

Reviews

OLIVER J. GILKES (ed.), *The Theatre at Butrint. Luigi Maria Ugolini's excavations at Butrint 1928-1932* (Albania Antica IV). London: British School at Athens, 2003. 290 pp., 262 ills.; 30 cm (BSA Supplementary volume 35). – ISBN 0-904887-44-8.

Government-funded archaeological research is often used to establish or legitimise geopolitical paradigms, a process that has been called 'archaeology in the service of the state'. This was clearly the case in Italy during the 1920s and 1930s, when fieldwork abroad was exploited to advance the Fascist government's ideological and territorial claims. Campaigns run by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania, whilst rigorous in their practice and documentation, were closely bound with the ambitions and machinations of the Fascist authorities. It is appropriate therefore that the belated publication of the Italian Mission's excavation of the theatre at Butrint should present both the archaeological data, and the political climate in which it was obtained.

Between 1928 and 1932, the Italian Mission to Albania, under the directorship of Luigi Maria Ugolini (1895-1936), excavated and recorded the Greek and Roman theatre at the city of Butrint, where fieldwork had begun following an 'archaeological accord' between Italy and Albania in 1925. Italian political involvement in Albania increased throughout the 1930s until the country was made a protectorate and eventually annexed in 1939. Although the Italian Mission released its findings in a number of popular and academic formats, the series of excavation reports titled *Albania Antica* only reached its third issue. Ugolini completed a manuscript on the theatre before his premature death in 1936, but it was never published, and documents relating to the theatre became dispersed among Italian and Albanian archives.

Following a hiatus of 70 years, the work of the Italian Mission at the theatre in Butrint is compiled in a modern excavation report. By presenting original documents, photographs, and survey drawings alongside current commentary and criticism, the report aims to publish the excavation of a major structure from an important Classical site, but also to assess the practice of, and motivations for archaeological research in Fascist Italy. The first four chapters deal with the circumstances of Italian fieldwork in Albania, considering Ugolini and the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania (Oliver J. Gilkes), the excavation of the theatre (Lida Miraj), the Ugolini manuscripts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome (Anna Maria Liberati), and providing an inventory of documents relating to the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania. The second section presents Ugolini's text, 'Gli scavi del teatro', followed by a summary and reassessment in English by John Wilkes. Frank Sear considers the phases of the Butrint theatre, comparing its architectural elements with examples from other Classical cities, and the final chapter publishes Ugolini's description of recovered sculpture, along with a commentary by Iris Pojani.

In June 1928, four months after excavations at Butrint had begun, Ugolini's team unearthed large, marble statues near a major structure, first thought to be a basilica, but which turned out to be remains of the *scaenae frons* or Roman stage building. Further digging revealed the distinctive rows of seats in the auditorium. The Greek structure was built in the Pyrrhic period (297-271 BC), and it was closely associated with, and lay within the precinct of the sanctuary of Asclepius. Following Roman colonisation in the Augustan period (after 27 BC), the theatre was substantially re-modelled, including changes to the *cavea*, *orchestra* and *scaena*.

Ugolini recognised the two major phases in the theatre's construction, although not much of the Greek building remained, and his lack of attention to ceramic and coin finds did little to assist chronology. The fieldworkers' main task involved removing earth and boulders from the *cavea*, which had built up to a height of several metres. The excavation was recorded by Ugolini in notes and photographs, and the structure was surveyed by the mission's chief architect Carlo Ceschi. As well as a formidable output of publications, results of the Albanian campaign were trumpeted in press reports, documentary films, lectures and exhibitions as part of a broader, government-orchestrated cultural programme.

Modern commentary on the Butrint theatre deals with separate elements of the structure, discussing and adding to Ugolini's descriptions. This format is largely concerned with the progression of the building, particularly addressing alterations made in the Roman period. The later incorporation of the Shrine of Asclepius into the outer *cavea* involved constructing a complex vaulting system, but overall, the changes to the theatre were typical of Roman rebuilding during the Imperial era.

The Theatre at Butrint is a multi-layered report which rightly depicts archaeological research as a political as well as scientific enterprise. My main criticism is that the building itself is not fully contextualised in terms of its purpose and meaning as an element of the Greek and Roman city - a venue for recreation, politics, judicial activities, social stratification and economic expression. It is hard to discern any historical information about Butrint's inhabitants from technical descriptions of architecture, and little reference is made to epigraphic evidence. Whilst the report admirably adds to the body of empirical literature on Classical theatres, and is interesting for historians of archaeology, it somewhat lacks synthesis.

William Anderson

P.A. MOUNTJOY with contributions by B. Burke, K.S. Christakis, J.M. Driessen, R.D.G. Evely, C. Knappett and O.H. Krzyskowska, *Knossos: The South House*. London: British School at Athens, 2003. XIII and 238 pp., 71 figs.; 10 pl., 2 tables; 30 cm (BSA Supplementary Volume 34). – ISBN 0-904887-42-1.

The so-called South House is located at the south-west corner of the Minoan Palace at Knossos, one of the better preserved neo-palatial mansions being excavated on Crete. It was constructed during MM IIIB/LM IA and probably collapsed at the end of LM IA. It was originally excavated by A.J. Evans and D. Mackenzie in 1908, re-examined by them in 1924 and again re-examined by the British School at Athens and the Archaeological Ephorate of Heraklion in 1960, 1989 and 1993. A brief summary of the results from 1908 and 1924 was published by Evans in *Palace of Minos* volume III, part 1 in 1928 but a real stratigraphy of this site was never given (p. xiii). The only part of the South House which unveiled anything that could be regarded as material in a normal stratigraphical situation was the Lustral Basin. Special items like the architecture of the house, some of the silver vessels, the frescoes, the bronze tools and a single stone vase were mentioned in several publications during the last decades. All objects with an excavated provenance from the South House, including material nowadays in the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos, and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are now published or republished in the reviewed volume.

The Introduction chapter is by the editor P.A. Mountjoy (henceforth M) who records the history of the excavation and subsequently tries to reconstruct the stratigraphy by making cross pottery joins. J.M. Driessen presents an architectural overview in a very summary form (only 8 pages, being the most interesting part of this volume), with some additional comments on the building's orientation, access system, phasing, and overall interpretation. The fresco fragments are treated by M, while the last chapters are concerned with the *pithoi* (K.S. Christakis), the silver vessels (M), the stone, bone, ivory, bronze and clay finds (R.D.G. Evelyn), the loom weights (B. Burke) and the seals (O.H. Kryszkowska). Not surprisingly, the majority of the material in this volume consists of the pottery (p. 41 till p. 152) which is treated by C. Knappett (EM and MM, but only a small quantity of the already by Evans and Mackenzie selected material is published here) and M (LM I-III). Here also begins the problem with this volume. Already during the excavation, the pottery was so fragmentary that out of an enormous amount of LM I-III pottery sherds, only six pots could be reconstructed (p. 51). The remaining pottery also suffers from two other shortcomings, which greatly reduce its archaeological significance. In fact, the original excavators dismissed all the excavated ceramic material except for the decorated pieces and then only for the fine ones. As a consequence, only a very small quantity (800 pieces) of the original ceramics at this site survived. The search for joins to restore vessels in the first chapter cannot be taken very seriously as the material from other excavations on Crete (Phaistos and Mochlos) show how small a percentage of the total ceramic assemblage consists of these fine decorated material. The fact that the LM IB and LM II pottery sherds must have been dumped from the palace over the ruin of the South House after its destruction, causing a mix with the earlier material, is also gravely dismissing its significance. Finally, the original stratification described by Mackenzie was ignored when the pottery was stored in boxes while the

individual sherds were not labelled. The 34 boxes contained a mixture of at least three or four centuries worth of pottery (including EM II and III and probably even Neolithic material). According to M, the main reason for this publication is a quote from M.R. Popham in 1970 concerning the importance of the LM IB and LM II pottery from the South House (p. 1). But today, there is plenty LM II material available from other sites. M dates the destruction of the house at the end of LM IA but this is solely based on the silver vases and the bronze tools, as the provenance of the ceramic material is totally unreliable. The conclusion of M that the South House was destroyed by an earthquake caused by the Santorini volcano eruption is pure speculation and not based on any archaeological or geological evidence. The same irritating speculation, not based on any material, can be found by K.S. Christakis regarding the social behaviour of the inhabitants of the South House (p.161). This publication can be seen as an example of archaeology of the archaeology but the question remains if the money for this expensive volume is well spent on the publication of a selected and not representative amount of ceramics from which the provenance is unreliable. This while a large amount of material, not only on Crete but also in Greece and the whole Mediterranean area is still unpublished through lack of finances. This publication tends to hobbyism and has very little to offer for the refining of the LM I and II ceramic chronology on Crete or our historical understanding of its 15th century B.C.

Jan G. de Boer

LISA C. PIERACCINI, *Around the Hearth. Caeretan Cylinder-stamped Braziers*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2003. 256 pp., 115 ill. nel testo; 31 cm (Studia archaeologica, 120). – ISBN 2-503-51279-8.

Il lavoro viene a colmare una lacuna ormai pluridecennale (cfr., pp. 9 ss., la presentazione di F. R. Serra Ridgway) in questo importante settore degli studi ceramologici, ed è destinato a diventare opera standard nel panorama degli studi sulla cultura materiale etrusca di epoca orientalizzante e, soprattutto, arcaica.

La prima parte (pp. 37-156) è interamente dedicata all'ampio catalogo, che, grazie a una capillare opera di ricognizione museale (comprendente alcuni dei più importanti 'storerooms' dell'Etruria meridionale, come quello ceretano della Banditaccia), accresce in misura cospicua il numero degli esemplari noti, proponendone una articolazione per tipi iconografici, che sfiorano globalmente la cifra dei novanta.

Segue (pp. 159-175) una discussione dei possibili prodromi dell'età del Ferro, dell'incidenza di eventuali modelli vicino-orientali, dei caratteri morfologici, cui si aggiunge un'ampia disamina, condotta sulla base di vecchie e nuove evidenze di scavo (pp. 168 ss.), della effettiva funzione di questi prodotti di artigianato 'domestico', veri e propri 'portable hearths' con funzione di 'heating, lighting and cooking' (p. 206), in contesti tanto abitativi che santuariali, con una ovvia proiezione nel sistema spaziale ritualizzato della tomba (significativi, in questo senso, soprattutto i rinvenimenti nell' 'antica-

mera' della t. 43 Bufolareccia o sul trono della t. III del Tumulo Maroi, p. 170) e nel complesso di cerimonie che dovevano svolgersi presso l'edificio funebre.

Piuttosto ampia anche la disamina (pp. 177 ss.) dei precedenti orientali della tecnica della decorazione a cilindretto, della funzione mediatrice svolta in questo specifico settore dalle botteghe corinzie (un dato, questo, largamente accettato nella letteratura scientifica), dei possibili materiali usati in antico come matrici (forse più pietra che legno, cfr. p. 183) e, infine, degli aspetti tecnici dei fregi dei bracieri ceretani (altezza dei rilievi, tipo dei bordi, direzione delle scene figurate, ecc.).

Avrebbe, invece, richiesto maggiore attenzione il capitolo relativo all'inquadramento stilistico e iconografico dei rilievi (pp. 189 ss.), ove, accanto a una divisione per periodi (pp. 189-190: dai fregi animalistici di ispirazione tardo-orientalizzante alle scene narrative di impronta *East-greek* e poi attica) già indicata in sostanza da altri studiosi, si propongono definizioni o singoli confronti non sempre pienamente soddisfacenti da un punto di vista culturale o cronologico (così, e.g., nel rimando al P. del Bellerofonte di Egina, p. 51; nei ripetuti rinvii alle hydriai ceretane, datate in blocco alla metà del VI sec. a.C. (cfr. J.M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriai*, Mainz 1984, 152-153); nella datazione un po' troppo generica delle lastre fittili di Larisa (cfr. E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*, 1975, 80 ss.); nella definizione di sfingi e chimere come animali fantastici di origine *East-greek*, p. 190; nella riasserita (p. 206), ma generica, 'close connection to Caere' del P. di Paride; o, ancora, forse, nella non sufficiente valorizzazione delle lastre dipinte ceretane, per le quali cfr. M. Cristofani, *StEtr* 56, 1989-90, 69 ss.; M.A. Rizzo, in *Tyrrhenoi Philotechnoi* 1994, 51 ss., con rimandi). Un *Updating* bibliografico non avrebbe nuociuto alla trattazione dei diversi temi mitologici, mentre sarebbe stato auspicabile soffermarsi maggiormente sul quadro archeologico ceretano, arricchitosi in misura così cospicua negli ultimi anni (cfr. il rapidissimo cenno a p. 194).

Un lavoro senz'altro utile, dunque, che non mancherà di essere un riferimento obbligato per tutti coloro che sono impegnati nello studio della antichità ceretane.

Fernando Gilotta

A.J. CLARK/J. GAUNT/B. GILMAN (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer* Vol. I-II. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 2002. 348 pp., 88 pls.; 31 cm (Allard Pierson Series, vol. 14). – ISBN 90-71211-35-5.

Un nuovo volume della serie maggiore dell'Allard Pierson Museum è stato dedicato da amici, colleghi e 'discepoli' a D. von Bothmer - storico Conservatore delle antichità classiche al Metropolitan Museum di New York - per onorarne la lunga attività e il profilo della produzione scientifica, incentrata per decenni eminentemente (ma non esclusivamente) sulle ceramiche figurate greche di epoca arcaica e classica. A questo specifico spazio degli studi antichistici è, di conseguenza, dedicata larga parte dei contributi, opera di alcuni tra i più qualificati specialisti del settore, soprattutto di estrazione anglosassone, che non mancano di rifarsi a

problematiche toccate in più occasioni dallo stesso 'honorand'. Molte quindi, nell'insieme, le novità grandi e piccole, sia nel tradizionale orizzonte attribuzionistico che nelle riletture di marca iconologica o nelle ricostruzioni di carattere storico-commerciale.

I diversi articoli, disposti in una sequenza alfabetica, possono essere riuniti in alcuni nuclei abbastanza omogenei. Le figure nere, innanzitutto. Apre, idealmente, la serie A.J. Clark (pp. 73 ss.), con il riesame di alcuni 'red-bodied vases', da agganciare alla produzione del P. di Amasis e databili già a partire dagli anni immediatamente precedenti la metà del VI sec. a.C. (in questo senso appare ovvio il riferimento agli studi dello stesso von Bothmer sul pittore attico); H. Mommsen (pp. 225 ss.) si sofferma sui frammenti di una eccezionale anfora da Satyrion, firmata da Exekias come ceramista e ceramografo e databile verso il 550-40 a.C., che reca una delle più antiche rappresentazioni del 'Tritonabenteuer' di Herakles (per l'importanza documentaria del reperto in relazione alla sua provenienza e al contesto santuarioale di origine, cfr. soprattutto F.G. Lo Porto in *Atti del XVII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (1978), 499; anche E. Lippolis/S. Garraffo/M. Nafissi (edd.), *Taranto* (1995), 83 ss.; in generale sul problema Satyrion-Saturo, E. Arena, in *Studi di Antichità* 10 (1997) 255 ss.; più recentemente, *Atti del XLI Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (2002), ad. ind.); interessante appare il recupero, da parte di J. Neils (pp. 237 ss.), di una hydria attica a figure nere con iscrizione recante il nome del ceramista apposta, insolitamente, sotto il piede; mentre J. Oakley (pp. 245 ss.) esamina una 'nuova' rappresentazione di Hypnos e Thanatos in atto di depositare il cadavere di Sarpedon in Licia, riferibile ai primi decenni del V sec. a.C. e accostata al P. del Vaticano G 49; non del tutto persuasiva appare invece la convinzione di E. Simpson (pp. 303 ss.), che le differenze nel rendimento degli arredi sulle due facce della celebre anfora bilingue di Monaco 2301 indichino con assoluta certezza l'opera di due pittori diversi, il P. di Andokides e il P. di Lysippides, il primo dei quali in grado di mostrare una 'empirical knowledge of the craft of woodworking' che il suo collega a figure nere non possiederebbe: troppe appaiono, infatti, le variabili e i condizionamenti tecnici che potrebbero aver influenzato una diversa scelta del o dei pittori nell'ambito di quella che era comunque, è bene ricordarlo, un'unica bottega. A cavallo tra figure nere e rosse si collocano anche i contributi di A.F. Laurens (pp. 179 ss.) e di E.A. Mackay (pp. 203 ss.): il primo affronta il problema delicato, e forse bisognoso di ulteriori approfondimenti e considerazioni, del rapporto tra vasi da simposio e loro decorazione figurata, analizzando due kylikes con enigmatiche immagini di giovane e ketos (?) e di personaggio barbato con sirena al di sopra del capo; il secondo il nesso tra la classica pettinatura a capelli corti e ricciolati ed immagini di Herakles, di atleti, di negri.

Una lettura del cratere ceretano di Euphronios a New York in sintonia con le più recenti tendenze esegetiche degli studi ceramologici propone J. Mertens (pp. 211 ss.), che sottolinea, in un contesto interamente 'superumano', la natura mortale dei due 'onlookers' laterali, Leodamas e Hippolytos, possibili proiezioni mitiche di coloro che acquistarono in antico e poterono poi ammirare tra i propri arredi il vaso con le sue rappre-

sentazioni narrative: attraverso questo meccanismo di compenetrazione, la scena verrebbe a caricarsi di partecipe 'complexity and intensity', di 'immediacy, not to say reality' (su questa linea, cfr. già numerosi contributi di I. Scheibler). Ancora al mondo di Euphronios e dei pionieri si riferisce M.S. Venit (pp. 317 ss.), con puntualizzazioni relative alla c.d. 'sandolocrazia'; B. Cohen e H.A. Shapiro soffermano l'attenzione sull'uso e l' 'abuso' che dei vasi si fa nel repertorio iconografico della ceramica attica tardo-arcaica, spesso ispirato ad occasioni di estremo realismo nell'ambito dei 'riti' sociali del komos e del simposio. A.P. Kozloff (pp. 165 ss.) dà una stimolante lettura in chiave 'egyptianizing' del noto name-vase del P. della Fonderia, inquadrandone le peculiarità nell'ambito della fitta trama di rapporti e prestiti tra mondo greco ed Egitto, fra i quali è forse da annoverare anche lo straordinario sarcofago di Gümüşçay rinvenuto in anni recenti (N. Sevinç, *StTroica* 6, 1996, 251 ss.; *RdA* 22, 1998, 11 ss.; *Prospettiva* 98-99, 2000, 159, nota 15 (con altra bibl.); G. Schwarz, *AM* 116, 2001, 35 ss.; F.-H. Pairault Massa, in *Hommages à Carl Deroux*, 2003, 186 ss.; su alcuni aspetti della questione, cfr. più recentemente i diversi contributi raccolti da P.C. Bol/G. Kaminski/C. Maderna, *Fremdheit-Eigenheit. Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom, Städel Jahrbuch* 19, 2004). D. Williams (pp. 341 ss.) dà un'altra prova importante della sua *connaissance* in relazione a una personalità minore del panorama ceramografico del primo ventennio del V sec. a.C., specializzata fra l'altro in alabastro, tentando insieme una lettura 'contestuale' delle tematiche legate a questa specifica forma vascolare (cfr. in proposito anche le considerazioni di E. Böhr in questo stesso volume, pp. 43 ss. e, ora, anche P. Badinou, *La laine et le parfum* (2003)). In epoca severa e protoclassica si collocano le evidenze ceramiche oggetto degli studi di J. Chamay (pp. 69 ss.), J.M. Padgett (pp. 249 ss.), M. Pipili (pp. 275 ss.), N. Kunisch (pp. 171 ss.): il primo riferisce l'enigmatica rappresentazione di una coppa attica del 470 ca. a.C. all'operazione di conio di una moneta da parte di un artigiano; il secondo esamina un cratere-psykter del P. di Troilo, singolare per la sua struttura ma anche per l'impianto a 'fregio' delle due non comuni rappresentazioni che ne occupano il corpo e che vedono come protagonisti due 'outsiders' del consesso ellenico degli dei, Herakles e Dionysos, quest'ultimo seduto a ricevere l'omaggio di altre divinità; la terza pubblica uno 'yo-yo' dipinto rinvenuto in contesto tombale attico del secondo quarto del V sec. a.C., proponendo ipotesi in relazione all'uso di questi oggetti e al suo eventuale nesso con le corrispondenti rappresentazioni figurate (di carattere erotico, 'magico', beneaugurante); più tradizionale la presentazione, da parte di N. Kunisch, di una kylix del P. di Penthesileia, che si segnala soprattutto, in un contesto di 'partenza del guerriero', per il gruppo madre-figlio, capace di dare un non comune tocco di 'emozionalità' alla narrazione. Sul tanto dibattuto problema della c.d. 'Tomba di Brygos' di Capua torna J. de La Genière (pp. 175 ss.), che a ragione rifiuta la lettura etnica data a suo tempo da altri studiosi, per ribadire la piena italicità del complesso (in questo senso, cfr. ora anche C. Reusser, *Vasen für Etrurien* (2002), 184 ss.). Di grande interesse la lekythos a figure rosse, databile verso il 460 a.C., discussa da M. Schmidt (pp. 289 ss.), con rappresentazione

di un personaggio femminile (una ninfa?) in atto di stendere un velo su Medusa morente e partoriente, nello schema ben noto, e.g., nella rappresentazione di Tekmessa che copre il cadavere di Aiace sulla coppa del P. di Brygos, ma altrimenti sconosciuto nell'impresa di Perseo e la Gorgone e, potremmo dire, pienamente rispondente allo spirito della pittura 'etica' del tempo. Recuperando ipotesi formulate in passato e, soprattutto, valorizzando i dati dei recenti restauri (Denoyelle 1997), J. Gaunt (pp. 121 ss.) ipotizza una lettura del lato 'B' del cratere dei Niobidi al Louvre in relazione logica con le immagini del lato opposto: una versione tebana della uccisione dei figli di Niobe, che potrebbe conciliarsi per i suoi accenti moralistici con la vittoria sulla hybris persiana adombrata nei preparativi greci allo scontro della rappresentazione principale. Tra le novità singolari di questa raccolta di scritti, si segnala certamente il piccolo stamnos-olla presentato da A. Lezzi Hafter (pp. 187 ss.): attribuito al P. di Mannheim e datato verso i decenni centrali del V sec. a.C., il vaso, forse ispirato a forme in voga sul mercato etrusco, reca uno straordinario fregio continuo con probabile rappresentazione della partenza di Achille da Skyros, soggetto noto da altri vasi monumentali di provenienza italiana, due dei quali sicuramente rinvenuti a Bologna e Spina. Ancora un saggio di carattere filologico presentano B.F. Cook (pp. 99 ss.), in relazione alle lekythoi del P. della Phiale, e M.B. Moore (pp. 233 ss.), su un fr. di lekythos del Washing P.; mentre all'iconografia dello 'Jungferkranich' dedica interessanti osservazioni E. Böhr (pp. 37 ss.), con occhio attento ai contesti narrativi e alle forme vascolari - gli uni e le altre eminentemente al femminile - di pertinenza: sulla scia delle sue osservazioni, sarebbe interessante indagare più da vicino il possibile significato della associazione, su un oggetto ancora una volta legato al mondo della donna, come lo specchio (e.g. l'ex. prenestino di Villa Giulia inv. 15702: R. Adam, *Recherches sur les miroirs prénestins*, Paris 1980, 43, cat. n. 28), di una 'gru' e di un guerriero: la 'gru' come ricordo della mitica geranomachia, o come allusione a mondi lontani ed esotici (cfr. J. Thimme/O. Keller), o ancora come incarnazione di virtù 'militari'? Il brevissimo contributo di M. Robertson (p. 283) mette a fuoco un 'dilemma esegetico' di grande interesse, la rappresentazione di una creatura femminile alata con specchio e 'wool basket', sorta di Victoria domestica, per usare la seducente definizione del grande studioso, di contaminazione, cioè, tra due sfere in apparenza inconciliabili. Il ricco contributo di E.B. Harrison (pp. 137 ss.), attraverso una disamina incrociata di evidenze di tipo diverso, giunge a riconoscere il tema del vecchio Pelia e delle Peliadi in un frammento di rilievo dall'Eretteo e a toccare una problematica mai abbastanza sondata, quella della destinazione dei 'rilievi a tre figure', qui tentativamente riferiti, con le loro complesse implicazioni culturali, al santuario di Herakles a Melite. Un cratere attico di pieno IV sec. a.C. viene presentato da H. Metzger (pp. 213 ss.), il massimo esperto in materia, che analizza la composizione eleusina del lato principale e il suo accostamento ad immagini dai contenuti dionisiaci sul lato opposto, secondo meccanismi che non paiono, a parere di chi scrive, del tutto casuali, stando almeno alla complessa ed eterogenea documentazione tardo-classica di culti misterico-orfico-salvifici che attraversa il mondo

greco, magno-greco ed etrusco (da ultimo cfr., e.g., per la etrusca Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri, due studi in corso di stampa di G. Adinolfi/R. Carmagnola/M. Cataldi negli Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici e del Seminario *Pittura parietale, pittura vascolare* tenutosi nel 2003 presso la II Università di Napoli; ma si veda per l'ambito greco lo studio dello stesso Metzger, in *RA* 1995, ricordato dall'A.).

