his preface, W. reports that a bibliography of the Parthian empire is in preparation, as well as a handbook on its history and culture.

Most of the papers are in German, while the remainder are in English. The work is divided into six sections, of which the first deals with archaeological evidence. The first paper, by M. Olbrycht (pp. 11–43), concerns the culture of the steppe areas and relations between Arsacid Iran and the nomad peoples of the steppes. A. Invernizzi's paper, 'Parthian Nisa: New Lines of Research' (pp. 45–59), highlights some of the problems associated with this well-known site. He focuses on the lack of evidence available: Hellenistic culture exerted a strong influence, but the extent of local influences cannot yet be assessed. V. S. Curtis's well-illustrated contribution on 'The Parthian Costume and Headdress' (pp. 61–73) argues for a growing complexity in Parthian dress as they gained their independence. H. von Gall's paper on 'Architecture and Sculpture under the Parthians' (pp. 75–94) makes the point that it is possible to speak of a 'Parthian culture': although certain sites (e.g. Hatra) display signs of independent styles, they were also clearly influenced by Iranian models. In his wide-ranging contribution, 'The Fascination of the Enemy: Portrayals of the Parthian and of the East at Rome', R. M. Schneider investigates Roman attitudes to Parthia. Although the Parthians were regarded by the Romans as being alien and inferior, and were thus often portrayed in such a way as to emphasize Roman traits and virtues, they also enjoyed a remarkable popularity in art.

The second section deals with written sources from Iran and Mesopotamia. A. Hintze considers 'The Avesta in the Parthian Period' (pp. 147–61), concluding that 'the Avesta was widely spread all over Iran from the Achaemenid period onwards at the latest' and hence different versions emerged in different regions (p. 158); however, the Avesta remains a problematic source to use (cf. Kuhrt, p. 531). The papers of R. Schmitt, 'The Transmission of Parthian Names and the Parthian Language in the Arsacid Period' (pp. 163–204), and R.J. van der Spek, 'Cuneiform Documents on Parthian History: the Rahimesu Archive' (pp. 205–58), are the longest in the volume. Their detailed analyses of particular sources will be valuable to specialists: Schmitt, for instance, provides a list of all the known instances of the Parthian language from the Arsacid period (pp. 168–74). Van der Spek offers an edited and translated series of documents from 94–3 B.C. which gives information on the administration of temples and aspects of daily life at Babylon.

The third section concerns Greek and Roman traditions about Parthia. B. van Wickevoort Crommelin deals with Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (pp. 259–77), J. W. Drijvers with Strabo (pp. 279–93), N. Ehrhardt with Tacitus (pp. 295–307), and T. Rajak with Josephus (pp. 309–24). As is instantly apparent, certain authors, such as Dio Cassius, Arrian, and Plutarch, are conspicuously absent. Schottky's paper (see below), however, offers an assessment of all Greek and Roman sources to deal with Media Atropatene and Hyrcania, and thus compensates somewhat for these omissions. Drijvers elsewhere (in Drijvers and E. D. Hunt, *The Late Roman World and its Historian* [London, 1999], pp. 193–206) offers a paper on Ammianus Marcellinus' treatment of Parthian history. Crommelin emphasizes the didactic dimension of Trogus' treatment of Parthian history; reference should here have been made to

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J. Yardley and W. Heckel, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Oxford, 1997). Strabo's information, according to Drijvers, is flawed because of his low opinion of the Parthians; Ehrhardt, while aware of Tacitus' biases, is more positive concerning what can be learnt from him. To his bibliography should be added E. Wheeler, *Klio* 79 (1997), 383–97 and R. Ash, *Phoenix* 53 (1999), 114–34. Rajak's consideration of all Josephus' sections on Parthia is thorough and useful.

The fourth section, on the Armenian and Chinese traditions, comprises just two papers. E. Kettenhoffen (pp. 325–53) adroitly tackles the former and takes a resolutely downbeat view of what useful information can be gleaned from sources such as Moses Khorenats'i on the history of the Arsacid dynasty. W. Posch (pp. 355–64) offers a translation and brief analysis of short excerpts from the accounts of Chinese ambassadors to Parthia. Numismatic evidence is the focus of the fifth section. M. Alram's paper on the current state of Arsacid numismatics (pp. 365–87) presents a valuable overview of the field and underlines the importance of further work on the chronology of emission series. O. Bopearachchi's contribution on the Indo-Parthians (pp. 389–406) is of necessity chiefly concerned with numismatic evidence.

The sixth section examines various regions within the Parthian empire in varying detail. M. Schuol (pp. 407–15) concentrates on noting the many different types of evidence available for Characene in the Parthian period. E. Dabrowa (pp. 417–24) sketches the sources (mainly rock reliefs and coins) that exist for Susiana and Elymais. J. Wiesehöfer's important contribution on Persis (pp. 425–34) notes how few traces there are of the Parthians here. He infers from this not that the Parthians had difficulty in controlling the region from which the Sasanians eventually emerged, but rather that it proved tractable on the whole (p. 432). M. Schottky offers a lengthy paper on Media Atropatene and Hyrcania (pp. 435–72). Its wealth of detail is impressive: every relevant piece of literary evidence which bears on these two regions is scrutinized. But here a weakness in the volume emerges, for no effort is made to refer to earlier discussions of sources such as Strabo or Tacitus. More seriously, Schottky takes a far more positivist line with the Armenian sources (pp. 454–5) without addressing the difficulties raised by Kettenhoffen. F. Millar's paper, 'Dura-Europos under Parthian Rule' (pp. 473–92), concentrates on temple inscriptions (in Greek and Palmyrene) from Dura in an effort to come to grips with the nature of the city and its institutions at this time. Lastly in this section, S. Hauser argues for the need for more comprehensive research on Hatra (pp. 493–528), placing it in its wider context; he argues that the taking of the title 'king' by its rulers in the 160s need not be interpreted as an assertion of independence from the Parthians (pp. 515–16).

From A. Kuhrt's concluding remarks (pp. 529–34), as well as the *desiderata* noted by many participants, it is evident at once that much remains to be done. But this volume, by concentrating on the sources for Parthian history, is an important contribution, on which all further research must be based; it is also equipped with excellent indices. The participants might have taken each other's papers into account more, but this is a minor complaint.

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