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10. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Ägyptische Tempel zwischen Normierung und Individualität*. Edited by MARTINA ULLMANN. *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen*, vol. 3.5. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG, 2016. Pp. xiii + 194, illus. €48 (paper).

This multifaceted volume focuses on the emergence, development, and application of norms in ancient Egyptian temple programs and was inspired by ancient Egyptian temple programs in the areas of architecture, images, ritual performance, landscape, cult, and private devotion. There is strong focus on the Greco-Roman period, with five of the eleven articles devoted to that era. These are also the contributions that deal most innovatively with the topic at hand.

Silke Caßor-Pfeiffer, in "Ausnahmen von der Norm oder normierte Ausnahmen? Abweichende Bezüge der Randzeilen in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit" (pp. 49–70), explores some unusual compositions in the Temple of Isis at Philae. She divides the exceptions which form the core of her question into two categories: The first group is ritual-related or thematic exceptions. These relate to exceptions within a single scene. At first glance, these look like typical scenes in which a ritualist performs before two deities. However, Caßor-Pfeiffer argues that the central figure is the focus of cult, and that the second deity is, in fact, playing a role as ritualist. She analyses two, quite different examples, both from the Temple of Isis at Philae. Briefly, an enthroned Thoth lifts his hands in adoration before Isis, behind whom Geb lifts one hand, ritually framing the goddess. The king offers milk before Osiris. Isis stands behind, with one hand raised with a speech that indicates she is supporting the milk offering to Geb.

The second group encompasses exceptions due to architectural context. Caßor-Pfeiffer examines the west door of the first pylon, south side, arguing that unusual features of its composition were meant to refer to the entrance to the Mammisi and to underscore the role of the goddess Hathor in that context. She concludes that non-normative assignment of the fringes was meant to emphasize certain elements of the scene for internal (content) or external (context) reasons.

In "Wem gehören die Götter? Die Verwurzelung ägyptischer Kulte zwischen mythischer Norm und lokaler Exegese" (pp. 81–97), Holger Kockelmann explores mythical norms and local interpretations for the siting of temples, shrines, and the like, asking: "Was teilt in solchen Fällen die Priesterschaft eines Tempels X selbst darüber mit, woher die jeweilige Lokalform ihres Gottes stammt, wie ihr lokaler Tempel zum betreffenden Kult gekommen ist? Waren die Abgrenzung gegen andere Kultorte mit Lokalformen desselben Gottes und die Frage, wer—frei nach Lessing—den 'echten, den ursprünglichen Ring' besaß, überhaupt besonders relevant?"

He outlines the following four reasons why certain places come to be considered to have special proximity to the divine: as sites of miracles, striking natural formations, due to revelation by animal behavior, and due to visions or dreams. He then explores the roots of ancient Egyptian cults, as described in texts of the Greco-Roman period, focusing on the temple as the point of origin of the cosmos and the temple as the place of a deity's birth.

Kockelmann describes three superregional traditions surrounding the births of deities in southern Egypt in the Greco-Roman period—Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Of course, Osiris' cult places are more usually associated with the burials of his various body parts. However, the Opet Temple at Thebes was associated with the god's birth, a tradition also referred to in inscriptions at Edfu and Dendera. Horus' local forms are each joined to the myth of his birth in the marshes of Chemmis. Isis' birthplace was reputed to be at Dendera, as referenced not only there, but at Thebes and Philae as well. So, Isis' birth

is associated with Hathor's cult center at Dendera, not her own at Philae. Kocklemann closes by looking at Esna as a model of Heliopolis.

The unified vision of the birthplace of the deities and the world found by Kockelmann in southern Egypt of the Greco-Roman period sits well with similarities identified by Ralph Birk in "Genormt? Zur überregionalen Normierung von priesterlichen Epitheta in der Ptolemäerzeit" (pp. 17–35). Birk identifies two sets of regional norms in southern Egyptian priestly epithets found in Edfu/Dendera and Thebes. He sees these two sets of epithets as presenting a superregional concept of the role of governor, with epithets across both regions emphasizing access to the sanctuary and viewing the cult image, and governors identified as the highest-ranking officials in the processions.

In "Wie normative ist das Buch vom Tempel, und wann und wo ist es so?" (pp. 99–109), Joachim Friedrich Quack gives a good basic introduction to the *Book of the Temple*, and explores norms pertaining to it from several perspectives, including how norms are expressed linguistically, focusing on how what he calls "konkreten sprachlichen Ausdruck der Regelungen," architectural norms, including names for different spaces, dimensions, and ritual performance and decoration. The remains of both temples and evidence of priestly organization from both Tebtunis and the Fayyum, where many of the Roman-era copies of the book were found, indicate that the standards set out in the *Book of the Temple* were not followed to the letter at either site, leading Quack to ask "Wie ernst wurde die Normierung genommen?" Although it was reputed to have been written by the Second-Dynasty King Neferkasokar, and subsequently rediscovered by Prince Hardjedef of the Fourth Dynasty in the Temple of Atum at Heliopolis, Quack concludes that the most likely date of composition for the *Book of the Temple* is the Twenty-sixth–Twentieth-seventh Dynasties.

In "Das Gesetz der Tempel: Ein Vorbericht zu den Priesternormen des demotischen Papyrus Florenz PSI inv. D 102" (pp. 177–94), Fabian Wespi summarizes the current state of knowledge of a papyrus from the library of the Sobek Temple at Tebtunis, which lays out priestly norms for the Late and Greco-Roman periods. Wespi's focus is on reconstruction, structure, classification, and dating the papyrus, and comparison with other texts, particularly Pap. BN 215, with which Papyrus Florenz PSI inv. D 102 has strong parallels.

