

Lactance formulent le vœu que la fin des temps n'arrive pas tout de suite et ils considèrent la survie de Rome comme la garantie la plus sûre d'un délai de la fin du monde (voir Tertullien, *Apol.* 32, 1 et Lactance, *Inst.* VII, 25, 6). En ce qui concerne Lactance, S. Freund parle (à la p. 165) d'un grand écart entre "Romtreue" et triomphalisme eschatologique. Aussi bien saint Cyprien que Tertullien rattachent leur discours sur la fin des temps à ce que païens et chrétiens croyaient constater autour d'eux, c'est-à-dire le déclin (Tertullien) ou le vieillissement du monde (saint Cyprien, *Demetr.* 3, 1). Enfin on est frappé par les sentiments ambivalents de tous ces auteurs concernant la fin des temps : d'une part ils craignent le chaos inévitable et l'arrivée de l'Antéchrist, d'autre part ils attendent impatiemment le moment où Dieu apportera la justice aux croyants. – Aussi bien les *Instructiones* que le *Carmen apologeticum* de Commodien contiennent une partie eschatologique. C. Schubert, qui situe le poète au milieu du III^e siècle, se concentre dans son étude sur les vers 805-1060 du *Carmen apologeticum*. Le poète est, comme Lactance, un chiliaste ; il offre à ses lecteurs une version personnelle et effrayante de l'eschatologie chrétienne (on y rencontre entre autres deux figures d'Antéchrist et un *Nero redivivus* !). Afin de persuader ses lecteurs de la vérité de sa vision prophétique et de les convertir au christianisme, il invoque sa propre conversion et la réalisation des prophéties de l'Ancien Testament dans le Christ ; de plus, sa vision de l'avenir est entremêlée de références dissimulées à des événements contemporains, comme les persécutions des empereurs Décus et Valérien. Il est difficile de se prononcer sur le public visé par le *Carmen apologeticum* : C. Schubert pense qu'il s'agit de païens qui étaient intéressés par la tradition juive (voir la p. 191) ; d'ailleurs, le poète combine des représentations eschatologiques judéo-chrétiennes et des emprunts à la littérature latine classique (voir les p. 190-194). – Il ne m'est pas possible de m'étendre dans le cadre de ce compte rendu sur la dernière contribution de la troisième partie du présent volume, à savoir l'étude de M. Stein sur la conception manichéenne du temps, ni sur les trois articles de la deuxième partie du volume : A. Wolkenhauer traite de l'absence de la notion du temps et d'une structure temporelle quand il s'agit de l'enfer, du paradis ou de la *nox intempesta* ; M. Rühl discute la façon dont, à l'époque de Néron, on parle à maintes reprises d'une *aurea aetas*, conçue par référence au temps de l'empereur Auguste ; E. Stein s'interroge sur les raisons pour lesquelles l'humaniste Italien Paolo Giovio (1486-1552) croit vivre une période de décadence. Willy EVENEPOEL

John William HANSON, *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300*. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2016. 1 vol. broché, VIII-818 p., 145 fig. n./b. et coul. (ARCHAEOPRESS ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY, 18). Prix : 65 £. ISBN 978-1-78491-472-1.

There are many studies on ancient cities but few on 'urbanism' and its economic implications – none on the scale of the empire as a whole. This ambitious book based on an Oxford PhD dissertation aims to "bring the discussion of the urbanism of the Roman world into line with [...] studies of the urban geography and urban history of other places or periods" (p. 6). It comprises 818 pages with a limited text part (195 pages, including 145 figures) and a long catalogue (available also on the website of the Oxford Roman Economy Project). After an introduction on the project and its

