

## Reviews

ROBERTO SPADEA (ed.), *Kroton. Studi e ricerche sulla polis Achea e il suo territorio*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2014. 564 pp., figs, 137 pls, 8 maps (separate); 29 cm (Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia, quarta serie V). – ISBN 978-88-7689-277-6 / ISSN 1592-7377.

In the preface to this benchmark publication on the archaeology of the city of Kroton and its chora (South Italy, ancient *Magna Graecia*) editor Roberto Spadea recalls how, shortly before WWI, the Dutch archaeologist Alexander Willem Byvanck was the first to investigate tracts of the late classical fortification walls that once protected this famous Greek colony founded by Achaean migrants on the Ionian coast in South Italy. But while much information has come to light, especially since the 1970s' urban expansion, present-day Crotone does not easily disclose its classical past. Having been archaeological inspector of Crotone, Spadea is quick to point out the troublesome history of archaeological research into Kroton's classical urban topography and architecture due to the (initially) limited willingness of local authorities to facilitate research by the *Soprintendenza Archeologica* during building projects. Collaboration improved from the mid-90s on, resulting in greater archaeological visibility of Kroton's archaeology through professional excavations and the creation of a national museum and archaeological office. From Spadea's introduction we learn that Greek settlers founded Kroton somewhere between the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC on a promontory dominating the mouth of the river Esaro. By the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC they already established an orthogonal plan of wide streets (*plateiai*) and smaller ones perpendicular to the latter (*stenopoi*) for the city to expand along. This layout of longitudinal parcels (*ad strigas*) would form the solid backbone of its urban development all through to the Hellenistic period. During the period of its existence Kroton added several grids to the initial layout, but with a different orientation in line with the bending coastline (in the publication best seen in fig. 3 on p. 138).

The present volume has three parts: *Topografia e Urbanistica*, *Materiali* and *Vari*. In my review I will concentrate on the first part, as this is the reason d'être of this monumental publication.

The discussion of Kroton's urban development comprises three basic contributions (Agnese Racheli, Givanna Verbicara/Enzo Lippolis/Ricardo Stocco) based on the complicated mosaic of urban archaeology. Spatial reference is provided in large-size foldable maps (in separate folder) that help to read the ancient city within the urban tissue of present-day Crotone and to appreciate the scale of the ancient city (estimated by Lippolis/Stocco at 618 ha). Orthogonal planning extended in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic period on both sides of the river Esaro, all enclosed within an inland enceinte (ca 13 km). Lippolis/Stocco (121-142) give a

concise overview of the three constituent planning components of Kroton (south, central, north) while the folding maps show the actual spots where archaeological excavations were done within this huge area. These resulted in reconstructed tracts of the *plateiai*, *stenopoi* and *ambitus*, assumed location of the *agora*, the course of the inland fortification wall, the location of the necropoleis and the in ancient times more inland located ancient coastline. Phase maps 4-8 present the excavation windows in old Crotone near the promontory southeast of the Esaro where the earliest traces of Greek presence were found and show the reconstructions of the orthogonal plan including excavated quarters (*isolati*) and their infill with houses in seven phases (with detailed maps). Urban excavations have predominantly taken place southeast of the Esaro, an area considered the oldest part of the city which also features the promontory. Of the latter little is known archaeologically, except for scarce remains of a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC fortification wall. Was this the city's acropolis? This may well be as Livy mentions Kroton to have had an *arx*, dominating the harbours of the city.

As regards the urban excavations Racheli (pp. 13-65) focuses on the traces of the ancient city structure recovered inland of the promontory, while Verbicara (pp. 67-119) zooms in on the domestic architecture and traces of pottery workshops in this area, proposing two types of standardized houses, one purely domestic and one a combination of domestic and production facilities (mainly pottery production). So far the remains of six houses with dates between the Archaic and Hellenistic period could be (partially) excavated. Gregorio Aversa discusses building techniques employed in Kroton (pp. 289-307) and the scarce evidence for monumental architecture. Aversa and Verbicara report on the typology and finds of the tombs of the necropolis Carrara 3 covering the Archaic to Hellenistic period (pp. 143-179). Alfredo Ruga's contribution on the Roman phases of Kroton and the Roman settlement built on the land of Kroton's sanctuary at Capo Colonna (pp. 181-272) deserves special mention.

The section on Topography and Urbanism ends with a contribution by Cesare d'Annibale and Joe Carter (pp. 273-288), driving forces behind the systematic survey of Kroton's *chora* south of the city. They offer a brief overview of results of the campaigns of 1983-1986 and 2005-2008 in three phase maps (pre- and protohistoric, Greek, Roman/early medieval) with comments on the long term settlement dynamics. Relevant for the socio-economic context of Kroton is the significant number of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic sites (375 in all) recorded in the survey testifying to intensive rural exploitation. The Archaic rural settlement pattern appears characterized by rural agglomerations rather than by dispersed farmsteads typical of the Classical/Hellenistic rural landscape. More detailed publication of the Crotone archaeological survey is eagerly awaited.

Parts 2 (Materiali) and 3 (Varia) are dedicated to a number of high quality individual material culture studies: bronzes and terracotta's (with contributions by Latanzi, Spadea, Muleo, Pasqua), the coin hoard of Fondo Gesù (Arslan/Ruga), iconography of the mantle devoted to Hera Lacinia (Guzzo), a honorary decree from Capo Lacinia (Lazzarini) and a discussion of Pythagorean *mousei* (Caruso).

The material presented in this volume is clearly described and discussed, and bibliographically and visually well documented. However, the reader interested in the Topography and Urbanism part, reviewed here, should be prepared to put effort into combining the information given in the various texts with the information given in the folding maps, the figures in the text and the tables at the back of the book to obtain the full picture. This is worthwhile, however, as it gives an exceptional insight in the urban development of this major Greek colony once home to Pythagoras.

Peter Attema

CARLO PAVOLINI, *Eredità storica e democrazia. In cerca di una politica per i beni culturali*. Roma: Scienze e Lettere, 2017. 314 pp., ill.; 21 cm. – ISBN 978-88-6687-119-4.

Nonostante che i temi e i personaggi trattati in questo volume siano recentissimi, a un lettore italiano sembra che essi appartengano a un tempo lontano. L'impressione è causata dal repentino cambiamento politico dell'Italia con la formazione di un governo per cui - almeno finora - né i 'beni culturali' né l'istruzione sembrano problemi centrali; anzi, a giudicare da recentissimi provvedimenti, come l'abolizione dell'ingresso gratuito ai musei una domenica al mese, si ha l'impressione che l'attuale ministro più che elaborare progetti per il futuro, si limiti a una modesta inversione di rotta rispetto al suo predecessore. Comunque bisognerà attendere per vedere se ci saranno iniziative decisive in questo ambito.

Il volume di Pavolini entra con coraggio nel mezzo di una disputa che ha scosso il settore dei 'beni culturali' in seguito alle riforme introdotte dall'ex ministro del MIBACT (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo) Dario Franceschini tra il 2014 e il 2017. Dico con coraggio perché in un'Italia eternamente divisa tra Guelfi e Ghibellini, dove prevale l'appartenenza un po' stolido al gruppo, piuttosto che la voglia di comprendere le ragioni altrui (segno dell'immatura democrazia del nostro paese), Pavolini cerca una propria via di analisi e valutazione delle nuove misure legislative. Non aderisce *toto corde* al gruppo dei fautori ad oltranza della riforma (rappresentati dalla figura dell'archeologo Giuliano Volpe, in particolare nella sua funzione di presidente del Consiglio Superiore dei beni culturali, l'organo consultivo del ministro) ma nemmeno a quello di coloro che con toni molto accesi l'hanno attaccata, trovando il loro polemico portavoce nello storico dell'arte Tomaso Montanari. Pavolini non assume - e lo fa espressamente - una posizione equidistante tra le due, ma entra nel dibattito con onestà intellettuale, competenza (è stato per

anni funzionario nelle soprintendenze archeologiche e poi professore universitario) e pazienza nel passare al vaglio le varie opinioni.

Il volume è diviso in cinque capitoli che sono strutturati per fornire al lettore un quadro d'insieme e poi lentamente condurlo ad argomenti più specifici. Nel riassumere le questioni trattate dovrò molto sintetizzare perché un lettore non italiano avrebbe serie difficoltà a orientarsi nella foresta legislativa che riguarda (e funesta) il patrimonio artistico italiano. I. Uno dei provvedimenti che ha suscitato maggiori proteste è stata l'istituzione delle Soprintendenze uniche territoriali, che hanno assunto le competenze un tempo parcellizzate tra soprintendenze archeologiche, storiche artistiche e architettoniche. Bisogna ricordare che un tempo, chiunque volesse intraprendere un'attività - costruire un edificio, restaurare la propria casa ecc. - doveva passare attraverso un iter burocratico lunghissimo con il rischio di ottenere pareri contrastanti che paralizzavano ogni iniziativa. Perciò l'istituzione della soprintendenza unica era necessaria ed era immaginabile che all'inizio avrebbe causato dei sommovimenti. Come Pavolini fa notare, i detrattori della riforma, invece di suggerire i possibili miglioramenti, si sono limitati a un'opposizione che oltre a non favorire il dialogo con il ministero, ha ottenuto l'irremovibilità di quest'ultimo nell'attuazione della legge. A ben guardare, questa, come tutte le riforme che si fanno in Italia, rivela un problema di fondo: l'impossibilità di fare cambiamenti strutturali in un paese cronicamente affetto da instabilità politica, per cui chi sta al governo si affretta a varare provvedimenti privi della lunga gestazione che ne garantisce l'applicazione e il funzionamento. Le soprintendenze uniche avrebbero avuto necessità di personale qualificato, come quello che in Francia esce dall'École du patrimoine; qui una Scuola del patrimonio è stata istituita a posteriori e finora nessuno si è accorto della sua esistenza.

II. Un altro provvedimento che ha suscitato perplessità e proteste è stato quello che ha scorporato alcuni musei considerati di rango superiore (Uffizi, Brera, Capodimonte ecc.) rendendoli autonomi, cioè svincolati dalle soprintendenze e chiamando a dirigerli personalità scelte con un concorso internazionale. Pavolini in questo caso si associa (senza fanatismo) a coloro che hanno criticato entrambe le iniziative: sarebbe un errore scorporare i musei dalle soprintendenze, dato che i musei italiani, a parte quelli nati da collezioni private, sono strettamente collegati al territorio; inoltre perché scegliere all'estero quando in Italia ci sono valenti funzionari che avrebbero potuto fare lo stesso lavoro? Nel primo caso bisogna ricordare che in precedenza questi grandi musei erano sotto la direzione del Soprintendente, che affidava la gestione della collezione a un funzionario, creando una situazione confusa; poi bisogna considerare che questi musei, pur essendo nati nell'Ottocento per accogliere le opere d'arte asportate dagli edifici ecclesiastici o i reperti archeologici provenienti dagli sventramenti urbanistici, non svolgono più questo compito, se non marginalmente. Riguardo al concorso internazionale si può discutere sulla scelta dei direttori ma non sulla forma di reclutamento, in linea con la prassi dei paesi più emancipati culturalmente.

II. Il secondo capitolo entra nel merito della democratizzazione della ricerca, cioè del libero accesso ai dati in possesso di varie istituzioni statali: fotografie, documenti d'archivio, relazioni sugli scavi archeologici, che molto spesso sono stati e sono ancora gestiti come beni personali e non come informazioni che dovrebbero essere messe a disposizione degli studiosi. È facile aver esperito il caso di un rifiuto a consultare documenti perché in studio da qualcuno... magari da vent'anni. Come non concordare con l'autore quando afferma che «la democrazia fa un passo in avanti quanto più liberamente si può riprodurre e diffondere l'immagine di un manufatto archeologico, di un'opera d'arte, di un libro o di un documento d'archivio?» (p. 111).

III. Nel terzo capitolo si affronta un'altra questione spinosa che ha visto anche qui il formarsi di due schieramenti (oltre a Volpe, l'archeologo Daniele Manacorda da un lato e il già citato Montanari dall'altro). Tutto parte dall'articolo 9, titolo I della Costituzione: «La Repubblica promuove lo sviluppo della cultura e della ricerca scientifica e tecnica. Tutela il paesaggio e il patrimonio storico e artistico della Nazione». La critica al passato è che le soprintendenze abbiano ben tutelato, ma solo tutelato, senza valorizzare ciò che proteggevano: musei, monumenti, siti e parchi archeologici ecc. I puristi o i difensori dell'*art pour l'art* vedono come fumo negli occhi ogni intervento che intacchi la sacralità del patrimonio, altri spingono per ricostruzioni in favore del turismo, uso dei monumenti per spettacoli (il Colosseo come teatro, rifacendo la piattaforma dell'arena), i parchi archeologici come spazio per installazioni di arte contemporanea, i musei per concerti e altro. Anche qui l'a., pur rivelando le sue preferenze, cerca di non cadere nel facile manicheismo, ma mette in luce le ottuse resistenze di una parte degli addetti ai lavori che poi offrono il pretesto agli altri per accusarli di passatismo e snobismo. Per comprendere come fare una buona valorizzazione bisognerebbe prendere esempio dal Museo Egizio di Torino, dove il direttore ha fatto del museo un centro di ricerca, uno strumento di democrazia senza ricorrere al 'sons et lumières', senza perdere di vista l'essenza dell'istituzione.

IV. In questo capitolo Pavolini affronta il problema del mondo del lavoro (meglio della precarietà e della disoccupazione) delle centinaia di laureati che il sistema dei 'beni culturali' italiano non riesce ad assorbire (bisogna però dare atto a Franceschini di aver promosso un migliaio di assunzioni).

V. Quasi come un'appendice, nell'ultimo capitolo viene affrontato il problema della sistemazione dei Fori Imperiali, dopo gli ultimi scavi, mettendo in luce l'intreccio di competenze tra architetti, urbanisti, archeologi, storici dell'arte e di come, la situazione attuale, sia il portato di impostazione ideologiche che hanno caratterizzato il nostro paese dal dopoguerra in poi.

Per un lettore non italiano non sarà facile comprendere tutte le sfumature di un dibattito per la cui comprensione si deve tenere conto anche della genesi del MIBACT (istituito nel 1975), un organo che doveva distaccarsi dagli altri ministeri per leggerezza e flessibilità e che è diventato nel corso del tempo un ministero appesantito dalla burocrazia come e più di altri. Il libro di Pavolini, per l'onestà intellettuale che lo per-

corre dall'inizio alla fine, è una testimonianza di cui tenere conto per comprendere i cambiamenti che negli ultimi tre anni circa hanno caratterizzato il patrimonio storico-artistico italiano, collocandolo nel quadro degli orientamenti politici e culturali contemporanei.

Marcello Barbanera

CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 512 pp., 23 color, 104 b/w ills; 26 cm (Empire and After). – ISBN 978-0-8122-4935-4.

*The Transformation of Greek Amulets* re-examines existing notions related to the genre of Greek and Roman amulets. Faraone has pursued his interest in amulets for a long time, most notably in his earlier book *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford 1992). It should be noted that Faraone's work also includes many articles concerned with the topic – as the preface indicates a first article on amulets was published in 1988 (co-authored with Kotansky) and the bibliography to *Transformation* shows an impressive number of forthcoming articles. His work culminates in the volume under review here.

Faraone argues that the question 'is not why we are able to identify so many amulets in the Roman imperial period, but rather why we fail to find them in the preceding centuries' (p. 2). Faraone defines 'amulets' as objects which were placed on the body or on objects for beneficial purposes (in the widest sense of the word). He makes a convincing argument that it is *our problem* that we do not recognize particular earlier Greek objects as amulets because we do not see the explicit texts or images as we know from Roman examples. We should re-evaluate our expectations and when we re-examine the sources carefully we see that we can indeed distinguish other objects which, in pre-imperial times, were clearly used as amulets: 'these shapes and media were being used all along as amulets' (p. ix).

In the first part of his book Faraone shows convincingly that an investigation into those wearing amulets (most often females and children), and into the shapes and materials of items formerly not known as amulets, is revealing. The earlier Greek objects are discussed in combination with later Roman amulets as well as Greek and Roman literary texts, enabling us to see many more items from Classical and Hellenistic Greece as protective than before. We see that amulets worked on the basis of the ideas of 'like banning like'; confronting or threatening a threat; and the 'frozen gesture' through which rituals were made enduring and permanent. The second part of *Transformations* focuses on the late Hellenistic and Roman addition of images to the already existing genre of amulets, which make them more recognizable to us (and which have created confusion about the defining parameters of what amulets 'are', as noted above). Different protective images are discussed, mostly of protective gods and heroes in action or a symbol by which they are represented. Faraone shows that the depictions chosen for amulets were not 'just' interesting scenes but were, for example,



related to narratives of human vulnerability - and eventual success (as in the case of the particular depictions of Hercules). Miniature versions of 'bigger' gods start to appear because 'the neck of the individual was now the better point of defense against danger or disease than the door of the house or the gate of the city' (p. 242). We also see more and more 'Egyptian deities'. The third and final part of the book is concerned with texts, the second important transformation in the way amulets were created. Acclamations and prayers as well as incantations and speech acts are discussed here. New ways of expressing such texts appeared in the Roman period and we start seeing them on amulets.

Faraone's findings have their consequences: they result in the notion that we have mistakenly seen an extremely high increase in the use of amulets during the empire and should re-evaluate the importance we give to the persistent idea of an increase of religious practices in times of uncertainty or crisis. Another point is that the Egyptian and Eastern influence on the 'invention' of the amulets that has previously been argued should be rewritten: there were certainly influences, but in different ways and in a much earlier period than we first thought. The conclusion poses new issues and questions: I was personally most intrigued by the ideas of different 'lines of defense' against danger, from the city gate to the neck of the individuals. This notion will help us think about the warding off of evils in a more spatial way.

*The Transformation of Greek Amulets* consists of 408 pages in total: the main text of the book (three parts each consisting of three chapters and a conclusion) can be found on pp. 1-262; appendices on pp. 263-287; endnotes on pp. 289-408; a glossary on pp. 409-413; bibliography on pp. 415-455, and the indices at pp. 457-486. I provide this outline to illustrate the scope and learnedness of this book and its author, as well as the thoughtful way in which Faraone has cared for his reader. The author provides background knowledge in the shape of appendices and glossaries - which will be very helpful to the readers because the subject matter in hand is so specialized in terms of terminology and sources. The author also provides a truly extensive bibliography, useful for both scholars and students who wish to pursue the topic. The endnotes are extensive and well-annotated (although it must be said that I am not fond of endnotes - footnotes would have been so much more user-friendly). The volume is well-illustrated throughout, in a way that is not only functional but also adds to its attractiveness.

This volume goes beyond much of the literature in amulets because of its wide scope and historical angle. Its author has a wide overview of the source materials and the challenges it poses. His innovative ideas show how the materials can be employed in a new manner. The attention given to historical influences from Egypt and the Near East, as well as historical events and developments (such as epigraphic habit) which have influenced the use of amulets in antiquity is laudable. Still more genres might be taken into consideration as possible amulets, how would some votives, for example, fit into this new framework? I see *Transformation of Greek amulets* as part of a trend in scholarship which

revolves around the importance of embodiment and the materiality of religion, including places and objects. The approach chosen here is thought provoking and Faraone is very convincing in his argument. This book will be a standard work for many years to come.

Kim Beerden

STEPHAN T.A.M. MOLS/ERIC M. MOORMANN (eds), *Context and Meaning: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique, Athens, September 16-20, 2013*. Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017. 527 pp., ill. in the text; 28 cm (BABESCH Suppl. 31). – ISBN 978-90-429-3529-7.

This impressive and substantial volume contains the proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the *Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique*, held at Athens in September 2013. The editors, Mols and Moormann, state in their preface that 'The main questions posed in the Conference were what messages images in wall painting, from the archaic to the late-antique (ca 700 BC-AD 500), convey to contemporary viewers in specific contexts and how they were received'. Given the venue, Greek art is well-represented in this volume, especially in the keynote lectures - Olga Palagia on Greek figural wall-paintings, and Hariclia Brecolaki et al. on the Archaic panels from Pitsa, Corinthia.

The volume offers a fine overview of current scholarship on the contextualisation of ancient art, although each author has just a few pages to outline their arguments, and so readers would need to consult their other works for much of the supporting evidence. Since there are a total of 81 individual papers (including ones based on posters presented in Athens), regrettably it is impossible to mention here all of the excellent contributions, let alone comment on them.

Aside from the two (longer) keynote lectures, the papers are organised into six main sections emulating the conference programme, with the inclusion of posters: 'Text, Site and Context', 'Motifs in Ancient Painting', 'Greece', 'Turkey, the Near East, and North Africa', 'Roman Italy', and 'Europe Outside Greece and Italy'. This organisation by location is a departure from recent previous volumes - the proceedings of the eleventh conference replicated the sequence in which authors delivered papers at the conference, while the tenth was organised by topic (such as the relationship of painted decoration with other materials, iconographic and chronological problems, contexts of new discoveries, and integrated decorative systems), which thus necessitated a topographical index.

There is something relevant to all scholars interested in ancient art in terms of both location and subject. As would be expected for a conference on the context of ancient wall painting, numerous papers focus on the art of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae (Allroggen-Bedel, Augris, Barbet, Baronio, Carucci, Dardenay, Derwael, Federico, Helg/Malgieri, Helg/Malgieri/Pascucci, Koponen, Marko, Muslin), and

Ostia (Conte et al., David et al., Falzone, Marano). As the editors acknowledge, there is less focus on provincial paintings, though some of these are included in regard to Spain (Guiral Pelegrín et al., Íñiguez Berrozpe), Turkey, the Near East, and North Africa (Bianchi, Guimier-Sorbets, Michaeli, Rozenberg, Santucci, Tober, Vibert-Guigue), and Eleusis (Vavlekas). In terms of subject, aside from the focus given to ancient sources in papers grouped in the 'Text, Site and Context' section, and on iconography in the 'Motifs in Ancient Painting' section, several papers consider technique and technical analysis. There are papers on stucco relief (Boislève), clay (Cavari/Donati), pigments (Bugini et al.), the composition of painted plaster (Murgia/Zerbinatti), and 3D modelling (Chiabrando et al., Clarke).

The scope of the volume is admirable, encompassing a great range of subjects, locations, and chronological periods. Unsurprisingly, some areas receive more coverage than others, for instance Pompeii is covered by more authors than Spain, and wall-painting in Britain is not represented. The papers are written in a range of languages - predominantly English and Italian, with some in French or German, although sometimes there are English-language abstracts for papers written in other languages. Perhaps interestingly for an international volume on ancient wall-painting, just four papers are written in German (Busse, Dörfler, and two by Thomas).

Each article is enriched by high-quality colour illustrations of adequate size within the text, rather than in a separate volume (as in the proceedings of the eleventh conference), which makes it easier for the reader to clearly view these artworks and increases the clarity of the authors' arguments. Each contribution also contains a brief abstract, notes, a bibliography, and the institution and contact details for each author. The lack of indices, general or otherwise, is a missed opportunity, especially for scholars interested in different techniques and materials, or subjects and iconography, but the arrangement of content means a topographical index is not necessary, and in the preface, Mols and Moormann summarise some of the topics and other links between papers.

Carla Brain

S. SCHMIDT-HOFNER/C. AMBOS/P. EICH (eds). *Raum - Ordnung. Raum und soziopolitische Ordnungen im Altertum*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016. 441 pp., 50 figs, 23 cm (Akademie-Konferenzen, 18). ISBN 978-3-8253-6429-8.

This edited volume on space - organization ('Order') and the sociopolitical organisation in Antiquity is a very welcome addition to a growing literature which looks beyond architecture in the pure descriptive way by taking it to an integrated interpretive level. After a preface to the introduction, an introduction paper by M. Redepenning addresses the core issue of space and the complexity of space in the context of social geography. Both first chapters set the tone for the rest of the volume. The rest of the book is divided into four sections containing a total of 12 contributions. The book finishes with a biographic list of the authors while there

is no index, often missing in edited volumes while nowadays easily produced.

For section one, R. Dubbini investigates the organization of public spaces as part of the emergent polis of Corinth in the Archaic period, and its social, political, economic and religious organisation. By studying the architectural remains of the city from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, it becomes clear how the polis formed itself through processes of increasing social hierarchy whereby private architecture started to become separated or transformed into public spaces in specific city quarters over time. Her study illustrates the architectural planning reflecting the changing social organization from initially segmentary to more centralized forms of socio-political organisation. Especially the increased amount and complexity of waterworks and the elite-funded monumentalisation of the polis testify to these changing trends.

Through Early Minoan and palatial architecture on Crete N. Vander Beken discusses the role of architecture in structuring communities as well as the role of performative activities in the processes of community-building. His diachronic take to the various architectural expressions points to the active role they play in structuring Minoan society. His approach, he claims, can be applied beyond Minoan cultural context, illustrated by Maran's work (references given). The reviewer sees a very similar relation between 'performing' and the 'becoming of the architectural feature' (i.e. when under construction), being an equally powerful process of production and reproduction of socio-political structures in Mycenaean societies as when the end result is considered (e.g. B. Santillo-Frizell, *OpAth* 22-23, 1997-1998, 103-116; A. Brysbaert, *Arctos* 45, 2013, 49-96; ead., *Analecta Prehistorica Leidensia* 45, 2015, 69-90).

U. Thaler builds on his previous work and this has now culminated in his most recent publication (*me-karo-de. Mykenische Paläste als Dokument und Gestaltungsrahmen frühgeschichtlicher Sozialordnung*, Bonn 2018). A main argument is that space and architecture itself can be seen as a network of elements facilitating or obstructing communication by various groups. The Mycenaean palaces of Tiryns (Argolid), Pylos (Messenia) and Mycenae are investigated by means of applying Space Syntax for the social role the spaces played in people's lives. The method, developed by B. Hillier and J. Hanson in 1984 (*The Social Logic of Space*) and well-known by now in the archaeological context shows indeed that space was socially constructed or obstructed. A totally independent study conducted and presented by H. Stöger in the Monumentality workshop (9-10 Dec. 2016, Leiden University) produced an almost identical space syntax image of the palace of Tiryns, confirming the usefulness of the method. In Thaler's paper the richness of the evidence becomes alive when combined with other evidence. His detailed study of painted plaster of walls and floors (esp. Tiryns and Pylos), door thresholds, pottery and meat consumption remains (esp. Pylos) convincingly shows certain trends comparable across the palatial centres, but also significant differences. These places clearly were both in-and exclusive through their levels and types of access (processions, feasting and

economic activities), depending where you were on the social ladder and for which occasion you came in. The socio-political organization, through its architecture, made clear to the Mycenaeans who they were, in their various identity formation processes.

Section two starts with C. Lecompte who challenges the Greek-based notion of city-state as applied to the Late Uruk period Mesopotamia and redefines this. Although the city cannot be separated from the hinterland, studying this region in its own context enhances the understanding that both city and hinterland impacted each other, and that such interactions already took place earlier than hitherto understood. The role of irrigation was key in these geopolitical processes. These state formation processes, which included politically and culturally defined territories for both city and hinterland, took place around 3000 BCE and were one of the earliest documented by written texts in which spatial organization can be seen. Especially in South Mesopotamia, the role of the villages in the hinterland are key in illustrating that the population in the early Dynastic Period was not only of urban origin. Political and especially religious hierarchical institutions forged a unity between the different components that made up the states and this was reflected in their architectural expressions.

Territorial city-state formation processes (known from 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium Sumer) have been revised in the light of new evidence and texts found from the Amarna period in terms of the evolution of political conceptions for the region of Upper Mesopotamia and surrounding regions. The 'patrimonial' view known from the Amarna rhetoric reflects a legacy of previous periods, while the new evidence suggest to understand the expansion of Assyria in the Syrian Jezireh in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE as pure territorial state formation in its formative stage. H. Reculeau discusses both 'patrimonial' (e.g. Amorite kingdom) and 'territorial' power concepts in their narrow meaning of people-based versus space-based respectively. He understands the changes taking place in the political power structures of 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium Assyrian studies as an evolutionary trend moving (during the Amarna period) from the person-based power concept which loses terrain to the more territorial-based notion which became fully formed only in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE in the neo-Assyrian empire, an evolution crossing several stages which can be clearly illustrated through the city-state of Aššur.

