The Bronze Age of Southern Italy has in recent years received increasing attention in Mediterranean archaeology, which is to a large extent due to surprising discoveries at sites such as Vivara and Roca Vecchia that indicate the region’s involvement in wider networks of Mediterranean exchange. However, attention is also generated by regional research projects that show the gradual development of settlement and use of the landscape in prehistoric times. In spite of the increasing interest in Italian prehistory, the number of full, integrated, fieldwork reports is still very low. The collaborators to the Torre Mordillo volume ought to be complimented for the quick publication of the book, which reports on fieldwork carried out between 1987 and 1990.

The site of Torre Mordillo is situated in the foothills southwest of the plain of Sybaris in northeastern Calabria. Research at the site is related to the investigations in the same region, which have been directed by Renato Peroni from the University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’ since the 1970’s. The excavations by his team at Broglio di Trebisacce, at some 30 km from Torre Mordillo, have revealed various phases of habitation during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. On the basis of these excavations and additional explorations in the area, the development of prehistoric settlement in the landscape has been described. The excavations at Torre Mordillo provide a useful point of reference for this regional analysis and they enable us to refine and adjust the regional picture.

In the volume under review, the 1st chapter deals with the history of research at Torre Mordillo. The prehistoric site was discovered in the 1960’s during the American and Italian research of the Hellenistic settlement in 1963-1964. In chapter 2 the prehistoric stratigraphy of the site is presented as it was attested in the two excavation areas; the main structures are also discussed here. The deposit showed a continuous habitation from the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1365 BC) to the Early Iron Age (from ca. 1020 BC onwards). Of particular interest were the remains of a structure dating to the earlier phase of the Final Bronze Age (ca. 1200-1020 BC). It was recognized by a large amount of daub rubble. On the clay floor, two jars were found in situ, while four stones may have constituted a hearth. Postholes, as well as impressions in the remains of daub provide important clues to the construction of the house. Some remains of another structure, belonging to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1365-1200 BC), were discovered in the second area of excavation. This building appears to have been horseshoe shaped and it may be compared to a similar structure at Broglio, which has been interpreted as a ruler’s dwelling. A structure of a different nature is an earthen rampart, which must have been built for defensive purposes during a reorganization of the settlement at the very beginning of the Final Bronze Age. A section through the rampart shows the careful way of construction. The rampart also yielded a significant amount of finds dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.

The core of the publication is the catalog of stratigraphical units, which is presented in chapter 3. The catalog is accompanied by excellent illustrations. The stratigraphic contexts are based on a general typological analysis, which is presented in chapter 4. In this classification, the local pottery types were seriated on the basis of a unifying scheme involving pot shapes from all periods of habitation. The statistical analysis of the classified ceramic forms resulted in a chronological table encompassing all shapes and forms. This way of classifying is understandable in the face of many small, undiagnostic finds and the large number of contexts with chronologically mixed finds. Moreover, it has resulted in a relative chronology based on the large numbers of local wares and not, as is often the case, on the few imports recovered stratigraphically. The disadvantage of this method is, of course, that the relative chronology of the site is not based directly on the stratigraphy of the excavation. Perhaps for this reason, the classification has not been tied to calibrated radiocarbon dates from organic materials. Judging from the two chapters in the book dealing with the faunal and botanical evidence, enough organic material was retrieved to attempt absolute dating of stratigraphical units. Nevertheless, the current typological and chronological table indicates associations between artifact types and contexts that are useful for other projects in the region as well.

In chapters 6-9 overall discussions of the material records from the subsequent chronological phases at Torre Mordillo are given. A very limited number of finds can be assigned to the Middle Bronze Age, the earliest period of occupation. The pottery that has been ascribed to this period, generally, compares well to that at nearby Broglio di Trebisacce, even though the Torre Mordillo settlement appears to have more affinities with central Tyrrhenian Italy. The material record of the Late Bronze Age fits in well with the standard Subappennine repertoire of the area, with the majority of handles characteristically horned. The Final Bronze Age, shows a material record, which initially seems to deviate from the preceding period, as well as from nearby sites. The local Protogeometric wares dating to the end of the period, however, fit in well with sites elsewhere in Sybaris region.

Evidence for relationships with the wider Mediterranean world is given by the Mycenaean-type pottery and by ivory imports. Among these is a beautiful bow shaped ivory comb, which has a good parallel at Enkomi on Cyprus. The Mycenaean-type pottery encompasses the chronological range from LH I-II to LH III C. Such a full chronological range is rare in Italy, and it shows
the significance of Torre Mordillo for the study of Mediterranean long-distance contacts. The presence of the early types is of particular importance, since they show that Italic contacts with the Aegean during this period were not limited to coastal sites. The majority by far of the Mycenaean pottery at Torre Mordillo has been proven to be of local or regional manufacture. Interestingly, this is probably also the case for a LH II sherd, indicating that local manufacture of this type of material began from the earliest contacts onwards. The last two chapters deal with analyses of the floral and faunal remains, revealing the agricultural practices which, without any doubt, was the basis for the settlement's long flourishing habitation.

Torre Mordillo is an excellent example of fieldwork publication, with specialist’s reports and more general discussions, each provided with clear maps, graphs and illustrations. A few points of criticism may, however, be raised. The absence of any reference to absolute dates has already been mentioned. In addition, it is cumbersome that the main bibliography appears in the middle of the book (after chapter 9), while the subsequent chapters have their own references. This enhances the impression that the specialist’s reports from the second part of the book have not been taken into full account in the discussions of each habitation phase in the first part. Since the structures are discussed separate from the artifacts as well, integrated discussions for each period of habitation are now lacking. Finally, it is a pity that a general concluding section is lacking in which Torre Mordillo is specifically related to the picture of regional development that has been put forward for Broglio di Trebisacce. These criticisms notwithstanding, the contributors to the volume are to be complimented. Torre Mordillo presents an unbroken sequence of habitation and interregional interaction from the Middle Bronze Age to the period of Greek colonization. It is, therefore, of value not only for the development of prehistoric society at this particular Italic site. The volume is also of importance to assess the relationships between Mycenaean and later Greek explorations in the central Mediterranean, as well as for the indigenous background that formed the context of these contacts. The volume on Torre Mordillo contributes highly to our understanding of Southern Italy in the pre- and protohistoric periods.

Gert Jan van Wijngaarden


Greece has lately been very successful in publishing fascicles of the CVA, but the one under review is a serious disappointment. To begin with, it is written in Modern Greek, a language that is out of place in a publication meant for scholars and students all over the world. One wonders if this is an error due to the sheer inability of the author to write in one of the four accepted languages (English, French, German, Italian) or merely to misplaced national Greek pride, but whatever the reason, either is utterly unjustified. The English summary (p. 70-83) is embarrassingly meagre and of hardly any use. Besides, the reading of the Greek is made even more difficult because iotaism has now, it seems, invaded spelling: e.g., ‘worn’ or ‘faded’ inscriptions are said to be ‘swismènes’ with éta, not with upsilon (p. 44, if I am right in believing that it is from sw(b)uno, ancient Greek ‘shenun’).

The comments on the vases are extensive and provide full references to relevant problems. There are 44 plates with nearly four times as many photos, some of which are too dark and shady to be useful (e.g., pls. 2-3, 19.4, 26.2, 30.1, 35.1); 59 drawings show profiles of vases or reproduce figure scenes. Perhaps some readers expect to find a re-publication of the crucial vases found in the tumulus of the Athenians at Marathon, already published (but in very tiny, unclear pictures) in CVA Athènes I, III Hg pls. 10-14 (the author has not understood the rubric III Hg, which Beazley omits except for the ‘g’: Valavanis reads either ‘6’ or ‘9’ instead of ‘g’ or omits the rubric altogether). The readers will be disappointed, however, because only two of the Marathon vases appear in this fascicle. These are included ‘because’ - I translate - ‘of their interest and the new photographs available’. They are a well-known b.f. kalpis by the Nikoxenos Painter (with satyrs shouldering maenads at either side of Dionysus, pls. 1-3) and an unattributed b.f. tripod pyxis (with gods and four-horse chariots, pl. 17). The photographs of both are, however, quite poor in quality. The Nikoxenos vase is in a bad state and should by now have been restored in a proper manner and, by some curious error, pl. 17.3 is almost exactly the same as pl. 17.4! I personally would have appreciated a good picture of the very fragmentary red-figure cup, the only r.f. item among the finds in the tumulus and therefore a tremendously important one, because of its date ante quem! It would have been interesting to compare its maenander border and the two feet that remain (once belonging to two figures) to those in tondi by the Antiphon Painter or by Makron.

The vases chosen for this fascicle come from different archaic and classical tombs in the region of Marathon: Vrana, Scorpio Potami etc., excavated by Papadimitriou, Mastrakostas, Marinatos and others. References to publications of these excavations are so scarce as to suggest that there are hardly any reports on them (most references are to Petrakos’ archaeological guide: Ho Marathon, Archaeologikos Odigos, 1995).

Many of the vases are of mediocre quality and often poorly preserved (chiefly because they were found in cremation graves), but as most of them are published here for the first time, they deserve close attention. Most are Attic but a few are Corinthian. There are numerous Attic lekythoi and drinking vessels but also one or two good-quality vases of other shapes, e.g. the janiform head vase of pl. 43 (two female heads). A curious problem is a cup of the Leafless Group (pls. 21-22, figs. 23-25). This bears two clumsily scratched inscriptions (pl. 22, 2.4 and figs. 24-25) which, though very worn, seem to read (around the Maenad in the tondo): ‘Chrysonides etheken [psi?];’ and (under the foot): ‘Kylon anetheken theois’. These inscriptions
are odd in themselves, but even more so since the cup comes, not from a sanctuary, but from a tomb (Skorpio Potami, from a classical tomb). The reader would like to know what Mr Valavanis thinks of these lines; however, he says little about them. They surely are a riddle - if not modern!

Another interesting example is the chous painted in Six's technique, with a Taras-like youth on a dolphin (fig. 42 and pl. 34. 3-4). Curiously enough the underside of this chous is flat (fig. 42), which is unusual in Greek ware (though not in Etruscan pottery: when shrinking during firing, a flat bottom tends to crack more easily than a slightly bulging or concave underside).

Of the other entries, the most intriguing perhaps is the plastic vase found on the coast of Marathon (pl. 44). Its type is interesting but its physical description is not quite complete. It is a jug in the form of a girl sitting on the ground, her legs folded under her to her proper right. The position of the left leg is not made clear; part of the left hand, resting on the ground seems to be visible, showing that the arm supported her leaning torso. There is a remnant of something near the right hand; possibly a bird. The stance of the figure is very like that of some of the temple boys from Sidon (4th century BC, see R. Stucky, Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun Sanctuary, Antike Kunst, Belieft 17, 1993, nos. 101 ff., pls. 24 ff., e.g. nos. 101, 112). Even better parallels are the five Roman statues of a girl seated on the ground and sometimes playing at knuckle bones: these are now described in detail by K. Schade in Ant. Pl. 27 (Munich, 2000) pp. 91 ff. The legs of the girl of our plastic vase are perhaps like those of the Dresden statue (Schade, loc. cit. pls. 56-57; but compare the Berlin girl, Schade, pls. 50-51). Schade (loc. cit., p. 108) dates the example (Urbild) of her series to the first half of the 2nd century BC, but our plastic vase shows that this type of seated girl was already known in the 4th century.