La sezione della ceramica non può dirsi conclusa qui. Alcuni contributi, infatti, affrontano problematiche relative a produzioni vascolari diverse da quelle attiche a figure nere e rosse: W.R. Biers (pp. 33 ss.) si sofferma su vasi plastici greco-orientali, soggetto da lui più volte affrontato negli ultimi decenni; M. Iozzo (pp. 147 ss.) e M. Denoyelle (pp. 107 ss.) illustrano caratteri stilistici e iconografici di 'nuove' acquisizioni calcidesi e italiote, da sempre oggetto di loro studi e ricerche; K. Schauenburg (pp. 285 ss.) vasi italioti in collezione napoletana (per la rappresentazione della *lekythos apula* tav. 74a-b si potrebbe forse ricordare anche un *guttus* del Louvre: *CVA Louvre* 15 (1968), 42 e tav. 18,10 (M.O. Jentel). Un ponte tra studio di 'Realia' e antiquaria costituiscono i contributi di H. Giroux (pp. 127 ss.), sugli acquisti attici 'Canino' al Louvre; di C. Lyons (pp. 195 ss.), sulle antichità classiche del Duca di Noia (lavoro che fa seguito ad altre importanti ricerche della stessa A. sul tema del collezionismo settecentesco meridionale, prima fra tutte quella sul 'Museo Mastrilli' del 1992); di D. Buitron e A. Oliver (pp. 49 ss.), sul recupero di alcuni pregevoli materiali da corredo tombale rinvenuti a Kourion dal Vicomte de Castillon Saint-Victor; di H.A. Cahn (pp. 59 ss.), su una lettera di Beazley a Langlotz attinente a vasi attici e calcidesi.

Cinque sono gli A. che affrontano problemi legati all'ambito della toreutica da ottiche diverse, tanto storico-artistico/iconografiche che metrologiche e storiche, anche in questo caso richiamando filoni di ricerche già battuti dallo stesso von Bothmer: S. Descamps-Lequime, sul rapporto complesso e 'multifocale' tra Kleinkunst bronzea di Sparta, Corinto e Magna Grecia in età alto-arcaica (pp. 113 ss.); P. Amandry, sulla ben nota classe di *hydriai* argive di epoca protoclassica e classica (pp. 29 ss.); M. Vickers, su tre casi di metrologia 'pre-romana' e 'romana' nell'ambito geografico del Mediterraneo orientale e del Vicino Oriente (pp. 333 ss.); M. Pfrommer, con un interessante tentativo di lettura iconologica dioreficerie dell'epoca di Alessandro Magno in rapporto a una possibile utenza scitica (pp. 267 ss.); E. Simon, sulla parziale rilettura dei due *skyphoi* di argento di Hoby (pp. 297 ss.).

Un piccolo nucleo di contributi è incentrato su tematiche relative alla plastica, di epoca geometrica (I. Jenkins, pp. 153 ss., sulla più antica rappresentazione del suicidio di Aiace); classica (K.A. Schwab, pp. 293 ss., sulle valenze del Palladio in contesto partenonico); romana (E. Milleker, pp. 217 ss., su una testa di probabile fattura 'arcaistica'); del Gandhara (E.R. Knauer, pp. 157 ss.).

'Eccentrici' rispetto alle linee di ricerca dominanti appaiono, infine, gli interventi di F. Causey, su un pendente d'ambra a forma di nave (pp. 63 ss.), per il quale si potrebbero forse istituire utili confronti stilistici anche con ambiti diversi da quello della plastica etrusca evocato dall'A. (p. 64, nota 6); di R. Cohon, con una lettura psicoanalitica della leggenda di Romolo e Remo (pp.

91 ss.); di C. White, sul *Pan and Syrinx* di Rubens nella collezione reale inglese (pp. 339 s.); di C.C. Vermeule, sulle *Wandering stones* tra acquisti museali e scavi di frodo (pp. 323 ss.).

Come si vede, un complesso quanto mai variegato di studi, sicuro punto di 'richiamo' per molteplici settori della ricerca archeologica.

Fernando Gilotta

INGE NIELSEN (ed.) *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC. Regional Development and Cultural Interchange between East and West*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001. 317 pp., ill.; 28 cm (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens. Volume 4). – ISBN 87-7934-004-0.

This welcome volume is the result of a conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens in 1999. Inge Nielsen, the organiser, managed to bridge the traditional boundaries of the several sub-disciplines in the fields of Mediterranean and Near Eastern archaeology and history by inviting scholars who not only covered both literary and archaeological sources but also focused on a wide range of regions in the eastern Mediterranean.

The main focus of the conference and the book is to compare and interpret the way in which royalty from various regions in the first millennium BCE communicated their power and position through the articulation of their physical domain: the palace. In a certain way this volume falls into the domain of the study of domestic space. Palaces indeed housed royal households, albeit households that were organised differently and had different roles in society from the majority living outside of the palace. The combination of different approaches provide valuable insight in the relationship between the Palace as a socio-political institution and the physical space in which the power of this institution was negotiated, presented and perceived, within and toward the outside world.

The organisation of the volume is clear and the articles are largely presented in a chronological order. The first paper, by David Braund, deals with an important and interesting conceptual issue: the way in which a number of ancient Greek authors construct a conflicting image of monarchy. The literary sources Braund uses are from very different dates, but they all seem to point to the palace as a potentially totalitarian institution, dangerous for the community at large. However, many sources then indicate that this can be reversed by the individual ability of a king to reign well. This dichotomy is reflected in the religious sphere where Dionysus appears to act as a watchdog and the protector of the community against those rulers who abuse their power, and at the same time as a supporter of 'good kings'.

The articles that follow (Lumsden on Neo Assyria, Petit on Amathus, Kuhrt on Babylonia) all focus on the roles of palaces in early periods. Lumsden presents the role of the palace as a uniting force in a multicultural society. Petit researches the relationships between the occurrence of the first palaces in Cyprus and processes of early state formation while Kuhrt provides the reader with an overview of the evidence available for Babylo-

nian palace culture and the way its heritage was fostered during the subsequent Achaemenid and Seleucid periods.

The section on Achaemenid palaces presents a number of varying approaches to archaeological evidence available from both centre and periphery. Stronach's article stresses the necessity to look at individual traits and tastes of rulers in the development of Achaemenid art and architecture. New archaeological research methods are advocated by Boucharlat in his paper in which he presses for a more comprehensive study of the Achaemenid palaces in their urban contexts. Studies on palaces in the periphery present some interesting contrasts. Knauss, researching the area of Transcaucasia, identifies cases of acculturation in which the local vassal kings readily adopted Achaemenid architectural models. Kanetsyan identifies an eclectic architectural style consisting of a strong influence of Urartian planning and building tradition in Armenian architecture during Persian rule, while Ter-Martirossov sees a strong Achaemenid influence in the development of a new spatial design in Armenia linked to the introduction of some form of imperial cult.

The section on the Hellenistic palaces starts with Nielsen's own article that focuses on an interesting and often neglected element in architectural studies: the garden. Although she has little archaeological evidence to go on, Nielsen can nonetheless stress the importance of the garden as a mediating space between the palace and its environment and identifies a series of garden traditions that persisted over time. The papers by Hatzopoulos and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli provide new ideas and evidence with regard to the architecture of the palaces at Pella and Aegae respectively with specific reference to the relationship between the palace and the city. Graeme Clarke presents a very detailed account of his excavation of the acropolis building at Jebel Khalid, yielding a wealth of new information with regard to activity areas within this complex and the relationship between Macedonian and local elements in the articulation of the architectural space.

The last section deals with a number of areas, formerly under Achaemenid rule, that became independent during the Hellenistic period. Licheli, Gagoschidze, Babayev and Invernizzi discuss results from new studies in relation to post Achaemenid palatial structures in Caucasian Iberia, Caucasian Albania and Parthia respectively, shedding new light on the complex processes of acculturation through time in relation to both palatial architecture and monarchy.

The strengths of this volume lie in the largely archaeological approaches toward palatial structures over a wide area and long span of time that serve as an incentive for historical comparison. For no ruler communicates his or her power in identical fashion, but the underlying processes provide us new insight in common mechanisms and local diversities.

This book is well produced and highly recommended for historians and archaeologists alike with an interest in palace culture and the perception and self representation of rulers in the first millennium BC.

Margriet J. Haagsma

GÜNTHER SCHÖRNER, *Votive im römischen Griechenland. Untersuchungen zur späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 638 pp., 100 pls., 24.5 cm (Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 7). – ISBN 3-515-7688-3.

Over the last years there is a remarkable increase in the study of Greece in Roman times, culminating in Susan Alcock's publication *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (2001, reviewed in *BABesch* 79, 2004). Instead of regarding the province of Achaia as a quiet backwater and an open-air museum for wealthy Roman tourists, it is interesting to realize that cultural changes did take place, which have left their traces in literature and archaeology. With the publication of Schörner's *Votive im römischen Griechenland* another chapter can be added to the history of Roman Greece, dealing with the religious changes in imperial times which are apparent in the use of votive offerings to gods and heroes.

In his study the author has analyzed 1240 votive inscriptions and 100 votive reliefs, dating from the late-hellenistic and Roman periods. The results of his investigation make it clear which gods and heroes were popular, and what kind of persons dedicated offerings to them. By confronting these results with the votive offerings of classical Greece it becomes apparent that religious feelings underwent major transformations and that the attitude towards the gods and heroes changed remarkably.

A very clear change of attitude is the general sense of self-deprecation with which the dedicants describe themselves. Words such as 'servant' or even 'slave' are used to describe the relation towards the almighty deities. Very often the poor mortals are ordered to dedicate offerings to the gods and hasten to comply with the divine wishes. Dedicants call themselves humble supplicants, wrongdoers and even 'criminals' and ask forgiveness for their lack of respect. The old principle of *do ut des* from archaic and classical times seems forgotten and very often the dedicants are not even represented on the sculptural reliefs, or at best play a marginal role. The material offered by the author provides ample opportunity for further investigations into the reasons why this change in attitude came into being.

Now all the available material is brought together, it is possible to quantify the dedications and draw up a list of the most popular and venerated deities. On the sculptural reliefs the places of honour are reserved for the Dioscures, Heracles and the Eleusinian deities. They are followed by Asclepius, the Nymphs and Pan. Only from place 7 downwards we encounter the old Olympians like Zeus, Apollo and Artemis. The last places on the list are reserved for Oriental deities such as Agathos Theos, Helios and Selene. Unfortunately there is no discussion about the possible reasons for the rise and fall in popularity of the different deities.

After the sculptural reliefs the author discusses other votive offerings, such as altars, utensils, statues, portraits and the most expensive ones: buildings or parts of buildings. In the latter categories it becomes evident that the religious element is heavily mixed with the honour the dedicant creates for him- or herself. A very

interesting chapter is dedicated to the question who the dedicants were, and what kind of profession they exercised. A remarkable number of dedicants are women and their offerings are given to the usual protectors of children, like Artemis, Eileithyia and Demeter. In the quantified list of dedicants we further encounter priests, sportsmen, politicians, doctors, generals and emperors. Private and public institutions also honoured the gods and by doing so made their existence known to everyone. The descriptive chapters of the book close with a good analysis of the changed attitude towards the gods ('Zum Götter- und Menschenbild im römischen Griechenland'), the remarkable presence of archaic elements in both inscriptions and style of the reliefs and a discussion about the practice of votive offerings in this period ('Zum Votivwesen im römischen Griechenland'). The author has made a herculean effort in compiling two catalogues: one with 1240 votive offerings with inscriptions, and one with 100 votive reliefs. Each catalogue entry is provided with the data of the object and earlier literature. A concordance of the inscriptions, various indexes and 100 plates of good quality testify to the great amount of work and care the author has given to this mighty corpus of votive offerings in Roman Greece.

Ruurd Halbertsma

GENEVIEVE HOFFMANN (ed.) *Les Pierres de l'Offrande autour de l'Oeuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont 1*. Kilchberg/Zürich: Akanthus Verlag für Archäologie, 2001. 208 pp., figs.; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 3-905083-15-9.

ANNIE SARTRE-FAURIAT (ed.) *Les Pierres de l'Offrande autour de l'Oeuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont 2*. Kilchberg/Zürich: Akanthus Verlag für Archäologie, 2003. 240 pp., figs.; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 3-905083-19-1.

The title of these two volumes: *Les pierres de l'offrande autour de l'Oeuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont* (i.e., 'sacrificial stones around the work of C.W. Clairmont') is introduced by a quotation in passionate words from Saint-John Perse (p. 3), but this quotation may well remain obscure to most readers.

The two volumes contain the lectures of a symposium held in Dec. 1998 in Clermont-Ferrand, in honour of Prof. Clairmont.

Prof. Clairmont (1924-2004) must have been an unusual person and scholar: this appears from a moving and poignant biographical note by Lezzi Hafter, printed on a separate sheet of paper inserted in the book. He was the last member of a famous British family, well-known because of Claire Clairmont, the mother of Byron's daughter Allegra who died at the age of five in a cold Italian cloister, simply because Byron did not want to see how intolerably harsh the regime of those nuns was.

At first, Clairmont's interests were in the Near East and Egypt; later he turned to Greece and soon concentrated on grave reliefs. Lezzi Hafter tells us that, dur-

ing the production of his great work *CAT (Classical Attic Tombstones*, 1993 and 1995), C. worked in great isolation, hardly communicating with younger scholars who might have contributed useful things. C. had to face severe criticisms.

The account of his last years is most unexpected: he was converted to the Islam, read the Koran in Arabic, adopted the name of Abdel Mumin and lived as a Berber among the Berbers high up in the Atlas mountains.

The first part of *Volume I* is *Greek Archaeology*. It opens with a summary of C.'s work by G. Hoffmann who compares the importance of C.'s work to that of Beazley's (but this surely is a gross underestimation of Beazley's absolutely fundamental contribution to our understanding of Greek pottery and the Greeks in general).

A most interesting chapter is Clairmont's own *Historiographic balance*: a lecture on the history of the study of grave stelai (pp. 15 ff). He is a great admirer of Johansen's *Grave Reliefs* (1951) but turns rather sharply against Himmelmann's *Ilissos Relief* (1956). According to Himmelmann the deceased are, in a certain sense, to be regarded as heroes. This, C. says, is a dangerous speculation, adding that the German defeat in WW II may have given rise to this 'personal interest in the status of the dead'!

On the other hand, C. speaks highly of Schmalz's work (*Lekythoi*, 1970, *Grabreliefs*, 1983). When discussing Bergemann's *Demos und Thanatos* (1997), he praises most of his conclusions, but casts doubt on the influence the polis, she believes, had on private tombs and their *periboloi*: C. believes that Attic families had more or less a free hand in shaping their grave monuments. This first entry, by the *éminence grise*, is interesting and instructive.

Of the other chapters no more than a simple indication of their contents can be given.

On pp. 20 ff J. Bergemann presents a data-base for Attic grave reliefs (3000 stelai with 4000 b/w. photos). With this material all kinds of questions may be solved, e.g., the significance of seated figures (men and women) in scenes with more persons. The material needed for such problems can be found in a few seconds.

On pp. 26 ff B. Holtzmann discusses a number of atticizing funerary reliefs from Thasos (one of them is a scene of a woman in childbirth).

On pp. 36 ff there is a paper about stelai from Paros by D. Berranger-Auserve. They belong to the 5th century, a period when no comparable stelai were made in Attica. The most famous 'Parian' specimen is the sweet girl holding two doves in her hands in New York, which once was in the Brooklyn House (a relief that, for its sentimental sweetness, strange proportions and other unusual details, I have always, probably erroneously, suspected).

From p. 44 onwards Bernhard Schmalz discusses the re-use of funeral reliefs. This recutting is restricted to the more costly naiskos-stelai. An interesting case is the Korallion stele, figs. 1-3. Both the girl servant and the old man in the background (between Korallion and her husband Agathon) were added when Agathon died: for this addition the background had to be hol-

lowed out, as is clearly visible in the photographs. Korallion and her husband are depicted in *dexiosis* but, when Agathon died, the inscription was re-written and the relief enriched with the two figures. At the same time the *dexiosis* lost its original meaning.

In the relief of Paramonè (p. 47) a woman with a baby was later transformed into a man, called Aristion. In the Euphiletos stele in Halai (p. 48), a fine young woman was made into an older lady by means of deep wrinkles; the two names, inscribed very superficially in the second phase, show that now the two men became the main persons. Other interesting examples are illustrated in figs. 5-6. Sometimes, Schmaltz says (p. 50), inscriptions may have been covered with marble stucco on which new inscriptions were painted. Possibly changes were also made when a stele was bought from store, according to the wishes of the client (p. 51), but this is not very likely since stelae were expensive and therefore probably not sold ready made. We know that *lektythoi* were prepared beforehand and that their scenes were carved only when they were bought. Schmaltz says that stelae were probably re-worked much more often than we usually assume.

On pp. 52 ff R. Posamentir publishes reconstructions of painted stelae, making use of *Verwitterungsreliefs*, for example the stele of Glykera, figs. 1-4, Ploutarchè, figs. 5-6, and others.

The second part of volume I is called '*Iconography and Society*'.

On pp. 66 ff Nancy Demand criticizes G. Metraux, who believes that the progress in Greek art towards naturalism (this term should be preferred to 'realism') is due to the teachings of the great physicians. It is, of course, the other way round: the sculptors' understanding of the (outer appearance and therefore) the visual anatomy of the human body clearly precedes that of the physicians.

On pp. 72 ff V. Dasen speaks of twins on funerary monuments starting with the seated matron feeding two babes from Megara Hyblaea (fig. 1) and then carrying on via Dermys and Kittylos (fig. 7) to a Roman stele with two twins in Warsaw (fig. 10): there is more information on twins in Rome than in Greece.

On pp. 90ff M. Th. le Dinahet discusses children on Hellenistic stelai from Delos, in particular male and female babies, a study with useful appendices.

On pp. 107 ff. K. Stears deals with the iconography and status of women who are working wool, spinning and weaving. Curiously, spinning is rare on Attic stelai and mainly used for slaves and freed women.

On pp. 115 ff J.B. Grossman writes about stelae with a standing woman and a man shaking hands analyzing their family relations (two grave reliefs of the Athenian agora are her starting point).

M. Daumas discusses the fascinating Boeotian stelae with incised drawings of warriors (pp. 125 ff), such as those of Mnason, Rhynchon (fig. 1), Saugenes (fig. 2) and others (omitting the stele of Athanias in Malibu as highly suspect). Because of the long mantles some of these figures wear and because of other ornaments, it is suggested that the warriors Buillos, Pherenicos and others are to be regarded as initiates or *mystoi* of the Cabeiroi; this is confirmed by the scenes in the pediments above Rhynchon and Saugenes.

On pp. 136 ff a new stele in the museum Calvet is published by O. Cavalier. It shows a huntsman shaking hands with a seated woman. Cavalier analyses the iconography of related scenes with huntsmen and dogs.

The following chapter deals with '*Religion and Law*'. S. Georgoudi discusses a religious law in Selinous in connection with the cult of ancestors and the *Tritopatores* (pp. 152 ff).

On pp. 164 ff S. Vilatte speaks of Plato's dialogues, as if, in a sense, they are an imaginary funerary stele for Socrates.

A. Helmis discusses rituals enacted on tombs that are described in ancient texts and are sometimes connected with a special law, for example, the one against funerary luxury (pp. 175 ff).

In the chapter on '*Museography*' M. Moltesen (pp. 184 ff) draws our attention to a number of peculiar but interesting reliefs that are quite clearly fakes but have not always been regarded as such (two in Copenhagen).

Finally, there is a report by A. Verbanck-Perard on the way the stelae are arranged and exhibited in Mariemont (pp. 194 ff).

In short, this first volume contains a varied and rich collection of studies.

Volume II deals, among other things, with inscribed funerary stelae in the Roman Empire, both in the Greek East and the Latin West. Emily-Ann Hemelrijk discusses some of these papers.

One of them is by A. Sartre-Fauriat (pp. 36-50), who surveys funerary stelai from the region of Hauran in southern Syria where, since the 1970's, numerous inscriptions have been found. Most of them are rough basalt blocks with a brief inscription only, but some bear a crude 'portrait' of the deceased. S-F discusses their distribution and the information they provide. There is a difference in epigraphic habit between the North and the South (and the plains and the hills) of Syria: the South yields much more evidence. 1650 inscriptions are in Greek but a considerable number (170) are in Nabatean. The latter usually provide only the name and filiation, but the Greek inscriptions sometimes add the age at death and a few words of grief or the like. Many names show the Semitic origin of the deceased, quite a few bear marks of Hellenisation or Romanisation. As in other parts of the Roman Empire, twice as many stelae were erected for men as for women, which makes the material useless for demographic studies.

Further, C. Vendries deals with a funerary stele from Thrace erected for M. Cincius Nigrinus, a soldier of the XIth urban cohort in Rome in the Trajanic period (pp. 51-60). Cincius is standing in military dress. Below his feet there are a number of objects in low relief: among others things, a helmet, a cuirass, greaves and, surprisingly, a lyre with a plectrum. It is hard to explain the lyre: Roman military musicians are always portrayed with wind instruments and, therefore, the lyre can hardly mean that he was a musician in the urban cohorts. Further, it is unlikely that the lyre is a symbol of the heroization of the deceased, as, in funerary art, it may be for women. But soldiers sometimes per-

formed as actors during ludi of the imperial cult. Therefore, the lyre, together with what may be an opened book-roll, suggests, according to Vendries, that Cincius Nigrinus acted on the stage during his military career.

The next chapter is called 'Stelae in the Western Part of the Roman Empire'. It opens with an article by J. Guerrier-Delclos (pp. 60-72) about monuments in the museum of Sens that throw light on the activities of veterans of the Roman army in the region. She starts with a portrait stele of the late second or early 3rd century AD with the relief of a man in the long Gallo-Roman tunic typical of a civilian, but with a military pallium and a sword. On each side of the stele there is a smaller figure: the one clearly is an agricultural labourer, the other a bailiff. No inscription is preserved, but because of this unusual combination of military and civilian elements, Mrs Guerrier assumes that the deceased was a soldier who, after his retirement, became a local landowner. In support of this she discusses four funerary cippi with inscriptions of veterans and three 'portrait' stelae without inscription, all found in Sens and dating from the 2nd or early 3rd century. The reliefs show couples in *dextrarum iunctio*, the man in military dress with a sword, the wife wearing local dress. The combination of military apparel and signs of civilian life (lawful marriage) shows them to be veterans who, after their retirement from the army, resided in the city, probably drawing their income from land-ownership. From the number of funerary monuments set up for this group she concludes that they formed almost ten percent of the population; however, to my mind, one cannot draw such conclusions from the number of funerary monuments preserved since, because of their relatively wealth and Roman, or Romanized, habits, veterans are probably over-represented in Latin inscriptions and funerary portraits in such towns.

The second article of this chapter, by L. Lamoine (pp. 73-90), deals with the *ornamenta* (rank-distinctions) on the monuments of municipal magistrates, especially the *fasces* and the *sella curulis*. On the basis of the inscriptions and reliefs of four funerary monuments in Gallia Narbonensis, he discusses the signs of their public dignity, and tries to connect the image of the deceased with the inscription. At times this leads to over-interpretation, for instance when he interprets the portrait of the military tribune Sextus Adgennius Macrinus (fig. 3) in the light of ancient physiognomic theories of the 'courageous man', or when he suggests that the axe depicted on the funerary altar of a local aedilis indicates the power of capital jurisdiction (pp. 82-84; but axes are common on funerary monuments in southern Gaul). However, his descriptions are detailed and he interestingly observes that the higher the social status of the deceased, the less prominent were the signs of his local honour.

The other papers of Volume II deal with stelae in modern times, from the 18th century onwards.

J. M. Hemelrijk and Émily-Ann Hemelrijk

CONRAD M. STIBBE, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Supplement. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004. XV, 265 pp., 1 col.-+60 b/w figs., 96 pls.; 29,5 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-3279-3.