F. Carlà-Uhink approaches the topic of imperialism in the Roman context in which he sees spatial concepts, such as boundaries and frontiers, as justifying the control over other political entities and as a structural part of the self-perception and worldview of Roman culture. For him, boundaries are both social combined with geographical, and he distinguishes between boundaries (fixed, inwards looking) and frontiers (less well defined zone, outward facing, dynamic), but also *limes*, *finis* and *terminus*, all in relation to the Roman *imperium*. In doing so, he discusses the role of frontiers and boundaries related to identity-formation and its dynamics, and specifically how outside is viewed from inside, i.e. not as another state with equal sovereignty, in

the context of Roman development of imperialism which took place in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

P. Eich's paper discusses the penetration of spaces in the region of Phrygia by groups from outside beyond the borders. This is associated with the restructuring of the provinces around the time of the first tetrarchy. Provinces, such as Phrygia and Caria became split up in smaller units and were joint together, but became stronger governed administratively. This relates to the extraordinary efforts which are linked to Diocletian's persecution of Christians. Such measures can be understood as spatial manifestations of an ever stronger and wider-reaching grip of elites over individuals. The bureaucratically organised system of Christian persecution was both the expression and driving force in the process of tightening the provincial control and explains in part why these two phenomena co-existed. Whereas at first a strong fiscal control of goods and territory played a crucial role in these centrally-organized reforms, the Christian persecution brought this about later on.

C. Ambos introduces section three by looking at sacrality as a spatially organizing principle, set in the Near East. Rituals in this context function as ways to articulate and reproduce cosmic order, made visible in, for example, processions, or temporary spatial installations, such as reed huts as places of rites of passage to another world. Natural elements such as purifying water and mountains play a crucial role too. Ritual spaces thus become higher cosmic ordering principles which bring people together in unity. Ambos emphasizes that ritual space does not just manifests itself this way, but it also makes it possible for people to get into relationships with the gods and the creative orders/forces. For example, to make this relationship possible, the king should pass a night in the hut to make the transition to the other side.

G.J. Selz discusses the principles of movement in rituals through the action of mental mapping the differences and contrasts between the city/civilization versus the steppe/the wild. In this, the organizing principle seems to be based on the ever higher level of the outer worldly, and sacral processions of gods move from the city to the rural/wild environment to confirm this. This is manifested in the spatial component of the ritually enthroned ruler, thus reflecting this hierarchy also in the political sphere of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium. Territorial unity is manifested by processions through which the most important places of settlement and cult place are connected.

Next, J.D. Dillon's study of sacral laws and space shows the differences in organizational principle between local versus foreign cults and how these are shown in land right differences but also through their different socio-legal statuses. He illustrates this through the example whereby Cicero sued Verres for having plundered Sicilian temples. In doing this, Cicero equals the foreign Greek sacral places with its own gods to the Roman sacral concepts and legal categories. However, this lawsuit can only work in Cicero's advantage if the judges understand this terminology of foreign religious concepts in the same way as Cicero meant them. Such manipulation in fact shows how such ritual spatial ordering principles determine religious conscience.



The last section moves away from the material aspect of space but steers to imagined spaces, and how these functioned as projections and symbols of socio-political organizational discourse. S. Schmidt-Hofner gives the example of the olive tree and how this functioned as a symbol and reference point of political imagination for the territory of Attica in Classical Athens. In people's images and stories, that symbol and metaphor articulated their collective values, self-image and the ideology of the Polis, and to this, behavioral expectations were connected. This linking of attitudes to values through the imagined Attic landscape was closely attached to spatial patterning in which the homeland of the Athenians played an important role in constructing their self-image. This imagery was not only a way leading to ideological indoctrination and self-reflection, but it was also present in daily life.

Finally, M.-L. Dészpas discusses, through Tacitus's *Germania*, the elite discourse in thinking about the organization of the imperium, especially the relationship between conquering and submitting, and its link to the inner order, especially that of elite versus the emperor at the time of Diocletian. In this discourse, values such as *virtus*, *libertas* and *imperium iustum* are central. *Germania*, according to Dészpas, is employed by Tacitus as an experimental laboratory and projection image for this organizational discourse debate. The author is convinced that the ordering principles discussed in this book are in fact Rome's. The central principle is the military *virtus* and again, this is a Roman principle. For him, *Germania* contains the spatial order principle in two ways: the manifestation of the socio-political order in space but also and equally one of its constituents.

The overall quality of the papers is high and, at times, may be difficult to access for non-German speakers. The printed book quality is fine although some of the figures, especially the maps, are minute and legends become hard to read. In some cases (paper by Vander Beken) the print itself is not clean and should have been checked by the publishers. The figures throughout the book are also not systematically numbered and whereas there are 50 counted in total, these contain photographs, maps, tables, charts and an appendix, several of which do not have a caption outside the image. Ancient text excerpts are not calculated here as figures *per se*. Due to its specialised nature, this book and its papers serve mainly reading for MA and PhD level and above, and is less suited for BA teaching readings.

Ann Brysbaert

LAURENT BRICAULT/ANDREW BURNETT/VINCENT DROST/ARNAUD SUSPÈNE (eds), *Rome et les Provinces - Monnayage et Histoire: Mélanges offerts à Michel Amandry*. Bordeaux: Ausonius éditions, 2017, pp. 464, 30 tables; 30 cm (Numismatica Antiqua 7). – ISBN 978-2-35613-197-3.

This *Festschrift* was published on the occasion of the retirement of Michel Amandry as director of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 2013. At his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, it was offered to the

erudite and highly productive numismatist, who is the author of more than 15 books, 20 edited volumes and 343 articles. The volume, consisting of more than 30 articles, deals with various kind of subjects, all related to the research of Amandry, which cover the study of Greek, Roman as well as provincial Roman coinage. What makes the volume unique is that many articles give an overview of the latest research - with often unpublished material - concerning several numismatic debates, which are presented by international renowned scholars. The majority of the articles are written in French or English.

The volume opens with a study, written by F. de Callatay, about the 18<sup>th</sup> century scholar Jean-Jacques Barthémely, an early predecessor of Amandry as keeper of the coin collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Despite its importance for understanding the classification of standard numismatic catalogues and for reconstructing the history of specific coin collections, a focus on the history of numismatics is a recent development.

The volume continues with several articles dealing with 'hard-core' numismatic analysis and debates, many of these are dedicated to coinage that circulated in Republican times. Concerning early Roman coinage, P.G. van Alfen has written an article on the early *aes rude* and the beginnings of the monetary system in Rome, a piece that is useful for students and scholars who want to get a short, but good introduction to this material. S. Nieto-Pelletier and F. Duval present new insights about the composition of the bronze Gallic coinage that circulated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Illustrated by several graphs, their research shows that the Gallic coin series with iconographical themes similar to the Celtic *stateres* share similar characteristics regarding metal and weight composition. The same can be said for Gallic coinage with Roman iconography. Another promising chemical analysis was done by D. Bocciarelli, M. Blet-Lemarquand and A. Suspène on the gold coins issued during the troubled years AD 68-69 in the western provinces. The debased metal composition illustrates clearly the financial impact of the civil wars on the coin production. As Amandry is one of the editors of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC) volumes and author of multiple articles on this kind of coinage, the *Festschrift* contains also several articles dedicated to the study of provincial coinage. Often additions to the existing RPC volumes are suggested or a small catalogue for a particular set of coins is provided. For matter of completeness, I give a list of the cities whose provincial coinage is discussed in this volume: Apamea (Severan Period), Aspendos, northern Asia Minor (Julio-Claudian period), Peleponnesos (Severan period), Temenothyrae (Licinian period) and Tralles (Diva Paulina).

Many articles demonstrate how coins can serve as a source for other studies in the fields of political, military, social and cultural history. I have selected some to discuss in further detail. B. Woytek has written a thorough piece on the coinage issued in honour of divus Nerva in which he analyses all coins featuring divus Nerva on imperial and provincial coinage. He first concludes that the infrequent appearance of Nerva on Tra-

jan's coin output strengthens the former conclusion of Hekster that Trajan did not need an explicit link with his predecessor to legitimise his reign (cf. O. Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman rules and the constraints of tradition*. Oxford 2015). The article continues with a discussion on the scarce presence of divus Nerva type in the consecration series of Decius and Trebonianus Gallus. On provincial coinage, the popularity of the type varied; only the mints of Berythus, the Galatian Koinon and Perinthus minted relatively many coins with divus Nerva. When present, the provincial coinage of divus Nerva seems to echo the appearance of the type on official Roman coinage. A. Burnett presents a case study on Trajan's different titles, such as *Imperator*, *Optimus* and *Parthikos*, and the date of the accession of Hadrian. By comparing evidence from coins with that from papyri, inscriptions and *diplomata*, Burnett concludes that the officers in Rome were often confused about newly adopted titles, while the emperor was frequently away from Rome. However, there seemed to have been room for later corrections when unwanted titles had been adopted in Trajan's coin titulary, explaining subsequently why new titles appeared on different sources over time. The study of a remarkable bronze series, featuring Hadrian and his adopted son Aelius Caesar, issued by M. Iulius Damianus, who originated from a powerful Mylasian family (Caria), is written by F. Delrieux. After providing a brief overview of the types including their descriptions, weights, measurements, and their known specimens, Delrieux sketches how this series is different in style and agency from the coin output of Mylasa and that of Asia Minor in general, concluding that the series is a unique testimony of monetary euergetism in Roman times, benefitting the citizens of Mylasa as well as honouring the imperial house. R. Bland makes a strong case for an imperial visit of Gordian III to Antioch. The article is built around the issue of silver radiates at the Roman mint of Antioch together with two ADVENTVS types, traditionally symbolising an imperial arrival at an imperial mint. By combining this with evidence from other sources, such as literary ones, a doubtful imperial rescript and an inscription from Dura Europos, Bland is able to date Gordian's visit to Antioch to the Spring of AD 239. Most likely, the visit was meant to consolidate the cities in Syria after some Persian raids. D. Hollard has contributed an iconographical study on the depiction of solar themes on the coinage of the Gallic usurpers (AD 268-274). The theme is frequently present on Gallic coins, by the display of e.g. Sol Invictus, Luna, or the legend ORIENS AVG. Although this theme was originally eastern, the coins mainly circulated in the Gallic Empire, where, many soldiers at the Rhine limes were initiated into the Mithras cult. As the doctrine and the rituals were only known to its initiates, no Mithraic elements could be displayed (directly) on the Gallic imperial coinage. Hollard concludes with the suggestion that the solar theme must have been an alternative way for the Gallic usurpers to target the soldiers at the Rhine. Unfortunately Hollard does not expand on the issue about the agency of the Gallic coins, which might have brought up new insights. The last article I would like

to discuss in this section is written by J. van Heesch. His article on 3<sup>rd</sup>-century coin hoards found in Gaul and the Germanies is a carefully built-up argument to counter a new theory which states that no literary sources support the idea that barbarian invasions can be linked with 3<sup>rd</sup>-century coin hoards (often called emergency hoards). This 'anti-invasion lobby', as van Heesch calls them, is dominated by British scholars, but has followers on the continent as well. His research results, nicely illustrated with maps and tables, demonstrate that the hoards from the north western part of Gaul were buried due to the 'Germanic' raids that took place under the reigns of Gallienus and Postumus.

In the *Festschrift* several articles on numismatic curiosities are also included. Often such material does not find its way to a publication or is published for only a very specific academic public. This *Festschrift* is an excellent way to bring them under attention of a broader public. I list some. The Roman colony of Nîmes is known for its crocodile coinage featuring the portraits of Augustus and Agrippa on the obverse. Some coins of this series have been found with a metal paw of a wild boar attached to it. After providing a new catalogue of all known examples and a technical analysis, P. Villemur and M. Blet-Lemarquand discuss the function of these curious monetary objects. They suggest that they were used as *ex-voto* or *ex-dono*. Yet, as they admit, many questions concerning these monetary objects remain. Another article deals with the mysterious Iberian Kili coinage, a coin series of Iberia, of which P. P. Ripollès proposes an alternative provenance near the city of Valencia, based on the geographical dissemination of the coins. The articles of U. Wartenberg and V. Drost prove again that there are exceptions to the standard practice in Antiquity that dies were destroyed after they were worn in order to prevent misuse (cf. my own research after the re-use of dies at the Alexandrian mint under Septimius Severus: The consecratio coins for Commodus, a reconsideration, *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie* 158, 2012, 207-224). Wartenberg demonstrates that it is possible that in the remote provincial town of Skepsis a 300 year old coin die was reused to produce new coinage under the reign of Trajan, whereas Drost identifies four reverse types of Gallic imitation radiates, which originate from official dies of the Gallic usurpers, suggesting that these dies had been stolen - despite the high security measures of the official mints - to be used by a clandestine mint.

The editors have succeeded in providing a useful and accessible volume with various numismatic studies, which are not only meant for a numismatic public, but are also a valuable basis for a broader public of archaeologists, historians and classicists who want to use coins as a source in their research.

Liesbeth Claes



FRANK VERMEULEN/DIMITRI VAN LIMBERGEN/PATRICK MONSIEUR/DEVI TAELEMAN (eds), *The Potenza Valley Survey (Marche, Italy). Settlement dynamics and changing material culture in an Adriatic valley between Iron Age and Late Antiquity*. Roma: Academia Belgica, 2017. 424 pp., 117 figs, 21 tables; 30 cm (Studia Archaeologica 1) – no ISBN code.

Since the 1950s, over a hundred systematic regional field survey projects have investigated river valleys, city hinterlands and other regional units throughout the Italian peninsula (<http://www.fastionline.org/survey/>). These surveys provide a rich account of micro-regional and regional settlement histories, but it remains a major challenge integrate these in supra-regional comparisons and syntheses (cf. Richard Blanton's critique on 'Mediterranean Myopia' voiced in *Antiquity* 75, 2001, 627-629 and papers in S. Alcock/J. Cherry (eds), *Side-by-Side Survey. Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (Oxford) 2004). Considering the scientific importance of such syntheses, it is sad to note that survey data are rarely if ever fully available for re-use: during a recent review I could find data publications (usually a site catalogue) for approximately half of the Italian projects, and digital data archives of less than ten.

In this light, the volume under review forms a very welcome contribution. It is one of two recent major publications deriving from the University of Ghent's Potenza Valley Survey (PVS), a regional landscape archaeological project initiated in 2000 to study the long-term settlement history of the Potenza River Valley on the Adriatic coast of central Italy. Where the second book, authored by the main investigator Frank Vermeulen, provides a synthetic outlook on processes of urbanisation and colonisation in the wider central Adriatic, the current multi-authored volume presents the field data of the PVS. Both volumes focus mainly on the Iron Age and Roman periods.

The book consists of two main parts, which are followed by a summary of the long-term development of settlement and society in the Potenza Valley. The first part consists of six chapters that introduce the project's aims and methods as well as the main results of the geo-archaeological investigations, the on-site surveys at protohistoric and Roman (proto-)urban sites, the rural field surveys and the artefact studies. These chapters provide a rich account of the research, although some data and analyses are, as the authors acknowledge, left out for obvious reasons: full presentation and documentation of the data, which includes some 10,000 aerial photos and derivatives and a large amount of geophysical prospection data is certainly impossible in print (although challenging the dataset could set a standard for on-line archiving practices). An unfortunate lacuna in the chapter on the artefact groups concerns the black gloss pottery, which is not discussed but very important in light of the period of Roman colonization - a period that along with the Iron Age (when central places arose in the area) was crucial: it witnessed the foundation of the colony of Potentia, several roads and roadside settlements as well as the

settlement of colonist farmers in the countryside. Considering these fundamental transformations to the regional settlement network, it is unfortunate that part of the underlying dating evidence is not discussed.

The second part of the book presents the survey data and consists of catalogues of sites and artefacts. The site entries provide a clear overview of the gathered information and interpretations in terms of site types and chronologies (the procedures are explained in chapter 5 in part 1). The artefact catalogue is arranged according to chronological and ware groups as studied by different specialists and accompanied by line drawings and a selection of colour photos. The numbers of diagnostics presented in the catalogue seem to be rather low with only ca 15 fragments of black gloss and ca 50 fragments of terra sigillata for a total of over 200 sites, including some large urban centres with extremely high artefact densities. This might suggest that not all diagnostic materials are presented.

Both parts are well written and structured, and clearly illustrated by abundant and clear colour images. At one point the link between data and analyses is not entirely clear: both typologically dated diagnostic artefacts and ceramic wares with broader date ranges were used to establish site chronology and discern certain and possible occupation and residual phases. This distinction is in turn based on a comparison of the chronology of individual site assemblages with the overall site assemblage and the off-site assemblage. While this is a sensible approach (e.g. in order to deal with issues of residuality), it cannot be reproduced by the reader, as information on the dating of ceramic wares is not included.

The book reflects the state-of-the-art nature of the PVS as a project that successfully combines intensive systematic field survey with excavation, geoarchaeological investigations and in-depth artefact studies (typological, petrographic and chemical), to investigate past settlement, land-use and economy. A particular strength of the project is the role of a range of geophysical (magnetometry, georadar, and resistivity) and remote sensing approaches, especially oblique aerial photography, which are all applied to map and monitor archaeological sites and the landscape. The volume clearly shows the value of a systematic integration of these methods, especially for understanding complex urban sites.

In sum, the volume does have some limitations: it does not provide a full presentation of the project outcomes or its data, and in some instances the links between data and interpretations could have been improved. Nonetheless, it is an extremely valuable resource: first, with its concise summary texts and extensive references to other more detailed project publications, it provides an excellent and indispensable introduction to the project. Second, even if there are some possible gaps in the ceramic data, it provides one of the few combined inventories of sites and quantified ceramic data for the Italian peninsula. As such, it is a valuable source for those interested in the re-use of field survey data and may provide a useful building block for comparative analyses.

Tijmon de Haas

G. SCARDOZZI (ed.), *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia: cartografia archeologica della città e delle necropoli*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları & Francesco D'Andria, 2015. X, 293 pp., 47 figs, 56 maps; 36.4 cm. – ISBN 978-605-4701-85-8. Online version with a description of the development of the urban area and web-GIS: <http://hierapolis.ibam.cnr.it>

The *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia*, the seventh volume in the 'Hierapolis di Frigia' series, is a renewed and elaborated version of the cartographic atlas, the *Atlante di Hierapolis* that was published in 2008. The work focuses on the new research that was carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Hierapolis between 2008 and 2013, and includes the data from the excavations on the northeast necropolis carried out by the University of Oslo. The structure and development of the city and necropoleis are comprehensively explained by means of textual and visual contributions by 36 authors and 56 cartographic maps created by the Italian Institute for Archaeological and Monumental Heritage of the National Research Council (IBAM-CNR). A separate map of the site and its surroundings is included in the back of the book, and web-GIS is available for further explorations.

Scardozzi starts the introduction stating that since its initiation between 2006 and 2007, the *Atlante di Hierapolis* has been designed not as a point of arrival, but as a tool to present the knowledge of the city and its necropolis on large-scale cartographic maps in a systematized way, on the base of which it is possible to plan future research activities. Although the first edition of the *Atlante* has served this purpose very well, the second edition is more complete and user-friendly. The overall layout of the old version is maintained, but the new atlas adds a focus on the geological context of the site. Moreover, the data acquired in the past years is re-evaluated and expanded. The *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis* expands on earlier results from excavations, geophysical prospection, and the study of satellite imagery with additional remote-sensing techniques, including drone imagery, and well as geologic, hydrologic and seismic data. The information on the maps is re-visualized in the new *Atlante*, using significantly more reduced and comprehensible symbology.

The result is an exhaustive and interdisciplinary publication that can be used as a base for new research and protection of the structures. The data in the book in combination with the web-GIS allows scholars to understand in greater detail the layout and geographic context of the site, and its development through time.

The book is divided in four parts: I) an explanation on the cartographic methods, II) an outline of the historical developments in Hierapolis and chronology of the built environment, III) the 56 maps often accompanied by a description, and IV) the seismic data. Additionally, two appendices discuss the geo-archaeological research and the excavations in two specific areas.

Despite the large quantity of information in the first part of the book, its structure allows the reader to maintain an overview. The research aspects are subdivided in 5 chapters that discuss as technical aspects

and organization of the data, methods of data collection, research on the wall and the geodatabase, and topographical remarks. Especially important is the choice not only to describe the methods, but also to raise problems and explain deliberate choices in the research. This gives the reader significant insights in the process of creating the map, and the accompanying possibilities and drawbacks.

The second part of the book takes the reader through the (building) history of Hierapolis. This overview starts with the Greek-Macedonian colony, continues through the Roman and Early Byzantine period and extends to the decline of the city after the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the last signs of habitation in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century. Separate chapters explain the travertine channels, the development of the north necropolis and the development of the city walls. Although the historical overview mainly focuses on the chronology of the buildings in the city, a wider social, cultural or religious context is presented in some cases.

The third part exists of 53 maps that combine to one large plan of the city and the necropoleis on a 1:1000 scale, and created using the UTM projection in a geodatabase. The legend is conveniently split up in several groups, each with their own symbols and distinctions between surviving structures and reconstructions: archaeology, modern topography, and geomorphology/hydrography. The maps are accompanied by concise descriptions taken from the previous *Atlante di Hierapolis*, discussing the structures, ancient roads leading through the area, and later use of the area. Where possible, new information is added on the travertine channels. The fact that the maps are accompanied by explanations makes it a user-friendly and comprehensible overview of the geography and developments of an entire city. Three additional maps zoom in on specific structures.

Part four on the seismic data explains how hydrothermal and tectonic activity is seen on the surface in Hierapolis, which mainly manifested in a long strip on the western side of the urban area. It includes an explanation of the archeo-seismological database and a map with a comprehensible catalogue that describes 88 manifestations such as fissures and depressions is included. The appendices present the geo-archaeological research and preliminary results from the excavations. The following seven pages of references ascertain a solid starting point for further research.

The strength of the book is in the presentation of a multidisciplinary approach that brings together an impressive quantity of data and that reaches past traditional research boundaries, while summarizing the impressive dataset into a comprehensible and well-structured overview. Moreover, the open-access data such as the online-GIS view and online data facilitates easy access to the data, stimulating cooperation between specialists. Although the first part of the book presents the methodologies too detailed at times, the maps are easy to use and provide important insights in the research areas, even for a reader with little knowledge on the site and surrounding necropoleis. All in all, the *Nuovo Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia* is indispensable as a resource for those who wish to

study Hierapolis and want to become acquainted with the lay-out and chronology of the city and necropoleis.

Paula Kalkman

RONALD T. RIDLEY, *The prince of antiquarians Francesco De Ficoroni*. Roma: Quasar 2017, 297 S., 55 figs., 24 cm, – ISBN 978-88-7140-775-3.

Die für die archäologische Forschung außergewöhnlich interessante Persönlichkeit des römischen Antiquars und Altertumsforschers Francesco De Ficoroni (1664-1747) wurde in der zur Rezension stehenden Publikation von Ronald T. Ridley monographisch vorgestellt und gewürdigt. Ridley ist durch umfangreiche Studien auf dem Gebiet der römischen Altertumskunde für dieses Thema ausgewiesen (u.a. in: *To protect the Monuments. The Papal Antiquarian* (1534-1870), *Xenia Antiqua* 1, 1992, 115-154). Die Schrift stellt erstmalig die weit verstreuten Hinweise auf diesen Gelehrten systematisch zusammen und wertet bisher wenig bekanntes Quellenmaterial aus. In 14 Kapiteln präsentiert Ridley die verschiedenen Aspekte des Gelehrten, der gleichzeitig Archäologe, Ausgräber, Sammler, Epigraph, Numismatiker und wissenschaftlicher Autor war, Topograph und Kontaktperson zwischen den italienischen Antiquaren und internationalen Kollektionisten. Die zuletzt erwähnten Kontakte ergaben sich aus Tätigkeit Ficoronis als römischer Cicerone, einer Tätigkeit, die er liebevoll, vor allem aber aus ökonomischen Gründen pflegen musste.

In der Einleitung nennt Ridley die wichtigsten neueren Veröffentlichungen, wobei eine größere Systematik zu wünschen wäre, weil die Wissenschaftsgeschichte nicht mehr allgemeiner Schwerpunkt der Klassischen Archäologie ist. Das Buch wird von einer sorgfältigen Bibliographie (S. 279-289) begleitet, einem Namenindex mit Objekthinweisen und Illustrationen, die die archäologische Szene des Settecento in Rom beleuchten. Zu erwähnen sind die reizvollen Karikaturen 'Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755)', der als Zeitgenosse, 'pittore delle Camera Apostolica' und Vorsteher der päpstlichen Mosaikwerkstätten die Gelehrten alle persönlich kannte.

Kapitel 1 vertieft die sorgfältig recherchierten Lebendaten des DBI 47 (1997) von L. Asor Rosa durch Archivforschungen, mit denen Ridley den Werdegang von Ficoroni beleuchtet. Er studierte bei dem Experten Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1615-1696) und trat 1688 in den Dienst von Filippo Antonio Gualtieri (1660-1733), einem aktiven Antiquitätenfreund, der als Kenner der französischen Diplomatie 1706 Kardinal wurde. Gualtieri förderte den begeisterten Antiquar und Ausgräber und kaufte ihm sowohl Teile des Inventars aus den Grabungen in der Vigna Moroni ab, als auch Aquarelle des römischen Malers Gaetano Piccini (1681-1736), den Ficoroni mit der zeichnerischen Dokumentation der Ausgrabung an der Via Appia betraut hatte. Nach dem Tod des Kardinals kaufte Ficoroni Objekte der Sammlung Gualtieri zurück, um sie 1738 in England zum Kauf anzubieten. Ridley schildert in diesem Kapitel mehr oder weniger chronologisch die Kontakte zu reisenden Ausländern und die sich daraus ergebenden

Geschäftsbeziehungen. Antikenhandel war im 18. Jahrhundert an der Tagesordnung. Abbe Bernardo Strebini war Ficoronis Partner bei Transporten ins Ausland, die über den Hafen Livorno abgewickelt wurden - zuweilen über Umwege wie Smyrna oder Alexandria. Wir hören von Kriminalfällen wegen illegalen Antikenschmuggels und auch dem polizeilich angeordneten Arrest Ficoronis im eigenen Haus in der via dei Serpenti. Durch akribisch recherchierte Details gelingt es Ridley einen spannenden Lebensbericht zu entwerfen und lässt seinen 'Prince of Antiquarians' lebendig werden.

In Kapitel 2 werden die römischen Antiquare zu Lebzeiten von Ficoroni vorgestellt. Die Stadt am Tiber war keineswegs eine beschauliche Stadt, wie die friedlichen Veduten mit Staffagefiguren suggerieren. Es handelt sich um ein Zwischenkapitel, in dessen Mittelpunkt das berühmte Blatt von Ghezzi 'Kongress der Antiquare' im Vatikan steht, wo sich die eifernden Gelehrten schachernd um den Baron Philip von Stosch tummeln (Abb. 10). Methodisch wäre dieser Teil eher in Kapitel 1 zu behandeln und die Kollektionen thesaurisch als Appendix anzuführen. Kapitel 3 behandelt Ficoroni als Experten der römischen Topographie. Zu diesem Thema sind griffige Studien selten, weil die Literatur häufig historisch ausufert.