Much more should, no doubt, be said about this publication, but space is limited. The main concern of all readers will surely be that they expect that the CVA committee in Greece will not again approve of future fascicles written in Modern Greek: after all, the CVA is primarily meant for ritual use, as has often been assumed in the early 20th century, but is now of course outdated, more extensive reports of sanctuary excavations all too often are either longer versions of the preliminary kind just described or straightforward catalogues of pottery or terracotta's, without any reference to find contexts. In fact, some soprintendenza-deposits contain thousands of sanctuary finds with no other recorded provenance than the site - sometimes not even the sanctuary - they were taken from.

Against this bleak background, Doepner's thorough study is more than welcome. This book provides much more than its title and even sub-title promise. The five chapters on the main subject of the study - aniconic stone dedications - in Metapontion, Poseidonia (Paestum), Syracuse, Akragas and Selinus include substantial paragraphs devoted to other categories of dedications, in casu stone statues, terracotta statuettes and plaques, bronze and pottery vessels and 'other finds'. All of these are again taken into account in the concluding general interpretation of the meanings and functions of votives. All along, find circumstances and excavation contexts of votives receive due attention. The 'argoi lithoi' (more or less unworked stone dedications), pillars and columns are thus placed in the wider spatial and religious context needed to understand them. At the same time, this study offers a vivid picture of the votive culture, which surrounded some of the buildings which we now admire as lonely ruins.

Yet, however admirable the general results of Doepner's immense work, her use of a specific and somewhat problematyc category of votives as a starting point poses some problems which weaken her argumentation. A basic point is her imprecise definition of 'aniconic'. Besides 'argoi lithoi' (some of which were apparently selected for their organic-looking shapes!), Doepner includes pillars and columns which usually have decorative ornaments, albeit just simple volutes. At least a part of these probably bore a painted decoration, possibly in some cases even showing figures. She also rather easily seems to assume that pillars with flat tops cannot have been intended as bases carrying votives. Moreover, some of her aniconic stones were inscribed with dedicatory texts, and may better be regarded as stelai, carriers of a message rather than votives in the strict sense. In sum, the amount of preserved truly aniconic dedications may well have been smaller than Doepner suggests.

On the other hand, her description of the finds also indicates that it is more than likely that many undecorated votive stones have disappeared: some were reused as building material in antiquity, but many must have been cleared away by excavators who did not recognize them for what they are. In addition, the considerable differences in recovery rate between the sites she considers is a serious weakness in Doepner's comparison between sites and in her general analysis.

Her conclusions are also weakened by the focus on stone dedications. Terracotta statuettes and pottery are clearly not Doepner's specialization, and tend to be treated somewhat hastily. Her assumption that decorated pottery votives were costly has by now shown to be wrong. Likewise, it is unlikely that the thousands of decorated pots found at many sanctuaries were primarily meant for ritual use, as has often been assumed.


The state of publication of the small finds of Greek sanctuaries in South Italy and Sicily is truly dramatic. Most of the famous temples have been cleared without any (published) archaeological recording, some even quite recently. Where publications exist, they usually consist of short and general preliminary reports mainly devoted to a selective catalogue of objects, but revealing little or nothing of stratigraphical contexts or spatial distribution of the finds. Leaving aside Paulo Orsi's marvelous work, which was excellent when published...
by scholars and is repeated by Doepner. Many, if not (almost) all must have been votives, just like statuettes and aniconic stones.

Similar problems may also blur Doepner’s analysis of individual sites, notably Metapontion, the starting point of her study. At least some the remarkable concentrations of aniconic votives at the ‘Stadtheiligtum’ may be the result of postdepositional circumstances, including excavation history. As adequate documentation seems to be missing, this problem will never be solved.

In some cases, Doepner overstretches the evidence. The clearest instance is offered by the regular lines she sees in the placement of groups of aniconic votives in Metapontion. Although it is clear that most stone dedications are aligned with the general orientation of the adjacent temples and altars and that neighboring stones sometimes relate to each other, the longer lines drawn by Doepner to connect stones are not convincing. Drawing lines in large sets of dots is always easy, but what does it mean? Inbetween aligned sets, many other stones remain, sometimes almost blocking sightlines, and one wonders how the more irregular items can be aligned with sufficient precision. Moreover, there is hardly any information on the relative chronology of stones, so supposed sets may have been placed in the course of centuries amidst many other votives. Only detailed stratigraphic excavation, combined with analysis of finds surrounding the stones might provide meaningful groupings, but it is mostly too late for that.

More direct archaeological evidence is also needed for a better understanding of the meaning and practical use of the aniconic votives. Where they simply offerings or did they (continue to) act as a focus for (family?) cult. The few test excavations done by Doepner seem to support the first hypothesis, but are far from conclusive. Such uncertainties, however, only help to stress the importance of her study as a starting point for further research and an example for those already working in Greek sanctuaries: even the ugly and undecorated finds can be very interesting when they receive their deserved care and contexts.

Vladimir Stissi


The present reviewer must apologize for the very long delay of this report: it was due to his lack of knowledge how to use the CD Rom accompanying this publication. This splendid tool was made possible by the Virtual Museum Project that was undertaken by the Multimedia Education Unit of the University of Melbourne. The result is truly magnificent.

The collection is not a great one nor particularly rich in outstanding pieces; the catalogue contains only 76 items, but these can be scrutinized by means of the CD Rom from all sides and in very great detail as if one were personally handling the objects using a magnifier. This, surely, is an effective way to instruct students but very useful and enjoyable also for specialists.

Three vases were stolen in 1990. Two of them are published here in the hope that they may be traced somewhere: no. 31, a fine bf. Attic hydria, and no. 39, a delicate lip-cup with an exquisite and curious Gorgonion (two furious snakes at his moustache!) in the tondo (correct a misprint in the heading: read 550-40 BC); the third one, inv. no. MuV 68, is neither included nor described. Another vase, no. 32, was re-purchased after it had been lost for a long time in an airport shed (p. 13). One vase, no. 48, was recently donated in memory of Peter Connor, the main author of this book (see p. 48).

There is an overview of Greek vases and each section of the catalogue is introduced by a short text written by different scholars, next to a splendid photograph (e.g. of the Parthenon, the interior of the ‘Treasury of Aetreas’, the Doric portico at Lindos, the Apollo temple of Corinth, a detail of the entablature of the Nike temple etc.).

The text of the catalogue is exhaustive, descriptions are very detailed and almost always accurate (there are slight inaccuracies here and there, e.g., in the texts of nos. 36, 38, 49); comments are useful for students and scholars alike. All this makes for good reading. There are numerous excellent profile drawings, made by Heather Jackson (p. 8). The photographs, all in colour, are plentiful and often depict delightful details - but there is one point that ought, I think, to be criticized: modern technique facilitates ‘contouring’ or cutting out the objects from their natural environment: this abominable fashion has been applied on most items, with the result that they are now floating in a grayish-beige mist or in a very blue sky (or set against a deadly-white or pitch-black background). The colourful ‘embellishment’ of pictures is, no doubt, supposed to make them more attractive; but it is a serious menace to archaeological realism - comparable to the constant flow of bad music in shops and on the streets: it destroys the semblance of three-dimensionality of the vases, just as the music kills all awareness of sound or silence.

As for the individual pieces, I particularly enjoyed scrutinizing the horses on the geometric footed bowl no. 6, the jug no. 9 (horse and stag), the endearing little faience hedgehog no. 12, the crudish Protocorinthian piriform aryallos with foxes and hares, no. 16, the fine panthers of the Corinthian pyxis no. 24, and among Attic vases, e.g., the bf band cup no. 40. Many more could be selected in this manner, but this must suffice.

I may end with two remarks. The black amphora no. 76 with, on either side of the neck, a man’s head in bf between badly painted arms that are held upwards, is so unusual that it almost looks like a fake; can it not be South Italian rather than East Greek? Further, the reader would like to know why no. 34 is not by the Antimenes Painter himself: the extreme ease and efficiency of the drawing and incisions seems to warrant his hand (see the plate on p. 99).

It is to be hoped that many students and scholars will take the time to amuse and instruct themselves with this splendid presentation.

J.M. Hemelrijk
This study focuses on a fascinating group of votive offerings to various gods in the Greek world, mostly found in sanctuaries, but also elsewhere. Although at first sight one would expect that their original context is evident from the iconography and inscriptions, Commella makes clear that there are great gaps in our knowledge. Another point of consideration that leads her to this research is the absence of a complete corpus. This does, however, not detract from the fact that we have a great number of partial corpora. Commella shares in a long-standing tradition of religious and art-history studies about this class of pious objects, concentrating on religious history, style, iconography (e.g. banquet and rider heroes), and worshippers. The marble pieces were brought to the sanctuaries by people from various social classes and betray very well the mentality of the givers. Commella is ambitious in that she tries to cover the entire Greek world during the archaic and classical periods and does not single out specific areas. That implies that no region is overly represented. Athens and Attica have by far the greatest numbers of votive reliefs, whereas famous sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi lack them. An explanation for that fact is not at hand.

The author does not question why some gods and their sanctuaries were given more of these reliefs than the others. Was there a reason within the religious tradition of the spot or were there other motifs like rules formulated by the priests? A weak point is the severe subdivision into time spans, according to the traditional art-historical periods, more or less corresponding to generations of thirty years. Especially in this class, which does not contain masterpieces, but mostly slabs carved by modest craftsmen, the analysis of stylistic development is rather academic. The people of that time of course were aware of changes in rendering the images, but would not have felt the same sensation that we, from our point of view, may have in looking at these reliefs. In my opinion, a better approach would have been a subdivision into longer time spans, whereas the developments in artistic sense could of course have been dealt with within these larger sections as well. Another problem of the short periods Commella uses is that the numbers of pieces are very small, sometimes not surpassing one or two, which evidently does not contribute much to our insight.

Iconographically, the reliefs show a rather limited repertory. Apart from groups of worshippers in front of the gods, there are healing scenes, heroic banquet scenes, and images of single gods or dedications. Mythology is scarcely present apart from in the late 6th century. In this sense the Greek world shows a koiné from the outset of the genre: were these models invented in one holy place and copied in other sanctuaries? Or did they originate simultaneously in various spots? Commella observes an increasing tendency to put the god or gods on a higher plan, making them taller and bigger and separating them from the worshippers. That is not only made clear by the different dimensions of the two categories of figures, but also by the attitudes of the gods. After the high-classical period, the deities are concentrated on themselves or look into a far distance, over the heads of their believers.

The inscriptions under the images are neither copied nor translated in this book and have been taken into account only as an accessory source of information. To my mind, the texts could have yielded much more information on questions like differences in the status of worshippers with or without texts, the contacts sought with the gods (acclamation of the god or not), the status of the offering person (by means of family relationships), the importance of the text as such (or not) and about the mostly rather primitive carving (did the makers inscribe the steleae or was that done afterwards by scribes?). They cannot be solved entirely, but one may reflect upon them and come to partial conclusions. I think that the addition of a text as such enlarged the status of the object and that even illiterates sought to add some words. The descriptions of treatments – as known from Epidaurus and Dodona for instance – casts light upon the healing matters. The conclusive remarks (pp. 159-185) are the most interesting pages, as they do enter upon some of the questions raised here. Commella shortly discusses production, composition and imagery (‘linguaggio’), and dedications.

