goods. Emblematic of this spottiness is the book's failure to mention even once the urban customs boundary, the feature that served as the formal economic barrier between Rome and not-Rome. Also to be lamented is the fact that there is virtually no discussion of economic relations between Rome and its hinterland during the early modern period, a surprising omission for a historian who in his discussion of the consumer city advocates a comparative perspective.

One may also question the appropriateness of the von Thünen model as the basis for an analysis of the development of Italian agriculture. This model is based on the assumption of a closed productive system, with agricultural produce marketed at a single town center and cost determined by distance from that central place in a simple, straightforward way. Yet, as Morley points out, Italian agriculture represented a radically different situation, involving production for both the local and the urban market, with the mobilization of goods for the latter involving a hierarchy of market centers and the participation of middlemen such as *negotiatores vinarii* and *mercatores bovarii*, who, among other things, regularly acquired goods at the farm gate rather than at market towns. It is on this account somewhat misleading to divorce, as the author has done, the discussions of production in Rome's extended hinterland and the more distant parts of the peninsula from that of the marketing institutions considered in chapter 7, since it was the latter that effectively determined the cost of the goods produced in these zones. In order better to understand patterns in the nature of agricultural production in these regions, it will be necessary to analyze more closely the activities of middlemen, considering how these are apt to have been conditioned by a complex set of interacting factors, only one of which would have been distance from Rome.

J. Theodore Peña

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, BUFFALO
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14260
TPENA@ACSU.CC.BUFFALO.EDU

Les amphores du Sado, Portugal: Prospection des fours et analyse du matériel, by *Françoise Mayet, Anne Schmitt,* and *Carlos Tavares da Silva.* Pp. 230, color pls. 14, pls. 40, figs. 32, plans 9, maps 16, tables 3. De Boccard, Paris 1996.

The study of amphoras has been developing fast in the last 30 years, including the growth of several specialized branches of investigation: amphora types; production or consumption centers; and typological, epigraphic, and petrographic analyses. Archaeological surveys of amphora-producing areas are a particularly important research avenue, of which the four-volume survey by Michel Ponsich of the Guadalquivir valley in southern Spain is probably the most comprehensive catalogue of sites, amphoras, inscriptions, and other artifacts.

This book, by French and Portuguese archaeologists, follows this lead, being the result of a long-standing research mission and forming part of a series of books on the archaeological exploration of the Sado River basin in southern Portugal. The book is divided into five main parts, beginning with an overall introduction to the aims of the project—the study of fish-sauce production in the lower valley of the Sado, around seven sites close to the river. There is also a brief introduction to the amphora types produced in the area, namely Dressel 14, Almagro 50, Beltrán 72, Almagro 51a–b, Almagro 51c, and Keay LXXVIII, and to its geographical setting. The authors emphasize that warm waters, an abundance of fish, and the presence of salt mines led to an environment favoring the installation of an "industrial district" (27).

The bulk of the book presents the results of the archaeological survey of the seven sites (29–119). Good maps, kiln plans and stratigraphic sections, lists of artifacts, and a comprehensive publication of amphora drawings enable the reader to become well acquainted with the whole area. Abul (Alcácer do Sal), originally a Phoenician site, witnessed the earliest amphora production in the Sado valley. This should probably be dated to the period of Augustus and Tiberius, for mass production is already in place by the time of Claudius (p. 57) and would continue actively up to the mid-fifth century A.D. The mass production implied that there were kilns solely for Dressel 14 lids at Pinheiro, although some sites, like Barrosinha, produced amphoras in family units (p. 38), while others, like Enchurrasqueira, produced a number of graffiti indicating that several workers were active at the same time (p. 50). At the conclusion of the survey, the authors suggest that, since the kilns were located on riverbanks, it was possible to send empty vessels to be used in the fish-sauce workshops at Tróia and Setúbal. The kilns explored are smaller than those known in Baetica but they continued exporting fish sauce for hundreds of years (mid-first to mid-fifth centuries A.D.). It is interesting to note that the differences in settlement pattern between the Baetis and Sado valleys are explained by several factors, not least the fact that olive-oil and fish-sauce production are subject to different constraints. What is remarkable, however, is that both settlement patterns can be related to large-scale export activities. Finally, petrographic analysis was carried out with a sample of at least 10 artifacts per site (121–65).

The authors also studied a consumption site, São Cucufate, a rural settlement with many amphora sherds and Samian pottery, and thus clearly linked to an urban market economy (167). Lusitanian amphoras are in the clear majority, with the most important imported amphora being the well-known Dressel 20 olive-oil vessel from Baetica. It needs to be emphasized that the investigators found 994 sherds of fish-sauce amphoras, and only 45 sherds of wine and olive-oil vessels, implying that a "villa in the hinterland could thus have as varied a diet as a villa on the coast or on a river bank. These sea products came from different provinces" (169)—mostly from Baetica and from North Africa. As might be expected, Lusitanian amphoras chiefly came from the Tagus and Sado valleys, areas not far from São Cucufate. Concluding this section, the authors pro-

pose that in the late period, that is from the third century onward, amphoras continued to be produced in Baetica and exported as empty vessels to be used in the fish-sauce industries of Lusitania. This is an interesting suggestion, but its acceptance would depend on a better understanding of Baetica and the dynamics of exchange in the Late Empire.