Kapitel 4 ist eines der wichtigsten Kapitel des Buches, weil es chronologisch die Ausgrabungstätigkeit Ficoronis behandelt. Er war an fast allen wichtigen Ausgrabungen seiner Zeit in Rom beteiligt. 1705 startete er seine diesbezügliche Karriere in einer der reichsten stadtrömischen Nekropolen, der Vigna Moroni (vgl. Abb. 14-16) an der Via Appia antica, und begründete damit seinen Ruhm als Ausgräber, denn er fand u.a. die Grabanlage der Passienii, einer mit dem Kaiserhaus verwandten, senatorischen Familie. Er publizierte die Grabung von 92 Grabbauten - wenn auch dürftig - in seiner Schrift *Bolla d'oro* (1732). Ergänzend ist anzumerken, dass es zuvor eine Art von Survey gegeben haben muss, um das Terrain zu sondieren. Dies beweist das Aquarell einer Malerei mit der Darstellung einer Columbarienwand mit geflügelter Nike, die 1704 auf dem Nachbargrundstück, der Vigna Casali, gefunden worden war. Das Aquarell ist von dem bereits genannten Piccini, den Ficoroni engagiert hatte, um die vergängliche Wandmalerei künstlerisch festzuhalten. Ficoroni war scheinbar der ersten Ausgräber, der sich der Notwendigkeit einer Dokumentation bewusst war. Die Aufsehen erregenden Funde aus der Vigna Moroni gelangten in die Sammlung des Jesuitenkollegs. Eine detaillierte Kenntnis über den Verbleib der einzelnen Objekte wäre wünschenswert, war aber Ridley bei der disparaten Forschungslage nicht möglich. Diesem Start in ein Ausgräberleben folgten zahlreiche weitere Unternehmungen und eine Fülle von Informationen, die in Feas Miscellanea eingingen. Im Appendix stellt Ridley eine nützliche chronologische Zusammensicht archäologischer Aktivitäten zwischen 1675 und 1747 mit entsprechenden Nachweisen in Ficoronis Schriften vor.

Kapitel 5 wird in die Forschungsschwerpunkte des Gelehrten gegliedert. (a) Columbaria. Ficoroni hatte selbst eine Vielzahl von Columbarien ausgegraben und verfolgte hochmotiviert weitere diesbezügliche Grabungen. (b) Die Straßen Roms. Entlang der Gräber-



strassen unternahm er gelegentlich kleine Surveys und versuchte beispielsweise die Niveauunterschiede zur modernen Lauffläche festzustellen (vgl. via Latina bei S. Sisto Vecchio). (c) Marmore und Steinmaterial. Hierbei wurde die Größe eines Blockes oder einer Säule vermessen und das Material bestimmt, ein Gesichtspunkt, den auch Winckelmann interessierte. (d) Versuch einer Identifikation antiker Statuen, die jedoch nach wenigen Jahren durch Winckelmann und seinen gelehrten Kreis überholt war. (e) Etruskisches. In dieses Gebiet wurde Ficoroni durch seinen Florentiner Freund Antonio Gori eingeführt. (f) Archäologische Zeugnisse. Ficoroni versuchte, antike Monumente zu identifizieren und - gemäß der ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen - zeitlich einzuordnen. So bezeichnet er malerische Reste der Domus Aurea als vom Palast des Titus stammend (vgl. Piccini- Zeichnungen, Codex Corsini). In der Beurteilung Ficoronis durch spätere Archäologen (S. 106-109) spielt das Werk Winckelmanns eine gewichtige Rolle. Unabhängig von einzelnen Irrtümern ist der Generationenwechsel zwischen den wilden Grabungen der Goldgräberzeit und einem systematischen Erforschen der antiken Denkmäler seit Winckelmann zu konstatieren. Ridley zieht zahlreiche Quellen zu Ficoronis wissenschaftlicher Beurteilung heran (S. 109, Anm. 59 zu E. Fileri, Fehlzitat), enthält sich jedoch einer eigenen Meinung. Ficoroni war ein typischer Vertreter der Antiquare, wie sie in der liebevollen Karikatur von Ghezzi auftreten. Bei der zeichnerischen Dokumentation seiner Ausgrabungen wurden aber nicht nur die malerischen Motive aufgenommen, sondern auch Grabzusammenhänge gezeichnet, Perspektiven, Ansichten und Schnitte vermaßt. Im heutigen Gelände sind leider keine dieser Komplexe zu verorten (vgl. Codex Corsini, E. Fileri, *Xenia Antiqua* 9, 2000, 86). Die hierbei entstandenen Aquarelle sind die einzigen authentischen Zeugnisse von Ausgrabungen in Rom um 1704/1710 und gehen mit Sicherheit auf das Gespür Ficoronis für archäologische Zusammenhänge zurück und nicht auf den Maler. Ficoroni war ein Tausendsassa, der vielerlei Nützliches aufzeichnete und in seinen Schriften überlieferte. Die Beurteilung Ficoronis als Archäologe ist insofern interessant, weil Ridley bisher wenig bekanntes Archivmaterial heranzieht. An vielen Stellen beobachtet er dessen Geschäftssinn und Schlitzohrigkeit, die ihn auch in kriminelle Machenschaften verwickelte. Ridley berichtet zwar häufig, wie illegaler Antikenhandel an Ficoroni herangetragen wurde; dabei ist ihm aber entgangen, dass sich Ficoroni gelegentlich auch in Fälscherkreisen umgesehen muss. So fand der Ausgräber Giuseppe Mitelli auf dem Esquilin in der Region, die Ficoroni für den Palast des Titus hielt, 1702 eine Zeusstatuette, die er Ficoroni zum Kauf anbot (S. 81, 115). Sie befindet sich heute als 'Euripides' im Louvre (MA 343; s. F. De' Ficoroni, *Le memorie ritrovate nel territorio delle prima e seconda Città di Labico*, Roma 1745, 104; Fundortangabe eventuell reine Fiktion). Offensichtlich wurde sie im Umfeld von Ficoroni verkaufswirksam angepasst (diesen Hinweis verdanke ich H.R. Goette, Berlin, und F.G. J.M. Müller, Amsterdam), die Anregung, in dem Euripides ein Produkt des sog. *secolo delle manipolazioni* zu sehen.

In Kapitel 6 steht die Sammelleidenschaft Ficoronis im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung. Ridley verwickelt den Leser in eine spannende Geschichte von Funden und Handel mit antiken Objekten. Gleichzeitig erwachte auch sein Interesse an Münzen, denn fast täglich brachten Arbeiter ihm Münzen, Bronzen oder Terrakotten zu Beurteilung und zum Kauf. In diese Raubgräberstimmung wurde gehandelt und geschachert, denn es ging um Geld, Einfluss bei den fürstlichen und geistlichen Auftraggebern, literarischen Erfolg und um die Sammlung Ficoronis, in der Objekte aus zahlreichen Grabungen Roms versammelt waren evtl. nach Vorbild des Museum Etruscorum seines Freundes F. Goris in Florenz. Die Berichte von Ridley überlappen sich hier mit den Themen anderer Kapitel und enthalten zahlreiche Einzelinformationen über die Sammlungsobjekte, mit deren Kupferstichen er seine Publikationen illustrierte. Unter Benedikt XIV. wurden Teile der Sammlung für das Museo Capitolino erworben. Ridley beschreibt sorgfältig die berühmte Cista Ficoronis, die in einem Brief vom 14. Mai 1738 erstmalig erwähnt, in der Nähe von Ficoronis Heimat Labica (heute Lagnano) südlich von Palestrina in einem Gräberfeld mit vielen Cisten gefunden wurde. Ficoroni schenkte die Ciste dem von Contuccio Contucci (1688-1768) geleiteten Museo Kircheriano, wahrscheinlich weil er sich Contucci für zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Hinweise verpflichtet fühlte. Sehr wertvoll sind die abschließenden Archivnachrichten über das Schicksal der Ficoroni-Sammlung, die der 'Prince of Antiquarians' seit c. 1690 zusammengetragen hatte.

Das Kapitel 7 befasst sich mit Ficoronis Antikenhandel. Dieser amüsante und gut lesbare Teil liefert zahlreiche Details über die Wanderung von Objekten oder intimen Treffen wie mit A. Capponi auf Piazza Navona zum Café mit gleichzeitiger Münzbegutachtung und ähnliche Begebenheiten. Ficoroni handelte auch mit bibliophilen Raritäten. Doch diese Geschäfte waren - wie bereits angedeutet - in den seltensten Fällen legal und es führte zu einer nicht abbreißenden Serie juristischer Streitereien, weil in den Jahren 1730-1732 Gesetze zur Unterbindung des Antikenhandels erlassen worden waren. Die meisten belastenden Dokumente gegen diese Art der Tätigkeit des 'Prince of Antiquarians' stammen von Francesco Bartoli (1670-1733), der nach dem Tod seines berühmten Vaters 1700-1733 das Amt des Commissario delle Antichità innehatte.

Kapitel 8 handelt von Ficoronis Großzügigkeit. Diese und eine gesellige Natur zeichnete Ficoroni bereits in der Jugend aus, denn als eigenbrötlerischer Antiquar, wie ihn I. Herklotz charakterisiert (Der Antiquar als komische Figur, in *Welche Antike?*, Wiesbaden 2011, 141-182), hätte er kein so bewegtes Leben mit umfangreichen Kontakten führen können. Ridley listet hier erfreulicherweise die Empfänger von Geschenken auf. Ficoroni versandte - wie schon erwähnt - Inschriftkopien an Fachgelehrte. Zahlreiche Objekte überließ er dem Museo Kircheriano. Vom Totenbett sandte Ficoroni dem Baron Philipp von Stosch eine Gemme mit dem Motiv eines Mannes, der die Maske anlegt.

In Kapitel 9 wird der epigraphische Aspekt bei Ficoroni gewürdigt, dessen größte Aufmerksamkeit den Memorialtexten galt, die schließlich in Mommsens CIL VI Eingang fanden.

Kapitel 10 ist der Numismatik gewidmet. Bereits für die Publikation der *columna Antonini Pii* von Giovanni Vignoli (1705) lieferte Ficoroni Münzen zur Illustration der Texte. Dank seiner Münzfunde wurden zahlreiche Bauwerke datiert (Tempio di Fortuna Muliebre oder der c.d. Tempio di Vesta am Tiber).

Kapitel 11 befasst sich mit den Schriften Ficoronis. Hervorzuheben sind: *La bolla d'oro* (1732), in dessen zweitem Teil Ficoroni bezüglich seiner Ausgrabungstätigkeit konkret wird, *Tali ed altri strumenti lusori* (1734), *Maschere* (1736), *Vestigia* (1744), *Labica* (1745) und postum 1757 von Nicolo Galeotti bearbeitet *Gemmae antiquae*.

Kapitel 12 beschreibt Ficoronis italienischen Kreis. Ridley gliedert alphabetisch in: a. kirchliche Hierarchie, b. aristokratische Kreise, c. Künstler und Arbeitsleute, d. weitere Persönlichkeiten, die mit Altertümern befasst waren und e. Ausgräber (vgl. Register S. 291-297).

In Kapitel 13 betont Ridley die internationalen Kunstkontakte Ficoronis, die sich innerhalb der Kapitel vielfach überschneiden. Die Kontrahenten sind alphabetisch erfasst (vgl. Register S. 251-264).

Kapitel 14 würdigt die Lebensleistung von Ficoroni, viele Ehrenmitgliedschaften (Royal Society in London, Academia degli Arcadi in Rom etc.). Zentrale Eloge ist sein Verdienst um ein Museum im eigenen Haus.

Ich fasse zusammen. Ridley würdigt die Stellung von Ficoroni in der Geschichte der Archäologie. Es ist nicht die Sicht des Theoretikers Winckelmann, sondern beruht auf den alltäglichen Erfahrungen in Rom, auf der Praxis. Die weit angelegten Diskurse sind gut recherchiert und bieten ein Spiegelbild der Archäologie, der zeitgenössischen Antiquare und der römischen Gesellschaft vom Ende des Settecento bis in die Mitte des Ottocento, und tragen der veränderten Auffassung von Wissenschaft Rechnung. Bedauerlich, wenn auch bei der Fülle der Informationen verständlich, sind in diesem Buch einige irritierende Irrtümer in der Zitierweise. Die zunächst bestechende Übersichtlichkeit durch die Kapitelfolge führt zu Überschneidungen, die auch den fachlich motivierten Leser leicht ermüden und infolge der Vielzahl der involvierten Personen verwirren. *Prince of Antiquarians* ist ein großer Gewinn für die Wissenschaftsgeschichte und ein solides Nachschlagewerk, auch wenn die Rez. die methodische Straffung und eine stärkere thesaurische Auflistung für übersichtlicher und wünschenswert hält.

Helke Kammerer-Grothaus

SASKIA STEVENS, *City Boundaries and Urban Development in Roman Italy*. Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017. 323 pp., 58 figs, 4 appendices; 24 cm (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 16). – ISBN 978-90-429-3305-7.

This book aims to address 'the impact of urban development on city borders and borderscapes' or 'what happened to the various city boundaries once the city started to develop beyond its original limits' (p. 5)? The chronological range of this study is defined with reference to the construction of the 'Servian Wall' in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and the building of the Aurelian Walls in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE; whilst at the same time

looking beyond Rome to gain further insights from studying dateable boundary extensions. The most detailed case studies come from Ostia, Rome, and Pompeii with further thoughts on other cities, such as Saepinum and Carsulae.

The book has five chapters plus introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 focusses on the *pomerium* and the rite of *sulcus primigenius* through a detailed discussion of the evidence and reference to numerous modern theories on the position of the *pomerium*, a very useful figure (47) summarises much of the discussion and the evidence is listed in Appendix 1. Chapter 2 moves onto the subject of city walls, as well as boundaries in cities without walled circuits. The focus on Italy will cause readers to look elsewhere for evidence from the numerous Gallic cities that for a substantial section of the Roman period did not have walled circuits. Chapter 3 moves onto the subject of the expansion of cities beyond their walled circuits that is mainly focussed on chronological periods: 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE; from the Social War to Augustus, the Pax Augusta and the Monumentalization of Cities, and from the Flavians to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. In Chapter 4, the discussion shifts to the 'realm of the dead' and in Chapter 5 there are three case studies from Rome - Porta Collina, Ostia - Porta Romana and Pompeii - Porta di Ercolano.

It has to be said that the main focus of the book is located in the period 200 BCE to 200 CE. Surprisingly, the reader is not provided with an account as to why the Aurelian Wall circuit was located in its rather distinctive location. The real value of this book comes through in the study of archaeologically discovered inscriptions and dated tombs. For those wishing to teach the *pomerium* or city walls to undergraduates - chapters 1 and 2 provide excellent discussion of the evidence and reviews the relevant literature. There is a feeling reading this book that every view is included, for example p. 31, seeing the ability to extend the *pomerium* dating back to the regal period, but at p. 51 states 'the general consensus is that, until it was extended, the *pomerium* coincided with the 'Servian Wall'.

The subject matter of this book also raises questions about how we should present epigraphic evidence discovered in some cases *in situ* and the views expressed by writers somewhat later than this evidence. The *cippi* of the *pomerium* were numbered 'counter-clockwise', which coincides with Tacitus' (*Ann.* 12.24) view of Romulus' action of ploughing the *pomerium*. I am pretty certain the author does not see Romulus's action as a historical fact, but we can pick up instances where Plutarch is said to give a 'description' of Romulus' *sulcus primigenius* (p. 25) that significantly imagines Romulus ploughing between the stones already set up to mark the city's boundary.

The focus exclusively on the boundary of cities causes the context of for example the Vespasian's extension of the *pomerium* to be lost. It is worth highlighting that in 71 CE, Vespasian restored the roads of the *urbs* (*CIL* 6.931) and in 76 CE restored the first section of the Via Appia (*CIL* 10.6812), which would add to the book's concept of a urban re-appraisal in the reign of Vespasian (pp. 34-35) and her acute observation that no censors had been appointed for twenty-six

years prior to 73 CE (p. 7). Although milestones are discussed, the specifics of road restoration are omitted. Equally, although the *cippi* defining the Tiber are discussed; this river as an urban boundary or transport route is not evaluated (p. 99).

The bibliography and references tend to become less frequent after ca 2008. Hence, a number of works are not referred to that deal specifically with the matter of urban extension, notably the work of Simon Malmberg and Hans Bjur ('Movement and Urban Development at Two City Gates in Rome: The Porta Esquilina and the Porta Tiburtina', in R. Laurence and D. Newsome, *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford 2011, also H. Bjur and B. Santillo Frizell, *Via Tiburtina: Space, Movement and Urban Artefacts*, Rome 2009). Although the book does discuss boundaryscape as a concept and a cross-cultural boundary from Amsterdam is discussed, this is a book that tends to seek functions of boundaries and enumerates evidence; rather than fully engaging with urban theory.

The reader may have some difficulty in comprehending the use of the word 'propaganda' and the contrast stated between the luxury of Maecenas and the moral legislation of Augustus, given that Maecenas on his death (8 BCE) left all his wealth to Augustus (Dio 55.7.6). The latter had no problem with accepting the bequest, unlike that of Vedius Pollio (died in 15 BCE). Interestingly, we can read both the destruction of walls in Rome or in Ostia as propaganda and, at the same time, read the construction of walls around other cities in Italy as propaganda.

There are a number of production issues that will irritate readers: none of the Figures have captions - these can however be found in the List of Figures; some figures do not include a scale (e.g. Figs 14, 17, 21) making it very difficult to make comparisons between the examples given; there is no key to the numbers on some figures and, finally, the labels on some figures have been produced in a very small font.

The book is a fount of knowledge and will become a book that takes the first step in placing the discussion of edge phenomena in Roman cities at the centre of the study of Roman urbanism. The book makes clear the need for archaeologists to study both within and beyond the walls of cities, when undertaking geophysics. It is a pity that no plan of the results of the geophysical survey from Ostia could be included in this book.

Ray Laurence

CLAIRE DE RUYT/THOMAS MORARD/FRANÇOISE VAN HAEPEREN (eds), *Ostia Antica: Nouvelles études et recherches sur les quartiers occidentaux de la cité. Actes du colloque international Rome-Ostia Antica, 22-24 septembre 2014*. Brussels/Rome: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2018. 311 pp., b/w and colour figs; 27 cm. ISBN: 978-90-74461-89-4.

This volume emerges from a 2014 conference held at the Belgian Institute in Rome. Research at the site of Ostia has continued since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the ever-increasing number and diversity of research pro-

jects means that many publications are scattered throughout specialist journals and publications. It is therefore both helpful and refreshing to see the contributions of well-established and burgeoning scholars of Ostia grouped together thematically. New methodologies and theoretical perspectives compliment papers that re-examine broader issues of the coastal and western regions of the city, namely the excavated area to the west of the city's castrum. The book is well edited, and the contributions in Italian, French, and English fall neatly within three sections: New Research Projects and Recent Analyses; Studies on the Structural Evolution of the Western Regions; and Epigraphic Questions.

The first section opens with a contribution by Stöger & Brandimarte (pp. 11-22), whose use of space syntax highlights the potential for urban analysis at the city-block and neighbourhood level. The excavation results by Gering (pp. 23-30) and David (pp. 31-44) continue to enrich our picture of Late Antique Ostia in the forum and on the coast. The detailed chronologies offered by Marano (pp. 45-51), Medri & Falzone (pp. 53-64), and Pensabene & Gallochio (pp. 65-74) draw out the influence of certain roads, city blocks, or single buildings on each other and upon the wider urban fabric. The article by Morelli et al. (pp. 75-86) gives us a first look at a large horreum-shaped building on the south side of the Decumanus (V, xii, 2). While this structure lies outside the stated spatial parameters of the book, the article shows the potential information available from a detailed cleaning of the voracious plant-growth. This first section closes with excellent examples of the rich data and conclusions possible from targeted 'excavation' of Ostia's storage rooms (Falzone; pp. 87-97) and archives (Olcese & Coletti; pp. 99-111), which the present author can attest to.

The second section opens with two studies on the water systems in this western region of the city; Poccardi treats the different parts of the hydraulic infrastructure of the bath buildings in Reg. III and IV (pp. 115-128), while Danner explores the visual role of water in Late Antique houses (pp. 129-141). Focusing on the *tabernae* along the western extension of the Decumanus, Flohr (pp. 143-153) identifies long-term trends in their ownership and chronology. The next group of articles showcases the Belgian-led work to the west of the city's castrum, starting with De Ruyt & Van Haepere's phasing of the property under the Tempio dei Fabri Navales (III, ii, 1-2) and its connection to the large-scale raising of portions of the city (pp. 155-165). The contributions by Morard (pp. 167-190), Mainet (pp. 191-200), and Tomassini (pp. 201-206) present the complex chronology of the structures under and around the Schola del Traiano (IV, v, 15-16). Together with useful and colourful phase-maps, these three contributions present a long-awaited view on these important structures. Continuing to highlight new phases in well-known structures, the contributions by Kockel & Ortisi (pp. 207-215) and Pavolini (pp. 217-227) bring their rich experience with the city to bear on the history of the so-called *macellum* (IV, v, 2) and the Domus del Ninfeo (III, vi, 1-3) respectively. Ending this section is the contribution by Rinaldi (pp. 229-235), whose crash-course in detecting and reading the different kinds of struc-



tural restoration used at the site in the 20<sup>th</sup> century are invaluable tools for any researcher at the site.

The third and final section deals with epigraphic evidence from the western part of Ostia. Zevi proposes a modified version of the long-debated inscription mentioning the temple of Vulcan, together with some thoughts on the temple's location and chronology (pp. 239-245). Adding to the novel conclusions regarding the Schola del Traiano, Bocherens (pp. 289-294) uses evidence from brick stamps to suggest that the main function of this building was related to the grain trade (*annona*). Interrogating the history of the Schola del Traiano, Aubry offers some interesting thoughts on the use and chronology of an epigraphic brick stamps, which rarely receive closer inspection (pp. 273-287). Adding recent geophysical studies into the mix, Pellegrino & Licordari (pp. 261-272) double the number of known inscriptions mentioning a *forum vinarium*, and propose a new location for this structure. The final contribution by Caldelli & Slavich (pp. 247-259) identifies an Ostian origin for several fragmentary inscriptions found in an area fronting the Trajanic basin at Portus.

The book is intended for specialists of Ostia, but the diversity of methodological approaches can extend well beyond peninsular Italy to researchers exploring other diachronic and spatial issues of Roman urbanism. While useful for its breadth the joint bibliography may have been more usefully divided at the end of each of the three sections. As this book already assumes that the reader is exploring a specific structure or methodology, a tripartite bibliography would have created a more concentrated list to support further research on each sub-topic. Many of the contributors touched upon the wider conclusions these new excavations and approaches may have for the city as a whole. Yet, a final interpretative summary by the editors could have tied together these voices into a composition to set the stage and direction for future research.

Mark A. Locicero

ROALD E. DOCTER/MAUD WEBSTER (eds), *Exploring Thorikos*. Ghent: Ghent University, 2018. 72 pp., drawings, b/w and colour photos in the text; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-94-929-44399.

This charming brochure contains the mission statement for the field work at Thorikos in the Lavrion landscape of Attica during 2018-2022. The 25 short but rich chapters, each of ca one page text, written by one or more of the 44 scholars from 12 universities and other institutions summarize the prehistory and history of Thorikos, the history of archaeology, site and topography. There are presentations of the geophysical and geological investigations, a survey project in the area, and studies about the Final Neolithic and Bronze Age occupation, and the Mycenaean tombs (including one *tholos*). Some possessed a mnemonic function. Furthermore, the team explored the Early Iron Age occupation and cemeteries, the archaic-classical settlement and cemeteries, as well as Thorikos in myth (only known from literary and iconographic evidence), and its cults. The contributions include descriptions of the

theatre, fortifications, towers, mines and mining, ore-processing workshops, coinage, vessels for storage and consumption, the organic remains, ceramics from the Roman and Byzantine period. Finally, the reader finds data about the finds laboratory, and the Thorikos archive. The chapters form a good guide of what has been done and is going on but less of what has to be done. A new map of Thorikos (2018) gives a global impression how cemeteries, mine shafts, the 'votive' or 'funerary' terrace (p. 36), the industrial quarter, towers, houses, cisterns and the theater are situated around the 'acropolis' (ca 144 m above sea level) of the Velatouri hill.

Thorikos was inhabited since the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, mining started around 3200 BC. Several tombs and pottery date to 2500-1050 BC and to the Iron Age, but from the Archaic there remains mainly pottery rather than funeral monuments. The site flourished in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Around 500 BC the elliptical-angular theatre was built (for ca 4000 people). Very few cult buildings are known: the temple of Dionysos at the Theatre and the Doric Stoa for Demeter (?). Activities decreased in the Hellenistic period but one more time increased in the early Roman period. In the 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD the mines were reused, and this happened again in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The American School of Classical Studies explored the theatre in 1885. The ceramic and organic remains clearly show interesting shifting commercial networks during more than seventeen hundred years. Belgian excavations directed by Herman Mussche started in 1963. They were carried on by Robert Laffineur since 2004 and by Roald Docter with his international team from 2005 onwards, using modern methods and instruments (field survey, magnetometry, GNSS, GPR, 3D-scanning, and a flotation machine for organic remains (p. 51)).

In the near future a new Belgian-Greek project will explore 'the soil covering the theatre' (p. 39) in order to shed more light on the emergence of the ancient polis. Further the dating and integration of most washing plants in ore-processing workshops will be studied in order to reconstruct the silver production (p. 47). Although two hoards, one of silver coins from 295-294 BC, and one of bronze coins of 365-379 AD, were found, so far, there is no proof that coins were minted at Thorikos (p. 49). The Thorikos archive at Ghent and the Belgian School at Athens will further be digitized. To conclude, the References and Bibliography are perfect, some colour photographs, however, are, unfortunately, out of focus. *Exploring Thorikos* has much information that will satisfy the curiosity of a broad public.

L. Bouke van der Meer

GIULIA MORPURGO, *I sepolcreti etruschi di Bologna nei terreni De Luca e Battistini (fine VI – inizi IV secolo a.C.)*. Bologna: Bononia University Press 2018. Two vols, 822 pp., vol. 1: 64 b/w figs, vol. 2: 215 pls; 29.5 cm (Studi sulla Bologna etrusca. Serie monografica 1). – ISBN 978-88-6923-304-3.

This book is an impressive, well edited and exhaustive study of two almost adjacent Etruscan burial grounds, called De Luca (henceforth: DL; ca 30 x 40 m) and Bat-

tistini (B.; ca 16 x 12 m), situated just to the north of a funerary street in the western suburb of Bologna (Etruscan *Felsina*). Both date to ca 510-390 BC. They were excavated by Antonio Zannoni, respectively in 1875-1876, and 1895. DL had 111 tombs, 59 of which were violated, and B. contained 14 tombs, 6 of which were violated. Robberies already took place in the Roman period. Although the skeletons were described and illustrated, unfortunately, they were not preserved. Volume I describes the Certosa phase (the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) of Etruscan Bologna with its new predominant contact with Greece (Athens; via Spina), the history of the excavations, the archival documentation, the former publications, and the topography of the burial grounds. Then follows a splendid *catalogue raisonné* of all contexts (103-471). The reconstruction of each tomb, its location, structure, funerary rite (inhumation in a *fossa*, or cremation in a *fossa* or *pozzetto*), gender (often unknown) and status of the deceased, *stelae*, and grave goods is based on Zannoni's excavation journals and maps, and the pertinent artefacts in Museo Civico Archeologico of Bologna. All tombstones and artefacts are dated and commented on in great detail, with very useful references to *comparanda* from other burial grounds (Certosa, Arnoaldi, and Giardini Margherita) at Bologna, and elsewhere in the Po valley. The Appendix lists materials that could not be related to specific tombs in DL and B. Then follows the analysis of data, illustrated with tables and maps, of funerary rites, tomb structures, techniques of burying, grave records in diachronic view (in quarters of a century), attributes of women and men, child burials, spatial development of the burial grounds, funerary 'ideology', the bibliography, the index of attributions to Attic red figure painters and concordances. Volume II (608-822) contains black and white photos and drawings of all *stelae* and grave goods as far as they could be traced.

