

(p. 37)—again a problem far more complex than the author realizes—is typically confused. Here his limitation of the topic to the Herodian territories has been fatally misleading because it causes him to ignore the role of Antioch in the history of the evolution of the Herodian colonnaded street. Yet he introduces such bizarre parallels as Ebla and Isfahan.

The repeated misspelling of Roman topographical names (“Temple of Jupita,” “Fontina Primagenia,” “Large Arrigo,” “Settfinistre”) further shows, like the confusion of dates, that the author is out of his depth. Readers may be surprised to learn that the “Trato Maritima” (presumably the Teatro Maritima) at Tivoli, a totally round structure, is noted for its angles (p. 51). The author’s many misreadings of the ancient sources indicate little if any knowledge of Greek and Latin. There is no evidence of any personal familiarity with the sites discussed. The intentional limiting of the analysis to Palestine creates a burden that makes comprehension of the Herodian building program impossible, since over half the building sites of Herod the Great—including some of the most innovative—were outside Palestine. Granted that the author’s topic is urban development in Palestine in the Herodian period, but he has ignored the cross-fertilization produced by Herod’s work at places such as Antioch and Nikopolis, which affected issues in Palestine.

The work reads like a polemic. Edward Luttwak’s “Grand Strategy” theories of 30 years ago are cited repeatedly in disparagement, yet this is hardly a contemporary issue. Luttwak’s ideas, while interesting, have long since been disposed of by scholars such as Whittaker (whose essential *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* was not used by the present author). The author has set up narrow views of both romanization and Roman architecture that are not in the mainstream of scholarship, only to tear them down. Few would suggest today that romanization means total submersion of native ethnicity (p. 1): in fact, much of the scholarship of recent years has demonstrated exactly the opposite. And Roman architecture has long been recognized as a complex hybrid evolving over hundreds of years, yet the author gives the impression that he is the first to realize this. It is as if the thesis were written 25 years ago.

There is no excuse for not having an index, and the bibliography is hopelessly inadequate. Most egregious is the lack of Nikos Kokkinos’ *The Herodian Dynasty* (1998), probably the most significant work of recent years on the topic, and which, if used, would have eliminated many of the author’s concerns about ethnicity and romanization in the Herodian world.

It is always sad to see a work that is without any redeeming virtues. The level of scholarship would not even be adequate for an undergraduate, and it is astonishing that this earned the author an M. Phil. One is left wondering what the role of his thesis supervisors was, but more mysterious is that the editors of BAR International Series al-

lowed this to see the light of day; it was obviously rushed into print without even cursory proofreading. It should never have been published in anything close to its present form.

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***Die Islamische Stadt*, edited by Stefan Heidemann and Andrea Becker. Raqqa 2. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003. vii + 318 pp., 30 figures, 60 plates, 1 color foldout plan, 2 color foldout maps. Cloth. €65.50.**

Archaeologists specializing in the Islamic period face many challenges in publishing, not the least of which is incorporating in a meaningful way the rich corpus of written sources available to them. Heidemann and Becker’s volume in the al-Raqqa final publication series makes particularly good use of primary Arabic sources and presents material in a lucid and well-organized fashion. Volume 2 is the second of the series, and it is devoted to written sources on the “sister” cities of al-Raqqa and al-Rafiq: contemporary Arabic texts and inscribed objects from the German excavation and those now in public and private collections (such as coins, inscribed glass, tombstones, and wooden wall reliefs). This series of final reports covers the fieldwork done at al-Raqqa and its environs under the directorship of the influential art historian Dr. Michael Meinecke, who led fieldwork there from 1982 to 1994 and passed away the following year. To date only one other volume of this series has appeared in print, the report on the Early Islamic pottery at Tall Aswad (Miglus 1999); three others on major architecture, excavations of the palace area, and small finds and architectural decoration will follow (p. vi). As the first site excavated by the Germans in the modern republic of Syria (since 1980), al-Raqqa is the flagship project in Syria of the German Institute, a

body that has already produced important scholarship on the architecture and urban forms of Islamic-period Syrian cities (Gaube and Wirth 1984; Meinecke 1992; Sack 1989; 1996).

