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Reviews

CATHERINE MORGAN, *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary* (Isthmia, Vol. VIII). Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1999; 526 pp., 74 pls, 6 tables, 6 plans; 31 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-938-3.

Isthmia with its sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth is located on the strip of land fastening the Peloponnesus to the mainland of Greece, to Boeotia and Attica. In the Classical period, it was the major shrine of the Corinthians outside their city and it was one of the four pan-Hellenic sanctuaries where Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean came to compete and celebrate during the Isthmian Festival, held every two years. *Isthmia 8*, the latest addition to the Isthmia volumes of the excavations by the University of Chicago is a welcome supplement to previous volumes, which included studies on the architecture and on specific groups of artefacts such as the terracotta lamps and the metal objects. *Isthmia 8* presents in expert detail the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age material of the excavations from 1952 to 1989 directed by Broneer, Clement and Gebhard. It therefore examines the available evidence on the origin of the settlement and sanctuary, the foundation on which this important shrine emerged. As a site it existed till the 3rd century AD while its origin remains elusive. However the title of *Isthmia 8* in which a clear distinction is made between the Late Bronze Age (LBA) settlement and the Early Iron Age (EIA) sanctuary, leave no doubt to the authors intention.

Isthmia 8 is divided into three main sections. Part I of approximately 230 pages contains the material evidence, the pottery, the metal artefacts and the figurines. It also discusses the LBA activity in the vicinity of the Temenos as well as the location of the EIA activities. Part II analyses in almost 120 pages, the LBA and EIA pottery as well as the nature of the activities at Isthmia. Part III gives in about 90 pages an interpretation of Isthmia and the LBA Corinthia, of the development of the Isthmian sanctuary from ca. 1050 to 800 BC and of the 8th century BC. Part III is followed by a brief summary and 4 appendices including one on the distribution of the figurines and metals most of which derive from disturbed contexts such as the debris from the post-archaic temple fire. A useful general index gives the cross-references to topics such as the Neolithic and Middle-Helladic pottery assemblages or the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi.

A topic that requires a closer look is the distribution of the published LBA and EIA artefacts recovered at the site and the interpretation of the activities. Hardly any of the finds derive from closed contexts pertaining to LBA or EIA strata though Morgan found a strong concentration of EIA shards in the East Temenos in association with ash and burnt animal bones indicating that sacrifices were made from onwards this period.

Late Bronze Age activity in the vicinity of the Temenos is attested by 619 Mycenaean shards of which none was found in situ. Concentrations of Mycenaean

shards were found in the Northwest and East Temenos as well as in the Theatre area. According to Morgan these and other scatters indicate that the area from the West Cemetery to the coast was occupied quite densely during the LBA. Sections of the 'Mycenaean wall' to the south of the temple are the only traces of architecture relating to this period. She notes the lack of strong spatial concentration of LBA activity while its remains do not indicate a specific function. For the reader it is difficult to assess the extent of the LBA activity at Isthmia. After careful examination of the evidence, Morgan's assessment varies from quite densely settled (p. 305) to a small site (p. 432).

Also much of the EIA evidence derives from secondary deposits. Thousands of EIA shards have been recovered at Isthmia of which 438 (less than 5% of the total amount of EIA shards) are assigned to contemporaneous levels located on East Terrace 1 (see Appendix 3, which presents the distribution of the EIA pottery). Evidence from East Terrace 1 indicates that this pre-existing stratum came to be filled with a mixture of burnt bone, three fragments of terracotta bull figurines and pottery dating back to the Protogeometric period. It must however be recorded that this deposit contained 28 fragments of Mycenaean shards, which in my opinion could indicate LBA-EIA cult continuity since this stratum definitely demonstrates the existence of rituals during the EIA. The useful catalogue of deposits also lists other features at Isthmia with both Mycenaean and EIA pottery (p. 213-221). Noteworthy is a deposit formed during the Archaic period containing 1809 EIA shards on East Terrace 3 where also other dumps containing many EIA shards were found (Appendix 3). Morgan identified for the EIA a hierarchy of dispositions with high concentrations of material during the 8th century BC as well as strata with EIA material formed in later times from locally disposed material. The EIA focus of activity must have been around the Southeast Temenos. The quantity and concentration of EIA material in this area is not matched by the LBA artefacts. This is essentially the main difference between the two periods as well as the main argument for differentiating between settlement and sanctuary. An additional argument is the concentration of EIA dining activities in this area. However in relation to ritual dinners, Morgan can be quoted after she dismissed the possibility that the LBA pottery derives from destroyed or looted tombs: 'During the LBA, as in later times, there is a close link between the vessel forms found in settlement and sanctuary contexts, which is readily understandable in view of the similarities in functions performed, especially food preparation and consumption' (p. 306). Though I agree with the author that the evidence published in *Isthmia 8*, definitely demonstrates the existence of an EIA cult, I can not dismiss the possibility of a LBA shrine near the 7th century BC temple site. First it is necessary to fully acknowledge that most of the evidence at Isthmia was found on a plateau that hardly left any traces of LBA nor EIA activities in situ. Moreover it is not surprising

that the EIA material taken till the 700 BC outnumbers the LBA artefacts since it is in line with evidence for a general increase in scale during this period. Moreover the LBA artefacts will have been displaced over a longer period of time and thus are likely to be dishevelled more than the EIA artefacts. Since the LBA evidence at Isthmia is lacking context, it is neither clear what happened to eventual bones, ashes or other stylistically un-datable materials that originally might have been associated with the LBA ceramics. Furthermore, Morgan's assessment that this region of approximately a square kilometre was quite densely settled during the LBA, might be correct. It would then seem likely that the community living here also maintained a shrine. A possible location for a LBA shrine is the site where a sanctuary was definitely established during the EIA. In addition I would like to stress that this *Isthmia* volume presents 38 fragments of figurines of which 7 are assigned to the LBA (ago, Psi and Phi figurines). Four of the LBA figurines are recovered at the East Temenos. These figurines whether they derive from settlements, graves or sanctuaries, signify cult activities. However, Morgan does not consider the LBA figurines at Isthmia characteristic enough for a sanctuary. All vague notions available for possible cult continuity from the Bronze into the Iron Age at Isthmia are consistently allocated to a settlement function while in my opinion the evidence is just too inconclusive to dismiss the possibility of a LBA shrine near the sanctuary of Poseidon.

In spite of these reflections on the interpretation of the LBA activities taking place at Isthmia, I would like to conclude that *Isthmia* 8 is a rich and masterly publication as so many other studies by Morgan. The period discussed covers almost 9 centuries and includes the puzzling transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, a period conventionally referred to as a Dark Age. *Isthmia* 8 presents in great detail one of the few sites with continuity in activities from the Bronze Age into the Archaic period though it remains inconclusive to what extent there was continuity in function as well. It deserves reading by all interested in the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age in Greece. It presents thoroughly a rare unbroken sequence of Corinthian wares from the earliest Protogeometric into the Archaic period. The analysis of the evidence is of a very high standard and touches lucidly on fundamental topics such as the nature of cult activities and the absolute chronology with low and high chronologies. For all these reasons the book is highly recommended.

A.J. Nijboer

W. JOHANNOWSKY, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*. Volume II. (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XVI), Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2002. 120 pp., 65 plates. – ISBN 960-87405-0-9.

Starting from the history of its publication, this is a somewhat odd book. It is the second and apparently final volume of the reports of an excavation by Doro Levi in 1954-1956, appearing 34 years (!) after the first

volume. Furthermore, the published text appears to be a revised compilation of Johannowsky's original typographic and manuscript, put together by a group of younger scholars. It remains unclear how old the original texts are, and to what extent they have been edited and updated. In the notes, some essentials of the 1980s, like Amyx and Neeft's works on Corinthian pottery, are missing, although part of the bibliography continues into the late 1990s. It is quite obvious that this is not a properly structured and finished book, but simply the best that could be made under the circumstances. On the positive side, we now at least have an extensive report of the finds of an old excavation, which otherwise would have disappeared in the deposit, as many others of their kind. The Italian School of Athens should be praised for the considerable efforts it invested in publishing this report.

Although certainly not perfectly finished and organized in its details, the general structure of the book is clear enough. After an extremely short introduction to the excavation of the sanctuary area and the technical and formal characteristics of its pottery comes the first part of the catalogue, covering the Geometric and Orientalizing periods. This is followed by a long chapter on the chronological problems regarding Cretan pottery in the Geometric and Orientalizing periods. Then comes the short second part of the catalogue, on the pottery of the 6th-3rd centuries BC. Finally, the conclusions offer a general synthesis of the results of this study, focusing on the chronology of the sanctuary and its place in the development of Gortyn, which is compared to that of other Cretan poleis and the more general development of Crete during the Early Iron Age.

The catalogue offers just what can be expected in a fairly traditional work like this: extensive descriptions of more elaborately decorated objects, short or very short texts on simpler items. The lists are organized by material (pottery, metals) and shape; the entries of the more important categories are preceded by general introductions, focusing on stylistic developments. Very little is said about the use and possible meanings of categories of objects or individual items, and nothing is mentioned about specific find contexts. As the material comes from an old excavation and many catalogued items have a provisional inventory number or none at all, spatial or contextual studies will probably remain impossible.

Although the catalogue is extensive - it arrives at 642 numbers - its potential for find statistics is also problematic, not only because, as usual, there is no clue of the proportion of actual finds included, but also because numbering is not systematic. Large groups of similar objects are often listed under single numbers (e.g. as no. 296a, 296b, even 297Ac and 297Ad etc.). In some cases, it is not clear why items are placed in one category in stead of another, and one group, the ceramic 'votive shields' is unclear by itself, as it seems to include actual miniature shields, libation vessels better labeled as phialai and some possible lids. In a book which is mainly about style and chronology such distinctions may not be very relevant, but they do complicate a different use of the material.

The two synthetic chapters on the chronology of Cretan pottery and the history of the sanctuary suffer from a similar paradox. Both are very thorough art his-

torical studies, masterpieces of scholarship of their kind. Stylistic and typological developments of the finds from the sanctuary and Gortyn are connected to those of materials from all over Crete, and similarities and differences are noted in order to reconstruct a general history of Early Iron Age Crete which goes far beyond chronology and style. Few scholars will probably be able to sketch such a broad picture, starting from such a wide range of material. Yet, if one is interested in, e.g., the uses of the described items in the sanctuary and rituals and life in the shrine more generally, this book has very little to offer. Perhaps more importantly, if one wonders how chronology, style and typology explain, even tell, social and political history, there are no answers either. Unfortunately, what seems self-evident to Johannowsky and many other scholars of his generation, is not so anymore. This book is truly a monument of the past.

Vladimir Stissi

CRISTINA CHIARAMONTE TRERÈ (ed.), *Tarquinia, Scavi sistematici nell'abitato. Campagne 1982-1988 materiali 1 (Tarchna, 2)*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 1999. 402 pp., 89 Tav.; 31 cm. – ISBN 88-8265-068-5.

Tarquinia, located 6 kilometres from the Tyrrhenian Sea in the valley of the river Marta, is one of the foremost Etruscan centres. It is primarily known on account of its numerous *necropoleis*, as are so many other Etruscan centres. The settlement, which consisted probably of various nuclei during the Iron Age and Orientalizing period (950 to 600 BC) became gradually centred on the *Pian di Civita*, a large plateau of roughly 190 hectare, from onwards the 8th century BC. The University of Milan in collaboration with the *Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale* excavated approximately 1000 m² in the western part of this plateau from 1982 till 1988. The present book is the second volume on the excavations on the *Civita di Tarquinia* in a series of three. The first volume published in 1997 (*Tarchna 1*), discusses the stratigraphy, the chronology and the individual phases of the site explored from the Late Bronze Age till the Hellenistic period. *Tarchna 1* also includes an account of the main contexts as well as a reconstruction of the phases of the ceremonial and religious site excavated. The third volume, published in 2001 (*Tarchna 3*), presents the recovered *impasto* pottery from the Protovillanovan to the Orientalizing period, the ceramics made from depurated clays, the imported Greek ceramics and an amazing array of *bucchero* ceramics from the late 8th century till the 5th century BC. Volume 2 will be discussed in detail here. It presents the ceramics covering the period 600 to 150 BC. The three volumes together contain almost 1400 pages text, over 400 plates and cost € 970,-; books published by «L'Erma» di Bretschneider are well produced but have become extremely expensive. It is hardly worthwhile to obtain the volumes individually unless one is only interested in specific groups of ceramics and not in their context. However, the contexts published and interpreted in *Tarchna 1* belong to the most interesting archaeological finds of the past decades in central Italy.

Tarchna 2 presents in 280 pages text the excavated material itself in the following order: the architectural and figurative terracotta's, *impasto* ceramics from the archaic and Hellenistic period, the ceramics made from depurated clays (the *acroma* group and the *a bande* group), Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, Hellenistic black gloss ceramics and finally the transport amphorae. The discussion on the ceramics is followed by a technological section of 50 pages in which the black gloss ceramics and the *impasto* pottery are investigated using partially advanced scientific methods such as neutron activation analysis and partially detailed macroscopic analyses. Subsequently 70 pages contain tables and indices, which make it relatively easy to correlate individual as well as groups of finds to their archaeological contexts and chronology published in *Tarchna 1*. Finally 89 plates illustrate the majority of the ceramics published. *Tarchna 2* presents around 1000 artefacts in detail while approximately 3000 finds are listed.

Interesting groups of ceramics presented in *Tarchna 2* are, amongst others, the *impasto* pottery and the transport amphorae. The *impasto* pottery includes archaic forms but also later *impasto* vessels and thus presents an insight in the continuity of this local ceramic group into the 3rd century BC. Some of the forms derive from Villanovan or Orientalizing predecessors. The most common forms such as specific jars hardly change during the period 600 to 150 BC and are therefore difficult to date exactly by themselves. The contexts in which they were found provide their chronology. The roughly 70 fragments of transport amphorae recovered at the site are another significant group of ceramics. The amphorae derive from Italy itself (Etruscan and Graeco-Italic transport amphorae) but also from other regions of the Mediterranean such as transport amphorae from the Phoenician-Punic world, Marseille, Corinth, Attica, Chios, Clazomenai, Samos and Lesbos. Fragments of 18 transport amphorae could not be assigned to a specific region of origin. The amphorae date from the 7th till the 5th century BC and from the 3rd and 2nd century BC. The archaic transport amphorae recovered in Tarquinia itself can be compared with the amphorae excavated at its nearby harbour for seaborne trade, Gravisca. It seems that the 6th century BC imports from the eastern Mediterranean are better represented at Gravisca itself than at Tarquinia.

Tarchna 2 is highly descriptive, which is necessary for the essential typological studies. Hardly any interpretations are given. However, in combination with *Tarchna 1*, it is possible to examine the contents of individual contexts with the interpretation offered by the excavators. An example is the small and deep Pit 375 dated to the late 6th century BC and covered with a *nenfro* slab. Context 375 is interpreted as a votive pit and illustrated on map 6 of *Tarchna 1*, which presents all the features assigned to the second half of the 6th century BC. Pit 375 lies in the courtyard in one of the religious structures excavated. In *Tarchna 2* it is possible to reconstruct the contents of this pit. It contained common wares also used outside a ritual context: over 200 fragments of different types of tiles, none of which were decorated, 4 fragments of *bacini* (ceramic basins), 2 fragments of storage jars and 2 bowls. Context 375 probably contains part of the roofs covering the wings

of the courtyard as well as votives. It seems to represent a symbolic deposition of the contents of the ritual courtyard, which became redecorated during the late 6th century BC. For a complete reconstruction of context 375 one needs to combine *Tarchna* 1 page 37, 194, 222, Tavola 142.2, Map 6 with *Tarchna* 2 page 23, 24, 67, 74, 81, 382, Tav. 38.5, 29.10 and 45.16. *Tarchna* 1 and 2 are well cross-referenced but this complicated way to reconstruct individual contexts is common to many excavation publications and based on the predominance of typological research. It might be more useful for an understanding of the meaning of this important excavation to present the contexts assigned to individual phases of this ceremonial complex as was done for the main contexts in *Tarchna* 1 instead of full typologies of individual groups of ceramics.

One of the most famous finds by the excavation team and published in *Tarchna* 1, is the ceremonial deposit consisting of a shield, an axe and a *lituus* (a sort of trumpet), all produced from copper-alloys. The artefacts are exquisitely made and dated around 700 BC. Together with numerous animal bones and ceramic table wares, these copper-alloy artefacts were deposited near the entrance of a complex labelled *edificio beta*, a structure with a *megaron* plan, a sacrificial bench and constructed with building techniques from the Levant. The deposition of these copper-alloy artefacts is related to comparable finds in the *Tombe principesche*. Some of the *principes* were thus involved in ritual acts and a symbolic reading of this context is feasible as was done recently by M. Bonghi Jovino (Funzioni, simboli e potere. I 'Bronzi' del 'Complesso' Tarquiniese, in *Der Orient und Etrurien*, Pisa 2000, 287-298.). She as well as others put forward that the ritual act of deliberately depositing symbols of power as discovered at Tarquinia, represents a new stage in the state formation of central Italy in which the *rex* functioned as a religious, judicial, political and military power besides an elite of *principes/patres*.

Tarchna 2 discussing the ceramics from the period 600 to 150 BC excavated on a site at Tarquinia, is a highly professional publication. It provides parallels for comparable ceramic groups recently excavated and published at sites such as Gravisca, Caere and further south also at *Satricum* (votive deposit II, cf. J. Bouma, *Religio Votiva*, Groningen 1996). In combination with *Tarchna* 1 and *Tarchna* 3 it presents a rich view into a religious complex emerging during the Late Bronze Age. Few individuals will be able to acquire these three volumes on account of their costs but research libraries on the archaeology of central Italy need to order copies.

A.J. Nijboer

LUCA GIULIANI, *Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2003. 366 S. mit 87 Abb., 24.5 cm. – ISBN 3-406-50999-1.

Dieses umfangreiche, schön ausgegebene Buch ist der sehr alten Problematik des 'Bildes und Liedes' gewidmet. Es ist ein neuer kunst- und kulturhistorischer Versuch, die Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst darzustellen. Die Analyse betrifft

aber nur Bilder auf griechischen, meist attischen Vasen ab dem 8. bis zum Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und die 'Geburt der Illustration' auf Relieffvasen im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Absicht ist, zu untersuchen, wie antike Mythen nacherzählt und künstlerisch umgesetzt werden. Nach einem Vorwort über die aktuelle Bilderflut und moderne Bildwissenschaft formuliert der Autor in dem methodischen Kapitel 1 die Grundzüge seiner Kontrastdiagnose. Ausgangspunkt für sein Arbeitsverfahren ist G.E. Lessings Traktat *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766). Eine von Lessings Prämissen ist 'das unterschiedliche Verhältnis von Wort- und Bildkunst zur Zeit'. Sprache bedeutet Sukzessivität, Malerei Simultaneität. Eine andere Prämisse betrifft das (nicht richtige) Axiom, daß das gemalte Bild an die Darstellung eines einzigen Moments gebunden ist. Lessings Meinung nach sollen alle Sachen, die zeitlich aufeinander folgen, Handlungen heißen. Aristoteles definiert *mythos* (Geschichte) in seiner *Poetica* als 'ein Ganzes was Anfang, Mitte und Ende hat'. Auf dieser Piste weiterfahrend unterscheidet der Verfasser zwischen narrativen, erzählenden, meist mythischen und nicht-narrativen, beschreibenden, meist nicht-mythischen Darstellungen. Diese Dichotomie ist der rote Faden seiner Forschungen. Im Kapitel 2 werden Bilder auf attischen Vasen des 8. Jahrhunderts, die Löwenkämpfe, Prozessionen von Kriegerern, ein Seefahrers Abschied, Krieger zur See zeigen, als nicht-mythologisch, das heißt als nicht-narrativ interpretiert. Sie seien deskriptiv, erzählen keine spezifische Geschichte, illustrieren nur das Weltbild von damals, kurz, sie zeigen keine Mythen. Kapitel 3 skizziert das Aufkommen erzählender Bilder im 7. Jahrhundert. Ein schönes Beispiel ist eine böotische Bogenfibel im Britischen Museum, die ein hölzernes Pferd auf Rädern zwischen Vögeln zeigt (S. 79, Abb. 10). Nur wer die Geschichte kennt, wird die Verweisung nach Troja in einem nicht-narrativen Kontext verstehen. Noch faszinierender ist der berühmte Reliefpithos in Mykonos, der auf dem Hals das genannte Räderpferd, jetzt mit Kriegerern, darstellt, der aber auf dem Bauch in zwei Friesen mit Metopen grausame Kriegsszenen wiedergibt, die nicht mittels antiker schriftlicher Quellen identifizierbar sind, sondern im allgemeinen Sinn, also deskriptiv, als Stimmungsbilder nach dem Untergang von Troja verweisen. Im Übrigen des Kapitels werden Vorstellungen der Blendung des Polyphems auf Vasen aus Argos, Etrurien und Eleusis analysiert. Der Verfasser schließt, daß die Bilder von der *Odyssee* abhängig sind. Kapitel 3 heißt 'Das Spiel mit der Schrift im 8., 7. und 6. Jahrhundert.' Im 6. Jahrhundert werden deskriptive Szenen narrativ durch die Addition von Inschriften; Jedermanns Waffen, z.B., werden so Achills Waffen. Leider läßt der Verfasser viele Fragen offen. Zum Beispiel: auf der bekannten korinthischen Chigi-Kanne sieht man unter dem Henkel das Parisurteil mit Inschriften. Die übrigen, anepigraphischen Bilder zeigen Kriegs- und Jagdszenen. Natürlich sind die Inschriften behilflich bei der Interpretation, aber weshalb das mythologische Einschubel mit allgemeinen Szenen kombiniert ist, wird nicht beantwortet. Auch die Präsenz einer Sirene mit dem Namen *Eous* (S. 121, Abb. 17) in einer Szene, wo Herakles mit Iolaos die Hydra von Lerna bekämpft,