Since the data analysis is extremely detailed, I will only highlight some important aspects. Morpurgo tries to find patterns and rules, in her own words the 'logic' in the archaeological records, preferably using non violated contexts. Although there is always 'diversity in death', there are good reasons for her approach as, for example, the east-west orientation of the tombs (with the head of the skeleton directed to west) and the presence of an Attic red figure krater (called *kelebe* by Zannoni) in at least 44 tombs of DL, and probably 4 of B., show that were some standardized customs. The kraters were used as core part of symposium-sets or as cinerary urns (as salvation symbols (179)), in the latter case mainly between ca 510 and 450 BC. Around 30 % of the graves were cremation tombs, usually with rich contents, and often belonging to women. The oldest ones were prestigiously situated at short distance from the funerary street. Tombs are identified as female in view of attributes like spinning instruments, *alabastra*, jewelry and local bronze mirrors. Graves of males could be identified on the base of *stelae* showing males and the presence of lance points. Some male *stelae*, however, stood on female tombs (104). One stele mentions a *zilath*, the highest urban official (397). Since the skeletons are missing, it is difficult to detect clusterings of tombs. Similar goods in adjacent graves, however, may refer to family ties or to similar funerary ideologies. Only one

tomb overlaps an older one (131). Child burials are extremely rare (289, 303, 445, 525-530). They may contain eggs, bird bones and a piece of *aes rude* as do some female tombs (429). The burial grounds developed, more or less, from south to north. Most tombs date to ca 475-450 BC. There are some indications of funerary meals that took place near the tombs. In those cases the used vases were defunctionalized by depositing the fragments inside the grave (495, 540). Several scholars hold that the Etruscans chose Attic vases because of their form and beauty. Morpurgo, however, demonstrates that large vases were also selected because of their painted images that usually illustrate a mythological scene on one side and a conversation group on the other. An example of what she calls an 'iconographic' or 'programmatic selection' (129, 152, 165, 241, 243, 246, 291, 323-324, 378, 402, 433, 542-550) are an Attic krater and an Attic kylix, attributed to different painters, from tomb DL 16 that both show the adoration of (not an offering to!) a herm (159-165, 629-635). She holds that this kind of assemblages (sometimes including the top figures of local bronze candelabra (152) or a stele) refers to 'the sacred and the votive' sphere, without having an explanation of their meaning or message in the Etruscan context. In my view, one would expect offering votive objects in sanctuaries rather than in tombs. Another problem is that most large vases show Dionysiac scenes. On the other hand, many reliefs of Felsinean *stelae* in other burial grounds show satyrs and ivy leaves which prove that some Etruscans believed in Dionysos (Etruscan *Fufluns*) as one of their salvation gods (539). In general, Morpurgo does not exclude that Attic vases were chosen from a polysemic perspective, offering interpretative *Spielmöglichkeiten* (see e.g. her (probable over-) interpretation of the function of mirrors (141, 515-516)).

Some critical remarks should be added. The author does not define the word banquet, neither does she make clear whether symposium sets were thought to be used in afterlife or if they were intended as a reflection of drinking customs at home, or even first used at home. For a quick consultation an index of artefact types, names like Dionysos, Kore and Nike, and phenomena like *aes rude*, *cimelio di famiglia* (232), *duplicazione (di vasi)*; 235, 308, 376-378), *eroizzazione*, *escatologia (di salvezza)*, *integrazione* (336, 350, 413), *libagione* (113, 495, 551), *moltiplicazione (di vasi)*, and *polisemismo* would have been useful. There are few spelling mistakes like Alchimakos (518) instead of Alkimachos (148). Morpurgo's book offers the result of stimulating, thorough, exemplary research. Hats off to her!

L. Bouke van der Meer

URSULA KÄSTNER/STEFAN SCHMIDT (eds), *Inszenierung von Identitäten – Unteritalische Vasenmalerei und Indigenen*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2018. 166 pp., b/w illus in the text; 30 cm (M. Steinhart (ed.), *Beihefte zum Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland*, Band VIII) - ISBN 978-3-7696-3779-3.

This volume in the precious series of CVA *Beihefte Deutschland* is the result of a *Tagung* on the occasion of the exhibition *Gefährliche Perfektion – Antike Grabvasen aus Apulia* at Berlin in October 2016. The sixteen short, well-illustrated contributions have been written in German, English and Italian. The title of the book suggests that indigenous people used Greek vases to 'stage' their identity. The leading topic is how South Italian red-figure vases were used and experienced by indigenous elites. In the introduction the editors explain the structure of the book. It is about workshops, consumers, the problem of missing contexts, forms and paintings seen from the indigenous perspective, the influence of theatre, and the restoration of vase paintings.

V. Garaffa pays attention to the Greek form and mythical representations in indigenous contexts at Tortora-San Bracato, Guardia Perticara and Garaguso (the last with imports from Metaponto) in Oenotria. She concludes that the elites were primarily interested in vases as exotic prestige objects in order to promote their social status. She rejects the idea that the Greek *symposion* was adopted too since *sussitia* (common meals with wine consumption) already took place before contacts with the Greeks (Arist. *pol.* 7.9.2). A.C. Montanaro shows that the paintings of Attic and South Italian ceramics in graves of warrior chiefs in pre-Roman Apulia (Rutigliano, Gravina, Botromagno), Peuceetia (Ruvo di Puglia, Conversano, Altamura), and Daunia (Minervino Murge) were not chosen at random since they illustrate combat scenes. The vases may have been used at symposia before they ended up in tombs. F. Silvestrelli casts light upon South Italian red-figure ceramics in houses, sanctuaries and necropoleis of Herakleia, nowadays Policoro (ca 425-350 BC). Pottery and painters, though initially influenced by colleagues at Taranto and Metaponto, worked in the city itself. M. Denoyelle adds new vases to Trendall's list of vases of the Lucanian Palermo Painter who worked in Metaponto. E. Herring shows that Apulian red-figure *nestorides* (derivations from the Messapian *trozzella*) exclusively depict indigenous people. Scenes like a woman pouring a libation, probably of wine, to a departing young man holding a horse make clear that primarily women used these vases. T.H. Carpenter demonstrates that Apulian red-figure column kraters (400-375 BC), produced for Peucetian men, almost always show local warriors. The combat scenes may refer to local conflicts between Italic people and colonial Greeks around 400 BC. C. Novak asks, from a postcolonial perspective, whether 'Greeks' and 'indigenous people' on Campanian red-figure vases are 'a trustworthy dichotomy.' She explains that the paintings not only depict combat scenes that are usually

thought to prove the martial character of Campanian men but also mythological, Dionysian, and symposium scenes. K.E. Heurer analyzes the presence of Dionysos in South Italian vase-painting in indigenous contexts in relation to the Italic cult of the god. She holds that this deity played an important role in strengthening familial bonds. L. Todisco demonstrates that vase pictures of *naiskoi* are older than the stone *naiskoi* in Taranto and Italic centers that date from the last decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. According to L. Giuliano Apulian vases with theatrical elements like the *paidagogos* only betray indirect influence of performances of tragedies but a more direct one of the comedies enacted on wooden scaffolds. L. Schönheit illustrates the local differences of the latter performances. S. Shierup throws light upon scenes with warriors and acrobats on three Lucanian vases from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in the National Museum of Denmark. They would testify to indigenous martial self-representation. L. Melilla deals with ancient and modern restorations of some vases. D. Sanders tries to reconstruct the iconographical context of 13 of the 14 Apulian funerary vases (apart from a dish 12 have a hole in their base) from three or more unknown graves in Ceglie del Campo (Peuceetia). It appears that the themes between ca 350 and 300 BC were not chosen from one perspective. M. Svoboda's paper is about the study and preservation of four of these vases.

What remains unknown is how Attic and South Italian vases came to be in indigenous hands: by direct commission, traders, as gifts or in exchange? The book is almost perfectly edited. There are only some minor flaws, due to translation, like Italo, king of the Oenotrians (p. 23, n. 12) instead of Italos. Fig. 2 on p. 63 and Fig. 1 on p. 67 are almost identical. One map of all places mentioned would have been useful. The book is important for those who are interested in cultural interaction. It contains the email-addresses of the authors but, unfortunately, no indices.

L. Bouke van der Meer

TONIO HÖLSCHER, *Visual Power in Ancient Greece and Rome Between Art and Social Reality*. Oakland, California: California University Press, 2018. 395 pp., 160 figs, 36 maps; 26 cm (Sather Classical Lectures 73). – ISBN 978-0-520-29493-6.

Varying on the seminal title of Paul Zanker's monograph *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Tonio Hölscher presents a wide spectrum of studies on visual culture in Graeco-Roman antiquity in a book of ambitious scope which is the result of the prestigious Sather Lectures held in Berkeley in 2007. Hölscher starts by stating that images played a paramount, maybe all surpassing role in ancient society, in which the eye and the gaze were seen as active actors in the societal exchange of human thoughts, wishes, and demands. More than words, images expressed, both in the private and public realm, everything desirable and unwished, good and bad, safe and dangerous that citizens and other players inevitably met in lifetime. Hölscher takes the Greek and Roman world together and singles out cor-



respondences and discrepancies. This *paragone* yields a fine panorama in which the differences as well as the interaction between or the adaption of elements from both 'cultures' come to the fore. Although seeking general tendencies on the basis of a well-chosen set of case studies, Hölscher does not fall into the trap of superficiality, but gives a lot of food for thought and further research. At the same time he warns against over-interpretation and adaptation of too great a learnedness, provoking complicated and far-fetched readings of imagery. In six chapters, fundamental aspects, running from large to small, are being explored.

The first chapter studies the spatial circumstances in which monuments and their imagery had their function. Here city-scape and landscape, urban centres and rural monuments feature next to city walls and natural landmarks. The actor connecting all these, at first sight different and barely associated elements is the large amount of festivals, involving processions and rituals organized in honour of gods and the poleis or state themselves. In Rome *triumphi* are a specific propagandistic extra form of procession within the urban landscape. Offerings take place in front of a 'stage' in the shape of temple façades adorned with reliefs and housing images of the gods. Roads as well as fortification walls mark the city- and landscapes. The example of the Athenian Agora's layout in the 5<sup>th</sup> century makes clear how the process of democratization and the performance of politics associated with the governing system is evidenced by managing the agora and adding special buildings and devices. One may ask whether 'visual power' effectively played a role in all these activities in the sense of constantly involving new and old images, but as a whole Hölscher's analysis works out very well. Chapter 2 is, again, devoted to the public sphere, now focusing on public monuments and their impact to define 'historical identity' and collective cultural memory. Hölscher gives a wide spectrum of cases in the entire ancient world. Two of his main examples are the public memory of the Persian Wars in Greece (especially Athens, where we can start with the Tyrannicides on the Agora) and the alleged mythical ancestry of Augustus and his family in Rome. Style as a bearer of messages is as important as iconography, and Hölscher makes clear that the reigning notion of 'classicism' is too simplistic as an explanation of the Roman 'classicizing' style: it is no mere reproduction of classical (mainly Athenian) art, but represents values like *gravitas* and *sanctitas* (p. 103) visualized by stylistic quotations and adaptations. The mythical past of Athens (from Kekrops onwards) can likewise be placed on the foreground as an expression of Athens' alleged sanctity and importance. The references made to the past are instrumental for the patrons of the time and should be seen by their compatriots (and later generations) as constructs of a glorious past and, hence, of a prosperous present.

The third chapter moves on the level of portraits ('person, identity, and images') and tackles the problem of the effectiveness of effigies in ancient societies. The ancients tried to include physiognomics, character, speech, spirit, and what else contributed to a person's *persona*. Hölscher partly endorses the idea of 'visual

*habitus*': not (only) physical likeness, but the representation of the body and its clothing or nakedness, style and attributes are important factors to determine a portrait, but he still sees the individual treats as fundamental. Factors like 'Zeitstil', 'Zeitgesicht' and the like should not be forgotten. Modern photographs, taken into account as illustrative comparison material, often result enigmatic as much as the 'mysterious' ancient marble heads of persons dead for ages and never reachable for us. In this vein, public portraits can be seen as 'visual constructions of roles' (p. 167). Hölscher illustrates this by analyzing portraits of Perikles, Alexander the Great, republican Romans, and Augustus. He observes the tension between intentional and typical portraits and the question of likeness, which often is 'avoided' as a research topic in ancient studies. More than in other chapters scholarship on classical portraiture and its methodology are discussed, so that these pages can easily serve as introductory matter to a course on the topic as well.

Chapter 4, 'The Dignity of Reality' concerns the difficult problem of realism in ancient art: is a kouros (the oldest case discussed) as 'realistic' as a Hellenistic athlete in the sense of representing a real human being? It is made clear that the simple idea of development from 'primitive' to 'progressive' has little sense in this discussion, since each era and area have their own demands. As such, ancient art always relies on the realistic depiction of a subject, and stylistically these realisms can widely vary, yet being expressions of what Hölscher calls 'conceptual realism': the subject matter determines the visual result and does so within the context the object has to function in. Among the aspects discussed are nudity as an expression of the qualities of the human body within its context (not only divine or heroic, but also less positive traits), the *σχῆμα* or posture, and individuality. With Chapter 5 we return to the matter of the first two chapters, regarding the function of images in social life, e.g. the interaction between figural objects and visitors in sacred spaces (e.g. votive offerings in Delphi, on Delos, Olympia, etc., similar to the cases of Chapter 1). Portraits get a new treat as examples of public statuary. This means that private imagery is excluded.

Chapter 6 brings together all previous aspects and questions the use of images in public context. The problem is well presented with the reliefs of Trajan's Column in Rome, for which many solutions have been proposed, mostly entirely or partly unsatisfactory to read its reliefs (see the scheme of the 155 depicted scenes in fig. 147). We will all concur with Hölscher that no one could really read the entire set of scenes, but that any onlooker would understand its contents and significance as a whole and by associating clusters of scenes in a well visible section. The same lack of overview occurs in temple decorations, which Hölscher treats as subsequent cases, being 'invisible' as one unique iconographic programme. A brief excursus brings the reader to the pictorial world of the Roman house, Greek vases, and ancient coins, also seen as complex sets of visual meanings (see now also P.P. Iossif/W. van de Put (eds), *Greek Iconographies: Identities and Media in Context*, *Pharos* 22.1, 2016, 1-171, for

these media). Hölscher argues that the large and complex decorative programmes should be seen as notions of *decorum* (Greek: *πρέπον*), concepts of appropriateness of visual matters within their contexts (p. 322-328). Architectural elements, adornments, images, precious materials, all these constituents contribute to shape an appropriate *κοσμός* or *decor* to a monument, regardless whether it is small or big, or private or public. So, the images on ceramics used during a Greek-style *symposion* should evoke pleasant and, possibly, learned and literary conversations, for which reason some myths are more appropriate than others, whereas the complex adornments of a sanctuary may evoke religious emotions or increase ritual festivity. Hölscher facilitates the lecture of his dense chapters by inserting programme-like series of questions or lists of aspects to be taken into account, so that the reader can check the methods proposed in his own readings, evaluations, and research, if relevant. There is no brief finale or summary of all these ideas which, how diverging and relating (seemingly) disparate monuments and objects may be, all encompass the sense of visual power in Greek and Roman culture. The book may serve scholars (also thanks to the rich apparatus of notes with up-to-date references) as well as students who can learn the principles of ancient art and its societal impact. The chapters might form an ideal starting point for workshops and seminars as well - a function of the book the author, an eminent teacher by himself, will appreciate. The only really weak point are the utterly unattractive greyish photos.

Eric M. Moormann

MARCO CAVALIERI/CRISTINA BROSCETTI (eds), *MVLTA PER AEQVORA. Il polisemico significato della moderna ricerca archeologica. Omaggio a Sara Santoro*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2018. 2 vols, 1011 pp., 24 cm (Collection FERVET OPVS 4). – ISBN 978-2-87558-666-7.

It is not often that BABESCH reviews a *Festschrift* or a work in memoriam, but since the editors honour a dear friend of mine, Sara Santoro (1950-2017), I would like to pay some attention to this volume of collected essays which excellently testify to Santoro's vast scholarship. Although she is not so well known as she deserves in international circles, her publications ask for a wide readership. As the editors make clear, she worked in many fields of research and one of her principle subjects was archaeometry. The seven sections correspond with her main interests and I cannot but briefly present some of the 45 papers (plus the introductory one by the editors). In Section I on valorisation, communication, and project management we find F. Ghedini's paper on Santoro's involvement in heritage studies and management (here called *valorizzazione*) at Castelraimondo, Bliesbrück, Durrës and Pompeii. In all these sites Santoro took into account the question of maintenance of explored archaeological areas. Santoro's 15 years working at Durrës (Albania) is also reflected by A. Hoti and I. Roda de Llanza. G. Guiducci gives an example of

archaeometrical studies on 'ceramica grezza' which fits better into Section III.

Section II on sites includes papers by L. Quilici (the huge cistern of a Roman villa near Tivoli) and V. Manzelli (Republican sanctuary near Immola), followed by a study of Roman houses in Roman Nora in Sardinia by G. Bejor. Two papers are on the amphitheatre and houses in Aquileia (P. Basso and M. Buora), illustrating the high potential of this site. A. Marcone sketches the 'ruralisation' of late-Antique settlements in Tuscany, where the importance of many large farms as well as towns diminished due to economic backdrops. At the same time, some survived and flourished for ages thanks to the topographical circumstances and natural resources. A. Monti brings the subject of rural settlements to a theoretical plan in his study of people 'with little impact' (p. 178), for which, limiting himself to household archaeology, he proposes various models in case we cannot operate the usual methods like excavations, survey, and remote sensing. He goes back to the still workable 19<sup>th</sup>-century land-use model of Johann Heinrich von Thünen [not Thunen as in the text].

Section III is dedicated to production, archaeometry, and commerce. It starts with S. Menchelli's paper on Italian approaches to ceramics and archaeometry, dear to Santoro. A similar overview, combined with a case study on Roman Sicily is that by D. Malfitana, G. Cacciaguerra and A. Mazzaglia. They present new data on the production of ceramics in the S. Lucia Catacombs at Syracuse and in Catania, both seen in their original habitat. Thanks to Santoro's contacts with archaeologists working at the borders of the Empire, there is a contribution on the Magdalensberg grey ware ceramics by E. Schindler-Kaudelka and F. Biondani who analyse the (commercial) provenance of this early 1<sup>st</sup>-century material. Ceramics from Quadrivium-Codroipo (northern Italy) studied by P. Ventura and T. Cividini, can partly be connected with Magdalensberg, partly with other sites in the Alpine and sub-Alpine area. M. Bergamini's paper is on sigillata workshops of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in Scoppieto. The Plotidii family took over moulds of the distinguished Aretine potter M. Perennius Crescens. P. Puppo has made a study of two types of 'milk cookers', found in many Roman sites, which might better be interpreted as wine filters and storage vessels. S. Pesavento Mattioli and M. Mongardi have made a study of stamped wine amphorae from the Cisalpina area dated to the age of Augustus (mainly Dressel 6A) and make clear that their production corresponded with an abundant wine production in Emilia Romagna and the Veneto. Spanish amphorae containing fish extracts found in Gallia Cisalpina are the objects of study of I. Modrzejewska-Pianetti. They are proofs of a large-scale import of luxury goods in important towns like Verona, Aquileia, and Altinum, whereas more distant towns got such sauces more rarely. S. Gelichi has made a study of late medieval pottery from Venice and the Veneto. He also provides a research agenda which should include refined taxonomies, better comprehension of find contexts, and attention for technology. Santoro's interest in production also included that of iron, here worked out by M.S. Busana and L. Bernardi, who present some pro-

jects of data recording (CRAFT). On the basis of the study of an iron plant at Montebelluna, the work processes are reconstructed. Textile production in Roman Mérida is the following contribution to industrial archaeology, now by M. Bustamante Álvarez and Y. Picado Pérez. The red dye of *coccus* was greatly applied to the woollen dressed produced here. M. Vidale, I. Angelini, and D. Frenez have applied Laser Scanning Confocal Microscopy to seals from the Indus Valley of the long timespan 2600-1900 BC and established the production processes of these small objects which might form a model for the study of Greco-Roman seals and intaglios.

Section IV on Pompeian studies (the topic Santoro and I have had in common) starts with A. Coralini's presentation of the long-lasting Bologna project VESUVIANA dedicated to the *insula* of the House of the Centenary. Coralini presents a good overview of past and current '*insula* archaeology' in Pompeii and has clear pages on the research history of 'her' *insula* IX 8. M. Salvadori and C. Sbrolli try to define a painter's workshop specialised in figural scenes on the basis of a representation of the rape of Hylas in the Sarno Baths. Yet, the connection with other painted complexes does not become very clear, whereas the relation of the topic with Roman literary evocations gets ample attention. A. Pontrandolfo and C. Grifa present an analysis of the condition of the paintings in the House of Octavius Quartio as an aspect of '*insula* archaeology'. N. Monteix and A. Duvauchelle have made a study of a metal workshop near the Villa of the Mosaic Columns outside Porta Vesuvio, which was to be dismantled at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius. They conclude their contribution with a list of *termini tecnici* in French, German, Spanish, English, and Italian, which might well serve further studies on the topic and needs a greater readership than those of this collection.

The second volume opens with Section V on Iconography. M. Barbanera gives a complex reading of a mosaic with the four Seasons, Dionysos and winemaking as an expression of myth mixed with real life in an early 3<sup>rd</sup>-century villa near Spello. Methodologically, this paper is an excellent example of how to read such a decoration which, at first sight, is very simple. M.E. Micheli takes two representations of painting women in Pompeii as a starting point of considerations on female artists. It is relevant that Pliny (*NH* 35.147) has six *mulieres* in his overview of painters among which the successful Iaia associated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with one of the Pompeian depictions. S. Rambaldi gives notes on representations of landscapes on Roman reliefs, especially single trees and forests. His starting point is an altar from Angera dedicated to Matronae with four dancing women around a large tree. The Matronae form an interesting group of minor goddesses especially popular in Germania, but also occurring in Gallia Cisalpina. Editor Cavalieri writes on Ocean masks in late antique art as symbols of all-encompassing power, ubiquity of Romans, bringing fecundity and bounty. Their polysemic character is amply illustrated in this dense contribution. G.Z. Zanichelli presents two 11<sup>th</sup>-century reliefs from Salerno, now in New York: they show trellises occupied by

pheasants, which can be associated with other reliefs symbolizing bounty and bless. F. Pinnock leads the reader to Assyria and the representations of the mural crown as device of queens. They demonstrate the eminent position of female members of the court in Assyrian society of the 9<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century.

Section VI in on ancient history, epigraphy, and literary sources. M. Menichetti analyses Augustus' first steps to power by using his title *Divi filius* from 42 BC onwards and propagating the cult of *Divus Iulius* (Caesar) concluded with the dedication of Caesar's temple in the Forum Romanum in 29 BC. I. Colpo presents part of her Ovid studies, analysing the stories of nymphs and demi-goddesses punished by Diana, which would correspond with the warnings against adultery and lack of chastity in Augustan culture. The portrait of a *grammaticus* in southern Gaul is sketched by R. Bedon on the basis of Blaesianus' funerary stela (detail: the inscription depicted (p. 797) has *insitionis* rather than *grammatices*, but this is one of the readings proposed in literature). Blaesianus had come from far away for unknown reasons. G. Rosada discusses amber extensively treated by the Younger Pliny and connects his information with a find of an amber manufactory at Frattesina Polese near Rovigo of the 13<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century BC. E. Calandra interprets the luxurious 58 BC temporary theatre of M. Aemilius Scaurus in Rome as a baroque *Wunderkammer* where the materiality of the objects played an important role and the display of these objects (marble, bronze, fabric) afterwards illustrated their virtue as curiosities. D. Manacorda re-reads 'old' inscriptions connected with tombs accommodating the *familia* of Drusus and Livia inside Porta San Sebastiano on the Via Appia. Some are known from Pirro Ligorio and other early scholars. Nearby would have stood a honorary arch for Drusus, tentatively connected with the arch still visible within the Porta. *Spolia* used in later monuments in Santoro's town Parma are presented by M.G. Arrigoni Bertini. Three separate finds from Populonia (silver Baratti amphora, treasure of coins, and a mosaic) are discussed by E. Zanini. He 'connects' them in various ways as expressions of late-antique commerce and culture in this area.

The last section, VII, contains three studies on Durrës (see already above) and on Epirus (paper by E. Giorgi), referring to Santoro's own research in the area. I only mention the topics: amphitheatre (architecture: P. Giandebaggi and C. Vernizzi; medieval glass production: C. Boschetti and C. Leonelli), earthquakes and their consequences (B. Sassi).

All papers start with a brief summary in English, providing a rapid orientation on their contents. The illustrations in black-and-white are of a modest quality. Many greyish figures are reproductions from publications rather than original images. Most papers have been updated until Spring 2018, and, yet, typos are rare in this rapidly edited set of volumes. In sum, a fine and justified *tombeau* for an exquisite scholar.

Eric M. Moormann



JOHANNES LIPPS (ed.), *Die Stuckdecke des oecus tetrastylus aus dem sog. Augustushaus auf dem Palatin im Kontext antiker Deckenverzierungen*. Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2018. 345 pp., 212 figs, 20 tables; 29.7 cm (Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 25). – ISBN 3-89646-916-9/ISSN 1862-3484.

Some seven years J. Lipps has been involved with the reconstruction and study of the arched vault decoration of the central room at the east side of the peristyle of the alleged House of Augustus on the Palatine (always calling it 'sog[enanntes] Augustushaus', see the title of the book), a luxurious *oecus tetrastylus*, with four columns supporting the vault. He modestly presents this extensive monograph as a 'Vorarbeit', which is quite understandable, since not all material could be taken into account and - what is more seriously hampering this project - the documentation of the excavations by G. Carettoni and of the architectural remains is, despite various publications, still full of lacunae. The House of Augustus has been hotly debated over the last decades, especially for its chronology and, consequently, position within Augustus' career. Its decorations stand at the end of mid-Republican developments and form the beginning of a new, imperial era, with all the consequences this position may have for Augustan art.

Chapter 1 sketches the research agenda and contents of the book. The dearth of good publications on vault and ceiling decoration in the ancient world makes a publication of unknown or badly researched cases, like this *oecus tetrastylus*, a relevant contribution. Chapter 2 presents Lipps' reconstruction of the stucco reliefs. 4340 fragments were found in 1973 and after a documentation in 2009 the complex could almost completely be reconstructed. 3383 fragments are more or less definitely related, the other fragments stem either from the *oecus* or other rooms (pp. 62-63, Table 1). Lipps sketches the method of reconstruction by analyzing the probability of the fragments' relation with other fragments, their position within the scheme, and the repetition of motifs and details. The result is the admirable reconstruction of a tripartite ceiling, i.e. flat series of square cassettes in the longish and narrow side aisles (fig. 23), and a barrel-vault central part dominated by two large squares filled with mostly lozenge-shaped fields, surrounded by friezes of square cassettes. At the sides matching the later friezes weaponry friezes lined by square cassettes occupied the lower part of the vault (figs 89, 99). All cassettes are studded with decorative elements, mainly rosettes, but also griffins growing out of plant motifs. Lipps has taken into account similar schemes in other rooms of the house as well as cases in Pompeii and Herculaneum in which the centres contain large fields with various geometrical subdivisions framed by series of friezes and rows of cassettes. L. Thiermann and H. Piening have studied to technical and chemical aspects of the stucco. UV-VIS absorption spectrography has made clear that the vault had no coloured upper layer, but remained white.