Historians and archaeologists have long awaited this series, as al-Raqqa was one of the most important sites of the Jezira in the Abbasid period. Located on the north bank of the Euphrates River in northeastern Syria, al-Raqqa was the capital of the western provinces for the Abbasid state and had one of the largest slave markets in central Islamic lands (p. 61). The nearby settlement of al-Rafīqa was established in 771–772 as a sister city to al-Raqqa, to house Khurasani troops used on the Byzantine frontier. Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809 C.E.) lived there for 12 years (796–808), during which time it served as the Abbasid capital (p. 59). Archaeologists have traditionally been interested in Raqqa/Rafīqa's ceramic factories, which produced and exported the underglaze-painted "Raqqa Ware" in the 12th century, and in its monumental architecture of the early Abbasid period (9th century), much of it still standing today.

Heidemann and Becker's monograph is divided into seven parts, organized thematically, each consisting of articles in German and English. The volume covers the Umayyad and Abbasid periods but focuses on the reigns of Harun al-Rashid and his sons in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, which was the apogee of the twin cities' settlement and economic and political power. The German Institute excavated several sites in the Raqqa/Rafīqa region; the most historically important of these sites are discussed in this volume, with special attention to the caliphal palaces and congregational mosques. Parts 1 and 2 provide the geographical and historical background for the studies that follow. Andrea Becker's brief article for chapter 1 describes the climatic and sociopolitical factors that made al-Raqqa a strategically important site for the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs: its proximity to the Byzantine frontier and its location between dry-farmed and irrigated lands (pp. 3–4). She goes on to summarize the history of archaeological investigations in the region and emphasizes the dearth of earlier publications and the damage done previously by looters of ceramics.

Part 2 consists of two chapters: a review of Arabic sources on Raqqa/Rafīqa by Stefan Heidemann, and C. Bosworth's analysis of the geopolitical factors behind al-Raqqa's rise to power. Heidemann was responsible for most of the analyses of written sources in this volume, and his contributions begin with this exhaustive chapter on Arabic sources of the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. His clearly articulated analyses survey these sources chronologically. There are few written records for the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, outside of the standard accounts of the Islamic conquests (al-Baladhuri, who died in 892, and Ibn A'dham al-Kufi, who died in 926), coins, and an assortment of Syrian and Aramaic sources, such as the anonymous chronicle of 775, the account of Michael

the Syrian (d. 1199), and the chronicle of the Jacobite patriarch Dionysius of Tell Mahre (d. 845). For the "high" Abbasid period (late ninth and early tenth centuries), Heidemann has collected an impressive corpus of chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and urban topographies and geographies. These include some obscure chronicles that are rarely cited by modern scholars but are, nonetheless, rich in local history, such as the *Tarikh al-Raqqa* ("History of Raqqa") of al-Qushayri, who died in 945–946, and the chronicle of al-Sarakhsi, who campaigned in the region in 884–885 (p. 10). Heidemann then culls these sources to describe the process of Arabization in the region and to document the development of the twin cities' physical structure and their market and industries, which include ceramics, glass, and olive oil (p. 29). He also contrasts the transformation of agriculture in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, by citing Early Islamic tax manuals for data on tax structure and rural complexes related to farming. This particular subsection, however, falls short of what should be expected from this topic: agricultural policies are presented only superficially, and the multifaceted roles of the rural *qusur*, which have been debated since Grabar's seminal work on the subject (Grabar 1963), are not discussed. The briefer chapter by Bosworth that follows (chapter 3) focuses on the Umayyad period, when al-Raqqa was the administrative center of Diyar Mudar and a target for state investment in agricultural development. The construction of country estates in the region—Caliph Hisham's "Wasit al-Raqqa" and his brother's "Hisn Maslama—in addition to irrigation canals and fortifications, attest to the importance of this region to the Umayyad's agricultural sector. While he draws on different sources than Heidemann, there is considerable overlap on this topic between the two chapters. This section, and the volume as a whole, could have been strengthened by a better coordination of the contributions, to avoid repetition.