wird nicht erklärt. Wichtig ist, daß einige 'homerische' Bilder, z.B. Menelaos, der mit Hektor um dem gefallenen Euphorbos kämpft (S. 127, Abb. 19), nicht auf die *Ilias* zurückgreifen, aber auf das, was der Verfasser als Neuwort *Oralliteratur* definiert, daß heißt, mündliche Erzählungen. Ganz überzeugend ist diese Schlußfolgerung nicht, weil viele schriftliche Erzählungen verloren gegangen sind. Der Rest des Kapitels betrifft eine neue Analyse einiger Darstellungen auf der François-Vase (Aias mit dem Leichnam Achills, die Hochzeit von Peleus und Thetis, die neun Musen und Theseus' Brautwerbung der Ariadne). Die anepigraphische Darstellung von Pygmäen, die den Kranichen unterliegen, vergleicht der Verfasser mit den namenlosen Matrosen in der Brautwerbungsszene. Ohne aristokratische Helden seien Pygmäen und Matrosen hilflos (S. 138). Die Schwachheit dieser Interpretation ist, daß der Verfasser nicht das totale ikonographische Programm analysiert, wie andere Forscher vor ihm getan haben (z.B.: A. Stewart, in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Wisconsin 1983, 53-74). Im Kapitel 5 kommentiert er 'Strategien zur Steuerung des Betrachters' im 6. und 5. Jh., besonders die Synchronisierung der Bildinhalte. Wiederum kreist die Analyse um Vorstellungen mit der Blendung des Polyphems, weiter um Priamos, der Achill um die Rückgabe Hektors Leichnams bittet, um Odysseus und Kirke, um die Ermordung des Priamos, und um die Organisation mehrerer Bilder von Troia's Fall. Zwar folgten die Maler nicht wörtlich Homer oder anderen Autoren, aber sie akzentuierten wohl in hohem Maße die homerische Grausamkeit der Szenen. Z.B. verzehrt Achill, liegend auf einer *Kline*, ein Fleischmahl, nicht in Gesellschaft von Freunden, sondern, ganz asozial, allein, während unter dem Bett Hektors Leiche liegt.... Der Verfasser meint, daß die Zerstörung von Milete im Jahr 494 die Wahl der blutigen Kriegsszenen beeinflusst haben könnte. Im Kapitel 6, mit dem Titel 'Die Bilder im Sog der Texte', versucht Giuliani zu zeigen, daß die mythologischen Szenen im 4. Jh. etwas mehr von literarischen Texten abhängig sind. Nur zwei apulische Krater des 4. Jh. werden behandelt. Seit den Studien von J.-P. Moret wissen wir, daß apulische Maler in großem Ganzen den Inhalt griechischer Tragödien oder Theaterdarstellungen kannten, aber sich bei der Wiedergabe von Szenen eine große künstlerische Freiheit erlaubten. Im Kapitel 7 werden zwei angebliche homerische Reliefbecher (in Berlin) besprochen, die mehrere Szenen aus der *Odyssee*, mit langen Inschriften, darstellen. Der Verfasser datiert diese Trinkgefäße ins 2. Jh., obwohl der Expert U. Sinn sie im 3. Jahrhundert ansetzt. Giuliani meint, die Bilder seien textgetreu und bestimmt für Leser gemacht worden. Wenn man aber alle Reliefbecher studiert, sieht man, daß sie Einzelheiten und Zufügungen zeigen die weder in Homers *Ilias* oder *Odyssee* noch in griechischen Tragödien erwähnt werden. Die Töpfer leisteten sich also dieselbe künstlerische Freiheit wie die Maler apulischer Prachtvasen mit mehrszelligen, tragischen Darstellungen. Im Kapitel 8 und im Anhang (der aufs neue Peleus' Brautwerbung auf der François-Vase und eine Kirke-Schale behandelt) folgen einige Fallstricke und *afterthoughts*.

Giuliani's Buch ist sehr lesbar, einem großen Leserpublikum zugänglich und lesenswert, seine Nacher-

zählungen von Mythen sind glänzend, seine Beobachtungen von Bildern scharf und seine Formulierungen subtil. Das Buch ist jedoch ein ganz persönliches Dokument, das die Meinungen und Vorgehensweisen von anderen, modernen Forschern auf ikonologischem Gebiet in Fußnoten behandelt und zu wiederlegen versucht. Klar ist jedenfalls, daß die Vasenmaler zuerst durch orale und später in steigendem Maße durch literarische Quellen beeinflusst wurden. Was die Wahl der Bilder auf sechzig Vasen betrifft, fällt auf, daß überwiegend bekannte und berühmte Szenen behandelt werden. Einige moderne kontextuelle Einfallswinkel fehlen. Dem Totalprogramm von Vasen (Vor- und Rückseite), dem *oeuvre* eines Vasenmalers und dem *output* einer Werkstatt, z.B., wird kaum Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Giuliani demonstriert seine Theorie seriell an Hand von Bildern ohne schließende Abstraktion der Phänomene am Ende eines Kapitels. Anno 2003 würde man, mit allem Respekt für Lessing und Giuliani, ein mehr archäologisches und ikonologisches als lauter kunsthistorisches und ikonographisches Vorgehen erwarten. Die Illustrationen sind ausgezeichnete Qualität. Ein Index fehlt.

L.B. van der Meer

NORBERT KUNISCH, *Makron*, Vol. I and II. Kerameus Band 10, Forschungen zur antiken Keramik - II. Reihe. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1997. Vol. I: 259 S., 33 Abb.; 31cm; Vol. II: 176 Abb.; 31cm. - ISBN 3-8053-1890-1

This is a very detailed and thought-provoking study of the painter Makron and a less extensive discussion of his potter Hieron. Because of the bulk of the material the author has restricted his aims and excluded the *Epochenstil*, i.e. the interrelations and mutual influences with Makron's colleagues and his followers (pp. 1 and 4). So we are left to wonder which painters may have been sitting next to Makron at the painting table, for that he cannot have been the only one painting for Hieron seems certain (perhaps the Telephos and Amphitrite Painters, see below, but they seem too young; judging from Beazley's lists one would expect the Clinic Painter). In spite of this severe restriction the reading of this book is a task of some magnitude. It is, therefore, quite impossible to do justice to its wealth in the present review. We must suffice with rather random remarks and sketchy summaries, and apologize beforehand for the insufficiency of this account.

It is a great pleasure to have the whole of Makron's preserved oeuvre at hand and to study all vases and sherds in the countless photos and text figures. Kunisch indicates the vases with their catalogue numbers (e.g., 300 is the famous skyphos in Boston with the story of Helen). The side that borders on the heads in the tondo of a cup is called 'A' and the one that is next to the feet of the inside 'B' (pp. 159-60). He counts the figures from left to right: 'A1, A2' etc. The inside is indicated as 'I'. The photos on the plates are arranged I, A and B (A above B). There are no photographs of a cup standing on a table, or hanging on the wall, nor of a kylix put in a slanting position. This is perhaps a small omission.

The book consists of seven chapters, a catalogue and two indexes.

- Ch. I: Introduction
Ch. II: the oeuvre: Hieron, Makron, chronology and the phases of Makron's work (early: nos. 1-45; main phase I: 46-295; main phase II: 296-434, and late: 435-532)
Ch. III: *Bildmaterial*: types of figures, gestures and attitudes, drapery, material objects and decorative motives.
Ch. IV: *Bildform*: composition of scenes on in- and outside; interconnection of scenes; axes determined by the handles, groups of two and of three figures, the centre of scenes.
Ch. V: *Bildthemen*: traditional themes; further development of traditional themes; new scenes of daily life, new mythological scenes.
Ch. VI: *Bildrealität*, the rendering of reality, the limitations of the depiction of reality; myths and reality.
Ch. VII: Final remarks (*Schluss*).
Ch. VIII: Catalogue: 604 entries, almost double Beazley's list (p. 3); but no less than 177 numbers are in a private coll. at Centre Island, N.Y. (pp. 233-235).
IX: Indexes: finding places, themes, objects, museums and collections, concordances with Beazley and Bothmer.
X: Index of figures and plates.

Volume I contains 158 pp. text, printed in two columns. The text figures are mostly very good photos of details, but also tracings of figures.

Volume II contains countless photos, mostly good ones though the printing is not always satisfactory (e.g., pls. 12, 13, 49, 53, nos. 419, 461). The famous masterpieces, the skyphoi in Boston, London and Paris, are cat. nos. 300, 319 and 331; regretfully, the beautiful drawings by Reichholdt are not reproduced (see e.g., Pfuhl, *MuZ*, figs. 435-437) and captions are lacking under a great number of photos of sherds (e.g., on pls. 8-10, 14-19 etc.).

Chapter I: As has been said, the author concentrates on the *Einzelperson* of Makron. His basis are the attributions of Beazley, Bothmer and Robert Guy (but Beazley's nos. 132 and 143 are left out; see n. 80). The reason why he came to study Makron and not another painter of the time, was the presence in Bochum of six cups by the painter, among them the great Olympian kylix, 352. K. does not overrate his painter: he calls him a mediocre artist (which is perhaps too severe), but 'one who displays a definitely personal approach to the themes of his time, a draughtsman who aspires at innovation and transformation of existing formulas': compare, e.g., the remarkable progress from 74 to 144 (p. 3-5).

Chapter II: Before we turn to the description of Hieron's and Makron's style and technique, it should be remarked that, surprisingly, there is no comment on the name of Makron. Is it common? Are there social implications involved? Is Makron perhaps an ethnic name (like Lydos, Skythes etc.), referring to the Makrones (a Pontic people, Hdt. 2.104), or is it a nickname meaning 'longhead' (Liddel and Scott), comparable to that of 'broad-shouldered' Aristokles, Platon? I have always

longed to know (on p. 21 K. casually calls Makron a 'möglichlicherweise unfreien Handwerker').

There are 59 signatures of Hieron (pp. 6-7) and only one by Makron (on the skyphos in Boston, no. 300). Two signatures of Hieron are on vases by the Telephos Painter and one on the foot of a kantharos by the Amphitrite Painter (giving his father's name, Medon, but the inscription has been suspected, p. 7). On the early work by Makron there are no signatures (p. 27), but when they appear, different hands can be distinguished. In contrast with some published opinions (also Bothmer's), the painted signatures are earlier than the incised ones (pp. 7 and 19). Hieron's signatures are distinct from the other inscriptions because they are continuous, whereas the words of the other inscriptions are separated, sometimes even by a colon. All vases by Makron were potted by Hieron, but there is one, interesting exception, cat. no. 4 (Palermo V659; p. 10). This cup, an early one in Kunisch's catalogue, is attributed by Bloesch to Euphronios, not to Hieron, which is said to prove that there was a connection between Euphronios and Makron. This, however, depends of the assumption that it is rightly incorporated in Makron's (early) work (pp. 19 and 25-26). Beazley must have felt some doubt, for he writes about this vase and the cups cat. 1 and 10: 'I take them to be early work by Makron' (ARV² 480, 1-3). Bothmer seems not to have accepted them. Nos. 1 and 4, at any rate, are unusually original and show a grand composition (see p. 101). The scene on A of no. 4 is very exceptional: it is a wild, even unique, Troilos scene, hardly to be expected in Makron's work, especially at so early a date: Achilles has killed the horse under Troilos; it has collapsed on its left flank, its belly towards us, and Troilos is trying to turn round on the back of the animal and to jump off backwards over its rump; his right leg is already on the horse's left side (so we infer) and his left leg is being lifted over its right side, but it is too late: Achilles thrusts his sword into his shoulder, the blood spurting out. This desperate attempt at escape is, I think, well-drawn (*contra* p. 101, n. 412; incidentally, 'Troilos' should be added to the index of Trojan scenes on p. 226).

With the help of splendid section drawings the particular style of Hieron's cups and skyphoi is explained (pp. 8-14). The cups B, which, in respect of their feet, are all 'von einer geradezu erstaunlichen Gleichförmigkeit' (p. 10) and may be divided into 'small' and 'large' (average diam. 28.8 and 33 cm). At the beginning of the second main phase they are almost all large (p. 11), but the small cups are exact copies of the large ones (p. 13); at the end of his career the small cups are nearly the main shape (p. 26). All in all, Hieron had 'strong rational ideas about proportions and was little given to experimentation'. Already in this paragraph which deals with the shape of the vases, we are told that the small cups are decorated with rather monotonous three-figure compositions, but also on the large cups no refinement of the principles of composition can be discovered, the formulas tending more and more towards meaninglessness, though the number of the figures grows steadily (p. 13). Apart from cups and the famous skyphoi Hieron produced very few other shapes. His signatures are found only on the three skyphoi and the larger, more magnificent cups: a sign of artistic pride (p. 17).

In the pages dealing with Makron's technique there is an interesting paragraph on preliminary drawing, which served only to fix the place of the figures; they are sketchy and very different from the precision of the painted figures (figs. 10-11, p. 17). His main characteristic is the steady firmness of his relief lines, which are firmer, more emphatic than of most of his contemporaries (p. 18). In his ripe period these relief lines provide his drapery folds with that luxurious volume that is typical of the painter. Further, there is a 'direct simplicity in his drawing that is visible in almost all details'. K. calls him a draughtsman of great competence (for a somewhat more critical judgement see the end of this review). On the whole, Makron strives after 'quietly flowing narratives' but with 'leibhaftig - lebhaft' figures (p. 18).

As for dating (pp. 18-21), two of the numerous kalos names (n. 88, Hippodamas and Hiketes) are known from elsewhere and provide a kind of synchronism with Douris (p. 20). In the Brygos tomb and that of the Boston skyphos, the vases by Makron must have been placed as heirlooms (unfortunately, the cat. nos of these vases are not mentioned) and the numerous sherds from the *Perserschutt* (see the index IX) have little chronological significance, since we are told that much 'Schutt' must have been brought up from the town below, to fill the huge holes for the new foundations on the Acropolis.

Makron was probably born between 520 and 510 and started working at the beginning of the fifth century. Beazley believed that his career ended about 480 (n. 97), but the unusual bulk of the preserved oeuvre (604 vases, p. 21) indicates that Makron worked during a long period, that is, till after the Persian invasions. There are no details in his work that clearly reflect the calamities of the Persian invasions, but certain mythological scenes discussed in *Chapter V* are thought to refer indirectly to these events (see below). The author distinguishes four phases (pp. 21-27), which, however, are not divided in a clear-cut manner. On many vases there is a striking discrepancy between the inside and the outside: late cups such as 509 and 512 have interesting tondos and 'bloodless' scenes on the outside; therefore, it is difficult to give them their proper place in the development, but the rather uninteresting outer scenes are regarded as indicative of a late date. There is much variation in certain details, e.g. facial traits, often on one and the same cup (see the excellent pictures in fig. 12, no 381). A general development is, for example, seen in the pupils which slowly move towards the corner of the eye; the contours of the eyes become less curved and the eyes themselves narrower. Characteristic traits that remain constant are described on p. 24 (the shape of the skull, the rounded chin, the straight nose etc., though nothing about the lips and smiles, see below). There is no consistent and conscious attempt at progress ('konsequent und bewusst erstrebte Entwicklung', p. 25). Makron's repertory remains similar throughout, but the number of figures in the scenes increases. 'No vase is exactly alike, everything is simple and yet varying, schematized yet lively, undramatic but never trite' (p. 25).

The *Early Phase* (pp. 25-27) must have been longer than appears from the present catalogue (1-45). If 1, 4

and 10 (which have been mentioned above) are accepted, they show that Makron, as Bothmer says, 'must have undergone a radical change in his principles of composition'. Kunisch analyses these vases carefully on pp. 25-26, but I am not convinced that they belong. On p. 27 he describes the characteristics of the early drawings (nose, hips, beards, drapery - with sharp zigzags - etc.) and the tendency to make figures slenderer and taller - but there is much variation.

In the *Main Phase I* (46-295, pp. 27-32) the development shows itself only little by little. Now there are often two figures in tondos. On 47 appears Hieron's first signature and we also find proper names, both in myths and of (contemporary?) figures (74, 226), and 'kaloi' (p. 28). At first the figures are still slender with small heads (52, 63), but squatter figures occur (66, 73, 262). Zig-zag folds alternate with more rounded folds, the numbers of figures increase, up to even seven (e.g. 295, the cup with the abduction of Helena). Compositions with quiet figures become more prominent; some compositions are good (128), some clumsy (221 which is a very curious cup, see below). Myths become more numerous but still in modest numbers (p. 29). 'Conversations' (with men, boys or hetairai) are introduced; in them the figures on the right and left often look towards the other side of the cup. Ears, eyes, and similar details do not give a clue for the chronological sequence, but the hair contour tends to become smooth (fig. 14, p. 29, note the fine rolls of hair on 356, fig. 19f). There is a wealth of variation in the hair of women (fig. 15 and pp. 30-31); now hair may be fair, and even gray (figs. 12e, 19a-c). Down to the middle of this Phase the himatia of men may have black borders, which subsequently disappear (fig. 17).

In the latter half of *Main Phase I*, Makron adopts the hairy male breast so popular with the Brygos Painter and his colleagues (but the notation is different, e.g., fig. 12i). On pp. 31-32 the author gives a detailed description of Makron's drapery and its evolution towards rounded, voluminous folds; the mantle folds that run over the thighs and legs towards the contour of the buttocks and the back of the thighs evolve from straightish to the beautiful, double-curved, undulating lines so typical of Makron. A similar development may be seen in the upper edge of the pelvis or hip: at first it is a simple stroke and then becomes a remarkable triple curve (fig. 16).

The *Main Phase II* (no 296-434, pp. 32-39) is assumed to start after 295, on which a 'new' form of chiton is introduced (A3, Odysseus and A5, Euopsis); its description is hard to follow, but it is resumed on pp. 56-57 where it is explained in detail: it consists in a shortish overfall, hanging down from the shoulders and the neck, over a deep, wide kolpos (with which it forms one piece, the material being folded over at the neck and shoulders). The effect of this dress is lovely (295, 300 etc.), but the arrangement is not as new as K. suggests: it occurs, though less conspicuously, on numerous earlier cups, e.g., 26 A3, 63 A2, 122, 128 I, B3, 135 etc.

Some cups seem earlier than *Main Phase II* but in certain aspects belong to it (p. 33); however, with the massed figures of 300 (the Boston skyphos) we have definitely reached this ripe stage. On the London Triptolemos skyphos (319), the breasts of the girls are

stressed by means of a stiff sort of 'modelling' folds, which now become common (e.g., 345, 381, see figs. 12, 18). Mantles are ample, with heavy folds, but later the volume becomes even greater (see the chlamys of Theseus in 338). Now compositions and figures are perfectly harmonious (352, the Olympic cup in Bochum), and Makron's technique of figure drawing is excellent. Mythological scenes grow more frequent.

There are notable instances of erotic tenderness (e.g., 301, 303, 377, 381, kissing on 98). Though Makron is little given to erotic extravagances, satyrs are usually sexually aggressive and sometimes men and boys are quite uninhibited: e.g., the boy showing himself to a bearded *erastes* (507), and the excited wild youths B3 on 522 and 373. An extreme case is 227 with its pornographic intensity, especially in B3, who is an Aristophanic *euryproktos* (a practicing male whore). As for the other subjects: sport scenes disappear (except 351).

On 'small' cups *komoi* are depicted in three-figure scenes. Tondos with single figures become rare; in that of 353 there are even three persons. Eyes grow narrower with the pupil nearer the corner. What K. calls 'blue' eyes occur not rarely (fig. 12c, 19a and 19i etc.); however, it seems more likely that they are meant not as blue, but as flashing or eager eyes or as a mere twinkle (note also the fierce eye of Heracles, fig. 20b, 439, whose fiery mentality on Greek vases is often expressed in his eyes). Most of the artistically ambitious cups are signed.

The transition to the *Late Phase* (pp. 37-39, 435-532) is vague and fluent. A new garment is introduced, made of thick material and embroidered with stiff ornaments (439) and also a stiff chiton with a broad black border (437; see 444 and compare 435 and 436). In mantles the drapery folds become wider and wider (p. 38); as is shown in fig. 20, beards are shorter and untidy and the hair is often a simple black cap. Again eyes grow narrower with tiny dots for pupils.

In this Late Phase inscriptions are rare but we find *Hiketes kalos* twice (511, 517). In its beginning there are still two figures in the tondo (10 examples), later tondos are filled with single youths or men. As can be seen in fig. 20 and the plates, we end with the style of an old artist who may have lost some of his vitality but not his technique (519-532).

At the end of this chapter we should ask if we accept the sequence of the vases in the catalogue and the development suggested by it. The distribution of the vases in each phase is, as K. warns us, rather uncertain, but the division into four phases seems convincing. This appears also in elements not considered by the author. For example, there is a chronological indication in the curious stiff short lines in the form of a tiny star indicating the folds radiating from the buttons on the chiton sleeves (26, 44, 98, 123, 128-9, 133, 135, 142, 151, 167, 189, compare 208). These disappear after 197, except for B3 of 236, a cup that might perhaps be somewhat earlier in the series, also because of the sharp zig-zag folds in the himations and the rigid narrow folds in the long chiton of B3.

Chapter III (pp. 40-74) deals with *Bildmaterial*, i.e., the store of schemes Makron had at his disposal to construct his scenes. More perhaps than his colleagues he adhered to strict schemes, which are here set out in

numerous drawings that are very useful indeed (figs. 21-27), but are traced from photos: this may be a common habit and is perhaps pardonable because useful, but in most cases it results in shocking distortions through foreshortening. Though ancient painters would be happily surprised if they knew of the astounding attention bestowed upon their work during the last two centuries, they would surely be deeply offended by this hideous maltreatment of their drawings.

Komasts, sportsmen, satyrs and mythological figures, all are depicted with the same schemes (p. 50). The number of times the individual schemes are repeated is marked in figs. 21-27: of the more than 1000 repetitions only 32 are more or less 'einmalig' (flying erotes, maenads asleep on the ground and a few other figures). When occasionally Makron abandons his fixed schemes he is apt to go badly astray, witness the very clumsy drawing of some of the figures on 161 (p. 50 and n. 177). Usually, however, Makron succeeds in adapting formulas to all kinds of scenes. Kunisch points out that his mental store of figures was the general visual tradition of the painters of his time, the common '*Kerameikosrepertoire*' (p. 52).

Scholars have differed in their judgement of Makron's skill to a surprising degree, especially three of the great ones (p. 41, n. 161). Furtwängler was very critical of his hands and feet, Pfuhl calls them '*oft ganz abscheulich*', but Beazley finds them beautiful, toes, instep, heel and all!