Although the illustrations have all been taken from other publications, the book has a nice appearance and invites to reading. There are few typographical errors. The succinct catalogue is well made and there is an extensive bibliography. In sum: despite my critical remarks, Commella’s contribution is an interesting work that will be useful for students in the field of sanctuaries, religion and social status of statuary.

**Eric M. Moormann**


When I visited Lipari in the 1990’s, I immediately bought *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*, Genova: Sagep, 1981, by the same author. (That book has been reviewed by, among others, K. Schauenburg in Gymnasiun 90 (1983) 330-2, and Erika Simon in Gnomon 60 (1988) 637-40. The reader should refer to those for an introduction.) This prized possession proved to be handy in reviewing the new book on exactly the same subject.

Why do the authors write a new book instead of updating the old one? Why do they throw away the entire original typology? Not a word in this new book to answer these questions. The new book is meant for exactly the same public of archaeologists and classical philologists, so popularisation cannot be the reason for all these changes. The Italian text does not even have an introductory note where the existence of the older
book is acknowledged, although it is referred to in almost every footnote. The thirty-page-long English abstract of the text at the end of the book (a new feature) does begin with such a note, although it does not answer the above questions:

‘In 1981 in the volume *Menander and the Greek Theatre – the Lipari Terracottas* we presented in their entirety all the terracottas of theatrical subject-matter which had so far come to light in the Lipari excavations, and Madeleine Cavalier explored in particular the relationship between these terracottas and the figured pottery with which they were found amongst grave-goods, in votive pits, waste-tips or in the stratigraphy of the terrain in the necropolis area.

We are presenting here in a more concise form all the most significant pieces, leaving aside the great mass of duplicates and fragments of lesser interest while adding the numerous and sometimes extremely interesting pieces which have come to light in the last eighteen years; and we are bringing the presentation up to date in the light of the great progress in studies which has been made in the meantime.

I shall take the second of these two paragraphs as a guideline for the first part of this review. Every time, a quote from it will precede my findings.

*In a more concise form* this claim is hardly true. The first book contains VII + 326 pages, the new one 316, but it is much thinner (2.7 as against 4.2 cm), due to the paper used.

*All the most significant pieces*: the typology of the old book has gone overboard for no stated reason. Therefore, checking this claim meant the extremely tedious job of screening both books. I limited this job to some 60 per cent of both the figures (260 out of 380) and the pages (146 out of 257 of the Italian text that contains figures), as well as the footnotes on the remaining pages. It appears that interpretations have changed so much and that so many variants have been removed, that 48 types present in the original typology have disappeared. After this, the typology was apparently deemed outdated as a whole. I have not been able to find equivalents for four clear types from the first book: A 13, C 1, E 94 and E 109. The disappearance of type A 13 (Deiphobos) from the tragic masks is an error that should have been noted when proofs of the figures for this new book were checked: figure 14 in the new book, meant to show Deiphobos, does show the same Herakles as fig. 18. Why the other three types are missing remains unknown: have I overlooked them, or have the authors?

*Leaving aside the great mass of duplicates and fragments of lesser interest*: indeed, some pages of photographs and lengthy descriptions of fragments have been left out.

*Adding the numerous and sometimes extremely interesting pieces which have come to light in the last eighteen years*: in the pages screened, I noticed the following additions. Figs. 1-3 show fifth-century forerunners of the Lipari statuettes. Figs. 21-23 show new masks of Hekabe and Talthybios from Euripides’ *Troades*. Figs. 27-30 show masks from Euripides’ lost *Cyrusippus*. Fig. 35 shows a mask of *Chrysippos* or a young woman. Figs. 49-50 show new masks of Herakles and Hades (and they could have been aligned in a clearer way: one register for Hades and one for the corresponding views of the Herakles mask would have been much clearer). Figs. 51-55 show five new masks from one grave. Other new photographs show pieces in the museums of Glasgow and Cefalu, not shown in the first book.

The great progress in studies which has been made in the meantime: indeed, 21 out of 52 items in the bibliography appeared after 1981, and the *LIMC* had to be added to the list of frequently quoted periodicals and encyclopaedias. What is the result for this book? Tragic masks could now be presented in small groups referring to named tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides, and probably to one tragedy by Astydamas the Younger. A group of comic masks appears to refer to Aristophanes’ *Ekklesiazousai*, a second one to an unknown comedy about a fight between Hades and Herakles and a third one to another unknown comedy. The *Hermónios* and possibly the *Lykomédeios* from Pollux’ list of characters are identified. (Why the authors decided to devote pages 68-72 to comic masks already treated with Ar. *Ekkl* remains unclear.) Comic statuettes could now be divided into three chronological groups: those before and those during the existence of the Gnathia pottery style (last 3rd of 4th century BC), and those of the time of the Lipari Painter (first half of the 3rd). Subjects of some comedies could be indicated, such as the funny group of a husband who does not know whether he shall remain faithful to the young mother he is married to or shall have an affair (fig. 83); and a group referring to a forerunner of Plautus’ *Aulularia* (fig. 85). Sometimes I cannot agree with new interpretations suggested by the authors. In a new category for statuettes already published in the first book, they see faces with double expression: one eyebrow normal, one raised. Of the figs. 122-136, I recognise this only in some of them, and agree with the description ‘symmetrical eyebrows’ in the first book (E 9 in the first book, corresponding to fig. 126 in the second).

Putting the difference between the two books in one sentence: progress has been made from an analytical to a synthetic way of looking at the material.

So far, this review is positive in tone. This changes when it comes to the mystery why the authors chose to change allegiance from the Genuese publisher Sagep to the Roman «L’Erma» di Bretschneider. Screening both books for differences, I saw a great difference in quality of the figures in the first book and those in the second. In the probes that I counted, I found 47 instances where Sagep has more beautiful photographs than «L’Erma», as opposed to 15 instances the other way round. Although the second book has some new colour photographs, many of the old ones have been reused and in the process they deteriorated, sometimes extremely so. Sagep has colour plates with beautifully warm colours for both the objects and the backgrounds, one background colour per plate, even when it contains four photographs. The reshuffling of the material would have brought photographs of different background colours together. This problem has been solved by painting or clipping away the original background, putting a light grey one in its place and rephotographing each one. The hue of the objects themselves has invariably shifted to pink and purple, again: sometimes extremely so. Sometimes, even parts of the objects themselves have been painted or clipped away; most
remarkably so, the shaded part of the nose of plate 22.2 in the first book, as compared tofig. 231a in the second.

Printing errors (I counted four of them in the English text) culminate in the unashamed indifference of the publisher to the first author’s name. It is correctly spelled Luigi Bernabò Brea, with a grave accent and without a hyphen. In the bibliography, the accent is correct but there is almost always a hyphen. But the accent is wrong in all conspicuous places: dust jacket (four times), cover, title page and bibliographic data.

The first author, the grand old man of Sicilian and Eolian archaeology, passed away before this book was published. But old soldiers never die, they just fade away. As this book appeared, he was still preparing a study of theatrical terracottas of eastern and central Sicily. And the greatest miracle of it all: he was doing so without the help of the one who always helped him, Madeleine Cavalier.

D.C. Steuers


This abundantly well illustrated book offers the splendid results of interdisciplinary research, team work carried out in several campaigns between 1976 and 1993 at New Halos in Thessaly, a city situated at a strategic point between north and central Greece, in the Almirós Plain near the Pagasitiko’s Gulf. H.R. Reinders, director of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Groningen, has already published his dissertation on the Hellenistic city in 1988 (Hes Publishers, Utrecht).

The results of further research and new excavations in six houses, published in this book under review, shed more light on the domestic culture of the site. In the Introduction and Chapter 1 Reinders deals with the general aspects (investigation, history, geology) of New Halos in the Thessalian district Achaia Phtiotis. M.J. Haagsma describes and analyses the principles of construction of the houses in Chapter 2, Chapter 3, written by C. Beestman-Kruyshaar, G.M.C. van Boekel, Y. Burnier, S. Hijmans and Reinders, offers a detailed insight into local, Athenian and Corinthian pottery, terracotta figurines (e.g. old Tanagra types), loom-weights, metal finds and coins. In Chapter 4 Reinders, H. Woldring, W. Prummel and J. Schelvis deal at length with the environment, vegetation and faunal remains.

In the concluding Chapter 5 Reinders discusses the main results, including the beginning and end of the occupation of New Halos. The six Appendices contain catalogues of pottery, types of vessels, figurines, loom-weights, metal artefacts, and coins. The only index of the book, unfortunately, is rather limited.

The picture, which emerges from this study is that New Halos had a very short life; it was probably founded by Demetrios Poliorketes in 302 BC and destroyed by an earthquake in 265/264 BC, a date which cannot be proven by literary sources. The latter date is based on the presence of coins of Ptolemaios II, and the absence of coins from large emissions by Antigonos Gonatas (coins of the Pan-type). Furthermore the absence of traces of fire, the presence of broken roof-tiles, and the absence of skeletons in the houses point to an earthquake. Judged by the contents of a cemetery with 66 graves, part of the inhabitants lived to the south of the city during the rest of the third century BC. The city wall, surprisingly not following a natural line of defence, has 120 (!) towers, a clear evidence of Demetrios’ megalomania. The city had two sections, divided by wall with a central opening: a triangular upper town, with public buildings, a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and a South gate. The highest point in the triangle, called the acropolis, had an outer and inner gate. The adjacent rectangular lower town had a Northwest, Harbour and a Southeast Gate. Through the middle of the rectangle runs the Main Avenue, dividing the lower site into two equal parts, an unusual feature, which may have been a copied feature of Demetrios’ army camps. At a certain point the street was broader, a space which could have accommodated the agora. Unlike in other Greeks towns the housing blocks were related to the enceinte. Another peculiar feature is the absence of ijsonomia, as shown by Typenhäuser in planned, Classical cities: the houses had different layouts and sizes. If the lower town really had the calculated 1440 houses, it must have housed around 9000 inhabitants. Four houses have different plans. Two other adjacent houses have shops at the front, a courtyard, and a central backroom framed by two rooms. The plans deviate from houses in cities like Priene and Olynthos. As the contingent houses have walls in common, they must have been built in the same period. Also the city wall seems to have been built in a short time, probably by the army of Demetrios, who had to leave for Asia Minor. It seems that part of the population of Old, Classical Halos, which was destroyed by Philip II of Macedonia, moved to the new city. Probably many were pastoralists having their dwellings inside the lower town, keeping their animals in the plains (p. 228). It seems that they practised transhumance (pp. 148-153, 173, 247, colour fig. P). Apart from small iron arrowheads few weapons have been found, so it is questionable whether soldiers lived in the city. The artefacts, part of which are visible in the Archaeological Museum at Almirós, found at the houses do not show wealth. They suggest that the inhabitants, farmers, pastoralists, smiths of iron agricultural implements, coroplasts, carpenters, potters, fishers and so on, were simple people. The use of domestic space has not yet been analysed ad fundum (see e.g. pp. 60, 68, 76, 78, 131). It will be enlightened in Margriet Haagsma’s forthcoming PhD. thesis.

