

Chapter Four (96-122) discusses language variation, offering the example of the pronunciation of *r* in different English-speaking countries and then explores language variation in Greek and Latin. He looks at how these changes are reflected in literary texts, in particular, how Aristophanes uses his characters to reflect language change and variation (including dialectal differences). Clackson recognises the difficulty of applying modern linguistic approaches to an ancient language, where there are only written texts surviving for study and no oral informants. This is an especially stimulating chapter, and the author has included useful detail on a complex topic.

Chapter Five (123-142) explores gender differences in speech, including the use of obscenities and euphemisms. Again, Clackson acknowledges the difficulties arising from this when studying Greek and Latin texts, since there are so many fewer texts written by women than by men. Papyrus letters give us occasional shafts of light on to this topic, for further examples see *P.Oxy 12* (1916) 1467 (petition, 263CE) and 46 (1978) 3313 (letter dictated and then corrected by a woman, AD II). On female speech in Greek and Latin comedy the articles by J.N. Adams and D. Bain, respectively, which are included in Clackson's references, are particularly useful.

Chapter Six (143-170) focuses on language used in religious contexts (Christianity primarily) and deals with the translation history of biblical texts, looking at languages individually including Greek, Latin and Hebrew as well as Aramaic, Syriac and Coptic. There are two particular points worth noting, the first is that Clackson mentions that, in the first-written gospel, Mark represents Jesus speaking in Greek and occasionally switching to Aramaic (153-154). Perhaps, however, Mark's variation is not indicative of Jesus' actual language choices, but rather that Mark was writing for a Greek-speaking audience and only used Aramaic at pivotal moments. Mark, as well as Matthew, uses Aramaic (in Greek lettering) for Jesus' final utterance on the cross but both writers also provide a translation. In Mark 7.34 the Aramaic word *ephphatha* is translated for his Greek readers (see Graham Stanton, *The Gospels and Jesus*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Oxford, 2002, 39). So while Mark does use Aramaic in several places, he is writing for a Greek audience and thereby his use of the Greek language for Jesus' speech is not indicative of what Mark thought him to be actually speaking. Secondly, Clackson uses 1 Corinthians 14:19 as an example of Paul's insistence of keeping language simple and intelligible (158 *n.*15). This verse, however, is not discussing the writing of texts, nor the normal spoken language, but Paul here is speaking of the intra-group, 'spiritual' phenomenon of *glossolalia*. Here Paul is arguing that it is better to be understood (i.e to speak in the same language) than to speak in a communal context in a way that others cannot humanly understand. On the whole, this chapter does raise some thoughtful issues, and deals with a large variety of topics that are important when looking at the language of religious texts.

The Conclusion (171-175) neatly draws together the entire book while reminding the reader of the limitations of studying 'dead' languages. The author reassures his audience that, despite the difficulties faced with only having written evidence, modern linguistics can still play a crucial role in research on ancient languages. A brief bibliographic essay (176-178) concludes the book, offering numerous sources for both the ancient languages as well as linguistics. This is followed by a current and extensive reference list. One additional resource would be G. Giannakis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, 3 vols, Leiden, Brill, 2014; however, this only came out just before Clackson's book.

This excellent book by a writer expert on his subject is a useful introduction for any individual who has a developing interest in linguistics and the ancient world. Clackson provides some attractive linguistic maps of the languages spoken around the Mediterranean, including one which illustrates the variety of Greek dialects at different periods. It would perhaps have been helpful if there were more footnotes provided in order to follow up some of Clackson's statements; but by the same token, excessive apparatus may detract from the readability that makes this book so appealing to beginners.

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**Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled: The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium, Oxford University Press, New York, 2015, pp 430, includes plans and diagrams (42 figures) and 2 maps + 19 plates, ISBN 978-0-19-965377-5, £90**

Reviewed by Susan Balderstone

Vered Shalev-Hurvitz has brought together documentary sources and archaeological research on four significant early churches in Jerusalem. Based largely on her doctoral thesis, the book focuses on one still existing monument - the Anastasis dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and three others known from historical sources and archaeological remains. These three are the Church of the Ascension (also known as the Imbomon), the Kathisma Church (built over the rock on which Mary rested on her way to Bethlehem) and the now lost upper church over Mary's Tomb.

Argument is presented to support the proposition that the first two were foundations of Constantine dedicated to Jesus following the Council of Nicaea in AD 325, that the second two were built under the auspices of Bishop Juvenal and dedicated to Mary Mother of God following the Council of Ephesus in AD 431, and that they were all built as statements about the importance of Jerusalem as a Holy City. The landmark status of the churches was em-

phased by their domed, circular or octagonal concentric form which, it is argued, was particularly appropriate for commemorating such holy places. It is proposed that this form was subsequently copied in churches at Caesarea, Capernaum, Scythopolis (Beth Shean) and Gerizim and ultimately in the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem using similar planning procedures and basic measurements. The argument is supported by excellent plans and diagrams.