In the paragraph *Gesten und Gebärden* (pp. 52-56) K. tries to discover a meaning in the strikingly lively gestures of hands and arms of Makron's figures. Here, it may be feared, we have a form of overinterpretation to which we are all prone when deeply involved in a fine subject. After all, as the space that was to be decorated was circular (or rather consisted in a curved area along the outside of the bowl), tall figures had to be radial, their feet close together and their heads far apart. Makron used his remarkably dynamic hands and arms to fill this space and to give vivacity to his rows of figures, to add variation and interesting patterns; hardly ever do they clearly express some emotion nor are they often meant as greeting; they are, as K. says, *Raumfüllung*. This appears also from the many meanings that can be attached - if one wishes - to certain gestures: the raised hand with palm forward, K. tells us, denotes '*Abwehr, Erschrecken und auch Anrede*' (p. 84). Of course, there are also meaningful formulas (e.g., for singing, p. 54, n. 197, see below). Only rarely a gesture that is visually expressive but 'semantically' void, may become highly significant, as when poor Philomela 'speaks' with her hands on 335. Remarkably, even the twigs and flowers in the hands of the figures are usually not meant to be presented to the figure opposite (but see 381 A4-5); they are (p. 55) '*Ausdruck der eigenen Eleganz, Schönheit und erotischen Anziehung*' (314 B5: a flower in the hand of a satyr!). However, it is not uncommon in the heat of the summer for modern Greeks to walk about with a small hyacinth between their fingers: its lovely smell helps to bear the heat, and the flower gives a sense of well-being and elegance. At the end of this paragraph K. summarizes with the rather sharp, and perhaps not quite just, verdict:

Makron possesses only an *'eingeschränkte Sprachfähigkeit'* (p. 56).

In the section on drapery (p. 56ff) K. draws attention to an interesting detail that may easily escape notice: a roundish bunch of cotton at the neck of the chiton of some women (also occasionally of men). This is explained by Beazley: 'a draw-cord was threaded through the neck-piece to tighten the garment at the neck, and the end of the neck-piece wound up into a little bunch' (figs. 15 b and e; 19 f and h; see also 109 I, 172, 185, 262 B3, 305 A2).

In this paragraph the text suffers from the repeated question 'whether the drawings agree with reality'. It is, to my mind, an anachronism to write (p. 59) *'ein ... Sich-frei-Machen von jedem Zwang zur Realitätsnachahmung'*. Surely, such a compulsion to imitate reality did not exist in the minds of Greek artists for at least a hundred years after Makron's lifetime (see below). On another page of this section deviations from what might have been drawn in a more 'realistic' way are rightly explained: *'Es scheint ihm ... vor allem ... um den Preis der Frauenschönheit zu gehen'* (p. 58). Towards the end of his career a *'Hang zur Ornamentalisierung'* manifests itself in the tendency towards ampler, more and more rounded forms in the drapery folds (p. 60).

The section on material objects (pp. 61 f.) reminds us of the fact that warlike scenes and battles hardly occur (see also p. 102, but note 4, 9, 10), which perhaps throws an interesting light on Makron's personality; in this connection K. speaks of a light-hearted character (*'Unbekümmertheit des Malers'*, p. 63). Incidentally, the 'bags' in the hands of the athletes on 351 look like long strings or thongs to be cut into shorter bits for winding round the fists (*murmèkes* for boxing, see the tondo) and for *ankylai* (*amenta*) for throwing the javelin.

The motives under the handles are treated on pp. 64-73, and illustrated with excellent pictures of every single motif. Ivy 'shrubs' appear not earlier than 356 and large ivy leaves only at the end (493 and further).

The last section deals with Makron's meanders, the only border motif he uses for his tondos. K. rightly calls them *'ausserordentlich homogen'* and therefore, after some hesitation, most certainly by the painter himself.

At the end of this chapter the question arises whether we have been given a clear impression of the style of the painter. The answer is that, apart from the doubt expressed above about 1, 4 and 10, one may be convinced that the items in the catalogue are rightly ascribed to Makron - with two restrictions: Kunisch is uncertain of the outside of 372 (n. 560; and indeed, the satyr A1 is amazingly light-moving and elegant - but compare 308d -, the paunch-bellied B3 is far too large, the wild jumping of the frolicking maenad B2 thirsting for the huge kantharos is perhaps too exuberant, and other details too are unusual). I myself would rather regard 221 as 'in the manner' (especially B; note the bad arms and curious faces - if these details are not due to restorations).

Chapter IV (pp. 75-98) deals mainly with the composition of the tondos and the outside of the cups. K. pays much attention to the fact that cups were sometimes hung on the wall, and believes that this influenced Makron's choice of the kind of composition on A-B (pp. 84 ff). It should, however, be pointed out that

this is unlikely: when the cup was hanging on the wall, the onlooker would find that the foot was in the way (p. 81: the diam. of the base line of the outside 'friezes' is smaller than that of the foot), the distance was too great to appreciate the small pictures and most of the scenes would be invisible because of the foreshortening through the curve of the bowl. Besides, while hanging, the scenes of A and B would be in an ugly position, all figures on their sides and some head-down. Therefore, this position cannot have played a major role in Makron's mind. Of course, the symposiasts admired the pictures while handling and turning the cups in their hands (before drinking or in the intervals), and one wonders why this is never depicted on vases nor mentioned in the literary symposia, in some of which beauty played such a role.

While looking at the outside of the cup, the eyes of the guest must often have been guided from A to B and *vice versa*, as K. extensively explains: for sometimes the figures at the ends of A or B turn towards the other side or look over the handle; still, the ancient symposiast could never enjoy both sides at the same time, as we can in this beautiful book. Yet K. shows that Makron *'einer Zusammenhang beider Aussenfrieshälften zuneigt'* (p. 82). In this connection K. speaks of an *omega* composition (p. 83, meaning capital *omega*), when the scenes on A and B are connected with each other at one handle (by the direction of the figures on the left and right), but not at the other handle, where figures are back to back. These are interesting observations but the emphasis on this type of composition is perhaps somewhat heavy.

As for the tondos, Makron had no great gift for the roundel, the look 'through the porthole': K. speaks of this: *'mangelhafte Adaptionsvermögen zeigt sich insbesondere an den Einzelfigur-tondi'* and *'Makrons Zug zum Unbeholfenen'* (p. 80). And it is true that some tondos are asymmetrical or unharmonious (p. 77; not quite satisfactory are, apart from the earliest cups, e.g., 36, 50, 103, 193, 250, 307, 314, 330, 386, 446, 462, 509, 512, 533), but there are very fine ones, in fact some that belong to the best of all Attic tondos (98, 188, 151, 340, 345, 381). It may be added that the typical slanting meander that Makron often uses, gives the tondo a rotating effect that is functional: after all, the tondo has no true vertical axis, and the cup, while being handled, was constantly turned round to left and right. Therefore it is difficult to decide how to publish the photographs (though sometimes there are ground lines or objects that ought to be horizontal: e.g., 22, 26, 116, 169, 303, 381, 419 etc.). K. often prints the tondo so that its figure seems to lean backwards (p. 134, n. 637; e.g., 160, 368, 373, 431, 517); that this, though slightly surprising, may be right, appears from similar figures in A or B from which the tondo figure was 'copied' (see, e.g., 160, 368). Sometimes a 'correct' choice is impossible (46, 243, 396, 444), which is only natural; but not the best choice seems to have been made in the case of 20, 66, 67, 128 - cf. 63 -, 160, 243, 296, 338, 342. Perhaps it would be better not to print the tondo in a black square, as is usually done, for the square suggests a horizon. K. points out that the relation of the 'vertical' of the tondo to the axis through the handles is usually what might be called 35-40 minutes past one-two (p. 76, n. 312).

Compared to other painters Makron uses very simple compositions for the pictures on the outside of the cups: *Dreifigurengruppen* (pp. 87f.) and rows of *Zweifigurengruppen* (pp. 91f.). K. analyses the different possibilities with great precision and care (pp. 91-95).

Chapters V and VI are no doubt the most valued by the author himself and with which the reader may find fault more often than elsewhere in the book. They are full of theoretical reflections, thought-provoking but sometimes not easy to follow, and here and there the theories are definitely too 'modern' to be wholly acceptable (see below). The two chapters are very extensive (pp. 94-149), too extensive to do them justice in a summary.

Chapter V (*Bildthemen*) deals with Makron's subjects and themes (pp. 98-139). There are 215 'every-day' themes (symposion, *komos*, athletes, men and boys/hetaerae and a few others) against 110 scenes of 'irrealer Wirklichkeit' (myths and thiasoi or satyr scenes; p. 99).

K. repeatedly refers to *Vorlagenbücher* and *Bildkopien*, but the assumption of the use of such 'modelbooks' seems to underrate the visual store and memory that was inculcated into the apprentices from a very early age onwards - perhaps as early as the age of 5 or 6 when the boy would look at what happened in the clay-piled shed of his father or uncle. Of course, in every one of the long row of pottery workshops in the street, there must have been a store of sketches, or perhaps misfired vases with fine pictures that were not thrown away; and not only small boys (who later turned out to be gifted draughtsmen) but also the master-painters would look around in the sheds of their neighbours. Consequently for all myths and attitudes every painter had a store of schemes in his head which he 'only had to trace' on the surface of the vase.

In Chapter V the author discusses Makron's traditional scenes and his 'new' themes. First the 'traditional' myths: Antaios and Alcyoneus (1, not very traditional to my mind), Troilos (4, a very original version, see above), the fight for Achilles' arms (45), the Seven against Thebes (433) and other myths. In the next section he speaks of traditional scenes of every-day life, first the stadion, p. 103 (which is common only in the early stage). Here Makron sometimes uses his figure-schemes without thinking, for example on 42: A2 is taken from a meaningful context such as 40 B2; 42 B2 seems to 'attack' with his strigil (a rather curious attitude), whereas the sitting athlete A4 who is checking the straightness of his javelin, is an original figure and far too large for the context.

After the description of the athletic scenes there is an extensive analysis of the thiasos (pp. 105-110); Dionysus is often lacking and there is 'ein allgemeines Desinteresse der Mänaden in körperliche Sexualität' (p. 108), which, of course, is common in Attic red-figure painting.

The most interesting discussions are in Chapter VI (*Bildrealität*), especially in the section *Mythos und Realität* (p. 149ff), which speaks of cups that may reflect the great calamities of Makron's time, the Persian wars and the destruction of the city. K. says that 'eine neue zeitgemässe Sicht ins Bild gesetzt wurde' (a new perspective that refers to contemporary events, p. 150). A good example is 169: Achilles is on his *kline* and Hector's corpse lies under his table; Achilles holds a vicious

carving knife in his outstretched hand over Hector's head. This scene represents the wrath of Achilles, not his reconciliation with Priam from which it is borrowed. On the outside Achilles' fury is extended beyond his death: Neoptolemos with a sword in his hand, is leading Polyxena by the wrist to the grave-monument of Achilles (under the handle), while a long row of heroes follows. The whole kylix seems to speak of fury and revenge; perhaps, as K. suggests, it reflects the terror of the Persian wars. But this is not the only scene that conceivably was historically relevant in the eyes of the Athenians. There is a (badly damaged) version of the traditional legend of the two great heroes playing a board game (149, pp. 153, 155). They are crouching, not quietly seated at their board, as if restless; Athena warns them, a trumpeter calls the alarm, on the other side a row of warriors in full armor is running to left, their spears resting on their shoulders, one looking frontally at us. K. thinks that they are fleeing Trojans but fleeing warriors look round and do not shoulder their spears but point them backwards; therefore, they must be Greeks rushing to the rescue. That they run to left and not to right may mean that the outcome of the ensuing battle is far from certain (as were the Persian wars; but such niceties may be too far-fetched). Such a scene surely would remind contemporary Athenians of the panic before Marathon or Salamis. The most important one is perhaps 352, the Olympus cup in Bochum, which portrays the reception of Heracles by Athena (in the tondo) and the gods sitting in state to welcome him. The place of honour should, of course, be occupied by Zeus, but he is shoved to the left; in the centre of B we see, very unexpectedly, Ares in beautiful armor, being served with wine by Nike; on the other side the place of honour is given to Dionysus. K. reminds us of Hdt 6.108: the evening before Marathon the Athenians gathered at the sanctuary of Heracles (n. 712). Ares in the limelight in scene B suggests that the cup may be a thanksgiving or prayer 'an jene Mächte, die in einem besonders schicksalhaften Augenblick den Athenern beigestanden haben' (p. 151).

Comparable is perhaps no. 338 with its curious tondo. On pp. 134-135 Kunisch discusses the vexed question what Makron had in mind with it. Theseus is drawing his sword opposite a beautiful young woman inscribed 'Aithra', who lovingly caresses his chin with both outstretched hands. K. concludes that Theseus does not threaten his surprisingly hetaere-like mother but, having just discovered his father's sword, he draws it in a gesture of 'algemeinen Entschlossenheit'. Clearly Makron made a very free use of the traditional scheme he had in mind (probably that of Menelaos threatening Helen). The myth of Theseus' manly courage was, of course, of national importance to Athens, and so is the quarrel over the true Palladion on the outside. Theseus' sons are present: Akamas threatens Odysseus who carries the faked statue; when it was decided that the true one was in the hands of Diomedes, Damophon was to take it to Athens, where it was a sacred image of some importance. Thus the whole cup bore a patriotic message.

Other possible cases of this use of myths are 433 (The Seven against Thebes with fine heroes putting on their arms; B3 should be Amphiaraios), and the Theban

sphinx (330, p. 152). The latter is a very curious modification of the traditional scene: the sphinx, a remarkably small, cute 'monster', sits in the middle of the city, and causes a surprising panic among the elderly and youthful citizens. K. speaks of a 'Parabelfunktion' in Makron's myths, and he certainly may have a point.

In some other matters, however, K.'s suggestions seem to be questionable. About the famous Briseis skyphos in the Louvre, K. says (331, pp. 133-134, 155): 'Während Briseis soeben aus seinem Zelt geführt wird, bleibt Achilles im Kreis einiger Freunde in seinem Groll zurück.' He believes that here we have a local and temporal unity. It is clear, however, that B illustrates the *Litai* (*Iliad* 9), the embassy to Achilles' tent, which took place much later: not only is the scheme exactly as expected for this popular scene, but the names Aias, Odysseus and Phoenix are inscribed. However, K. objects: 'das ist kein Gegenargument' (p. 134) and it is true that Diomedes (A4), looking round to B, forms a visual link between the two famous episodes of the great tragedy of Troy, but it is a mistake (even an anachronism, see below) to regard it as a sign of unity of time and space. Here (and in some other cases) K.'s wish to see thoughtful depths in Makron's scenes leads him astray.

Chapter VI is called: *Bildrealität und Grenzen der Realitätswiedergabe*. These are modern concepts: when used for a painter like Makron, they have an anachronistic flavour and may therefore be misleading. Another such concept is *die Wahl des Augenblicks* - reminiscent of the snapshot of photography! - , but this is not foremost in the author's mind, though, on p. 145, we read about *momentan-Alltägliches. Wirklichkeit* (reality), however, plays a major roll in these chapters. Yet, one should seriously doubt whether anything like it existed in the minds of the Greeks of that period. Vase painters certainly did not strive to depict 'reality' (whatever one may mean with the word), they tried to render human life and activities in general or *in abstracto*, such as 'running', 'feasting', 'making love', 'quarrelling', 'fighting', 'drinking' etc. For this they used suggestive and convincing schemata or formulae. Therefore, one should object to a remark the author makes on p. 148: 'Makron should not be suspected that he was unable to depict what he saw (*dass er nicht malen konnte, was er sah*)' and 'Makron has no disciplined grip on reality, no ... penetrating observations of reality...' (p. 18). Surely, vase painters of that period did not try to paint what they saw, they wanted to make pictures of human life and did so with conventional, simplified and therefore satisfactory formulas. That this is so appears, for example, from the persistence of the frontal eye in profiles, which was felt to be - and actually is - more eloquent than the profile view! In other paragraphs, however, K. gives a better description of the process: 'the pictures/paintings of this period spring from the artist's mind, rather than from his observations' (p. 18).

The above criticisms do not detract from our admiration for the countless, sharp observations in this overwhelmingly thorough book.

This thoroughness is, indeed, highly admirable, yet we may end with a few remarks about topics that are brought up here and there in the book but deserve a closer look. In the first place, the reader might wish to be informed about Makron's notation of anatomy. In

contrast with so many excellent text figures on other aspects (figs. 9-32), there are no pictures to show his rendering in dilute paint of the muscles in necks, shoulders, legs, arms, torso etc.; yet, anatomy was one of the foremost interests of all Greek artists. In most of the plates these details are nearly invisible, but with some difficulty the reader may discover that Makron's knowledge must have been full and up to date. Yet, there is one rather curious weakness: the rendering of the abdomen and the *linea alba*, when the hip is in profile and the breast frontal. This problem had been solved long before 500 BC but it seems that it was not mastered or, perhaps rather, neglected by Makron. Good renderings can be discerned in the photos of, e.g., 10 A1, 36 B2 (fig. 16b), 73 A4, 95 I, 244, but clumsy or faulty drawings are common (8 A2, 10 A2, 21 A2, 22 B1 and 3 - fig. 11 -, 50 A2, 52 I, 66 I, 133 A4 etc.). Even when rendered correctly the abdomen is not rarely drawn as a harsh oval (8 B3, 36 B2). A curious rendering of the *serratus magnus* and the ribs is seen on 360 A3, 404 I, 486 I (compare figs. 11 and 14c). The lower border of the abdomen on either side is often drawn in a black line and so is the lower part of the *linea alba* (e.g., 36 A3, B3, 43, 52 A3, B1, 116 A3, 227 I); in half-profile these two are sometimes confused: e.g., 245 A1-2, B2-3, also fig. 16-17.

Rather surprising is Makron's clumsy rendering of shoulders and stretched-out arms on the far side: on one of his masterpieces, the skyphos with the judgement of Paris (295) both shoulders of Hermes, who is leaning on his staff, are painfully misshapen (as K. points out); other examples of bad arms are, e.g., 73 A3; 161 A2 and A5-6, B2 - see p. 50 and n. 177 -; 185; 330 A1, 386 B4; 419 A1, and further instances of bad drawing are 193 A4, 243 A2. It may be pointed out that the breasts of the girls are usually placed too high (e.g., 179, 236 I, 334), and that legs are not rarely too long (e.g., 29 I, 124 I; 186, 462 I); also, some figures are out of proportion: e.g., 10 A2, 42 A4, 372 B3.

Not sufficiently appreciated are Makron's remarkable attempts at facial expression: whereas his love of lively, though often not very meaningful, gestures is treated thoroughly in *Chapter III*, pp. 52 ff, there is no paragraph on facial expression. Note the eager face of fig. 12e (381, see pl. 131), the expressive eye of the girl in fig. 12f and especially, the tiny stroke at the corners of mouths indicating a fine smile, sometimes a smile of satisfaction or success (fig. 12b and d etc.) and sometimes there is a look of disappointment (fig. 12a). Most delightful is the friendly smile on 434. Remarkable is the girl on the inside of 381 (fig. 12c and pl. 131) who pulls the head of her lover towards her with a tender right hand (a gesture that occurs quite often), while holding his eager right hand back from her thigh. There is the faintest smile round the corner of her mouth, but her gaze is unusually intent and seductive: a light iris with the tiniest pupil. Sometimes a face seems intimidated (483 A2) and others seem expressive though clumsy (475, A1-2 and perhaps 509). Such subtle differences in the eyes and mouths were no doubt intentional and prove, when rendered successfully, an exceptional ability in the painter. Of course, as K. points out, Makron also uses expressions that were common at the time: often mouths are open and meant to be

speaking (483 A3, or loudly announcing a victory: 50 I), and some are singing with gusto (486, also 26, 29, 66, 73, 133, 361; see p. 54, n. 197).

With these, rather random, remarks we have come to the end of this impressive study of Makron's qualities and defects. Though we have experienced that the author's style of writing is often far from simple, we have thoroughly enjoyed studying his comments, and are very grateful for the great love and thoughtfulness with which he has produced these two rich and splendid volumes.

J.M. Hemelrijk

J.A.K.E. DE WAELE (ed.), B. D'AGOSTINO, P.S. LULOF, L.A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, *Il tempio dorico del foro triangolare di Pompei*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 399 pp., folding maps, ill.; 29 cm (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, 2). – ISBN 88-8265-149-5.

One of the earliest buildings to be excavated in Pompeii is the so-called Doric temple in the Triangular Forum which was uncovered from 1767 onwards. For centuries it has stirred up many discussions and given cause for speculation about the earliest history of the town. For this reason, Amedeo Maiuri was very interested in the history of the building, and executed excavations in and around the temple in 1931. He never published the results of this dig, in which, among other things, several architectural terracotta's of superb quality were found. None of his successors at the Soprintendenza di Pompei found the time or opportunity to continue the work. Finally Jos de Waele, Professor in Classical Archaeology of the Radboud University in Nijmegen, had the courage to take the thread and from 1981 onwards - 50 (!) years after the excavations of Maiuri - started to study the building in order to write, together with some colleagues, a comprehensive monograph on this important monument. It has become literally his lifework, which he unfortunately never saw in printed form. On his way to Italy to attend the official presentation of the book, he died tragically in a car accident on June 30, 2001 (see the necrology in *BABesch* 77, 2002, VI-IX). He could have been proud of the achievement: no other recent book on a monument in Pompeii is as exhaustive and as readable as this one.

The book is well structured, and in every chapter the subject under discussion is treated systematically and clearly. Furthermore it is abundantly supplied with illustrations (photos, drawings, plans). De Waele takes care of the history of the excavations (Ch. I), the architectural description (Ch. II), the structural reconstruction (Ch. III), the cult (Ch. VII), and the surroundings of the temple (Ch. VIII). The terracottas are treated by Bruno D'Agostino (Ch. IV - Archaic architectural terracottas), Patricia Lulof (Ch. V - Late archaic figural terracottas), and Lucia Amalia Scatozza Hörich (Ch. VI - Samnite system and other parts). Finally, in Ch. IX D'Agostino, Scatozza Hörich and De Waele together give their views on the chronology of the temple. There is only one real mistake in the layout: the page with the 'Indici Generali' on p. 391 should be on page 395, and

the one on page 395 with the 'Indici' on p. 391.

