K. Vlassopoulos: Heidenreich, Christian Gottlob Heyne

and modern lawgivers, by arguing that Zaleucus and Charondas did not primarily address the constitution of their states, but rather aimed to produce good citizens with a series of moral laws; these were happy examples of wise lawgivers legislating under the benevolent influence of philosophical thought. But over the course of years, he came to realise the problematic nature of the ancient sources that related these laws; he thus moved to an examination of the sources and the history of the various cities of Southern Italy. In another case, Heyne examined the popular debate on the populousness of ancient and modern nations (202–9).

He chose a middle path by arguing that in certain places the population of an ancient city far exceeded what could be supported by the natural fertility of the area. To explain this, Heyne argued that the ancients were much more frugal than the moderns. To prove his case, he wrote a fascinating piece on the social history of Athens, in which he showed how limited were the luxuries and amenities of ancient Athenians.

Heidenreich has provided a very detailed study of Heyne, which should serve as a model to other future works. In particular I would like to commend her attention to the wider non-classical environment within which Heyne worked. Göttingen was a great centre of historical research during Heyne’s time and Heidenreich shows the various links between Heyne’s work and scholars like Schlözer, Gatterer or Michaelis. I have only a few critical points to make. The first one is that her decision to arrange the book according to the different forms of Heyne’s works, despite its important advantages mentioned above, makes it difficult to see the development of Heyne’s thought over time. There is also no concentrated analysis of Heyne’s position within the intellectual climate of his time – there are very interesting but scattered points about his views on warfare and empire (248–52), liberty (197–202) or slavery (232–3), but no in-depth discussion. Finally, Heidenreich avoids answering her own question, i.e. how and where are we going to position Heyne within the development of classical scholarship and the historical discipline. But these are all side issues – scholars who are interested to pursue these questions will find this work a great asset in giving their own answers.

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The present volume is the third monographic publication on the results of the excavations of Maurice Dunand in the sanctuary of the healing god Eshmun near


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Sidon, the largest extra-urban sanctuary in Phoenicia. Rolf A. Stucky, to whom the excavator had conveyed shortly before his death in 1987 the difficult task of the final publication, faced a number of problems, most of all the disappearance of the finds from the sanctuary of Eshmun stored in the depot in Byblos during the Lebanese Civil War. Of 660 inventoried and photographed stone objects, 600 had been stolen. In order to allow their identification on the art market, Stucky published in 1993 the sculptural fragments for which photographs or drawings existed, and their quick publication led over the years to the identification and restitution of a dozen sculptural fragments that came up in auctions.

Of the 162 inventoried architectural fragments, only 26 were preserved at the site, in the National Museum and in the depots of Byblos. Therefore, this publication, which aims to provide a detailed documentation of the architectural fragments and inscriptions as well as possible reconstructions for the architectural phases from the sanctuary’s beginnings in the 6th century B.C. to the Hellenistic period, has to rely in large parts on photographs and drawings. This problem is further enhanced by the lack of documentation from the excavations of Maurice Dunand, which consisted solely of architectural plans with all periods shown simultaneously, and of inventory sheets in the care of Mireille Dunand, who had a hands-on experience but was no specialist in ancient architecture. No other written documentation was kept by Dunand, and the objects, if photographed, were just taken from one angle. Furthermore, the measurements of the objects are often uncertain, which makes comparisons of dimensions as well as reconstructions difficult.

Despite these obstacles, which Stucky summarizes in his first introductory chapter labeled ‘Methods for the analysis of the Sidonian architectural fragments’ (p. 8–9 with a general plan on p. 10), his laborious work to publish an excavation project not his own has salvaged and made accessible to the scientific community what results remain of the excavation of this spectacular site.

The second introductory chapter gives a short overview of the situation and topographical setting of the sanctuary (p. 11–18). The sanctuary lies in the gardens of Bostan ech Sheiq in the river valley of the Nahr el Awali, the ancient Bostrenus or Asclepius fluvius, about 1 km from the coast and c. 3 km north of the ancient Phoenician city of Sidon, modern Saida. Its two consecutive podia rose 25 m above the coastal plain, and their good visibility led early on to a reuse of blocks, architectural and sculptural fragments, as well as their destruction for the production of lime. After the excavations were halted due to the Lebanese Civil War in 1979, some clandestine digging occurred, but mainly the destruction of the figurative mosaic floors of the Roman period has to be deplored.