Coen Stibbe is, probably, the greatest Laconian expert of our generation. He is one of, what might be called, a triumvirate of Dutch vase experts, the other members being Herman Brijder (Siana cups) and Kees Neeft (Corinthian). They have in common a life-long dedication to a great theme and a remarkable scholarly output. They travel all over the world collecting material, helping colleagues, making photographs and drawings and publishing the results. They belong to the Amsterdam 'school' of students of Greek vases inspired long ago by C.H. Emilie Haspels, who was professor from 1946 to 1966. Half a dozen other archaeologists also belong to this same school.

Stibbe has written a number of books about the history of Sparta, a shelf full of books and papers on Laconian pottery and an impressive series of volumes and articles about bronze vases (mainly Laconian). When this review appears, he will be eighty years of age but he is still very active indeed.

The book under review (here abbreviated *Suppl.*) is a thick supplement to his *Lakonische Vasen des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1972, here abbr. *LV*). It closely follows the organization of *LV*. One of the most instructive aspects of the two books is the collection of fine drawings of the section-profiles of the cups (the section on the left and the profile with the ornaments on the right, all 1 : 2; in *LV* the left part, the section, is in outline, in *Suppl.* it is black). These drawings are so near reality that it feels as if one holds these delicate cups in the hand. There are 57 'profiles' in *LV*, neatly collected in the first part (pp. 18-44, but without catalogue numbers!). In *Suppl.* they are scattered throughout the text since they are printed in the paragraphs of each separate painter (one has to leaf through the book to find them but here they are: pp. 18, 20, 36, 50, 62, 68, 99, 108, 141, 143, 155, 161, 163, 166, 168, 180, 185-189, 193-195; besides, there are drawings of chalices by the Miniature Painter, pp. 131ff). As I have said, the drawings look very 'real', but to my surprise the photos do not always seem quite the same: compare fig. 39 (p. 195) with pl. 87, where the stem seems less sturdy.

Also, there are countless drawings of ornaments. In this respect, the arrangement in *LV* is better, because the catalogue numbers of the vases on which the ornaments are found, are printed in the drawings (e.g., *LV* p. 180), whereas in *Suppl.* we have to discover them ourselves and note them in the illustrations (e.g., p. 115, palmette no 1 = nos 7, 13, 24 etc.). Other drawings render details of figures such as birds' heads (e.g. p. 113) and even some complete scenes (by the Miniature Painter; figs. 16-22, pp. 131ff). The 96 glossy plates contain a great number of excellent photographs; particularly splendid are the numerous shape-photos, e.g., pls. 4-6, 9, 12-3 etc. Sometimes, the reader will regret that certain photos are lacking: e.g., the inside of nos 235, 238, 338, 357.

The pages that will most frequently be consulted, in both books, are, no doubt, their catalogues. The catalogue in *LV* pp. 269ff contains more than 360 entries, distributed over five master-painters (with their 'schools', followers, comparanda etc.) and numerous minor artists (pp. 288ff, cat. nos 332-360). The catalogue of *Suppl.* (pp. 201ff) contains 400 entries: 66 attributed to the Naucratis Painter, 47 to the Boreads Painter, 9 to the Arkesilas Painter, 59 to the Hunt Painter, 52 to the Rider Painter; then follow the minor artisans (pp. 230-251): the Painter of the Fishes from Taranto has 29 entries, the Typhon Painter 5, the Chimaera Painter 20, and the Hoplite Painter 25 attributions; he is the first of four new painters and was introduced by G.P. Schaus apropos of fragments from the Demeter sanctuary in Cyrene (see pp. 103ff). There are 51 entries for the Allard Pierson Painter; 3 for the Cyrene Painter; and 22 for the second new artist, the Miniature Painter and his Circle (recognized by Stibbe apropos of newly published sherds from the Artemision of Samos; pp. 124ff.). The third new painter, the Olympia Painter with his circle, the *Reformwerkstatt*, has 4 entries (recognized by Erika Kunze-Götte, see pp. 146-148) and, finally, the fourth new one, the Dioskouroi Painter has fragments of 7 vases (identified by Stibbe).

In *Suppl.* two series of catalogue-numbers are used: one in the text for the vases of each painter, and one for the general catalogue at the end of the book, indicating the same vases; cross-references between the two are sometimes painfully lacking. For example, the Boreads Painter's no 30, mentioned on p. 41, has to be sought under no 96 of the catalogue on pp. 201ff; and no 47 on p. 43 is no 113 on pl. 18 etc. As for the indexes, there is a general one and a list of Museums, but there is no concordance with the catalogue numbers of *LV*; this makes it difficult to know which numbers of the *LV* catalogue have changed place (e.g., because of a revision of its attribution). The reader has to note such alterations in the margins of *LV*, both on the plates and in the catalogue. I give some examples.

LV nos 200-202, described as 'probably Arkesilaos P.' and 360 (which occurs in 'Nachträge Kyrene Maler') have now become *Suppl.* nos 21, 22 and 25 (not 26, p. 9) of the Naucratis Painter (*LV* nos 202 and 360 belonging together). Some vases ascribed to the *Werkstatt* of the Naucratis Painter in *LV* are now attributed to the painter himself: *LV* 77, 84, 88 have in *Suppl.* become the painter's own work as nos 10, 51 and 5 respectively, whereas *LV* no 101 is transferred to *Suppl.* no 277 (Chimaera Painter no 10); *LV* no 312, pl. 110 (Rider Painter) is now *Suppl.* no 338 (Allard Pierson Painter); see further Nachträge pp. 39, 40, 42, 51-2, 59, 61, 63 etc. It would have been good to have a systematic list of these alterations and additions.

Sometimes difficulties crop up while reading the text: the fragments from Olympia (now published by Erika Kunze-Götte in *Ol.Forsch.* 28) are not in the catalogue of *Suppl.*, since most of them were incorporated in *LV*. Further, the omission of a reference to pl. 33 in the paragraph *Nachtrag Jagd Maler Bb* on p. 39 will probably puzzle readers. Besides, it is not immediately clear where the *Nachtrag Bb* mentioned under pl. 33, is to be sought in the text, but I was lucky enough to chance upon a casual reference to plate 33 (on p. 168). Thus, I

learned that this intriguing fragment fits *LV* 214, pl. 71.1. The left half of this cup is described in *LV* pp. 135-136 and its shape on p. 36, fig. 40. Only a very careful study of *Suppl.* can prevent such meandering reading.

The book has to be studied meticulously and during a long period. It is a very thorough and fundamental piece of work. All painters are discussed at length, their work being divided into groups Aa, Ab, Ba, Bb etc. and many new items are described and published in detail on pp. 151-199. The enormous expansion of the material is manifest throughout and can, of course, not be reviewed here. For example, there are no less than 45 new pieces attributed to the Boreads Painter or his manner and his work now amounts to some 110 pieces (his cups are spread over a wide area but not one fragment has so far been found in Laconia!).

As Boardman says (*Early Greek Vase Painting* p. 187): 'stylistic identities are slightly more difficult to grasp than in Attic.' This is an understatement. The most important question is, of course, whether we are to regard (most of) Stibbe's attributions as (nearly) certain. This is a question that can only be answered by the few experts in this field (no more, I believe, than half a dozen scholars). The present reviewer is no such expert, yet some suggestions must here be made. On the whole, it seems that Stibbe's picture of the main painters is generally accepted; however, for certain minor artists, e.g., the Allard Pierson Painter, some objections may perhaps be made.

Central to this problem is, to my mind, whether the potters and painters were the same persons. Are we to assume that the throwing and trimming of the cups, the preparation of the surface for the painting (covering certain parts with white slip), the drawing of the frieze lines and the floral ornaments on the outside, the preparation of the tondo on the inside and, finally, the figures in the tondo, were all done by one hand? This is the general assumption in *LV* p. 13, 'wenn es auch Ausnahmen gegeben hat'. Stibbe's explanation is that at the start of a painter's career his shapes are experimental and that later on they achieve a more consistent character, a form that, as Stibbe puts it, 'in most cases is clearly distinct from that of other painters': the shape gets an 'individual stamp'. I take it that this is still Stibbe's opinion in *Suppl.*

In this, perhaps somewhat unexpected, theory he is strongly supported by Brijder, who tells me that, originally, he was inclined to doubt the identity of the potters and painters of his Siana cups, but in the course of his studies was forced to accept it, in view of the close similarity in the development of shape and painting. We shall return to this below.

As for the Allard Pierson Painter (here abbreviated as APP), this artisan was introduced in *LV* (pp. 188-189) with only four cups (and two 'probably by him'), and, therefore, understandably, ignored by some scholars (*Suppl.* n. 429). His work has now been expanded to thirty three items (pp. 240ff), and to fifty, if we include his 'manner'. Nine of these figure already in *LV* (two listed under the Rider Painter and one sub the manner of the Hunt Painter: *Suppl.* nos 338, 352, 354; = *LV* nos 312, 264, 315). Many of the new items are extensively published in the section Veröffentlichungen, pp. 184-199.

The description and analysis of the vases by the APP

(pp. 110-123, 184-199) is very detailed and should, one might expect, allow us to form a definite judgement - were it not that the present reviewer and most other readers have insufficient knowledge of his entire oeuvre and, in order to get such knowledge, not even Stibbe's two books, though richly illustrated, suffice, nor do his other three books (abbreviated as *LBP* 1-3).

The APP is one of the more important of the 'minor' painters and is described by Stibbe as a potter-painter, whose style of potting is also personal enough to be identified: the same is said of the secondary decoration of his cups (see below).

His work is divided into two main groups (pp. 111ff): *A*, when he follows the Hunt Painter; *B*, when he imitates the Rider Painter. This change is curious and Stibbe suggests that he may never have had his own workshop, he may have moved from the one to the other, for both style and themes indicate such a change. This switch took place at the time of the fragment no 32 = Cat. no 345, pl. 92, which is probably a picture of Sisyphus rolling his rock, a subject of the Hunt Painter but, Stibbe says, 'drawn in the style of the Rider Painter' (p. 122). The APP imitates the two painters with 'pedantic precision' so that his own artistic personality 'sich schwer erkennen lässt' (p. 119).

On pp. 112f. it is said that his style degenerates: 'von einer stilistischen Hochblüte zu einer gänzlichen Degeneration...', and he contributed 'als Töpfer keinen selbständigen Beitrag zur Entwicklung'. The forms are 'sehr uneinheitlich': he has an eclectic taste. That he is 'late' appears, e.g., in his handle palmettes without incision (p. 115 nos 1-5). The painter is dated 550-520 (p. 113).

The new additions come mainly from the region of Taranto and not a single sherd from his hand was ever found in Laconia. Therefore Stibbe suggests that the APP may have lived some time in Taranto (whether the particular clay is available there, is unknown to the author, n. 434). Comparable suggestions are found in *LV* pp. 11-12 for the Boreads- and the Rider painters! The reader will, of course, object that, however this may be, the APP must also have lived near the shops of his two teachers (the Hunt and Rider Painters), wherever those may have been.

What will be the impression of all this on the readers? The present reviewer feels uncertain about the artistic unity of all the works here attributed to the APP.

Let us start at random. It is clear that four cups, found in a grave in Taranto (p. 112), nos 321, 324, 325, 334 (pls. 75-77, 83), belong together; 325 and 334 are very like the extraordinary cup in Malibu, no 314, pl. 71. This, however, concerns only the outside of the cups. What about the figure painting? There are certain peculiar stylisations that connect nos 22/334 (pl. 83.1) and 23/335 (pl. 84.1) with 18/330 (pl. 81), such as the knees and the lines in the calves, but it is hard to believe that here we have to do with the same painter. After all, similar stylisations of details need not be decisive. In Laconian pottery certain unusual markings of this kind are common; e.g., the double or triple vertical lines in the deltoid (shoulder) such as pls. 84.1, 81.1, 82.1: see Naucratis Painter pl. 10.3; Arkesilaos Painter pl. 21, Hunt Painter pl. 32.1 and 37.1. Apparently these details are not distinctive but belong to the general Laconian tradition (in sculpture these vertical grooves in the del-

toid occur on Parian statues). The human figures on the 'later' cups just mentioned are quite sloppy (e.g., the komasts of pls. 84-6, 88-9) and in strong contrast with the excellent drawing of nos 314, 330, 331, 332 (pls. 71, 81, 82.1 and 3; *LV* pl. 127). The different shapes of the eyes attributed to the APP, as shown on p. 113, seem to be too varied to be from one and the same hand.

Another case in which the outer appearance of the cups need not be decisive, are the nos 1 and 2 of the list of the APP. It is true when Stibbe writes (*Suppl.* p. 116) that these two cups (cat. 313 and 314; *LV* pl. 126, *Suppl.* pl. 71) 'stimmen so genau überein ..., dass sie nahezu zur gleichen Zeit von derselben Hand getöpft und bemalt sein müssen'. This holds for the shape and the painting of the secondary ornaments (compare also *Suppl.* pl. 77.2) and also for the preparation of the tondo for the painting, but the bitter-faced, fat perch-fishes in Amsterdam (*LV* pl. 126) lack the monumentality, fluency and, so to speak, the artistic musicality of the great eagle of *Suppl.* pl. 71, which holds the horrible snake in its talons but has failed to catch it in its beak, and is now bitten in the throat. In this monumentality, the picture is more like the Hunt Painter's Cerberus (*LV* pl. 72, no 217), than any picture by the APP, though the ornaments and shape of the cup by the Hunt Painter are very different.

In other words, the identification of figure painters by shape and secondary ornaments seems risky (for instance, see pl. 22, no 6/119, by the Arkesilaos Painter, p. 50, fig. 6). I would like to believe that there was more division of labour than Stibbe allows. The number of profile-section drawings of the cups painted by the APP is not great, but they clearly separate into two distinct groups: on the one hand the high-stemmed, thin-walled, convex-lipped, delicate nos 313 and 316 (*LV* p. 35 figs. 38-9, pl. 126) and, on the other, the heavy-walled, wide- and shorter-footed, straight-lipped cups with heavy, stiff handles shown in *Suppl.* figs. 33-39 on pp. 185-195. One would expect, that it needs two different potters to make such different cups. Besides, is it really possible that the painter here called APP was responsible for the shaping of such delicate, high-stemmed cups as nos 313 and 316, the production of which surely requires an expertise such as is easily underrated? On the other hand the shape-drawings in *Suppl.* pp. 185-195 seem sufficiently alike to be attributed to a single potter (and a single ornament painter).

In all this, I am thinking, of course, of the r.f. cups from Athens, where potters were rarely their own painters. Division of tasks, even of ornaments and figures, was surely quite common, also outside Athens, especially since throwing and turning is swifter than painting vases. Therefore, if the cups were not always thrown by the painter himself, their overall appearance might be misleading: cups by other painters would then show the same characteristics of shape (and perhaps secondary ornaments) as those by the APP. That this is sometimes so, though not specifically confirmed for the APP, is said in *LV* p. 13: 'Dieselbe Schalenform ist manchmal von verschiedenen Malerhänden dekoriert. Es wäre jedoch voreilig, daraus zu folgern, dass ein und derselbe Töpfer für verschiedene Maler gearbeitet hätte.' Surely, this possibility should seriously be contemplated.

As regards the secondary ornaments, one is inclined to assume that cups sometimes passed from hand to hand during painting: for example, on cups by the Rider Painter, the short, fat tongues are usually rather clumsy (e.g., *LV* no 300, pls. 104-105), but the myrtle wreath of such a cup may be truly exquisite (*ibid.* pl. 104,2). Sometimes there is a surprisingly wide gap in delicacy between potting and figure painting: the shape of some cups by the Rider Painter, such as *LV* pl. 104 and its counterpart *Suppl.* pl. 57, is subtle and delicate indeed, but their figure scenes with Heracles and the bull, though funny, are naïve and boorish. Such differences can not easily be attributed to the same hand, it seems to me.

To return to the APP: on p. 188 we read that the decoration of the outside of no 14 (cat. no 326, pl. 78) is decisive for the attribution to the APP: the slip covering only the handle zone (which, we are told, occurs only in his work), the type of handle palmette and the unpainted rills on the foot are typical (the reference here to no 28 pl. 72 is a mistake: perhaps Stibbe means the unpainted rills of no 26, pl. 87). The same reasoning is found more often: e.g., APP no 15/327, p. 188, fig. 36, pl. 78. As I have suggested above, the close similarity of the outsides of such cups points to the same potter and the same painter of the secondary ornaments, but leaves open the question of the painter of the figure scenes; in fact, the APP may not have been involved at all in the cups 326-7 of pl. 78.

This theorising about division of labour in potting and painting could be extended to a considerable length (for example, is not the bud frieze in the handle zone of *LV* pl. 35.2, too crude for the Boreads Painter's hand?), but we have to leave it at this: I feel hesitant about Stibbe's picture of the oeuvre of the Allard Pierson Painter - but I like to add that I hope that my hesitation to accept the artistic unity of these cups will on good grounds be dismissed by the experts in this field.

In a monumental book like this, one with copious catalogue references and bibliographic citations, misprints and omissions are bound to occur but the book could surely have done with a thorough final proof-reading. I have mentioned a few errors and shall now add some more, chosen at random.

Fig. 8 on p. 62: read cup no 5 by the Hunt Painter (not no 6). There are numerous slight irregularities in the text: e.g., p. 116 line 2 (type of handle palmette not filled in, similar omissions on pp. 117 and 118). On p. 112 (below, penultimate paragraph) no 6 of the APP (= cat. no 318) is said to imitate a 'Droop' cup (with unpainted rills on the stem of the foot), but perhaps no 14 = Cat. no 326 (pl. 78) is meant. On p. 119, it is suggested that nos 331 and 332 might belong together, but this seems impossible because of the number of circular lines on the outside (pl. 82.2 and 4).

Some other errors and misprints are: p. 190 line 15: *LV* no 260: read no 220.

Catalogue: p. 217, no 127: read fig. 8 (not 18). P. 241, *sub* no 317: omission of page in Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta*. P. 237: no 288, read p. 105 (103ff). Add 'pl. 31' to *LV* 81, no 93. On p. 213, no 98 the reference to John Boardman (book and page) is missing.

These remarks are meant to warn the reader that he must not be too discouraged when he finds details that

seem puzzling. The book is a huge treasure of information; the descriptions are meticulous and highly informative. In short, the intensive work of decades and the *acumen* and artistic understanding invested in this beautiful volume surely will inspire great admiration among all students of Greek vases.

J.M.Hemelrijk

M. BERGAMINI (ed), *La Collezione numismatica di Emilio Bonci Casuccini*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2001. 217 pages; 27 plates, 8 figs., 30 cm (*Archaeologica* 132). – ISBN 88-7689-203-6.

This volume, with contributions by Margharita Bergamini, Paola Bittarelli, and Sandra della Giovampaola, is dedicated to the reconstruction and publication of the coin collection of Count Emilio Bonci Casuccini. In the introduction, the authors trace the history of antiquarian interest in this family. A first collection of antiquities, amassed in the early 19th c., was sold to the Royal Museum at Palermo in 1865. Inspired by the loss of this collection, count Emilio (1876-1934) strove to build a new, equally important collection in the first decades of the 20th c., which he displayed at his villa in a hamlet near Chiusi. Among the first visitors was a young Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli. In 1952 count Emilio's heir Alessandro sold the collection for a symbolic fee to the museum at Siena, where it still forms an important part of the core collection.

In neither the sale to Palermo nor to Siena were ancient coins included in the transaction. Count Alessandro retained for himself a collection of 795 coins, largely if not wholly amassed by his father. It is this collection, consisting of Etruscan, Roman Republican and Imperial coins, as well as coins of the Republic of Siena, that is presented in this volume. Unfortunately, over half the collection (virtually all Imperial Roman and later coins) was stolen from the villa in 1969, so that only 347 predominantly Etruscan and Republican coins were available for study. These coins now form part of the collection of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena bank, to which they were sold in 1978. In this monograph they have been carefully and competently catalogued, and illustrated with photographs of reasonable quality, albeit rather dark. The stolen coins are listed as well - based on the hand-written card-catalogue of count Emilio - but, obviously, not illustrated.

The importance of this collection, the authors assert, is that it consists of coins found locally - i.e. in the region of Chiusi and the Trasimene lake - and hence sheds light on coin circulation in the region. They base this on a remark by R. Bianchi Bandinelli, but it is somewhat undercut by Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni's statement, quoted on p. 18, that count Emilio's collection of locally discovered antiquities 'was also increased with acquisitions on the antiquities market, notably of Etruscan and Roman coins'. And although count Emilio apparently knew the precise provenance of at least some coins in his collection, he did not record this information. As a result, virtually the only coins whose provenance is certain are those of the Montalcino - Val d'Orcia hoard of over 133 coins minted in

Populonia, of which count Emilio acquired 53 coins, while the rest were sold to other collectors. This hoard, discovered in 1930, was published in its entirety by Bianchi Bandinelli in 1932.

This fact, together with the uncertain provenance, and the loss, of the majority of the other coins, leaves the reviewer rather baffled as to why this book was produced at all. No doubt tracing the history of this collection is of some, minor, interest. It is, however, fairly small, and the most important coins in it were already well-known from Bianchi Bandinelli's publication in 1932. There is certainly scope here for a much more tightly written article in a respected numismatic journal, giving an overview of the whole collection and expanding the previous publications of these coins with the modest amount of new information provided here. For a book, however, the content is too meagre and much of it far too trivial. Attempts to enhance the publication are apparent in the superfluous plates, such as figs. 2-4 (title pages of antiquarian numismatic books in the Bonci Casuccini library) or document 3 (a full-page illustration of a short newspaper clipping reporting the theft of 1969), as well as the overly generous layout of the catalogue, which requires 96 pages to list a mere 347 coins). Given the enormous strain on the resources of academic libraries worldwide, producing such a book as this, with its exorbitant price-tag, is a disservice to the academic community.

Steven E. Hijmans

M.J. VERSLUYS, *Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 144, Leiden, Brill 2002. XV, 509 pages, 171 figures in the text.

Centered around an extensive catalogue of images, Versluys offers a thorough reexamination of Roman Nilotic scenes and, more in general, Roman *aegyptiaca*. The study is divided into five parts: I. Introduction; II. Corpus Figurarum Niloticarum; III. Nilotic scenes in the Roman world. Interpretation and contextualisation; IV. Roman *Aegyptiaca*; V. The Roman discourse on Egypt reconstructed. The section headings document Versluys's ambition to move beyond a mere enumeration of Nilotic scenes, and he has succeeded admirably. This is not only a very useful book but also a thought-provoking one.

Versluys debunks many sometimes facile conclusions of earlier scholarship - Nilotic scenes are not, for instance, somehow connected with the cult of Isis - offering instead a very different overarching interpretive framework that is explicitly tentative. Versluys proposes, in section V, that one way to view Nilotic scenes is as elements in the Roman discourse on Egypt, in which Egypt fulfilled the role of Other. This approach to the social functions and meanings of Nilotic scenes is most welcome. His conclusion that they were more than simply scenes of *truphê* deserves close attention, and his concept of Egypt as *Other* is promising and provocative. But there are also problems, as Versluys himself points out when he states, with complete justification, that few studies attempt to answer the types of questions he asks, and even fewer explicitly reflect on

how to do so (295-299). His own solution has been to use ethno-historical comparanda and literary sources to construct his 'theoretical framework' (389). This results in his proposal that Egypt gradually came to be constructed as Rome's *Other*. He then turns to the images, viewed as 'reflection of a specific discourse' (435), and sees his hypothesized Roman discourse on Egypt reflected in them, for instance in the preponderance of malformed dwarves engaged in shocking behaviour.

Versluys is certainly right that classicists must do more with the type of material he collects in so exemplary a fashion, and the questions he tries to answer are important. But ultimately the manner in which he bridges the gap between his data and his Roman 'discourse on Egypt' is not wholly convincing. Can we really understand Nilotic scenes as a 'Roman construction of Egypt' (387)? Are the images of dwarves/pygmies a direct reference to the above-average occurrence of such little people in Egypt (275)? Do their activities - sexual and otherwise - suggest Egyptian depravity and convey a pejorative connotation to these scenes (436)? The problem is not that these assumptions are inherently unlikely, but that Versluys does not establish clearly that they are valid within the visual systems of signification to which the images he discusses belong.