The city had its own bronze coins, showing Phrixos (not: Phryxos, p. 246) clinging to the ram (cf. the coins of Old Halos and the terracotta statuette of Helle on the ram, p. 113). They seem to have been made at Larisa Kremaste, probably the capital of a mint union, producing coins with the monogram XA. In Larissa’s neighbourhood were copper mines. From a coin hoard from the Southeast Gate may be deduced that New Halos had more economic relations with the cities in South Thessaly, Boeotia and Euboea than with northern cities (p. 12 and 144).
To conclude, the book makes clear that New Halos had many unusual architectural features, showing that our knowledge of the countless Hellenistic towns is still extremely limited. Most important is the insight it gives into the everyday urban life in the first half of the third century BC. The authors have made a very important contribution to our knowledge of the Hellenistic Age.

L.B. van der Meer


In this monumental, carefully edited publication Giovanni Colonna and colleagues publish the results of two excavation campaigns carried out by Massimo Pallottino in the sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii, during 1939 and 1940, and around the monumental altar to the east of the temple built around 500 BC. This was the temple whose roof was decorated with the famous statues of Leto with Apollo as a child, Apollo facing Heracles, and Hermes, now in the Museum of Villa Giulia in Rome. The book consists of four chapters and two appendices.

In Ch. 1 Colonna presents a detailed reconstruction of the history of the unpublished excavations and a tentative interpretation. In Ch. 2 Valeria Martelli Antonioli (Pallottino’s assistant) and her niece Laura Martelli present a catalogue organized according to material categories, subdivided according to find spots; unfortunately, few of these are known with certainty. In Ch. 3 Laura M. Michetti, an assistant of Colonna who had participated in an excavation of Portonaccio in the early 1950s, submits a chronological framework for the artefacts and comments on their character. In Ch. 4 she concludes with her reflections on the types of cults, including a comparison between the votive material at Portonaccio and that at Rome, Latium and elsewhere in Italy. Colonna pieces together the excavation history using Pallottino’s excavation diary with many sketches of areas and their stratigraphy, his plans (figs. 4-5), photographs, and notes pertaining to material which arrived in the storerooms of the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome. Although many data and many objects were lost, Colonna tries to show that the sanctuary has four building periods (figs. 6-7): 1. from c. 900 to 625 (traces of Villanovan huts, with a possible religious meaning), 2. from c. 625 to 550 (the building under the so-called oikos, G), 3. from c. 550 to 450 (the small altar I, and the so-called oikos, G), and 4. from c. 450 to 350 (the large altar II, which is oriented exactly to the east). The sanctuary was ‘buried’ around 200 BC, probably by Roman coloni.

The space around the second altar yielded a fill with an enormous amount of votive objects. The terminus ante quem for most of these seems to be c. 550/530 BC, when the terrain was raised to build the second oikos. Most of the 1255 objects may originate from a bothros or thesaurus, scattered and buried around the second, monumental altar. It appears that Menerva was the principal goddess at the sanctuary. She was revered as a deity of war and probably of oracles, and as protector of family and the household, marriage and birth. In other excavations, between 1914 and the 1950s, were retrieved objects dedicated to Turan (Aphrodite), Aritmi (Artemis), probably to Venai (perhaps a cult partner of Nepturus) and Raθ, an Apollo-like god, probably the same Raθ0, which appears on the famous Pavatarchies mirror from Tuscania. The feminine cults were dominant. Interestingly, on the other hand, with one exception, the archaic inscriptions bear only names of male dedicants. Latin inscriptions testify that the cult of Menerva continued after the fall of Veii in 396 BC (note 78). No inscription mentions Hercule/Heracles. Colonna, nevertheless, assumes that Apollo and Heracles were worshipped in the temple in view of the identity of the statues decorating the roof. Fragments of three groups of terracotta statues also showed Athena and Heracles together (c. 530, c. 500 and c. 470 BC). The fragments, however, were found near the altar, not in or next to the temple.

Particularly interesting is the strong resemblance between the votive material at Veii from the period between c. 600 and 550/530 BC and that of votive deposits at Rome (S. Omobono, Lapis Niger), and in Latium (Lavinium, Anagni, località S. Cecilia (there are only a few references to finds from and publications on Satricum). Similar, too, are the types of bucchoro vases, imported vases as well as imitations of East Greek pottery, probably from Caere; Etrusco-Corinthian vases, bronze statues, toilet implements, and so on. The typically Latial miniature vases, figurines cut out from bronze sheeting, and model loaves of bread (focaccine), however, are absent at Veii. From Michetti’s analysis (Ch. 4) it may be concluded that Veii played a very important role in the cultural contacts between Latium and South Etruria.

As in Latium, the local aristocracy seems to have undergone a behavioural shift from displaying its wealth privately in their private tombs to public exhibition of costly votive gifts in sacred areas. In Appendix II Daniele Maras comments on the votive inscriptions from the first half of the sixth century BC, written in the local Veian, syllabic alphabet on high quality vases. Amongst those the most famous are the inscriptions of Avile Vipiiennas (probably the condottiere known from literary sources and shown by a fresco from the François Tomb at Vulci) and of Karcuna Tulumna, possibly a king from Veii. Especially interesting is the fact that the name Mamarce Anpiiiie not only occurs on a bucchoro oinochoe from Veii but also on an oinochoe amphora from a tomb at Lavinium. Colonna holds that these vases initially served as gift exchange and that only later they were deposited in tombs or sanctuaries. Some inscriptions contain the words ein miipi kapi, which apparently mean ‘do not touch me’, or mir nunai, ‘we (plurale tantum) (are) sacred’.

The book has three excellent indexes. What makes the reading of this volume a little confusing and complicated is the fact that three different maps indicate the zones around the altar by different letters: figures 2, 6 and 7 (by L. Giammatti, 1920), figures 3 and 4 (by M.
Pallottino), and figures 9 and 10 (by S. Barberini). The catalogue in Ch. 2, however, is very clear. The find spots of all objects indicated by the inventory number VTP can be found, as far as known, on Pallottino’s map. A weakness of the book is that the historical background, especially the impact of the Roman conquest of Veii in 396 BC, is not evaluated. Many of the votive terracotta’s are dated between ca. 450 and 350 BC (pp. 239-241). This suggests that the cults continued without interruption. The presence of 5th-3rd-centuries BC material in a fill dated to around 550 BC leaves us with some perplexity. In order to evaluate ad fundum and properly reconstruct the history of the Portonaccio sanctuary, one has to study also the publications of E. Stefani (NSc 1930, 302-334 and NSc 1953, 29-112), M. Santangelo (BdA 37, 1952, 147-172), of M.P. Baglione (ScAnt 1, 1987, 381-417), and of G. Colonna (Santuari d’Etruria 1985, 99-108; ScAnt 1, 1987, 419-446; and Veio: i santuari di Portonaccio e Piano di Comunità, in Scavi e ricerche dell’Università di Roma ‘La Sapienza’ 1998, 139-143). Some questions remain unanswered, e.g. why were Menerva, Aritimi and Turan worshipped in the same period near the same altar. Note that combinations of them do occur on Etruscan mirrors! In sum, the book is a valuable addition to our knowledge on Etruscan religion, social mobility of the aristocracy and interregional contacts, particularly for the first half of the sixth century BC.

L.B. van der Meer


Was Satricum, near present day Borgo Le Ferriere in Latium, in the 5th and 4th centuries BC a Latin or a Volscian city? This is the main question tackled by Marijke Gnade (University of Amsterdam) in an exemplary way, in a nicely edited book with many colour plates. She has excavated at Satricum since 1979 and she is its project-leader since 1987. Marijke Gnade has published previously on the Southwest Necropolis of Satricum in 1992 and her conclusion was that this cemetery was Volscian.

The book under review is the commercial edition of her PhD thesis (Nov. 2000). It is no. 6 in the Satricum Series, previous volumes of which were published by Van Gorcum (Assen), and Thesis Publishers (Amsterdam) respectively, and now by Peeters Publishers (Leuven). It consists of five chapters: firstly, the Introduction; secondly Satricum in the Archaic Period: new discoveries in the lower settlement area of Poggio dei Cavallari; thirdly, Satricum in the Post-Archaic Period (acropolis, lower settlement, Southwest Necropolis); fourthly, the Volscians in ancient written sources; and fifth and finally, the summary and conclusions. M. Rubini et alii wrote an Appendix, a case study of Satricum in relation to the biological problem of Central Italian populations during the first millennium BC. The book concludes with a selective catalogue of finds, an excellent bibliography and a useful general index.

The author gives a long description of the 6 m (!) wide, main road to the Mater Matuta temple on the acropolis. The road was built at some point during the 6th century BC (probably accompanied by a foundation ritual, testified by a bucchero bowl in a foundation trench (p. 20), it was restored between c. 525 and 500 BC, and twice reinforced with a retaining or defensive wall in the 5th century BC. To the North of this Via Sacra, which only has a good parallel in the Pyrgi sanctuary, there are graves, which yielded artefacts which are similar to those in the Southwest Necropolis. The author supposes that the archaic buildings on the acropolis, the top layers of which were stripped in modern times, have also been re(used) in the 5th century BC as scatters of artefacts from the post-archaic period have also been found.

She dedicates a long, polemical analysis of the contents of the supposed Second Votive Deposit on the acropolis, contrary to the findings of Jelle Bouma (Religio Votiva. I-III. PhD thesis Groningen University, 1996) who interpreted the contents to be Latial (including supposed remains of suovetaurilia). Gnade concludes that the deposit is the result of successive dumps, probably of materials from destroyed houses. Moreover, she strongly argues that its contents have many elements in common with the material culture of the Southwest Necropolis. There are no arguments for a continuing existence of the original Latin population. The 200 tombs of the Southwest Necropolis are organized according to descent. Special attention was dedicated to children’s tombs, apparently a non-Latial feature. In the graves no indications have been found which would confirm that the Volscians were a ferocious, barbaric, mountain people as Livy, who was certainly biased, states in his Ab Urbe Condita, since few weapons were found in graves. In the top layer of the biggest tomb a miniature lead axe-head bearing a Volscian inscription was found, mentioning a certain iuktis ko eijt (Iukos Komios or Kominios exercising the function of aedilis, p. 124). This interesting find suggests that Satricum also had an urban organisation in the 5th century BC. If we can believe the ancient authors, Satricum was conquered by the Volscians, led by the deserted Roman dux Coriolanus, in 488 BC. As the name Satricum does not occur before that date, Gnade and others presume that the city was originally, in the 6th century BC, named Suessa Pometia, a city mentioned by Livy for the last time in relation to the year 495 BC. Probably the Volscians gave the city a new name, Satricum, as evidence of that name occurs elsewhere in the Volscian area.

The impact of the Volscian appearance is clear: they buried their dead also inside the archaic city wall (which Latins would not have done), they probably reused the acropolis buildings, while the famous Mater Matuta temple probably was intact, repaired twice the Via Sacra, and as far the contents of tombs on three places may be trusted, they formed a sound, quiet, non-martial, rather egalitarian community. The grave gifts are remarkable as elsewhere in Latium and Rome no grave goods are found after around 600 BC. This may be due to the fact that individuals exhibited their luxury in a public sacred context instead of in their tombs.
A strong point in Gnade’s analysis is the remark that the bucchero kantharos or amphora with double-reeded handles is absent in Etruria and Latium but present at Frosinone, a city which was in all probability Volscian (pp. 129-132). It is to be hoped that more contexts will emerge in the original homeland of the Volscians, the central Apennine area.

