

deutscher Übersetzung wiedergegeben sind, werden die lateinischen Autoren im Original abgedruckt; allerdings finden sich auf den ersten 50 Seiten in den entsprechenden Passagen nicht weniger als elf Abweichungen von den maßgeblichen Textausgaben - willkürliche Ergänzungen oder Schreibfehler (S. 18 [3x].19.23.34.35.37.42.49.50).

Zusätzlich sei auf ein merkwürdiges Faktum hingewiesen: Von B. stammt ein Buch in italienischer Sprache, das in weiten Teilen den gleichen Inhalt - allerdings ohne die letzten drei Kapitel zu Konstantinopel - aufweist (*Ornamenta Urbis. Opere d'arte greche negli spazi romani*, Bari 2012, mit einem panegyrischen Vorwort von T. Hölscher, 7-8). Dieses Werk wird weder im Vorwort noch in der Bibliographie genannt, genau so wenig wie die oben angeführten Aufsätze der Autorin. Gibt es einen Grund dafür? Äußerst ärgerlich ist schließlich die Tatsache, dass B. - wie auch im italienischen Buch - auf jeglichen Index verzichtet hat, nicht einmal ein Stellenregister hielt sie für nötig! Dies stellt nicht nur eine Zumutung für jeden wissenschaftlichen Benutzer dar, sondern führt den Arbeitsaufwand der Autorin *ad absurdum*, da viele der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse für mögliche Interessenten kaum auffindbar sind. Unverständlich bleibt, warum die Herausgeber der Reihe dieses Vorgehen akzeptiert haben.

Michael Donderer

NICOLAS MONTEIX, *Les Lieux de Métier. Boutiques et ateliers d'Herculaneum*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2010. 478 pp., 228 figs; 29 cm (Collection des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 344). - ISBN 978-2-7283-0891-0.

This weighty volume presents the reader with an exceptionally thorough and detailed study of the evidence for retail and crafts in Herculaneum. It is a highly relevant monograph, for generalists studying urban economic history in the Roman world, and, particularly, for anyone working with (any) material evidence from the Vesuvian cities. Monteix sketches a largely credible picture of the economic history of Herculaneum between the late Republic and the AD 79 eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, and, highlighting all the problems and nuances of the evidence, presents a powerful showcase of how scholars should approach and analyze the complex archaeological record of Herculaneum and Pompeii on the micro-level.

The book is well-structured and addresses all important aspects of its subject. After an introductory chapter, which familiarizes the reader with the excavation history of Herculaneum, and the enormous impact of Amedeo Maiuri on 20<sup>th</sup> century thinking about the social and economic history of the city, the volume is divided into two parts, consisting of four and three chapters respectively. The first part looks at the layout and equipment of shops and workshops and tries to understand the uses of commercial space; the second part looks at the development of commercial space in a more abstract way, by studying the building history of the complexes to which shops and workshops belonged.

The four chapters of the first part of the book focus on Herculaneum, but use the evidence from Pompeii to provide a background against which the material from Herculaneum can be understood. The first chapter focuses on the anatomy of shops. It analyzes the links between the material and the written record, and introduces the reader to the archaeology of the *taberna*. Chapter two discusses the retail of food and drink in *tabernae* equipped with a masonry counter and *dolia*. Monteix proposes a refined typology distinguishing between 'restaurants', shops serving hot food and drinks, shops serving unprepared food, and 'bars', serving only drinks. The subsequent chapter three zooms in on the bakeries of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and on the commercial manufacturing of bread. Monteix analyzes, to great detail, the production process of bread, and the equipment and layout of bakeries in the two Vesuvian cities, though with a clear emphasis on the Pompeian material. Finally, chapter four analyzes the evidence for textile production. Like chapter three, it is strongly centered around the evidence from Pompeii - the both qualitatively and quantitatively limited evidence from Herculaneum suggests that the local textile economy was operating on a smaller scale, and more locally oriented than that of Pompeii (see, for recent debate about the Pompeian textile economy by the present author and Monteix, *JRA* 26, 2013, 53-87). A brief discussion concludes the first part of the volume.

The chapters of the second part focus more on the material remains of Herculaneum alone, but look beyond the shops and workshops to the physical context in which they were constructed. Chapter five is, essentially, an introduction to the study of building materials and techniques in Herculaneum, relying on (but also refining) the classification of Thomas Ganschow (*Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte in Herculaneum*, Bonn 1989). It lays the basis for the subsequent two chapters, which discuss the building history of, respectively, the large complex in the *Insula Orientalis II* (chapter VI), and the houses with commercial facilities in the four completely excavated *insulae* of the city (chapter VII). The three chapters serve to prepare a lengthy discussion of the historical development of the town's economy (pp. 349-370), which is perhaps the most widely relevant part of the book, as it is able to feed directly into debates about Roman urban economies.

Overall, Monteix sketches a rather nuanced picture of the economy of Herculaneum. Monteix does not engage explicitly with the wider debate on urban economies in the Roman world, but he does stress that, at least as far as the known part of town is concerned, commerce and manufacturing seem not only rather small-scale, but also primarily locally oriented. Moreover, Monteix argues that the urban elite played a very central role in the world of manufacturing and retail because it dominated the market for commercial space. Indeed, to judge from its manufacturing and retail landscape Herculaneum, as Monteix depicts it, would have made quite a good Finleyan consumer city. One thing that one might want to discuss however is whether the owners of the medium-sized houses with shops along the *decumanus* really belonged to the 'elite'. After all, the largest and wealthiest houses of the town were clustered on the

sea side, and never had shops. Households investing in retail and manufacturing may actually have had a slightly less elevated social position.

