Short chapters on the Emperor's 'Genius' (Chapter 7), 'Numen' (Chapter 10), and a local parallel to developments in the capital (Chapter 11) precede the final chapter of the book. With a length of 110 pages, this chapter almost forms a monograph in itself. In it, the 'state apotheosis of dead emperors' is placed in 'the same context as that of worship of the living ruler' (p. 369). Again, there is much of value here. G. places apotheosis in a system of mutual obligation, in which being declared a god was a reward for being a good emperor. Attention to detail and use of a wide range of evidence characterize this chapter, and the book as a whole. Ultimately, the confusion and fluidity following from the notion of relative divinity (p. 302: 'if the reader is at this stage confused and fed up with the argument, this is exactly my point') seem more convincing than the clear boundaries between 'state cult' and wider worship. That does not make the argument less challenging and interesting.

It should be noted that G. has not incorporated modern literature published after 1998. This is a pity, but it would be unfair to end this review on a negative note. G.'s book will give rise to dispute and new ideas. For that, it is to be recommended. This is a highly original contribution to the study of Roman religion. It should be read.

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THE SYNAGOGUE AT OSTIA

B. Olsen, D. Mitternacht, O. Brandt (edd.): *The Synagogue of Ancient Ostia and the Jews of Rome. Interdisciplinary Studies*. Pp. 202, ills. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2001. Paper. ISBN: 91-7042-165-X.

This book is the first fruits of a project on 'The Ancient Synagogue: Birthplace of Two World Religions' at the University of Lund. It includes some very important work on the synagogue of Ostia, which is what this review will concentrate on; the articles on the Jews of Rome summarize the state of research without adding much that is new.

The longest and by far the most significant article is Anders Runesson, 'The Synagogue at Ancient Ostia: The Building and its History from the First to the Fifth Century'. This represents the most thorough synthesis so far of all the published material on the synagogue, together with R.'s own observations from the site. The synagogue was first excavated in 1961. The excavator, Maria Floriani Squarciapino, is credited with reading R.'s manuscript, and it is frequently stated that the article is intended to serve as a stopgap until the appearance of her final report. R. notes that this was expected to appear 'soon' in 1972, and that he was told that she was still working on it in 1998. Her most recent publication (in J.-P. Descoeudres [ed.], *Ostia, port et porte de la Rome antique* [Geneva, 2001], pp. 272–7) makes no reference to it, so it can probably be assumed that R.'s will remain the definitive work for the foreseeable future. R. is able to correct a number of mistakes and misunderstandings in the publications of L. Michael White, who has recently been the most prolific writer on the synagogue. There has been an ongoing debate between him and R. in *Harvard Theological Review*, and Floriani Squarciapino's new article largely endorses R.'s views.

R. argues that the synagogue was purpose-built in the second half of the first century A.D., rather than being converted from a private house, and that the adjacent

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house could have been the home of a synagogue official—perhaps even the *archi-synagogos* Plotius Fortunatus, who is known from an epitaph. It was altered several times, with major renovations around the time of Hadrian and at the beginning of the fourth century, and further work on the aedicula in the middle and late fourth century (some parts of the article would be easier to follow if these views were explained in the introduction rather than the conclusion). He makes the interesting suggestion that the fourth-century renovation was due not to an expansion of the Ostian Jewish community, as has usually been supposed, but to its contraction, resulting in another congregation abandoning its own synagogue to join forces with the congregation of the excavated building. This leads to the further suggestion that the reused donor inscription of Mindius Faustus (JIWE i 13) originally belonged to the abandoned synagogue not the excavated one, which would explain how a dedication to emperors came to an ignominious end as part of the synagogue's *opus sectile* flooring. Both these ideas are feasible, but it is worth remembering that synagogues elsewhere were expanding in the fourth century (and even later), and that the Ostian builders were fairly indiscriminate about which stones they reused in the floor, since they used at least one pagan epitaph face up.

Olof Brandt, 'The Quarter Surrounding the Synagogue at Ostia', puts the synagogue in its topographical context much more satisfactorily than has been done before. It seems to be the oldest building in its part of the area outside the Porta Marina, and the city's built-up area only extended out to it during the second century A.D. The Via Severiana, built between 198 and 209, runs beside the synagogue, and must have increased the importance of that part of the city, which was still flourishing in the second half of the fourth century. A set of baths less than 200 m from the synagogue is probably the one mentioned by Minucius Felix (*Oct.* 4.5). The synagogue was only a few metres from the shore (something which is very difficult for a visitor to the excavations to appreciate now).

There is a separate contribution by R. on 'Water and Worship: Ostia and the Ritual Bath in the Diaspora Synagogue', where he argues for the importance of washing in synagogue ritual, and relates it to the cistern and basin excavated in the synagogue, the proximity of the sea, and the baths (not those mentioned above) which were built immediately opposite the synagogue across the Via Severiana. The water supply was not always the main consideration in locating a synagogue, but the Ostia building was well placed to provide washing facilities, even if they were rather different from the ritual bath (*mikveh*) found in many Palestinian synagogues.

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MILITARY RELIGION IN THE EAST

O. STOLL: *Zwischen Integration and Abgrenzung. Die Religion des römischen Heeres im Nahen Osten*. Pp. 703. St Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2001. Cased, €57.50. ISBN: 3-89590-116-4.

Stoll's monograph is a contribution to the continuing debate on the social history of the Roman army under the Empire. The relative abundance of inscriptions and papyri in the imperial period offers the possibility of exploring the relationship of the military to civilian society in a way not possible for the Republic. Initially work in this area was concentrated on Romanization, patterns of recruitment, and the provincial army units. It was only with the publication of R. MacMullen's *Soldier and Civilian in*

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