methodology, J. W. Hanson discusses useful theories on urbanism: Boserup's intensification model, Von Thünen's isolated state model, Christaller's central place theory, and settlement scaling theory. Zifp's rank-size rule predicts that in perfectly integrated systems the population of an urban centre is inversely proportional to its rank. Deviations from this theoretical distribution provide information on real urban systems: convex (more equal) distributions suggest imperfect integration; concave distributions stronger dependency of n^{th} order cities. The third chapter on numbers, distributions, and changes, begins to discuss the project's results. The defining criteria for Hanson are size, monumentality, and civic status. This gives a dataset of 1388 cities – less than the conventional '2000' but considerably more than late medieval and early modern Europe. Chronologically the number peaks in the second century, probably reflecting population growth, followed by decline. 885 sites were selected because they covered more than 10 ha, an additional 611 for their civic status or monumentality. Most developed organically. Their geographic distribution shows that favourable conditions (coastlines, rivers...) were important but insufficient. The fourth chapter studies city sizes, with surface used as a proxy for population. Hanson made his own estimate for 736 sites, using published maps or plans. Drawing on previous studies he settles on 100-500 persons per ha, differentiated according to size because larger cities tend to have higher population densities than smaller ones (100 p/ha for 50 ha and below, 150 for 50-100 ha, and so on until 500 p/ha for sites above 400 ha). Plotted on a map the estimates suggest urbanisation was higher than expected in the west, with an urbanised area stretching along the Rhône-Saône and Seine basin to south-west England. The figures imply that the estimated overall urban population was significantly higher than previously believed, implying either higher urbanisation rates (above 11-13%) or a larger total population. Rank-size analysis shows little primacy (except for Rome) and a high degree of integration. Middle order cities, however, ranked slightly higher than lower order, suggesting that older urban systems coalesced into a single system. Hanson collected information on 9468 monumental structures in 1207 sites (Ch. 5). The first century BCE and second CE saw the greatest increase, followed by decline in the third. Hanson notes similar levels of monumentalization were not reached again until the industrial revolution. I doubt this, given the number of churches, chapels, and other religious hospitals in late medieval and early modern cities. Most monuments were non-political (temples, theatres, aqueducts...), suggesting that administration and politics were not the main functions of most cities. Even small cities had monumental architecture, suggesting they fulfilled similar functions as larger ones. Given that monumentality was an independent criterion for inclusion in the dataset, however, I don't think this conclusion is strong. Chapter six discusses the civic statuses of ancient cities. This is the weakest chapter of the book. The discussion is superficial and based on an insufficient grasp of the literature. Civic statuses were given to communities, not to cities. The relation between cities and communities could be complex. Augusta Treverorum, for instance, became a *colonia* under Claudius but the *civitas Trevirorum* continued to exist with its own institutional structures. Both may have received only Latin rights. No mention is made of the *Lex Flavia municipalis* in Spain, which promoted Spanish *civitates* to *municipia Latina*. The last chapter analyses spatial patterns. Density patterns are non-random. Some regions show clustering – indicating

urban genesis based on local conditions – others ordering (or dispersal) – indicating urban genesis based on function within a wider system to control and extract resources. The relation of cities to their hinterland is studied via buffering (one to three days walking) and allocation (Thiessen polygons) as proxies. An impressive 81% of the empire is within a day's walk from a city, 96% within two days. Overlap of buffer zones with allocation areas is taken to indicate that cities had low control over necessary resources, which in turn suggests mutual dependence. Strangely, Hanson ignores the size of centres (small towns need less resources than large ones). Proper network analysis was not possible with the data collected. Modern river maps and the BA road network were used instead to provide a preliminary impression. This is problematic because riverine networks have drastically changed since the 18th century. Nearly all cities, however, were evidently well-connected through land, river, *and* (rather than *or*) sea routes. The text part closes with a general conclusion and discussion. The main results contradict former views that the Roman urban system was strongly primate and concave. There were more intermediate cities and they were integrated in an empire-wide urban system. The growth in cities outstripped natural population growth (probably reflecting per capita economic growth). The rapid increase of cities, followed by monumentalization and spread of civic status suggest an initial one-off growth followed by a sustained qualitative growth that lasted until the third century. The well-connectedness of the urban system indicates a high degree of integration. Hanson postulates a multipolar interdependence between urbanised and rural regions (rather than centripetal as in Hopkins' taxes and trade model). Over the 'longue durée' its high degree of integration made the Roman urban system robust but also vulnerable to collapse when tensions eventually became too great. The 16th century European urban system was comparable in number of cities and density but did not form a single system, making it more resilient in the long term. Hanson's achievement is impressive and in many respects innovative and convincing, but there are (potential) problems. The analysis relies on pattern-detection through big data methodology. Errors in individual records are considered insignificant because they are assumed to even out. But how many data do we need to validate the big-data assumption? Hanson's dataset (c. 10,000 data on 1388 cities) is impressive to ancient historians, but hardly to modernists. At provincial levels, the number of data becomes uncomfortably small. How can we know if the patterns are really robust? Do the errors really average out or is there a structural bias in the collected material? There are certainly a lot of errors in the database. Just a few examples: for Belgica the tiny *vicus* of Beda (c. 2 ha ~ 200 inhabitants!) is included because it had a theatre and walls, but the significantly larger *vicus* of Orolaunum (c. 15 ha), with walls and a bathhouse, is not; nor is the comparable *vicus* of *Coriovallum* (Heerlen). Neither *Castellum Menapiorum* nor *Turnacum*, successive capitals of the *civitas Menapiorum* are included. The temple site of *Fanum Martis*, near *Bagacum* is mistaken for the capital with the same name of the *civitas Coriosolitum* in Armorica. The municipal status of Aeso in *Tarraconensis* is missing. Translating city sizes into population figures is difficult. Hanson accepts the commonly used base figure of 100 p/ha for centres smaller than 50 ha. Recent work by Vermeulen and his team in the Potenza valley, however, suggests that the population density of Roman towns was significantly lower than their medieval counterpart. Much larger urban areas were