The most important results of the research are the following. The temple had a rather unusual disposition of 7 columns across the width and 11 columns along the sides. The foot measure used in the temple was 29.6 cm. The width was subdivided into 4' (steps) - 18' (pteron) - 22' (cella) - 18' (pteron) - 4' (steps), in total 66'. The length of the stereobate was 100' (a hekatompodos), but it seems that 99' was used for the superstructure of the temple, giving a width : length ratio of 2:3. The design is very different from the 'classical' Greek temple of 6 x 13 columns and in other points the differences are very large (see the table on p. 127). De Waele convincingly shows that the temple was built according to Etruscan traditions (p. 131-132), but that it was influenced by the Greek tradition in its plastic decorations. On the basis of a description found in 1897 De Waele also proves that the temple was dedicated to Minerva (p. 311-314). Finally, almost *en passant*, he gives a metrological analysis of the 'Palestra Sannitica' (p. 325-327), adjoining the Foro Triangolare, which proves to have originally measured 64' x 130'.

The oldest building phase of the temple dates from about 550 BC, and it received a new roof around 500 BC. At the beginning of the 3rd century BC a complete restructuring took place, including the construction of a new pavement, frieze and roof. About a century later a portico was built around the neighbouring square and the area became a *campus*, i.e. a gymnasium and a *palaestra*, meant for the youth of Pompeii. Finally, after the earthquake of AD 62, the temple was partly dismantled and a provisional sanctuary was built over the cella.

As stated before, the book is extensively illustrated, partly in colour, and contains in its appendices the complete excavation reports and lists of finds. This documentation alone makes the book indispensable for every respected archaeological library. Besides that, in its accessibility and clarity it will serve as an example to others.

Richard de Kind

NIKOLAUS HIMMELMANN, *Alltag der Götter*. Paderborn: Schöningh (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften, Vorträge G 385). 2003. 124 S., 47 Abb.; 24 cm. –ISBN 3-506-71484-8.

This publication, containing no more than 120 pages but many interesting observations, consists of three lectures supplemented by an extensive body of notes. The author writes in a style based on concepts of a high level of abstraction (rather reminiscent of the writings of Ernst Buschor), not easy to follow for non-Teutonic readers. The subtitle of the first lecture is an (untranslated) quotation from Cicero's *De Nat. Deorum*. I. 50-51: it asks: *quae vita deorum sit quaeque ab is degatur aetas* (perhaps to be rendered with: 'what kind of life have the gods and in what sort of time do they live or exist'). The other two lectures are entitled *Götterideale* and *Epiphanie und Verwandtes*. The contents of these lectures are difficult to summarize. Here follows a very incom-

plete selection of points that seem of importance.

The argument starts with the emergence in the Classical period of the representation of gods in a timeless existence (transcending time), which imparts to the statues and pictures a strong religious significance. This kind of divine representation with a highly religious significance is not found in the ancient texts and has therefore not been appreciated or even recognized by historians of Greek religion (p. 8). This leads to a discussion of the often debated, puzzling phenomenon of gods performing a libation with a phiale. Already Plutarch expressed disbelief that a god would imitate human actions (p. 11); Furtwängler called it '*Vermenschlichung der Götter*'. With the phiale in the hands of statues of gods, a human element seems to have intruded into the divine sphere (p. 14). In fact, vase paintings often give the impression that, when the gods are not depicted in some mythological event, their daily life (*Alltag*) exists mainly in pouring *spondai* (libations). H's explanations is that this rite consists in and for itself, and that it is, in essence, nothing but *Heiligung* (sanctification): the depiction of a god performing a *sponde* is the manifestation of that god's sacredness (p. 19); such depictions or statues are not 'episodic' but portray the god as a purely timeless divinity (*Daseinsbild*). In such cases there is no question of an *Empfänger der Spende* (p. 22). The sanctification by *spondai* belongs to the divine sphere and is imitated by human beings, not the other way round. It is a rite that has descended to the world of humans; as Goethe said: '*Der Sinn und das Bestreben der Griechen ist, den Menschen zu vergöttern, nicht die Gottheit zu vermenscheln. Hier ist Theomorphism, kein Anthropomorphism*' (p. 24).

This theme is extended to gods offering sacrifices that are proper to themselves. In this connection H. discusses the assembly of gods on the outside of the Sosias cup, which depicts the sacred atmosphere on Olympus, a timeless picture, and is not meant as a straightforward rendering of the introduction of Heracles among the gods; what we see is the transcendent holiness into which Heracles is being introduced (p. 26).

Thus, the actions of the Olympian gods on vases often represent their own archetype (*Urbild*): for example, when Dionysus *Omestes* is tearing a doe (as exemplary for maenads), or when Apollo is depicted sitting on his tripod (as the archetypical oracle-prophet); when Athena is modeling a horse from clay or when Apollo plays his kithara, and when gods are made to pray with their hands turned forward and upwards (fig. 16). In all this the gods express their essence by a time-transcending (*zeitlose*) action (p. 43). In short, *Daseinsbilder* render the gods as archetypes. '*Die einzig angemessene Beschäftigung der Götter ist der Vollzug und die Darstellung von Heiligkeit im Spenden und in den anderen, urbildlich ausgeführten Riten*' (p. 46).

The second chapter deals with '*Götterideale*' and has a subtitle: *Demeter als Göttin der Mysterien auf der eleusinischen Pelike in St Petersburg*.

Fifth-century representations and statues of the gods depict their archetypical character and features: the *Götterideal*. This is illustrated by the Apollo in the East frieze of the Parthenon who turns round towards Poseidon but whose face, in three-quarter, with dreamy eyes and half-open mouth expresses, the author says,

the *Schauende*, the *Seher* (fig. 20). This interpretation seems a little forced. As for Dionysus in the same frieze H. speaks of his *ekstatische Haltung* (fig. 21), but is this correct? The god leans comfortably with his right arm on Hermes' shoulder and his remarkably powerful, terse, muscular body seems relaxed in a casual conversation. H. explains that here we have '*die ausführliche Schilderung des zeitlosen individuellen Wesens eines jeden Gottes, nicht im Rahmen einer Porträtgalerie..., sondern in einem handlungsmässigen, situativen Zusammenhang*'. But this seems doubtful: Artemis, for example, with her chiton slipped from her shoulder, confidentially putting her hand through the arm of Aphrodite (who is pointing at the spectacle below), seems less characteristic of her own essence than usual and less transcendent or timeless than the author implies. In short, in this section of the discussion it is not easy to agree with the author in all respects.

The following pages deal in a comparable way with numerous divinities; e.g., the goddesses in the judgement of Paris on the ivory from Kul Oba in the Hermitage, and with Dionysus, who is often depicted as master of the *Rausch* (drunken ecstasy), a *sichselbst darstellendes Urbild* (p. 62); or Aphrodite who, in her adultery with Ares in the Odyssey, is victim of her own divine power. Such stories were sharply criticized all through antiquity, for nobody recognized anything positive in them (p. 63), except perhaps that they formed a welcome break from the monotony of the calamities and adventures of the heroes on earth. With this H. does not agree: in analyzing the essence of the gods, H. speaks, for example, of Zeus' worries, when he passes a sleepless night thinking of the Trojan battlefield; here Zeus is not 'humanized', he is acting as the archetypical family-father of mankind, for the gods do not wield an abstract power but each is conditioned by his or her own essence and divine character. Summarizing H. writes that the gods suffer their own power or enjoy it or project and represent it; they do this as *Götteridealen* (p. 71).

Then H. turns to the famous Eleusinian pelike in St Petersburg representing the holy family of the mysteries (figs. 25-27 and pp. 76ff). After a description of what is known about the mysteries, he speaks of the central event or happening, the *Schau* (*epopteia*, a direct confrontation with the holy essence of the rituals). On the pelike there is no action (*Handlung*) that connects the figures; most of them are frontal and seem isolated, it is an assembly of individual gods. But these divinities do show emotions: the foreheads of the gods are wrinkled, and Demeter's left hand is held up towards us with all fingers widely spread, as if in response to some miraculous spectacle. Clearly these gods are not simply 'lost in themselves' and unconscious of their surroundings; most of them are looking in the distance (to our right and to our left). They are, H. concludes, watching the central act of the mysteries: they participate in the *epopteia* (p. 79). Perhaps H. means to convey that they are, as it were, *mystai* themselves, but this is not quite clear.

Before this conclusion, and after it, there is an analysis of related phenomena, e.g., of frontal figures with a heavy, pathetic gaze, which are common in the fourth century (p. 79; for example, Demeter from Knidos). Here H. also speaks of Agias, but, to my mind, this ath-

lete seems to be represented in a very realistic manner, viz. as an exhausted victor after a series of heavy bouts, who, still sweating but quickly recovering, undergoes the ritual of being declared victor.

Further, there is an analysis of the *schauender Apoll* (p. 81) and of other gods and goddesses such as Iacchos, and Demeter.

In the third chapter, *Epiphanie und Verwandtes* with the subtitle: *Bildliche Aussagen über die Göttlichkeit der Götter*, we read about Xenophanes' criticism of the humanized gods, and about the Persians who found it foolish to represent gods in human form, while Dion Chrysostomos defends the production of statues of the gods because they 'make visible what is essentially invisible'. In this Phidias had succeeded, as Aristotle understood (p. 92): in Dion's speech Phidias says: 'not even a madman (μᾶνεις) would compare my Zeus with a statue of a mortal.'

How, H. asks, did ancient artists manage to represent the essence of their gods so convincingly to their contemporaries (p. 92)? This he tries to illustrate with a scene showing the birth of Aphrodite who rises from the sea on a Gnathian jug in the Louvre (fig. 33), with a picture of Heracles seated among the Hesperids (fig. 36), a mirror with Danaë receiving Zeus' golden rain (fig. 37) and with other representations, after which he returns to Phidias' Zeus (p. 99).

It is not easy to say how one should distinguish the rendering of an epiphany of a god from his *Daseinsbild* and in other scenes. H. does not agree with F. van Straten who believes that an epiphany can take place only if there is a human being to witness it and who therefore excludes all scenes in which mortals are lacking. 'Entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass eine Götterfigur göttliche Eigenschaften in Form einer Offenbarung zu erkennen gibt' (p. 102).

In ancient texts, an epiphany of a god is often described as colossal in size and accompanied by fierce light. This is reflected in early sculpture by the ganosis, the shimmering of bronze and gold and by the immense size of certain cult statues (p. 105: e.g., a golden *sphyrelaton* of a Zeus statue of the Kypselids) and this, Himmelmann suggests, may also explain the huge size of archaic statues such as the Apollo on Delos and the abandoned Dionysus on Naxos etc. In vase scenes of an epiphany we often see a 'witness' (not always a mortal) who is astounded or frightened by what happens (p. 109) and this helps to understand the event as an epiphany. Further H. speaks of the powerful manner in which the epiphany of gods may be depicted in their statues (e.g., the Apollo Belvedere).

The foregoing shows that most of this publication is difficult to summarize. It is full of interesting suggestions and based on great learnedness. On the whole, H. succeeds in avoiding over-interpretation in his meticulous and profound discussions. Yet, some vase painters would, I imagine, be surprised if they could read what they are supposed to have meant to convey.

J.M. Hemelrijk.

ANNA MARIA COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera Santa Marinella - Comune di Civitavecchia I. I materiali votivi*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider

Editore, 2001. 155 pp., 42 pls.; 30 cm. (Archaeologica 131, Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 13). - ISBN 88-7689-208-7.

From 1964 to 1967 four excavation campaigns took place in località Punta della Vipera (Santa Marinella, Civitavecchia). The work resulted in the discovery of an Etruscan sanctuary (c. 540/520-1st century B.C.) including a temple and a monumental altar, and traces of a Roman villa. Until now almost all findings - votive materials, ceramics and coins - have remained unpublished, although some are mentioned briefly in the reports (M. Torelli, Tempio etrusco in loc. 'Punta della Vipera', *BdA* 50, 1965, 125-126; id., Terza campagna di scavi a Punta della Vipera (S. Marinella), *StEtr* 35, 1967, 331-352; id. - M. Pallottino, Terza campagna di scavi a Punta della Vipera e scoperta di una laminetta plumbea iscritta, *AC* 18, 1966, 283-299). Publications also exist of two of the most important findings, an oracle *sors* and a small plate containing an Etruscan religious inscription, and of three vase inscriptions containing dedications to the goddess *Menerva* (Minerva). The book under review is the first volume of two publications planned to provide full details of finds. The first volume deals with the votive materials, the second volume will contain the ceramics and the coins.

The present volume is divided into a short introduction about the history of excavation and publication (pp. 19-20), part I has a catalogue of the votive materials (heads, fragments of statues, fragments of swaddled babies, statuettes of divinities (Minerva, Apollo?, Aphrodite), warriors, men, women, Eroses and animals, anatomical votives, loom weights, and various small objects of terracotta, stone and metal) and a scheme containing all catalogue items (pp. 23-122), and part II addresses the topography, the building history and the typology of the cult (pp. 123-148).

The sanctuary seems to be one of the oldest oracle sanctuaries in the Italic world, because the *sors* mentioned above, which is dated to the 5th century B.C., is the earliest one known. The chthonic altar similar to that of *Menerva* in the Portonaccio sanctuary of Veio, the dedicatory inscriptions to *Menerva*, the (fragments of) statues representing *Menerva*, the oracle cult that fits *Menerva*, together provide solid proof of the identity of the main goddess of the Punta della Vipera sanctuary. Most votive materials date between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC. Among them are the usual gifts of this period: anatomical ex votos (body parts, intestines, male and female genitals etc.) and swaddled babies. This points to healing and fertility aspects of the cult. *Menerva* used to be associated with these aspects too. The polyvisceral plateaus could be interpreted as those of the victim of a sacrifice or of a divination, appropriate in an oracular sanctuary. Heads wearing ivy crowns probably indicate a *rite de passage* of *iuvenes* in their transitional phase. The best parallel with this particular combination of cult aspects in an Etruscan *Menerva* sanctuary is Veio Portonaccio.

Typological and stylistic data of the ex votos point to contacts with Cerveteri in the 4th century BC, while in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC relations also existed with Tarquinia. Moreover in the latter period many

votive gifts used in Rome, the Roman colonies and what the author calls 'Romanised' territories were also present in Punta della Vipera.

From the character of some of the votive materials and of the architectonic decoration, it can be concluded that the Punta della Vipera sanctuary was an important cult place, visited by both lower and upper classes (p. 146).

The catalogue is conveniently arranged and the texts are written lucidly. A minor point of criticism concerns the scheme on pp. 119-122 containing all catalogue items. Unlike similar schemes in other volumes of the CSVI, the column with the number of samples of each material category is missing. Instead this number is included in the column with the stylistic types, which is less clear. Also missing in the scheme are the specific names in the categories M-O (objects of stone, metal, and miscellanea).

I would also like to make a remark on a detail: on p. 130 the author mentions briefly the Campetti sanctuary in Veio. She identifies the Etruscan cult as that of Demeter-Vei as if this fact is indisputable, which - in my opinion - it is not. Indeed, a Latin inscription from the Roman period of the sanctuary mentions Ceres, but for the Etruscan period only votive gifts without inscriptions with the name of the goddess appear. The character of these ex votis suits Demeter-Vei, but also other female deities.

Comella has great experience with this subject. She published on the votive materials of Gravisca (1978), Tarquinia: Ara della Regina (1982), Falerii (1986), and Veio Campetti (1993). She is one of the directors of the 'Corpus delle stipe votive in Italia'-series. The user of the present volume can benefit from Comella's extraordinary knowledge of both the typology and the religious background of the archaeological remains.

Natalie L.C. Stevens

THOMAS MORARD, *Les Troyens à Métaponte. Étude d'une nouvelle Iliupersis de la céramique italote*. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002. 122 p., 8 pls, 5 figs, 30 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-2861-3.

This book focuses on the date, the painter and the interpretation of twenty fragments of an Apulian red figure volute-krater (Metaponto, Mus. Arch. inv. no. T5/312358) found in inhumation tomb 5/83 in the Pizzica-Pantanello cemetery in the chora of Metaponto. The chest tomb was, together with four other ones, excavated in January 1983 and published by Joseph Coleman Carter in 1998. It was damaged; the remains of at least one skeleton disappeared before they could be studied. Morard describes the history of the Greek colony in the Introduction. Chapter 1 is dedicated to the Pizzica-Pantanello necropolis. The inventory of tomb 5/83 is listed in Appendix I: 2 gutti, 2 skyphoi, 2 cups, 1 pelike, 20 sherds of the Apulian red figure volute-krater mentioned, 1 pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, 1 small cup, 1 iron nail, and 1 bronze coin. These artefacts can be dated in the second half of the 4th century BC, the volute-krater more precisely between 330 and 320 BC, affording a reasonable terminus ante quem for the goods on the bottom of the tomb. Like the amphora the

krater was found in the upper layer of the tomb. As the lid of the grave is lost, the krater may have served as marker above the tomb (and for funerary libations, if it had no bottom). In Chapter 2 Morard describes the twenty fragments of the krater. Its original height must have measured circa 125 cm. Appendix II presents a list of Apulian volute-kraters higher than 90 cm. It appears that the krater under discussion belongs to the ten largest. In Chapter 3 the author, using stylistic criteria, argues that the Darius Painter or his pupil, the Underworld Painter, decorated the vase. Hitherto it was assumed that these painters worked at Taranto, but they may have been itinerant, as the clay of the krater seems to be local. Chemical analysis may cast further light on the question. The belly fragments of side A of the krater show several figures identified by inscriptions. They read: Neoptolemos, Theano, Antenor, and Aineas. As the sherds show an aggressive Neoptolemos, evidently about to murder the Trojan king Priamos, and Aineas, armed, moving to right behind two mules drawing a cart, the original painting must have shown three or more events of the *Iliupersis*. The fragments of side B show part of a *naiskos*, with the deceased standing inside, some grave visitors and their gifts. Appendix III lists 53 representations of the *Iliupersis* in ancient art, on artefacts from the 7th century BC until the 3rd century AD. Only those pictures which show at least two episodes, have been catalogued. As a result, it appears in Chapter 4 that the mule cart scene on the volute-krater mentioned is exceptional. A sherd with a woman without inscription may represent Helena, threatened by her husband Menelaos. Cassandra attacked by Aias may have belonged to the original painting too. Theano and her husband Antenor are rendered as passive onlookers. The cart drawn by mules and protected by Aineas may have carried Anchises, Askanios, and sacred objects. The flight by cart is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who quotes as his source the *Troika* of Hellanicus of Mytilene (5th century BC). Morard suggests that the *Iliupersis* on the presumed grave marking volute-krater had an ethno-political, ideological message. In the very second half of the 4th century BC the indigenous part of the population of Metaponto tried to promote its own roots as is proven by the reverse images of new coins mentioning METABO, referring to the name of the eponymous, indigenous founder of the colony: Metabos. The presence of Theano, Antenor, and Aineas, all survivors from Troy and non-Greek founders of cities in Italy, would suggest an ideological intention. We do not know for sure, however, whether the deceased was a Greek or a proud native. Scenes of liberation, escape or successful flight on side A opposed to and to a *naiskos* with a deceased on side B are not rare on Apulian red figure vases. So there is more reason to interpret the *Iliupersis* picture as a dramatic story with some happy endings, in other words as a message of consolation for the deceased and the relatives. A funerary interpretation, therefore, seems to be more logical than a political one. If the vase had no bottom, the family might have made libations in honour of the dead, without political intentions. The book is well written, well edited and well illustrated.

Marlies E.H. Kroll-Spronken and L.B. van der Meer

Laura Maria Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria nella prima età ellenistica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2003. 284 pp., 49 figs., 148 pls., 34 cm. (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Monumenti Antichi. Serie Miscellanea - Vol. VIII (LXI della Serie Generale)). – ISBN: 88-7689-198-6.

This monumental book deals in a very systematic way with the so-called silvered relief vases from the early Hellenistic period, produced in Etruria, hitherto known as 'Volsinian' pottery. The name silvered appears to be incorrect as the vases must have produced a gilded effect (p. 108). The vases have an outer coating of tin, with applied figured decoration. Michetti distinguishes three main workshops, at Falerii, Orvieto and Volterra. She tries to identify the models of inspiration or prototypes of the most common shapes. They often seem to be imitations of Apulian and Macedonian metal, often bronze vases. The author then analyses the iconography of the decorations. With few exceptions (pp. 97-98) the vases have been found in tombs, where they were part of a banquet service (meant as a symposium set) conveying a symbolic message. They are now dated between circa 350 and 250 BC.

In total 739 vases are dealt with, 360 originating from the Volsinian, 311 from the Faliscan, and 68 from the Volterranean area. Volsinian vases are found at Volsinii Veteres (Orvieto) and Volsinii Novi (Bolsena) and in graves located between these cities. Export took place from the Faliscan area to the Ager Tarquiniensis and the Ager Vulcentanus and from Volterra to Chiusi, Montalcino, Elba and Spain. The Volsinian repertory is most varied, containing many *oinochoai*, *paterae*, kraters, *situlae*, amphorae, *askoi* and *kernoi*. The Faliscan output includes alabastra, kraters, *phialai*, and *stamnoi*. The Volterranean production mainly consists of *oinochoai*, candelabrum, *olpai*, *kyathoi* and *situlae*. The production probably first started at Falerii Veteres in the third quarter, then at Volsinii Veteres in the last quarter, and, finally, at Volterra at the end of the 4th century BC. As for the iconographical themes the Volsinian and Faliscan centres have some themes in common: most popular are Amazonomachies, Athena, *hippocampi*, satyrs and *sileni*. Achilles, Dionysus, Heracles, Helios are represented in both production centres but in different scenes. Some figures like the Dioscuri, Gorgo/Medusa, Perseus, Phrixus, Socrates and Diotima, Vanth, male and female protomes are present on Volsinian vases but absent on Faliscan ones. Other mythological figures (Danaids, Daedalus, Demeter, giants, Iason, Hera, Nereids, Sirens, Thetis) are present only on Faliscan vases. Volterranean vases show Hermes only. Many interpretations are uncertain (p. 45, 47, 52, 55, 63) as they may reflect local myths or figures. Both vase forms and iconographical schemes and themes, often excerpted figures, strongly point to South Italian Greek, mainly Apulian and Tarentine models. Heroes like Heracles, Perseus and the Dioscuri may have been chosen by an élite which had a preference for strong men. Although Praeneste also shows many strong Tarentine influences in several art genres, it does not seem likely that the influence from Magna Graecia spread via Praeneste to

the Faliscan and Volsinian areas. Only one inscription reading *evrs*, may be the name of a potter from Magna Graecia. This was found on an applique discovered at Falerii Veteres (p. 105, 121). The owners of the tombs did not have the same social status. In the Faliscan area the new middle class almost never deposited metal artefacts in tombs, but imitated the metal vessels of the aristocratic upper class. In the Volsinian area, however, metal vases, often inscribed with the earmarking inscription reading *suθina* (of the grave), are present in tombs, therefore indicating the high aristocratic status of the owners, often rich landowners. Also from literary sources we know that the Volsinian society around 300 BC had a far less egalitarian character than in earlier centuries. The same holds good for the situation at Volterra where the upper class were rich landowners. The end of the production of silvered vases was probably due to the Roman conquest of Etruria.