Let me illustrate this by turning to Philostratus Maior's *Imagines* I,5, an ecphrasis not discussed by Versluys, in which the rhetor ostensibly describes a Nilotic scene. This is almost certainly a fictitious 'painting', for Philostratus brilliantly conflates the two stock image-types of the Nile: what starts out as a reclining river deity gradually transforms into a typical panoramic scene. The painting is richly populated with *putti* clambering over the river god and entangled in his beard, but as Philostratus shifts the Nile-image, so too do the *putti* change. From babbling babes they become babbling brooks, the 'fingers' or 'arms' (*pêcheis*) of water that rapidly extend from the swelling Nile into the surrounding fields, heralding the oncoming flood. Philostratus is making a play here on the word *pêchus*, used for such arms of water but also, as Lucian (RhPr 6) confirms, to denote the arm's- or cubit-length children of Nile imagery.

It may be worth exploring whether this ecphrasis offers an alternative explanation for the many dwarves in Nilotic scenes - Versluys assumes the roles of the *putti* and dwarves to be comparable, p. 277 - but that is not my point. Philostratus's descriptions are predicated on the well-known capacity of Roman images to take on culturally agreed meanings, unrelated to their actual appearance (no river resembles a bearded man, no flood-arm of the Nile a *putto*). It is the potentially arbitrary relationship, in Roman image-signs, between signifier (image of reclining man) and signified (concept 'river') that makes Roman art such a powerful, but complex, communicative tool. And it is at this level of visual signification that Versluys's analysis is most problematic. Versluys sees images as 'reflection of a specific discourse', allowing him to locate their deeper meaning somewhere outside the images in some external 'discourse'. However, according to current material culture theory, images construct their meanings as part of, and in contribution to, such discourse. The difference is essential, for this means that we must first decide

what it is that we see, before we can begin to discuss what that image contributes to some broader social discourse. Rather than Versluys's 'theoretical framework' reconstructing the broader Roman discourse on Egypt, what we need for his Nilotic scenes is a theoretical framework that explains how those images construct meanings.

Versluys recognizes this of course, and tentatively seeks inspiration in S. Muth's concept of *Polyvalenz*, but he is right that Classicists have not reflected on the modalities of visual signification in Roman art (though cf. T. Hölscher's *Römische Kunst als semantisches System*). Indeed, as Paul Zanker points out ('In search of the Roman Viewer' in D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, 1997, 179-191), though we cannot simply put ourselves in the shoes of the Roman viewer and blithely assume that we see what they saw, yet this is precisely what classicists have always done.

Obviously Versluys is not to blame for the fact that we lack a thorough understanding of the Roman system(s) of visual signification. Nor should this issue detract from his book, every section of which is excellent. However, the difficulties he documents in his attempts to arrive at a sensitive, contextualized understanding of the social function Nilotic scenes well illustrate the importance of this deficiency. One hopes this book, with its persuasive insights and promise, will therefore inspire more comprehensive explorations of Roman systems of visual signification, be it through the theoretical frameworks of visual semiotics, or some other powerful theoretical system.

Steven E. Hijmans

LARISSA BONFANTE, *Etruscan Dress*. Updated Edition. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. 161 pp., 164+7 figs.; 25.2 cm. – ISBN 0-8018-7413-0.

This book is not a rewritten version of the famous book published by Larissa Bonfante in 1975 and soon afterwards out of print, as it contains the complete original text with all its illustrations. The real update is a new chapter at the end entitled 'Bibliographic Essay, 2003' (p. 213-229), including new discoveries (e.g. at Verucchio (near Rimini) and Decima (Latium)), advances, focuses and problems in dress and more general topics such as gender distinctions, gesture language and the symbolism of nudity. It becomes clear that since 1975 more attention has been paid to the technical aspects of textile working on the one hand and to the relation between wool working, women, and writing on the other hand. As for the production process the reliefs of a splendid wooden chair from Verucchio, dated to the 7th cent. BC and showing scenes of wool working, are very informative. The graffiti on spools and loom weights prove that aristocratic women at Verucchio could read and write. They were more than *domisedae lanificae*... Bonfante further deals with the representations of dress on an exciting bucchero olpe from Caere showing scenes with Etruscan inscriptions reading *taitale* (Gr. Daidalos) and *metaia* (Gr. Medeia). She inter-

prets the inscription *kanna* on a long cloth as 'gift' but it might be better translated with 'reed-mat (clothing/ornament)' like the Greek word *kanna* (see M. Menichetti, *Ostraka* 4, 2, 1995, 274-275). The identification of a number of primitive figures is still controversial. The terracotta roof statues from the famous building at Murlo are now interpreted as ancestors. Other ancestor statues are the terracotta statues from the Tomb of the Five Chairs at Caere, and the relief figures from the Tomb of the Statues at Ceri (near Caere). The author also discusses two stone statues from Casale Marittimo (in the Volterrana area) showing a mourning male and female figures, both wearing a *perizoma* (and therefore usually identified as male), dating from the 7th cent. BC. Furthermore, she pays attention to the long-lived continuity of particular dresses, e.g. skin garments, worn by priests from the prehistory onwards. She concludes that the dress of the Hellenistic period, especially as represented on urns from Northern Etruria, still needs to be studied. This will be a difficult job as each figure has to be analysed to see whether e.g. a mythological representation is a copy of a Greek model and/or whether it shows, as a kind of local colour, also indigenous, Etruscan dress. Bonfante's new bibliography is useful and shows clearly that new generations of scholars are active in the field of textile and dress studies.

L.B. van der Meer

DIRK STEUERNAGEL, *Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenzustädten. Soziale Prozesse in archäologischer Perspektive*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004. 287 pp., 6 ill. in the text, 26 ill., 12 plates; 24 cm (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 11). – ISBN 3-515-08364-2.

Of several new books on Ostia to have appeared in the last decade, the most recent is by Dirk Steuernagel. The subject is cult and everyday life in the three most important Roman harbour cities - Puteoli, Ostia and Aquileia - focusing on social processes as seen from an archaeological perspective. It is a bibliographically updated version of a habilitation thesis presented at Frankfurt am Main University in 2002 with a systematic, analytical, diachronic, and, interestingly, a comparative approach. Steuernagel was allowed to read the manuscript of A.-K. Rieger's monumental and well illustrated *Heiligtümer in Ostia* (München 2004, focusing especially on Quattro Tempietti, the Campus of Magna Mater and the Tempio Rotondo), and he often agrees with Rieger's observations. Steuernagel offers an introductory chapter on method and research histories of the cities under discussion. Ch. 2 presents the sacred topography of the cities mentioned, including their urban development. Ch. 3 deals separately with 'indigenous' and 'Roman' cults. Ch. 4 sheds light upon the central role of cult unions and union cults (often cults of *collegia* or *corpora*), in the second and first half of the 3rd century AD. Ch. 5 is entitled: 'strangers' and 'strange (elements)' in the city. It discusses the presence of cult places of Egyptian gods, of Magna Mater and

Attis and other cults from Asia Minor, Syria and Arabia. In Ch. 6, Steuernagel draws his main conclusions. Excellent indices, drawings, maps and reasonable photographs conclude the book. Although there is a list of abbreviations, most publications are, unfortunately, hidden in footnotes.

In the introduction Steuernagel states his intention to give a total picture of the history of religion in the three selected harbour cities. What religion or *religio* implies is not fully defined, but it is treated as a symbolic system enabling communication and interaction. Therefore, Steuernagel uses the sociological term 'community'. He tries to study religious monuments in their context and questions the impact of a cult on certain groups of the urban population. It emerges that much evidence of private religion or religion in a private context is skipped, probably as it has been published by J.Th. Bakker (*Living and Working with the Gods*. Amsterdam 1994). That is unfortunate as there is not always a clear borderline between private and non-private religion. In *insulae*, different social groups lived together, formed a community, saw each other at least in courtyards on ground level and evidently had together one house god, e.g. Diana as can be seen in the House of Diana (p. 106). Steuernagel compares the three cities as they had large commercial networks from the Republican period onward, had relatively large numbers of slaves and *liberti*, had many *collegia* in the 2nd century AD, and received special attention from the emperors. The distinguishing features are that Ostia was rather dependent on Rome, that Puteoli was rather cosmopolitan and attractive to the Roman elite, and that Aquileia was the military base for actions in the Balkan and Danube area. One might add that after AD 64 Ostia gradually lost its sea harbour function due to the creation of the Portus Augusti. In Ch. 2 Steuernagel lists and discusses all sacred places in four successive periods: from the beginning of a colonia until the Sullan period, from ca 80 BC until ca AD 100, the period ca AD 100 to 250, and from ca 250 AD until late antiquity. This is no easy task as, especially at Ostia, some religious buildings have not yet been found, and others have not been clearly dated or identified (p. 64, 65, 71, 72; 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79-81, 82, 84, 86-87; 88, 90, 91, 162, 167). Although Steuernagel stresses the archaeological perspective, without inscriptions he would hardly have any information about Ostia's buildings, builders, sponsors and users. In Ch. 3 it becomes clear that the presence of local ('indigenous') gods (Belenus in Aquileia and possibly Vulcanus in Ostia) in the archaeological evidence is hardly visible. The Vulcanus temple(s) at Ostia have not yet been found. Ch. 4 shows very convincingly the enormous importance of corporations between ca AD 100 and 250, often paying attention to the emperor cult. These unions form the social and religious backbone of Roman society. In Ch. 5 Steuernagel concludes that the influence of strangers on the spread of East-Mediterranean cults was very limited. Immigrants had no religious mission (though the Christians certainly had). Also strange rites or cult elements are few, as they were usually influenced more (Isis/Serapis) or less (Magna Mater/Attis) by *interpretatio romana* (the adoption of or assimilation with Roman gods, the inclusion of emperor cult, etc.). Usually *liberti* were the worshippers. Urban

regions or *vici* with a high concentration of strangers do not seem to have existed (though we must realize that the find-spots of many inscriptions, especially in Ostia, are not known). In Ch. 6 Steuernagel compares once again the three cities; in Aquileia there was no crisis after ca AD 250 as in Ostia; in Aquileia the Christian religion had more success than in Ostia; in general eastern cults were a marginal phenomenon at Puteoli, notwithstanding its cosmopolitan character. The importance of 'guild' and emperor cults, especially during the 2nd century AD, is visible in each city. But from the end of that century onwards 'guilds' became less important as *curatores rei publicae* from Rome at Puteoli and Ostia took over the local administration. The last *duoviri* mentioned in the *Fasti Ostienses* date from AD 175.

Although Steuernagel does not offer many new insights, his book is compact, handy and easy to consult. An interesting conclusion, which he shares with A.-K. Rieger, is that the worshippers of Mithras at Ostia had an organization comparable to that of 'guilds', probably because members of several guilds frequented Mithraea. Some questions remain. That entrepreneurs, often successful *liberti*, worshipped their own gods in temples in or near *scholae*, is clear, but what about other social groups? Is it enough to use temples and *sacella* (or inscriptions referring to them) for the reconstruction of a sacred topography and its impact on social relations? In the case of many temples it is not clear who the worshippers were. Romans saw a difference between *loci religiosi*, *sacri* and *sancti* (cf. Festus, ed. Lindsay, pp. 348-350). Why, for example, does one of the main entrances of the Garden Houses at Ostia (III.ix) show a club in relief (just like the façade of the Caseggiato dei Misuratori di grano (I.vii.1-2))? Does it mean that the whole Garden Houses complex was *sanctus*, i.e. protected by Hercules? (for the city quarter aspect see now also: J. Bert Lott, *The Neighbourhoods of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge 2004). Were religious elements, e.g. statues (especially of Venus!), not visible everywhere in the city, were temple cults like that of the Capitolium not accessible to all social classes? Christians would not have had troubles at Ostia until ca AD 394 (date of the last restoration of the Hercules temple and of the destruction of the Edificio dell'Opus sectile), if there would not have been a strong social control. Jews at Ostia probably had no troubles. An inscription found in the synagogue testifies of a pro emperor attitude: *pro salute imperatoris...* It seems that not only authorities but everybody kept an eye on the religiosity of everybody else: emperor cult was compulsory.

If a book attempts to focus on *Kult und Alltag*, it should pay attention not only to the middle and, sometimes, high class but also to the lower strata of society and to everyday cult activities. Steuernagel regards some sacred places as peripheral: the Serapeum, the Campus Magnae Matris and the Synagogue (p. 81). This is a bold assertion as the geophysical research by M. Heinzelmänn has shown that the city area was much larger than the, partly unexcavated area within the Ciceronian walls. Between the Serapeum and the Tiber there is a large, partly unexcavated area, but full of buildings according to Heinzelmänn's research. The place of the Sanctuary of Magna Mater (triangular, near the city wall, as at Lyon) may be explained by the fact

that Cybele, certainly originally, protected cities and city walls. The position of the Synagogue may have to do with the presence of (sea-) water as in some other Mediterranean places.

Steuernagel has written a useful book, with many incentives for modern research. His research is, however, less archaeological than that of Rieger. If one compares both books however, it appears that Steuernagel is more cautious than his colleague.

Comparison of the social status of religious phenomena in different cities may be a comparison between apples and pears if the amount of documentary evidence is unbalanced. And Ostia is better known than Puteoli and Aquileia.

L.B. van der Meer

PATRIZIO PENSABENE/STELLA FALZONE (eds.), *Scavi del Palatino 1. L'area sud-occidentale del Palatino tra l'età protostorica e il IV secolo a.C. Scavi e materiali della struttura ipogea sotto la cella del tempio della Vittoria*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. XXXIV+ 290 pp., 62 fig., 100 tavv.; 30 cm (= Studi Miscellanei 32). – ISBN 88-8265-119-3.

Nel 1975-1976 la cattedra di Archeologia e Storia dell'arte greca e romana dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza' riprese i sondaggi nell'area del tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino a Roma. L'obiettivo era quello di acquisire una visione più chiara delle vicende della sua edificazione e del luogo che era stato scenario dei Ludi Megalenses. Il lavoro qui in esame presenta parte dei risultati di quelle ricerche, riservando particolare attenzione alla struttura ipogea di epoca arcaica rinvenuta sotto la cella del Tempio della Vittoria e al riempimento che l'ha obliterata. Lo scavo viene inquadrato nel relativo contesto, che abbraccia l'arco temporale tra i più antichi resti arcaici presenti nell'area fino alla costruzione del Tempio della Vittoria.

Il testo, preceduto da una bibliografia molto ampia (pp. XIII-XXXIII), è articolato in due sezioni. La prima (pp. 1-152) inizia con l'interpretazione delle evidenze archeologiche alla luce dei miti di fondazione: Pensabene offre qui una dettagliata analisi dei resti corredata di una pianta generale di grande chiarezza (fig. 1). Al periodo orientalizzante e a quello arcaico risale la realizzazione di una rete di cisterne con relativi pozzi, a volte in vecchie cave di tufo, aventi funzione di riserve d'acqua. Reperti ceramici databili al medesimo periodo attestano un'occupazione dell'area, che lo studioso ascrive a un contesto laziale tra la fine dell'età del bronzo e il VI secolo a.C. concludendo: 'Inoltre alcune di queste strutture ... hanno in comune con il Palatino la peculiarità di sorgere in aree in seguito divenute sacre.' Alla fine del periodo arcaico la zona è interessata da una monumentalizzazione, come evidenziano tra l'altro i resti di un tempio dell'inizio del V secolo nel luogo dove in seguito sorgerà l'*Auguratorium*; la struttura ipogea sopra menzionata fu certo annessa al tempio in funzione di favissa per i resti architettonici e ceramici relativi alle attività sacrali anteriori alla costruzione del tempio.

Segue quindi l'illustrazione del saggio di scavo sotto la cella del Tempio della Vittoria ad opera di Stella Falzone (pp. 21-60), che fornisce descrizioni e analisi accurate dei resti della struttura circolare ipogea, tagliata da blocchi di tufo pertinenti alle fondazioni del Tempio. Un appunto va mosso ad alcuni disegni della documentazione che presentano un tratto eccessivamente spesso (fig. 4, 6 e 7). Oltre ai resti dell'antichità classica la trattazione considera anche quelli del post-antico. Così vi sono i resti di 'grosse azioni di spoliazione ... dal medioevo al XVII secolo.' E inoltre tracce di vecchi scavi che, a motivo del rinvenimento di maiolica, hanno un *terminus post quem* del 1300 d.C. circa.

La struttura circolare, dal diametro di 6,50 m, ha muri in *opus quadratum* irregolare di tufo lionato e tuffe grigia con argilla come malta. Imponente la quantità di materiali restituiti dal riempimento e tra questi non sono ancora state analizzate le numerose ossa animali, mentre i resti di sostanze vegetali rinviano a due attività: la cucina a scopo alimentare e la divisione del grano dalla crinea. Il fatto che frammenti che combaciano si trovino in strati diversi indica che il materiale giaceva in precedenza altrove. Sui circa 63000 reperti, grosso modo 1570 frammenti sono con certezza riferibili a periodi ben precisi; la fetta più consistente di questi si colloca nel VI secolo a.C. Rappresentano invece una piccola percentuale le preziose terrecotte d'importazione destinate ai banchetti. In un'appendice al capitolo in esame Claudia Angelelli formula l'ipotesi che gran parte del materiale sia di natura votiva e 'probabilmente da ricollegare ad edifici di culto arcaici'.

Nella loro analisi dell'occupazione protostorica nell'area sud-ovest del Palatino, Claudia Angelelli e Stella Falzone (pp. 65-78) avanzano una proposta convincente di rilettura delle evidenze archeologiche e presentano una cronologia relativa. Il villaggio capannicolo, scoperto già in passato, risulta oggi più esteso grazie ai nuovi ritrovamenti.

Il periodo seguente, preso in esame da Paola Battistelli (pp. 79-144), è compreso tra VI e IV secolo e va dalla demolizione del villaggio capannicolo preistorico fino alla costruzione del Tempio della Vittoria. Per una migliore comprensione del periodo, la studiosa considera dapprima i vecchi scavi, per confrontarli a loro volta con le fonti scritte e i risultati degli scavi recenti. Su questa base ella ritiene che l'abitato capannicolo venga abbandonato nella prima metà del VI secolo. Cosa poi venga al suo posto non è chiaro: si accenna a un modesto quantitativo di resti murari e a un'ingente quantità di 'frammenti di terrecotte architettoniche e frammenti di oggetti di uso domestico, per una parte dei quali è accertata o ipotizzabile una utilizzazione di carattere votivo ...' Il materiale ritrovato rinvia a un'edificazione di natura monumentale sul più alto dei terrazzamenti. Nel V secolo viene quindi costruito il grande tempio prima citato sul retro del cosiddetto *Auguratorium* nell'area centrale del terrazzamento superiore. Di questo tempio ci sono pervenuti pochissimi resti. All'inizio del IV secolo viene realizzato un innalzamento del piano di calpestio e poi eretto il Tempio della Vittoria.

La I parte termina con le conclusioni di Patrizio Pensabene e Stella Falzone (pp. 145-152), secondo i quali

‘nel riempimento della struttura ipogea confluirono depositi originariamente relativi sia alla distruzione di edifici sacri che di abitazioni, genericamente databili tra l’età regia e quella arcaica.’

Si passa quindi alla II parte del lavoro, il Catalogo dei reperti (pp. 153-289), compilato da diversi autori. Vi è stata adottata una classificazione tipologica con una definizione di forma piuttosto generica e una tipologia basata sulla varietà. Le categorie principali prese in considerazione sono: ceramica di impasto bruno di epoca protostorica e orientalizzante (ca. 5400 frammenti); ceramica di impasto rosso di epoca orientalizzante (ca. 4400 frammenti); la produzione in impasto rosso-bruno: bacini e dolii; ceramica d’impasto sabbioso e la terracotta fine tipo ceramica depurata, bucchero, ceramica etrusco-corinzia e d’importazione greca. Per ogni categoria viene illustrato il modo di classificazione del materiale e la cronologia, seguono poi le descrizioni. Il catalogo è corredato di un cospicuo apparato di tavole, purtroppo molto diseguale da un punto di vista qualitativo: il risultato più modesto in questo senso è raggiunto dalle tavole 78-87, che presentano un tratto troppo spesso. Si tratta tuttavia di un difetto poco rilevante di questa pubblicazione di scavo, nell’insieme invece decisamente accurata e seria.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

ALBERTO BARZANO *et al.* (eds.), *Modelli eroici dall’antichità alla cultura europei*. Bergamo, 20-22 novembre 2001. «L’Erma» di Bretschneider, 2003. 425 pp., ill.; 24 cm (Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull’Antichità Classica. Monografie 23; Alle radici della casa comune europea 4). – ISBN 88-8265-246-7.

The volume presents the results of a meeting some five years ago and forms part of a series of congress volumes on eternal values in Europe stemming from Antiquity. There is little archaeology in it (to focus on the main theme of this periodical), more history and literary analysis, but that does not detract from its importance to all students of the antique world.

The argument for this fourth meeting was proffered by Ph.A. Stadter, a Plutarch specialist and the volume is also dedicated to him (see the praising words by G. Zecchini at the beginning). G. Camassa discusses the changing character of Orestes in Greek literature. A problematical point is the guilt he has when revenging of his father and, so, becoming the murderer of his mother. The dramatists give different outcomes and that is also true for the ablution after the murder. His tragic destiny is that he has to revenge and therefore becomes guilty. The paper has neither an introduction nor a conclusion and, for its contents, better fitted a periodical specialised in Greek literature, finding there more readers.

M. Giangiulio, who works on the Greeks overseas, has delivered a brilliant essay. He follows some Greeks on their *nostos* from Troy who became *ktisteis* of ‘colonies’ in Magna Graecia. Herakles did the same on his forced tour with the cattle of Gerion. The author argues that

these Greek narrations, from Homer onwards, corresponded with local sagas, not known to us from literary source. As to Herakles’ in Sicily one might add the confrontation with Cacus/Kakos on the Palatine in Rome. A general point is the introduction of a stranger who becomes king and/or founder of a city.

H. Heftner highlights Theseus’ symbolic role in the democracy of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. He was a king himself, but could be seen as a democrat for his qualities as inventor of Athens as a state and for giving her forces. His monarchy even was seen as a sort of democracy, as he gave rights to his kinsmen (e.g. Euripides’ *Hiketides*). His ‘format’ was that of a Perikles. Some hundred years later, Isokrates presented Theseus as an example who left all state business to the citizens, whereas the *Attides* make a lawgiver of him. The essay suffers from numerous misspellings, in German and Greek alike.

With A. Mastrocinque we turn to the image building of dynasts who seek (or not) a parallel with the gods. In general, the gods are no rulers, because of the inborn abjection of kings and tyrants of Greeks and Romans from the late 6th century onwards. Rulers take elements from the gods and rule with the *providentia deorum*. The Hellenistic city kings and the Roman *princeps*, therefore, have immortal aspects as an institution only, not personally. There never is a cult for them (p. 58), even if some of them are called *theos*. Antiochos I of Kommagene, for example, would be deified after his death as a new Tyche. A special category forms the hero born with qualities like natural strength (Pyrrhos) or teeth (M. Curius Dentatus). These might be gifts of the gods.

E. Culasso Gastaldi makes clear how Euphron II of Sikyon and Lykourgos from Athens got honorific inscriptions and statues during crucial moments in the aftermath of the Lamian War, when they functioned as models for the new birth of the democratic state Athens always had been (or wanted to have been).

L. Prandi wrote a sequel on her previous study on the Athenian casualties of the Persian Wars and asked whether these ‘heroes’ had a specific role within the state of Athens and beyond. She made clear how the phenomenon of the *demosion sema* and the *epitaphioi logoi* was restricted to Athens and got some imitation elsewhere. The praise of heroism of those who fell for the state is not found in Sparta, where this is an obligation, not a specific quality.

C. Tuplin tackles Xenophon’s *Anabasis* as a Homeric work, singling out the heroic elements. He distinguishes between Homeric heroes, evoked or equalled in the situations the Ten Thousand encountered on their *nostos* (speech, linguistic aspects, mythic parallels etc.) and treats the generals who get a heroic aura of the author who, in a certain way, is the greatest of all. This is a very intriguing essay.

D. Ambaglio treats the heroic status of Alexander the Great’s generals. This level was reached when they (1) rescued their leader (hence *Ptolemaios Soter*), (2) they were wounded like him, (3) got a wreath from him and (4) had a victory in a duel.

F. Landucci Gattinoni points at the negative hero, i.e. Kassandros in the view of Plutarch, who often names him and mostly in negative sense. He apparently did not deserve his own biography by the man from Chaironeia!

K. Buraselis speaks about hero 'cults' (cf. however Mastrocinque). Most persons in the area around Alexander the Great got a lower status than god. The essay is interesting for the social definition of 'hero levels'.

D. Briquel contributes one of the most fascinating texts of the book, dealing with Lucretia and Cloelia. The ladies were the pivotal figures at the start and the end of the drama concerning the abolishment of kingdom at Rome. In his structuralist essay Briquel makes clear how they could have been transformations of 'royal' goddesses, adapted to the 'republican' format.