Yet more relevant than this basic sketch of the nature of the city's economy is the way in which Monteix discusses its historical development, arguing not only for a slight increase in commercial space during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but also for a change in the way it was managed: more and more of it was rented out instead of directly managed by the owner of the property. Apparently, a true market for commercial space emerged in this period - a trend that according to Monteix can be traced from the Augustan period onwards, though it became much stronger after the earthquakes that hit the city in the last decades of its existence. This is an interesting argument, which is not without its impact for our view on the town's urban community: to which extent is a commercializing market for shops and workshops reconcilable with a small-town society based on ties of dependency between free-born, freed and slaves? In other words: to which extent might this change in elite economic strategies reflect wider changes in the urban community? Given the thorough and detailed analysis of the material evidence, Monteix can hardly be blamed for not developing this point, but it is a question that deserves to be addressed by the scholarly community, especially in the light of recent work by L. De Ligt and P. Garnsey on the implications of the so-called 'Album' of Herculaneum (*JRA* 25, 2012, 69-94) for the social structure of the urban community.

In short, there is no doubt that Monteix has produced a work that sets the standard for both future studies of the evidence from Herculaneum, and for archaeological approaches to urban manufacturing in the Roman world.

Miko Flohr

BARBARA F. BORG, *Crisis and Ambition. Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 308 pp., 140 figs, 10 pls; 25 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-967273-8.

In this monograph, Barbara Borg describes and analyses the funerary habits of the inhabitants of Rome and Ostia during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, which is a very ambitious but also laudable project, since few of the discussed funerary monuments have been explored and dated seriously and most studies on Roman burial customs concentrate on either the funerary monuments of the late Republic and the early Empire or late-antique Christian practise. In the introduction to this extremely well written and thoroughly researched study, the author gives some specific topics to be discussed, e.g. the reason why there were so many sarcophagi, the category of tombs belonging to non-elite persons, and the rise of Christianity as evidenced (or not) in the hypogaea (commonly called catacombs). A good introduction to the main objectives of the monograph is Borg's paper *Bilder für die Ewigkeit oder glanzvoller Auftritt? Zum Repräsentationsverhalten der stadtrömischen Eliten im dritten Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, in F.A.

Bauer/C. Witschel (eds), *Statuen in der Spätantike*, Wiesbaden 2007, 43-77.

Borg observes a clear continuation of existing forms of monuments and habits of deposition from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, e.g. the uninterrupted exploitation of the tombs under St. Peter and in the other Vatican necropolises. In Ostia, the funerary monuments of the 'Via Ostiense' and the 'Isola Sacra' provide evidence of a similar continuity. In these necropolises there are tombs of the elite next to house-like buildings of smaller dimensions erected by freedmen or their descendants, and court yards with *fossae*, organized by guilds or *collegia*, in which the number of deceased buried in the same complex often increased in respect to older monuments. The practice to call such tombs 'temple tombs' is not a lucky choice, as we hope to demonstrate in a forthcoming article. The names gleaned from the epigraphical material in the latter complexes are those of freedmen or free men who reached a higher social and/or financial level during their lifetime. Chapters 2-4 are on architecture and shape of tombs. Borg gives a handy gazetteer of the principal shapes (freestanding sarcophagi, round, cross-shaped and square tombs etc.). The continuation Borg observes here and in other 'Gräberstrassen' or sets of monuments is likely, but we must honestly confess that we sometimes cannot follow the way how monuments are dated, since, as has been said already, many phenomena did not radically change over time and, to give one specific example, the chronology of several black-and-white floor mosaics, seen by Borg as 3<sup>rd</sup>-century products, is not as clear as one might wish. Therefore, one may ask whether the morphological developments are good clues for dating funerary monuments. There is the risk of circular reasoning, when one proposes that since a specific architectural form is 3<sup>rd</sup>-century, a tomb displaying this form should be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (e.g. p. 56, absidal tombs). Therefore, this chapter 3 is less convincing than what follows about the hypogaea (chapter 4).

Hypogaea became popular from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century; good examples of family tombs are the tombs of the Nasonii and of the Octavii. While dearth of burial grounds *sub divo* at reasonable prices, might be a reason, we suggest that the property of the soil and the relevant area are at stake, as well as their exploitation by means of tunnel-like space compartments (see fig. 47: anonymous hypogaeum on Via Triumphalis and the senatorial Tombs of the Sempronii, pp. 126-130, 224, fig. 74, in the Vigna Casali formerly Volpi on Via Appia). Their interiors contained imitations of the house tombs of the 'Gräberstrassen' of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. People entered them through a staircase and arrived in complexes composed of corridors, sometimes in more than one storey. A long section of this chapter is devoted to the Christian origin (or not) of these hypogaea. As nowadays luckily seems to become common knowledge, like others Borg argues that the attribution to Christian communities is based on circular reasoning: the presence of Christian imagery demonstrates the presence of tombs of Christians, but does not prove that the entire hypogaeum system was Christian. We must rather assume that imperial administration or