Laura Michetti has made a fine work which is very important for all who are interested in workshops of *artes minores* and social structures in a crucial period of Etruscan culture.

L.B. van der Meer

F. COLIVICCHI, *La necropoli di Ancona (IV-I sec. A.C.) Una comunità italica fra ellenismo e romanizzazione*. Napoli: Loffredo Editore, 2002. 510 pp., numerous drawings and photographs. – ISBN 88-8096-897-1.

The present-day regions of Marche, Abruzzo and Molise in Central-Adriatic Italy have long been among the stepchildren of Italian archaeology. They played no role in the Iron Age contacts between Italy and Greece, had no Greek colonies, no Rome and no Pompeii, and hardly featured in the ancient written sources. Consequently they were not seen as the most vibrant and interesting parts of pre-Roman and Roman Italy. On closer inspection, however, they appear to supply tantalizing pieces of information that contribute to the construction of their past. One of the most recent books that wets the appetite is F. Colivicchi's *La necropoli di Ancona*. It deals with various aspects of the Hellenistic-early Roman necropolis of the present-day capital of the Marche region.

In the ancient written sources (e.g. Strabo, Geography) Ancona is often portrayed as a 'Dorian-Greek' colony founded by Dionysius I of Syracuse (4th century BC). Its ancient name *Ἀγκών* (Greek: 'elbow') was supposed to refer to its elbow-shaped, sheltered harbour. However, the site was probably continuously inhabited from the Bronze Age onward. Its pre-Roman phases, moreover, do not differ significantly from those of other contemporary settlements in the same area. The Greek character of Ancona is mainly demonstrated by funerary stelai bearing Greek inscriptions and Greek inscriptions from Delos and Delphi mentioning people from Ancona. These testimonies, however, date to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

Colivicchi's book is primarily a *catalogue raisonné*. After presenting short introductions on the history of archaeological research at the site and its history (chapters I and II), it deals with the topography of the local necropoleis and the types of tombs found in the grave-

yards of pre-Roman Ancona (chapters III and IV). The Greek style stelai (never found in connection with graves) are documented in chapter V. The well over 300 pages thick chapter VI discusses the numerous finds and shows the drawings of the burials. Nearly each piece found in the Ancona graves is described and illustrated. Among these are magnificent funerary crowns and ear rings with close parallels in southern Italy and northern Greece, silver vessels from unknown sources, glass cups from the eastern Mediterranean, wine amphorae from Cnidos and Rhodos and fine wares from southeast Italy (Gnathia wares), northwestern Greece (West Slope wares), western Asia Minor (Hellenistic white-ground wares from the Cnidos or Pergamon area) and possibly Egypt (fayence). It is a pity that the most spectacular pieces are exclusively presented in small black and white photographs: they deserve a more generous treatment. Chapter VII discusses the rituals practiced during the burials. The last 20 pages contain the conclusions.

The catalogue of finds fills more than 60% of the book. The identifications of the objects in the burials are almost invariably correct. This is quite an achievement in view of the great variety of objects that come from so many different areas. For the relief wares with grey clay and dark grey gloss (e.g. tombs 15.1, 16.1, 26.1) one may suggest an origin in the Cnidos area, whilst the West Slope pieces (tombs 9.1, 9.2, 10.1) probably came from the Epirus-Corfu area. But since Epirote West Slope and Cnidian Grey wares have only sparingly been published, the author should not be blamed.

The 'archaeological history of Ancona' in the final chapter is decidedly the most daring and refreshing part of Colivicchi's book. Here the author casts serious doubts on the Greek origin (the Syracusan 'foundation') of Ancona. Hitherto not a shred of evidence has been found that irrefutably supports Strabo's claim for Greek origins. The main temple of the town, for instance has nothing to do with Greek 4th-century architecture, but is of a clearly Italic type (cf. F. D'Andria in *La Sicilia dei due Dionisi, Atti settimana di studio, Agrigento 1999*, Rome 2003, 121-122). Of course it is attractive to see the late-Hellenistic sculptured stelai with Greek inscriptions as a proof of Ancona's Greek origins. But Colivicchi rightly raises the question whether the elite of Ancona did not live up to its own image. Their foundation myth gave them Greek origins, but this story is not supported by archaeological evidence. He could well be right. Ancona's Greek origins might prove to be a case of invented history. Many non-Greek settlements of Italy invented Greek oikists (Diomedes, for instance, reportedly founded both south-Apulian Brindisi and north-Apulian Arpi). The elite of Ancona of late Hellenistic times with evidently close links with the Greek speaking areas of the eastern Mediterranean, spoke Greek, had Greek names and saw themselves as Greeks, whatever their real origins were. They were buried underneath tomb stones with Greek inscriptions. These *semata* were mostly made of Cycladic marble (cf. contacts between Ancona and Delos) and are indeed stylistically close to contemporary Delian stelai. The elite of Ancona claimed a Greek identity and displayed their 'Greekness' in many ways (another example: quite a number of the Ancona tombs contain strigils referring to the palaestra and Greek *paideia*).

La necropolis di Ancona, therefore, is a treasure cove with great potential. It contains the complete inventories of a substantial series of sometimes highly spectacular Ancona tombs which supply important information on, for instance, status, gender and economic contacts. Moreover, it offers us an insight in the way the people of Hellenistic Ancona saw themselves and constructed a presumably completely invented past for their local community.

Douwe Yntema

MARIA PAOLA GUIDOBALDI, *I materiali votivi della Grotta del Colle di Rapino*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2002. 79 pp., 10 pls; 25 cm (Corpus delle stipi votivi in Italia; 15) (Archaeologica; 134). – ISBN 88-7689-182-X.

La Grotta del Colle, située entre Pretoro e Rapino (prov. Chieti, Italie Centrale) au pied du versant NE de la Maiella, est une des nombreuses grottes de ce massif des Abruzzes, fréquentée du Paléolithique jusqu'à l'ère chrétienne et alternativement utilisée comme abri ou à des fins funéraires ou cultuelles. Lors de recherches archéologiques ayant comme objet tantôt la séquence stratigraphique de l'occupation préhistorique dans la grotte, tantôt les restes de l'église médiévale «S.Maria de Cryptis» près de l'entrée, fut mis au jour également un grand nombre de matériel d'époque hellénistique et romaine, apparemment à caractère votif et pour la plupart resté inédit. C'est le catalogue de ce matériel, datable entre le IV^e s. av. J.-Chr. et le III^e s. ap. J.-Chr., qui constitue la partie substantielle de l'ouvrage en question. Mis à part quelques monnaies et quelques objets en os, il s'agit essentiellement de fragments en terre cuite et de céramique. Parmi les premiers on retrouve des fragments de statues, de statuettes masculines et féminines, d'une figure animale, de têtes, de parties du corps et de masques. Outre un plat fragmentaire de production «Alto-Adriatica», la céramique comprend surtout différentes formes de céramique à vernis noir (du IV^e au II^e siècle av. J.-Chr.). L'intérêt de ce matériel, en soi assez commun et de qualité médiocre, réside surtout dans le fait d'être retrouvé à cet endroit et de témoigner de la présence en ce lieu d'un culte dédié à une divinité salutaire. Une situation semblable, c.-à-d. la superposition de matériel votif hellénistique et romain aux traces de fréquentation préhistorique, a pu être constatée dans plusieurs autres grottes des Abruzzes, en particulier autour du Fucino.

A ce matériel votif quelque peu étranger à la tradition culturelle indigène, indiquant probablement une médiation des colonies latines installées dans les Abruzzes à partir de la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-Chr., sont ajoutés quelques documents exceptionnels qui auraient aussi été découverts dans ou près de la Grotta del Colle, bien que ceci n'est pas du tout établi. Il y a tout d'abord la célèbre *Tabula Rapinensis*, publiée pour la première fois en 1846 par Theodor Mommsen, acquise par l'«Antikenmuseum» de Berlin et actuellement conservée au Musée Pouchkine de Moscou, qui d'après le savant allemand aurait été retrouvé dans la Grotta del Colle près de Rapino. Cette plaque de bronze, contenant apparemment le texte d'une loi sacrée, constitue

un des rares (et certainement le plus important) documents rédigés dans la langue des *Marrucini*. De sérieux doutes concernant le lieu de trouvaille furent cependant énoncés jadis par le regretté Valerio Cianfarani (*Culture Adriatiche d'Italia*, Rome 1970, 56). En 1932 et 1937 furent récupérées l'autant célèbre statuette en bronze de la «*dea di Rapino*» et une pierre incisée avec la représentation de *Zeus Nikephoros*, qui proviendraient l'une et l'autre de fouilles clandestines (et donc également incontrôlables) dans les parages de la Grotta del Colle. Ces objets, déjà rendus public auparavant à plusieurs reprises (plus souvent que ne le laissent supposer les notices bibliographiques dans le présent volume), sont repris ici par l'auteur sans se préoccuper de la fiabilité des données sur les circonstances de trouvaille. De la présence - peu certaine - de ces documents dans la Grotta del Colle elle tire même des conclusions concernant un changement qui serait survenu dans les cultes pratiqués à cet endroit entre le IV^e et le III^e siècle av. J.-Chr.!

Parmi les «*vari*» du catalogue l'auteur reprend également, sans explication sur le lieu ou les circonstances de la trouvaille, un bloc de pierre sur lequel est sculpté un visage humain et qui serait soi-disant «*inedito*». D'après Valerio Cianfarani, qui a publié ce bloc sculpté à plusieurs reprises depuis 1965 (cf. e.a. *Lineamenti per una storia dell'arte antica nella regione*, in *Abruzzo III*, 1965, 291-292, pl. 2a; *Culture Adriatiche d'Italia*, Rome 1970, 119, fig. 72; *Schede del Museo Nazionale*, Chieti 1971, pl. s.n.; & L. Franchi Dell'Orto, A. La Regina, *Culture Adriatiche di Abruzzo e di Molise*, Rome 1978, 116 et 557, pl. 406) ce visage humain, pour lequel il proposa une datation à l'époque tardo-républicaine, était originellement sculpté sur une paroi rocheuse au-dessus de Rapino et fut détaché lors de travaux d'extraction de pierre. Son rapport avec la Grotta del Colle s'avère donc aussi problématique.

A une époque d'intérêt toujours croissant pour les aspects environnementaux des pratiques dévotionnelles de l'Antiquité, ce 15^e volume du «*Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia*» sera certainement - malgré les réserves formulées plus haut - bien accueilli par archéologues et historiens.

Frank Van Wouterghem

GERHARD ZIMMER (ed.), *Neue Forschungen zur hellenistischen Plastik. Kolloquium zum 70. Geburtstag von Georg Daltrop*. Eichstätt-Ingolstadt: Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, 2003. 174 pp., num. figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3-937082-07-7.

In June 2002, G. Daltrop got a nice present from his successor and a series of German scholars in the form of a colloquium of which this slim and elegant volume contains the texts. The editor explains both in his preface and the *laudatio* reprinted at the end of the book how Daltrop's interest in sculpture and museum collections was the reason to organise this round table at the jubilee's last working place at Eichstätt. The scholars invited are either pupils or collaborators to projects in the Vatican Museums. Concerning the chosen topic, Zimmer maintains that the study of Hellenistic sculpture is still thought-provoking, when we observe the

origin of an entirely different language of styles and iconographies.

Christian Kunze tackles a monument that often has been seen as an obscene and rather abject theme despite its superb artistic qualities, viz. the Faun Barberini in the Glyptothek at Munich. It once adorned the Gardens of Nero next to the Mausoleum of Hadrian in Rome, but must have originally made part of the garden sculptures in a Hellenistic Greek Dionysiac sanctuary. The question is why the figure is represented so realistically and sexually arousing. Kunze thinks that the onlooker might be a voyeur, but first of all is a human being that innocently encounters a divine being, almost like Aktaion saw the nude Artemis. The satyr is sleeping and only because of this temporary oblivion man can catch him. The accent on the sexual organs (larger and more realistically rendered than in 'Idealplastik') is not a (homo)sexual stimulus, but underlines the character of the mythological figure itself. The motif of sleep as means to bring a deity into contact with mortals returns in the bronze figure of sleeping Eros in New York. This child is also awkwardly exposed to our eyes. We see these persons in their natural state. One should like to add the sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican Museums, but Kunze probably left her out, being a representation of a real mythological theme. Kunze succeeds in reconstructing the perception of the original 'consumers' of this genre of statuary and may even give a clue for our embarrassment when encountering the satyr at Munich: we see a strange figure we should not see. Personally I have the impression that Mallarmé, Debussy and Nijinski surely created the same effect with their evocations of the sleeping faun, which returned during Hans Castorp's musical soirée in Thomas Mann's *Zauberberg*. Whether they based on this statue at Munich is not known.

Hans-Ulrich Cain discusses some Hellenistic examples of 'spendende Götter', apparently the activity during the 'working days' of the title. He maintains that the decrease of belief in the traditional gods of the Greek pantheon made it necessary to create new (or renewed) types of gods' representations which should show a greater activity in favour of man by these gods. Dionysos, for instance, looks like a 'Dienerfigur' and becomes a *technites* similar to the real ones in Hellenistic sanctuaries. The famous image of the Herakles Farnese precedes this notion: the hero is a real, muscular workman, resting after his deeds and with the apples of the Hesperids that are the requisites of his future immortality.

Ralf von den Hoff takes up an aspect studied partly in his previous works, viz. the degree of realism in Hellenistic portraits. The realism of the famous Demosthenes is not a photographic one, being a portrait made some 40 years after the politician's death, but corresponds with what an ancient onlooker was expecting from this person (old age, beard, looks). The diadoch kings also show a combination of realistic and idealistic features, of young vigorous leadership and wrinkles of an experienced dynast. These portraits suggest, what a king should look like. Von den Hoff concludes that the different elements have an autonomous value and the mix of the contrasting characteristics produces the 'realistic' image desired.

Christiane Vorster and Paolo Liverani (the latter is successor of Daltrop, the former working for a long time on sculpture in the Vatican Museums) give an *anteprima* of work in progress. Vorster discusses three Hellenistic statues that will be presented at length in the second volume of her catalogue of the Lateran Collection to be published shortly. Two concern a Nereid on a monster and an Eros on the protome of a horse, dating to the second half of the 2nd century and the late 1st century BC respectively. The most interesting piece is a replica of the Achilles head of the Achilles and Penthesileia group of which we know some Roman copies. She maintains that the head itself is to be dated around 100 BC on the basis of its style and its quality. She also argues that the group itself was invented at that time and that the head may be the original or a master copy: this seems to me a product of circular reasoning. Her choice of the three objects is to show the gradual development from Greek into Roman Hellenism.

Liverani presents the first results of the recent reconstruction of the polychromy of the Augustus of Prima Porta, unfortunately with dull black-and-white photographs (see now V. Brinkmann/R. Wünsche, eds., *Bunte Götter. Die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur*, Munich 2003, 187-191). He concludes that the partial coloration of the surface was to enhance details of the statue like the reliefs on the cuirass. The figure forms a single type, combining the cuirass and 'Hüftmantel' models; the naked feet apparently belong to the latter and indicate the heroic level of the portrayed emperor. The presence of two layers of paint on the fringes of the cuirass' pteruges imply a restoration of the statue that should have been exposed over a long time.

Robert Wenning's contribution about the tombs at Petra, finally, has a (too?) lengthy introduction on Petra's history and development. The second part tackles the relief sculptures of the famous Khaznet al-Fira'un, carved around 30 BC, that is not necessarily the tomb of king Malichus. The reliefs are depicted as statues on pedestals standing in the intercolumnia of the various architectural elements. Its programme corresponds with Graeco-Roman funerary belief (Isis like a Demeter, the Dioscuri, Nikai) and less, so Wenning, with the translation of local gods into an idiom of the new power. The explanation of Amazons with weapons as an echo of 'Waffentänze' organised at the kings' funerals seems rather fanciful.

To conclude, Gerhard Zimmer was right: Hellenism still is highly provocative in many respects. Numerous recent publications on sculpture - to limit to this matter addressed in this sort of *Festschrift* - prove this vivid interest.

Eric M. Moormann

MARIE-FRANCOISE BRIGUET avec la participation de DOMINIQUE BRIQUEL, *Les urnes cinéraires étrusques de l'époque hellénistique*. (Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines). Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002. 271 pp., ill.; 27 cm. - ISBN 2-7118-4323-8.

In this *catalogue raisonné* Madame Briguet deals with 72 Hellenistic Etruscan urns (coffins with or without lids, or lids only) in the Louvre: 56 terracotta and 4 stone urns from Chiusi, 11 urns from Volterra, and one from an unknown find spot. Unfortunately, the context of not a single urn is known. Most of them were bought in the nineteenth century, originating from the collections of Durand, Sermolli, Micali, Campana, Gaddi, Vaillant, and more recently from the Guimet collection. Briguet offers a critical review of modern urn studies (pp. 15-30), and her sceptical analysis suggests that many problems regarding the urn production have not completely been resolved. The types of alabaster or *marmo alabastrino*, especially those from Chiusi, deserve thorough chemical analysis. Scholars have not only different opinions on the dates of individual urns (p. 29), but also on the start, the evolution and the end of urn productions at Chiusi and Volterra (p. 30). The influence of possible Etruscan theatre productions is still under debate (p. 160). Briguet rules out the suggestion made by F.-H. Pairault that immigrant Greek artisans made the first urn of a certain series, the so-called prototype (p. 25). Problematic also is the question whether urns made in a series with a simplified or degenerated mythological scene have a specific funerary meaning or are simply ornamental. As for the latest on urns, however, it is evident that the author has not read some recent, very important books and articles. Most relevant for many questions now are B. von Freytag, gen. Löringhoff, *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon* (1986), D. Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar* (1998), and several articles in *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique* (Actes de la table ronde, École Française, Rome 1991), Rome 1993.

Briguet suggests that the mythological scenes show suspense and violence (p. 23), but it is obvious that some scenes have a happy ending (her cat. nrs. 57, 64, 65).

The Chiusine terracotta urns show the following themes: the Brother murder of Eteocles and Polyneices, the Battle of the Hero with the Plough, anonymous battles, a banquet, meetings at the gate of the underworld, klinai, a skylla, a griffon, lion mask, and a comic mask. Most of these urns are cautiously dated in the 2nd century BC, especially in the second half.

The Chiusine stone urns show three themes: warriors kneeling on an altar with a hind on it and a horse in front of it (interpreted by J. Heurgon as a contamination of an Iphigeneia and Troilos scene); the murder of an old man in a sanctuary (Aigisthos?); and five warriors around an altar. As the production of alabaster urns in the Chiusi region started earlier than the creation of serial terracotta urns, they should have been treated first in the catalogue. From the studies of G. Colonna and A. Maggiani it resulted that the alabaster/marble production starts around 275 and ends around 200/190 BC (for literature, see now N.L.C. Stevens, *BABesch* 76, 2001, 101-113). The proposed date of urn no. 58 (140-100 BC) is, therefore, far too late.

The Volterranean alabaster urns show: a Centauromachy, the Death of Oinomaos, the Rape of Helena, Telephos kidnapping Orestes, the Recognition of Paris, the Murder of Agamemnon, and the Voyage in a *carpentum*. Briguet dates them to the 2nd century BC. However, the urn

with the *carpentum* scene (no. 68) may belong to the second half of the 1st century BC (see P. Moscati, Un gruppo di urne volterrane con rappresentazione del 'viaggio agli inferi in *carpentum*', in *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in onore di Massimo Pallottino II*, Rome 1997, 403-423).

At the end of the catalogue all inscriptions are transcribed and thoroughly discussed by Dominique Briquel, using critically H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor I-II*, Tübingen 1991. He throws light upon the social status of the deceased and the inter-local family relations.

As most of the Louvre urns have hardly been published in a scientific way, Briguet's catalogue is a welcome addition to the gradually growing modern corpus of Etruscan urns. Her descriptions are excellent. The black and white photographs are splendid too, although it is a pity that there are no colour images of the terracotta urns as they show many remains of polychromy. Madame Briguet received for her book the *Médaille Georges Perrot*. Her critical attitude is indeed worthy of praise.

L.B. van der Meer

ALESSANDRO GALLO, *Pompei. L'Insula I della regione IX. Settore occidentale*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. VI, 156 pp., ill.; 28 cm (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, 1). – ISBN 88-8265-150-9.