K.-J. Hölkeskamp acutely analyses some mythical *lieux de mémoire* at Rome and defines the cityscape as a *milieu de mémoire* in which the citizens were constantly surrounded by heroes, hidden and visualised alike. This took great dimensions in the 3rd century BC and increased gradually.

H. Beck sees Plutarch's Lives of Fabius Maximus Cunctator and M. Claudius Marcellus as parallel Lives for their own sake. Plutarch omits from one Life what is highlighted in the other. He finely takes into account the information and paragone presented in the official counterparts, the lives of Pericles and Pelopidas.

M.T. Schettino also treats a Plutarch's Life, that of the 'anti-hero' Crassus. The vita mainly concentrates on the tragic march against the Parths and the death at Carrhae. This theme was hot in the time of the composition, 114-115, as Trajan was conquering this region.

J. Bollansée starts with Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* from 1361-1362, asking whether the Italian humanist could know Greek predecessors (> no) and continues analysing a recently published anonymous treatise on fourteen antique queens. These are debated as unwomanlike figures, doing *thaumasta*.

M. Piérart might have written the introduction to the volume. His text lists the various possibilities of honours to benefactors of Greek cities during the empire and ways of heroisation or confronting to ancient heroes. Titles, public acclamations, statues, funerary monuments are among the means used to thank these rich *euergetai* of the cities.

M. Rizzi tackles the phenomenon of martyrs as Christian heroes. He continues a rather hot debate of the last decade, starting with Bowersock's 1995 monograph on the topic. A parallel drawn with the 9-11 New York tragedy does not convince.

P. Desideri is the first to enter the *Nachleben* treatment of heroes, discussing the late 16th-century work of Jean Bodin on the republic. Like in other essays the author studies Plutarch and other writers as sources for Bodin's political treatises. In the present contribution the emblematic role of Lykourgos is addressed.

J. Geigers reflects on the phenomenon of 'Halls of Fame', unfortunately without illustrations of the examples discussed. He starts with the series of 'Nine Worthies' from the Middle Ages. Some series were made after ideas of Petrarca (oddly spelled as Petrarcha), others had the pairs of Plutarch's double Lives. Even the gallery of *virii illustres* on Augustus' forum in Rome was taken into account.

A. Demandt writes about Alexander the Great in post-antique images in literature and art. The text is a *causerie* with neither notes nor images. He might have finished with Oliver Stone's Alexander movie of 2004,

if he could have actualised his rather generic contribution, which is a pleasant, but not deep-going reading

A. Pérez Jiménez discusses Plutarch's heroes used in emblematic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. He fortunately gives many reproductions of the examples discussed. In this case we must read Plutarch's treatises like *De garrulitate* and *De Iside et Osiride*, when we look at Alciati's emblems. Later, the Lives also furnished motti. For many readers the less known Spanish authors form an interesting extra to the better known Italian, French, and German instances. Dutch emblems are not taken into account.

L. Polverini looked for imitations of Caesar and Alexander the Great by Napoleon I and III, but started with Caesar's *Alexander-Angleichung*. The dedicatee Stadter, finally, gave a short address in elegant Italian in which he argued that Plutarch did not want his heroes of the Lives to be imitated *stricto sensu*. The Chaeronean had a keen eye of week and strong facets of these people and invited (leaders) to reflect upon power and on the individual's role in the process of state making.

The editing has not been done with care, for there is no homogeneous shape of texts and references. Most classicists did not insert translations of their ancient texts. Some authors have bibliographies, others lack these and the title descriptions differ. There is no general summary or conclusion by one of the five editors, three of whom also wrote papers.

Eric M. Moormann

MIKHAIL I. ROSTOVITSEFF, *La peinture décorative antique en Russie méridionale. Saint-Petersbourg 1913-1914*. Vol. 1: *Texte. Description et étude des monuments*. Vol. 2: *112 planches*. Sous la direction d'Alix Barbet, avec le concours de Véronique Schiltz. Traduction: Arlette Fraysse, Andrea Rychtecky. Paris: Diffusion De Boccard, 2004. XXIX+718 pp.; 131 pp. with 112 b/w and colour pls.; 28 cm (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 28). – ISBN 2-87754-114-2.

The Crimea is far away for many archaeologists of the classical world. The remote Greek colonies along the shore of the Black Sea, however, are rich of testimonies that inform about the vivid exchange of cultural impulses from Greek colonists and native inhabitants alike. Nowadays, both local and international scholars do a lot to make this situation better and to fill in the white spots on the map and the bibliography is growing extensively and includes special periodicals. M. Rostovtseff (his name knows several spellings!), famous in the West for his work on ancient economy and the Yale excavations at Doura Europos, to mention only a few aspects of his vast research area, was in his early forties when he published a monumental (in literal and figural sense) monograph on the paintings in tomb chambers in Kertsch, written in his native tongue, Russian like all his works until that time. Most of the studied murals got the epitheton Hellenistic, although many of them dated to the Roman period, because the Russian scholar parted from

the idea of a cultural continuity stamped mostly by Hellenistic art forms. This work remained unreadable for most scholars in the field and, moreover, it was very rare in libraries in the West. Students of ancient painting had to refer to the English article by Rostovtseff in the 1919 issue of *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The arduous scholar of ancient wall painting, Alix Barbet, pleaded for a translation many years ago and she now has the great satisfaction that a French translation could be realised with funds from the prestigious Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres at Paris.

Barbet did more than promoting the translation. The text is enriched by a short introduction about Rostovtseff and his project and by additional notes that actualise some of the matters discussed by the author. Wherever possible, Barbet revisited the monuments and studied fragments in the museums of the Hermitage at St Petersburg and at Odessa. This must not have been easy a task and sometimes rather frustrating. Rostovtseff himself already had lamented the loss of many monuments he knew from reports by local amateurs and (semi-) professionals. Several tomb chambers had been discovered in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s and were known to him thanks to reports and ocular testimonies only.

Each chapter presents a tomb or a group of tombs in a tumulus (Rostovtseff uses the word *kourgane*) or other systematisation. Some house decorations, esp. from Pantikapaion, are included as well. The descriptions start with the location and the find circumstances, are followed by those of the architecture and the decorations and finish with the presentation of the finds, if any available. Then Rostovtseff discusses iconography of representations, composition and style of the decoration schemes of murals and vaults and tries to conclude with a dating proposal. The illustrative apparatus is rich, not only in the form of the black-and-white and colour plates but also by means of drawings and photos in the text. A few chapters discuss more general themes like the genesis of the First Style in the eastern half of the Mediterranean world and the rise of Christian art. The French editors present the work in a nice format and always give the correct pages of the original edition, so that the modern user might refer to the 1913-1914 and 2004 editions at the same time.

The book is highly commendable for libraries of classical studies. Of course in many respects the analyses by Rostovtseff are out of date, as we have a greater knowledge of comparable monuments (esp. Alexandria and Pompeii), but the reader will be struck by the wealth of knowledge the author displays. He comes to judgments which often hold still very well (in some cases Barbet's remarks expand the examples and give extra evidence, but do not refine Rostovtseff's analysis). With the extremely opulent documentation and descriptions, this still forms a landmark in the study of funerary decorations. All these splendid illustrations are of a level numerous later studiosi could even dream off. I remember how I once had to consult the Russian text, as one of the plates offered me a possible comparandum and was happy to find a colleague who could translate the passage I needed. But in publishing the parallel I always remained unsure about my 'grasp' of one single element: had I understood the whole context? I was happy now to see that my friend had helped me well, but like many

colleagues am happy that in the future I shall be able to work independently with this book. For a further comprehension of antique funerary customs from the 4th century BC until late antiquity in the eastern part of the antique world Rostovtseff now invites us, as it were, to pick up the glove and to work further. It is not the place here to start the discussion, but the lecture of the texts tickles the reader immediately to do so.

Eric M. Moormann

CLAUDIA LANG-AUINGER, *Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/4. Hanghaus 1 in Ephesos. Funde und Ausstattung*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003. 375 pp., 165 pls.; 39 cm. – ISBN 3-7001-3205-0.

Lang's impressive volume concludes the publication of one of the well-known houses on the slope of Bulbul Dağ, again under discussion for various reasons (see my review of Krinzinger's volume about the whole complex of houses, *BABesch* 79, 2004, 225-227). The editor presented the excavation and architecture of the complex in the previous volume (FiE VIII/3, Vienna 1996). Her introduction recapitulates the research and the most important results which are important for a good understanding of the following (see also the Conclusions at the end of the book). The complex was in use from the late 2nd or early 1st century BC until the 7th century AD and many finds stem from filling layers ('Schutt'). The various *domus* were rather rich and lied in a vivid quarter of the big town, across the Temple of Hadrian. The end of their florescence was set by the earthquake of AD 262. A second period of relative prosperity was the 5th century.

The huge book has been edited in the shape of the other volumes in the series, but, for this mostly small material this is rather unpractical and handling it in some excavation house to find parallels will be impossible. It contains the documentation and interpretation of all *mobilia* encountered and registered over the years. For each category experts have been involved who ensure a sound treatment of the classes. The short descriptions of the single objects (which could have been printed more compactly) are preceded by discussions about the find contexts, the possible functions within the various phases and rooms of the 'Wohneinheiten' of *Hanghaus* 1. Lang must confess that the rather imprecise excavation, carried out from 1958 onwards, produced a lot of puzzling finds which are impossible to study within their contexts, while some items are even no longer retraceable in the storerooms (some are known from sketches by the excavators). Krinzinger's 'Nachgrabungen' could not solve (all of) these problems.

Sabine Ladstätter coordinated the analysis of the ceramics (pp. 22-85), first of all the shards found in the 'Nachgrabungen'. Three main layers can be distinguished for the Hellenistic period, reaching up to 8 m of depth and going from the 3rd to the 1st century BC. Among the shards many were fitting, which shows that the excavators came across a clear dump of the objects in one single moment. Among the local stamps is that

showing the Artemis Ephesia (pp. 34-35), being the oldest, late Hellenistic depiction of the type with the 'breasts', well known from frequent occurrences in the imperial period.

The architectural marble and stone elements are discussed by Gunhild Jenewein (pp. 86-120). She shows how in 'Wohneinheit' 3 many Hellenistic and early Roman pieces were used indifferently as *spolia* during the imperial period, even so that too short columns got higher blocks under the official bases to fit. Most capitals, bases and lintels can be dated on the basis of style, measurements and decorations.

Beatrix Assamer tackles an old notion, suggested by Herrmann Vetters in 1963 and never verified about the existence of a 'Byzantine Chapel'. She makes clear that such a room never existed, but the piece functioned as a normal element in the house. Its orientation E-W instead of W-E and the adorning fountain that is no baptismal font are important clues for the new conclusion. The lintels with crosses, another presumed piece of evidence, were brought here like most other building material to be transformed into lime.

Ursula Quatember inventories the marble utensils and furniture, counting some 149 items. The most luxurious object was a table supported by four *pavonazetto* legs, that had been restored in antiquity. The object in the shape of a Herculean club should be the support of a small table (p. 127). As a matter of fact, Hercules is remembered here as the eager symposiast and drinker and the object is appropriate. There are statues of Hercules himself functioning as table supports from Pompeii. As to the numerous marble vessels the author makes not clear whether they were precious objects or not. This material is well presented, some of it for the first time and not recognized previously as vessels, and the thorough discussion of this category might be of great help to excavators of other house sites.

As to the 125 items of sculpture meticulously discussed by Maria Aurenhammer, the reader encounters old friends, published by the same author in the first volume of the corpus of Ephesos sculptures (FiE 10/1, Vienna 1990; cf. my review *BABesch* 67, 1992, 219-221). The previous publication mainly contains the 'beautiful' pieces, now every scrap of statuary is discussed. Like Lang Aurenhammer deplores the inaccuracy of the excavation's records, for which she is unable to relocate all pieces. The reuse of some items in a later phase does not make this task easier (e.g. two portrait heads, p. 162). Some statues, e.g. the Aphrodite who unties her sandal, show traces of burning. This piece can be dated before the Augustan era on the basis of the find context, which is important, for the stylistic analysis as such does not yield very exact data. The herms of the 'Hermezaun' in S9 are the only sculptures that remained unaltered as to their position and function. They belong to the third phase buildings (Antonine/Severan). The male bronze head from S/8 is included in this chapter: it represents a philosopher from the early 3rd century. Among the portraits a youth from the era of Gordian, around 240, marks the end of the prosperity. One imperial portrait only, a Commodus, was found in the *domus* (p. 176). The 'Idealplastik' represents a vast set of mythological figures and figurines, mostly not of high quality. The pieces are interesting as

examples of the average (?) statuary furniture in a Roman imperial house and illustrate presence everywhere of sculpture (cf. P. Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society. Representation and Response*, Oxford 2003). Aurenhammer points at the similar situation at Chiragan (4th century, Gaul): in both cases most material had been produced at Aphrodisias.

The editor herself produced the chapter on terracotta statuettes. An introduction about technical aspects like moulds also discusses the formats of small pieces, probably made by children. Was there a practice of children's labour? The chronology is based on quality. The clay is local. The iconography is as various as that of the marble statuary. Many nude Aphrodites have been found. Lang does not discuss the distribution of the pieces within the house: this might not be feasible for the fragmentary state of the pieces or the bad excavation documentation.

Sonja Jilek is responsible for the artefacts in metal and bone, which covers various functions: personal ornaments, lamps, vessels, furniture, weaponry and utensils are included. Some pieces demonstrate the existence of Hellenistic houses built before the actual complex. Unfortunately, the fact that most objects were found in the 'Schutt' makes them irrelevant for the functional analysis of the rooms. Even the bronze metalwork of a coach was found in the peristyle; it should date from the early 3rd century. Elisabeth Trinkl presents a specific group of utensils for the treatment of textile, viz. spindles, loom weights and needles. The last category, the coins, is presented in the form of a list by Stephan Karwiese. A German and a Turkish resume complete this very rich volume. The illustrations (drawings, photos in black and white; some items even in colour) are excellent. It surely comes up to the high expectations of the modern excavation practices at Ephesos.

Eric M. Moormann

VOLKER HEENES, *Antike in Bildern. Illustrationen in antiquarischen Werken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Stendal: Winkelmann-Gesellschaft, 2003. 216 pp., 158 figs.; 27 cm (Stendaler Winkelmann-Forschungen 1). – ISBN 3-910060-55-2.

ÉLISABETH DÉCULTOT, *Untersuchungen zu Winkelmanns Exzerptheften. Ein Beitrag zur Genealogie der Kunstgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*. Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, n. y [2004]. 208 pp., 8 figs.; 26.5 cm (Stendaler Winkelmann-Forschungen 2). – ISBN 3-910060-57-7.

HENNING WREDE, *Die 'Monumentalisierung' der Antike um 1700*. Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, n. y [2004]. 57 pp., 78 figs.; 26.5 cm (Stendaler Winkelmann-Forschungen 3). – ISBN 3-910060-58-7.

KSENIIJA ROZMAN & ULRIKE MÜLLER-KASPAR, *Franz Caucig. Ein Wiener Künstler der Goethe-Zeit in Italien*. Exhibition catalogue Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett and Stendal, Winkelmann-Museum. Ruhpolding:

Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2004. 144 pp., 127 figs. on plates; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 3-910060-61-7.

PETER BETTHAUSEN/PETER H. FEIST/AXEL RÜGLER, *Augen unterwegs. Reisebilder - Aquarelle und Zeichnungen von Georg Dehio*. Exhibition catalogue Stendal, Winckelmann-Museum. Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2004. 84 pp., 67 figs.; 29.5 cm. - ISBN 3-938646-00-4.

The first three books have in common that they focus on the history of reception of antiquity from the 16th until the 18th century, the last two record exhibitions held in the Winckelmann-Museum at Stendal. All five works are the result of research carried out and/or stimulated by the Winckelmann-Gesellschaft at Stendal in editing the new studies in this nicely edited series. The association has, despite its former restrictions during the GDR regime, always kept an international character and its publications generally have a high level. As can be expected, a great deal of attention in their works is dedicated to the study and fortune of antiquities and the first three issues as well as the exhibition catalogues are worthy testimonies of that branch of historical research.

Heenes' PhD, written under the guidance of one of the best experts in the field of antiquarian studies, Hennig Wrede (see *infra*), analyses the illustrations in antiquarian works between 1540 and 1687 (dates are explained). Some works were notably untrustworthy because the images had the only goal to illustrate the text or to give credit to the theories presented. A good exception to the rule was the late 17th-century artist Pietro Santi Bartoli who published important *corpora* about the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, with succinct but adequate comments by Giovanni Bellori. Heenes goes through the publications according to categories like numismatics, gems, sculpture in the round and reliefs, whereas two sections are devoted to Rome and its topography. It is striking how the study of reliefs came late in comparison with that of numismatics (already 14th century, i.a. Petrarca) and statuary. Apart from numerous works which concentrated on these specific categories, there were all-encompassing books, now turning up several times in the run of the study. The scientific development in most cases is slow: a boom of new insights in the early 16th century, a stagnation later in that century, ascribed to the changed mentality following the Council of Trento, and a new input of data and insights in the third quarter of the 17th century. If one counts the numerous works by Bellori and Bartoli, the two of them were influential with their editions (some really *editiones principes* like that on the Column of Marcus Aurelius) and inspired many scholars as late as the end of the 18th century. Heenes does not restrict his study to publications from Italy (and then mainly Rome), but titles from elsewhere are rare (Spanheim, Spon). This might be explained by the fact that woodcuts and/or engravings were scarce in such-like books. In general, the readership of the works discussed was small and mostly limited to scholars. Even the collections' catalogues (coins, gems, statuary) did not yet display the lavishness books of the subsequent period were to show. In the concluding chapters the develop-

ment of 'archaeology' as a branch of research is sketched; the illustrated books themselves display the development from pure studies of text sources with images to a field of its own, studying classes of finds and reconstruction of the realia of ancient society like public functions, religious rituals, sports, gladiatorial games and circuses.

Wrede's *Monumentalisierung* is a slim, but important fascicle that tackles the question why in the years around 1700 the production and publication of numerous richly illustrated works about antiquity increased. Few new finds were made, impulses from other antique areas than Rome were scarce and some of the sculpture collections at Rome were for sale. Wrede observes the concentration on multi-volume works which comprised the re-editions of older studies, sometimes accompanied by new essays and, for all, by rich apparatus of illustrations. These images were not referred to in the (old) texts themselves, but apparently the reader could find his way by looking through bunches of plates to find the object discussed in the text he had under his eyes. The earlier books did not entirely lack illustrations, but the rarity came from the highly esoteric character of these texts, being destined to scholars like the man who had penned down the essay in question (see *supra*). With these new compendia, e.g. those of Gronovius on Greek antiquities, Graevius on Roman antiquities and the all-encompassing enormous work of Montfaucon with more than 30.000 images, the editors tried to find a new readership in the form of noblemen who were currently forming collections of antiquities and for whom the status could be enhanced by a well-filled library, and burghers who were also trying to enlarge their status. The *grand tour* had just become a fashionable phenomenon. Wrede stresses the importance of the Dutch book market in this field, often neglected in studies about the Netherlands and Antiquity. Here the main interest was paid to texts, whereas Italy, France and (more rarely) other European countries produced works in which antiquities played a major role. Wrede's analysis of the illustrations themselves makes clear how these pictures, often copied and/or reworked from previous publications, not seldom estranged objects from their original context to make them 'fashionable' in new ambiances as a 'Statuengarten' or sculpture gallery. Three-dimensional object could be drawn like reliefs or engravings in marble slabs and the motif of an old piece of paper, pinned in *trompe l'oeil* on some background enlarged the suggestion of showing a still older object, studied in a likewise old and hence venerated branch of science. So, these materials got a greater interest for the new readers who could compare them with their own possessions of the kind, exposed in a similar way. All these publications still had the old aura of studying antiquarian *realia* and did not encompass overviews or syntheses about antique culture. Therefore, Winckelmann who could never permit himself the acquisition of such precious works was not blinded by their defects when he started working on a coherent History of art, in which he heavily relied on the plates, but less on the texts of these books. The book is interesting for students of 'Antikenrezeption', book history and the function and manipulation of illustrations in texts.

The books are edited with care, but there are oddities like lacking years of edition, hyphens as the remainder of not putting off the hyphenation programmes in word processors. Heenes' transcriptions from Greek contain quite a few errors. The illustrations are rich in quality and number, so that the works surely belong to the illuminated category discussed by Wrede. And that is also true in the sense of readability and of price: scholars and book collectors alike may gain much profit from them.

This praise also pertains to Décultot's monograph, despite its rather forbidding title. It contains a fascinating reconstruction of Winckelmann's development as a student of all matters in the world via a commonplace-book writer of Things to Be Remembered read in publications regarding antiquity to a writer (literary and scientific alike) of provoking and what seems highly original works. She analyses the numerous volumes of excerpts the Stendal-born scholar made during his whole lifetime and properly calls them his hand-written portable reference library. Most are from the German years up to 1754, but at Rome, according to him the place to study the real thing, he also compiled files of quotations and notes to be used. Décultot makes clear in her book, published in French in 2000 and now elegantly translated by Wolfgang von Wangenheim and René Mathias Hoffer, how citations and paraphrases of these excerpts were inserted into Winckelmann's work, so that the preparation of the mind also formed the basis of his creative writing process, a thing he probably not had yet thought of when he started his first book at the age of 15. We must not, so it is argued, see Winckelmann as a plagiarist or a handyman: he follows, for instance, one of his great examples Montaigne who had proudly said that he would insert sentences taken from elsewhere, but not attested, in order to recreate these works. And had Pliny the Elder not been an excellent excerpter of thousands of books? Picking up phrases and ideas was the start of a process of cooking a new soup or making a fine cognac: these texts were earned and prepared for the new concoction. Décultot masterly analyses the choice of texts read by Winckelmann, the use of specific elements or details out of them and the way he inserted the ideas distilled from his examples or even opponents into his own works. So, Winckelmann gradually became a player in the field of the illuminated world who would influence French and German scholarship alike. Décultot asks the right and imperative questions, some of which seem too obvious, but result to be crucial, e.g. why to highlight Greece in a time the land was hardly known and the study of Greek had made a steep decline. It had been mainly English scholars and travellers who had pointed at the country's antiquity and virtue of model Shaftsbury had underlined the autarky and freedom of the Greek, and all know how much Winckelmann, the former humble servant of German noblemen, would stress these points. Why Winckelmann decided to write a history of art? This stemmed first of all from the aspiration to become a painter and then a historian. From Voltaire he had learned that art is an essential aspect of history and hence he made it autonomous. Winckelmann's (lack of) historicity, then, would be attacked by his German philological colleagues. Among other aspects highlighted by Décultot are the style of Winckelmann's

writing: he had the ambition to set up a new language for a new scientific branch and introduced new words, mainly taken from French like *Draperie* for drapery and gave new meanings to old words or coined terms, for which the *stille Einfalt*, *Stand* and *edle Grösse* are the most important ones.

The last pages are dedicated to the question how these notebooks came to France: they were simply stolen by French troops and did not belong to the works of art transported to France after the Treaty of Tolentino (1797). Décultot does not plea for a restitution (claimed by Germany in the early 19th century and in 1943), but concludes that they form a supranational treasury composed by a man who was no longer a German but a European. I must stop my *überschwengliches Lob*, to speak with old Winckelmann, and conclude by saying that this is best book on Winckelmann I read in many years.

The last two books from the Stendal ambience are exhibition catalogues from the Winckelmann-Museum. Its exhibitions seek a relationship with either the name giver or related topics like Italy seen by Germans. In these two catalogues travellers are highlighted. The first one presents the rather unknown Caucig (1755-1828). I think that he was no great and original artist, but some of his drawings and watercolours are fine and grasp the atmosphere of Rome and its *campagna* well. The multinational man from Gorizia (Croatian-Italian-German) was at Rome from 1780 until 1787. Some drawings were made in Venice and its surroundings, but most material reflects his stay at Rome. The catalogue is split into categories of subjects: vedute, ancient objects, drawings after Raphael, and historical scenes. The second issue is dedicated to an important art historian, Georg Dehio (1850-1932) who published numerous volumes on medieval sacral architecture, some of which still used as the 'alte Dehio'. Here we see his artistic reactions on the visits of (few) antique and (many) medieval monuments both in Italy and Germany. In the short essays added to the splendid illustrative material themes like the scientific excursion and Dehio's life are addressed in an accessible way. Both book are well-cured publications and have a quality that goes beyond the simple exhibition catalogues, the first being a sort of 'Werkverzeichnis', the second presenting an important 'Gelehrtenbiographie'.