After this general introduction follows a description of the two monumental podia (p. 19–35). The rock surface in the centre of the podium was not leveled,
and so the original cultic centre with the spring Yidlal mentioned in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II (p. 273–274) might have been in that area. It would have been buried by the construction of the first podium, which consisted only of a retaining wall with a backfill of earth and rubble. Perhaps for reasons of instability it was soon replaced by the massive construction of the second podium. This was built of isodome masonry and later reinforced to the west by an additional construction, probably in order to enlarge the surface of the terrace. While the oldest votives indicate the early 6th century B.C. as beginning of the cult, the discussion of the inscriptions and stratigraphical observations leads the author to put the construction of the first podium to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., followed by the second podium around 500 B.C. The dating inscription of Bodashtart and Yatonmilk found on several blocks inside the second podium, facing outwards and inwards, but nevertheless invisible after the façade was finished, is reminiscent of Mesopotamian traditions to hide dedicatory inscriptions.

The author then proceeds to discuss the architectural fragments of limestone from the Persian and Hellenistic periods (p. 36–50), distinguishing between elements of Near Eastern, Cypro-Anatolian, Egyptian and Greek tradition. While the first three groups are made from a coarse, grayish local limestone called ‘Ramleh’, the latter group is of white, fine-grained limestone.

As there is no clear evidence of the predecessor of the marble temple building of the early 4th century B.C., the author uses for the reconstruction of the late 6th – early 5th century cult building these local limestone fragments and proposes a long-room temple with two columns in antis, which is illustrated in its hypothetical dimensions in Abb. 18–21.

On p. 51–53 follows a brief discussion of the sewage system and water basins in evidence, which might go back to the 6th and 5th century B.C. A canal, several kilometers in length and partly subterranean, was constructed probably under the reign of Bodashtart to bring water from the Nahr el Awali to the sanctuary, replacing the source known from textual evidence, which might have been located under the podia.

The largest chapter (p. 54–142) deals with the sacred architecture of the 4th century B.C. After a comprehensive analysis of the marble architectural fragments of Ionic order as well as of oriental tradition with their respective comparisons and dating (390–370 B.C.), the author discusses the possibilities of their position either as part of two different but contemporaneous cult buildings (Abb. 50–55 and Abb. 70–75), or integrated into one temple (Abb. 76–79). This temple, on the outside an amphiprostyle of Ionic order combining details of the Erechtheion with other Attic architectural traditions, on the inside of the cela adorned with oriental type columns with Assyrian bases and bull-protome capitals, could have been commissioned by Baalshilem II or Abdashtart/Straton I. It was probably damaged during the attack of Artaxerxes III in 351 B.C.1 and completely destroyed in the 2nd century B.C. Arguments in favor of one temple are beside their similar date the fact that all the Attic fragments belong on the outside, while all of the oriental style fragments are made for the interior, and

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1 It is not clear how much the sanctuary suffered from this punitive expedition, but the discarded votive material in the sewage canal might have been the consequence.
that two temples would leave little space for cultic activities on the podium (Abb. 74–75).

The next three chapters deal with marble fragments of figurative capitals and columns from the Hellenistic period (p. 143–146) and discuss the two best preserved buildings of that period made of local limestone (p. 147–168), the ‘Piscine du trône d’Astarté’ and the ‘Bâtiment aux frises d’enfants’ along with the architectural reliefs on them (p. 170–183). The ‘Piscine du trône d’Astarté’, a rectangular pool with an empty Astarte throne and reliefs on the wall behind it, was constructed end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century B.C. In the second half of the 2nd century A.D. the water seems to have been drained and the basin used as an open courtyard, possibly some of the votives were erected here before it was filled with reused stone material in the 3rd century A.D. Two obviously reused panels with almost identical hunting scenes behind the throne are completed by a third, stylistically different scene with three persons, the tallest one seemingly greeting the hunting party. The ‘Bâtiment aux frises d’enfants’ was severely damaged by Dunand’s attempts to unearth older structures underneath. Inside there was a small chapel, a porticus and probably an andron for cultic meals, which has parallels in the ‘Etablissement des Poseidonistes de Berytos’ in Delos. The divinity worshipped might have been Eshmun, Astarte or one of the daughters of Eshmun, Hygeia or Panakeia. The frieze on two registers on the northern exterior wall of the building was left unfinished in the middle section. The panels show individual groups of children in their various activities of everyday life, together with small animals such as birds and dogs or riding on stags, sometimes in the company of women, but no narrative can be distinguished.