Lipps concludes the chapter with a thorough discussion of the chronology. The sources suggest that Octavian bought, first, the House of Hortensius, probably 43/42, and, later *complures domus*, some more houses, whereas he got a publicly paid house in 36 in the surroundings of the then dedicated temple of Apollo. Carettoni and others used the temple as proof that the building was Augustus' house *tout court*. Lipps resumes the enormous literature on the topic, mainly of Italian, English and German scholars (to be added: G. Sauron, *Choix de vie et choix de décor. Auguste et Livie au Palatin en 36 a.n.è.*, in V. Gasparini (ed.), *Vestigia. Miscellanea di studi storico-religiosi in onore di Filippo Coarelli nel suo 80° anniversario*, Stuttgart 2016, 591-602). The study by I. Iacopi and G. Tedone (RM 112, 2005/2006, 351-378) is fundamental thanks to their archaeological observations. Like Lipps, most scholars now follow them in dating the remains of the house to the decade before the construction of the Temple of Apollo. Lipps adds arguments from his study and observes at least two phases of reconstruction after its construction, connecting the complex with the houses gradually acquired by Augustus after 43/42. The relation with the House of Hortensius, however, is not sure and it might have been one of the other bought houses, so that the starting date of the clearly richly decorated house remains unclear.

Chapter 3 discusses the genesis and development of vault and ceiling architecture and decoration from the archaic period until the time of Augustus. Lipps has collected an impressive dataset of 450 cases, articulated according to the contexts of tombs, sanctuaries, private houses etc. (figs 117-121, tables 1-17), whereas a collection of 199 written testimonies adds further information (fig. 122; Appendix 2: texts with translations, pp. 235-289). P. Meyboom carried out a similar research as a preliminary study for the vault and ceiling decorations of Nero's Golden House (in P.G.P. Meyboom/E.M. Moormann, *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma*, Leuven, Paris & Walpole 2013, I, 100-124; House of Augustus, pp. 111-112). The fact that a limited number of schemes - cassettes, checkerboard, vegetal trellis, tapestry - and filling motifs - rosettes, (few) figural motifs - are found all-over the Mediterranean makes a strong interchange of motifs most likely. Lipps starts with stone and marble ceilings of classical temples showing cassettes, mostly square, sometimes lozenge-shaped, bordered by various frames and filled with floral motifs, which set the standards for subsequent centuries. In *tholoi* lozenges were favourite and had 'disorted' sides in order to fit the circular spaces. Figural motifs are rare, e.g. the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos. Italic temples follow the Greek cases. Lipps could have problematised the transmission of motifs and forms; he only speaks of 'Vorlagen' (p. 112) with which the afore-mentioned temples are meant. According to written sources, gilding was a major topic of temple ceiling decorations. The ceilings of houses are discussed in relation to the temple decorations. In private context, gilding is an expression of *luxuria*, but the archaeological evidence of gilded ceilings makes clear that the sources, despite their tendency to moralise and exaggerate the lavishness, are right.

In Chapter 4 Lipps concentrates on the architectural setting of ceiling and vault decorations within the House. The oecus' lavish floor, wall and vault decorations correspond with those of room 3 at the north side of the peristyle, whereas the other rooms - as far as reconstructions can be made - show more modest, but still rich stucco decorations. The 'studiolo' and the 'rampa' were predominantly painted and therefore more colourful. Lipps presents a fine explanation of the hierarchy of the rooms around the peristyle demonstrating the functional and spatial differences between the decorations. Chapter 5 brings together the information gleaned from ancient sources on aesthetics, appropriateness, luxury versus modesty, and the like, and the *oecus tetrastylus*. This room was richly adorned but presumably its decorations did not go beyond good taste. I think that Lipps' admirable collection of source material will serve further studies on the topic and bring forward other assessments of the information they contain. To work this out in tandem with the archaeological material makes Lipps' monography still more attractive.

Despite its modest characterisation as 'Vorarbeit', Lipps provides a model for further research. It is nothing but a shame that so little of the materials found in the house have been made public. From the bibliography the reader can glean many partial and preliminary publications. Why still preliminary, more than fifty years after the excavation? Clearly, it's not Lipps' fault. Let more studies of this kind follow in the near future.

Eric M. Moormann

PIER LUIGI TUCCI, *The Temple of Peace in Rome. I: Art and Culture in Imperial Rome; II: Remodelings, Conversions, Excavations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. 1121 pp., 350 figs; 28.5 cm. ISBN 978-1-107-16247-1; 978-1-107-16254-9.

The Templum Pacis (hereafter TP) has got momentum over the last decades thanks to large-scale excavations in the area north of the Basilica of Cosmas and Damianus and the Forum Romanum. After various articles and monographs by staff members of the excavating team, now we have a monumental monograph in two volumes by the architect Pier Luigi Tucci. The first volume opens with 'Vespasians's Project', started in 71 and completed by Domitian. Previously, the site was occupied by houses as well as the Macellum from 179 BC, and probably remained free after the Great Fire of AD 64. The TP consisted of a 135 x 145 m portico similar to (in the meantime old-fashioned) peristyle complexes and its size permitted the access of a large audience. The eastern wall of the Forum transitorium constitutes part of the western enclosure wall of the TP and shows traces of three entrances corresponding to the 'left' side of the area. Tucci reconstructs flights of five steps supporting the colonnade with ca 8.60 m high columns in *africano* marble. Red granite columns would date to later, Severan interventions. An important improvement seems Tucci's suggestion to 'add' an attic to the colonnade, since the excavators' proposal of a roof on top of the columns' entablature seems too

simple; it would be 'one of the most surprising discoveries I have made in the course of my survey' (p. 89). Tucci has doubts on the presence of water basins (*euripi*) on the piazza itself and takes up old suggestions of accommodations for plants and statues, which indeed seems more likely, given the evidence we have at disposal. According to him, Vespasian's architect used various models, but the most important monument seems to have been the Forum of Augustus, which is a very likely suggestion, also considering the fact that the Flavians anchored their building programs in Augustan architecture. Tucci observes a strong degree of conservatism in this project, although he sees innovative elements, yet rather regarding its position near the Forum and its function than formally. In Chapter 2, 'Augustan influences' are worked out in great detail, to begin with a detailed analysis of the columns' measurements. This matter is confusing due to the subsequent interventions (Flavian, Severan), and the use of columns of diverse sizes for the different parts of the TP (pp. 85-86: list). What unfortunately lacks is material to reconstruct the attic's façade, for which reason the discussion concentrates on the position of beams supporting the portico's roof. The later church of Cosmas and Damianus would have been the TP's library, styled according to that of Augustus' Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and positioned behind the great hall interpreted as a library by the excavators. This brings him to the other halls around the TP's piazza. The first is the 'axial hall' of which parts of the pavement are visible. Tucci sees this large room as the cella accommodating the cult statue of Pax. In this position she would have dominated the space. The hall of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (FUR) gets deserved attention in the next section. The outer northern wall of the church accommodated the huge Severan plan, maybe a substitute of a Flavian city plan destroyed in the 192 fire. Tucci stresses how rapidly outdated the FUR must have been, becoming nothing more than an adornment or device of propaganda (p. 128). He provides a fine overview of plans and makes a comparison with the five fascist plans attached to the podium wall of the Temple of Venus and Roma and other wall maps of the same era. In the TP context, the plan would underline the peace generating the bounty of Rome. In a long-winded reasoning, Tucci presents the reading that this part of the TP was not an administrative (cadastral) office, but rather a showcase of imperial Rome's monuments, an interpretation that is more attractive than the traditional one.

Of course the still standing constructions incorporated in the Cosmas and Damianus monastery cannot miss in this large work. More than an overview, the second half of the first volume is a thorough analysis of the halls which stretch from the Via dei Fori Imperiali up to the Sacra Via and includes the 'church', once the library erected by Domitian, adjacent to that with the FUR, and the rotunda which has a late-antique entrance from the Sacra Via. Previous investigations by F. Castagnoli and L. Cozza in the 1950s were a stimulus for Tucci to carry out his own research in this area of which the monograph is the result (p. 167). But before going into a detailed analysis of wall structures and

proposing a reconstruction of the library, Tucci gives a lengthy and vivid sketch of the ancient library's practices and its users: grammarians, philosophers, and doctors (Chapter 4). His and the reader's guides are Gellius and Galenus, the latter especially thanks to a rather recently found text in which many details on the use and consultation of books are given. According to Tucci the library of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine was the principal model. He ventures good speculations to assume that this and other libraries had no separate rooms for Greek and Latin texts, while there existed different criteria to store books, e.g. the collections they stemmed from. Follows a (probably too) lengthy and detailed debate on Galenus' practice of dissecting and vivisectioning animals and human corpses, all to illustrate that this and other medical polemic disputes did not take place in the TP. Unfortunately, the highly erudite chapter is full of repetitions and (according to me) irrelevant details, while the polemic tenor (contra Meneghini and Palombi) could have been milder.

Chapter 5 is on the works of art exposed in the TP. Apart from the *opera nobilia* known from ancient texts and partly attested by inscriptions found *in situ*, Tucci includes the famous Cancellaria Reliefs which he interprets as the side adornments of the Altar of Peace and sees as an aggrandizement of Domitian's deeds in the creation of the Flavian dynasty. Their removal to the Campus Martialis would be the result of the bad recarving of Domitian's head as a Nerva and the bad appearance it would have made in the new regime. In this chapter he also discusses the great fire of AD 192 after which the TP was rebuilt to be reopened probably in 203, the same year other Severan projects in Rome came to completion.

Part II contains the 'Technical Analysis' of the TP and starts with a new chronology as well as an overview of materials and techniques employed. Unfortunately it is impossible to distinguish Vespasian from Domitianic brickwork, whereas the Severan one differs notably, so that as a rule the chronology of the subsequent interventions can be established with a high degree of exactitude. Vespasian started in 71 and opened the TP in 75; Domitian added various elements and enhanced the splendid outlook. Tucci gives a conspectus of the materials and techniques, useful as a sequel to Lugli's 1957 *Tecnica edilizia* for other constructions in Rome as well. Much use is made of Cozza's meticulous exploration notes and sketches. At length Tucci discusses a discovery, that is the presence of red paint on blocks, presumably signs of contractors (p. 283). In the discussion of the wall once covered with the marble *Forma Urbis Romae*, much attention is paid to the plan's discovery and lay-out.

In the second volume (with a continuing page numbering, hence starting with p. 489), we come to Tucci's original specialization, that is medieval architecture and art. First, the rotunda traditionally labeled as the Temple of Romulus erected by Maxentius is reinterpreted and architecturally analyzed as the entrance to the hall of the *praefectus urbi* who resided in the former library, now his public office (Tucci does not give sound reasons for this idea). The rotunda originally

had a straight façade, later strengthened by the curved front (p. 560), and possessed two side-halls, the story of which can be followed until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While the dome of the rotunda is made of concrete, the apse of the large hall's constructed with terracotta pipes, an innovative element which is among the indications suggested by Tucci to date the complex to the era of Constantine or one of his sons. The *praefectus'* hall changed into the aforementioned church under pope Felix IV, 526-530, a change not so much architecturally designed as functionally, in the same way other older public buildings were now being used for Christian cult. The decoration of the apse with mosaics was the main intervention (see chapter 12), whereas the old marble veneer remained in place. The ciborium, still extant, shows later interventions; Tucci is able to detect old elements taken out and to reconstruct the original situation. In the meanwhile, the main part of the TP seems to have dilapidated and gradually destroyed. For that reason, most of the second volume is devoted to the church and the constructions added to the basilica (esp. chapter 17 on the monastery of the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Inevitably, the original TP vanishes under the burden of information on these fascinating later activities. Tucci also discusses some ancient objects used as part of the church's inventory, e.g. a funerary altar now in the USA (fig. 278) discarded during a substantial intervention in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Some ancient sarcophagi were used for burials in the same era and would partly be transported as precious objects to the Vatican in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see the protest raised by Pirro Ligorio, p. 735), but partly vanished or were sold to foreigners. Tucci meticulously reconstructs some of these medieval sepulchers inside and outside the church, and gives lengthy quotations from Ligorio and illustrations from various sources. The main player in the 12<sup>th</sup> century was Cardinal Guido to whose activities (i.e. the erection of a new ciborium) Tucci devotes some passionate pages. Unfortunately, due to my lack of expertise and the scope of BABESCH' readership, I have to pass over the remainder of the book on the complex's later phases. For the history of archaeology, some important sections should be mentioned, e.g. that on the discovery of plaques belonging to the *FUR* in 1562 on which new data can be added to the classical discussion of 1960 by Colini. The final chapters (19-20) bring together all information on the 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century excavations some data already taken into account in the previous chapters. An important person nowadays completely forgotten is Eufisio Luigi Tocco who took the initiative to carry out explorations around the Basilica of Cosmas and Damianus in 1867, hoping to find more fragments of the *FUR*. Many more smaller and larger interventions followed, often in tandem with the Forum Romanum excavations of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this chapter as in all previous ones Tucci provides the reader with partial as well as complete transcriptions of many documents which indeed are relevant, but often interrupt the reading of the main text, so that the gist of the very long descriptions runs the risk to get lost. For many readers the presence of not translated long Italian and Latin quotations will form an extra obstacle.



Apparently for Tucci the Soprintendenza's (published and unpublished) data have often not sufficed and have neglected numerous features found, for which reason he argues (p. 19): 'Unfortunately, as in other drawings by the Soprintendenza, it is often impossible to distinguish between actual archaeological evidence and mere guess work.' This severe accusation is put at the test throughout the first volume in the sections on the fieldwork especially and returns in the second volume as well, when later interventions and restorations are put in relationship with the original structures. Due to the highly detailed level of information, Tucci does not offer an easy reading and many data will have to be checked by thoroughly trained experts. As said previously, smaller and bigger emendations are proposed, while the Soprintendenza's reconstructions are criticized, e.g. the re-erection of several columns of the southern portico (pp. 42-50). Tucci brings together his findings in the brief conclusive chapter and highlights the force and impact of Peace, the goddess venerated in the TP. Despite Tucci's lack of irenic qualities, this conclusion may be true.

Eric M. Moormann

GRAŻYNA BAKOWSKA-CZERNER/JAROSŁAW BODZEK, *Augustus from Republic to Empire*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017. III, 164 pp, ills; 28.5 cm (*Archaeopress Roman Archaeology* 36). – ISBN 978-178491-780-7; Epublication ISBN 978-178491-781-4.

This slim volumes includes 13 papers by 11 Polish and 2 Italian scholars, the result of a commemorative congress dedicated to Augustus in 2014 in Krakow. The authors did not order the papers according to contents, but alphabetically according to the author's name. I have clustered themes and briefly discuss the papers in sections, which seem more reasonable to me.

Numismatics and glyptic form an interesting group of propaganda objects. In the first paper of the book, K. Balbuza discusses a unique golden medallion from Pompeii, struck ca AD 2-6, showing Augustus in profile on the obverse and an archaistic Diana on the reverse. Balbuza sees the image as a general rather than specific (Naulochos, 36 BC) reference to Augustus' golden age. As to Pompeii, I would like to add that the temple of the Genius Augusti was erected about the same time, whereas the type of the archaistic Diana got a monumental visualization in a fine sculpture now in Naples. S. Jellonek devotes his attention to the vexed question of the Capricorn and Sidus Iulium (not Iulius as p. 74) symbolism on Augustan coins and stresses the wide spread of the imagery all-over the roman world. Editor G. Bakowska-Czerner discusses some 2<sup>nd</sup>-century gems from the military fortress of Novae (Bulgaria) as reflections of Augustus' long-standing prestige and popularity. In my opinion, however, the depictions of Diana, Mars, Venus, and Jupiter's eagle are too generic and - as analysed by Bakowska-Czerner - based on *opera nobilia* (also) popular in Augustan era, to form clear references to the first emperor in this remote area (typo: *terrarium* for *terrarium* p. 14). A thorough analysis of the find con-

texts might elucidate the function and use of these ringstones in a clearer way. P. Gołyźniak discusses six gems in Krakow referring to both the young and the ripe Augustus. One bears the portrait of an ambitious Octavian around 42 BC. The stones stem from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Constantine Schmidt-Ciażyński collection and unfortunately have no secure provenance.

Topography and architecture is another main theme. A logical item is that of Villa at Prima Porta here briefly described by the Roman archaeologist M. Piranomonte, who does not add many novelties to recent publications. Restorations were carried out for Augustus' bimillenary (not *bimillennarius*, p. 107, 108). A peculiar aspect was the reconstruction of gardens around the building. C. Sfameni present some more Augustan villas in the surroundings of Rome researched over the last years by her team of archaeologists. No specific Augustan innovations can be detected in the villa architecture, but there is an increase of 'urbanisation' of existing rustic villas. A.B. Biernacki and E. Klenina presents results from a Ukrainian-Polish excavation in the Hellenistic-Roman town of Chersonesus on the Crimea from 2008 onwards. Its Hellenistic agora was discovered NW from the theatre. Nothing is specifically said on the Augustan era. The same is true regarding Polish investigations in Marina el-Alamein which have brought to light important vestiges of a Hellenistic-Roman town, here briefly presented by R. Czerner. Although many urbanistic, architectural, and architecture-decorative features changed at the beginning of our era, the author does not tie in with the Augustan theme.

Two contributions discuss the conquest of Egypt. A. Łukaszewicz, author of a biography of Cleopatra in Polish and extensively working on Gallus, gives a gloomy image of Augustus' ruthless policy towards his former enemies (e.g. Cleopatra) and allies in Egypt, among which Gallus struck by a *damnatio memoriae* despite his decisive role to conquer Egypt. He mentions some *dipinti* mentioning *Caesar* [Augustus] by Roman soldiers found in the Polish excavations of Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria, examples of extremely rare Latin texts known from Egypt. T. Polański gives an overview of art works plundered in this hitherto untouched country (in the sense of Roman invasions) and concludes that in this respect, again, Augustus and his men were ruthless. The only concrete testimonies are the famous obelisks in Rome, whereas most works are known from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* only. A brief paper on Augustus and the Cyrenaica by J. Żelazowski (the book's conclusive one) shows the impact of a series of Augustan edicts known from a monumental inscription on the social structure of the area, especially those settling the difficult relationship between the Greek citizens and the Roman newcomers. Clearly, Augustus practiced a 'conciliatory policy' (p. 157). The same was true for the Jews in this area who would profit from the emperor's liberality during several decades.

Two papers are devoted to Augustus' fortune after Antiquity. A.A. Kluczek analyses the popular story of Augustus and the *Ara Coeli*, an altar erected after a meeting with Pythia or Sibyl on the Capitol in Rome

and connected with the S. Maria in Ara Coeli church. Augustus has become the exemplary emperor, to be connected with the birth of Christ, whereas some of his (whether or not fanciful) deeds were related to the Capitol. P. Dyczek analyses the decoration of a marble chimney piece in the Tyszkiewicz-Potocki Palace in Warsaw. The 1855 chimney has as an adornment the relining female figure on the Portland Vase in mirror image. Dyczek makes clear that the artist, Ludvik Kaufmann, used images rather than the original. Dyczek also briefly discusses the vase's Augustan iconography and tentatively adheres to the interpretation as Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

Due to the lack of order and cross references (e.g. Piranomonte and Sfameni), the book unfortunately misses coherence. The preface does not do justice to cohesion either and the book's rather vague title is of no help either. Most of the papers are of descriptive or inventorying nature, relying on profound literature research and excavation experiences. Yet, they are important as a summa of the state of knowledge. All of them have English abstracts. The illustrations are fine and functional.

Eric M. Moormann

CLEMENS VOIGTS, *Selinus VI. Die Altäre in den Stadtheiligtümern. Studien zur westgriechischen Altararchitektur im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2017. 191 pp., 177 figs, 11 app.; 34.5 cm (DAI Sonderschriften 21). – ISBN 978-3-95490-213-2.

This book continues the series of publications on the Sicilian town of Selinus by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, which has undertaken field research in collaboration with the Soprintendenza di Trapani at this site since the 1970s. Despite the initial delays, three volumes were published recently detailing the results achieved: D. Mertens, *Selinus I. Die Stadt und ihre Mauern* (Mainz 2003); S. Helas, *Selinus II. Die punische Stadt auf der Akropolis* (Wiesbaden 2011); and H. Baitinger, *Selinus V. Die Metallfunde aus Selinunt* (Wiesbaden 2016). There is much indeed to be grateful for in the books released so far, and surely also in those that will follow.

The volume under review focuses on nine sacred altars - essentially unpublished - which were built on the acropolis of Selinus in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The altars located west of the town in Contrada Gaggera are not included in this study, as they are already discussed in the literature. The book is based on a thesis submitted by the author to the Technische Universität München in 2011. After a brief introduction (I, pp. 13-24) outlining the *status quaestionis* and research questions, the architectural evidence, interpretation and chronology of the altars are thoroughly commented on in chapter II (pp. 25-148). This discussion is followed by a general overview (III, pp. 149-171) of the architecture of altars in the western Greek world, and by a concluding chapter (IV, pp. 173-184) that engages with the spatial relationships between altars and temples at Selinus. The book is richly illustrated with numerous black-and-white and some colour photo-

graphs, plans, reconstructions, and high-quality line drawings of the recorded architectural members. The volume is also provided with 10 oversize sheets featuring enlarged plans and reconstructed elevations.

The first group of altars is located around Temple C. The remains of Altar C lie ca 30 m to the east of the temple and the author recognizes two building phases. The first phase is dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, probably predating the construction of the temple itself. The second phase, datable to between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, is identifiable through the addition of steps on the front and the presence of stone blocks with a Doric *kymation* decorating the lower part of the altar table (figs 19-26). The smaller and less elaborate Altar C-North also shows two construction phases. The first phase is dated to the latter half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; the second, more broadly, at some point between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and 409 BC (when Selinus was seized by the Carthaginians and annexed into their *eparcheia*). In contrast, the author discards the identification of the so-called 'Südbau' as an altar, suggesting that it might have been a *theatron* instead (fig. 43), probably built in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The function of the building between Temple C and Altar C (*Stufenanlage*) is more controversial, but it does not appear to be an altar either (figs 44-46).

More altars are found in the northern sector of the acropolis. Altar D is placed directly in front of the south-east corner of Temple D. When the temple was built (ca last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), its *crepidoma* was shaped so that it could be attached to the steps of the pre-existent altar (figs 48-49, 61-62, app. 3). The Altar mit Peribolos (figs 63-64, 69) cannot be dated with precision, but some architectural analogies with the *cella* of Temple C and the *Heraion* in Contrada Gaggera would suggest a date towards the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. The last two altars in this area are referred to as *Großer Triglyphenaltar* and *Kleiner Triglyphenaltar* respectively, due to the Doric frieze (with traces of red paint) running along the lower part of the altar table (figs 70-72, 74-89, 98-102, app. 5). The larger altar was probably built in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century - an additional step was added in a second phase, covering the lower part of the frieze. The smaller altar is more recent, probably datable to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century or to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

The last three altars are in the southern portion of the acropolis. Only scant remains of Altar P are visible, perhaps datable to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC. On the other hand, Altar A (ca 32.5 m east of Temple A) belongs to an elaborate type that combines a miniature Doric temple structure on the rear with a large staircase on the front. Various elements of the colonnade, entablature, and one fragment of the decorated lateral edging survive, thus allowing the author to present a convincing reconstruction (figs 112-132, app. 9-11). These architectural details strongly suggest a chronology in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC, roughly contemporaneous with Temple A. Finally, the much smaller Altar A-North seems to date to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

In conclusion, this book represents a valuable contribution which enhances our understanding of Greek altars. It complements the now-dated, yet still important, typological study by C.G. Yavis (*Greek Altars: Ori-*

*gins and Typology*, Saint Louis 1949) and the more recent works by A. Ohnesorg (*Ionische Altäre*, Berlin 2005) and A. Distefano (*L'altare dell'Olympieion di Akragas*, Rome 2014), adding important information on the development of Selinus' sacred architecture. Together with the research carried out by the New York University (see C. Marconi, *Le attività dell'Institute of Fine Arts – NYU sull'acropoli di Selinunte*, in C. Ampolo [ed.], *Sicilia occidentale: studi, rassegne, ricerche*, Pisa 2012, 279-286), there is now abundant published evidence of Selinus' urbanism and architecture. This is crucial to assess the impact of sacred buildings, not only in the Archaic and Classical periods, but also in the later phases, looking at how pre-existent and new constructions shaped the cultural memory of the local, mixed Greek-Punic community.

Niccolò Mugnai

LUIGI MARIA CALIÒ/VALENTINA CAMINNECI/  
MONICA LIVADIOTTI/MARIA CONCETTA PARELLO/  
MARIA SERENA RIZZO (eds), *Agrigento. Nuove ricerche sull'area pubblica centrale*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2017. 180 pp., numerous figs; 27 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7140-796-8.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, scholars and amateurs alike have dedicated their efforts to locating the ancient theatre (for there must have been one) at Agrigento. After many failed attempts, new field research at the site eventually led to the discovery of this long-awaited building in 2016, to the great satisfaction of the investigators and of the entire scientific community. The first results of these excavations and other research on the urban topography of Agrigento are described in this book, which features a collection of short essays by numerous contributors. As indicated by the editors (p. 7), the character of many of these papers is preliminary and the progress of the research will allow them to draw more definitive conclusions. This work is the result of a fruitful collaboration between the Università di Catania, the Politecnico di Bari, the Università Kore di Enna, and the Parco Archeologico della Valle dei Templi di Agrigento.

After a group of introductory essays on the historical context, the *status quaestionis*, and some observations on the topography of Agrigento (pp. 5-37), the central part of the volume focuses on the discovery and initial interpretation of the architectural features of the theatre (pp. 41-94). The methodologies employed to identify this building and to investigate Agrigento's urban layout - remote sensing, electrical resistivity tomography, 3D laser scanning, GPS recordings, and spatial analyses on CAD-GIS platforms - are described in a separate section (pp. 129-144). The book is illustrated throughout with black-and-white and some colour pictures, plans, sketches and drawings, many of which (though not all) are of good print quality.

Following the results of the non-invasive surface analyses, eight stratigraphic sondages were excavated bringing part of the remains of the theatre to light. These have revealed that a series of stone substructures were built to support a monumental *koilon* (pp. 41-45, figs 1-5), set in an area of the town that was defined by

a gentle natural slope. A Doric cornice and a sofa capital were also discovered, which would match the type of architectural ornamentation of other Sicilian Hellenistic theatres (in particular those at Segesta and Monte Iato), although these two elements were found out of the original context. It is premature to suggest a precise date for the theatre, but some remarks can be advanced. The excavation of a foundation trench (*Saggio II*) has yielded a set of in-situ pottery whose date ranges from the latter half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (pp. 57-58), thus offering at least a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building. Other finds relate to the phases of use and abandonment of this area: terracotta figurines, lamps, and *unguentaria* (pp. 69-84).

The second part of the book (pp. 97-126) deals with the sector north of the agora, where a sacred building complex attesting to urban life at Agrigento during the Roman period is located. The papers of this section describe in more detail certain architectural features which had been outlined in a previous booklet (V. Caminneci et al., *Agrigentum: spazi di vita pubblica della città romana*, Palermo 2015). The temple and annexed porticoed piazza - also referred to as the Roman forum - were discovered by De Miro, who published a first study (E. De Miro and G. Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana. Gli edifici pubblici civili*, Rome 2011, 45-70). The re-examination of these structures would suggest that the Roman temple was preceded by an earlier temple, probably built around the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The second phase, dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, witnessed the construction of a platform on the front, accessible from lateral staircases, following the design of the *templa rostrata* (pp. 97-103). The presence of a monumental colonnade on the front of the *cella*, as originally proposed by De Miro, is incompatible with the architectural remains, and the authors suggest an alternative version of the temple elevation without any columns (pp. 104-105, fig. 8a-c). One may wonder, however, whether at least lateral *antae*, pilasters, or perhaps a less imposing colonnade with a single row of columns, should be included in this reconstruction.

The architectural study of this monumental sacred complex is accompanied by two brief essays on four togated statues and a fragmentary inscription associated with it (pp. 119-126). Two more papers outline the transformations of this public space from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards, following its conversion into a dump (pp. 147-164). The final essay in the book (pp. 167-178) brings together all these newly discovered elements, with particular focus on the theatre, to draw a synthetic picture of Agrigento's urbanism and its relationship with the other urban centres of Hellenistic Sicily.