Eric M. Moormann

H. KYRIELEIS (Hrsg.), *Olympia 1875-2000. 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen* (Internationales Symposium, Berlin 9.-11. November 2000). Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2002. 376 pp., 117 col., 182 b/w figs., 1 folded plan; 30cm. – ISBN 3-8053-2989-X.

Pierre de Coubertin may have been the successful founder of the modern Olympic Games; but it was the Germans who excavated Olympia and by doing so inspired Pierre to come up with a competitive French initiative. In 2000 the German Archaeological Institute organized a symposium to commemorate the fact that 125 years ago German excavations started in Olympia; and three years later it published the twenty-three contributions

in the volume under review. It is a tribute to the magnificent craftsmanship of the publisher. Lay-out, illustrations, maps: the quality is impressive and a pleasure to the beholder.

On the whole one can be equally impressed by the quality of the papers. Four of them (von Bruch, Kalpaxis, Klinkhammer, Söseman) examine the relations between archaeology, Olympian above all, and late 19th century power politics and arising nationalism. It is interesting to see how Bismarck cared more about government-sponsored scientific projects which could be immediately useful to the German 'Reich', than about cultural enterprises like the excavations in Olympia. It is Wilhelm I in person who energetically and generously supported scholarly and cultural projects like the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the Olympic excavations; and it is Ernst Curtius who from ca 1850 was the '*spiritus rector* der Olympia-Grabungen' (10) and also designed the treaty with the Greek authorities on the basis of which the finds were to stay in Greece and not to be transferred abroad, i.e., to Berlin. This was quite something given the earlier export of Pergamene antiquities to Berlin, the permission given in 1829 to the French army to carry some stray finds from Olympia to Paris and the rather disappointed remarks of the German Kultusminister Falk in 1873, who complained that Germany apparently was forced to yield the major benefits of the excavation to Greece; but whatever the fate of the excavated objects would be, Bismarck remained disinterested: when the excavators sent a telegram about recent finds his reaction was: 'Wozu darüber ein Telegramm?' (15).

For those visiting the wonderful site of Delphi in a somewhat euphoric mood it is a sobering experience to read in Klinkhammer's paper that the permission to dig in Delphi was given to France in exchange for a reduction of dues levied on Greek raisins exported to France! S. Marchand examines A. Furtwängler's experience in Olympia. In a way he made a virtue out of necessity: failure to find truly exciting pieces of great sculpture like the Parthenon friezes or the Pergamene material, led German archaeologists to focus on the numerous small finds found in Olympia and to start categorizing them both typologically and chronologically, though nostalgic feelings about great works of art and a Winckelmannian approach towards archaeology continued to please them. M.'s provocative thesis 'that modern Mediterranean archaeology ... is the product not of big finds, but of big disappointments' (148) is attractive, provided one excludes the current 'wave' of survey-archaeology from her 'Mediterranean archaeology'.

Of the remaining eighteen papers four are devoted to non-Olympian themes. E.R. Gebhard and C. Morgan write on the origins and beginnings of the Isthmian Games, S. Miller on the earliest stadium in Nemea and C. Rolley on aspects of the history of Delphi between 1500 and 575 BC. Miller brings the Nemean situation to bear on Olympia. 'Nemea' confirms the view that in Olympia 'the first track began from the area of the Altar of Zeus' (249); 'Nemea' further suggests that the track may have been connected with the Pelopion (the equivalent of the Nemean shrine of Opheltes) rather than with the Altar of Zeus. If we add here Melikertes buried on the Isthmus we could have a funeral 'triad' Nemea-Olympia-Isthmia. However, Gebhard empha-

sizes the proximity of the first stadium at Isthmia to Poseidon's altar, whereas a connection between the oldest Olympic event (the stadion) and the altar of Zeus, irrespective of when we date the beginnings of the Games (776 or ca 700 BC), is commonly accepted. Did funeral games precede the Zeus-games in Olympia; or was there a long break between the 'funeral period' and the 'Zeus-period' in Olympia? Whether any certainty will be reached in these matters is dubious; speculation reigns supreme.

Heilmeyer briefly reflects on the ca 6000 early votives from Olympia; ca 4000 bronzes and 2000 terracottas (animals; chariot(eer)s); on the assumption that the extant material represents 10% of all votives he suggests that annually 200 to 250 votives were dedicated over a period of ca 350 years. He concludes that such modest numbers fit the 'bäuerlich-regionale' context of early Olympia but he adds that this does not exclude the traditional date of the first Olympic Games (776 BC). Incidentally, H. writes that 'im Ganzen der kunstgeschichtliche Maßstab für die griechische Frühzeit ausgereizt scheint (zu sein)' (58). Irrespective of whether we accept 776 or prefer with Mallwitz a date ca 700 BC (see Hemelrijk's review in *BABesch* 77, 2002, 192), it seems unlikely that the votives dedicated in Olympia, especially the tripods, were victor's prizes. The Olympic program started with the stadion and chariot races; the number of victors was too small for it to account for the dedication of 200 votives on an annual basis and of 800 on a quadrennial basis. As a result one cannot but agree with Himmelmann who in his paper on early votives in Olympia concludes that the large number of tripods and horse figurines are to be interpreted as dedications of 'Besitzsymbole' (93) rather than as the equivalents of prizes won in games (see in the same sense D.G. Kyle, *Gifts and Glory: Panathenaic and other Greek athletic prizes*, in J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena, Panathenaia and Parthenon*, Madison 1996, 106-136, especially 111; that some tripods were prizes won elsewhere and dedicated in Olympia, as Kyle suggests (cf. also Z. Papakonstantinou, *Nikephoros* 15, 2002, 63-64), is possible but not very probable; it requires too much cumbersome transport. If one assumes that prior to 700 BC there were annual games with material prizes, some tripods may have been dedicated prizes of Olympic victors).

On the whole the Olympic Games surprisingly play a minor role in this volume. Instead we are treated to two rather antiquarian articles on 'Bauforscher' in Olympia (Herrmann) and the Zeus temple in the 19th/20th century (Koenigs), to an article on technical observations on the sculpture of the Zeus temple (Triant), a study of new experimental archaeological methods used in Olympia (Borbein), and contributions on two small sites in the surroundings of Olympia and the excavations in Elis. Siewert publishes an interesting Eleian decree awarding citizenship to two foreigners from Sparta and Euboia, respectively; moreover, they are entitled to participate in the Eleian *epoikiai* in Sparta and Euboia, i.e., in 'colonies' of Eleians in those areas (cf. also J. Taita, *Dike* 4, 2001, 39-85, mentioned by Ph. Gauthier in *BE* 2003, no 323). Apparently Sparta was not a sort of closed society, inimical and inaccessible to foreigners.

Finally, U. Sinn studies the few honorary inscriptions for the priestess of Demeter and her *prohedria* in the stadium. He points out that in late antiquity the honorary seat remained more or less intact; in the same way many parts of the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, whose wife Regilla also was priestess of Demeter, were saved from being built into early Byzantine constructions. These observations serve as arguments for Sinn's overall thesis that the Olympic Games may well have gone on after 393 AD, when Theodosius is held to have proclaimed the end of the Games and the pagan cults in Olympia. Additional arguments advanced by Th. Vörling concern the stadium which remained intact notwithstanding the steady expansion of an early Byzantine settlement in the precinct, and the continuation of other Olympic and isolympic Games celebrated 'in elischer "Lizenz"' in Asia Minor and Syria after 393 AD. The jump from archaeological evidence to major historical conclusions seems rather audacious here. The stadium probably continued to be used but this tells us nothing about the context of what was going on there. In spite of the inverted comma's the expression 'in Lizenz' is misleading to the extent that other Olympic Games (see the list apud Farrington, *Tyche* 12 (1997) 15-46) imitated the Eleian Olympics but did not necessarily do so after having received official permission from the Eleians. All we can say is that the stadium was not over-built, like the rest of the precinct, by the early Byzantines, and perhaps continued to be used. But we need better evidence for the thesis that the quadrennial Olympics continued to be celebrated after 393 AD. Archaeological sources occasionally are pretty mute, in spite of ingenious efforts to make them speak in unequivocal language in favor of grand views. Truly new light on the history of Olympia is shed by the publication of a large number of bronze inscribed tokens found partly in Elis, partly in Olympia: see *BE* in *REG* (2003) no 154. These tesserae may well provide welcome evidence for Olympia as a permanent center for the administration of the southern part of Eleian territory, far away from Elis itself. Life did not stop after the end of an Olympic festival in a rather isolated Olympic precinct.

H.W. Pleket

D. DE BERNARDI FERRERO (ed.), *Saggi in onore di Paolo Verzone*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2002. 286 pp. 280 ills.; 30 cm (Hierapolis: Scavi e Ricerche IV). – ISBN 88-7689-201-x.

P. Verzone lived from 1902-1986 and taught the history of architecture and the art of restoration at the Technical University of Istanbul and the Polytechnical School in Turin. In 1957, during his stay in Istanbul, he initiated the Italian excavations in Hierapolis which have been so eminently successful and are still going on. In a moving preface it is pointed out that some months before his death V. specifically rejected the idea of friends and colleagues publishing a Festschrift in his honour. Some members of the Italian excavation team have now published the book under review on the occasion of the centenary of his year of birth. Whether the deceased would have liked the decision to dedicate these Saggi

to him, we will never know; there are, unfortunately, no unequivocal connections with afterlife.

The editor contributes a long piece on Hierapolitan architecture and decoration in the Flavian period. On p. 31 the reader finds a splendid photo of the colossal sarcophagus of Titus Flavius Zeuxis, the merchant, who sailed 72 times round Cape Malea on his way to Italy. The monument and its location near one of the city-gates testify to the wealth-generating character of Zeuxis' business. Small wonder that more than hundred years later a merchant in purple and/or purple-dyed garments apparently was wealthy enough to be admitted to the urban council. A map of the site at the back of the book shows how rich the harvest in excavated buildings and gates has been. Various contributions are devoted to specific buildings.

A. De Bernardi examines the ruins of the octagonal martyrion and argues that elements of Euclidean geometry were applied in the building (147-178; building no 21 on the map). M.L. De Bernardi studies an extramural church cum-therms (265-282; nos 15-22 on the map). The urban cathedral is the subject of G. Ciotta/L. Palmucci's contribution (179-202; no 24 on the map), whereas N. Gullino focuses on the church north of the theatre (203-216; no 25 on the map). G. Bejor discusses the stratigraphy of the hyposcaenium in Hierapolis' theatre (45-50; no 10 on the map). 'Geometrie formali per il rilievo del teatro' (51-68) is the theme of F. Ceresa's paper, with beautiful photos of the building and extremely sophisticated and complicated drawings of the geometrical patterns discerned by the author behind the architecture of the building. Similarly technical is A. Spanós report on the various systems used to map out and measure the dimensions of the urban site. All these papers may be of interest to heavily specialized archaeologists but those interested in the problem of the overall development of the city through the first six/seven centuries AD are not much helped by them; and the reader gets no idea about the actual size of the city *intra muros* and the size of the population which may have lived there.

Slightly more accessible, at least to this reviewer, are papers on the marble used in the city's theatre (D. Attanasio/P. Pensabene; 69-86) and on various aspects of the travertine sarcophagi found in the northwestern necropolis (chronology; way of production; H. Vanhaverbeke/M. Waelkens; 119-146). V./W., using various dating methods, assign a relatively small number of sarcophagi to the first half of the 2nd century AD and discern a peak period later in that century; they conclude that the former period was 'economically less favourable'. This is too facile. Flavius Zeuxis' sarcophagus is now firmly dated to ca 100 AD and in itself testifies to flourishing relations between the city and other parts of the Empire. Possibly the other necropoleis were intensively used around 100-130 AD so that V./W. handle a pseudo-problem. Anyhow, statements about the relation between the number of sarcophagi found and the economic vicissitudes of the city can only be made after careful analysis of the finds in all three necropoleis. Attanasio/Pensabene combine epigraphical and petrological expertise in showing that most Hierapolitan marble originated in the relatively nearby quarries of Thiounta and Aphrodisias. The famous Dokimeion

marble is exceptionally rare. Six sarcophagus-inscriptions mention it - an insignificant minority among dozens of such texts - and the Dokimeion marble mentioned in inscriptions engraved on architraves of the theatre is interpreted by the authors as being used for the revetment of walls rather than for the production of architraves or columns. These 'marble-articles' have, at least, the advantage of shedding some light on the economic relations of the city. Ubiquitous problems with land transport possibly explain the scarcity of Dokimeion marble; Dokimeion is not precisely close to Hierapolis!

P. Arthur gives an impressive survey of what on the basis of archaeological evidence happened in Hierapolis 'fra Bisanzio e i Turchi' (217-231). In the 6th/7th century AD decline set in, caused or reinforced by severe earthquakes; the agora changed into an agricultural plot and the inhabitants continued to live amidst the ruins of public buildings; some sort of miserable settlement was the successor of the place once described by Philostratos as one of the most flourishing cities in Asia Minor. In subsequent centuries the city became a bone of contest between the Byzantine emperors and the advancing Turks (Selsjuks). In the late 12th century Hierapolis is said to be a *diruta civitas*. Incidentally, A. writes about hot baths cum-gymnasion in the southern part of the city; on the map, however, the building (no 11) is simply called 'terme'. Is this carelessness or does the author implicitly refer to the late-Roman habit of using the words *gymnasion-balaneion-aleipterion* indiscriminately to denote the gymnasium?

T. Ritti's contribution (87-107) emphasizes the importance of Hierapolis and its close neighbour Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos as junctions of two major roads: one running from southeastern Anatolia via the valley of the Meander towards the Aegean coast (Ephesos), the other leading up to Lydia's capital Sardis and further north-westward towards Pergamon via Philadelphia and Thyatira. Hierapolis was an important station on these roads; and for its export it heavily depended on the road to Ephesos. Milestones provide indispensable evidence for the building and repair of ancient roads, and for the distance between various cities situated along those roads. Ritti publishes two new milestones: one from the northern road towards Lydia, the other from the road coming from the southeast; both were found one mile away from Hierapolis. The former has two superimposed texts; the oldest refers to roadwork implemented during Frontinus' governorship under Domitian (84/85 AD), the younger dates from Nerva's reign (97 AD). The second milestone was erected during the reign of Gordian III and dates from ca 240 AD. Both texts testify to the constant interest of the imperial government in the maintenance of important roads, perhaps for military reasons but clearly with an important spin-off for the regional economies.

Finally, E. Miranda (109-118) publishes two complete acclamations painted in red on semi-columns; a third one is too fragmentary for it to yield any sense. The two complete ones are acclamations for the emperor Justinian, with the curious rendering of the Latin formula *tu vincas* in Greek letters. M. pays due attention to the increasing importance of acclamations both for urban/provincial dignitaries and emperors in late

Antiquity. An excellent bibliography will be useful for those interested in this phenomenon. In a way it is a pity that new inscriptions are 'buried' in a Festschrift which will not be read by many. *SEG LII*, due to appear in the spring of 2006, will make them more accessible.

H.W. Pleket

R. WÜNSCHE - F. KNAUSS (Hrsg.), *Lockender Lorbeer. Sport und Spiel in der Antike*. München: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, 2004. 503 S. - ISBN 3-933200-09-01.

It is often said that the Germans are excellent in organizing things. This bulky volume (2.5 kg.!) provides convincing evidence for the correctness of this *dictum*. On the occasion of the Olympic Games, held in Athens in 2004, the Museum of Antiquities in Munich, assisted by twelve other German museums and one individual (P.R. Franke, em. prof. of Ancient History at Saarbrücken and a renowned numismatist), organized an exhibition around the theme indicated in the title of this book: 282 objects (180 vases; more than sixty terracotta- and bronze figures; equipment (strigils, diskoi, etc.) and coins) were put on show. On pp. 472-501, the reader finds a brief catalogue of these objects, with concise descriptions, photos and bibliography. With typical and truly laudable thoroughness the organizers have added more than 450 pages of prose, written by a group of thirteen scholars and illustrated with a great many magnificent photos of objects depicting athletic scenes. These pages amount to an up-to-date history of Greek sport, 'Spiel und Spass' included (Ch. 6; pp. 380-440). After a brief introduction on sport in the ancient world in general (Orient, Egypt), and in the Greek world in particular (pp. 10-43), five chapters follow. In chapter 2 (pp. 44-79) the athletic contests are examined, with special reference to the classical period with the 'Big Four' (*periodos*) and the Panathenaia and a corresponding neglect of the many games in other periods and cities. On pp. 66-69 F. Knauss does pay some attention to the ubiquity of athletic contests in the Greek-speaking world in Hellenistic-Roman times, but only three and a half pages surely are disappointing. Chapter 3 (pp. 80-241) deals with the various athletic disciplines in great detail. Here solid interpretation of the available written and archaeological sources is combined with what modern experiments have shown, especially concerning the long-jump and the function of the halters, and wrestling techniques. R. Wünsche compares the Theban boxer Kleitomachos, who is held to have practised sexual abstinence before his matches, with the famous Cuban boxer and Olympic champion Felix Savon, who had 'verinnerlicht die Lehre von der Enthaltbarkeit vor Wettkämpfen' (pp. 146-147) and whose wife was converted to the same doctrine by sport-psychologists. Fortunately, S. Lorenz (p. 275) points out that this doctrine is not generally accepted nowadays. In chapter 4 (pp. 242-335) various authors discuss themes 'Rund um den Sport': the gymnasium with its paraphernalia like strigils, swimming pools, water basins and its functionaries; prizes, both material and immaterial, with welcome commentary on the

irrelevance of a concept like 'amateurism' in the study of Greek athletics; women and sport and statues of victorious athletes. A fifth chapter is devoted to 'myths and sport' (*inter alia* Atalante; satyrs; Eros).

Needless to say, where so much is offered there is room for debate. As to the origin of sport, there is a generally shared view in this publication that sport and play are innate qualities. Why the Greeks subsequently developed such an intense institutionalized system of contests, with strict regulations and umpires - a system which clearly distinguishes the Greek world from Near Eastern societies (so, correctly, Knauss on p. 23) - is a moot question. B. Kaeser (pp. 24-38) rightly rejects a cultic origin. He comes close to Marc Golden's pragmatic and commendable view: 'Greek sport seems very religious ... Is it really exceptionally so in a society in which every part of life was pervaded by cult activity and invocations of the gods?' (*Sport and Society in ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1998, p. 23). K. also rejects a close relation between war and sport. It is true, an athletic *agōn* is not literally the same as war; contest and battle are not 'ähnlich' (p. 25), but K., perhaps too easily, overlooks certain parallels between the two. *Agōn* denotes both contest and battle; on an ideological level there is a distinct overlap between warriors and athletes; they both faced 'toil' (*ponos*) and danger (*kindunos*); their *arete* is the same. Pindar compares the glory of and praise for successful soldiers with the qualities of athletes, as pointed out by S. Lorenz in this volume (p. 213), who elaborates the parallels between the two categories and examines various para-military athletic disciplines (pp. 213-223). War and sport are ideologically two sides of the same medal. The values of the boxer Agathos Daimon ('the wreath or death') have their parallels in an epitaph of an hoplite, who 'wants either to win or to die' (L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* VI, Amsterdam 1989, pp. 334-337 and 424-425). This is not to say that all or most athletic disciplines offered a good preparation for the battlefield. Running, javelin-throwing and the heavy events may well have been useful, both physically and mentally, for hoplites engaged in man-to-man fighting or roaming over the battlefield. Sport and war are comparable activities characterized by intense competition, fighting spirit, the quest for victory and glory, and above all, their ubiquity. Why on earth it is especially the Greeks, who developed such a highly competitive and 'agon-prone' political system, is a point we can make rather than explain. When war more or less stopped for the Greek cities under the Roman empire, the 'fighting' continued, this time about prestigious city-titles and athletic victories; the war continued, without arms ('War minus the shooting' as D.M. Pritchard recently wrote in an, as yet, unpublished essay, borrowing a phrase from G. Orwell).

On p. 66, Knauss correctly contrasts the *hieroi stephanitai agōnes* (sacred crown games) with the so-called money games (*agōnes chrematitai* (or *themateitai* or *thematikoi*, *thema* being a money prize)). As an example of the latter, he adduces the Athenian Panathenaia, where large numbers of amphoras, filled with oil, were awarded to the victors. However, on p. 61, those same Panathenaia are called a 'panhellenisches Fest', with a program largely copied from Olympia and Delphi. In fact, we have a sacred crown game in which, in addi-

tion to the crown, material prizes were awarded. K. also adduces the Argive Heraia, where the victors received a bronze shield; it is precisely this contest which became part of the *periodos*, i.e., the top group of sacred crown games and thus is exactly the opposite of a money game. Both in this section and in Knauss' paragraph on pp. 287-293, there is hardly a reference to the great many *thematikoi agōnes* in which the prize was a talent (6000 dr.), a half talent (3000 dr.), or 1000 dr.

On pp. 142-143, R. Wünsche considers the famous wrestler Milon of Kroton as an 'Aufsteiger aus kleinen Verhältnissen'. The marriage of Milon's daughter with the physician Demokedes and the latter's payment of a considerable sum of money for that privilege, are supposed to show that Milon was not an aristocrat; aristocrats do not marry off their daughters to a simple *demiourgos*, nor would they have accepted money. However, Demokedes was not a simple 'craftsman' - what many ancient doctors indeed were! - but had grown rich on medical fees earned from both Greek cities and the Persian king; by his marriage he wanted to improve his status: he married the daughter, not of an upstart, but of a man who 'had long been part of a recognized elite' rather than a nouveau riche like the doctor himself (cf. D. Pritchard in D.J. Phillips/D. Pritchard (eds.), *Sport and Festival in the ancient Greek world*, Swansea 2003, p. 297).

In his otherwise very interesting essay on ancient boxing (pp. 158-171), Wünsche seems to me to underestimate the roughness and bloodiness of this sport in antiquity. Satirists like Lucilius (quoted by W.), exaggerated the roughness but certainly did not 'invent' it. On pp. 169 and 453 (note 17), W. suggests that in inscriptions it is often said that boxers remained 'uninjured' ('unverletzt'); he adduces no 569 in L. Moretti's list of *Olympionikai*, the boxer Kleoxenos, who is said to have won the finals *atraumatistos*, but fails to add that this is the only victor in the entire list, who carries this epithet: clearly an exceptional, fully atypical case! True, some exceptionally intelligent boxers may have specialized in avoiding heavy blows but the constant 'flow' of blood and misery, connected in the sources with boxing, cannot be ignored so easily (cf. the brief paragraph by S. Lorenz on pp. 275-276, who has an open eye for the injuries of boxers). Finally, a note on section 27: the notes in the text do not correspond with those on p. 459. The above in no way is supposed to detract from the value of this comprehensive survey of the history of greek sport.

H.W. Pleket

ULRIKE WINTERMEYER (et al.), *Die hellenistische und frühkaiserzeitliche Gebrauchskeramik auf Grundlage der stratifizierten Fundkeramik aus dem Bereich der Heiligen Strasse*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004. 503 pp., ill.; 30 cm (Didyma. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1962, 3, 2). - ISBN 3-933200-09-1.

Considering the state of the art of Hellenistic and Roman pottery studies in the eastern Mediterranean, the publication of any monograph, no matter its detailed content and quality, should be considered as a happy

event. Our hearts are filled with even more joy in case the monograph in question covers the ceramic material of a town or region which was previously not documented, or only published in preliminary formats. A double hooray for U. Wintermeyer's persistence!

When archaeological activities were resumed by the DAI at the Apollo Temple of Didyma and its surroundings in the early 1960's, next to nothing was known of pottery as a find category. Taking the overwhelming architectural record of the site and the traditional research agenda of the discipline of classical archaeology into account, this should come as no surprise. Doing pottery at such sites is not easy, and the publication of Wintermeyer therefore deserves credit in this respect. The work should also be considered very much part of her life, having started processing the pottery in 1979, submitting the manuscript about 10 years later, which was ready for print in 1991, but the actual publication of which for many reasons, mainly known to god, actually only happened in 2004.

The aims of the work, however, have withstood the test of time: establish the typology of excavated pottery, link the chronological development of the wares to the stratigraphical build-up of the site, provide chronological criteria for the architectural record, and improve our knowledge on the pottery common in this part of the eastern Mediterranean in general.

The essential materials were provided by the archaeological exploration of the Sacred Road linking the Apollo sanctuary to the town of Miletos in 1977 and 1982-1983, with an active involvement of the author. The excavations provided an interesting sequence of four or perhaps five construction phases of the Road, dating between the end of the 6th century BC and ca 100 AD. The first part of the book consists of a presentation of the Hellenistic and early imperial pottery associated with this excavation. The second part is a typo-chronological study of finds made since 1966 in the excavations at Didyma, including other than the Sacred Road material.