Very useful is the analysis of 82 skeletal remains from the Southwest Necropolis by M. Rubini c.s. He points out that the diet was not solely vegetarian, and consisted of such produce like cereals and vegetables, but also incorporated meat products, which would be evidence of breeding and stock-raising in or near the town of Satricum. In short they enjoyed a balanced diet and therefore the community must have been well organised.

Gnade’s book has to be studied in combination with her Southwest Necropolis book of 1992, where all tombs and their furnishings are analysed and illustrated. Her study is a very important addition to our knowledge of a critical, yet obscure period in Central Italy (for an evaluation of many former Satricum publications see C.J. Smith, JRA 12, 1999, 453-477) and a very important step forward in the study of this period.


The book 10 Anni di Archeologia a Cortona, the 15th publication in the series Archaeologia Perusina presents to us the research done in Cortona and its surroundings. The book covers the ten year period of 1987-1997 during which the university of Perugia was commissioned by the municipality of Cortona to undertake archaeological research in the city. With contributions of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana, the Società Archeologica Pantheon and the University of Alberta Canada this book tries to give a complete picture of the archaeological research in Cortona during this period. More than 20 scholars contributed to this 270 page publication which is mainly written in the Italian language. In six chapters the book covers the urban excavations, the excavations executed by the Soprintendenza Archeologica, and the excavations of the Roman villa of Ossaia. It also presents papers on hydrology in Classical and Medieval Cortona, the Tanella di Pitagora and the museum of Etruscan and Roman city of Cortona.

Reports on the excavations are spread over three chapters. The excavations executed by the Società Archeologica Pantheon cover the first chapter. The three sites in Via Vagnotti, Piazza Tommasi and Porta Ghibellina are described here as well as a fourth emergency excavation in Via Gramsci in Camucia. The scope of the excavations was to give an insight in the urban tissue of Etruscan Cortona. The smaller excavations in Via Vagnotti and Piazza Tommasi only give a small peek into this period. However the larger excavation of the Porta Ghibellina gives us important insights in the chronology of the gate and city walls from the 3rd century BC till the late antique era. The preliminary notes on the discovery of an Etruscan wall in Palazzo Casali and the preliminary analysis of the excavation at Camucia ‘Vivai-il Giardino’ make up the contribution of the excavations of the Soprintendenza Archeologica in the second chapter. The excavation in Palazzo Casali produced some hard to date structures and materials dating from the 6th till the 3rd century BC. More detailed information is given on the interesting terracotta materials found in the excavation at Camucia ‘Vivai-il Giardino’, excavated in 1991 just before the destruction of the site. Finally the excavation of the Roman ‘Villa di Ossaia’ which was excavated in a joint research by the universities of Alberta and Perugia is discussed in chapter six. The research of this Roman villa situated near the ancient Via Cassia at about 5 km from Cortona was started 1992 and shows three principal phases of construction. The article gives us a good overview of these three phases which range from the 1st century BC till the 5th century AD. The article is completed with a thorough description of the various finds during the excavation.

Next to the discussion of the recent excavations in Cortona and its surroundings the third chapter of the book contain two shorter papers. A paper on the hydrology of Cortona in classical and medieval times by Olimdo Stefanucci, also contains a reprint of an earlier research by Domenico Mëiri. The second paper by Mario Torelli and Luciano Agostiniano describes a cippus dating to the 2nd century BC which was found in the 1960s in Via Passerini during some construction works. A longer paper discussing the ‘Tanella di Pitagora’ is found in the fourth chapter. Next to a detailed discussion of the restoration of the monument it features a small description of the monument, an overview of the studies of this monument and hypothesis for reconstruction of the monument.

A small paper on the museum in Cortona completes this book. With some 33 tables and several maps and drawings it gives due detail where necessary, my only regret is that a bigger map of Cortona and its surroundings is missing, which might make it more difficult for the unacquainted scholar to locate the different sites. Nevertheless it is an important contribution to the studies of Etruscan and Roman Cortona, which fills some of the gaps in our knowledge of this beautiful city.


Il volume si inserisce in una serie ormai cospicua di studi sulle culture della Campania di epoca orientalizzante e arcaica, cui hanno dato linfa negli ultimi decenni novità archeologiche spesso di grandissima rilevanza. Oggetto della ricerca sono tombe di VII-VI sec. a.C. rinvenute a più riprese in scavi recenti nella valle del
Sarno, zona di importanza strategica e di grandi ricchezze naturali, sulla quale gravitavano, fra gli altri, i centri di S. Valentino Torio, S. Marzano, Striano e la stessa Pompei, posta nei pressi dello sbocco del Sarno a mare.

Dopo un breve quadro delle attestazioni ‘proto-storiche’, essenzialmente tombali, offerte dalla valle (pp. 29-35) e dei primissimi rapporti con Pithekoussai, l’A. mostra di preferire, coprendo sulle evidenze ‘visibili’ (p. 41), l’ipotesi che il contatto tra Greci di Pithekoussai e indigeni del distretto del Sarno fosse indotto non tanto dalla risorcie agricole della zona, come abitualmente si ritiene, quanto piuttosto dall’allevamento di animali e dalla pratica del commercio, aspetto questo senz’altro rilevante in epoche successive, a giudicare dalle evidenze archeologiche e dalla testimonianza delle fonti antiche. E, in ogni caso, a partire dal tardo VIII sec. a.C. che le necropoli, già ben organizzate in aree delimitate da corsi d’acqua e divise in fasce da destinare a differenti nuclei familiari, accolgono materiali greci o di tipo greco introdotti sicuramente per il tramite di Pithekoussai.

Ancora più complessa appare una localizzazione sicura degli abitati cui queste necropoli dovevano appartenere (pp. 43 ss.), dal momento che nelle vicinanze delle aree cemeteriali non sono state riconosciute a tutt’oggi tracce di insediamenti: le uniche evidenze, assai incerte, in questo senso, sembrano provenire proprio da Sarno, e, se confermate, potrebbero indicare l’esistenza di villaggi nei pressi di corsi d’acqua e di buone vie di comunicazione, in territori adattati alle coltivazioni.

Le sepolture (pp. 47 ss.) adottano sempre il rito della inumazione, con la testa del defunto collocata costantemente a SE; le tombe possono essere a fossa semplice, oppure a struttura complessa, con circolo-canale, circolo-canale con pietre e, in rari casi, doppio circolo, interrotto in genere ai piedi del defunto, secondo un costume tipico della Fossakultur sarnese (p. 51; ibid. anche per possibili riferimenti al mondo iberico orientale).

Sulla base delle classificazioni di Gastaldi, D’Agostino e Johannowsky e delle nuove evidenze archeologiche, viene delineato (pp. 59 ss.) un quadro cronologico nel quale la crisi pitecusana dei primi decenni del VII sec. a.C. non sembra influire in maniera determinante sulla prosperità e sui caratteri generali della cultura della valle del Sarno, che soltanto nell’orientalizzante recente conoscerà una più sostanziale apertura al mondo etrusco.

Dopo una fase dell’età del Ferro (pp. 63 ss.) abbastanza modesta e sostanzialmente chiusa a contatti col mondo esterno fino ai primi decenni dell’VIII sec. a.C., si coloca un momento di notevole apertura segnalato dalla presenza di ceramiche di tipo geometrico, che testimoniano dell’avvenuto contatto con Pithekoussai e il mondo greco. Tale apertura si accentua nella seconda metà dell’VIII sec. a.C., quando si rinvengono nella tombe ceramiche di tipo corinzio (coppe t. Aetos 666 e Thapsos) e pitecusane, accanto a tradizionali forme di impasto come l’anforetta e l’askos e oggetti di ornamento come scarabei e statuine in fayence. Un altro importante cambiamento si segnala, come si diceva, nella seconda metà del VII sec. a.C., con l’accrescersi della presenza etrusca in Campania in siti come Stabia e Pompei: le necropoli della valle del Sarno (pp. 83 ss.) presentano ora notevoli affinità con quella di Stabia e si segnalano per la presenza di buchero sottile etrusco-meridionale (p. 84), poi sostituito da quello ‘pesante’ campano. La floridezza delle necropoli della valle del Sarno, rileva l’A. (p. 87), sembra esaurirsi entro i decenni centrali del VI sec. a.C. in concomitanza col processo di urbanizzazione di Nuceria e di Pompei, che avrà anche una importante funzione di scalo commerciale e di porto di scambio.

A commento di questa prima parte ‘generale’ e ‘introduttiva’ del volume, alle pp. 89 ss. vengono presentati alcuni dei nuovi corredi di S. Valentino Torio e S. Marzano, tutti forniti di una buona (ma forse di dimensioni un po’ troppo ridotte) documentazione grafica. Al loro interno si segnala la caratteristica presenza degli impasti tipici della Fossakultur (anforetta, olle, capeduncole, oinochoai, coppe, ecc.); di ceramiche di argilla figurina, come le oinochoai di tipo MPC, o le bottiglie itaio-geometriche a corpo cilindroide (cfr. le osservazioni di p. 121); di buchero sottile e buchero ‘pesanti’ campani (che si moltiplicano nei corredi più tardi); di vasi corinzi ed etrusco-corinzi; di kantharoi e olle daunia (per l’importanza di questo tipo di materiali, e forse anche per la presenza di genti di origine daunia nella Valle del Sarno, cfr. pp. 53-55).

La rilevanza culturale e commerciale di questo distretto prima dell’affermarsi di Pompei e di Nocera e la complessa trama di rapporti che lo legavano ai centri della Campania interna avrebbe forse potuto risaltare con ancor maggiore chiarezza mediante una discussione più estesa delle tipologie e delle aree di diffusione dei materiali.


Nella tradizionale veste editoriale della collana e nell’ormai consueta scansione interna tra catalogo, discussione dei tipi e analisi dell’area sacra di pertinentia, il volume presenta i materiali venuti alla luce nel corso di un recente (1995) saggio di scavo nel settore nord-occidentale del portico che circonda il tempio dorico di Pompei.

I caratteri del deposito, come ammette la stessa A., sono per la verità tutt’altro che omogenei, indicando una giacitura secondaria degli oggetti, e una loro commistione con materiali sicuramente non pertinenti, riferibili ad epoche anche notevolmente recenziori, dato che rende più complessa, ovviamente, la lettura globale dell’insieme e più incerto il riconoscimento del destinaro del culto.

Tra i nuclei di oggetti numericamente più cospicui si segnala quello costituito da busti femminili con polos, di ascendenza siculo-magnia, in genere associati al culto di divinità femminili ctonie e riferibili a tipi popolari tra V e IV sec. a.C. anche in molte altre località della Campania.
Altrettanto vasto è il gruppo di statuette, pure in gran parte riferibili a tipi diffusi in Campania e in Italia meridionale: figure femminili con bambino; ed altre, ancora femminili, paneggiate, di tipo ‘tanagrino’, per le quali si invocano, come per i busti con polos, opportuni confronti di area capuana e naturalmente siceliota, senza tuttavia riferimenti alle diverse modalità di produzione e soprattutto di diffusione delle due differenti classi di votivi.

Un giusto rilievo viene accordato (pp. 83 ss.) alla presenza di statuette di divinità femminili come Athena e una possibile Afrodithe con Erote: la prima sia nel tipo ben noto, attestato anche a Punta della Campanella, che nella variante con corpo ‘tanagrino’, la seconda con Erone sulla spalla sinistra. Seguono brevi capitoli su alcuni possibili ex voto anatomici, assai rari a Pompei, e sulla presenza di pesi da telaio.