Given that this first part of the field research was concluded in October 2016, the book had to be assembled rather quickly. Had more time been allowed for editing and proof-checking, some typographical errors which occur in the text would have been avoided. Also, while each essay is provided with a short bibliography, inclusion of footnotes or in-text citations would have helped the reader. Having said that, it is unquestionable that this book offers a fundamental wealth of new data on urbanism and architecture at Agrigento in the Hellenistic-Roman era, which will be surely integrated by



more discoveries as the fieldwork progresses. We must be grateful to the involved institutions, their research teams, and their sponsors for making the preliminary results of their work available to the international academic community. The decision to collect these papers in a book that can be purchased at an affordable price will foster dissemination and accessibility. This is a much more sensible choice than publishing in journals or book series that are either difficult to get hold of outside of Italy (sometimes outside of Sicily itself), or are incredibly expensive, and therefore inaccessible, even to institutional libraries.

Niccolò Mugnai

GERHARD KUHN, *Das Heilige Tor* (Mit einem Beitrag von Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff). Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017. XII, 268 pp., 256 figs, 7 enclosures; 34 cm (Kerameikos 19). – ISBN 978-3-95490-235-4.

The publication of the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos of Athens has been awaited for a long time: after its primary discovery together with the Dipylon in 1872, several excavations were conducted and various plans of the gate were drawn and interpreted, the last suggestion of construction phases being presented by Ursula Knigge in *Der Kerameikos von Athen* (Athens 1988, 56-67). It was not before the 1990s, however, that Gerhard Kuhn started his comprehensive research of the gate architecture, accompanied by excavations and restoration work until 2002.

After a preface by the director of the Kerameikos excavations Jutta Stroszcek, a short and rather technical introduction (ch. 1) and the research history (ch. 2), the book starts directly with the original, Themistoklean construction phase of the gate (479/8 BC; ch. 3). The gate courtyard then had only around half the depth as in the later phases and was flanked by two offset towers on its outer side, which were connected by curtains to the gate wall crossing the Eridanos and the Sacred Way. The construction consisted of mudbrick (not preserved) on a low stone socle, where *spolia* from the former necropolis in the area were used. Not according to the north-eastern tower a complete stone socle (p. 14) is critical, however, as humidity would have damaged the base of the mudbrick walls. No traces of the closure of the gate or its upper structure are preserved, but Kuhn reconstructs reasonable dimensions for the height of the gate walls and their crenellations. The bed of the Eridanos was so shallow that it must have flooded the Sacred Way and the lower gate zone quite often. The second phase (ch. 4) dating before 420 BC was characterized by the heightening of the stone socles, the extension of the north-western tower and a doubling of the courtyard towards the city-side, while the former gate wall provided an additional wall-walk in the middle. After treating three channels controlling the Eridanos water in the area between the towers (ch. 5), Kuhn discusses the third phase of the gate dating in the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (ch. 6), which included a straightening of the south-west courtyard wall and the abandonment of the cross-wall in the middle of the courtyard.

After a long period of constancy, the next, Hellenistic modifications around 300 BC (ch. 7) concern only the south-western half of the gate: tower and wall socles were heightened in a representative manner by ashlar with drafted margins and orthostats respectively. The fifth phase of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (ch. 8) saw the transformation of the Sacred Gate into the strongest bulwark among the Athenian gates through the addition of two artillery bastions for heavy-calibre catapults above the Eridanos and at the north-eastern tower. In the 6<sup>th</sup> phase (before the conquest by Sulla 86 BC; ch. 9), the depth of the bastion above the Eridanos was decreased and a tower added at its south-west side.

A long period of disuse preceded the 7<sup>th</sup> phase (ch. 10), probably connected with the reactivation of the old wall circuit before the invasion of the Visigoths AD 396 and comprising the reconstruction of the courtyard in stone. The south-west tower and the curtains were modified and two constructions were raised above the Eridanos, while the location of the gate opening is unclear. Only scarce remains are preserved from the last phase (ch. 11), which probably belongs to the age of Justinian and included the abandonment of the south-west tower. The last chapter in the book is dedicated to the so-called *oikos* erected in the first phase directly south-west of the gate, but without functional relation to it, and destroyed only half a century afterwards.

Seven elucidating tables comparing dimensions of elements of fortification architecture (pp. 170-179), a small catalogue of the three finds relevant for dating (by Bettina von Freytag gen. Löringhoff; pp. 180-181), and lists of abbreviations and figure sources conclude the text part of the book. The illustrations form its second part instead of being included in the text, which is sometimes a bit inconvenient.

The book represents a meticulous architectural study, including excellent architectural drawings, ground plans as well as reconstruction drawings for the first six phases (all by the author) and illustrative black-and-white photographs of old and new excavations, many hitherto unpublished. The eight construction phases and their dates are well-argued and mostly convincing, as are the reconstructions of the missing parts. Very helpful are the summaries of each phase in the beginning of the chapters. Concerning specific architectural details, comparanda from fortifications all over the ancient Greek world are discussed. In the notes, occasional lengthy discussions of problems not directly relevant to the subject seem a bit out of place (e.g. pp. 28-30). The overall stone-by-stone plan (encl. 1) would have been much more beneficial if the individual phases had been colour-coded. Ground plans of the late antique phases, if incomplete, would have been desirable. In the only ground plan indicating the lettered features referred to in the text (fig. 211), these letters are barely readable ('Mauerkopf I' can only be found with a magnifier!).

Besides these rather technical points, one sadly misses an introductory description of the topographical and functional contexts of the Kerameikos and the Athenian fortification walls and a conclusion assessing main developments and functions as well as the role of the gate in the typology of Greek courtyard gates, including its peculiarity crossing a stream. Although the latter has

been done by others before (p. 2), it would have been important to have Kuhn's own view on these - not undebated - matters. As it is, the book is a pure presentation of the gate architecture offering no further service around, and as such is directed to architectural historians and archaeologists with profound architectural knowledge - for others it can be a tough nut to crack. Nevertheless, for the former it is a significant and overdue in-detail presentation of one of the most important Athenian gates that should be part of any library with an interest in ancient architecture.

Silke Mith

HANS-PETER ISLER, *Antike Theaterbauten. Ein Handbuch*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2017. 3 vols, 812, 852 & 232 pp., 1046 ill., 29.5 cm (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 490 = Archäologische Forschungen 27) – ISBN 978-3-7001-7957-3.

This is a study that we can talk about only in superlatives: it is the biggest book on ancient theatres, the most complete one, and the most important one – to date, as far as general studies of this specific type of building go. It is also the work of a lifetime: Isler, professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Zürich, now emeritus, started to be interested in theatres in 1970, almost half a century ago, when he and his colleague Hansjörg Bloesch rediscovered the theatre of Iatas (Monte Iato, Sicily). This interest slowly grew into the plan to produce an inventory of all theatres; between 1979 and 2011 Isler spent all his holidays and his rare research semesters travelling in order to study at first hand and document as many theatres as possible (without subventions of any kind, as he is at pains to stress in his preface). The book that was the result will not be surpassed easily, because who is going to undertake such a giant task? Of course, there will be omissions and mistakes, as the author readily concedes; indeed, because of its huge scope and its comprehensive ambition, the book cannot be but flawed – as we will illustrate below. Still, this does not detract from its importance.

The first volume is a general overview of theatre building in the ancient world, from Camulodunum (Colchester, UK) in the north to Petra (Jordan) in the south, from Olisipo (Portugal) in the west to Ai-Khanoum (Afghanistan) in the east, and from Minoan days to Late Antiquity. The definition of theatre informing this overview is the following: any building purpose-built for scenic presentations (but possibly used for other purposes as well, such as citizens' assemblies). In the Greek and Roman tradition such buildings are open-air constructions. Odeia are included as well: they have the same shape, but were covered with roofs. With the roofs gone, however, it is often impossible to distinguish between an odeion and a small theatre. Excluded are buildings that as far as their seating arrangements may look like theatres, but are not intended for theatrical performances, primarily *bouleuteria*. And, of course, amphitheatres: Isler does not even mention those, but

the terminological confusion surrounding ancient theatres, which he notes in his first chapter, in more popular literature also extends to theatre and amphitheatre. So I repeat emphatically: no amphitheatres.

In the first volume, Isler cleverly combines a chronological arrangement with thematic elaboration. Every time a new feature is first introduced, that feature is discussed. Everything of relevance seems to have been covered. The text is divided into seven parts. The first part discusses terminology (with a long section on Vitruvius), the historiography, and suggestions for further research (for which the present book is laying the foundations): there are still plenty open questions concerning the architectural development of the theatre, and the exact use to which the architecture was put. The first part ends with an impassioned plea *not* to use ancient theatres for present day performances because this will always lead, either by wear and tear, or by rebuilding, to the loss of the archaeological record.

In the second part we start with the earliest theatres and functionally comparable structures (the much debated *Schautreppen* in the Minoan palace courtyards), and continue with the rise of the *koilon*-shape (theatres with a semi-circular seating area) and of the round orchestra. Here we are informed about the construction of corridors, stairways and seats, about the seating capacity of theatres, the routing within theatres, the paving and the drainage channels of the orchestra and *parodoi*, the *thymele* and altars in general connected to the orchestra, and the purposes to which the orchestra was put. Next, the development of stage buildings is discussed; all types (*paraskenion*, *proskenion*) are discussed in much detail, more than I can comment on here. To illustrate what I am talking about: *koilon*, orchestra and stage buildings get 180 pages, the size of a monograph. The second part ends with chapters on stage machinery, and on the dispersal of the Greek theatre across the Hellenistic world.

The third part deals with the Roman theatre in Italy and the western part of the Empire. After a lengthy discussion of precursors and earliest examples, there are chapters on the *cavea*, orchestra and *scenae frons*, different kinds of stage buildings and the facilities for theatre curtains, mirroring the chapters on *koilon*, etcetera, in the Greek section. The issue of the so-called sounding-vessels gets its own chapter. This third part ends with chapters on theatres of the imperial period in Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, the north-western provinces of the Empire, Spain and Northern Africa.

The fourth part is dedicated to imperial period theatres in the eastern half of the Empire. This part is arranged geographically and there are no separate chapters dealing with specific features, but much of the text deals with the architectural peculiarities of these buildings, where Greek tradition, Hellenistic modifications and Roman innovations come together.

Another three, shorter, parts follow. The fifth deals with odeia; the sixth with *vela* and with the late conversion of some theatres, turning orchestras into arenas or *kolymbethra*, pools for aquatic displays; the seventh with literary and epigraphic sources. There is no conclusion, as this is not a study that set out to answer specific questions (or maybe one should say: numerous ques-

tions). The goal was to bring together information about a specific type of building. On 812 double-column pages of A4 size one can fit an awful lot of information: we have a main text of roughly 400.000 words, graced with 8678 footnotes. And that is just volume I: obviously, a reviewer cannot really do credit to a work this size. Neither the eye-opening observations, nor the things that are debatable, can be listed without overrunning the normal limits set for a review.

The second volume is a catalogue of all sites that have remains of theatre buildings and/or where the existence of such buildings is attested in literary or epigraphic sources: 770 theatres, 60 odeia, 46 related buildings difficult to categorize and 190 theatrical buildings mentioned in written sources. The sites are arranged alphabetically by Greek and Latin toponyms, or modern ones when the classical name is unknown (there are some cross-references, and in the third volume there is a list of modern place names with the ancient equivalents). Obviously, with such numbers, over 1000 buildings, the information must be selective, especially the bibliographic references – but there are more than enough to get one going – and much will be based on secondary literature. Still, the extensive travels by Isler already mentioned have, in many instances, contributed new information or have led to revisions based on autopsy of existing opinions (autopsy is indicated as such in the text). As much detail for each item is provided as possible, also, if available, a plan. Understandably, these are reproductions of existing plans; this, however, means that they are all to a different scale which makes them useless for the purposes of comparison at least as far as size is concerned.

Despite its impressive coverage, the catalogue will have to be used with some caution. A test case will show why (I thank Frida Pellegrino for her comments). In Isler's catalogue there are 40 theatres for Gaul. Some are doubtful: for Augusta Tricastinorum, there is very little evidence, and for Vesunna there is in fact no evidence at all. But more seriously, quite a few theatres are missing, including important ones such as Bourges, Argenton-Saint-Marcel, Nérès-les-Bains and Drevant. Part of the explanation of this state of affairs is that Isler has not availed himself of the most recent French publications, and thus presents us with a picture that is as it stood in the 70s and 80s of the last century. This example might act as a reminder not to accept Isler's catalogue uncritically.

So in some respects, the catalogue was already outdated upon publication. And things will not stop there: archaeological and architectural research will increase our knowledge of certain theatres, and bring new theatres to light. Rather than a second edition one would like to see a dedicated website where any additions to this book can be gathered together and the information can be kept up to date.

At first sight, the alphabetic arrangement of the second volume seems to haphazardly mix up geography or chronology, so important to the first volume. In fact this is the only way in which the catalogue can be easily handled on its own without constant referral to an index. Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparative study or analyzing development, geographical and/or chronological grouping would be very useful, if not imperative.

Isler has come up with a simple, but clever solution. In the index volume (see below) there is a list (strictly speaking, these are not indices) of all buildings in geographic order (Greece, Italy, and so on) and another list of all buildings in chronological order (6/5th c. B.C., 4th c. B.C., and so on, with a more precise date, if available, with every item in the list). This really is extremely helpful.

The third volume contains 170 plates with three photographic images per page. These are mostly general views of theatrical buildings and they are of very reasonable quality. Only when the remains are slight, we tend to get somewhat murky views of hillsides with shrubbery and scattered stones that do not contribute much. There are just a few photographs of architectural details. But to ask for more would be over-asking. Isler has deposited at the University of Zürich 18000 photographs which are available to the public. The indices in the third volume comprise the two lists already discussed above and lists of buildings only attested in written sources, of modern place names with ancient equivalents (already referred to), of odeia (also included in all other lists), of buildings of which no plan is available, and of all plans and all images. There is not any index in the usual sense of the word, which would of course be useful for the first volume. Happily, the systematic nature of that volume implies that the detailed contents page will usually steer one in the right direction.

This is a book that is not flawless, but nevertheless, in its impressive comprehensiveness, almost impossible to find fault with. To complain about the fact that this is a wagonload of facts without overall guiding questions, is hypocritical because everyone will use it. In fact, my main criticism concerns the binding: these are three paper-bound volumes. Volumes I and II each have over 800 pages, and will not survive any intensive use. These should really have been hardbacks; with a publication as expensive as this one (300 euros), another 30-60 euros for a proper binding would not have made that much of a difference. As no archaeological library can do without it, so they should put aside some budget, for the book and for having it bound. For those individuals who cannot afford the print version, the three volumes are available as an online resource for 49 euros (<http://www.austriaca.at/7957-3inhalt?frames=yes>). Whether as printed volumes, an online resource or a set of downloaded PDFs, Isler's *magnum opus* will be, for many years to come, the book that everyone with an interest in ancient theatres will have to turn to first.

F.G. Naerebout

CATHRIN SCHMITT, *Aphrodite in Unteritalien und Sizilien: Heiligtümer und Kulte*. Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte 2016 (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 5). 474 pp., 54 ill., 16 pl., 30 cm, CD-ROM (134 pp.: pp.475-609). – ISBN 978-3-935289-37-5

This is the revised edition of Cathrin Schmitt's dissertation defended at Heidelberg and Aix-en-Provence in 2010. The text has been updated to October 2013 (and occasionally up to 2015). Even for a Germano-French



dissertation this is a hefty volume: 10 pages of introduction, 300 pages of 'Kulttopographie', 25 pages of synthesis, 2 pages of summary, 100 (!) pages of bibliography, over 50 illustrations in the text, over 80 illustrations on 16 plates, indices and a CD-ROM with another 134 pages of catalogue. With over 2100 footnotes, the huge bibliography of some 2500 titles and the catalogue, the book is obviously extremely well documented.

The short introduction situates the work within existing scholarship and outlines the questions and methodologies. As to the first: there is a wealth of literature on individual sites but there exists no general overview of the cult of Aphrodite in Magna Graecia. The present study can be seen as an addendum to the (differently conceived) book by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*, Liège 1994 (Kernos Supplément 4). As to the last: as might be expected for a work of this kind, the goal that the author set herself is simply: tell all you know about Aphrodite in Magna Graecia, or rather: the most important things you know about it.

What we can learn about the cult of Aphrodite in southern Italy and Sicily in general can be presented in a few pages - we will come back to that. But the riches are in the details. Obviously, the most valuable part of this study is the 'Kulttopographie' - the systematic account of all important Aphrodite sanctuaries from Poseidonia (Paestum) on the Tyrrhenian Sea in the north to Syracuse in the south-east of Sicily. Discussed are: Poseidonia, Lokroi, Medma, Hipponion, Metapontion, Satyrion, Taras (Tarent), Herakleia, and minor sites in Lucania, Messapia and Apulia, and on Sicily: Naxos, Syrakosioi (Syracuse), Megara Hyblaea, Akrai, Morgantina, Himera/Thermai Himerai, Lipara, Segesta and Ietai (Monte Iato). Missing are Kaulonia where major new finds were made only after this volume had gone to press (but it has been included in the catalogue), and Eryx, which the author has published elsewhere (Die Göttin auf dem Berg Eryx. Astarte - Aphrodite - Venus, in L.-M. Günther/B. Morstadt (eds), *Phönizische, griechische und römische Gottheiten im historischen Wandel* (Turnhout 2015) 109-136). For the sake of completeness those 30 pages on Eryx could have been repeated in the present volume - with this size it is not as if those pages could not possibly have fitted in anymore.

For every site attention is paid to the history of the community, to how the sanctuary is sited in the landscape (or cityscape), to the internal arrangement of the sanctuary, to the finds (archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic) and their context. Obviously, the recurring question is: how to identify the main deity of a sanctuary as Aphrodite? And when the conjunction of all available evidence (the possibilities and problematics are discussed in the introduction, especially whether the cult of Aphrodite is distinguished by specific votives/dedications and sacrificial animals) has enabled Schmitt to say that the titular deity is certainly or most likely Aphrodite, there is still the more difficult question what the specific functionality or functionalities of the goddess at that particular place might have been.

In several of the twenty sites named above, there is more than one sanctuary: all are discussed, and also relevant stray finds, if these are present. The timespan is in each case from the earliest Greek settlement in archaic days to the Roman period, if possible to Late Antiquity. For some sites, separate paragraphs are dedicated to specific finds or specific issues, such as votive deposits at Lokroi, an excursus on sacred prostitution at again Lokroi (it did not exist at Lokroi nor at any other sanctuary for Aphrodite), *pinakes* from Hipponion, and the 'Malibu goddess', the pseudo-acrolithic statue of a goddess, possibly Aphrodite (but Schmitt considers it unlikely), from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC that the Getty Museum had to return to Italy because it was illegally excavated in Morgantina; otherwise, sometimes lengthy passages deal with items that do not have their own paragraphs but are hidden away in site descriptions, such as the Ludovisi Throne (which together with the *pinakes* from Lokroi claims some 20 pages). Thus, if one has an interest in specific objects from Magna Graecia, and these objects might possibly be connected to Aphrodite, it could be worthwhile to see whether Schmitt has included them in her account. The technical details are in the catalogue: this consists of two alphabetical sequences (one for southern Italy, one for Sicily), listing every site which has produced material that could be associated with Aphrodite (the sites are named with their Greek or Latin names, or modern names if no ancient name is known). For every site we get itemized (if available) the epigraphic sources (with full texts), the literary sources (with full texts), the numismatic sources, the toponymics, the onomastics, architectural remains, sculpture, ceramics, terracottas, small metal objects, archaeozoology, and miscellaneous finds, everything as far as possible with measurements, inventory numbers, references, and so on. A true labour of love - befitting Aphrodite.

Those who are not after the specifics of one site or another, but would like to learn about the cults of Aphrodite in Magna Graecia in a more general sense, will turn to the synthesis. This is short in comparison to the 'Kulttopographie' and catalogue, and that is because what we know for certain is comparatively little. With hardly any literary sources, a rather sparse epigraphy and an archaeological record that is accordingly difficult to interpret, Schmitt frequently has to admit defeat. Nevertheless, she can draw some conclusions. First of all, because we are looking over a large area and a long time-span, it is clear that there have occurred many changes - partly because of internal dynamics, but also because of acculturative processes, in an area where Greek, native, Punic and Roman all leave their mark (Aphrodite became a very popular goddess in Messapian territory: most inscriptions are Messapian ones); also, that these changes are such that there is very little continuity. Classical and Hellenistic days are the heydays for Aphrodite in Magna Graecia, but there is only rarely continuity with what came before or would come after. Certainly, there is no continuous tradition that would lead from Aphrodite to Venus. Only at Eryx there is a clear link between Astarte, Aphrodite and Venus.

As to the functionality of the goddess, we find Aphrodite as the patroness of a complete life cycle that comprises childhood, initiation into adulthood, marriage, fertility, and procreation. This befits her role as *kourotrophos* and as goddess of sexuality. But she is also city goddess and especially the protectress of magistrates. Jenny Wallensten in her 2003 dissertation and other publications since (most recently: Demand and supply? The character of Aphrodite in the light of inscribed votive gifts, in C. Prêtre (ed.), *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse. Systèmes votifs des sanctuaires de déesses dans le monde grec* (Liège 2009) 169-180) has alerted us to a very different side of the goddess by showing that a large number of the dedications to Aphrodite are by Greek magistrates. It is interesting to see that this finds some confirmation in Magna Graecia. The connection between Aphrodite and the sea can be seen in her role as protectress of seafaring and fishery. There are some things which we do not see in Magna Graecia compared to Greece and further east (no Aphrodite Pandemos, no Aphrodite Urania, no military and almost no chthonic Aphrodite) but it will always remain difficult to ascertain whether the absence of evidence is evidence of absence. A single excavation, or even a chance find, could change everything.

As to the location of sanctuaries, that seems to reflect the diverse nature of the goddess: we find sanctuaries on *akropoleis*, in agora's and other urban settings, in rural settings and sea-side caverns or grottoes, and there is also some evidence for domestic shrines. Furthermore, the synthesis gives a list of relevant theophoric names, of the epicleses of Aphrodite, terracotta types associated with the goddess, and so on.

This is a volume that forces us to come to terms with the fact that we know very much (the huge amount of archaeological data) and very little (we have no information on the cults practiced in all of these sanctuaries). The book reflects this in the enormous amount of information in the 'Kulttopographie' (which might actually be more of a 'Heiligtumtopographie' with only vague indications of cultic activity) and the catalogue, and the somewhat meagre synthesis. Depending on what you are looking for, this book will be a great help, or not much of a help at all.

As with the other volumes of the *Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern*, this book is produced to very high standards. Paper, printing, photography: all are excellent, and the proof-reading is done to perfection. The only mishap I noted was that on p. 334 the *Pervigilium Veneris* is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC ('4. Jh. v.Chr. '); this should of course be 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. The very few things to grumble about are first the indices: the two *indices locorum* (literary sources and epigraphy) are helpful, and so are the indices of the names of divinities and of mortals. The index of topographic names, however, only contains names outside of Italy: but the CD-ROM contains many more sites than the main text, so how do I know whether something I am looking for is included there? And even the main text, with its geographic arrangement, has its difficulties: the initiated will know that for the Contrada Agnese Giamusso they have to look under Morgantina, and for the Belvedere Telegrafo under Hipponion. But I do not. A subject index

is always something to be grateful for, but this one is very selective, with just 70 headwords. Secondly: the 54 illustrations in the main text are all maps and plans. As is common (but not less regrettable because of that) these are not on a uniform scale, and in quite a few instances there is no scale at all. These are of course just a few minor clouds on the very bright sky of this tremendous and awe-inspiring achievement.

F.G. Naerebout

URSULA QUATEMBER, *Der sogenannte Hadriantempel an der Kuretenstrasse*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018. 402 pp. (Textband), 9 pp. and 320 plates (Tafelband), 10 plans in separate folder, 30 cm. (Forschungen in Ephesos, Band: 11/3) – ISBN 978-3-7001-7994-8

This voluminous study presents the results of a major project undertaken between 2009 and 2012 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in order to establish the chronology and function of the so-called Temple of Hadrian, one of the most prominent buildings of Roman Ephesos. It was discovered in 1956 and re-erected in 1957-1958. As Franz Miltner, the original excavator, died in 1959, and attention subsequently shifted to other parts of the ancient city, this famous building, strange to say, has never been published in full. The present volumes seek to remedy this deficiency. In addition, the anastylosis of 1957-1958 has led to serious conservation problems, causing the building to be taken apart and re-assembled during 2013-2014. These conservation issues are also addressed in depth in the present study.

The building, which is explicitly called 'temple' in the inscription it carries, stands on the west section of Curetes Street, one of the main streets of Ephesos. It is integrated into the adjacent Varius Baths (also known, wrongly, as the Baths of Scholastica, that is Scholastikia). It is a variant on a tetrastyle prostyle temple, with two pillars fronting the *antae* and two columns between them. It is divided into a *pronaos* and a *cella*, and its facade is crowned by a so-called Syrian pediment. It is about 9 meters wide and 10 meters deep, its maximum elevation is 7.7 meters. Miltner interpreted the building as a neocorate temple (i.e., an official temple for the worship of the Roman emperor) for which permission was granted by Hadrian between 130 and 132 A.D. The architrave inscription (*IvE* 429) states that the building was dedicated to Hadrian (and most likely to Artemis of Ephesos) and to the *neokoros demos* of Ephesos by Publius Quintilius Valens Varius and his family, and it also mentions further officials. It was on prosopographic grounds that Ewan Bowie in 1971 and Michael Wörle in 1973 dated the inscription to 117/118 or 118/119. If one accepts Bowie's and Wörle's dating (and it is generally accepted), this building cannot be the neocorate temple granted by Hadrian.

Thus the main question to be answered in the present study is: what have we got here? The answer is based on an extremely thorough documentation, a veritable

tell all you know that there is possibly to tell about this temple. To this end, the book is divided into three parts: a first part concerning every aspect of the building, a second part concerning the state of preservation and issues of conservation, and a third part presenting the underlying evidence. The parts are interrelated and heavily cross-referenced. For specific subjects, Quatember, who herself has a most impressive publication record with regard to this temple, is joined by Robert Kalasek, Martin Pliessnig, Walter Prochaska, Hans Quatember, Hans Taeuber, Barbara Thuswaldner and Johannes Weber. A separate volume of plates illustrates literally everything mentioned in the body of the text, much of it full-colour, and there are 10 loose leaf floor-plans and elevations in a separate folder (it would have been a better, if probably more costly solution to have fold-out plans bound into the plates volume – to prevent untimely losses. Librarians, beware!).

The first part (170 pages) I would, from a historical viewpoint, consider the main part of the book, of interest to a wider audience. The two subsequent parts might be seen as giant appendices which the non-specialist will only seldom refer to – but which are, of course, of great importance to the architectural historian and the conservationist. One might wonder whether this mass of technical information in the second and third parts (together with numerous plates in the plate volume) had not better, and certainly more economically, be published online only.

The first part discusses, primo, the historiography (in the third part, the relevant parts of the manuscript excavation diary concerning excavation and first anastylosis, are presented in full). The first part continues with an account of the building inscription and the historical context within which the temple was erected. Next, after being introduced to the methodology of 3-D scanning, we get a very full description of the building, and the building phases. For most of the temple, there is just one building phase; only a section was re-fashioned in the 4th century due to structural damage. The decoration is discussed in detail, and separate attention is paid to the relief sculptures in the *pronaos*. These were often seen as Late Antique additions or replacements, but now it has been established that they belong to the original structure. The place of the temple in the urban fabric is analysed, both its relationship to the adjoining bath establishment and its position on a major processional route through the town. The first part closes with a consideration of the typical categorization of the temple. Despite previous attempts to see the temple as an example of 'eastern' architecture, Quatember concludes that it is in fact unique and that its specific features, such as the extreme width of the facade and the Syrian pediment, resulted from the wish to build an eye-catching monument in an important spot. There are summaries of the first part in German, English and Turkish.