The pharaonic material in this volume looks more at the way norms were established and evolved in temples and mortuary establishments.

In "The Complex of the Bent Pyramid as a Landscape Design Project" (pp. 1–15), Nicole Alexanian and Felix Arnold focus on the establishment of norms surrounding the royal burial in the Fourth Dynasty. This area is best known for the first examples of the "true" pyramid (in contrast to the stepped pyramids which preceded them at Saqqara). However, Alexanian and Arnold are concerned with features of the landscape—the plateau and quarries, the valley and harbor, and the garden enclosure.

In "A Unique Royal Mortuary Temple and Exceptional Private Complexes: The Architecture of the Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II Monument Reflected in the Funerary Structures of High Officials at Thebes" (pp. 71–81), Patryk Chudzik argues that the royal tomb established norms largely followed by those of the high officials whose tombs surrounded it. However, he notes a significant exception in three tombs featuring chapels in their courtyard in which the descendants of the deceased are exhorted to provide offerings. There appears to have been no parallel structure in the royal complex.

In "Iumutef and Thoth in the Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari—an Unusual Motif Incorporated into Typical Offering Scenes" (pp. 129–54), Anastasia Stupko-Lubczyńska compares architectural layout and offering scenes to fragmentary Old Kingdom predecessors. She then compares the speeches of Iumutef and Thoth to antecedents from the Pyramid Texts and associated parts of the pyramid complexes and Episode 34 of the Ritual of the Royal ancestors, found on later liturgical papyri and temple walls.

In "Zur Entwicklung von Raumstruktur und -funktion in den nubischen Felstempeln Ramses' II." (pp. 155–78), Martina Ullmann explores the relationship between Ramesses II's rock-cut temples in Nubia, royal norms, and local shines, particularly shrines devoted to the goddess Hathor. She sees Ramesses II's as built upon an axis, stretching from Beit el-Wali in the north to Abu Simbel in the south, with Derr (Re-Harachi), Wadi es-Sebua (Amun-Re), and Gerg Hussein (Ptah at Memphis) as stations along the route. The great temple at Abu Simbel combined two traditions, being rooted strongly

in royal norms stretching back 180 years, as attested primarily at Thebes, in Mansions of Millions of Years, and in shrines which acted as loci of private devotion to the goddess Hathor. Neither tradition was slavishly copied, but each was rather adapted for local circumstances.

In “Graffiti and Sacred Space: New Kingdom Expressions of Individuality in the Court of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak” (pp. 111–28), Chiara Salvador explores who can use sacred space. Some of the graffiti in this area are clearly datable to a time when this space was still ritually active, as they were cut when Ramesses IV added his name to the soubassement in the area.

As always, the *Tempeltagung* conference has shed light on a wide range of ancient Egyptian temples.

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*Alexander the Great and the East: History, Art, Tradition.* Edited by KRZYSZTOF NAWOTKA and AGNIESZKA WOJCIECHOWSKA. *Philippika*, vol. 103. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG, 2016. Pp. 447. €88.

This volume is the product of a September 2013 international meeting of Alexander scholars held at Wrocław. It represents the second publication of such proceedings (the communications of the first meeting, held in November 2011, were also published in the *Philippika* series). The volume, containing twenty-four wide-ranging contributions (excluding the introduction), seeks to open new avenues for discourse on the eastern campaigns of Alexander, with a goal of introducing themes and sources that reach “beyond Arrian, Plutarch and the Vulgate authors as much as possible” (p. 1). Many contributions in this volume tackle important and enduring questions in Alexander scholarship, and truly shed new light on essential topics: e.g., the performance (or lack thereof) of the substitute king ritual, the founding and construction of Alexandria, the massacre of the Branchidae, the proskynesis affair, and literary portrayals of Alexander. While each provides its own important conclusions, the quality in writing, argumentation, and research depth varies wildly throughout, and this disparity detracts from the work as a whole. All contributions are written in English (a table of contents can be found at the publisher’s website: [https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/title\\_921.ahtml](https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/title_921.ahtml)); however, as with the previous volume, the editing of the book leaves much to be desired.

Space does not allow for a full explication of the argumentation of every article, so I will focus on those that present outstanding or particularly novel theses. Many of the articles in the first portion of the book make important contributions to the study of Alexander’s international and diplomatic relationships, as in that of I. Ladynin, who offers the hypothesis that the son of Nectanebo II made a missionary trip to Alexander after his conquering of Egypt. Editors Nawotka and Wojciechowska attempt to show that Alexander resurrected the neglected cult of the Apis Bull (as well as of the mother of Apis and the Buchis bull), a project undertaken on the advice of local experts and in a concerted effort to present himself as a legitimate son of Nectanebo II. E. Rung presents a new interpretation of IG II<sup>2</sup> 356, which has the Greek Thymondas as the honorand of the decree rather than the widely argued Mentor, an interesting proposition with implications for our understanding of Alexander’s relationship with Athens and Greek mercenaries (although, as acknowledged on p. 57, the author appears to understand the problems inherent in his case).

M. Ross shows the ways in which sources have skewed the stories of Alexander’s last months in Babylon through a study of the inconsistencies between the astrological omen practices of the Babylonians and the details given in Roman sources. R. Lane Fox tackles these questions, too, resurrecting the utility of the Classical sources to argue that their reading of the events became distorted over time, with interpretive layers being added that make it useless to attempt an interpretation with a Near Eastern lens (p. 115); this is a useful exercise and complements trends in the field.

The literary analyses of Alexander provide another avenue of approach for the second half of the book. G. Taietti’s piece makes the promising claim that she will show how Alexander is portrayed by