Un’ampia sezione è dedicata ai numerosi reperti ceramici dello scavo, la cui pertinenza al deposito ha tuttavia contorni assai incerti, i criteri di attribuzione essendo ancora una volta essenzialmente cronologici. Vengono di fatto presi in esame i soli materiali databili entro il III sec. a.C. ed escluse tutte le produzioni a vernice nera (p. 127); l’inquadramento delle varie classi appare nel complesso piuttosto sintetico, con definizioni di carattere tecnico e cronologico a volte superate, come nel caso della ‘ceramica a vernice nera sivaridinta’ (p. 134).

Un’ultima, breve, sezione viene dedicata ai frammenti architettonici, che includono una protome di surrente, affine a quelle riferite da B. D’Agostino alla ridecorazione tardo-arcaica del tempio (De Waele 2001, pp. 141 ss.), e una antefissa con testa di Athena del tipo recentemente ristudiato da L.A. Scatozza Höricht (ibid., pp. 223 ss.), pertinente alla fase ‘sannitica’.

Nelle considerazioni conclusive (pp. 167 ss.), si passano in rassegna i rinvenimenti segnalati nell’area fin dagli anni della riscoperta di Pompei e si rileva come la concentrazione di gran lunga maggiore, se non esclusiva, di materiali votivi sia databile tra IV e III sec. a.C. Il riferimento complessivo del culto ad Athena appare largamente in linea con la ricerca archeologica più recente (cfr. De Waele cit.), e gli oggetti votivi vengono riferiti a un culto di Athena ergane dai risvolti kourotropici di cui non mancano attestazioni in ambito etrusco-italico in epoca classica ed ellenistica. Opportuno appare il rinvio all’Athenaion di Punta della Campanella ed una sua lettura in chiave greca piuttosto che ‘troiano-romana’ (p. 178; su tutto il problema, cfr. ora L. Cerchiai (ed.), L’iconografia di Athena con elmo frigio in Italia meridionale, Atti della Giornata di Studi (Fisciano, 1998), Napoli 2002).

F. Gilotta


For a long time archaeologists believed that nearly all the people of Herculaneum had been able to flee from their city during the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in AD 79. This idea was not that strange, because between the start of the excavations by daylight (in 1828) and 1980 only a few skeletons were found. Since 1981, opinions have had to be changed: during the unearthing of part of the ancient harbor, groups of skeletons were retrieved, showing that the disaster had made many victims in Herculaneum too. Human remains were found along the ancient beach and in some boathouses nearby.

A total of 229 skeletons have been identified to date. In his book, Luigi Capasso deals with 162 of them, found mainly between 1981 and 1984. In that period the National Geographic Society was involved in the research and the study of the material was initially assigned to the American anthropologist Sara Bisel. However, the cooperation between the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei and the National Geographic Society ended in 1985 and the publication of the material was later transferred to Capasso.

For anthropologists, skeletons found in such an environment and state of preservation form a unique object of study.

Capasso has written a monumental publication, nearly 1100 pages, lavishly illustrated, focusing on the palaeo-biological or anthropological aspects of the material and using the latest techniques. Indeed, some parts of the book go beyond the comprehension of a ‘normal’ archaeologist, requiring a knowledge of medical or chemical science, but the clearly written conclusions of these chapters can still be understood.

In chapter 1 Capasso describes the history of the excavation of skeletons in Herculaneum, starting with a few stray finds before 1981 and ending with the discovery on the ancient beach mentioned above.

Chapter 2 gives a clear reconstruction of the eruption and its lethal effects on the remaining residents of Herculaneum. The impact on the human remains is described in detail on pp. 57-58 and illustrated extremely clearly in the figures on pp. 29-34.

The scientific methods used in the examination of the skeletons are summarized in chapter 3. Chapter 4, the catalogue of all individual skeletons, is the core of the book. A few remarkable results may be recorded here.

- E8 was an 8-year-old boy whose arm had been broken 8 months before the eruption. The fracture was treated in a professional way and, in view of the wooden remains found near the skeleton, the boy must have had splints strapped to his arm.

- According to Capasso, E26 led a dynamic life, in view of the many fractures and missing teeth. In this case anthropology and archaeology support each other: these were the remains of a soldier, whose skeleton was found with a complete set of weaponry.

- E52 was also famous at the time of its discovery (see National Geographic Magazine - hereafter: NGM - 165/5, 1984, p. 564): a woman who was 8 months pregnant and on whose skull remains of hair were still visible. Capasso convincingly shows that she daily carried heavy burdens on her head, that the hair was preserved because of the oxidation of a metal buckle, and that it contained lice.

The measurements of the skeletons are discussed in chapter 5. The average length of the male population was 164 cm, of the female 152 cm.
Demography is treated in chapter 6. One of the most astonishing results of this research is the conclusion that 15- to 19-year-olds were under-represented in the population. Capasso shows that there can only be one cause for this: the earthquake that struck Campania in 62 AD.

The remaining chapters and appendices deal with fertility, pathology and chemical or DNA analyses. A few remarks have to be made.

1. On p. 25 Capasso assumes that the sea (on the south side) was the only way to escape the threatening situation in the northeast, after the eruption started. However, an escape via the road in a western direction (towards Neapolis) seems to me very plausible, as Herculaneum was situated on the main road from Neapolis to Pompeii, which probably intersected the northern part of the city (see also my *Houses in Herculaneum*, Amsterdam 1998, 58 + fig. 2).

2. The most famous of all skeletons found was undoubtedly the ‘Lady with the rings’ (on the cover of *NGM* 165/5, May 1984 pp. 560-561). But which catalogue number in Capasso’s book is this lady? A thorough examination of the find data in *NGM* and the description by Capasso suggest that it must be E13. This raises some questions. Capasso concludes that ‘this woman was not used to heavy physical labor’ (p. 167); this points to a wealthy person, a fact perfectly sustained by the find of expensive jewelry. Why did he not use this skeleton as a further example of how archaeology and anthropology can interact? (see E26)? Furthermore, why did he use only the data from the excavation cards? In 12 cases (sic!), including this one, the find spot and find dates are not given on the card, but can be traced, as shown above.

3. Some typographical flaws: part of p. 193 is printed twice on pp. 198-199; the bibliographical annotations of chapters 1-4 differ from those in the other chapters; in tables 66-69 and 71-73 the ‘a’ of the word ‘età’ is missing.

4. It is a pity that in this monumental book only a part of the excavated population could be treated. For the sake of science it would have been better to entrust the publication of all the skeletons found since 1981 to one person.

To summarize: Capasso has written an impressive reconstruction of the disaster that struck the inhabitants of Herculaneum in 79 AD. After so many years their lives and their fate have been described.

Richard de Kind


It seems that the archaeological site of Hadrian’s villa near Tivoli (Italy), which was firmly asleep for so many decades, has been kissed back to life again. Although the site has always been visited and enjoyed by many tourists and students, only few scholars showed their interest in this place during the last century. The publication of the wonderful book *Hadrian’s Villa and Its Legacy* (1995) by MacDonald and Pinto was the first expression of the new scholarly interest. In the following years the team of the Soprintendenza di Lazio executed a very active policy by starting new excavations (the road leading up the Grande Vestibulo) and restorations (the Cento Camerelle) in combination with an intelligent nature restoration plan. Apart from this, they launched a large and tasteful travelling exhibition (J. Charles-Gavriot and H. Lavange, *Hadrien, trésors d’une villa impériale*, Milano 1999) and organised the first international conference on this particular site in the year 2000 (A.M. Reggiani, *Villa adriana, paesaggio antico e ambiente moderno*, Milano 2002). And the crowning glory of their activities was that they managed to get the site onto the UNESCO list of world monuments in the very same year. However, there is one researcher who has been working at the villa site long before all this turmoil started. Her many articles have provided a firm foundation for all the later books and activities on the subject. Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti, as an architect and researcher, has worked at the villa site for more than 30 years. All her work has been compiled into the recently published, solid monograph here under review.

The book starts with an introduction of the emperor Hadrian and the discussion of the issue whether the emperor was the architect of his villa or not. Next, the earliest excavations and maps of the site from the 15th century onwards are dealt with; the ones of Ligorio, Contini, Piranesi and Penna. Beautiful prints of these maps are included. Salza Prina Ricotti continues to discuss several general subjects like the villa site itself, the overall complex and the inhabitants. A large part of the book is devoted to the many and different subterranean roads. Then the buildings are treated in chronological order: each discussion starts with an analysis by the author herself and the work she has done on the particular building or issue. In each case the analysis is followed by references to earlier excavators with quotations from their work as well as a basic description of the remains themselves. The book ends with a useful list of places where the statues have been found, together with a bibliography and an index. Salza Prina Ricotti offers the reader an overview of the villa site and its long history of research. Samples of her pioneering work can be found throughout the book, especially with regard to her work on the new site map, her research into the brick stamps, the underground galleries, the Terme Grandi and the gardens. Of the many buildings discussed she is able to refer to her own (mostly small) excavation trenches and her own close observations. She shares her great knowledge of the site and the insights she gained over the years with the reader. She has a good eye both for overall issues and details. Despite all the information she gives, the reader does not feel overloaded as she combines scientific information with common-sense observations. The way in which she uses the location of latrines to establish the function of some buildings is an example of this. According to her, the Serapeo cannot be a temple for Canopus or a tomb for Antinoos - as some say - because of the presence of three toilets. She asks her readers whether someone has ever seen a temple or tomb with a toilet! In addition in discussing the Cento
Camerelle and the question who might have lived there, she concludes very dryly that this could not have been the place for the Praetorians or soldiers, but for the servants, because otherwise there would have been nobody on the villa grounds 'che potesse preparargli [Hadrian] neanche un piatto di minestra'.

The book is richly illustrated. The nearly 100 plans and drawings by the hand of the author are very clear and useful, which cannot always be said of the photographs. These hardly show any overview and the details are not always clearly visible. It is a pity that no colour photographs have been included. It is also a missed opportunity that so few ancient illustrations are used and that there are no pictures of early excavations, especially since she writes so much about the history of research of the site.

Although the book of Salza Prina Ricotti and the book by MacDonald and Pinto have the same subject, they tackle it in a different way: whereas Salza Prina Ricotti presents firm results, MacDonald and Pinto approach their object with more prudence and are reticent in their conclusions. The authors of both books refer to each other's work constantly and thus show the many ongoing discussions about the villa. Both books have their proper qualities and can best be used side by side.

Salza Prina Ricotti begins her book by expressing the wish that the book will be helpful to everybody who wants to study the villa site. The book will definitely be used as such. Together with all the present ongoing activities at the site everybody can profit from her book and might be easily seduced to work at the villa site as well.

Salza Prina Ricotti begins her book by expressing the wish that the book will be helpful to everybody who wants to study the villa site. The book will definitely be used as such. Together with all the present ongoing activities at the site everybody can profit from her book and might be easily seduced to work at the villa site as well.