To be clear, Wintermeyer's '*Gebrauchskeramik*' is not entirely the same as what the Anglo-Saxon tradition considers as common wares. In this case, the author refers to all her ceramics as functional artefacts and therefore includes table wares and toilet articles in her overview. Even if this aspect is not entirely traditional from a terminological point of view, the fact that an integral overview of most, if not all, attested ceramic categories is made available in publication certainly deserves recommendation.

The basic classification of the material applies a locally developed system of sorting fabrics, using the following criteria: clay composition, colour, hardness, technology and other, secondary features, coupled, in a second instance, with general functional identifications (cooking vessels, kitchen wares, table wares and toilet articles). In this way, 10 different fabrics were distinguished for the Hellenistic to early imperial period, based on the simple logic that a pot was intended to perform a function, and that the potter was aware of the qualities and restrictions of particular clay mixtures for a vessel to perform this or that function. In general, I experienced this system as fairly Didyma-specific, which implies that third parties may find it difficult to

control the resulting classification or use the material for other purposes, if they should wish to do so. The attention to the colour of the fabric is obvious, but to my feeling broad categories such as '*gelbe*' or '*rote Tonwaren*' are not very useful, as these colours can hide many other important fabric features. To my knowledge, the fabric classification system introduced by D.P.S. Peacock (Ceramics in Roman and medieval archaeology, in: D.P.S. Peacock (ed.) *Pottery and early commerce. Characterization and trade in Roman and later ceramics*, London 1977, 21-33) is simply the best, for any period pottery, with a wonderful application in, for instance, R. Tomber and J. Dore, *The national Roman fabric reference collection* (MOLAS Monograph 2), London 1998, representing the standard overview of pottery fabrics attested in Roman Britain. Working from such a platform makes things plain and simple for anyone and the reader less dependent on Didyma-specific information. By the way, the use of Pergamene and Samian sigillata for respectively eastern sigillata A and B is not advisable any more since K. Kenyon devised the actual classification system of eastern types of sigillata at Samaria-Sebaste in 1957 (K. Kenyon, *Terra Sigillata*, in: J.W. Crowfoot, G.M. Crowfoot and K.M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria (Samaria-Sebaste 3)*, London 1957, 281-288).

The discussion of the provenance of the wares, I consider more problematic. The reader simply has to accept the fact that mineralogical analyses defined two of the cooking wares, '*Glimmerware*' and '*Harte Hell-dunkelgraue Tonware*', as local, while the hard evidence is lacking and the argumentation is mainly based on '*der statistischen Häufigkeit ihres Vorkommens*' (without statistics, however), whereas the author indicates many other sites where these wares were also attested. Exactly these types of wares are recently considered as forming part of much wider networks of exchange (J.M. Gurt i Esparraguera, J. Buxeda i Garrigos and M.A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.) *LRCW I. Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and archaeometry* (BAR International Series 1340), Oxford 2005). The conclusion that most, if not all of the ceramic assemblage, including the table wares and amphorae, is to be considered local (possibly including Miletos) is, in my view, not sustainable, based on the limited argumentation put forward by Wintermeyer. A better fabric classification system, and a more up-to-date bibliography with comparanda, would have made the deconstruction of this part of the book a feasible exercise.

The stratigraphical analysis is detailed and consistent, allowing a good overview of the relative building up of the different street levels and associated structures alongside the Sacred Road. The text is supported by detailed plans and sections, which makes this archaeological complex intelligible and controllable for third parties, also and perhaps mainly for those not involved in the work at Didyma. A summarizing overview applying the logic of the Harris' matrix (E. Harris, *Principles of archaeological stratigraphy*, London 1989) could have represented the cherry on the cake, while allowing Wintermeyer a more schematic overview of the relative sequencing of her many deposits.

The inventory of the pottery found within these deposits is systematic. The three catalogues and their respective subdivisions provide a comprehensive over-

view of the pottery contained in each of the stratigraphical units. In this way, the catalogued pottery can be considered as ceramic assemblages or building blocks with internal consistency allowing the development of a relative chronology.

The nature of the deposits, being mainly fills, implies, however, that most ceramic material is in, at least, secondary position. This condition imposes logical limitations to the interpretation and usefulness of the ceramic assemblages, in the sense that these need to be regarded as open as possible. Yet, Wintermeyer proposes associations between the different street substrata and the deposits from the structures along the road side, mainly based on a comparable ceramic content. Of course, the quality of this association is dependent on the classification system applied to the material, which at least from a fabric point of view should be approached with some caution. Applying even the more simple techniques of pottery quantification, such as count and/or weight (C. Orton, P. Tyers and A. Vince, *Pottery in archaeology*, Cambridge 1993, 166-181), could of course have provided further sustaining argumentation, let alone open the work further to a non-Didyma audience.

Placing the attested assemblages in an absolute chronological framework is the next, oftentimes difficult, step. The quality of the dating of the material and assemblages is partly dependent on the availability of a variety of internal dating criteria, in this case mostly represented by a small collection of coins and stamped amphora handles. The amount of this material is very limited and its interpretation not unproblematic as, for instance, the issue of the circulation patterns of coins is not sufficiently resolved in the eastern Mediterranean, plus also these objects were found in secondary position. The chronology is therefore mostly dependent on the application of external dating criteria, or using typo-chronological comparanda from other sites in order to establish a chronological framework. The Didyma-specific classification does not make comparisons easy, however. The framework of reference seems also too limited, not only considering the bibliography, but also the fact that standard typologies available for, for instance eastern sigillata A and B (J.W. Hayes, *Sigillata orientali*, in: *Atlante delle forme ceramiche II. Ceramica fine romana nel bacino Mediterraneo (tardo ellenismo e primo impero)*, Rome 1985, 1-96), were not applied.

The same logical shortcomings are to be found in the second, typological part of the book. Although this section presents a very elaborate overview of the Hellenistic to early imperial pottery found at Didyma, its usefulness for third parties is restricted by the Didyma-specific classification system and the restricted framework of comparanda and literature. The amphorae of the eastern Mediterranean, for instance, are admittedly a difficult and developing field of study, but grouping most, if not all of these vessels under the heading of 'gelbe Tonwaren' seems too general an approach. Considering current possibilities in printing technology it is a pity that the illustrations are not integrated with the text, which would have made this chapter a more practical unit.

The monograph closes with a contribution on the stamped amphora handles by G. Jöhrens.

On the whole, considering the tradition of research at Didyma, the study of Wintermeyer should be wel-

comed. Ceramologists working in the eastern Mediterranean will find it useful to start comparing their material to this extensive and elaborate collection of material. The main question arises when considering a non-ceramological audience. Works of this nature confirm the technicalities of the topic and the tendency for other archaeologists, let alone ancient historians, to leave aside ceramic materials from their perspectives on antiquity. Considering the central role of pottery in daily life in antiquity and its corresponding important versatility in archaeological studies, the lack of integration of the Didyma material in wider contexts or approaches is therefore regrettable.

J. Poblome

CONRAD M. STIBBE, *Trebenishte, the Fortunes of an Unusual Excavation*. With a contribution by Rastko Vasić, Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 149 pp., 100 figs; 25 cm (Studia Archaeologica 121). – ISBN 88-8265-212-2.

About the author: Dr Stibbe, by now an octogenarian, is the grand old man of 6th-century BC Laconian art. After having finished an impressive series of volumes in which he treated the complete Laconian pottery, he dared into the terrain of Laconian bronzes in 1992. Dared, because it is a dangerous place, where anything goes and authors fight out heroic battles on styles and widely, even wildly, varying dates. Since then, development of his ideas has gone rapidly, in pace with his prolific production of articles and books. To cite only one instance: what in his first articles was the Paestum-Sala Consilina Group of bronze hydriae, has now been baptized the Gitiadas Group, because in *BABesch* 75 (2000), he argued that the builder of the temple of Athana Chalkioikos, Gitiadas, was the same who made the krater found in Vix; and later and elsewhere, that he made the hydriae in a different phase of his career. The board of *BABesch* has had the good idea to publish these articles again, in one volume.

About the book: The name Trebenishte will ring a bell for most classical archaeologists: famous, but what for, again? It becomes immediately clear when one sees the dust jacket of this volume: a smaller version of the Vix krater, i.e. a bronze volute krater, on a stand or hypokraterion, from tomb VIII, and now in Belgrade, National Museum. History has not been fair to the tombs of Illyrian princes in Trebenishte, on the northern shore of Lake Ochrid, in what is now officially the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: the ever changing frontiers on the Balkan have dispersed the finds to the museums of Ochrid, Belgrade and Sofia; private collections have also taken their share. Publications of the excavations of 1918, 1930-1933, 1953-1954, and 1972, if any, are widely dispersed over periodicals that are obtainable, if at all, only with the greatest difficulty. It was therefore a good idea of the author to write this modest volume in order to give an overview and reproduce at least every excavation map and grave plan ever published. It was emphatically not his intention to publish everything ever found, but to give the reader an idea of the finds and to facilitate further (literature) study.

In all, 56 graves, rich and poor, have been excavated over an area of about 500 m. The rich graves all belong to the 6th century BC, whereas the poor tombs as an ensemble cover a three-century period between the 7th and the 3rd centuries BC. In chapter VII, an overview of the contents and typology of the graves is given: imported goods from mainly Laconia (five bronze pieces) and Corinth (nine), locally made goods and goods of mixed style betraying local preferences. Predictably, the author is most interested in the imported bronzes and shows them on a series of 19 figures.

How did the Laconian bronzes get to Trebenishte (and beyond)? The author follows the route with the help of relevant finds between the two places and beyond: by sea via Tiros, Ermioni, Piraeus, and between the mainland and Euboia (the map fig. 52 on which this is shown is a second-generation photocopy and should have been replaced by the publisher), and then over land via Edessa, Trebenishte, Tetovo, Prizren, Prishtina, Novi Pazar, Atenica, Pilatovići, to Ártánd, in the basin of the Carpathian mountain range, just inside the Hungarian border. The second map of this northern route, fig. 62, is a shame to the publisher: a hardly legible copy of a map with all kinds of irrelevant information still on it, illegible Cyrillic handwriting on spots that had visibly been erased first, even crossed out routes; seven place names are indicated in small frames, but Trebenishte, well within the map, is not amongst them.

But the author has attained his main aim: to clarify the situation and to make a new approach possible.

In a contribution of some twenty pages by R. Vasić, these finds from the places to the north of Trebenishte are treated. In the footnotes of articles written after this volume, the main author refers modestly to this volume as Stibbe/Vasić 2002. It does him credit.

D.C. Steures

KLAUS JUNKER, *Pseudo-Homerica. Kunst und Epos im spätarchaischen Athen*. Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 2003. 47 pp., 14 figs.; 31 cm (141. Winkelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin). – ISBN 3-11-018034-0/ISSN 0178-1154.

This short and convincing study daringly takes three well-known images on Athenian vases as illustrations of the subject: the reception of Homer in late archaic Athens. The first paragraph of the chapter *Results*, translated here by the reviewer, sums it all up.

'Pseudo-Homerica. The archaeological investigation into mythology is divided ever since Lessing's famous article *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* of 1766. One school of thought is based on the conviction that mythological images were as a rule created in direct contact with versions in literature. The other school opposes - certainly correctly - the notion that the images had to have an illustrative character and demands to take the autonomous aspects of this medium consequently into account. The interpretation of the three images treated here as pseudo-homeric reckons with this circumstance. The world of Homeric myths appears on them in a certain way in different

gradations: the saving of Sarpedon's body in both versions by Euphronios (Figs. 8a,b; 10) has doubtlessly evoked in every contemplator the related scene in book 16 of the *Iliad*. In the older image, Euphronios renders almost nothing of Homer's characterisation of the situation; in the later one he does do so, but he has taken a distance from the exact wording of the text [among other things, by putting Hermes, not Apollo in the central place, as in book 16]. The motive of the players of a board game (Fig. 4) and the scene in which Achilles tends a wound of Patroklos (Fig. 1) are in a different way pseudo-homeric. The images created by Exekias and the Sosias Painter have seduced many modern contemplators into wanting to recognise actual situations of the Trojan War. The psychological richness and the unmistakable naming of the actors give the images a strongly narrative and situational character and even ask for considering them actual events in a *Life of Achilles*. The Homeric character of the images, however, is only due to skilful construction. Characters are as it were further developed in the sense of the Homeric epics and brought into a new constellation: Achilles, versed in the art of healing; his bosom friend Patroklos; Aias who is almost Achilles' equal as a warrior; the proximity of death of all three heroes - these steady Homeric motives represent as it were the building blocks from which a new imagery is built. The images thus created are documents of the reception of Homer in archaic times - 'lost epics' cannot be construed from them. If anything, it is the other way round: the exceptional quality of the newly invented images discussed here results from their deviation from the well-known literary versions of the epics and from their way of concentrating the attention of the contemplator in a way more intense than any "illustration" could ever do.'

D.C. Steures

MARINA ALBERTOCCHI, *Athana Lindia. Le statuette sicilote con pettorali di età arcaica e classica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2004. VIII+198 p., XXXV Tav.; 30 cm (Supplementi alla RdA 28). – ISBN 88-7689-187-0/ISSN 0392-0895.

There is an often-quoted remark of Diodorus Siculus, that Sicily, the granary of the ancient world, was entirely dedicated to Demeter (Diod. 5,2,3). Whoever remembers these words and unsuspectingly visits the museums of Sicily, takes for granted that the many terracotta female statuettes with pectorals, dated 550-400 BC, represent or have to do with Demeter. And the captions in the show-cases, as far as I remember, do nothing to undermine that opinion. So the title of this study came as a surprise: it suggests that Athana Lindia, the Athena statue of Lindos, is really represented, and that makes the reader curious. Now it appears that 'Athana Lindia' is an old interpretation of these statuettes by Blinkenberg. 'Generally known as Athana Lindia', it says on p. 1. Should we really all have known? The author disputes this identification and argues that the statuettes do represent a female chthonic deity but only in the conclusion she makes a clean breast of it: it is Demeter (p. 172). That makes the title of this study nothing less than

misleading. I can neither imagine the author being responsible for this misleading title, nor that she is grateful to the person who thrust it upon her book. The words of Diodorus are surprisingly not referred to in this study. They should have been.

The author, whose Ph.D. thesis of 1996 forms the basis of this book, formulates its aim as follows in ch. 1 on p. 4: 'Ci è sembrato quindi che lo studio di questa classe potesse fornire dei dati significativi sia ai rapporti tra le officine coroplastiche e all'area di diffusione dei prodotti delle diverse fabbriche, sia a quelli di dipendenza o autonomia dalla madrepatria dal punto di vista religioso e dei modelli iconografici.' I would like to show below that she does attain her own aim.

Ch. 2 explains the method of typological classification and provides us with the following technical terms, which I paraphrase. *Iconographical type*: in this case, all statuettes of women with pectorals from Sicily between 550 and 400 BC; *groups*: A sitting, B standing, C standing with slightly bent knees, D busts; *subgroups*: with and without arms represented; *types*: groups of statuettes that can be reduced to the same model or *prototype* from which the first matrix was drawn; *series*: if I understand correctly, a series comes from the same matrix, and a new series is started when a new matrix is drawn from a statuette produced in an earlier series; *variants*: statuettes with small iconographically unintended changes; *versions*: statuettes with small iconographically intended changes. This is all clear, and I wish the author had strictly kept to her own terminology: but, on p. 14, *version* refers to what should have been named a type; she regularly uses the undefined term *class*, apparently synonymous with *iconographical type* (p. 4, 133, 138, 139, 157 and 165, the latter two even in the headings of two chapters). Although the problem of shrinkage of matrices is nowhere treated and the term *generation* is not defined, she freely speaks of *generations* on p. 20-21. Sometimes, terms are used long before they have been explained: the term *campione*, fabric, is used throughout the 90 pages of ch. 3, *Typological classification*, with identifying numbers, long before the fabrics are identified in ch. 4. A last criticism is that of the Italian habit of using Roman numerals instead of Arabic ones for types and plates. The following example has been taken at random (there are dozens of such passages) from p. 9, in order to show how they lead to an unquiet layout and sheer illegibility: '19 tipi (A I, III-IV, VIII, XVII, XX, XXVI-XXVII, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLVI-XLVII; B IV, XXX; C I, IX e XI).'

After these (hopefully, minor) criticisms, it is time for praise. Every museum curator and every finds processor of excavations on Sicily will be very glad to have the description of the 23 fabrics the author distinguishes on p. 103-104, and especially of the profound connoisseurship with which she identifies their provenances. The same holds for her typology, which is impeccable, and the clear photographs.

Every iconographical element is duly treated and given many bibliographical references in ch. 5. In ch. 6, which treats the sites where the statuettes were found in alphabetical order, the three main production centres of Agrigento, Selinunte and Gela emerge (I wish the map of Sicily on Tav. XXXV would have had a second caption, also in alphabetical order, and that the rivers,

frequently mentioned in the text, would have been named on it). Ch. 7 discusses the contexts of the finds and identifies these as sanctuaries of chthonic deities, although we are warned that the following five elements are no proof in themselves: finds of statuettes, *bothroi*, position outside the city, nearness of cemeteries, and grottoes. In ch. 8, interpretation is the subject: the statuettes with their postures, *polos* and attributes represent not a human but a divine figure. Which one? Not Athana Lindia, from whose sanctuary on Rhodes the iconographic type is absent. A similar argument is used against an identification with a Demeter from Asia Minor. Do they then represent a generic deity? No, because in some cases attributes of Athena were added. Do they represent a statue from the motherland of the colonists or a model created immediately after arriving? None can be found. Alas, this chapter ends in an almost Socratic aporia. Ch. 9, *Creation of the class: chronology and motives*, shows that the statuettes were invented in Agrigento and later also produced in Selinunte and Gela, each with a reduced number of types. They are not dependent on iconography from the motherland. In the conclusion, the author suggests Demeter as the deity represented.

Which rounds off the subject. The sombre note in the last paragraph of the main text was not needed: 'Many questions remain open (...) So our contribution limits itself to formulating hypotheses (...).' The author has treated all existing hypotheses and attained her self-set aim.

D.C. Steures

KATHRIN SCHADE, *Frauen in der Spätantike - Status und Repräsentation. Eine Untersuchung zur römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bildniskunst*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003. XVIII+269 S., 67 Taf.; 29 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-2907-5.

This is a rich study; whoever works in the field of late antiquity will find useful facts and insights in this book. The reviewer did so. In the introduction the following passages catch the eye. On representation: 'Die Frauenbildnisse, um die es hier speziell gehen soll, dienten der Selbstdarstellung der abgebildeten Person und ihrer Familie; zugleich boten sie der einzelnen Frau die Möglichkeit, sich mit ihrem sozialen Rollenbild, das primär von männlicher Sicht bestimmt war, zu identifizieren. Folglich vereinten die Porträts Züge von Individualität, die auf die persönliche - weibliche - Identität der Dargestellten verwiesen, gleichzeitig machten sie soziale Wertvorstellungen auf möglichst verständliche Weise anschaulich.' On status (defined in a footnote: position is the place in society, status its evaluation): 'Der Gesamtstatus "Frau" setzt sich daher aus einzelnen Statusformen zusammen: dem Altersstatus, dem Ehestatus, dem Status der Mutterschaft, dem Familienstatus und dem gesellschaftlich-elitären Status. Diese Statusformen füllte die Frau mit einem entsprechenden Rollenverhältnis aus, das durch gesellschaftliche Normen - im ethischen Verständnis durch bestimmte Tugenden - definiert war.' On the way of working: 'Der zentrale Teil der Arbeit basiert dann auf der Methode ikonographischer Analyse und ikonologischer Interpretation.' And on the chapters of this study: 'Die einzelnen Kapitel unterteilen

sich in folgende ikonographische Themenschwerpunkte: Frisuren, Kleidung, Ornat und Schmuck, Anspielungen auf die Liebesgöttin Venus, Attribute der Bildung, Ehe- und Familiendarstellungen, physiognomische Stilveränderungen und die Gestaltung des weiblichen Körpers.' After a thorough *status quaestionis* follows the treatment of two eras with such subchapters embedded: the 3rd century after Severan times (AD 235-305), and Constantinian until Justinianian times (AD 305-565).

And in the first of these two eras the author plunges us into the intricacies of imperial ladies. A list of imperial couples, only referred to in a footnote on p. 7, is regrettably missing from this study; footnotes, however well documented, do not make up for this omission.

But the lovely results of the author's work follow immediately. Firstly, on the coins, the 3rd-century hairdo never changed, whereas imperial houses did, rapidly. So this hairdo, the *Scheitelzopffrisur*, a bun of parallel braids taken up at the neck and put upwards over the middle of the hair, must suggest stability and 'a good empress'. It was elaborated in the time after Gallienus (AD 253-268): the bun was then folded back inwards above the forehead. Secondly, putting the empress' bust on coins in a lunula is the equivalent of the *corona radiata* of her husband: he is the sun, she the moon, and together they radiate *lux aeterna* and *aeternitas domus divinae*. Thirdly, as the influence of the senate shrunk in the age of the soldier emperors, the senators reacted by seeking status: senatorial wives are shown on Muse sarcophagi as educated ladies of virtue and high status. Female portraits with scroll on Muse sarcophagi suggest that they were portrayed as ladies who managed estates. The first 'first lady' to also display status in her portraits was Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus (283-285). The author calls her the first empress in 'Byzantine' dress. Fourthly, portraits of older ladies with wrinkled foreheads suggest mental concentration and care for empire and state responsibility. And fifthly, of course, motherhood was the virtue most appreciated by emperors wanting to found a new dynasty. For that reason, no women were shown on the coins of the tetrarchy, which presented itself as an alternative to hereditary dynasties.

Which brings us to the second part of this study. Constantine again claimed absolute power and a hereditary dynasty, so he put first his wife Fausta and then his mother Helena on coins, but even the legitimate wife of his father Constantius Chlorus, Flavia Maximia Theodora. Then came forty years without female portraits on coins, which the author does not try to explain: the sons of Constantine and the Valentinian emperors. From Theodosius onwards, many imperial women appeared on coins. At the same time, the traditional coin repertoire of the principate with its many themes was given up: the reason was the idea of emperorship by the grace of God, in which there was no place for the display of civic virtues. The empress now gets a reverse with a Victoria holding a shield with christogram. Finally, christian imagery eliminated allusions to the femininity of the empresses.

The Theodosian empresses, who wanted to be as holy as the finder of the True Cross, Helena, imitated her compact hairdo and thus became *novae Helenae*. But Helena also set the pattern of beauty combined with motherhood.

The first empress to wear the imperial insignia herself was Flacilla, the wife of Theodosius I: imperial chlamys, a diadem of two rows of pearls with a jewel on the forehead and bound in the neck with strings. Jewel collars and abstract form principles of frontal heads would end the classical imagery and show the way for Byzantine coins.

In sculpture, there remain only two forms of hairdo: a plait in a circle on top of the head (*Zopfkranzfrisur*) and the *Scheitelzopffrisur* described above, both with a shawl on top of it. As the empress figures grew stiffer, the aristocratic ladies took their own path: they were shown in their female world, i.e. their own rooms or rustic villas, with jewels, dresses that enhanced the beauty of their bodies, toilet articles, distinguished gestures and Venus postures. Representation of status and virtues became indivisible: conjugal fidelity, motherhood and female beauty. However abstract art was becoming, individual features and female roundings were not denied. Christianity put an end to all this in the 5th century. In a final look ahead, the author shows that the image of the Virgin Mary, virgin-like and mother-like at the same time, was to drive out every other form of female representation. And indeed, the wife of Theotecnus on a fresco in the catacombs of San Gennaro in Naples, shown on Colour Plate a, looks exactly like a Virgin Mary.

D.C. Steures

LUIGI TODISCO (ed.), *La ceramica figurata a soggetto tragico in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2004. 809 pp., 54 fig., 15 tab., CLVI Tav.; 24.5 cm (Archaeologica 140). – ISBN 88-7689-200-1 / ISSN 0391-9293.

With this voluminous but well-bound book (it gloriously survived more than a month in a briefcase, in order to be read in the bus between home and work), the one-volume *repertorium* makes a splendid comeback in classical archaeology. Luigi Todisco, a prolific author on ancient drama, had the good idea of putting together in one book all ancient figured vases found in Italy and Sicily that have ever been mentioned as depicting drama, writing an inspiring introduction, and putting four gifted and thorough young *studiose* to work. The book will help both archaeologists and philologists in their heated debates on the subject. We may be sure that Todisco's own work on this volume must have been enormous, as every vase and every find circumstance is abundantly documented with description, a complete modern-style bibliography (author, year, page) and a small but just legible photograph, or lacking that, an old drawing; and as, whichever way one wants to enter the material, there is always a quick way to find what one is looking for, including an almost hundred-page-long general bibliography. Still, I wish the authors of the voluminous reading texts would have been deservedly mentioned on the cover and title page of the book. And a larger page would have made the book less voluminous and the photographs less small and better legible. But these are my only real criticisms.