This book deals with *insula* IX 1, one of the transitional *insulae* between the old centre of Pompeii and the later extensions to the east. The largest and most famous house in the block is the House of Epidius Rufus (IX 1, 20). This house, however, is not treated in the present study, which covers only half of the *insula* (the western part), mainly consisting of shops, workshops, and smaller houses. Gallo discusses the history of the excavations (between 1852 and 1867), the wall construction, the floor and wall decoration, the building history, the *instrumentum domesticum*, and the soundings dug in the *insula* to verify the building history. The final chapter, dealing with the position of the *insula* in the town plan, contains the most interesting information. According to Gallo the small *saggi* in the *insula* provide archaeological evidence to support the theories proposed by Stefano De Caro, who thinks that the system of town planning with more or less square blocks on the east side of the Via di Stabia originated earlier than the system with the oblong *insulae* on the Via di Nocera. The finds in the trenches (pottery, amphorae, small kitchen utensils) and the wall construction lead Gallo to date the former group of blocks (squares of ca. 125-130 m) to the first half of the 3rd century BC and the latter (measuring ca. 30 x 90 m) to the second half of the 3rd century.

Regarding the arrangement of the building lots in the *insula*, Gallo discerns on the west side 5 lots, oriented from west to east, all originally of equal length (ca. 26 m.), but with different widths. An extensive analysis of the measurements would have been very useful to support his theories about the building history, but Gallo only considers the original measure-

ments briefly (p. 91). There he states that the total area of the 5 lots measures 94 x 226 Oscan feet (26 x 61.5 m), with lot widths of 51' (14 m), 26' (7.30 m), 49' (13.40 m), 65' (18 m), and 35' (9.75 m) respectively. In a later phase the sizes of lots 4 and 5 were changed, due to the construction of the House of Epidius Rufus in the middle of the *insula*, covering the whole length of the block.

The book is let down by its plans. The only overall plan of the *insula* is a barely legible one from the time of Fiorelli (1870s), which is nice as an antiquarian illustration, but a modern publication surely requires an updated plan. As a matter of fact the book contains such a new (partial) plan, reproduced on p. 10, to show the wall construction in the western part of the *insula*. Unfortunately the explanatory legend to this plan is rather unclear, because the shadings used for e.g. *opus vittatum*, *opus a telaio* and *opus quadratum* resemble each other too closely. For greater clarity it would have been better either to execute the plan in colour, or to give it a legend with shadings that are not derived from the construction types. Finally, it would have been useful to include a large plan showing the position of the *insula* within the town plan of Pompeii, which would contribute much to the understanding of the discussion of town planning in chapter 5.

All in all, however, Gallo has presented a valuable study. Another part of a Pompeian *insula* has been documented, yielding new information for the chronology of the town plan. It is praiseworthy that he has presented part of his results, rather than waiting until he had studied the whole *insula*, although this does mean that for now only a few 'definite' conclusions can be drawn and a total overview is not possible. Hopefully such a generic view will be presented in the second volume about this *insula*, which preferably will also give more attention to the plans and to the metrology.

Richard de Kind

CHRISTOPH P.J. OHLIG, *De Aquis Pompeiorum. Das Castellum Aquae in Pompeji: Herkunft, Zuleitung und Verteilung des Wassers*, (Circumvesuviana, 4, J.A.K.E. de Waele & E.M. Moormann (eds.)). Nijmegen 2001. 483 S., Abb., CD mit Foto-Anhang in Farbe; 26.5 cm. – ISBN 3-8311-2614-3.

At last, about 100 years after its discovery, the first comprehensive and complete study of the *Castellum Aquae* (hence CA) in Pompeii has appeared. Christoph Ohlig has written a superb analysis of the water distribution center in Pompeii, which is much more than the story of the building itself. Ohlig takes the reader on many excursions: from theories about the family tree of the manuscripts of Vitruvius to the sources of the water supply in the Apennines, and from the mineralogical analysis of the water sediments to the reconstruction of the way in which the moulds for the water channel were used and re-used.

The major conclusions of Ohlig's study are as follows. The CA is definitely NOT the *castellum* described by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* 8.6.1-2. The building has been connected to this passage ever since its discovery, often without question, but Ohlig shows convincingly

that Vitruvius is referring to a different type of construction (pp. 33-48).

The present CA is the result of two building stages, corresponding to two different periods in the water supply of Pompeii: 1. In the first stage, dated between 80 and 40 BC, the CA was an open, nymphaeum-like construction, with a basin for the collection and distribution of water. In this period Pompeii received its water through a channel coming from the Apennines, in the area of Avella. The water supply was abundant for parts of the year, but not always reliable. 2. Around 20 BC the building was remodeled into its present state. In the basin several constructions were made to regulate the water flow, due to a change in the source of the supply. In this period the Serino watercourse was constructed, to supply water to Misenum and Neapolis and to regulate the water systems in Campania. The old Avella supply became linked to the new supply from Serino, and Pompeii now received (combined) water from two sources. The water channel to the CA remained the same and contained water throughout the year, but the amount was much reduced. This forced the people of Pompeii to improve the division and regulation of the water. The ingenious and subtle constructions in the basin made it possible to divide the water fairly over the town in periods of scarcity. To avoid abuse it was necessary to cover the basin and to be able to lock the building.

Ohlig has documented his conclusions extensively and every detail has been examined to the bone. For example, he has built a scale model of the basin to study all the possible water flows. As a former teacher he is able to present the complex information to his audience in a lucid way. He has built three layers in his book: for those who wish to view the results quickly, there is a concise summary (chapter VII, pp. 269-277); the interested reader can go to different levels in the preceding chapters; and for those who really want to know every detail, Ohlig has added a large quantity of appendices.

I want to make a few minor remarks on the content. On pp. 72-75 Ohlig discusses the junction of the two water courses (Avella and Serino). He assumes that at the junction a kind of collection basin existed, from which the flows were led in different directions. He shows two parallels for such a collection point, one, of smaller size, from Pompeii (lead pipes with a 'cassette'), and the other from the Eiffel waterworks at Eiserfey (two channels from Urft and Weyer merging into one channel towards Cologne). However, in both cases the flow is from two channels into one, not from *two* into *two*. It still remains unclear how the flows from the north (Avella) and the east (Serino) were merged and how the pressure in the channels was regulated in order to diminish the water supply to Pompeii in favor of the flow towards Misenum and Neapolis.

On p. 243 the relief from the house of L. Caecilius Lucundus is used to reconstruct the exterior of the CA. This relief, unfortunately stolen, shows part of Pompeii, including the CA, during the earthquake of AD 62. The depiction of the CA differs in some points from the existing building. Ohlig clarifies some of these differences on pp. 245-246, but there are more: for instance, the middle arch is shown as much wider on the relief

than in reality. It would have been useful to examine this source more extensively, as the only existing picture of the CA from antiquity - especially as Ohlig has shown that a large part of the upper exterior wall has apparently been restored (Abb. VI.53.a).

At first glance the book looks well edited, but it takes a while to get used to the many different headings and font styles. The book certainly deserves a monumental edition in a larger format, which could incorporate, for example, a folding page showing the complete course of the water channel (at present the reader is instructed to tear Abb. I.18-19 out of the book and glue them together). But such an edition would mean an increase in the price, which would conflict with the author's intention to produce an affordable book. In this respect he has clearly succeeded. It is a print-on-demand edition, obtainable from regular book stores or - more cheaply - directly from the author (e-mail address: Christoph.Ohlig@t-online.de). For € 50,- plus postage, one receives the book and the accompanying Photo CD (with all the photos from the book in color!). It is not much for a book like this, which can be seen as a standard work on the water supply of Pompeii.

Richard de Kind

GAETANO MESSINEO (ed.), *Ad Gallinas Albas Villa di Livia*. Roma «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 234 pp., 255 figg., 5 tavv.; 29 cm. (Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, Supplementi 8) - ISBN 88-8265-167-3.

Nella premessa al suo lavoro, Gaetano Messineo dichiara di voler tracciare un quadro delle indagini relative alla Villa di Livia a Prima Porta, con un'attenzione particolare a specifici elementi del complesso che saranno opportunamente collocati nel contesto complessivo. Le categorie di reperti che vengono presentate sono definite dal curatore 'strettamente legate all'architettura'. Nel primo capitolo (9-16) L. Calvelli e G. Messineo illustrano le testimonianze scritte e la storia degli scavi che ha inizio nel tardo XVI secolo, con una prima campagna di scavo ufficiale svoltasi nel 1863. Una dopo l'altra furono allora rinvenute la statua di Augusto di Prima Porta e la famosa sala con pitture a giardino. Il secondo capitolo (*Storia e topografia*, 17-22) prende in esame soprattutto la storia antica della zona circostante e i materiali da costruzione presenti nell'area. Questa parte rimane inorganica e brani del terzo capitolo sulla storia recente avrebbero avuto in questo punto più felice collocazione (il riferimento è a un passo sul bombardamento del 1944 e a uno sulla pessima condizione dei resti al momento in cui furono avviati gli scavi nel 1983).

Il terzo capitolo, incentrato sull'architettura del complesso (G. Messineo, M. Carrara e P. Carbonari), analizza volta per volta una porzione della villa, procedendo da sud verso nord. Alcune componenti importanti della villa, tuttavia, non vengono quasi prese in considerazione, come nel caso dell'atrio, mentre altre vengono descritte in modo più che esauriente con una serie di digressioni molto dettagliate, peraltro non sempre del tutto intellegibili. Meglio sarebbe stato

se gli autori si fossero limitati a una descrizione dei resti visibili senza focalizzare lo sguardo su determinati elementi della villa, con il risultato di una trattazione fortemente disuguale. Grande attenzione viene data infatti a certi ambienti del complesso termale, come l'ambiente 26 (pp. 47-55), mentre nel caso degli ambienti 44-55 del medesimo complesso l'analisi viene esaurita in sole quattro pagine. Purtroppo una descrizione dei resti chiara e improntata all'equilibrio è e rimane ancora un desiderato. Il fatto poi che una serie di stanze nella pianta non risultino contrassegnate da alcun numero, sebbene siano oggetto di trattazione, non contribuisce certo alla comprensibilità dell'insieme. Peccato anche che manchi una sintesi, un discorso complessivo che, raccogliendo le descrizioni delle singole parti della villa, sia capace di fornire un quadro chiaro dello sviluppo della struttura attraverso l'antichità. Una parte della villa che non viene affatto presa in esame è la sala con pitture a giardino che ora si trovano a Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, a Roma. Si veda per una recente trattazione della sala il bel lavoro di Salvatore Settis [ed.], *Le pareti ingannevoli. La Villa di Livia e la pittura di giardino*, Milano 2002, e il testo di poco precedente di Jane Clark Reeder, *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas. A Study in the Augustan Villa and Garden*, Providence 2001. Anche Reeder si sofferma in particolare sull'ambiente ipogeo, ma non offre grandi novità al riguardo. I dipinti del II secolo d.C., pertinenti alla sezione meridionale della villa, sono stati accolti nell'apparato delle illustrazioni ma non ricevono alcuna attenzione nell'ambito del testo (si veda per una breve illustrazione dell'argomento: G. Messineo (ed.), *La Via Flaminia*, Roma 1991, 237-246). Questi dipinti sono di alto livello qualitativo e dunque una loro disamina rappresenterebbe un contributo rilevante alla conoscenza della storia tarda della villa.

Alla sezione dedicata all'architettura seguono sei appendici che presentano materiali di rinvenimento (91-149): in successione vengono passate in rassegna murature, bolli laterizi, decorazioni architettoniche fittili, frammenti pittorici, decorazioni pavimentali ed elementi architettonici lapidei. L'esame dell'insieme dei reperti è senz'altro utile ma troppo eterogeneo e discontinuo, con alcune notevoli lacune, quali la mancata descrizione dell'ultima categoria o la troppo episodica collocazione dei materiali nei rispettivi contesti di provenienza.

Il quarto capitolo (151-200) fornisce i risultati di uno scavo all'esterno della villa, ai piedi della rupe, di una cisterna romana (26,5 x 7,10 m.), incorporata in un secondo momento nella struttura nota come Casale di S. Maria in Via Lata. Il crollo di questa cisterna nel I secolo d.C. ne ha provocato il riempimento con numerose anfore e altro vasellame, lucerne e vetro nonché una moneta di Tiberio; il tutto viene illustrato con dovizia di particolari, sollevando l'interrogativo sull'opportunità di inserire un capitolo del genere in un libro con questo titolo.

Nel quinto capitolo A. Klynne e P. Liljenstolpe (201-207) offrono un breve resoconto dei primi risultati degli scavi condotti in due giardini del complesso. Anzitutto viene preso in esame il piccolo giardino a sud-est dell'atrio, dove sono stati rinvenute tra l'altro 22 *ollae perforatae* o vasi forati, quindi è la volta di quello

grande, sul lato nord del complesso, dove è venuta alla luce una serie di muretti pertinenti a un terrazzamento, interpretato come giardino pensile con bordure all'interno dei muretti e davanti un euripus. Qui sono state trovate almeno 30 *ollae perforatae*. In sé interessante, ma a mio avviso estranea all'ambito di questo lavoro, è una breve appendice sul rinvenimento di un'ostrica negli scavi. Di rilievo l'ampia e ricca bibliografia che chiude il libro (214-227).

Seppure dotata di un'elegante veste editoriale e corredata di illustrazioni di alto livello, l'opera, curata da e in gran parte realizzata da G. Messineo, manca l'obiettivo di fornire una visione d'insieme della villa. Si rimane dunque in attesa di una monografia che illustri in modo conveniente tutti i resti della villa nel loro contesto e in una prospettiva cronologica, con uno sguardo attento anche ai più recenti ritrovamenti.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

LISA MARALDI, *Falerio*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 113 pp., 108 figs. (Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica ; XIII suppl.) (Città Romane; 5) – ISBN 88-8265-203-3.

Cette belle monographie nous présente une carte archéologique de l'aire urbaine et suburbaine de *Falerio*, situé en plein centre de la *Regio V, Picenum*. Cette petite ville occupait une zone plane entre deux affluents du fleuve Tenna, au pied du village actuel de Falerone (prov. Ascoli Piceno, Italie Centrale), à S.-E., dans le hameau Piane di Falerone. Le gros de l'ouvrage consiste en un inventaire raisonné de la documentation actuellement visible (parfois incorporée dans des constructions modernes) ou occasionnellement aperçue et enregistrée dans le courant du siècle passé. Mis à part les restes de quelques édifices ou constructions d'une certaine ampleur (théâtre, amphithéâtre, citernes, édifices à destination thermale, villa suburbaine), il s'agit surtout d'éléments isolés ou fragmentaires (murs, pavements, égouts, dallages de rue, tombes,...) mais pour cela pas moins importants du point de vue topographique. La carte archéologique proprement dite est précédée par quelques notes introductives sur l'histoire de la recherche, les sources littéraires et épigraphiques et la géomorphologie du territoire. Dans un chapitre intitulé 'lecture critique de la documentation' sont abordés de façon concise mais complète tous les aspects de la topographie urbaine et suburbaine, se servant à la fois de la documentation archéologique rassemblée et des sources écrites. Le chapitre final de 'conclusions' présente un aperçu chronologique de l'occupation du site de la préhistoire jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

Vu l'absence d'un mur d'enceinte, l'étendue de l'aire urbaine de *Falerio* ne peut être déterminée que par des éléments naturels comme les deux affluents du Tenna et par la présence d'éléments à caractère nettement sub-urbain comme des sépultures, une villa et peut-être aussi l'amphithéâtre. Avec une surface d'à peine 8 ha (encore un peu inférieure à celle du petit centre samnite de *Saepinum*) la ville examinée appartient indubitablement à la catégorie des «centres mineurs» de l'Italie antique, en l'occurrence un centre de marché comme il ressort de quelques documents épigraphi-

ques faisant mention d'un *ponderarium* et d'un *forum pecuarium*, malheureusement toujours pas localisables de façon certaine. Parmi les sources littéraires et épigraphiques sont mentionnés également plusieurs documents concernant l'organisation agraire du territoire et concernant le réseau routier, mais ces aspects ne sont cependant pas valorisés dans le chapitre de synthèse. Si pour les cadastres de zones agraires éloignées du centre urbain cette absence est certainement justifiable, le nombre relativement important de milliaires et d'autres inscriptions routières aurait toutefois pu fournir l'occasion d'aborder la situation de *Falerio* comme noeud routier à l'intérieur du *Picenum*. Malgré l'intensité de la recherche durant ces dernières décennies, le réseau routier de cette région reste toujours assez mal connu, en particulier les routes de l'intérieur comme p.ex. le trajet de *Ausculum* à *Potentia* qui devait traverser probablement la petite ville de *Falerio*.

Mis à part le manque d'indexes, qui auraient éventuellement pu faciliter la consultation de cet ouvrage, il s'agit indubitablement d'une publication exemplaire, dont le sujet est développé de façon très systématique.

Frank Van Wouterghem

FIORELLA FESTA FARINA (et al.), *Tra Damasco e Roma. L'architettura di Apollodoro nella cultura classica*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. XXI+2x284 pp. (Italian and Arabic texts), 5 figures in the text; LXIII plates (= 98 figures), ISBN 88-8265-171-1.

From December 2001 to January 2002, an exhibition at Damascus had as its focal point Apollodorus of Damascus, the court architect of Trajan, and - at least for the beginning of his reign - of Hadrian. The exhibition was a cooperative effort of Syria and Italy, Rome in particular. In this context, the book under discussion was presented, a substantial bilingual work in two volumes, consisting of over 600 pages. The Italian and Arabic texts are separated by the images. The work is divided into 5 sections.

Sezione I (pp. 1-30) discusses the individual Apollodorus. The builder lived from ca. AD 60 to 125. Only one indication survives for the years in Syria; his name forms part of the inscription on a column, which was found during restoration of the great Mosque of Damascus, and was once part of the temple of Zeus there. The name itself is a hellenised form of the Nabatean *Abodat*. It is possible that Trajan met the architect in Syria, where his father had been *legatus pro praetore* and he himself *tribunus legionis* between AD 73 and 76. After the Dacian Wars, during which Apollodorus was, amongst other things, responsible for building the Roman bridge over the Danube, he worked in Rome. He was furthermore the author of a work on siege engines, which is both stylistically and grammatically very weak, indicating that Greek will not have been his native language. The four short contributions to this section are unaltered reprints from *L'Arte dell'assedio di Apollodoro di Damasco* (Rome 1999). Of these contributions, the piece by Leila Nesta on Apollodorus' portrait is highly speculative.

Sezione II (pp. 31-147) analyses the different edifices that Apollodorus built for Trajan. According to Dio

Cassius, those would have been the Forum and Baths of Trajan, and the Odeion, which as a rule is attributed to Domitian. The articles in this section examine these and other buildings. Recent excavations have contributed to considerable progress in our knowledge of these structures. Silvana Rizzo reviews the history of excavations of the imperial Fora, providing insights into the excavations of the last two decennia. Roberto Meneghini, in his contribution on the Forum of Trajan, documents the striking finds of recent years in that area. The Mercati Traianei are dealt with by Lucrezia Ungaro, who does not only study the history of the complex in antiquity, but also in later history, including its future function as a permanent museum of the imperial Fora. She differentiates between the lower and higher sections of the complex, and interprets the central part as seat of the *procurator fori traiani*. She is, however, rather vague on the function of the complex as a whole: 'L'immagine complessiva che emerge è quella di edifici con funzioni diverse, ma in qualche modo correlate.' Rita Volpe and Giovanni Caruso treat Trajan's Baths, including recent finds in this area such as the 'città dipinta'. In his piece on Trajan's harbour, Fausto Zevi mainly discusses the prehistory, examining the harbour itself only parenthetically. The contribution by Maria Grazia Fiore and Zaccaria Mari analyses the villa in Arcinazzo Romano, which is attributed to Trajan. This last piece suffers heavily from a lack of illustrations, making it difficult to comprehend. In general, it is unfortunate that the articles in this section do not examine the different sets of buildings in a more standardised way; the chosen approaches differ widely. The relation to Apollodorus, however, is always taken into account. In fact, an important role in the construction by Apollodorus can only be guaranteed for the Forum and Baths of Trajan. Interestingly, Sandro de Maria, in his paper on 'i monumenti onorati di Traiano' (136-147), really looks for the person of Apollodorus as architect of buildings other than those mentioned by Dio.

In *Sezione III* (pp. 149-194) the monuments from Hadrian's reign in which the authors recognise Apollodorus' style are put to the fore. The notion that the arch of Constantine had a precursor from Hadrian's reign has, by now, been superseded. Discussed monuments are the Pantheon (Alessandro Viscogliosi), the Villa Adriana in Tivoli (Anna Maria Reggiani, who puts forward an approach for further research, and Stefano Gizzi, who discusses cupola building) and the Temple of Venus and Roma (Claudia Del Monti), mainly emphasising recent restoration interventions.

Sezione IV (pp. 195-245) reviews recent analyses of the Column of Trajan. The most substantial contribution is by Cinzia Conti, who puts forward some technical aspects and recognises, through meticulous attention for detail, five main sculptors and two assistants. A further three articles deal with aspects of the 'Nachleben', including the history of the casts by Clotilde D'Amato.

Sezione V (pp. 247-284) is wholly dedicated to the practice of making casts, starting point of which form the 16 new casts that were made for Damascus from the old ones in the Museo della Civiltà Romana (amongst others by Costantino Meucci) and to the description of these 16 key scenes on the Column (Giuliana Calcani).

The sections are not always suitably balanced. Nor

do articles show clear agreements as to uniformity of the pieces within individual sections. The Greek, furthermore, is problematic, especially as far as accents are concerned. There is no general bibliography, though one is occasionally referred to in abbreviated form, cf. notes 8-10 on p. 47. The papers also almost continuously lack references to the images, and some contributions are unfortunately only scarcely illustrated, or not at all. Cause of this seems to be a very hurried production process. This criticism notwithstanding, the volume forms a good introduction to Trajanic architecture, and to the person of Apollodorus, who was professionally closely connected to it.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

CLAUDIA LIEDTKE, *Nebenraumdekorationen des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in Italien*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003. IX+315 pp., 58 tavv., 15 figg.; 28 cm (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Ergh. 31). – ISBN 3-11-017539-8.