Gemma Jansen


Judging from the archaeological notes and sketches of the famous Italian topographer Rodolfo Lanciani that deal with the landscape north of Lanuvio near Rome, this particular area of the now heavily urbanized Alban hills still had many vestiges of its Roman past preserved in the late 19th century. Of these it were especially the remains of Roman villae along the Via Appia Antica that attracted Lanciani’s attention, and these feature prominently in Manlio Lilli’s well-documented inventory also contains descriptions of the remains of funerary monuments, underground drainage canals (cuniculi), aqueducts and ancient quarries. Moreover, Lilli combines his historiographical research with autopsy in the field. This is a fortunate combination as it adds considerably to the existing knowledge of the Roman villa landscape around Lanuvium. The geographical scope of this study is, however, limited as it takes only that part of the vicus which is frequently mentioned in consideration that is situated to the north and east of Lanuvium along the Via Appia, an area of approximately 10 km². The survey data are organised according to the method that is also used in the *Forma Italicae* series: each of the 26 numbered entries describes the location and the available historical information of a single archaeological object to which the author then adds his own field observations and (air) photographs. All sites treated by the author can be found on the *carta archeologica* in the back of the book. In one of the introductory paragraphs that precede the inventory the author discusses earlier topographical studies and excavations. Surprisingly, the latter can be traced back to as early as the first half of the 15th century with investigations by the cardinals Prospero Colonna and, after him, Carlo Caraffa. The first ‘excavation permit’ would have been issued in 1563 to a ‘società di scavatori e al Capitolo Vaticano’. The permit is described as ‘licentiam deexcavando et cavas faciendo in loco vulgariter nuncupato Santo Gennaro’. The location of San Gennaro contains the ruins of a 13th c. castle and is frequently described and sketched in the historiographical sources. Lilli, however, points out to us how on air photos the remains of a huge Roman villa platform can be made out within the medieval enclosure and how Roman pottery abounds on inspection of the surface. These other ruins are the vestiges of presumably sumptuous Roman villae that dotted the landscape around Lanuvium in the period that it functioned as a Roman municipium. Both Suetonius and Cicero claim that this area was very much favoured by the Roman elite and this is no wonder considering the beauty and fertility of the landscape in combination with its proximity to Rome, which could easily be reached by taking the Via Appia. The volcanic landscape around Lanuvium consists of a number of hills that all offer a fine view on the undulating landscape of Latium Vetus, and archaeology has shown that this area was already occupied from early protohistory on. Valleys in which run small streams separate the hills from each other and offer good settlement locations while its soils are very fertile. The Roman elite readily recognized the qualities of this environment and it is especially between the end of the 2nd century BC and the first half of the 1st century BC that the elite started to invest in villa architecture, claims Lilly. Most villae continue into the 3rd and 4th c. AD. Datings of the various phases of the villae are based on the building techniques employed rather than on surface pottery. Besides descriptions of villae, the inventory also contains descriptions of the remains of funerary monuments, underground drainage canals (cuniculi), aqueducts and ancient quarries.

Peter Attema
This book describes the archaeozoological analysis of the faunal remains collected during the course of four (1990-1994) campaigns of excavation of the ancient Roman and Byzantine city of Sagalassos in the southwest of Turkey. It considers a large amount of material, ca. 15,000 finds, spanning from the first half of the 1st century AD to the first half of the 6th century.

After a brief presentation of the site and of the status of archaeozoological research in Anatolia, the reader is immediately immersed in the description of the mollusc, bird, amphibian, reptile, fish, and mammal remains. The criteria of identification are largely presented and the data are both accurately reported and copiously and systematically compared with those from other sites. Large attention is devoted to the ecological properties and geographical distribution of the species. The evaluation of the age at slaughter and the determination of the sex have shown to be important for the interpretation of the exploitation of the main domestic animals. Sheep and goat, considered ‘very important husbandry’ for their production of milk, wool and hair, show an increase of animals killed in an adult age towards the late Roman period. Cattle are usually old animals, exploited principally as draught animals and subsequently as source of meat. Pigs resulted to be in large part males and eaten quite young, as the adult sows and boars were not consumed at the site, but in the breeding centers outside the city. Interpretation of the material is offered for each species. The explanations that the author gives are often referred to a general pattern of exploitation in the Roman world, with an appreciable continuous attempt to refer to ancient literary sources.

A special chapter is dedicated to the paleopathology and one to the taphonomy. Besides an accurate description of the oral and traumatic pathologies, and of the alterations due to old age and overloading, an interesting critical review of the work on modern Rumanian oxen (L. Bartosiesiewicz/W. van Neer/A. Lantacker, Draught cattle: their osteological identification and history. *Annalen van het Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, Zoologische Wetenschappen* 281, 1997) is presented. The main aspects pointed out are the discrepancy between a study based on modern animals and the archaeological faunal assemblages and the difficulty to compare the one with the others. The main focus of the chapter on taphonomy is the description of human and natural modifications and the enumeration of their occurrence on the material from Sagalassos. The last two chapters consist in the reconsideration of the data and the results into a palaeoeconomical and palaeoecological perspective. Here is summarized the theoretical and interpretative approach. Furthermore, the reader would be facilitated by a larger presentation of the site, may be correlated by a map with the localization of the areas of excavations to which the author continuously refers in the text and a more interaction with historical background of the city and of the region.

**Chiara Cavallo**
the study of ancient houses and their decorations in Asia Minor (= Forschungen in Ephesos VIII 1 and VIII 2, respectively, both published in 1977). However, the excavation was not at that stage complete, and the results of stratigraphic analysis became available only after the final clearing of the site, namely after 1984. New research, beginning in 1994, brought to light an impressive quantity of new data. In 1995, David Parrish was the first to tackle the chronology established by Strocka, while Jobst and the archaeologists of the Austrian Academy itself, which had worked at Ephesos for more than hundred years, took up the challenge of re-examining the conclusions of their predecessors. Krinzinger’s volume gives an overview of the new ‘Stand der Forschung’.

The first excavators and their collaborators had assumed various earthquakes, reaching into the 7th c. AD, that sealed the house blocks by the 5th c. at the latest. Strocka, especially, had drawn far-reaching conclusions, dividing the decorations into three chronological groups, assigned respectively to AD 60-80, the Severan period, and AD 380-450. But the last of these categories in particular was difficult to accept, as neither Strocka nor subsequent scholars were able to provide good parallels in painting elsewhere.

Sabine Ladstätter (p. 9-40) sketches the status quasitionis and reviews the circumstances of the excavations. The complicated series of strata made the site a ‘Schlachtfeld’ (p. 12 n. 33), where work was carried out at too great a speed. The data that emerged from the numerous finds of objects which normally serve as indicators of the history of a site (ceramics, lamps, coins) were given less importance than historical data known from elsewhere at Ephesos. So, the date of the final destruction, assigned to the 7th c., was surmised on the basis of a coin of Heraklios which could easily have become mixed with debris in lower strata and forms no ‘zweifelsfreie Aussage’. The chronology of terra sigillata was not yet well established, and many mistakes were made by adducing false parallels. This pottery deserved a new study, made easier after the seminal publications of J.W. Hayes. The same applies to the terracotta lamps. The chronology of the postulated earthquake(s) depends on numerous lines of argument: Ephesos lies in a high-risk zone and there must have been a continuous series of seismic events, both great and small. The new studies seem to prove that the block of houses was destroyed in one terrible disaster, most probably in AD 262. The suddenness of this cataclysm explains the good state of conservation of many parts of the houses.

Hilke Thür and Gilbert Wiplinger (p. 41-89) discuss the five phases of the house architecture (see clear maps pl. 87-90), viz. I-IV and IV’ (it is not clear why they do not number it simply V). There is no need to summarize their detailed descriptions and interpretations, which are presented with admirable clarity. The result is a thorough evaluation of all the available data leading to a convincing picture of uninterrupted alterations over a period of some 250 years (a situation still familiar even in our own day), beginning in the time of Tiberius and ending in the second quarter of the 3rd c. Many of the surviving luxurious paintings and floor mosaics remained in use for decades and were only replaced on a piecemeal basis. In the course of time the consumption of marble increased, both on floors and on walls, but in the final years one can observe a simplification of the interior by closing doors to create smaller rooms for production and the housing of slaves. The various houses (‘Wohneinheiten’ [WE] 1-6) of the block ‘Hanghaus 2’ show more or less the same alterations, probably executed by the proprietors partly in accordance with a kind of general plan. Is it possible even to hypothesise a single owner who had changes carried out at one moment in the whole block? One family crops up frequently, namely three generations of Flavii: Titus Flavius Python, Titus Flavius Aristibulus and Gaius Flavius Furius Apulus, active citizens during the 2nd c. The latter is named as the creator of family apartments (p. 62-63).

Hans Tauber presents interesting data in a contribution on graffiti (p. 93-99). Most texts contain lists of expenses in asses, a coin type which disappeared after the reign of Gallienus. A graffiti showing gladiators cannot have been inscribed after the time of Constantine, as this emperor put an end to the cruel practice of gladiatorial shows. Yet in some cases such texts and images were found on painted surfaces dated by Strocka to the middle of the 5th c.

Norbert Zimmermann (p. 101-117) concentrates on paintings and tries to re-assess Strocka’s dating. Strocka is actually one of the greatest experts in the field, but in his study of the Ephesos paintings he fell into certain traps laid to snare him. According to Zimmermann, Strocka is personally very interested in the developments of modern research and agrees with most of the conclusions which have emerged. His work, in fact, remains of high value and will retain its importance. His chronological ‘Gerüst’ was coherent and logical in itself, but suffered from the all too simple idea that a lower quality and/or modest level in the decorations implies a chronological development. The assumption of decline, from good to bad, is shown to be untenable. In many cases we find the same decorative elements, such as garlands, peltae, and panel framings, in different forms in different rooms, but, on closer inspection, these differences do not correspond to any decline in the art of painting. We have, in fact, to take into account the different locations, social levels and functions of the rooms involved. My own experiences at Rome allow me to agree readily with Zimmermann’s conclusions: the Golden House of Nero, with murals of more or less a single period, shows similar differences in style and quality, and these cannot be attributed to phases. Zimmermann demonstrates that workshops included masters and pupils (or less talented individuals) who divided work on the decoration of a given room according to their skills. An advantage of his new chronology, Zimmermann says, is that for all the groups of paintings now distinguished good contemporary parallels can be found, whereas – as mentioned above – Strocka had no comparanda for his latest phase.

Two chapters on sculpture conclude the volume. Karin Koler (p. 119-136) analyses the marble revetments of the large room 31 in WE 6, concentrating on the pilaster capitals. She clearly demonstrates – by the ‘old-fashioned’ technique of making stylistic compar-
juries – that these decorative elements were produced at the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd c. AD and that the first member of the gens Flavia mentioned above was responsible for them. The room functioned as a huge triclinium. Eva Christof and Elisabeth Rothmayr (p. 137-143) give a brief presentation of the sculptures found in the houses. The contrast with Koler’s highly detailed analysis of the capitals could not be greater: the text is little more than a list, in which a few objects are singled out and illustrated. The contribution seems premature but in the framework of the book its conclusion that none of the objects unearthed was made after the second quarter of the 3rd c. fits those of the other contributors.