As already stressed above, this was also a conservation project. Its detailed publication in the second part of the book is important because the problems caused by decisions in the past can be expected at many places where anastylosis has taken place. These 75 pages are explicitly exemplary, and deal with petrography, and

with the relationship between ancient and modern building materials in the 1957-1958 anastylosis, and resulting damage.

The third part, 130 pages, contains a catalogue of all elements of the building that are in situ or in the Ephesos Museum, and of elements in the direct vicinity, that is, four statue bases in front of the temple. Part of this catalogue is an overview of the different tool marks. The results of the physical examination of the ancient and modern materials are also included in full. The third part closes with the extracts from the original excavation diary already mentioned. The volume is rounded out by lists of abbreviations, figures (acknowledgments only) and a two page index of geographical names, mainly to locate passages where architectural parallels are discussed. The absence of a general index is not really felt, because of the systematic organization of the volume: with the five page contents one can find one's way effortlessly.

So we have an extremely full documentation of an important piece of architecture, undoubtedly the definitive study of this monument. But how about the answer to our question: what have we got here? We cannot know for certain, but the building most likely played some part in the processions that led from the temple of Artemis to the centre of town by way of the Curetes Street, and back again. Not only is the temple situated on a prominent spot on the processional route through the city, but it is also decorated with images that have to do with Ephesos' past and with the part played in that by Artemis. The individuals mentioned in the building inscription all had close ties to the cult of Artemis. This answer may seem a bit anticlimactic: the mountain gave birth to a mouse. True as that may be, previously we had neither a mountain, nor a mouse. Now we have a mountain, and we get the mouse thrown in for free.

F.G. Naerebout

WOLF-DIETRICH NIEMEIER, *Das Orakelheiligtum des Apollon von Abai/Kalapodi. Eines der bedeutendsten griechischen Heiligtümer nach den Ergebnissen der neuen Ausgrabungen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2016. vii, 46 pp., 12 pl., 29.7 cm (25. Trierer Wickelmannsprogramm 2013). – ISBN 978-3-447-10708-2.

For many years, the German Institute in Greece has been excavating in Kalapodi, Boeotia, ancient Phokis. That work has turned out to be extremely important. Nassos Papalexandrou called it one 'one of the most important research projects in post-World War II Greece' (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-09-23.html>, accessed 15-04-2018), and he may very well be right. The sanctuary at the heart of the area investigated has been identified on topographic and epigraphic grounds as the Oracle of Apollo at Abai, an oracle so famous that it was mentioned together with Delphi (Sophokles, *Oidipous* 900; Herodotos, 1,46; 8,27). This was the last important ancient sanctuary in Greece that remained to be excavated, and thus also the only one where from



the start the full range of modern archaeological techniques have been used. Please note that the site was previously identified as the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos belonging to the polis Hyampolis, and in older publications might be referenced as such.

If ever an excavation was well-documented, it must be the one at Kalapodi. There are a large number of reports and articles (all listed in the publication reviewed here, updated to 2016; for some additions one can turn to <https://fallback.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/25884>, accessed 17-04-2018), and a remarkably strong on-line presence (not referred to in the publication reviewed here). The Gerda Henkel Stiftung was one of the financiers of the research at Kalapodi, and we have to thank the PR of the Stiftung for the clear information on their website which even includes a whole series of video productions ([https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/search?search\\_str=kalapodi#entries](https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/search?search_str=kalapodi#entries), accessed 12-03-2018), made available to the general public by way of the L.I.S.A. portal (L.I.S.A. stands for: Lesen, Informieren, Schreiben und Austauschen; that is a web address that every archaeologist should be aware of, both for its contents and as an exemplum).

For those who want to have a potted version of the results of the Kalapodi campaigns up to 2013, there is now a 24-page overview (but large and double column pages), with another 8 pages of references, a 14-page bibliography, 8 pages of good quality black-and-white photographs and 4 pages of full-colour plans. In the text there are a map, one more plan and two interesting reconstruction drawings. It is an extremely reliable overview by an author who as director of the excavations at Kalapodi is in the best position to provide it. For this specific summary of the many riches that this fieldwork has brought us, we have to thank that quintessentially German institution of the 'Winckelmannsprogramm': the printed versions of public lectures held at the occasion of the founding father of classical archaeology, Johann Joachim Winckelmann's birthday, a tradition instituted in Berlin in 1841, and since taken up in Halle (1876), Leipzig (1901), Marburg (1947), and Trier (1979).

The volume follows a rather traditional, or should one say time-honoured, way of presenting the Kalapodi site: first the ancient written sources; next, the discovery of the site in 1676 and the archaeology between the discovery and the present campaigns that started in 2004 (esp. the earlier campaigns of the DAI, between 1973 and 1982, led by Rainer Felsch; despite its early discovery and some visits by antiquarians and archaeologists in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the site was largely forgotten until the 1970s); the objectives and results of the excavations between 2004 and 2013, the results presented in seven paragraphs arranged chronologically from the Bronze Age to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; and a final summing up of the sanctuary's life-cycle.

At Kalapodi, there have been two temples excavated, prosaically named the North Temple and the South Temple. Both were destroyed by the Persians in 480 BC. The North Temple was subsequently rebuilt, but the South Temple was left in ruins, until refashioning in the Roman period. In the present publication, although both temples and their immediate surroundings are discussed, most of the text and all of the

images deal with the South Temple. That temple was at the centre of attention during the 2004-2013 excavations but also its intrinsic interest is far larger than that of the North Temple. The North Temple and its predecessors reach back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC but most of the older evidence was destroyed when after 480 the foundations for a new temple were laid. The South Temple on the other hand was not rebuilt, as already said above, and its earlier phases appeared to be well-preserved, under sealed layers, and the truly remarkable thing is that these earlier phases comprise no less than nine temples, from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (and possibly even reaching back some centuries more, to before the Mycenaean period - as is suggested by pottery finds, but no architecture from that period has been preserved). Obviously, the presence of two temples from the Mycenaean period (Temples 1 and 2), one from shortly after the end of the Bronze Age (Temple 3), one from Proto-Geometric days (Temple 4), two from the Geometric period (Temples 5 and 6), one from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Temple 7), a provisional building that stood from about 580 to 550 BC (known as Temple 8 though not a proper temple), and an Archaic peripteral temple (Temple 9), all in one spot, provide one with unique opportunities for studying the architectural development of the early Greek temple. Please note that in older publications the temples are numbered differently, as a first Mycenaean phase (Temple 1) was recognized only in 2012.

There is no room here to discuss any of the finds, architectural or otherwise, in detail. Amongst the movable finds, from different periods, there is a large number of dedications/votives, including many weapons and, a unique find, chariot wheels from the late Archaic period (Temple 8); more specifically, several of the building phases have foundation or building deposits of many kinds, amongst them a bronze bowl decorated with dancers, imported from somewhere along the Syrian coast (Temple 6). From Temple 6, which burned down, we have the remains of an aniconic wooden cult image (a *xoanon* shaped like the *sanis* in the Samian Heraion), and from Temple 7 fragments of a wall painting of warriors confronting one another. And so on: the finds are extremely rich (though not the primary concern of the present publication).

New finds like Kalapodi and re-examining old ones all contribute to the idea that the religious life of Greece shows much more continuity between Bronze Age and Archaic Period than is often thought. This is not really unexpected, considering the contents of the Linear-B tablets, but it had always been difficult to find archaeological evidence for unbroken traditions. Now we can add Kalapodi to the small number of sanctuaries with an undisputed continuity down from Mycenaean days, and in the case of Kalapodi the evidence is incontrovertible and overwhelming. However, as Niemeier observes (pp. 23-24, quoting De Polignac) the more important issue is to decide what 'continuity' exactly implies: continued use, certainly, but to what purpose? It is possible that the sanctuary at Kalapodi set out as a sanctuary for a goddess, possibly Artemis, and only became an Apollo sanctuary and oracle in the course of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, as may also have happened on Delos and in Delphi.

Excavating Kalapodi is one thing; understanding everything thus laid bare another. Niemeier is right to say that our work on Kalapodi has only started.

Such revisions to commonly held notions concerning the religious history between 1200 and 800 BC as Kalapodi contributes, feed into the current rethinking of the 'Dark Age' as a period not of unrelenting decline and impoverishment, but as a period when much of what was to be characteristic of the Archaic Period was already prefigured. Maybe we should by now get rid of the 'Dark Age' altogether (and of all that this concept brings in its wake, cf. Antonis Kotsonas, *Politics of Periodization and the Archaeology of Early Greece*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 120.2 (April 2016) 239-270). Kalapodi is certainly amongst the arguments.

It should be obvious: one cannot ignore Kalapodi. And the 2004-2013 campaigns were not the end of it. In 2014 research resumed, led by Katja Sporn, and it has already led to new insights into the lay-out of the sanctuary at large, and its afterlife until possibly the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. Also, recent geophysical prospection across several hectares surrounding the temples has shown some other substantial buildings and a settlement with an orthogonal street plan. So if the booklet by Niemeier has made you (more) aware of Kalapodi, do cherish that awareness - there is undoubtedly much more to come.

F.G. Naerebout

DIANA RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ (ed.), *Greek art in context. Archaeological and art historical perspectives*. London/New York: Routledge 2017. xxiv, 282 pp., 63 ills, 24 cm. – ISBN 978-1-472-45745-5

This is a book that is supposed to be, first and foremost, about context and not about Greek art. As far as the art discussed is concerned, this would be a haphazard collection of papers - even though sculpture and pottery form the main focus. But it is context that should bring everything together (maybe *Contextualizing Greek art* would have been a more precise title). The subtitle refers to archaeology and art history in order to accommodate different scholarly traditions, but ideally these two strands should be interwoven in Greek material culture studies, as the editor phrases it (p. 3). The Greek material culture discussed here, relief sculpture and sculpture in the round and painted pottery, is traditionally the mainstay of studies into Greek art. Here, however, they are to be looked at in context, which should preclude interpreting them as art in a narrow sense, that is, as aesthetic objects with intrinsic value.

So: a volume on the contexts of material culture. The questions informing the volume are about the definition of context, which context(s) to choose if there is more than one context, the ways in which context is relevant for interpretation, and what to do if there is no context (but already in the introduction that is said to be an impossibility). These questions were addressed by a conference organized at the University of Edinburgh in 2014, where over 55 papers and posters were presented. 16 of these were selected to appear in the present volume - on which criteria we are not told. The 19 authors and the editor are an international company, and range

from PhD-students (paired with their professors as co-authors) to long-established scholars.

Context for archaeologist is above all find-spot, but at the conference context was also understood as text (not forgetting the context of the text), and the socio-economic context (social, economic, historical, political). In the book, in a somewhat different set-up, the 16 papers are arranged in four sections: location and find-spot; use and display; artistic and historical contexts; and re-contextualization. Not all papers seem to fit into these four categories equally well. The division is not really explained, except by saying that it 'is intended to offer a representative selection of current approaches' (p. 8). We are not told what these approaches are and which of them have been selected and why. This is definitely not the first conference or book to address issues of context, but it does not get much of a context itself. The editor offers some theorizing about context in the introduction, but it is not nearly enough. I find it especially strange that Michael B. Schiffer's seminal 'Archaeological and systemic context' (*American Antiquity* 37.2 (1972) 156-165) is not referred to (indeed not mentioned anywhere in the book). The concept of different systemic contexts would have helped the editor to avoid the muddle about 'primary, secondary or even tertiary find-spots/context' (pp. 5-6). But then the 'biography of things', very relevant for context and change, is also largely lacking, and Chris Gosden, Yvonne Marshall or Janet Hoskins go unmentioned too. The whole volume is definitely under-theorized.

There is only one paper that addresses theoretical issues at some length, and that is the one by Winfred van de Put on iconography in context. His argument is that we have for one-and-a-half century been in thrall to studying the general cultural context, because that is what hermeneutics tells us to do, while the archaeological context has been neglected. In the introduction the editor stated, understandably, that we have too little context, especially non-archaeological, altogether. Van de Put says we had too much of it, and he definitely has a point here. In advocating a turn towards the archaeological context, he does not want to do away with hermeneutics. Indeed, he argues for an eclectic approach, where we combine archaeological context and a 'hermeneutic bridge from mind to mind' (p. 78). One should look to the social sciences for new questions, approaches and methodologies. I am very much in agreement - but cannot but note that this eclecticism and recourse to the social sciences was already advocated by the ancient historian H.S. Versnel half a century ago, and not just by him (I do not claim that he, or most other ancient historians, made proper use of material culture as a source).

I will now look at the 15 other papers in the volume, grouping them in clusters of my own, with my own labels.

1) *Human cognition as context*. Two papers deal with how people perceive things. Bonna Westcoat and Rebecca Levitan present an interesting case of experimental archaeology. At the Nashville Parthenon (a life size reproduction) they put up a couple of panels of the reconstructed Parthenon frieze (the Nashville Parthenon lacks the frieze - due to the 1929 financial crash that part of the building was never finished), in the shape of painted canvas and of dyed sculpted isolation

foam, and then asked visitors to fill in a questionnaire about the frieze's visibility. It turned out that the frieze, its original when still in place on the Parthenon commonly considered to have been hardly visible at all, was in fact quite visible, with the colouring playing the most important part, and that people found it a powerful experience. This is about context in a very simple and literal sense, but interesting and helpful.

Katerina Volioti on the other hand does not like to keep things simple. She looks at repetitive black-figure vase scenes from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, of the so-called Haimonian Group. Usually seen as 'bad art' meant for those who could not afford the better stuff, Volioti goes beyond economy and introduces the viewer's 'psycho-physiological reaction' (also physiological because humans react both mentally and bodily to stimuli - and a decorated Greek vase is not just an image but also an object that one handles). 'Fluency' is the crucial concept here: familiar stimuli are processed more easily, facilitate cognition, and thus what causes these stimuli is considered likeable. That means saleable: the buyers' choices drive production, but subsequently effective marketing leads to cross-selling. Such feed-back loops can explain why unrefined pottery is actually preferred by a wide range of buyers, and is not just the poor man's last resort. The sketchiness of the decoration, which leads to ambiguous imagery, may actually add interest to pleasure. This is an intriguing attempt to explain why 'cheap rubbish' might be something that is actively sought after.

2) *Text as context*. Two papers deal with textual sources in a direct way. Marion Meyer discusses the West pediment of the Parthenon which shows the strife between Athena and Poseidon, and the so-called *martyria*, the relics of this competition, being the sacred olive tree and the salt sea on the Akropolis. Her main point as far as context is concerned, is that we should not try to explain the pediment by later written sources, but rather the other way round. That is an important proposition: let us turn the tables and use the imagery to understand the written sources (and the variant traditions found there), when these sources are written by authors who react to pre-existing images - as is so often the case.

Matteo Zaccarini focuses on material culture that has disappeared without leaving a trace: the Athenian Stoa of the Herms and the three Eion herms that it probably contained. Aeschines and Plutarch document these herms, but offer opposing readings. Zaccarini concludes that neither tells us about the situation of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but that each informs us about the concerns of their own days. This is not a surprising conclusion, but one which may bear repetition when it is still common practice to try to always reconcile divergent sources.

3) *'Cultural competence' as context*. Three papers discuss how we should interpret imagery on the basis of general cultural background knowledge. Samantha Masters and Alexander Andrason look at what Lily Kahil has dubbed Helen and Paris vases in 5<sup>th</sup>-century Attic vase painting. They believe this to be a misidentification. The iconography is not distinctive, the identification arbitrary or subjective - what they call 'explainer-conditioned' (p.165). They introduce the concept of complexity: when we talk about realistic complex sys-

tems, which are open and connected, for instance any human society, such systems cannot be modeled, except by the plausible. There are always several options, conditioned by the meta-environment of the person doing the research, but nevertheless the one option may be more plausible than the other. As the environment is a constituent of the system, we cannot look at a set of Greek vases without looking also at the value system and moral universe of its producers, purchasers and viewers. The so-called Helen and Paris vases have an iconography that overlaps with that of nuptial scenes. But that does not really fit the adulterous affair of Helen and Paris, a most unsuitable paradigm for Athenian marriage. The vases most probably show scenes of idealized courtship in preparation for the marital bond. Considering the societal context of 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athens, it can hardly be doubted that Masters and Andrason have presented a reading of these vases that is more plausible than Kahil's. Whether we needed the complicating account about 'complexity' to arrive at that conclusion is another matter.

Frank Hildebrandt discusses a set of five fragmentary Apulian red-figure vases by the Darius Painter, 340-330, that might have the same provenance. He interprets the scenes on the vases (the Gigantomachy, a battle between Greeks and 'orientals', and an 'oriental' sanctuary) as 'discourse on the other' and thus a conscious effort at 'self-understanding by Greeks in Italy in the 4<sup>th</sup> century' (p. 179). I find this rather self-evident: all imagery can be called an exercise in self-understanding, as can all texts, certainly when 'foreigners' (or their mythic counterparts, which are, in ancient perception, historical precursors) are depicted or described - in what one could call 'a discourse on the other/Other' because that is what it is. Hildebrandt set out by listing many different contextual levels, not just find-spot or visual language (the focus of his paper) but also material, technique, quality, and so on. In describing the fragments that were used to reconstruct the five vessels, he notes that the sherds carried signs of deliberate destruction. We do not hear about that again: but I think it could have led on to a nice bit of contextualization.

Alice Landskron discusses the Heroon of Trysa, the famous Lycian grave monument of around 400 BC, and sees Lycian, Greek and Persian elements in its relief sculpture (re-interpreting some scenes in the process). She argues that the life and deeds of the Lycian grandee whose resting place this was are mirrored by the Greek mythological scenes. Indeed, acculturative processes can make one culturally competent in more than one cultural tradition.

4) *The art market as context*. Helle Hochscheid asks whether sculpture, especially on grave stelae, was affordable. She uses the concept of 'Art World' (introduced in the 1980s by Howard Becker), where 'art' is a collaborative effort between artists/artisans, auxiliaries and patrons (Becker's art dealers, museum curators and art critics are left aside as non-relevant for the ancient world, which might not be completely true). The increasing vertical specialization and the wide range of materials, sizes and finishes make sculpture affordable to many levels of society. And if you cannot afford sculpture, you can have the mason do a simple



inscription and have a painter do a painting (or not), or you procure a slab of stone and go for a DIY grave marker. I do not think this tells us anything new.

5) *Re-contextualization*. Five papers describe how material culture changes in changing contexts. Sheila Dillon and Tim Shea map the find-spots of sculptured Attic tombstones from the Eastern Cemetery at Athens, and of Roman portrait statuary amongst the Herulian debris and in the post-Herulian wall at the Athenian Agora. A previous exercise at mapping sculpture find-spots at Aphrodisias functions as a model. The 'statue landscape' exists for many centuries, but not unchanged: there is re-use, re-deployment, and so on. Wall-building is especially disruptive.

Elizabeth Baltes also deals with the 'portrait landscape' of the Agora, where the Agora is the context, and within the confines of the Agora there are micro-contexts. Five such micro-contexts presented by Pausanias are discussed in some detail. Public space is shown to be curated: sculptures are being 'reshuffled'. As the context changes, statues are moved about and/or change meaning. Several modalities are analyzed. Interestingly, some shifts in the 'portrait landscape' can convincingly be shown to reflect Roman interests.

Carmen Sánchez Fernández looks at 4<sup>th</sup>-century Attic pottery imports on the Iberian peninsula. Vases are given new uses, especially in funerary contexts. Stine Schierup also discusses issues of appropriation, in her case Panathenaic amphorae imported by the Tarantine elite, and put to funerary use. As the imports dry up towards the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, for a short period pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae are produced in Metapontum, followed by Lucanian red-figure and Apulian amphorae of Panathenaic shape. That imported pottery can be put to new uses and can be interpreted in novel ways that befit their new context, is of course something that has been studied exhaustively.

A look at re-contextualization in the post-antique world is offered by Sally Waite who discusses the Kent Collection of Cypriot pottery at Harrogate (Yorkshire, UK), and from this example argues that unprovenanced pieces in museums are not lost to contextual archaeology because the museum context is an integral part of an object's life cycle as well. She advocates that instead of the usual stylistic or thematic displays more attention should be paid in museums to collectors and the contexts within which they collected. Of course, this is already a well-established trend and there are many more examples than the ones she points out.

6) *No context*. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones returns to the much discussed Eurymedon Vase. I cannot find context in his paper (except for the fact that he accepts the interpretation of the vase as referring to a Greek victory over the Persians), and its most interesting part is in fact about the virtual space within the vase which I think could be called the opposite of context. Some vase painters have the humans they depict interact with painted frames or the body of the vase. Llewellyn-Jones' interpretation of the 'Persian' on the Eurymedon Vase as leaning with both hands against the 'front wall' of the vase (as if he is opposite the viewer behind a plate glass wall) I find compelling. The argument that we should conflate both sides of the vase and thus have a scene of

anal penetration, I find rather less so; the parallel cases which he adduces are not really parallel cases.

The paper by Eleni Manakidou deals with Archaic pottery assemblages from central Macedonia, which show a great variety of imported and local wares. The role played by context does not come out at all.

Context is here understood as any approach that goes beyond typology, stylistic analysis, ascription to a specific artist, and the like. Even a simple iconographic analysis counts as an example of contextualizing. That is true, of course, and in that way a great many hobbyhorses can be passed off as examples of a contextual approach. Van de Put seems to be quite right in saying that interpretation by way of context, especially the general cultural context, is what we have been doing for many generations, and that we need to integrate this with the archaeological context and with insights provided by the social sciences. Only Volioti seems to fully live up to this, with Dillon and Shea, and Baltes as runners-up. Otherwise, I do not think we really get what we bargained for: context is not really problematized here and we end up with what is indeed a haphazard collection of papers about Greek art, more or less interesting, but not really innovative.

The book has been properly edited; I saw just one typo: p. 102: Gestern = Gesten. What I do find objectionable is that a hardcover book which sells for over 140 euros, is not sewn in quires, but has its pages glued into the binding.

F.G. Naerebout

ELENI MANAKIDOU, *Frauentünze für Dionysos*. Kilchberg: Akanthus Verlag, 2017. 120 pp., 51 figg. b/n, 4 dis., 25,5 cm (Akanthiskos II). – ISBN 978-3-905083-34-7.

In questo ben curato fascicolo della collana Akanthiskos un gruppo di skyphoi attici a figure nere della Classe dell'Airone Bianco fornisce lo spunto per un'analisi dell'iconografia della danza in scene alle quali prendono parte soltanto personaggi femminili, e in pari tempo della forma vascolare che serve da supporto alle rappresentazioni. In particolare, recuperando la base documentaria e le considerazioni espresse in un precedente lavoro pubblicato nella rivista *Egnatia*, Manakidou sviluppa la sua ricerca sullo sfondo della fortuna riscossa dalle raffigurazioni legate al culto di Dioniso in età tardo-arcaica.

Manakidou procede isolando le singole componenti delle immagini in questione, che vengono indagate sulla scorta di una profonda conoscenza non solo della tradizione figurativa, ma anche delle fonti scritte e degli orientamenti attuali della ricerca. Così nel testo, come negli excursus e nel catalogo ragionato che lo integrano, il saggio tocca più aspetti del mondo della donna ateniese in età tardo-arcaica, con speciale attenzione a quelli della danza collettiva, soprattutto nella cornice di contesti festivi, e della relazione tra le donne e le feste in onore di Dioniso. Parallelamente, il lettore viene informato sull'inquadramento stilistico e cronologico degli skyphoi interessati e sul loro uso da parte del sesso femminile, nonché sull'iconografia del culto del dio sugli esemplari della Classe dell'Airone Bianco, per terminare con osser-

vazioni sulle immagini di 'baccanti' su coppe a figure rosse attribuite al ceramografo Makron.

Tranne poche eccezioni i recipienti del nucleo esaminato, articolati in tre gruppi cronologici compresi nel primo quarto del V secolo, sono riconducibili al tipo C della classificazione proposta da A.D. Ure, con altezze che oscillano prevalentemente attorno a 15-16,5 centimetri di altezza e una capacità approssimativa di tre litri: misura degna di nota, in quanto prossima all'ordine di grandezza di un *chous* e per l'ovvio rimando di questo genere di contenitore alle celebrazioni dionisiache nel giorno intitolato ai Choes. La sola mano individuale riconosciuta è quella del Pittore di Teseo, mentre il rimanente s'inquadra per lo più nel Gruppo CHC e intorno ad esso, e nel Gruppo dei Krotala.

Dal punto di vista iconografico, come accennato, gli skyphoi condividono un tema, spesso replicato da ambo i lati, che rappresenta una distinta variante di una delle più popolari scene 'di genere' della tarda produzione a figure nere: quello della danza femminile, accompagnata nella maggior parte dei casi dalla musica di una *auletris*. Su alcuni documenti un insieme formato da tre a cinque donne che si tengono per mano o ai polsi e da una musicista stante, è raffigurato mentre sembra danzare in cerchio con movenze misurate; oppure, in alternativa, nell'atto di disporsi su una fila guidata da una tra le sue componenti. Una dozzina circa di skyphoi presenta viceversa due coppie di donne, danzanti ciascuna intorno a una musicista e atteggiata in pose più sciolte, nelle quali il movimento delle braccia, fattore non secondario secondo le fonti letterarie, serve ad esprimere lo slancio dell'esecuzione. Un gruppo più circoscritto numericamente (tra cui uno skyphos confluito nel recente catalogo *Sotheby's, Antiquities*, New York 3.6.2015, n. 43) propone infine due danzatrici e due musiciste ai lati di un'immagine di Dioniso.

In assenza di elementi identificativi di una classe d'età, il fatto che le danzatrici indossino un lungo chitone con maniche corte o sbracciato induce Manakidou a privilegiare l'idea che si tratti di donne adulte dai costumi rispettabili, rappresentate in una delle rare occasioni d'incontro. Resta similmente incerta l'identità delle musiciste: forse amiche delle danzatrici, istruite nella musica come parte della propria educazione e della propria integrazione nel tessuto sociale, o al contrario intrattenitrici professionali?

Su uno degli skyphoi una colonna dorica e nastri, sospesi a un'immaginaria parete, alludono a un luogo delimitato da una struttura architettonica come spazio dell'azione; mentre tre esemplari in cui si staglia in posizione centrale una maschera di Dioniso, fissata su una colonna che reca una stoffa panneggiata intorno al fusto, sembrano proporre una contestualizzazione meno indefinita, anzi una chiave di lettura determinante per il complesso delle rappresentazioni in esame. I riscontri più ovvi sono offerti da uno skyphos del Pittore di Teseo nel Museo Nazionale di Atene, su cui la presenza di un satiro e di una menade danzanti al posto delle donne, proietta la rappresentazione sul piano del mito; ma anche, e soprattutto, dalle numerose lekythoi che propongono un raddoppiamento della maschera divina, con le danzatrici colte in gesti di devozione o di preghiera. Se nelle lekythoi viene meno sovente l'accompa-

gnamento musicale, questo ritorna, sempre ad opera di figure che suonano il doppio flauto o la lira, su coppe-skyphoi e coppe di datazione lievemente più bassa, non solo di produzione ateniese ma probabilmente anche nord-attica o beotica; Manakidou le pone in relazione con gli skyphoi oggetto del suo studio in quanto, forse, rispondenti alle stesse esigenze da parte dei - o piuttosto, delle - loro acquirenti. Anche su questo gruppo di vasi, infatti, compaiono donne che danzano e colonne - come elementi isolati o, ancora, come parti del simulacro di Dioniso.