Punto di partenza di quest'opera – che è il testo, leggermente modificato nella pubblicazione, di una tesi discussa nell'anno 1997-1998 alla *Freie Universität* di Berlino – sono taluni grandi cambiamenti verificatisi nella pittura romana del II secolo d.C., in particolare nello schema compositivo e nell'uso del colore: da quel momento emerge una chiara differenziazione tra decori con fondo policromo e quelli a fondo monocromo, essendo il primo gruppo applicato fondamentalmente negli 'Haupträume', gli ambienti principali, il secondo nei 'Nebenräume', quelli secondari. Nel saggio le decorazioni su fondo monocromo sono trattate separatamente. Giacché la cronologia delle pitture è quanto mai discordante nella moderna letteratura sull'argomento, Liedtke presenta anzitutto una tipologia, in base alla quale effettua un'analisi stilistica che le consente di formulare un'ipotesi di cronologia. Davvero degno di nota il fatto che la studiosa abbia dedicato un'apposita monografia alla mappatura di questi materiali non molto significativi sotto il profilo estetico.

Liedtke distingue quattro gruppi tipologici: 'Ädikuladekorationen', 'Felderdekorationen', 'Rahmendekorationen' e 'Lineardekorationen', rispettivamente decorazioni 'a edicola', 'a pannelli', 'a cornice' e 'lineari'. Data l'impossibilità di datarli con precisione, essa propone una datazione complessiva articolata in quattro periodi: adrianeo, antoniniano, - a sua volta suddiviso in primo (140-170) e tardo (170-190) -, severiano e post-severiano.

Illustrato nella prima parte del lavoro il quadro di riferimento dell'indagine, segue nella seconda parte quello che è a mio parere il catalogo completo (13-192), dove le informazioni fornite per ciascun ambiente dipinto, senza ambire alla completezza, si concentrano a ragione su quanto è necessario all'analisi. I primi ad essere presi in esame sono gli esempi da Ostia, dove è stato rinvenuto il maggior quantitativo di materiale, si passa quindi a Roma e infine al resto d'Italia, a seguire una selezione di pitture pertinenti a catacombe e tombe della città eterna. Le descrizioni nel catalogo sono in genere accurate, tuttavia si prestano a qualche appunto. Certamente non monocromi sono Tivoli, il Giardino dello Stadio, ambiente L (cat. 53.1); Alba Fucens, Villa

urbana, ambiente B e D (rispettivamente 69.1-2). La Casa a Giardino III 9, 16, ambiente 6, a Ostia (19.1), indicata quale esempio di decorazione 'a cornice', ne presenta piuttosto una 'aedicola'. Discutibile anche la datazione, tratta da Mielsch, degli aurighi, nell'omonimo Caseggiato a Ostia, al primo periodo antoniniano (v. S. Mols, *MededRom* 58, 1999, 364). L'obiezione più rilevante riguarda in fondo tutte le decorazioni 'a cornice' a Ostia che, per la marcata presenza di ampie incorniciature intorno ai pannelli, devono essere annoverate piuttosto tra i dipinti policromi. Gli esempi in causa sono i numeri di catalogo 18.1-2 (risp. Casa delle Muse, ambiente 9 e 16), cat. 20 (Caseggiato degli Aurighi: 9 esempi), 22 (Caseggiato del Serapide, cortile, punto di partenza è una foto di scavo da riferire in realtà al Caseggiato degli Aurighi, ambiente 29, parete nord, non adrianeo ma antoniniano; quest'inversione torna regolarmente nello studio), 25.1 (Caseggiato III 16, 2); 34.1 (Caseggiato IV 9, 4); 41.1 (magazzino, luogo di rinvenimento sconosciuto).

Nella terza parte (193-300) si procede all'analisi, che muove anzitutto da un esame tipo-cronologico. Alla stragrande maggioranza delle pitture viene assegnata una datazione di natura stilistica sulla base dell'impiego del colore, dei modi di raffigurazione di ghirlande e candelabri e dell'elemento di delimitazione dei pannelli. Il rischio di una simile analisi e della cronologia che ne deriva è di dare poco o nessun peso al fatto che taluni pittori si attengono a una certa tradizione più a lungo di altri. Per il gruppo degli ornamenti 'a edicola' Liedtke ritiene di grande importanza l'apparato decorativo su fondo rosso del corridoio 29 della Casa di Giove e Ganimede (cat. 5.2), a motivo di un graffito che deve risalire al 190-191. Essa data pertanto il dipinto al periodo tardo antoniniano, mentre il graffito non fornisce in effetti che un *terminus ante quem*, come la studiosa stessa già segnala a pagina 201 in maniera più generica: 'Es ist jedoch ohne weiteres denkbar, daß es sich bei den rotgrundigen Malereien in Korridoren um eine Dekorationsform handelt, die nicht nur in spätantoninischer, sondern in antoninischer Zeit generell verbreitet war ...', le pitture su fondo rosso in questione, dunque, sono con buona probabilità forme decorative ampiamente diffuse già in epoca antoniniana. Per quanto riguarda le decorazioni 'a pannelli' (211-224), Liedtke data le stanze c e c', ubicate sotto San Giovanni in Laterano a Roma, all'epoca severiana, mentre queste ultime, senza dubbio anteriori alla costruzione dei *Castra* per gli *equites singulares* nel 193, risalgono probabilmente al 180 circa (v. S. Mols/E. Moormann, *Le pitture romane - Frammenti e resti in situ*, in P. Liverani (a cura di), *Laterano 1. Scavi sotto la Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano. I materiali*, Città del Vaticano 1998, 115-131, soprattutto 127-130).

La seconda parte dell'analisi viene definita da Liedtke come una 'Epochenorientierte Auswertung' (235-278), un'indagine per epoche che passa in rassegna le decorazioni degli ambienti principali e di quelli secondari nell'ambito dei periodi individuati dalla studiosa. Interessante è la constatazione che, a partire dall'età severiana, gli apparati decorativi degli ambienti principali e di quelli secondari appaiono completamente indipendenti gli uni dagli altri e mostrano una propria autonoma evoluzione. A chiusura di questa fase dell'esame segue uno sguardo al IV e al V secolo.

Alcuni edifici, spiega l'autore, presentano pitture policrome negli ambienti principali e invece monocrome in quelli secondari, mentre altri hanno in tutti gli ambienti decori monocromi. Il secondo gruppo, di difficile spiegazione, in effetti verrebbe a cadere qualora le decorazioni 'a cornice' vengano classificate come policrome, rendendo non pertinenti certe osservazioni come (p. 255): 'Es ist von daher offensichtlich, daß den Rahmendekorationen ein höherer Stellenwert als den Felder- und Ädikuladekorationen beigemessen wurde', secondo cui alle decorazioni 'a cornice' veniva riconosciuto chiaramente un valore maggiore rispetto a quelle 'a pannelli' e 'ad edicola'. Tra gli esempi di decorazioni di ambienti principali di epoca antoniniana non compaiono le pitture della Villa di Livvia a Prima Porta (si veda ad es. G. Messineo (a cura di), *La Via Flaminia*, Roma 1991, 237-246).

L'analisi si conclude con la parte dedicata alla valutazione socio-storica (279-300). Liedtke richiama l'attenzione su una certa omogeneità nell'ornamentazione di ambienti principali e secondari pertinenti ad abitazioni adiacenti. Giacché qui l'affittuario non può in alcun modo aver influito sulla decorazione, la studiosa imputa questo fatto a una standardizzazione diffusa. Essa constata inoltre una gerarchia nelle decorazioni monocrome: quelle con fondo rosso o giallo erano più importanti di quelle con fondo bianco: nelle abitazioni più piccole, come nel caso dei due appartamenti della Casa di Annio a Ostia, decorati in maniera pressoché identica, erano presenti esclusivamente pitture su fondo bianco. Liedtke sposa la vecchia tesi secondo cui più in alto si saliva nelle *insulae* e più gli ambienti erano poveri e ritiene (p. 300) che eventuali ornamentazioni qui non potessero essere che modestissime. A sostegno di quest'idea vengono anche qui citati passi tratti da Marziale e Giovenale, che però descrivono la situazione a Roma e rispetto ai quali possono essere chiamate in causa anche parole di segno positivo sull'abitare ai piani alti (Vitruvio 2.8.17). La presenza di decorazioni 'a cornice' al terzo piano, il più alto conservatosi, del Caseggiato degli Aurighi, di valore pari a quelle rinvenute al pianterreno (Mols 1999, 360), dimostra che a Ostia non vi sono indicazioni che le cose stessero effettivamente così.

Alcuni errori fastidiosi in questo lavoro, peraltro estremamente interessante, sono stati rilevati nelle espressioni in lingua straniera, e particolarmente in latino: e così *opus laterizium* deve essere *opus latericium* (97 e 161); *equites singulares* sarà *equites singulares* (125); e *castrum peregrina* senz'altro *castra peregrina*.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

SUSANNA OGNIBENE, *Umm al-Rasas: La chiesa di Santo Stefano ed il «problema iconofobico»*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 519 pp., ill.; 25 cm (Studia archeologica 114). – ISBN 88-8265-145-2.

For over half a century, archaeological research in the former Roman provinces of Palestina and Arabia has come across the phenomenon of the deliberate and systematic destruction of images representing living creatures in ancient Christian churches. Father Michele Piccirillo, the leading expert on early church decorations

in the Trans-Jordan area, revived the question in 1996 (Iconofobia o iconoclastia nelle chiese di Giordania? in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente, Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei*, Roma 1996, 173-186). Piccirillo emphasizes the differences between Byzantine iconoclasm, directed against the sacred images of Christ and the saints on panels and walls, and what he calls iconofobia: the uncompromising destruction of all things animate in the floor mosaics of Near Eastern churches.

The monography written by Susanna Ognibene is in fact a detailed elaboration of Piccirillo's sketch of the problem. The author has focussed her study on one of the most important churches excavated by the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, St. Stephen's in Umm al-Rasas, the ancient Roman garrison town of Kastron Mefaa, south of Amman. St. Stephen's is part of a complex consisting of four churches in the periphery of the outer city, north of the *castrum*. With five other buildings for Christian worship they bear eloquent witness to the flowering of the city, part of the diocese of Madaba, in the Byzantine and Umayyad periods. All these monuments have lain in ruins since the city was abandoned, probably in the 9th century. Mosaic floors, dated between 587 and 756, have been uncovered in six churches. St. Stephen's possesses the most stunning ensemble of them, splendidly published by - again - Piccirillo (M. Piccirillo, E. Alliata et al., *Umm al-Rasas, Mayfa'ah I. Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano*, Jerusalem 1994).

The aim of Ognibene's study is to document meticulously the process of destruction and repair of the figurative decorations in one building, in order to elucidate the modes of operation and the underlying motives of the 'iconophobes'. The first three chapters summarize the essential evidence regarding the region, the city and the church and complex of St. Stephen's. Chapter IV offers a detailed description of the well-preserved mosaic floors that cover the entire area of the church. The fifth chapter, on the archaeological evidence of the iconophobic interventions, is the core of the book. It presents the results of the detailed analyses included in the catalogue and compares these with evidence from other churches. Chapter VI discusses the literary sources regarding iconoclasm in the Byzantine and Muslim spheres. The general conclusions are followed by the extensive catalogue (310 pages), describing all the elements in the mosaics with animate figures. A list of all known churches in the region with mosaics, a bibliography and various indices complete the book. The volume itself is physically solid and typographically well executed.

The catalogue contains the working material of this study. It has more than 130 entries, arranged according to the parts of the church: without doubt this is a complete corpus of the living beings depicted in St. Stephen's mosaics. All entries have a description of the original iconography, an account of the 'intervento iconofobico' and whenever possible comparative 'confronti' with related representations in other churches. The entries are illustrated by a photograph and an illuminating line drawing, the latter explaining the extent of the iconoclastic intervention. It becomes clear that all human figures in the donor panels were completely erased, whereas in the Nilotic and pastoral scenes, the purging concentrated on the heads. Interestingly enough, the

explicit nudity of the Nilotic figures was not considered offensive, since the genitals were left intact while the faces were removed (e.g. B12). In the same way, the animals - large and small - in panels and borders have been affected by the gouging out of faces and frequently other projecting members. The cases in which the animals' heads have been preserved may be accidental, with some exceptions (e.g. C2). After the destruction of the most 'breathing' components of the representations, the voids were immediately repaired with the same tesserae, without any particular design or at the very most with some awkward ornamental motif. This repair aimed not only to prevent the surface from decaying, but obviously also to reintegrate the compositional and colouristic coherence of the panels. There is no doubt that these acts of destruction and subsequent repair were carried out with a view to continued religious use of the buildings; hence the Christians themselves are the most probable agents.

Ognibene establishes that the datable disfigurements of mosaics took place after 718 and before 762 and that more than one third of the 150 churches with mosaics were affected by iconoclastic interventions. Hence, the beginning of the 'iconophobic' movement in the Christian communities of the Umayyad state coincides chronologically with the imperial policy of iconoclasm in the Byzantine empire.

Having taken note of the precise procedure of disfiguration in one church, the reader of the book under review will have become eager to learn more about the cultural and religious motives and impact of this episode in Muslim-dominated Christianity, and about the connections with Byzantine iconoclasm. But in this respect, Ognibene's study is disappointing. Apart from some speculative proposals, the author adds little to earlier studies (among which *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic rule: an historical and archaeological study* by Robert Schick, Princeton 1995, deserves to be highlighted).

In general, the author relies heavily on the work of her immediate predecessors, sometimes in a remarkably passive way, for example in accepting all the common symbolic explanations of iconographical motifs as if they constitute a well-established and indisputable canon (ch. IV.2). Another flaw is the large amount of repetition in the chapters and catalogue entries. A sceptical reader may even wonder what original contribution to our knowledge can be expected from the discussion of numerous parallel and nearly identical cases in the catalogue. I prefer to leave this question open, out of admiration for the detailed documentation offered here. Ognibene's close-up confirms and adds depth to the results of earlier publications, acquaints us with the intimate particulars of one magnificent monument and thereby intensifies our interest in the religious and artistic developments of a world in transition.

Sible de Blaauw

BARBARA ZIMMERMANN, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003. 272 S., 92 s/w-Abb., 8 Farbabb.; 25 cm. – ISBN 3-89500-319-0.

Gegenstand dieses Buches ist der berühmte Codex Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vind.theol.gr.31, besser bekannt als Wiener Genesis, eine der bedeutendsten illustrierten Handschriften überhaupt, die durch B. Zimmermann eine hervorragende Analyse erfahren hat. Die Arbeit ist in zwei Teile gegliedert: In einen Überblick über die antike Buchmalerei und in die eigentliche Untersuchung des Codex'. Vorangestellt ist ein Kapitel zur Forschungsgeschichte der antiken Buchmalerei und zur Methodik. Die Frage, die die Forschung der frühchristlichen narrativen Illustration am meisten beschäftigt, lautet: 'Ab wann gab es illustrierte Bücher narrativen Inhalts und wie sahen diese aus?' Die Autorin übt vor allem Kritik an die These Weitzmanns und seiner Anhänger, die von der Existenz jüdischer illustrierter Bücher ausgehen. Die von Weitzmann entwickelte Methode der Bildkritik analog zur philologischen Textkritik lehnt B. Zimmermann nicht ab, plädiert jedoch für ihre korrekte Anwendung.

Die Autorin gibt einen sorgfältig aufgebauten Überblick über die spätantike Buchmalerei, der folgende vier Kategorien umfasst: Die wissenschaftliche Illustration, die illustrierten literarischen Werke, die Illustration biblischer Texte, und mittelalterliche Bibelhandschriften, deren Archetyp in der Spätantike vermutet wird. Die Verschiedenheit der Illustrationssysteme in der Spätantike wertet die Autorin als ein Zeichen für eine Zeit des Neubeginns. Demnach gab es keine stufenweise Entwicklung vom textgebundenen Bild zu einer vom Text losgelösten, ganzseitigen Miniatur, wie Weitzmann sie rekonstruierte. Zimmermann schließt die Existenz von kontinuierenden Friesen in Buchrollen nicht aus. Diese Buchrollen hätten ein völlig anderes Aussehen als jenes, das Weitzmann vorschlug, und es gibt keinen Grund, ihre Existenz früher als in der Spätantike anzunehmen.

Die Untersuchung der Wiener Genesis beginnt mit einem Kapitel über die Forschungsgeschichte. Die Herkunft des Codex' aus dem syro-palästinischen Raum und seine Datierung ins 6. Jh. stellt die Autorin nicht in Frage. Das große Problem bei der Untersuchung der Handschrift ist die Annahme, dass die Wiener Genesis auf eine jüdische Vorlage im Rollenstil zurückgeht. Der Forschungsgeschichte folgt die Beschreibung des Codex'. 48 Miniaturen haben sich auf 24 Blättern erhalten, der Text wurde von zwei Schreibern geschrieben. Zimmermann betont die Originalität der Bilder, die einem bis zur Josefsgeschichte stark redigierten Septuagintatext begleiten. Dabei dominiert das Bild gegenüber dem Text. Die Wiener Genesis ist, was Schrift und Stil angeht, verwandt mit den anderen zwei frühchristlichen Purpurcodices, den Codices Rossanensis und Sinopensis.

Der größte Teil der Arbeit befasst sich mit der Beschreibung der Miniaturen. Dabei wird zunächst eine Übersetzung des zugehörigen Textes geboten. Dann wird jede Miniatur eingehend beschrieben, wobei der Stil primär nicht kommentiert wird. Es folgen die verschiedenen Deutungsvorschläge der Szenen in der Literatur, wie auch Vergleiche mit Szenen in anderen Bildzyklen, wenn vorhanden. Anschließend bietet die Autorin ihre Deutung der jeweiligen Miniatur. Am Ende des Buches sind die ersten 8 Blätter in Farbe abgebildet, während von den restlichen Blättern nur die Miniaturen in schwarz-weiß reproduziert werden.

Aus der Analyse von Zimmermann ergibt sich, dass die Bilder auf der Basis des Bibeltextes der Wiener Genesis und durch die Benutzung von gängigem Bildformular zu erklären sind. Die Gesetzmäßigkeiten des Illustrationsverfahrens finden hier Beachtung - im Gegensatz zur älteren Literatur. Alle Deutungen, die eine Beeinflussung der Illustration durch jüdische Quellen voraussetzen, werden von der Verfasserin zu Recht verworfen. Szenenkontamination, die an die Existenz eines umfangreicheren Zyklus' als Vorlage hinweisen würde, lehnt sie systematisch ab. Die Miniaturen gehen nicht über den Bibeltext hinaus. Es ist eine sachliche Umsetzung des Wortes ins Bild zu beobachten, ohne dass es nötig ist, für das Verständnis der Bilder jüdische Legenden und exegetische Texte heranzuziehen. Dies gilt ihrer Meinung nach auch für die Josefsgeschichte. Die Unstimmigkeiten zwischen Text und Bild sind in manchen Fällen eventuell durch den Einfluss einer illustrierten Ephraim Syrus-Handschrift zu erklären. Durch diese Beobachtungen wird die Illustration der Wiener Genesis als eine originelle Neuschöpfung gewertet, die keiner 'Rezension' zuzuordnen ist.

Die Auswertung beinhaltet ein Kapitel über das Bildformular, in dem verschiedene Themen ikonographisch untersucht werden. Die Autorin stellt fest, dass die Maler aus einem großen Fundus gängiger Bildformeln schöpften, die in der römischen Kunst fußen. Sie hält die Benutzung von Musterbüchern für möglich, lehnt jedoch die Übernahme von Miniaturen aus einer anderen Handschrift bis zur Josefsgeschichte ab. Aus der Analyse der Darstellungsweise, die im ganzen Codex konstant bleibt, ergibt sich, dass diese sich von der Vortragsweise in den Codices Rossanensis und Sinopensis unterscheidet. Sie findet ihre nächste Parallele in den Langhausmosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore in Rom. Die beiden Zyklen weisen die gleiche Aussageintention auf.

Das fünfte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Scheidung der Malerhände. Zimmermann reduziert die von O. Mazal angenommene, viel zu hohe, Anzahl der beteiligten Maler von elf auf sechs Maler. Man vermisst hier eine Tabelle mit der Scheidung der Hände, mit der den Ausführungen der Autorin einfacher zu folgen wäre. Im 6. Kapitel rekonstruiert Zimmermann die Entstehung der Prunkhandschrift als eine Auftragsarbeit. Anschließend werden die Teilergebnisse ihrer Untersuchung zusammengefasst.

Zimmermann ist es gelungen, die Illustrationen dieses faszinierenden Codex' sehr lebhaft und kompetent vorzustellen. Trotzdem sind einige Anmerkungen zu machen. Es ist schade, dass Datierung und Lokalisierung der Handschrift nicht erneut besprochen werden. Vor allem die Lokalisierungsfrage ist m.E. keineswegs endgültig geklärt. Die Autorin stellt zwar einen Bruch in der Wiedergabe des biblischen Textes und im Verhältnis zwischen Text und Bild ab der Josefsgeschichte fest, aber die für die Rekonstruktion des Entstehungsprozesses wichtige Frage nach dessen Grund wird nicht emphatisch genug gestellt. Für die Mehrheit der Miniaturen hat die Autorin bewiesen, dass sie am zugehörigen Text entwickelt wurden. Vor allem die Abhängigkeit mancher Miniaturen vom redigierten Text ist ein starkes Argument für eine ad hoc Entstehung des Bildzyklus. Bei einigen Miniaturen wurde jedoch klar, dass der Bibeltext für ihre Interpretation nicht aus-

reicht. Die Autorin konnte allerdings die bisherigen Deutungen überzeugend widerlegen.

Druckfehler sind in dem umfangreichen Band selten anzutreffen. Es sei außerdem bemerkt, dass der Marc. gr.479 (Ps.Oppian) ins 11. statt ins 10. Jh. zu datieren ist.

Die Analyse von Zimmermann wurde methodisch hervorragend durchgeführt. Ihr Buch ist ein wichtiger Beitrag für die Geschichte der spätantiken Buchillustration.

Vasiliki Tsamakda

J.-M. CARRIÉ, R. LIZZI TESTA (edd.), *Humana sapit. Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. XXII+504 pp.; 28 cm (Bibl. de l'Antiquité tardive 3). – ISBN 2-503-51279-8.