Fifteen marble fragments of reliefs again show children and hunting motives in ornamental frames and were probably votive offerings.

Of the multitude of walls north of the colonnaded street from the Hellenistic period only two II-shaped banquet halls are discussed (p. 168–169). Although from a later period, some inscriptions found nearby mentioning various professional associations give a possible indication as to their users.

The next chapter (p. 184–209) presents a diachronic overview on the building history of the sanctuary in the Persian and Hellenistic periods: first the rural sanctuary of the 6th century B.C., which undergoes a monumentalisation with the building of the two podium, the canal and sewage system and the first temple end of the 6th – beginning of the 5th century B.C. Then comes the second enlargement with the building of the classic amphiprostyls in marble, a propylon and the ‘Tribune d’Echmoun’, and finally in the early Hellenistic period a shift from the podium to the surrounding plain with the addition of different building complexes such as the ‘Piscine du trône d’Astarté’ and the ‘Bâtiment aux frises d’enfants’.

Early representations of Eshmun in votive offerings show the god with a lion hide and a mace, while in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. his role changes from the almighty protector similar to Baal to the healing deity later assimilated to Asklepios. It is interesting to note that some representations are reminiscent of the

1 These inscriptions are published in the contribution by R. Wachter (p. 319–330) as numbers Gr1–Gr3.
older bearded Dionysos Kadmeios, also worshipped in the Sidonian foundation of Thebes.

The representation of the Sidonian rulers until their end in 270 B.C. through their architectural building program is discussed in the light of the necropoleis, the palace and the sanctuary, and in comparison to their counterparts in Asia Minor a lesser degree of Hellenisation is noted, probably due to their peripheral situation rather than a deliberate return to ‘archaic’ traditions.

The final chapter (p.210–233) of the book is taken up by the catalogue, which presents the different architectural fragments with drawings in the order given by the previous chapters: first those of limestone from the Persian and Hellenistic periods, then those of marble from the 4th century B.C. (divided into those of Ionic order, the ones following oriental traditions and finally those from the Hellenistic period), and concludes with the architectural reliefs. The plates 1–24 provide the photographic documentation of the fragments in the catalogue.

Three separate contributions deal with the inscriptions from Bostan ech Sheiq: first a fragment of a previously unpublished Egyptian inscription made of Aswan granite and dated to the reign of Hakoris beginning of the 4th c. B.C. is analyzed by A. Loprieno (p. 271–272). The Phoenician inscriptions by H.-P. Mathys (p. 273–318) include on the one hand the most important inscriptions previously published, and on the other hand hitherto unpublished inscriptions, mostly of votive character. The last inscriptions P24–P28 (p. 295–315) belong to Phoenician ‘magic squares’ comparable to the famous sator-inscription, and different readings and an extensive discussion are provided by Mathys for this type of inscription. Finally, the publication of a corpus of Greek inscriptions from Bostan ech Sheiq by R. Wachter is based on the inventory sheets and drawings of the Dunand excavation and hitherto unpublished photographs, which also provide new evidence for some previously published inscriptions. Their date follows the Sidonian Era, for which the year 1 is 111/110 B.C., when the city became independent of Seleucid rule.

Despite the insufficient documentation available for the architectural fragments from Bostan ech Sheiq, Rolf A. Stucky manages to extract a remarkable wealth of information using art historical comparisons in an exemplary fashion to provide dating criteria and to present a plausible reconstruction of the sanctuary of Eshmun. His meticulous publication of the remaining photographic documentation and drawings compensates as best it can for the loss of the majority of the original finds and will hopefully lead to the recovery of more of this Lebanese Cultural Heritage. His detailed analysis of the architectural fragments in the context of the overall building history of the sanctuary is highly useful for future research, and the author merits high praise from the scientific community for his strenuous effort and tenacity in concluding with this volume the publication of the Sidonian sanctuary of Eshmun.

Beirut

Bettina Fischer-Genz