The general conclusions of the volume touch upon three main issues. The first refers to the typology of so-called Lusitanian amphoras, as the authors are keen to emphasize that they are not necessarily copies of amphoras produced elsewhere, notably in Baetica. The authors warn against typological classification grounded solely on criteria relating to shape, as they can be misleading, and reject the use of the adjective "Lusitanian" to describe these amphoras (194). The common use of provincial names as adjectives applied to these vessels should not be discarded, however, as it is a useful way of indicating areas of production, although the possible proviso could be made that such names add a specific reference to the precise region such as, in this case, the Sado valley.

The second issue is also a terminological one, as the authors do not accept the use of "kiln" as a reference to the place of production, preferring to call it *atelier* (workshop) in its general meaning of "producing place" (195). Such a strategy may be appropriate to amphora-producing areas that lack stamps, but it should not be used when dealing with those areas where epigraphic evidence is available. When there are stamps, it is possible to study the exchange between consuming and producing areas, from specific kilns to specific consumer sites, producing social, economic, and cultural data with which to interpret Roman society as a whole. José Remesal's *La annona militaris y la exportación de aceite bético a Germania* (Madrid 1986) led to the adoption of this approach, and such studies are now used as primary sources for discussing the character of Roman society and economy. The third issue refers to the development of the area of the Sado valley.

In summary, this book provides useful and accessible data on the settlement of the Sado valley, thus serving an invaluable purpose since the publication of archaeological evidence is an important task in itself. The reader might perhaps have gained from a more anthropological stress on the overall context of fish-sauce production, as there are several issues relating to social habits (fishing, workshop activities, consumption of sauces, and so on) that would also interest a general reader. As it is, this book, as with most archaeological reports, is probably too descriptive to be read by nonspecialists. But the purpose of the book was first and foremost the publication of the evidence and it is successful in this, furnishing data to be used by scholars interested in Roman economy and society.

PEDRO PAULO A. FUNARI

DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTÓRIA
INSTITUTO DE FILOSOFIA E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS
UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL DE CAMPINAS
C. POSTAL 6110, CAMPINAS 13081-970, SP
SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL
PEDROFUNARI@STI.COM.BR

ALEXANDRIA AND ALEXANDRIANISM: PAPERS DELIVERED AT A SYMPOSIUM ORGANIZED BY THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM AND BY THE GETTY CENTER FOR THE HISTORY OF ART AND THE HUMANITIES AND HELD AT THE MUSEUM, APRIL 22–25, 1993, edited by *Kenneth Hamma*. Pp. x + 302, figs. 191, fold-out map 1. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 1996. $50. ISBN 0-89236-292-8.

ALEXANDRIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY: TOPOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT, by *Christopher Haas*. Pp. xviii + 494, figs. 16, maps 3, plans 2. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1997. $45. ISBN 0-8018-5377-X.

After suffering decades of scholarly indifference, particularly in the United States, Alexandria "ad Aegyptum" is again firing the imagination of scholars and public alike. The multiculturalism of late first-millennium B.C./early first-millennium A.D. Egypt finds resonance within the current political climate; French undersea excavations in Alexandria itself have captured international attention; and recent exhibitions spotlighting Graeco-Roman Egypt (and another scheduled for the Petit Palais devoted specifically to Alexandria) have reawakened interest in the ancient city. The symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum was instrumental in bringing Alexandria "near Egypt" to the United States, and the two volumes reviewed here should do much to nurture this revival of interest.

Peter Green's exhilarating essay that introduces *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, gloriously capturing the romantic nostalgia the polyvalent site has historically evoked, is sure to make Alexandria-enthusiasts of all who read it. It also encapsulates the peculiar configuration of the symposium. Since the aims of the conference form the framework for the volume, it seems relevant to address this focus here, and it is the myth and the image of Alexandria—"the modern conception and re-creations of [the] city, which is as legendary as its founder" (ix)—that is one of the emphases of its organizers. Perhaps for this reason, internationally respected scholars currently elucidating the *reality* of Alexandria are conspicuous by their absence: those of the Polish Archaeological Mission (who have been excavating in the city center since the early 1960s) are greatly underrepresented; those of the French Centre d'études alexandrines (which was formally established in 1990, but whose personnel formed a strong earlier presence and made significant additions to the topographical plan of the city) are completely ignored; Italian scholars (heirs to the giants of Alexandrian archaeology, Botti, Breccia, and Adriani, and to their archives) are overlooked; and the few Egyptians actively excavating and interpreting Alexandrian materials are also absent. In short, the physical reality of Alexandria gained from recent excavation and publication of site-specific materials is largely ignored.

The 19 essays, which represent all but four read at the symposium, consider the art and life of the city from Ptolemaic until modern times, but decidedly privilege the Hel-