Part 3 of the volume consists of three chapters dedicated to non-Arabic sources and is essentially a compendium of written sources with minimal analysis. In his chapter 4, Thomas Weber provides a list of Greek and Latin references to the city, documents how and why its name was changed from Kallinikos to Leontopolis and then to al-Raqqa, and in what ways the original city was truly a Hellenistic one in terms of physical structure and services. Chase Robinson, in chapter 5, does the same for the few Syriac sources on the site, highlighting the local perspective they give to the life of the Christian community and to imperial building projects on the Euphrates in the eighth and ninth centuries (p. 81). Medieval European travelers' accounts are the topic of chapter 6, by Kay Kohlmeyer. The majority of her sources, however, are 15th and 19th century in date, and while they are useful for Ottoman history, they are not entirely relevant for the earlier periods to which the volume is dedicated.

Part 4 deals with epigraphic materials as part of the volume's inclusive definition of "written sources." A one-page

article by Thomas Weber (as chapter 7) describes a single Byzantine funerary inscription, reused in a niche in the *qibla* wall of the Great Mosque in al-Raqqā. The plaque originally came from a limestone sarcophagus, which Weber dates to the mid-sixth or first half of the seventh century (p. 97). The survey of inscriptions of various media in Claus Peter Haase's article (chapter 8) is particularly interesting for the dated Mamluk-period tombstones, which are rare in other parts of the Mamluk Empire. Some of the inscriptions name women, which makes this material particularly promising for Mamluk social history.

The heart of this volume, which represents its most innovative methods and best integration of written (historical) and material (archaeological) sources, is Part 5, to which Heidemann contributes all four chapters. Here the author combines numismatic evidence with entries in contemporary biographical dictionaries to reconstruct a political and urban history not documented in traditional written sources; biographical sources were used in a similar fashion in recent analyses of Mamluk pottery and textiles (Walker 2000; 2004). The purpose of this section is to write a local history of the twin cities based on the local minting of coins and the information they yield on local administration. Chapter 9 focuses on coins as documents on the political history of the region. The local series of coins minted from 813 to 816 sheds new light on this history of al-Raqqā during the Abbasid civil war by naming officials, whose careers can be traced through the course of this conflict. Previously anonymous commanders and governors are now known by name through Heidemann's detailed analysis of the numismatic inscriptions, such as 'Amr and Sa'id ibn Yahya, who were the military commanders at al-Rafīqa under the governorship of Tahir ibn al-Hussayn (p. 131). The following two chapters investigate the relationship between the mints at Kufa and al-Raqqā. Heidemann argues throughout that local minting imitated the copper issues imported from Kufa between 779 and 784 (pp. 141–61). A full catalog of coins from al-Raqqā/al-Rafīqa, from both the German excavations and public and private collections, appears in his chapter 12.

The final part of the volume consists of a single chapter, by Udo Becker, on the urban plan of al-Rafīqa. Through a complicated geometrical analysis, Becker supports Meinecke's original thesis that the irregular form of the city wall actually followed an Abbasid "canon" (as seen at al-Qatul/al-Qadisiya in Samarra) by adjusting to a *qibla* orientation. While interesting, this chapter is out of place in this volume, which is otherwise a coherent history of two cities based on written sources.

This caveat aside, Volume 2 of the Raqqā final publication series is a most welcome contribution to a growing body of literature on the Islamic city. It is, moreover, a model for publishing archaeological reports so as to properly incorporate written sources and make the data meaningful to traditional historians. On the whole *Die Islamische Stadt* describes a local history for the Abbasid

civil war—the local personalities, the role of the twin cities in the conflict, and the ways they benefited from it—that is novel for Early Islamic history.

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***Gender in Ancient Cyprus: Narratives of Social Change on a Mediterranean Island*, by Diane Bolger. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003. xviii + 268 pp., 49 figures, 10 tables. Paper. \$34.95.**

This book was written to fill what the author considers (p. xv) "a blatant gap in the archaeological research of the ancient Near East that . . . continues to marginalize gender in its treatment of the past." To achieve this goal, Bolger proposes to examine in this volume "some of the funda-

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