According to the author, the use of the domed concentric form for the Anastasis derived from Constantine's desire to enclose the Holy Sepulchre in an imperial tomb, similar to those of Maxentius, Helena and Constantina in Rome and the centrally-focused, domed architectural form was used for tombs because it represented eternity. Provision of a circular ambulatory around the sepulchre enabled use for liturgical purposes, thereby accomplishing the transition of use for this building type from memorial tomb to commemorative church. She argues that the type was particularly used where churches took over Jewish, pagan or Samaritan sites, so that while it had a commemorative function at the four sites in Jerusalem, it also became a symbol of Christian victory, at least until the form was adopted for the Muslim Dome of the Rock.

In focusing on the concentric churches, Shalev-Hurvitz has highlighted similarities in layout and measurement among the four churches she discusses and has generally illuminated the circumstances surrounding their creation. She has also made connections with concentric churches further afield and shown the influence on them of these Jerusalem churches. However it is difficult to be convinced by some of her arguments, not least because dating of the buildings cannot be undisputedly established.

For instance, as evidence that the Anastasis was founded by Constantine she argues that the dedication in 336 of the basilica of the Holy Cross must have included the domed Anastasis building. While Eusebius' description makes clear that the embellished cave of the sepulchre was included and dedicated as part of the complex, there was nothing to indicate that the domed building over it existed at that time. As Pringle noted (2007: 7) the 'place of the Holy Resurrection' is only testified as enclosed in a building c. AD 348.

In relation to the dating of the Imbomon she throws doubt on the attribution of the Imbomon to a pious lady named Poemenia because the attribution is in a work written a century later, by which time she suggests, the name Poemenia could have been confused with that of another pious lady, Melanie the Elder. She bases her proposition that the Imbomon was built during the time of Constantine on Eusebius' description and praise of Constantine's buildings commemorating three caves in the Holy Land: the cave of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem, the cave of his tomb and the cave which commemorates the place of his ascension, which was the cave where Jesus taught his disciples and where they met before his ascension. The church built over this cave was a rectangular, three-aisled

basilica known as the Eleona. While the circular Imbomon formed part of the liturgy described later by the pilgrim Egeria, there is no reason to believe that this building existed at the time of Eusebius' oration in 336. Attribution to Poemenia dates it to before the arrival of Melanie the Elder c. 378. It is possible that she built it under the auspices of Bishop Maximus, successor to Macarius as bishop of Jerusalem, which would date it to before 350.

There was one other possibly octagonal church in Jerusalem, on Mt Zion, contemporary with the Anastasis as indicated in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century apse mosaic of Sta. Pudenziana in Rome, which might have repaid further investigation by the author. This apse mosaic is understood to show the Anastasis to the left of Christ and the church on Mt Zion to the right (Mackowski 1980: 142-6; Finegan 1992: 233-5). The church on the right with its pointed dome, referred to by Cyril as the 'Upper Church' because being on Mt Zion it was higher up than the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is clearly different from the gable-roofed basilica shown on Mt Zion in the 6<sup>th</sup> century Madaba Map, although both are shown adjacent to the Cenacle. The pointed roof church on the right in the St. Pudenziana mosaic is dated by Finegan to the time of Bishop Maximus (335-348) who transferred the central seat of the Jerusalem church from the church of the Holy Apostles on Mt Zion to the Holy Sepulchre. It was later replaced by the church shown in the Madaba Map, attributed to Bishop John II and the emperor Theodosius I.

The form of the Anastasis and the Imbomon, together with that of the church of the Holy Apostles on Mount Zion is more likely to be illuminated through consideration of the Arian sympathies of Bishop Maximus than through trying to force a connection with Constantine (Balderstone 2007).

There were other churches built in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 5<sup>th</sup> century to mark important places connected with the New Testament story in Jerusalem including the Lazarium in Bethany, the Basilica of Holy Zion, S. Mary of the Probatika (Bethesda), and the Church of Gethsemane, which were not round or octagonal in form. Without the context of these and all the other churches of many different types being built in the region over the same period, and some further insight into the particular choice of the domed concentric type, the usefulness of this work resides primarily in its analysis of the planning procedure and geometric layout of the concentric churches, and the implications of this for later churches of this type.