Collateralmente, Manakidou non trascura di gettare uno sguardo su scene di danza dal numero di partecipanti e dagli attributi svariati, rappresentate su vasi di altra tipologia della tarda produzione a figure nere (repertorio del quale fanno parte, di speciale interesse, pissidi nicosteniche attribuite al Gruppo CHC, da lei stessa studiate in T. Korkut/B. Özen-Kleine [edd.], *Festschrift für Heide Froning*, Istanbul 2018, 255-264: tra queste una di Berlino, vicinissima non solo per il tema della raffigurazione, ma anche nel profilo e nelle dimensioni a diversi skyphoi considerati nel libro in discussione; e, si noti, un inedito frammento di coperchio da Orvieto, con la maschera di Dioniso applicata su una colonna). In alcune di queste scene, dunque, donne raffigurate con pelli di pantera, corone e tralci d'edera e *krotala* possono essere accompagnate da animali che alludono alla natura selvaggia; attributi che anche in assenza di Dioniso o dei satiri hanno guadagnato a queste figure la generica, e per altri versi dibattuta, definizione di 'menadi'. A tale riguardo Manakidou rileva la mancanza di chiarezza, forse intenzionale, circa l'identità delle donne appartenenti alla cerchia di Dioniso e le sovrapposizioni esistenti tra mondo reale e sfera del mito, evidenti ad es. laddove donne che indossano una pelle di animale ritmano i propri movimenti con i crotali, mentre un giovane, al pari di loro coronato d'edera, intona una melodia sul doppio flauto; l'Autrice vi riconosce un segno di un'ambiguità che connota l'ambito del dio. *Auletrides* - o citariste - e danzatrici dalla gestualità contenuta, talora con connotati dionisiaci, sono un elemento comune anche ad alcuni stamnoi 'delle Lenae' di età classica, le cui scene, incentrate su azioni rituali che prevedono l'impiego del vino, vengono riportate a una celebrazione in onore di Dioniso, a prescindere dalle diverse circostanze specifiche cui la critica ha proposto di riferirle.

Per tornare agli skyphoi, Manakidou ravvisa nella danza l'atto attraverso il quale si manifesta il tributo alla divinità, sebbene non vi sia riconoscibile una precisa danza sacra legata ad atti di culto codificati, né essa appaia localizzabile in uno dei santuari che ammettevano la presenza femminile; piuttosto, è incline a pensare ad occasioni spontanee, cui era manifestamente estranea l'agitazione incontrollata delle menadi rappresentate su ceramiche a figure rosse o altre opere figurative di epoca classica, facendo notare che un aspetto rivelatore del carattere delle scene è l'uso del doppio flauto: uno strumento caratteristico del mondo di Dioniso, al quale era riservato un ruolo anche nel culto. La rappresentazione collettiva, senza un coinvolgimento maschile, invita a ritenere che le protagoniste appartenessero alla categoria delle donne rispettabili.

L'intervento di queste ultime nei culti estatici, pur comportando un temporaneo distacco dalla buona educazione e dalla socialità nel momento della pratica culturale, non impediva che si mantenesse un comportamento scevro di eccessi.

Manakidou approfondisce successivamente il rapporto dell'elemento femminile con lo *skyphos*. Per le figure nere, fa riferimento prima di tutto alle immagini che presentano personaggi consoni per aspetto e atteggiamento alle Ateniesi della classe elevata, mentre si servono di capaci recipienti che richiamano la sagoma della Classe dell'Airone nel contesto solenne di un 'banchetto rituale femminile'. Per quanto non esplicita, la consumazione del vino, il dono di Dioniso, può desumersi dai contenitori che vengono riempiti o semplicemente tenuti in mano; di conseguenza, non si è mancato di chiamare in causa feste dionisiache determinate, come nel caso di una *neck-amphora* di Monaco in cui M. Nilsson percepiva un riflesso delle Antesterie; mentre altri hanno proposto un inquadramento nell'ambito demetriaco (Tesmoforie), ed altri ancora giudicato improbabile un rimando a situazioni concrete (per un accenno recente sul tema vedi anche P. Schmitt Pantel, in R. Schlesier [ed.], *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism*, Berlin/Boston 2011, 121-122). In maniera simile, *skyphoi* figurano anche sugli *stamnoi* 'delle Lenee', così nel contesto della mescolta del liquido nelle scene di carattere culturale come nei cortei rappresentati sui lati secondari di essi.

Con queste premesse, Manakidou ritiene possibile che il vino svolgesse una funzione in occasione di incontri formali tra donne ateniesi, alle quali, diversamente da quanto attestato per altre città come Sparta o Mileto, berne non era proibito, come risulta dalle feste religiose che contemplavano la loro partecipazione; senza dimenticare che l'iconografia degli *skyphoi*, spesso legata come si è visto al mondo della donna, poteva renderli accessori confacenti a quelle di loro che intervenivano a queste riunioni. In considerazione dell'aspetto dimensionale dei vasi raffigurati nelle suddette scene di 'convito rituale', l'Autrice concorda con l'opinione di chi ritiene che l'intero gruppo convenuto potesse servirsi di un recipiente comune.

In varie regioni della Grecia è testimoniata l'esistenza di celebrazioni notturne riservate a *thiasoi* femminili, che comprendevano cortei, danze, sacrifici, conviti nella cornice del culto di Dioniso e, in misura minore, di riunioni nella sfera privata, parallele rispetto a quelle destinate agli uomini, dove accanto alla danza e al canto è possibile che trovasse spazio la consumazione di cibi e vino. Al fine di individuare una connessione con gli *skyphoi* oggetto della sua ricerca, Manakidou si chiede se anche in occasione di feste dionisiache previste dal calendario ateniese, nelle quali si svolgevano danze organizzate (ad es. nelle Antesterie e nelle Grandi Dionisie), possano essersi tenuti incontri della stessa natura, aperti solo a una cerchia ristretta; e intravede una possibile relazione con le Antesterie nell'accesso della componente femminile a quella festa, mediato attraverso la partecipazione attiva di personaggi di condizione elevata, le *Gerarai*. Sarebbe pertanto coerente con la diffusione e il radicamento del culto di Dioniso in Attica tra la fine del VI e i primi decenni del V secolo la comparsa nell'iconografia riguardante il dio di una danza corale, con o senza

attributi chiaramente espressi, specialmente su alcune forme vascolari. Del resto, è ancora su *skyphoi* della Classe dell'Airone Bianco che ricorrono rappresentazioni dal chiaro accento dionisiaco: è sufficiente rammentare le scene del carro navale di Dioniso, ricondotte a un rituale in cui si celebrava il suo arrivo dal mare, oppure alle raffigurazioni di personaggi travestiti da animali o in groppa ad animali, nelle quali specialmente la presenza di un auleta rimanda all'esecuzione di cori ditirambici.

Sulla base degli ovvi rapporti tra la tarda produzione a figure nere e gli esordi di quella a figure rosse, sottintesi ad esempio nell'attività dei decoratori operanti in ambedue le tecniche, Manakidou mette in luce gli elementi comuni intercorrenti tra le rappresentazioni di danze collettive sugli *skyphoi* dell'Airone Bianco e su un gruppo di coppe a soggetto dionisiaco di Makron. A parte la significativa presenza dello *xoanon* in una di queste, oggi a Berlino, da porre in parallelo con quella della maschera affissa a una colonna o ad un palo sopra richiamata a proposito di *skyphoi* e *lekythoi*, anche le opere di Makron omettono sistematicamente la componente maschile. Vi compaiono donne musicanti - *auletrides* e una citarista -, e tra gli elementi accessori che caratterizzano le danzatrici rientrano non solo i *thyrsoi*, i *krotala*, la *pardalis*, ma anche *skyphoi* con una sagoma affine al tipo dell'Airone Bianco, in uno dei quali la decorazione, distintamente leggibile, propone la figura di un satiro (sul senso di immagini come questa cfr. anche, da un'altra prospettiva, S. Venit, *AntK* 49, 2006, 34-35). Essi sono un dettaglio non trascurabile, che implica un riferimento agli atti della mescolta e della consumazione del vino, percettibile, come sopra ricordato, anche nei più tardi 'vasi delle Lenee'. Sullo sfondo dell'affermazione del culto di Dioniso tra le donne ateniesi nel tardo arcaismo, Manakidou osserva dunque che la frequenza delle rappresentazioni di danza afferenti alla sfera del dio in quel torno di tempo potrebbe suggerire che l'impulso decisivo delle scene incentrate sul simulacro sia partito proprio dalla 'nuova' tecnica decorativa, come proverebbero appunto le coppe di Makron, per essere poi recepito dai più modesti prodotti della declinante pittura a figure nere.

Ricapitolando quanto fin qui esposto per sommi capi, le pagine di Manakidou dimostrano come rappresentazioni tra loro coerenti, esaminate in maniera circostanziata nel quadro del loro tempo, facciano emergere significati che vanno oltre una lettura superficiale; nel caso in specie, come scene di danza contraddistinte da specifici elementi comuni possano proporre una sfaccettatura fin qui ignorata dell'iconografia del culto di Dioniso.

Orazio Paoletti

ALESSANDRO PIERATTINI, *Manuale del Restauro Archeologico di Ercolano*. Rome: Editrice Dedalo, 2009. pp. vii, 230; 29.7 cm. – ISBN 978-8895913124.

Sometimes one happens upon a book deserving more attention than it has received. Alessandro Pierattini's *Manuale* is one such book. While it has been almost a decade since its first appearance, it is high time that it come to the attention of serious Pompeianists and Romanists. Though unfamiliar to archaeologists, architects' 'construction manuals' contain data and various numer-



ical tables on the financial management and safety requirements of construction sites. These manuals' charts and tables also consider diverse architectural styles for understanding specific building details. For example, the *Manuale dell'Architetto* (Rome 1946) was fundamental for Italian post-war reconstruction. The work came into being after an agreement signed in 1945, when the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche took on the work of creating texts and tables while the USIS (United States Information Service) provided 25,000 copies for free distribution. The architect Pier Luigi Nervi and the architectural historian Bruno Zevi collaborated in the writing. Architects also make use of 'Manuals for Restoration', which are similar to construction manuals but used for the restoration of specific ancient buildings (see, for example, *Manuale per il recupero del centro di Roma*, Rome 1998, edited by Paolo Marconi). Pierattini's manual belongs to this second type.

Focusing mainly on the archaeological site of Herculaneum, the book's numerous plates delineate the construction techniques used for the ancient residential buildings buried in 79 AD by the eruption of Vesuvius. The book aims to benefit those who oversee the restoration of these buildings. To represent the final results graphically, Pierattini had to analyze and interpret the archaeological evidence, which often appears in small, isolated fragments. The author aptly points out that in executing the recovery techniques, modern materials similar to the original ones should be used to avoid the 'false', thus he calls for the use of lamellar wood rather than rustic wood, and steel rather than iron, etc.

After a brief introductory chapter on the history of the excavations, the first chapter of the book introduces the domus' typological features and compares them with the ideal model as illustrated by Vitruvius. In the chapter that follows, the subject of the 'Vitruvian canon' shifts to the 'realtà campana'. Next, the author analyzes the individual types of rooms (fauces, atrium, tablinum, peristilium, cubicula, triclinia, etc.) with particular attention given to their characteristic finishes such as wooden frames, cocciopesto or mosaic floors, wall paintings with their frames, and finally, roofing (roofs, lowered roofs, false ceilings or wooden ceilings, etc.).

The manual's second part entirely consists of the author's drawings. This is undoubtedly the most fascinating and engaging part of the book, with thirty-eight plates in various scales illustrating conjectural reconstructions of selected archaeological buildings, or their parts, from ancient Herculaneum. Reconstructions are not limited to formal aspects but focus on how architecture was built. The author's detailed cut-away axonometric and section drawings explore the long-lost construction techniques of roofs, ceilings, and other building components with a clarity that is rarely found in similar publications.

The reconstructions are substantiated by both ancient literary sources on technical subjects (Vitruvius, Pliny, etc.) and archaeological evidence consisting of beam sockets, carbonized wood, original roof tiles, and other traces observed in the ancient houses of Herculaneum, with references to buildings at Pompeii and in the broader Roman-Italic world. When neither literature nor the evidence provide enough data for reconstructing spe-

cific components, the author's conjectures overtly rely on parallels with traditional, pre-modern structures and on constructional considerations. For example, when reconstructing wooden coffered ceilings, he draws upon building techniques documented from the Renaissance onwards. In this case, the recent finding of ceiling coffers from the House of the Telephus Relief at Herculaneum (D. Camardo/M. Notomista, The roof and suspended ceiling of the marble room in the House of the Telephus Relief at Herculaneum, *JRomA* 28, 2015, 39-70) attests to a building method different from the one Pierattini proposes, although it is based on a similar structural concept.

In another case, Pierattini's interpretation of the roof carpentry of the Tuscan cavaedium differs from the traditional one as described by Vitruvius (and echoed by so many physical reconstructions of compluviate roofs). From Piranesi onwards, the four angular beams (*trabes colliciae*) supporting the roof's valleys have been supposed to span exactly from the corners of the cavaedium's walls to the compluvium, literally following Vitruvius's description: *collicias ab angulis parietum ad angulos tignorum incurrentes* (6.3.1). A problem about this reconstruction, as Pierattini convincingly argues, is that it leads to the roof valleys being oriented such that, in plan, they do not form 45 degree angles with the walls. Such a geometry is incompatible with the shape of the special angular tiles (*tegulae colliciae*) found in many houses in the Vesuvian area as well as in Rome (see, for example, the one with the Acheloos protome from the Auditorium villa). The author's innovative hypothesis addresses this technical problem by orienting the beams at 45 degree angles regardless of whether they intersect the walls precisely at the corners. The resulting solution is thus consistent with the tiles' geometry, and future reconstructions (virtual as well as physical) of Roman roofs will have to take it into due consideration.

Taken together, Pierattini's plates provide a full picture of the construction and reconstruction of the elements that make up the domus. The reader is free to agree or disagree with the author's learned contribution to the scholarly discourse.

Umberto Pappalardo

JESÚS ACERO PÉREZ, *La gestión de los residuos en Augusta Emerita. Siglos I a.C.-VII d.C.* Madrid: Instituto de Arqueología de Mérida and Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2018, 437 pp., 241 figs., 28 cm., CD-ROM included (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología 82) – ISBN 978-84-00-10329-3.

The 'archaeology of waste' is a newly created archaeological sub-discipline that offers an excellent opportunity to interrelate the different sides of urban ecosystems. We cannot forget that the analysis of the waste management is the study of the city itself, since this sub-discipline approaches most of the facets that define the urban occupation, either from a topographical view (urban planning and later evolution, road network, public and private architecture, etc.), or from a social one (living

conditions of the inhabitants, patterns of production or consumption, etc.).

In this framework, the book reviewed here is rather an original work, being the first monograph that tackles, from a global and integrating perspective, the strategies for the management of urban waste generated in a city throughout a broad time-frame. The chosen one has been the Spanish city of Mérida, and more specifically its first seven centuries of life, since it is an excellent laboratory of work. In this sense, it is worth to mention its importance in Roman and Late Antique times (when it was the capital of the province of *Lusitania* and of the *diocesis Hispaniarum*, becoming also an episcopal see) and, above all, the large amount of archaeological information available, which the author has managed to process successfully despite its dispersion and heterogeneous quality.

The ambitious time frame examined (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-7<sup>th</sup> century AD) has made possible the detection, with great success, of the initial waste management strategies used in *Augusta Emerita*, and how these were evolving on the basis of the socio-economic, political and ideological transformations which took place in the following centuries. Given the ambitious nature of this project, the author has focused eminently on topographic and urban aspects, revealing how a public model of waste management gave way to strategies developed within a more private sphere.

The result of this research is an ambitious book divided in two large volumes. The first one is an excellent synthesis which is structured in ten chapters. Due to their special interest, chapters 2 and 3 stand out, as they allow the reader to know, from a critical point of view, the main bibliography about the management of urban waste (at an international and national level) in pre-industrial times, but also all the main textual and iconographic sources available for the Roman period. Regarding chapter 4, it is worth highlighting the methodology employed (valid and applicable to other cities) as well as the subject-specific terminology used, which aims to promote the correct use of the extensive vocabulary inherent to the archaeology of waste.

The following three chapters constitute the central and main nucleus of the work, analysing in each of them the evacuation of a concrete type of waste, whether liquid (chapter 6), physiological (chapter 7) or solid (chapter 8). They are wastes with different and specific issues, which require a particular approach to study them, but without losing sight of the fact that they are closely interconnected.

In chapter 6, the sewer network of *Augusta Emerita* is deeply analysed, including its morphological features and chronological evolution, which has allowed the author to detect a more complex articulation of the sewer network than previously thought. In relation to chapter 7, the protagonists are the latrines, with attention for their location, design and chronology, making Mérida the Roman city of the Iberian Peninsula with the largest number of latrines known to date. Regarding chapter 8, the object of study are the dumping sites, and more specifically their location, type and content. Due to the large amount of landfill sites identified (more than 60), the author has opted in this chapter for a suit-

able chronological analysis, establishing three major time spans: High Imperial Period (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD), Later Roman Period (3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), and Late Antiquity (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD).

This diachronic scheme has also been used in chapter 9, which globally presents the main conclusions obtained in the research, also highlighting the future challenges of this new and original line of study. Among them, it would be necessary to deepen in aspects such as the socio-economic characterization of dumping sites or the progressive disuse of the sewerage system, where parasitology has much to contribute as it is showed in the concise Annex I, which reveals the results of the study of several sediment samples from two sewers.

The second volume of the book is a CD-ROM which constitutes an extensive catalogue of every element and space related to the management of urban waste generated in Mérida throughout the analysed time frame. Regarding the more than 114 locations studied, they have been arranged in eleven urban areas, based on urban and topographic elements. The presentation of each location begins with an intuitive planimetric documentation in which its location in the urban plot and the archaeological remains found are reflected. Then, the information obtained is organized in different sections that include: documentation and bibliography, archaeological context, and finally, solid, liquid and physiological waste management. The result is an overwhelming catalogue useful not only to understand the city of Mérida, but also to be employed when looking for parallels in other cities.

Furthermore, the book is well-illustrated, containing an extensive number of maps and pictures, although it would have been good if the publishers had printed some pictures of the volume I at a large size, in order to improve their display.

In sum, this is not only an excellent work about the waste management (and topography) of *Augusta Emerita*, but it also provides an exemplary methodology when processing and analysing the huge archaeological data obtained in historic cities such as Mérida, inhabited uninterruptedly for several centuries, with the difficulties and problems derived from it.

Manuel D. Ruiz-Bueno

LARA DUBOSSON-SBRIGLIONE, *Le culte de la Mère des dieux dans l'Empire romain*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018. 551 pp., 31 b/w figs; 24 cm (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 62). - ISBN 978-3-515-11990-0.

This book by Lara Dubosson-Sbrigione deals with the arrival and development of the cult of the *Magna Mater deorum* (Great Mother of gods) in the Roman world. It is divided into six chapters, conclusions included, which are preceded by an introductory chapter about the material studied by the author, the state of the art and the aims of the study. The first chapter covers the arrival of the goddess to Rome in 204 BC, through a discussion of the historical and legendary accounts and a presentation of the rituals and cultic places attached to the cult. Chapter two analyses the two major

ritual cycles celebrating the cult, the *Ludi Megalenses* held in April and the March festivities. Chapter three is a description of the cultic agents, which Dubosson-Sbriglione divides into 'Oriental' (Phrygian priests and priestesses; the *galli*, castrated devotees of the Mater) and 'Roman' (magistrates; Roman priests and priestesses; *archigalli*; music players). Chapter four is dedicated to the description of the *collegia*, associations commonly attached to the Magna Mater cult, such as the renowned *dendrophores* and *cannophores*, but also less well-documented groups, such as the *sodales ballatores* or the *dumopireti*. Chapter five is a long and thorough analysis of the most known and discussed ritual attached to the Magna Mater cult: the *taurobolium* (and *criobolium*). After a brief conclusive chapter, Dubosson-Sbriglione provides three appendixes, consisting of a list of priests and priestesses, a transcription of the epigraphic evidence for *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, and a list of the cultic actors mentioned in the inscriptions. At the very end of the book, the reader can find four indexes, one for the ancient authors, one for the epigraphic sources, one for the iconographic sources and one general index.

The most commendable aspects of Dubosson-Sbriglione's work are its structure and variety of sources. In five thematically organized chapters, the author manages to give a complete picture of the Magna Mater cult and its development in an impressive geographical and chronological span (the whole Roman domain between 204 BC and 391 AD). Each chapter is clearly organized: after an introduction of the specific matter, Dubosson-Sbriglione carries out an investigation of literary as well as material sources, with a specific focus on epigraphic evidence. At the end of each chapter, the author provides intermediate syntheses, which might seem redundant, but in fact make the consultation of this considerable work easier. Quite oddly, although inscriptions and literary sources are usually translated into French, Dubosson-Sbriglione occasionally makes use also of Italian translations, such as for Arnobius' mythological narration translated by Sanzi (p. 63) and for a Greek inscription in Rome translated by Guarducci (p. 335).

Significant omissions in the references is something upon which it should be remarked. Even though the author heavily relies on important names, especially within French scholarship, such as Graillet (whose work she aims to update) and Borgeaud, Dubosson-Sbriglione overlooks the contribution of other paramount research, such as Roller's, Alvar's and Latham's, which would have been extremely useful. For instance, Alvar's reflections on the Romanization of 'oriental' cults would have been instrumental in discussing the distinction between Roman and Oriental cultic actors in chapter 3 or the definition of the *taurobolium* ritual as a Roman invention or reinterpretation (p. 389).

Overall, Dubosson-Sbriglione's study develops around three main, difficult themes: the March festivities, the *galli* and the *taurobolium*. About the cycle of festivals held between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 27<sup>th</sup> of March (*canna intrat*, *arbor intrat*, *sanguem*, *hilaria*, *requieto!*, *lavatio*), Dubosson-Sbriglione advances a new interpretation, criticizing the common assumption that these

festivities concerned Attis rather than the Mother of Gods (p. 115). In particular, the author innovatively interprets the *canna intrat*: usually interpreted as the celebration of the birth of Attis (the Great Mother's companion), according to Dubosson-Sbriglione, this festivity was actually dedicated to the Phrygian flute (*tibia*) or Pan's flute (*syrinx*), instruments used during the Magna Mater cult celebrations (p. 116). The author explains that, since they were usually made of rose wood, which in Latin was named *spadonum* ('eunuch'), these instruments symbolized Attis' castration. However interesting, this interpretation does not contrast the starting assumption that the March festivities were not about Attis. Despite the author's efforts, detaching Attis from the March festivities is a dead-end hypothesis. As a matter of fact, even Dubosson-Sbriglione constantly mentions Attis in her description of the March festivals, even though her ultimate aim is demonstrating that the focus was the goddess and not her companion. Since Attis is a fundamental element of the devotion to the Magna Mater (Ovid - *Fasti* 4.221-226 - describes him as the archetype of the *galli* priests), such a scope seems quite erratic. All in all, Dubosson-Sbriglione's interpretation of Attis' figure seems quite inconsistent: despite affirming that he appeared only in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (p. 115), the author mentions also earlier testimonies (Catullus, poem 63; Ovid, *Fasti* 4) that thoroughly describe this character.

As for the *galli* and the *taurobolium*, Dubosson-Sbriglione's analysis seems more convincing. Although the omission of Alvar's study is quite noticeable especially for these two themes, Dubosson-Sbriglione presents an exhaustive description of the Magna Mater's priests. Particularly interesting is the adoption of the vasectomy hypothesis for the *galli*'s castration technique (p. 148), a conciliating position between those who utterly deny such a ritual and those who believe the sources' description of a total self-emasculation. In Dubosson-Sbriglione's definition of the *galli* and Attis as antithesis of the Roman citizen (p. 150), the careful reader does feel the absence of reference to Latham's work. Finally, the ultimate interpretation of the *taurobolium* as a Roman mystic ritual (p. 388) heavily relies on Duthoy's renowned study. Particularly praiseworthy is the effort of outlining the identity of the people mentioned in the inscriptions.

In conclusion, the scope Dubosson-Sbriglione established for this study (namely updating Graillet's extensive job - p. 403) turns out to be quite limiting and not reflective of the actual potential of this book. Despite some oversights and omissions, Dubosson-Sbriglione's book is a valid, up-to-date synopsis of the Magna Mater cult in all its geographical and chronological extension. The author keeps a wary approach throughout the whole book and yet still attempts to propose new interpretations for the hot topics (although not always successfully, in my opinion). As the final outcome of a doctoral dissertation, Dubosson-Sbriglione's book has no presumption to replace Graillet's work, but rather to follow it up.

Emilia Salerno



FRANCESCA PAOLA PORTEN PALANGE, *Lucerne a volute monolici e bilicni dal teatro di Caesarea Maritima*. Archaeologica 177. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2017. XV + 148pp., 65 pls (b/w); 24 cm. –ISBN 978-88-7689-303-2/ISSN 0391-9293.

In this book Francesca Paola Porten Palange discusses an interesting group of terracotta volute lamps, unearthed during excavations at the theatre of Caesarea Maritima (modern-day Israel) between 1959 and 1964 by the Italian Archaeological Mission under the direction of Antonio Frova. The construction of this theatre was - according to Titus Flavius Josephus - part of a larger urban development project at the site during the final decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC under Herod the Great.

The book is a classic material publication and has a very straightforward structure. A brief introduction provides some background to the excavation and discusses the find context of the discussed lamps. They were uncovered in the *hyposcaenium* (the room behind the stage of a theatre) together with several candle holders and *patere* in Eastern Sigillata A bearing the Greek salutation XAPIC. It also outlines the study history of the discussed objects that - due to their high rate of fragmentation - had to be subjected to substantial restoration and consolidation works, significantly delaying their publication. This introduction is followed by an extensive discussion of the characteristics of the lamps, justifying their separation into several types, and as such underpinning the detailed catalogue that constitutes the core of the book. The collection forms an astoundingly compact group of forms (estimated to include 135/140 individual lamps), both in terms of chronology and typology, as well as in style and technique. All fragments belong a type of lamp known as the volute-lamp, dating to the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Such lamps are characterized by the presence of volute shaped elements marking the transition from the shoulder to the mouth and a distinctive large triangular shaped handle bearing incised vegetal decoration (usually a palm leaf bordered by volutes or acanthus leaves); and have either one (*monolici*) or two (*bilicni*) nozzles. The author distinguishes 22 groups based on (often minor) variations in size, form, and the decoration of both the discus and handle; there is a brief separate

section devoted to three lamps (all only fragmentarily preserved) that are signed with the name FAVSTI, a renowned producer of lamps originating in Italy, who in due course is thought to have set up shop in various locations in the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt. The catalogue concludes with a concordance list and bibliography and is followed by 65 black-and-white plates that display a selection of the discussed lamps.

There is little to fault in the catalogue itself. The division of the lamps in different series is well-explained and the description of each type is detailed and authoritative and accompanied by an excellent bibliography providing references for both shape and documented decorative details. The accompanying photos are, even though often dating back several decades, generally of sufficient quality, and if necessary accompanied by 1:1 line drawings. It goes without saying that the author should be applauded for the painstaking effort that has been devoted to the study of the presented collection of lamps, necessitating countless hours of careful refitting and documentation. As such she has been able to reconstruct part of an important assemblage that she interprets - based on its incredible homogeneity - as most likely constituting a single bulk order imported from Italy, an interpretation that in the future could be further investigated through archaeometric research. At the same time, it is especially this possible contribution to the study of ancient trade mechanisms that remains underexplored. This is caused mainly by the choice (that remains unexplained) to separate the lamps from the materials that it was found associated with. Also, although several observations on the compactness of the set of lamps; their high degree of standardization (tentatively interpreted as a sign as them coming partly from the same workshop, or several spatially closely related ones) and their presumed date and origin (most likely Italy) are made, such remarks are scattered throughout the catalogue, whereas such interpretations would have been better brought together in a clear discussion at the end of the book.

The lack of such a systematic embedding of the studied materials into wider economic debates in the end restricts the scope of the publication, which will mainly find its way to scholars occupied with the study of Roman material culture.

*Gijs Willem Tol*