taken up by non-residential buildings. If the base estimate of 100 person per ha is too high, it would imply a consistent bias in the dataset. Ancient urbanism differed qualitatively from medieval and early modern. Civic status (*polis*, *civitas*, *municipium*, *colonia*) was conferred on communities not on places. Many of the smaller cities were little more than monumental façades for communities that resided in the countryside. Hanson sees the problem; the urban-rural divide was ‘exceedingly permeable’ (p. 100). But there is a contradiction in advocating urbanism as a proxy for economic growth and subsequently classifying small settlements as cities based on the monuments they had and/or the civic status of the communities to which they belonged. Such mini-‘towns’ were too small to stimulate labour specialisation or to siphon off rural overpopulation. The editorial is sloppy. There are numerous typos and layout errors (the most eye-catching being hyperlinks and some text passages set in a larger typescript). Proofreading by a classicist could have eliminated eye-soring slip-ups (such as *ius Romani* p. 41, 82-83, and *passim*). Nevertheless, despite its problems this book remains an impressive achievement. Its limitations are mainly the result of this being a one-man project. The comparable ‘Empire of 2000 Cities’ project in Leiden relied on a team of six PhD students. The upside is Hanson’s unity of approach. It is now up to others to supplement and correct the dataset and see if the detected patterns are more than digital artefacts. Koenraad VERBOVEN

Richard L. GORDON, Georgia PETRIDOU & Jörg RÜPKE (Ed.), *Beyond Priesthood. Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Roman Empire*. Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2017. 1 vol. relié, 15,5 x 23 cm, XIV-460 p., 28 ill. (RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE VERSUCHE UND VORARBEITEN, 66). Prix : 119,95 €. ISBN 978-3-11-044701-9.

Issu d’un colloque organisé dans le cadre du projet « Lived Ancient Religion » dirigé par notre très dynamique collègue Jörg Rüpke, le volume est consacré à un large spectre de ‘religious professionals’, à leurs interactions dynamiques avec les autorités et institutions religieuses établies, à leurs contributions aux innovations religieuses dans le monde méditerranéen ancien, depuis l’époque hellénistique jusqu’à l’Antiquité tardive. Comme l’indique le titre, les éditeurs souhaitent dépasser les catégories de ‘prêtres’ et de ‘sacerdoce’, afin d’envisager l’ensemble des agents participant à l’‘entreprenariat’ religieux et à l’innovation : « religious entrepreneurs, ritual practitioners, hieratic specialists, even philosophers and poets ». Les formules ‘religious entrepreneurs’ ou ‘religious professionals’, largement utilisées dans l’introduction et le volume, auraient vraisemblablement gagné à être définies, afin de rendre l’objectif visé plus explicite. – La première partie de l’ouvrage porte sur les formes et les limites de l’innovation. F. Santangelo et J. Rüpke envisagent la question du savoir religieux institutionnalisé à Rome et des lieux de l’innovation. F. Santangelo étudie le rôle des collèges sacerdotaux et des prêtres dans le contexte de la redéfinition de la compétition aristocratique au début du principat, tandis que J. Rüpke s’intéresse à la représentation des collèges sacerdotaux émanant des écrits de Cassius Dion : l’innovation religieuse n’est pas entre leurs mains mais se décèle plutôt dans les pratiques divinatoires, l’architecture et la philosophie. J. Bremmer analyse le regard sceptique que porte Lucien sur deux ‘entrepreneurs’ religieux, Peregrinus et Alexandre