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Balderstone, Susan 2007 *Early Church Architectural Forms: A Theologically Contextual Typology for the Eastern Churches of the 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Melbourne: Australian Institute of Archaeology.

Finegan, Jack 1992 *The Archaeology of the New Testament: The life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mackowski, Richard M. 1980 *Jerusalem City of Jesus: An Exploration of the Traditions, Writings and Remains of the Holy City from the Time of Christ*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Pringle, Denys 2007 *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* Vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University

**Andrew M. Madden, *Corpus of Byzantine Church Mosaic Pavements from Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, Colloquia Antiqua 13, Peeters, Leuven, Belgium, 2014, pp 242. includes pattern diagrams, map and 38 photographs, ISBN 978-90-429-3061-2, €78**

Reviewed by Susan Balderstone

Based on his doctoral thesis, Andrew Madden has published this catalogue of mosaics from almost 3000 sites within the territory of Roman Palestine from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. Using the patterns and nomenclature established by Michael Avi-Yonah (*Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, 1933-35) as amended by Ruth and Asher Ovadieh (*Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*, 1987), Madden has brought the record up to date, providing what should be a useful basis for comparison of new discoveries and perhaps for review of the dating of existing churches containing mosaics. The handy indexes at the back enable a particular pattern to be easily traced at all the churches where it has been used in the area of Roman Palestine and where in the church it was located – for example nave field, north aisle field etc. Where firm dates have been given for the church floors by inscription, some conclusions can perhaps be drawn as to the dates of similar floors where there are no inscriptions. However, unfortunately, the published records of the individual churches from which the information has been collected are such that one rarely obtains accurate dates. Tracing a particular pattern (J5) at all the churches where it has been identified results in dates ranging from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in the first church at Bethany (nave field) to uncertain 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century dates in several others or no date is given at all.

There is clearly a further task that could be done using this information, which would be to table places and dates for each pattern with the addition of information from the other similar catalogues for the surrounding region such as Michele Piccirillo's *The Mosaics of Jordan* (1993) and Pauline Donceel-Voûte's *Les Pavements des églises Byzantines de Syrie et du Liban* (1988). Ideally this would be supplemented with similar information from Cyprus and Turkey. Such a catalogue would be immensely useful, particularly if it also contained coloured photographs of each pattern in use. A comprehensive overview such as this would enable a far better understanding of how the design of church floors changed over time (geometric to figurative and back to geometric for instance) and whether particular designs related to particular areas or theological contexts.

However, this suggestion is not intended to belittle the vast amount of work accomplished in this study. As it stands it provides a substantial basis for further analysis and is certain to prove extremely useful to scholars researching Roman Palestine.

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**David Beresford, *Ancient Sailing Season*, (Mnemosyne Supplements 351) Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013, pp xvi+ 364, ill, maps, ISBN: 978-90-04223523, €142.**

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

In the last edition of *Buried History* I suggested that Roman period shipping could sail anywhere (*Sailing to Windward in Roman Times: the spritsail legacy*). This book by David Beresford argues that they may have done so at any time. It includes a discussion of the textual evidence used to support the idea of a closed sailing season, it considers the climatic regime in the Mediterranean and the character of shipping and navigation during the Graeco-Roman period, to challenge the traditional idea that seafaring on the Mediterranean was seasonal in nature.

According to Beresford there are three ancient texts that are often used to define the sailing season, the 700 BC poem *Works and Days* by Hesiod, the AD 400 Roman military manual *Epitoma rei militaris* by Vegetius and the AD 380 edict of Emperor Gratian which survives in the *Codex Theodosianus*. There is agreement amongst these texts that the sailing season was from March/April to October/November. Hesiod's poem encourages mariners to remove their boats from the water after the setting of Pleiades at the end of October. Beresford argues that this advice applied only to the Archaic period and that it did not relate to the entire Graeco-Roman period because of later developments in maritime technology such as improved hull construction.

Vegetius seems clear, 'So from three days before the Ides of November [ie 11<sup>th</sup> November] to six days before the Ides of March [ie 10<sup>th</sup> March] the seas are closed.' Beresford argues that Vegetius was only concerned with warships and that he was not referring to the entire Mediterranean. He draws on a 323 BC Athenian lawsuit which determined that sailing conditions in the Aegean were different from those in the eastern Mediterranean to support the latter proposition. This approach has been bolstered by a 474 or 454 BC Elephantine Palimpsest of customs records from an unknown Egyptian port listing forty-two ships coming and going between March and December (21).

The Gratian edict states that ships would not be received in port between November and March. Beresford argues that the edict only applied to the shipmasters operating in late Roman Africa and was prompted by the treacherous nature of the Libyan coast (24). He also believes it