Festschriften are a strange, and occasionally even dubious, phenomenon. Strange because of the variety of occasions giving rise to such volumes: sexagenarians, septagenarians, retiring professors (whether or not belonging to those two age categories), are the most obvious candidates for such *honores*; in addition, certain merits come into play: an extraordinary level of scholarship, of organizing qualities and of ability and willingness to recruit 'novices' for the discipline. Nevertheless, not all scholars who fulfill these requirements, receive such an homage. Some do not want it - as is the case with royal decorations -, others may not have developed the sort of network or lacked the level of diplomacy which is a necessary, though not sufficient requirement. Dubious, because such volumes often lack a minimum of coherence and in fact are a kind of graveyard in which large numbers of articles are buried. Publication in a prestigious and accessible periodical seems preferable to such a 'burial'.

The honorand of the volume under review certainly deserves this homage; and the editors have duly sacrificed on the altar of 'coherence' by grouping the 42 contributions under six thematic headings: Italy, elites and their culture, Christianity and church, economy and society, law and administration, and ancient and modern historiography. The rubrics are interesting in themselves but at the same time they are disconcertingly broad and vague; within each rubric the coherence is hard to find; the editors did not pose certain specific questions which the contributors subsequently were asked to consider.

For the readers of *BABesch* there is little archaeology in the volume. G. Volpe publishes a stamped tile found in a *villa cum basilica* in San Giusto (Lucera, Puglia); the monogram should be read as Iohannis: either a local bishop or the homonymous *magister militum* of Justinian; not very exciting. J.M. Blazques examines various excavation-reports in a search for amphoras imported in Spain from North Africa and the Greek East (oil; salted food) between 300 and 700 AD; the decline in those imports cannot be assigned to the Arab Conquest, as once argued by J. Pirenne, whose main thesis had already been demolished long before Blazques.

N. Duval offers some perceptive comments on a late Roman mosaic from Borj Jedid (Carthage) representing a man on horseback and a building complex. Against prevailing interpretations he shows that the complex rep-

resents a city (and not a fortified villa) and the rider a hunter (and not a barbarian Vandal on horseback). E. Popescu gives a bibliographical survey of what happened in 20th-century Roumania in the field of Christian archaeology and epigraphy. One result is that once more one realizes how much of that material, published in local media, remains inaccessible to the western world. G. Bowersock contributes an elegant and convincing article on 'Peter and Constantine', showing that, at least as early as the 2nd century AD, a shrine of St. Peter is likely to have been built on the site of the present St. Peter and has been incorporated in the 4th century AD basilica; however, the latter is not likely to have been built by Constantine, though some authorities have a strong predilection for that idea for propagandistic reasons. Bad luck for the latter. S. Panciera offers a brilliant study of the Latin inscription *L'Année Épigraphique* (1927) no. 103. Re-examination of the stone showed that in LL. 2/3 there is a double rasura. In the original text Alexander Severus is likely to have been mentioned; after his death the name of Maximinus, still legible in the rasura, has been engraved. The stone dates from ca. 238 AD; earlier speculations about the 3rd or early 4th century AD are now superseded. The text mentions a shrine of Liber Pater erected on the estate of Constantii, not far from Rome.

Instead of simply listing the titles of the remaining 36 articles - a rather meaningless enterprise in view of the lack of coherence - I prefer to single out a few contributions dealing with subjects appealing to my interest and, hopefully, competence. J.-M. Carrié's article on the professional associations of late antiquity ('entre *munus* et *convivialité*') is much to be recommended in spite of the main thesis being repeated too often. That thesis is that those late antique associations, which provided *publicae necessitates*, were subject to the *munus* of the collection of taxes imposed on the members; as a result membership will have been compulsory. The corollary that the 'simples collegia urbains' (320) were not subject to state-control but were only morally engaged to their cities, seems less convincing. The many passages in the *Cod. Theod.* about *collegiati* in general, and their compulsory *obsequium* towards their city in particular, indicate more than just moral engagement. Incidentally, given the fact that compulsion reigned supreme for *curiales* and *collegiati*, and given the likelihood that this presupposes a fundamental unwillingness on the part of both groups to do what apparently during the first three centuries of the empire was done voluntarily and was considered normal behaviour, I do not understand why Carrié protests so emphatically against the concept of the *Zwangstaat*. A *Zwangstaat* it was; another question is whether such a state can be held responsible for the gradual decline of late imperial economy; decline there was, given the relative poverty and political weakness of the Carolingian kings compared to the wealth and power of the Roman emperor, the extreme fragmentation of the economy and the 'primitiveness' of the Carolingian economy. C.'s idea that Greek (and Roman) associations never defended 'intérêts corporatifs (au sens médiéval'; 313) seems problematic. Under the Principate professional associations in Asia Minor occasionally defended economic interests, directly or indirectly, as O. van Nijf has recently pointed out (*The civic world of professional associations in the Roman East*,

Amsterdam 1997; 12-18; 82-95; see also I. Dittmann-Schöne, *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Regensburg 2001). Carrié knows and praises Van Nijf's book without referring to the sections about economic interests. If we are allowed to extrapolate from an Egyptian papyrus recording price-agreements and market regulations made by salt-dealers, there is no reason to think of mere 'convivialité' as the main function of such associations. Inversely, medieval guilds did not only defend economic interests but also practised 'convivialité'.

D. Vera's article provides an interesting new interpretation of the *panis Ostiensis adque fiscalis* (*Cod. Theod.* 14.19.1), sold at a low price. We have cheap bread offered exclusively to dwellers in Ostia; in the process - and perhaps even more important - V. argues that in late imperial Rome there was a substantial *free* market for grain, oil, wine and meat.

A. Giardina dates the *Life of Abercius* to the 5th/6th century AD rather than to the 4th, as most scholars suggested up to now. His main argument is the use of the Greek word *magistrianos* for *agens in rebus*. He collected 51 cases of *magistrianus/magistrianos* indicating *agentes in rebus* and observed that for nearly all these cases there is a *terminus post quem* of 430 AD. The author of the *Vita Abercii* betrays his date by using this word. *SEG* XXX 1687, XLIV 1015, XLV 1931 and 1939 and XLVII 2008 and 2013, possibly not included in G.'s data base, confirm G.'s late date for the *magistriano*.

A. Cameron contributes a protracted review of M. Edwards/M. Goodman/S. Price (eds.), *Apologetic in the Roman Empire. Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Oxford 1999), comparing it with a few other publications on pagan and Jewish religion. She argues that 2nd century AD Christian apologetic should be seen against the background of a continuous stream of post-Constantinian treatises against the Jews and the heretics. That is fair enough, though in the pre-Constantinian treatises the emphasis is on the defense of a monotheistic minority-religion in the face of hostile and dominant pagan philosophers and cults, whereas after Constantine we have the attacks on minority groups by increasingly dominant Christians; but after all attack often is the best form of defense. C. defends two additional auxiliary views. First, apologetic is not a genre but a 'tone or method of argument' and, second, in a world characterised by 'active competition and real rivalry' between religions in the Empire apologetic cannot be severed a priori from those competitive and rivalry-prone pagan religions. The first idea helps to deny a special status to the 2nd/3rd century AD apologetic treatises of Justin Martyr, Tatian and Athenagoras, and to insert them in the above-mentioned main stream of pre- and post-Constantinian writings. The second helps to undermine the idea that pre-Constantinian Christian apologetic is a specific genre, which has nothing in common with pagan literature. However, whether or not C. finds an apologetic 'tone or method of argument' in pagan literature, this does not seem to alter the fact that it is the Christians who prior to Constantine wrote specific apologetic treatises in defense of their own creed and, implicitly or explicitly, also as an attack on pagan religion. The pre-Constantinian pagans did not produce such treatises. Celsus attacked and refuted Christianity on intellectual, philosophical

grounds rather than that he wrote an apologetic work in defense of paganism, and I cannot think of any pagan treatise in defense of pagan cults, whether henotheistic or in honor of specific gods. In a polytheistic or even henotheistic world, where cults of various gods are easily combined, there was simply no need for apologetic. Who attacked the cult of Liber Pater, Zeus Bronton, Mithras, Heis Theos or Theion Polymorphon (*EA* 34, 2002, 17 no. 38)? Tolerance reigned supreme in spite of C.'s 'real rivalry'. It was the monotheistic and therefore intolerant Christians who began to produce defensive treatises. They were the exception which confirmed the rule that in society at large the maxim of 'the more gods you worship, the better' was widely adhered to. For literary critics it may be an interesting game to decide whether Tatian and Athenagoras really created or represented a specific genre; historians do not win much by joining the game. Tatian's 'method of argument' may or may not in detail contain parallels with contemporary pagan literature, his treatise and those of his colleagues as a whole do not have parallels in pagan literature; and, as argued above, that can be explained easily. So why not call them a genre?; and if the literary critics don't like that word, it is their problem, not that of the historian.

H.W. Pleket

R.B. HALBERTSMA, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade. The pioneer years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*. London: Routledge, 2003. XIV+182 pp., 10 figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 0 415 27630 6

Recent interest in the history of collections has led to a number of studies concerning the individuals who helped form today's public museums. Researching these people and the historical and social climate in which they operated has shed light on both the formation of specific collections and on more general aspects of antiquarianism. Ruurd Halbertsma's account of the founding years of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, centres on the collection's main protagonist, Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvsens, from his appointment as professor of archaeology in 1818 (at the age of just 25), until the years following his untimely death in 1835. Referring to material in the museum's archive, the author assesses Reuvsens' involvement in acquisitions and excavations, and his efforts to promote the discipline of archaeology in the Netherlands.

Caspar Reuvsens was appointed to the newly-created chair of archaeology at Leiden University, (the first of its kind in the Netherlands), on 13 June 1818. In addition to the academic position, he was put in charge of the university's 'archaeology cabinet', which comprised the collection of antique statuary amassed by Gerard van Papenbroek in the 18th century, but which was then languishing in the humid environment of the Botanic Garden's orangery. Reuvsens' desire to form a national collection was principally determined by scholarly concerns. He envisioned the museum as an educational source for archaeology students and as a centre from which to expand Dutch archaeological research.

The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden's collection, like those of numerous museums in Europe, was formed

during and after the Napoleonic Wars when the procurement, sale and exhibition of antiquities became intimately bound with nationalist and imperialist ideology. Whilst promoting the academic credentials of the fledgling discipline of archaeology, Reuvsens was aware of how patriotic sentiment could be invoked to persuade those in positions of authority to support his enterprises. Central to the story of the museum's foundation are the interactions between Reuvsens and those who determined the collection's budget - the Minister of the Interior and the King. Reuvsens' correspondence reveals the fluctuating interest of state and university authorities in his archaeological work, but it also shows how effective he was in attracting support for his ideas.

Reuvsens' commitment to advancing the discipline of archaeology is evident from his efforts to define antiquities and formulate a collecting policy for the museum. Several disputes show how disagreement arose over the role of archaeology in relation to the established disciplines of history and philology. There were also questions over which antiquities belonged to the Leiden collection and which were to be housed in other Dutch museums. The concern to define a collecting remit for the National Museum of Antiquities can be seen in exchanges between Reuvsens and director of the Royal Coin Cabinet in the Hague, J.C. de Jonge, over a group of artefacts from North Africa which arrived in Leiden in 1824. The coins were sent to the Hague, but De Jonge also sought to obtain a group of scarab beetles as these fell within the Coin Cabinet's remit of 'carved stones'. When De Jonge rejected them, Reuvsens refused to accept the scarabs back, returning the objects to the Hague with a letter which questioned the customary divisions and definitions of antiquities (pp. 39-42).

Another sign of Reuvsens' progressive approach to archaeology was his concern for contextual information. When the maverick Flemish colonel, B.E.A. Rottiers arranged funding for a collecting and excavation mission to Greece, Reuvsens supplied specific instructions about the need to record information concerning the circumstances of finds. The instructions requested that detailed drawings be made of each monument inspected, and also gave advice about where to excavate and which antiquities to purchase (pp. 57-58). Reuvsens later stated that 'archaeology does not benefit from a single pot, a coin or even a statue, but from the consequences of these finds for the study of ancient topography and history' (p. 116).

Next to Reuvsens, two other personalities feature strongly in the pioneer years of the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities. The first is the aforementioned Colonel Rottiers, whose collection became the museum's first major purchase in 1821. Although useful for his contacts in Greece and Turkey, Rottiers was unreliable and later revealed to be fraudulent. Another important figure in the museum's formative years was Jean Emile Humbert, a military engineer who developed an interest in archaeology whilst working in Tunisia in the late 18th century. Humbert undertook excavations around the ancient city of Carthage, unearthing and later publishing Punic stelae and inscriptions as well as researching the topography of the Carthaginian peninsula. His application of engineering skills to the excavation and recording of archaeological material were impressive

and it is likely that these techniques influenced Reuven when he excavated the Roman settlement of Forum Hadriani in the Netherlands. After moving to Livorno in Italy, Humbert acted as a mediator in the purchasing of antiquities, most notably the collection belonging to Jean d'Anastasy, a large group of important Egyptian artefacts bought by the Netherlands in 1828.

Halbertsma's clear narrative offers insight into the process of collecting and the historical circumstances under which an early-nineteenth century national collection was formed. By focusing on a short period of time, major acquisitions are considered in some detail. As such, interesting features emerge regarding the procurement, valuation and purchasing of antiquities. Translated passages of correspondence and archival material are useful and not excessive. These documents would be further enhanced however by being presented in combination with other evidence for collecting practices during this period.

W. Anderson

STEFAN ALTEKAMP, MATHIAS RENÉ HOFER & MICHAEL KRUMME, *Posthumanistische klassische Archäologie: Historizität und Wissenschaftlichkeit von Interessen und Methoden*. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2001. 507 pp.; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 3-7774-9300-7.

Under the intriguing title 'Posthumanistische klassische Archäologie' a three day conference was held in Berlin in February 1999. Two years later the *Acta* were published in an impressive volume with the full text of the 26 papers, which were read and discussed during the conference. The organizers' aim was to stir up the theoretical discussion about the position of classical archaeology v.z. for instance history, prehistory and philology, and about classical archaeology itself: should the profession be considered as art history of the ancient (Graeco-Roman) world, focusing on the highlights of antiquity, or should 'mediterranean' archaeology encompass also gender studies, landscape archaeology and diachronical comparative archaeology. When considering the subjects of current PhD research in Germany, most of the students appear to work on 6th and 5th century Greek art and architecture: 'riskless themes' as they are called in the introduction, fitting in the rich German tradition of *Altertumswissenschaft* and very apt to secure a position at one of the traditional universities. The organizers of the conference raise the question if this approach of the classical world is still valid in an era in which classical studies are increasingly less relevant in education and society, in short in a 'post-humanistic' (or neo-medieval?) period of western civilization.

To approach these questions the conference was divided into three broad themes: the first section ('Bilanzen und Ausblicke') treats the history of classical archaeology and visions of the future. Without studying the past of our profession, it is impossible to understand the current state of affairs. Although most of the contributions describe chapters from the German history of archaeology, there are also other perspectives: Alain Schnapp gives an overview of French archaeological scholarship ('L'histoire de l'archéologie classique en

France: ombres et lumières'), Marcello Barbanera explains the difficulties of organizing archaeology in 19th century Italy ('Zwischen Praxis und Theorie: die Entstehung der modernen italienischen Archäologie in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts') and Anthony Snodgrass describes the dichotomy between classical and provincial-roman archaeologists in Great Britain and Germany ('Separate tables? A story of two traditions within one discipline'). One citation gives a good idea about the difference in schools and scholarly approaches of the discipline:

For, whether or not Romano-British archaeology would have done better to throw in its lot at the outset with Classical Archaeology, as in the German case, the truth is that this simply could not have happened in Britain. It may be difficult to try to imagine a German Wheeler, but it is far more so to think of the direction of Romano-British excavations being in the hands of an Institute presided over by Sir John Beazley.

The first section is closed with an essay of Adrian Stähli ominously entitled 'Vom Ende der klassischen Archäologie'.

In the second part the theoretical debate is in full swing. Under the title 'Wissenschaftstheorie und Methodik' eleven essays are grouped with different, rather loosely connected subjects. The contributions vary from the perception of post-classical and hellenistic Greece during the Nazi period (Reinhold Bichler: 'Nachklassik und Hellenismus im Geschichtsbild der NS-Zeit. Ein Essay zur Methoden-Geschichte der Kunstarchäologie'), the linguistic analysis of archaeological publications (Franz Beckmann: 'Archäologische Publikationen aus fachsprachenlinguistischer Sicht. Einige Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von "Sprachlichkeit" und "Fachlichkeit"') to essays which are concerned with archaeology and psycho-analysis (Alexander Böhle) and the relationship between history and archaeology (Justus Cobet).

The third and last section takes leave of the heavy theoretical discussions and treats subjects related to practical studies and - again - the history of archaeology ('Praxis und Rezeption'). Barbara Borg describes early Greek allegory in an unusual manner ('Blinde Flecken: Die frühe griechische Allegorie als Beispiel kollektiver Verdrängung'), Vinzenz Brinkmann throws interesting light on the archaeological use of early photography ('Die Photographie in der Archäologie'), Pascal Weitmann pleads for a new renaissance ('Antike und moderne Kunst oder: Prolegomena zur Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit eines neuen Humanismus') and the history of collecting antiquities is treated in essays by Luca Giuliani, Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer and Nikolaus Bernau. The volume closes with a full bibliography of all the titles quoted in the text. Unfortunately indexes are totally missing.

The sometimes rather abstract and high-sounding contributions are enlivened by a full transcript of the discussions between speaker and participants. Opposing views reflect themselves in the additions and confrontations following each paper. Even clashes between scholars are duly reported ('So naiv bin ich nicht!' 'Dann müssen Sie vielleicht Ihre Frage noch einmal präzisieren, in die Richtung hatte ich Sie verstanden', p. 142). Illustrations are very scarce (only two articles are embellished with them), which comes to no surprise

in a collection of mostly theoretical treatises. All in all 'Posthumanistische Archäologie' is an important collection of essays, which stimulate thoughts about changes in our society and consequently changes in the attitude towards classical archaeology: *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*.

Ruurd Halbertsma

DIETRICH WILLERS UND LILIAN RASELLI-NYDEGGER (Hrgs), *Im Glanz der Götter und Heroen. Meisterwerke antiker Glyptik aus der Stiftung Leo Merz*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003. 232 S., 273 Farb-, 122 S/w Abb.; 29 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-3295-5.

In the summer of 2001 Eva Merz, the daughter of Leo Merz, a well-known Swiss collector of ancient gems and jewellery, decided to bequeath her father's collection to the 'Antikensammlung der Universität Bern'. This generous donation was the reason to organize an exhibition in the Kunstmuseum Bern, which opened its doors on 16 October 2003 and ended on 8 February 2004. In the exhibition the collection of Leo Merz was displayed, together with loans from European museums and private collectors. The exhibition was accompanied by a splendid catalogue, with a number of introductory articles and descriptions of 242 objects from the collection.

The first article is of course devoted to the person of Leo Merz (1869-1952), an influential lawyer, whose career led him to important functions as supreme judge and minister of justice. When his active years in court and in politics were nearly over, he started collecting with zeal and taste. He had the good sense to develop himself as a 'Meister in der Begrenzung': his main interest lied in ancient gemstones and cameos, with special attention for the *Nachleben* of this kind of ancient art. In 1984 Marie-Louise Vollenweider published part of the collection in her book 'Deliciae Leonis', with a description of both the man (Leo) and his passion for precious antiques (*deliciae*).

The second contribution by Lilian Raselli-Nydegger gives an introduction to the study of ancient gemstones, from the earliest known specimens in the Near East (4th millennium BC) to the practitioners of the art in the 19th century. Special attention is given to the ancient motives on the stones and the social status of the owners of both rings and cameos ('Insignien der Macht').

The next chapter by Sabine Häberli and Lore Kiefert focuses on the specimens of stones, which were used to produce gems and cameos and the technical abilities which were required to work the hard and precious materials. Interesting is the influx of stones from India in the hellenistic period after the eastern expeditions of Alexander the Great.

Two articles on the *Nachleben* of ancient stones conclude the first part of the catalogue. Erika Zwierlein-Diehl describes the peregrination of the most important piece in the Merz-collection: the superb cameo of emperor Claudius, which in the 15th century was part of a reliquary owned by René I d'Anjou and his wife Jeanne de Laval. Gertrud Platz-Horster gives an analysis of the 140 drawings of ancient gemstones by the 19th-century artist Giovanni Calandrelli and the difficulties of discerning between ancient and modern craftsmanship, a problem to which Heinrich Meyer remarked in a letter to Goethe (himself an avid collector of gems): 'Das Gute und Schöne bleibt immer der wahre Prüfstein, und wenn diese ersten Bedingungen erfüllt sind, so fragen wir auch nicht weiter nach Alterthum oder Neuzeit.'

The catalogue proper is divided into five parts. The first section treats 'Formen und Themen antiker Glyptik', with themes like mythology, animals, magic and sexuality. The erotic scene on a 1st century BC gemstone ('Silen beschleicht eine gelagerte Frau', cat. nr. 56) should better be interpreted as the encounter of an impetuous silenus with a couching hermaphrodite: the raised hand of the silenus and his stunned expression are rather the sign of surprise at discovering his partner's true sex than gestures of triumph, as the commentary wants us to believe. The second chapter deals with 'Die Welt der Venus. Schmuck und Amulette'. The masterpiece in this realm of feminine beauty is without doubt the 'Aphrodite Marlborough' (cat. nr. 87), a cameo of Indian sardonyx, showing a fine classical portrait of Venus: style and subject link this precious object to the court of the emperor Augustus. More imperial influence is seen in the third chapter 'Porträt', with very good cameos of Augustus (cat. nr. 154), Gaius (cat. nr. 155) and the already mentioned Claudius (cat. nr. 156). The last two sections deal with renaissance and 19th century gemstones: 'Weiterleben, Neubeginn, all'antica' (cat. nrs. 174-213) and 'Gemmenschneider und Gemmenschnitt der Neuzeit' (cat. nrs. 214-242).

All ancient gems and most of the modern ones are reproduced in full-colour photographs of very high quality. By lightning the stones from beneath the photographer has rendered the different colours of the stones in a way the average museum visitor will never experience (for example cat. nr. 140, the head of Medusa with the blood-red background). When the photograph of an incised gem does not give enough details, a black and white photograph of the clear positive imprint is added in the text. In short, this catalogue is a state of the art publication for everybody who is interested in the ancient art of engraving precious stones and its enormous popularity in later western civilization.

Ruurd Halbertsma