Maria Catucci treats times and ways of diffusion of theatrical themes by means of imported pottery. By means of a complete gazetteer of sites with prolific foot-

notes, she shows that the buyers of these vases were mostly indigenous aristocrats who must have known the theatrical productions of padded dancers and the like and who chose heroic models.

Mary Anne Sisto got the ungrateful task of treating the shapes of Italiotic and Siceliotic vases with tragic subject. She bravely formulates the requirement of giving the corpus a more ample and profound air than just that of classifying and attributing. Her conclusion is that most vases were especially made for the grave. Not the theatrical, but the funerary meaning was important to the buyers (as Todisco puts it in his introduction). But alas, she must also conclude that there is no correlation between shape of the vase and subject.

Giuseppina Gadaleta treats the archaeological contexts in Greek colonial and in indigenous centres of southern Italy and Sicily. And indeed, every grave is examined diligently here. And again, it appears that almost every vase with tragic subject was especially made for the grave of hellenized indigenous aristocracy, and that all figured vases, tragic or not, speak of the role the deceased had played or had wanted to play in life. And if the vases really represented drama, it was drama the deceased had got to know through reading rather than attending performances. When she treats the distribution of themes, I very much miss a distribution map.

Carmela Roscino, finally, treats the image of the theatre: elements of theatrical characterization and iconography in Italiotic and Siceliotic pottery. Though she starts with a caution that a tragic subject was attributed to many vases without proof, it must be said that the book she writes great part of uses these attributions as a selection criterium. Firstly, she treats masks (hardly any visible on the vases), and costumes with long sleeves, always seen as an attribute of the theatre. She is very cautious here and concludes to no less than twenty kinds of characters that may have them, and not necessarily theatrical ones. Then follow the theatrical structures; she dismisses earlier descriptions of the so-called *Assteas-stage*: they all represent interiors of houses, never shown on stage. Neither are doors standing ajar and rocky arches signs that a performance is depicted. In her treatment of the characters, she argues that the presence of a *paidagogos* points to a stage performance, as he often plays the role of the messenger telling the scene we see on the vase. She concludes that *paidagogoi* shown on their own point to popularity of travelling single actors of the 4th century who gloried in loose messenger speeches. (If she is right here, it is strange that not a single *paidagogos* has been identified amongst the 4th and 3rd-century miniature masks of Lipari.) A special case are columns with tripod, often taken to be a sign of victory in a theatrical contest. Instead, she argues, these seem to act as a border for the upper register of the main scenes of the vases, where gods are shown. She concludes that only actually shown stages, masks and costumes with long sleeves (alas, a *non sequitur* after their cautious treatment on pp. 238-271) are proof that an actual performance is depicted.

I congratulate all authors on their work of making an up-to-date wonderful and cautious book of reference.

D.C. Steures

PETER GROSSMANN/HANS-GEORG SEVERIN, *Frühchristliche und byzantinische Bauten im südöstlichen Lykien. Ergebnisse zweiter Surveys*. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 2003. xii+236 pp., 42 figs., 36 pls.; 30 cm (Istanbuler Forschungen 46). – ISSN 0723-4333/ISBN 3-8030-1767-X (cloth).

Two years after the appearance of 'Mountain and Plain', an edited volume based on notes of Richard Martin Harrison which devoted a mere chapter on the architecture of the sites to the north of Myra, the current volume constitutes the first discussion of this topic in southeastern Lycia since Harrison's groundbreaking research more than four decades ago. The latter's work on Byzantine ecclesiastic architecture in the region was the first scientific assessment, yet it was only presented in articles (AS 13, 1963, 117-151 and AS 22, 1972, 187-197), making this the first monograph dedicated to the subject. Leaving aside an article by Clive Foss (DOP 48, 1994, 1-52) dealing with the Lycian coast, this volume is therefore a welcome resumption of scholarly attention, although it has to be said that this in fact concerns the publication of the results of two surveys conducted as long ago as 1976 and 1977.

The study was conceived in two main parts: a catalogue of early Christian and Byzantine sites and their architecture, and concluding remarks on the contemporary architecture in the region.

The catalogue provides a description of the different sites with a good and comprehensive discussion of the buildings in comparison to other sites in Lycia and the wider region of southwestern Anatolia, resulting in a clear analysis of the different buildings phases. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the registered architectural sculpture. The work, in this respect, constitutes a giant leap from the often very succinct descriptions presented by Harrison. Moreover, it offers many additional remarks and observations not made in earlier studies, and even corrections of earlier information. Furthermore, although the general focus is on ecclesiastical architecture, the book is not limited to church-architecture but also pays attention to domestic and functional architecture, justifying its title and providing a welcome addition to the research conducted by the team of Frank Kolb in the territory of Kyaneai (*Lykische Studien* 1-6). Some matters are looked into more closely. Especially the discussion of the site of Asarcık and the problem of identification of the Sion monastery, already briefly addressed by Harrison (1963: 150), is well founded and provides new insights. The question raised concerning the proximity of both complexes is equally intriguing.

Some small remarks have to be made though. Although the book is generally well illustrated, a situation plan showing the discussed buildings within the settlement would have been a welcome addition, especially for the large sites of Andriake and Sura. Plans of the investigated structures are provided with a clear indication of the different building phases, but unfortunately without any legend. Finally, the main measurements of the structures should have been mentioned in the text, as now everything has to be ascertained from the plans.

The second part of the book, devoted to summarizing studies on architecture, starts with observations on building techniques. The discussion of the different types of masonry allowed the identification of local characteristics in building techniques, such as the expertise in working the living rock. Not only the masonry but also the typology of the buildings, i.e. the strong presence of the *triconchoi* beside the traditional form of the three-aisled basilica with an atrium, a narthex and a single projecting semi-circular apse on the east, suggests a local school. Especially the examples which were rectangularly enclosed on the outside, are a characteristic feature. Like Harrison, the authors look for its origin in the eastern Mediterranean. According to them, this special type of *triconchos* was due to the frequent contacts of the region with Palestine where the same type is attested. As example they cite the travels of the founder of the Sion-monastery to the Holy Land. The popularity of the *triconchos* in Palestine motivated the incorporation of an excursus on *triconchoi* in that area. That said, such links with the Holy Land can hardly have been exceptional and certainly not limited to clergymen of rural Lycia; yet nowhere else did they develop into such architecture.

The lavish architectural decoration is equally typical for the area. A comparison with capitals from other Lycian cities and with those of Constantinople made clear that the examples from southeastern Lycia were a local development. Even if no direct copies from the capital of the empire are attested in the area, some influence is noticeable in the second half of the 5th or early 6th century, but this gradually diminished and the motives were further developed locally.

There had been a long tradition in Lycia of local masonry and sculpture. According to Harrison, the type of carving is limited to the small area around Alaca Dağ and constitutes the work of a distinctive atelier (Harrison 1963: 147; 1972: 197), something that has been confirmed by Grossmann and Severin.

Based on the study of the architectural sculpture, a relative chronology was worked out for the Alaca Dağ group with its typical decoration. This allowed all monuments in the area to be dated to the first half of the 6th century AD, something which was already suggested by Harrison but has now been systematically founded.

To conclude, this work is a very well conceived and useful instrument for everybody involved in the study of southwestern Asia Minor in the early Byzantine period in general, or in the study of its early Byzantine architecture in particular. The close adherence to the material is both the strength and weakness of this study, as we are presented with a thorough analysis of the local architecture by two specialists in the field, who, however, tend to pass by on some of the questions raised by it. For instance, they do not address why there are that many grand basilicas to be found in the Lycian hinterland, far removed from any urban centre, during the 6th century. Harrison's thesis, that this is due to the migration of a large part of the population from the coastal region to inland sites in late antiquity, has been rejected by Foss (*DOP* 1994). Unfortunately, this book does not contribute to that aspect of the discussion.

Peter Talloen

E. KOTJABOPOULOU/Y. HAMILAKIS/P. HALSTEAD/C. GAMBLE/P. ELEFANTI (eds.), *Zooarchaeology in Greece: Recent Advances*. London: British School at Athens, 2003. 310 pp., 111 figs.; 30 cm (BSA Studies 9). – ISBN 0-904887-41-3.

The papers in this volume were scheduled to be presented in September 1999 at the International conference on Zooarchaeology in Greece. Unfortunately the conference had to be cancelled as the result of a big earthquake that hit Athens only two days before the meeting. The individual writers of the papers therefore have not had the opportunity to discuss their research nor could they benefit from the results of the work of their colleagues. This has resulted in some overlap in the papers, especially those related to the succession of island faunas.

The volume consists of three parts. The first deals with environment and subsistence, the second with consumption, ritual and other uses of bones. Finally, the third part is devoted to ethnographic, textual and representational evidence. Together the three parts demonstrate the wide scope of zooarchaeological research in Greece. The volume contains 33 contributions, 32 in English and one (by the late Gunther Nobis) in Greek. An overview of their contents can be obtained by reading the abstracts in English and Greek at the beginning of the volume. The layout is clear, with many maps, diagrams and photographs.

The first two papers deal with new analytical techniques such as the use of the scanning electron microscope for the reconstruction of the diet of sheep. Seven articles follow with aspects of island archaeology. The diversity of the faunal evidence from the islands is the result of a complex of factors ranging between local extinction and human introduction. However, the study of these island faunas is seriously hampered by the apparent lack of a taphonomic approach and by the lack of C14 dating. Research focuses mainly on the islands Crete and Youra.

Judith Powell describes the excavations of the Cave of the Cyclops on the island of Youra, which have produced one of the largest fish bone assemblages of Europe. The fish remains that she has studied cover the time period from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic. The fishery was essentially coastal and inshore rather than offshore. It relied on a varied and diverse catch of small coastal species. Powell states that local fishing promotes seafaring and therefore allows for extensive trade networks.

The study of subsistence is always a popular topic in zooarchaeological research. Since Paul Halstead started counting sheep in Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece the importance of secondary products is overall recognised as a research topic. Curci & Tagliacozzo find that at the Neolithic site of Makri (Thrace) livestock management was not only oriented towards meat production but also included secondary products such as milk, wool and traction. Greenfield & Fowler present evidence from Megalo Nisi Galanis in Macedonia that the shift to older individuals begins earlier for cattle than for ovicaprids. Apart from the study of animal remains, there is also evidence from animal figurines. Toufexis

focuses on figurines from Neolithic Thessaly and shows a growing importance in the late Neolithic of cattle figurines, reflecting the use of their secondary products and the shift to plough agriculture.

Cosmopoulos et al. find a great deal of continuity in live stock management from the Bronze Age through Roman times at Eleusis, but they also establish that over time animals without significant secondary products, such as pigs, become less important. However subsistence alone is not sufficient to explain patterns of animal use. For example at the Hellenistic town of New Halos animal husbandry is closely related with the sacrificial duties of the inhabitants. Phoca-Cosmetatou, Yannouli and Mylona discuss the role of Ibex, of wild carnivores and of marine fish respectively. These three articles give useful overviews of the species in question.

But there is life for the zooarchaeologist *beyond subsistence*. The ritual role of animals and animal parts can only be studied through an integration of zooarchaeological, literary and iconographic data and the papers in the second section of the volume are proof of this statement. Two case studies, from the Artemision at Ephesos and from the temple of Apollo at Eretria, give evidence for the ritual burning of femur, patella, sacral and caudal vertebrae of ovicaprids. Forstenpointer's investigations into the ritual procedures at Ephesos give, besides zooarchaeological information, a link with Greek vase paintings and even with experimental reconstruction of offering practices.

There is an interesting paper by Hamilakis on the role of hunting in farming societies. He puts forward that hunting is more than just a risk-buffering strategy to farmers. In the increase of hunting between the middle Neolithic and Middle Bronze Age he sees an increase in gender-linked authority and power. Hunting was an important concern for Mycenaean (male) elites and was linked to power and warfare. Zooarchaeological evidence for this line of thought is found in the burials of dogs as grave goods in elite graves. The plentiful iconography of lion hunting provides another argument for the role of hunting by Mycenaean authorities. Excavations of Minoan sites on Crete and other islands have yielded artistic representations of exotic animals. The manner in which the animals are drawn suggests, according to Masseti, that the artist was familiar with them by sight. Exotic animals such as Grants Gazelle and Green Monkeys probably reached Greece through gift exchange between the elite.

The book ends with three interesting papers on ethno-archaeological research. The first one by Kapeitanios is on pastoral production and the importance of cheese-making in the formation of cooperative groups. The second contribution by Perez Ripoll discusses the adaptation to upland ecological conditions by the pastoral community of Sarakini. The surviving mechanism focuses on short distance seasonal movements, adjustment to the ovicaprid reproductive cycle and the storage of leafy-hay as a provision for wintertime. The final paper on patterns of feasting with meat offerings is an appropriate end to a handsome volume on zooarchaeology in Greece.

Louise H. van Wijngaarden-Bakker

MARINA R. TORELLI, *Benevento romana*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 542 pp., 9 pl. (Saggi di storia antica 18). – ISBN 88-8265-209-2.

L'intention de Marina Torelli est de retracer l'histoire de Bénévent, depuis la fondation de la colonie latine au III^e siècle av. J.-Chr. jusqu'à la conquête de la ville par les Longobards au VI^e siècle de notre ère, mais, comme l'endroit était déjà occupé au moins à partir du VIII^e siècle av. J.-Chr., elle examine tout d'abord les antécédents préromains de *Beneventum* qui succéda à un centre indigène samnite du nom de *Maleventum*. Depuis quelques décennies la recherche archéologique fournit un nombre toujours croissant de données concernant l'occupation du territoire en question à partir de la fin du VIII^e siècle, mais ces données sont vite passées en revue par l'auteur qui s'est attaché surtout à une analyse critique de la tradition littéraire antique dans laquelle *Maleventum* apparaît essentiellement en deux circonstances: la fondation légendaire de la ville attribuée à Diomède (qui la relie à la Daunie) et les opérations militaires des guerres samnites. L'histoire de la ville romaine se disloque en un nombre d'épisodes, déterminés par les sources littéraires, épigraphiques et archéologiques disponibles, qui ne permettent certes pas un récit historique continu mais plutôt un enchaînement de points de contact (plus ou moins importants) avec la 'grande histoire', p.e. à travers des personnages originaires de Bénévent qui se sont fait remarquer (en bien ou en mal) ou des événements historiques qui se sont déroulés à Bénévent ou dans son territoire. Un facteur important sans aucun doute est sa position particulière par rapport aux voies de communication en Italie centro-méridionale. Bénévent devint en effet un noeud routier important et une ville étape incontournable sur le tronçon appenninique de la voie appienne entre Capoue et Brindes. Ainsi elle a du voir passer ou séjourner à plusieurs reprises un personnage important, ou même un empereur, en route vers l'orient. Sans doute grâce à cette position particulière, Bénévent, contrairement aux autres centres samnites, échappa au lent déclin et resta un centre économiquement actif tout au long de l'époque impériale, pendant laquelle la ville se retrouve à la une de temps à autre.

À la fin de l'époque julio-claudienne, un événement frappant dans lequel se trouva impliquée Bénévent fut sans doute la '*coniuratio Viniciiana*' contre l'empereur Néron. L'époque flavienne semble e.a. marquée par un essor particulier du culte d'Isis, attesté par une abondante documentation archéologique venue au jour à Bénévent depuis le XVII^e siècle qui trouve son égale dans aucune autre ville d'Italie en dehors de Rome. L'apogée de Bénévent fut indubitablement le II^e siècle de notre ère et plus particulièrement le règne de Trajan, dont témoigne toujours le monument antique le plus en vue de la ville, l'arc de Trajan, marquant le début de la *Via Appia Traiana*, dédoublement de la voie appienne permettant d'atteindre plus facilement Brindes. Le décor sculptural de l'arc, qui semble faire allusion à l'institution des *alimenta* par Trajan, constitue également une documentation historique non négligeable. Cette institution est du reste surtout connue à travers deux inscriptions, l'une de Velleia et l'autre, la *tabula*

des *Ligures Baebiani*, trouvée en 1832 à Macchia di Circello au N de Bénévent. Outre pour comprendre le système des *alimenta*, la *tabula* en question, qui nous fait connaître nombreux *fundi* et *pagi* de l'ager *Beneventanus*, est un document capital pour l'histoire agraire du territoire de Bénévent, objet de plusieurs déductions coloniales, e.a. triumvirales et augustéennes. A l'antiquité tardive, la ville aux origines samnites, située aux abords de l'Apulie et de la Lucanie, se retrouve finalement en Campanie. Au V^e et VI^e siècle l'histoire de Bénévent devient particulièrement tourmentée et l'auteur nous laisse suivre les conquêtes successives de la ville jusqu'à la fondation du célèbre duché longobard qui marque le début d'une nouvelle époque de prospérité.

L'ouvrage de Marina R. Torelli constitue un bel exemple d'histoire locale contre le fond de l'Histoire Romaine, chaque épisode constituant pratiquement une étude à part, traitée de façon exhaustive, ne délaissant aucune source possible, et avec grande rigueur scientifique. Un long appendice de plus de 150 pages (un tiers du volume) est dédié à la *tabula* des *Ligures Baebiani*, comprenant une analyse onomastique et un examen du cadre topographique de ce document important.

Frank Van Wouterghem

LUCA ANTONELLI, *I Piceni. Corpus delle fonti. La documentazione letteraria*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2003. 243 pp., 4 figs.; 24 cm (Genti e province d'Italia 3). – ISBN 88-8265-242-4.

Dans ce volume sont rassemblées les sources littéraires antiques concernant les Picéniens et leur région, qui s'étalait le long de l'Adriatique entre Rimini et Ascoli Piceno. Un volume suivant semble déjà prévu pour recueillir les sources épigraphiques. Pour mettre un peu d'ordre dans l'ensemble des témoignages historiques des auteurs grecs et romains ceux-ci sont groupés en trois parties. Tout d'abord sont présentés les textes relatifs aux origines du peuple picénien, son identité et son territoire. Avec les textes recueillis dans la seconde partie on peut suivre l'histoire de la région, divisée en huit sections chronologiques, des origines jusqu'à l'antiquité tardive. La troisième partie du recueil est dédiée à quelques 'items' particuliers de la région: les personnages illustres, les prodiges et les produits du terroir.

Nul ne contestera l'utilité et même la nécessité d'un tel corpus de sources. Beaucoup de régions d'Italie disposent déjà d'un tel recueil, mais aucun ne se ressemble. En effet, les opinions s'avèrent très divergentes quant à la façon de choisir, de classer et de présenter les textes retenus significatifs. Le plus indiqué du point de vue scientifique consiste certainement à présenter, auteur par auteur, tous les passages significatifs dans leur contexte le plus large possible et à fournir ensuite un ou plusieurs indexes très détaillés pour permettre la consultation des sources recueillies. Mais, afin de joindre l'utile à l'agréable, on peut aussi essayer de réaliser plus qu'un ouvrage purement de consultation, et présenter un recueil de témoignages d'auteurs antiques, groupés par thèmes, agréable à lire et accessible à tout

le monde. Seulement, par une telle classification thématique les passages sont généralement mis en lambeaux et arrachés de leur contexte, et les répétitions de textes deviennent aussi inévitables. En réunissant les témoignages en petits groupes autour de différents thèmes, l'auteur du présent recueil a nettement opté pour la seconde voie, mais il a toutefois bien pris soin de les encadrer de textes introductifs, de commentaires historiques et de données bibliographiques, quitte à devoir répéter à plusieurs reprises certains passages capitales de Strabon, Pline l'Ancien ou autre. Ainsi, en parcourant le Picénum et son histoire, le lecteur retrouve à chaque étape non seulement les textes antiques et leur traduction mais également un aperçu des résultats de la critique moderne. Même si la documentation cartographique à l'usage du lecteur est assez sommaire et peu précise, cette publication offre donc bien plus qu'un simple corpus de sources écrites grecques et romaines.

Frank Van Wouterghem

FRANCESCO MARIA CIFARELLI, *Il tempio di Giunone Moneta sull'acropoli di Segni*. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2003. 193 pp., 213 figs.; 26 cm (Studi su Segni antica 1). – ISBN 88-8265-239-4.

Le temple de *Iuno Moneta* sur l'acropole de Segni (*Signina*), située dans les Monti Lepini au SE de Rome, qui fait l'objet de cette étude, n'a jamais du être fouillé mais il a toutefois fallu attendre la première moitié du 19^e siècle pour être reconnu dans les murs massifs incorporés dans l'église S. Pietro, qui jusqu'alors avaient été considérés comme les restes d'une forteresse. Au début du 20^e siècle R. Delbrück y consacra une monographie (*Das Capitolium von Signia*, Rome 1903), avec des relevés précis et une description exhaustive du monument. Maintenant, un siècle plus tard, Francesco Maria Cifarelli s'est à nouveau attaché à cet exemple remarquable d'architecture étrusco-italique, dont il examine dans une première partie l'histoire, le contexte topographique et l'architecture et ensuite l'ensemble des terres cuites architectoniques provenant de sa décoration.

L'auteur ne veut certes pas refaire le travail de Delbrück, dont la documentation précieuse conserve toute sa validité. Mais, comme les nombreux temples 'étrusco-italiques' découverts depuis le temps de Delbrück ont sensiblement augmenté les connaissances concernant la typologie planimétrique de ces édifices, et que les opinions sur les techniques de construction, en particulier sur l'emploi de l'*opus polygonale*, ont également évolué, tout comme les connaissances concernant la décoration architectonique des temples 'étrusco-italiques', le moment était certainement propice de réexaminer le temple de l'acropole de Segni à la lumière de ces nouvelles données, de proposer une reconstitution de l'édifice et de le replacer dans une vue d'ensemble sur l'architecture religieuse étrusco-italique. Sur la chronologie de l'édifice planait aussi un désaccord depuis que Ettore Ghislanzoni en 1916, après une série de sondages stratigraphiques dont la documentation semble perdue, avait opposé une datation 'basse', tardo-républicaine, à la datation 'haute', tardo-archaïque, pro-

posée auparavant par Delbrück. Au terme d'une étude approfondie de tous les éléments disponibles, la plupart déjà objet de publications antérieures, l'auteur du présent ouvrage constate un mélange d'éléments traditionnels, comme la reprise des *Tuscanicae dispositiones* dans le plan de l'édifice et l'emploi d'une technique de construction ancestrale (*opus polygonale*), deux éléments employés généralement pour prouver une datation 'haute', avec des caractéristiques plus innovatives de l'architecture tardo-hellénistique, comme les grandes dimensions, les proportions moins compactes et l'insertion du bâtiment dans un complexe architectural plus étendu, rappelant certains sanctuaires hellénistiques de l'Italie centrale et favorisant plutôt une datation 'basse'. Ainsi il opte à son tour pour une datation 'basse' au II^e siècle av. J.-Chr., bien compatible avec les indications fournies par les terres cuites et coïncidant également avec l'essor urbanistique de *Signia* à la fin de la République, bien mis en évidence dans le dernier chapitre de la première partie de cet ouvrage. Le rapprochement entre ce complexe tardo-hellénistique de l'acropole de Segni avec *Q. Mutius* attesté à la même époque (fin II^e

-début I^{er} siècle av.J.-Chr.) comme architecte d'un nymphée dans cette même ville, est certainement une hypothèse attrayante.

Les terres cuites architectoniques, présentées dans la seconde partie de cet ouvrage, furent mis au jour sur l'acropole de Segni, à plusieurs reprises entre la fin du XIX^e et le début du XX^e siècle, d'abord par hasard et ensuite comme résultat de fouilles programmées. Il s'agit d'antéfixes, plaques de *sima*, plaques de revêtement et figures en haut-relief, appartenant à différents systèmes décoratifs et autant de phases architecturales de l'aire sacrée de l'acropole de Segni, de l'époque archaïque à la fin de la République, coïncidant successivement avec le début d'une occupation consistante sur l'acropole, avec la date de fondation traditionnelle de la colonie latine (495 av. J.-Chr.), avec l'entrée de l'ancienne colonie dans l'orbite romaine comme *civitas foederata* (338 av. J.-Chr.) et avec le remaniement architectural de l'acropole à la fin du II^e siècle av. J.-Chr., comportant e.a. la construction du temple monumental de *Iuno Moneta*.

Frank Van Wouterghem