In sum, this is a highly provocative book: it shows how excavators can lose command of their own material, necessitating an entire reassessment after only one generation. One may question whether a single school or institution should work without interruption at one place for so long, since it can become blinded by too great a familiarity with the situation there. The contributors to this book show great courage in rebelling against their masters. Though respectful to these masters, they are clearly critical of their more debatable methods of working and thinking. V.M. Strocka wrote a fair reaction to this study that could not be inserted in the book (ÖJh 71, 2002, 285-298). He agrees with most of the new insights and expresses his hope that the study of the houses will continue according to these views. (Thanks to Roger Ling for correcting my English text)

Eric M. Moormann


Decorations mark somebody’s place and status in society. In an overtly hierarchical society like that of the Roman Empire they must have played a fundamental role. Priests, victorious athletes and certain magistrates are known to have carried distinctive decorations: wreaths and crowns. Rumscheid wants to study the iconography of these decorations. She offers a typology and distinguishes six categories: ‘Büstenkronen’, i.e., wreaths decorated with small busts, ‘Blattkränze’, i.e., wreaths with a medallion on which small busts have been fastened, ‘Blütenkronen’, i.e., wreaths decorated with flowers, prize-crowns, crowns with precious stones (‘Schmucksteinkronen’) and specific Palmyrene wreaths and crowns. The next step is to establish which persons carried which type and to examine the chronology of the various types. Needless to say, representations accompanied by inscriptions play a cardinal role; equally important are inscriptions and literary testimonia which provide evidence for specific insignia carried by specific persons. All these problems are dealt with on pp. 6-112, which are arranged thematically; for all six categories of decorations the relevant evidence is adduced and the above-mentioned questions are answered. On pp. 113-253 R. offers a geographically arranged catalogue for all six categories; it contains 365 items, most of which are accompanied by illustrations, to be found on 68 plates, with truly excellent photos. Some scholars who tend to monopolize archaeology and to subsume all other approaches under the label ‘Art History/Kunstgeschichte’ are well advised to study this book carefully and to discover that an iconographical, so-called ‘art history’-oriented study leads to interesting conclusions about the sensitivity of a given society to decorations and about the sort of persons who can be assumed to have carried them: a mixture of social and mental history; and that is what survey-studies do not always manage to offer.

As to the ‘Büstenkronen’ R., on the basis of a thorough analysis of the relevant evidence (reliefs, both anepigraphical and epigraphical, and coins) concludes that they are not the exclusive privilege of (high) priests of the imperial cult but rather point to a function fulfilled by various magistrates and liturgists, i.e., an agonistic function: the bearers of such crowns were involved in the organization of games. True, R. addsuces convincing evidence for a connection between agonothetai and ‘Büstenkronen’; there is also some evidence for other functionaries wearing such crowns: an archipyríanis and a panegyriarch in Didyma are a case in point. In some instances, however, R. tends to overinterpret the evidence. In Aizanoi two provincial high priests wear a ‘Büstenkronen’: they also acted as stephanephoroi (in Aizanoi) and as panhellenios (in Athens: member of the Panhellennion), respectively, and in that capacity also wore such crowns. Instead of interpreting the latter two as emanations of the priestly ones, R. suggests that both the stephanephoroi and the panhellenios were closely involved in the organization of games. This seems far-fetched. Inscriptions from Aizanoi show that members of the elite held the function of both stephanephoroi and agonothetai but this does not mean that the former acted ‘in Zusammenhang mit der Agonothenesie’ (13; italics are mine, H.W.P.). Inscriptions merely list the functions exercised by a person and often tell us nothing about all these functions being somehow connected with one another. The traditional interpretation, according to which this crown was the prerogative of the archiereus seems preferable here. In this respect there surely is continuity between the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial period (denied by R. on 50). In short, the prerogative of the high priest was shared by other functionaries, especially by the agonothetai; but if a crown is worn by a high priest who is also known to have held other magistracies, especially the stephanaphoria, it seems unwise to connect the crown at all cost with the latter.

R. correctly points out that most evidence for such crowns originates in Asia Minor; she goes one large step further by arguing that representations of such crowns found outside this area are somehow to be connected with Asia Minor. A mosaic from Aquileia is a case in point. It shows pictures of victorious athletes; one wears a prize-crown, with the inscription Olympia. An older man is represented with a ‘Büstenkronen’ (19/20 and 48). R. suggests that he either presided over Olympic Games in a city in Asia Minor and subsequently had himself represented in Aquileia with his
Asian crown or originated in Asia Minor, somewhere in the Greek world presided over Olympia and adopted the habit of his homeland. This seems rather complicated. Admittedly, there is no evidence for Olympic Games in Aquileia; on the other hand, there is additional evidence for agonistic activities in the city: a mosaic representing athletes and prize-crowns, with the inscriptions Makedonia and Aegyptius, interpreted by the ed.pr. as indications of the provenance of the athletes (SEG XL 813; see R., 192 no. 176 and 80 and 89). One is also tempted to adduce the prize-crown in a mosaic from Altiburos, close to Carthage in North-Africa, with the inscription.

The ‘Blütenkränze’ (‘ornées de fleurs’; 62-78) are the rewards of victorious athletes, musicians, heralds (praecones; salpiktai) and charioteers; the same applies to the cylinder-shaped, so-called ‘Preiskronen’, some small and fitting the victrix’s head, others oversized, and often represented on a table between money bags. They begin to appear in our sources ca. 150 AD and go on until the late 4th cent. AD. They are attested on mosaics, statues, coins and reliefs from East and West. R. has offered an excellent study of the various categories of crowns and wreaths. She combines literary, epigraphical and iconographical sources judiciously. The result is a perceptive study of the ‘decoration-prone’ mentality of members of the elite and sportsmen of the Roman Imperial period.

H.W. Pleket


This is a detailed, comprehensive study of drawings scratched in stones or painted on them. One finds them on walls of houses, column shafts, benches, steps, etc.; they were not planned by the builders but were scratched on the objects concerned arbitrarily. Whereas epigraphical graffiti have been studied in the past under various aspects, the anepigraphical graffiti drawings have been neglected so far. Langner undoubtedly fills the gap admirably. He focuses on meaning and function of these drawings; after three brief introductory chapters on definitions, the history of scholarship on the subject (in most cases focusing on the verbal graffiti, with occasional references to drawings), and the function of epigraphical graffiti, he devotes three major chapters to his main object. In chapter IV L. examines in eleven sections the various motives presented in the drawings (27-74; inter alia, ornaments; heads and busts; gladiators, athletes, charioteers; mythological and religious images; erotic drawings; animals; ships; buildings; statues; herms). Chapter V is devoted to a study of the iconography of the graffiti compared to that of other ‘Bildgattungen’ (75-90); in chapter VI (91-138) the relation between the drawings and their location (drawings on walls inside houses or public buildings and on exterior walls visible to the public) takes pride of place. To those interested in the possibly functional relationship between decoration and type of room in a house, close study of L.’s statistical information about the distribution of the various motives in graffiti drawings over the various types of rooms in houses is to be recommended.

Langner’s book encompasses classical antiquity from the geometric to the Late Roman Imperial period. He justifies this enormous time-span by pointing to the relative continuity of the drawings throughout the period concerned. The focus of the book is on Pompeii but brief paragraphs on drawings in Herculaneum, Oplontis, Stabiae (villas), in Rome and Puteoli (in both cases tabernae), and in Dura Europos are not to be ignored. The famous process various graffiti drawings from Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Delos, Bosporos, Aphrodiasia) are adduced (for some still unpublished drawings of ships, horses, a dog etc. in southeast Attica see SEG XLIX 2). The 163 plates offer a splendid thematically arranged catalogue of the drawings. The entire catalogue is also available on a CD-ROM which goes with the book and surely will facilitate further research in the realm of ancient graffiti, especially for those who, alas unlike the reviewer, are well versed in the handling of computerized data. It is sad to read that in various places and, above all, in Pompeii ancient drawings have been destroyed by modern graffiti but also by modern restoration work.

The ancient graffiti drawings have nothing to do with the protest-character of modern graffiti. They belong to the realm of popular culture, though the precise attribution of the drawings to a specific social group is in fact impossible. The motives and the quality of the drawings not unexpectedly differ from those on record in wall-paintings. Interesting enough one finds occasional graffiti-paintings on wall-paintings. Langner argues that these are the work both of slaves and of the patronus and his relatives. This sheds interesting light on the mentality of the commissioners of wall-paintings. They apparently had no problem in combining high and popular culture on one and the same wall. Wall-paintings apparently were not always viewed as inviolable products of high culture which should be cherished by an exclusive group of lovers of art. Similarly in Pompeian triclinia (103-108) graffiti drawings of gladiators were made both by slaves and by the dominus and his guests during a dinner.

Predominant are representations of heads sometimes drawn in a clearly mocking manner (long noses, bald heads; heads of emperors are very rare), of gladiators and venatores and ships. A drawing in the theatre of Aphrodiasia (no. 326) is interpreted by L. as the bust of a woman (p. 42). However, L. did not notice that the
drawing is accompanied by an inscription mentioning a certain Theodotos, a protourarios (probably administering public funds for the financing of spectacles), whose nickname is Kolotron. Clearly, the bust is that of a man. The nickname has an ambiguous connotation: the word can refer both to testicles and coins. The bust has the shape of a purse and the two small circles, interpreted by Langner as female breasts, in fact denote two coins (cf. C. Zuckermann, Revue des Études Byzantines 58, 2000, 73-76). Rare are drawings of craftsmen and athletes. As to the latter L. suggests that they were ousted by gladiatorial drawings (51); to the extent that L. refers here to the Latin part of the Empire this seems improbable: in that part athletes never played such an important role for it to be ousted by other, more competitive games. When no inscriptions are added to the drawings interpretation becomes occasionally speculative, although L. tries to underpin his identifications with iconographical parallels.

I do not find it easy to accept his interpretation of three figures in Pompeii as boxers or pankratists (one in the House of the gladiators, one in the theatre-corridor and one in the Palaestra). Admittedly, pairs of heavy athletes could be hired by benefactors organizing festivals in the Latin West but one may well wonder why in the context of theatres and gladiatorial dwellings athletes were drawn by a graffiti-fan. Similarly, we are asked to see in a graffito drawing in the House of the gladiators (Pompeii; and cargoships were prominently visible in Puteoli and all along the coast towards Rome. More interesting is a couple of graffiti representing sailing-vessels in a regatta. No. 2198, discussed by Langner on pp. 69 and 114, shows a sailing-boat with a wreath on the mast and the graffiti vic: clearly the context of a contest. Langner suggests interpreting three other drawings in the same way: nos. 2199 (Dura-Europos), 2203 (Slabiae) and 2212 (Pompeii). In Dura-Europos we find a sailing-vessel with two palm branches and in Pompeii a series of four boats. L. may well over-interpret here the function of a palma, whereas in no. 2212 we may just as well have attempts to ameliorate or simply imitate the first design. The fact is that the evidence for sailing-races is exceedingly tenuous. H.A. Harris mentions Catullus’ boast of his Phaselis (Sport in Greece and Rome, London 1972, 126: ‘informal challenges among friends’), whereas Langner himself refers to an ancient AD Claudianus (70 note 435).

As to the motives of the graffiti producers, Langner understandably has little more to offer than the playfactor, the fight against boredom and the ‘I was here’-mentality. Inevitably in our era the term ‘communication’ pops up: the drawer wants to communicate with his ‘clients’. Undoubtedly, but the frequent absence of verbal graffiti implies that most drawers ‘communicated’ anonymously; not a particularly meaningful way to convey your message; but some sort of message was possibly conveyed to those prepared to view the drawings in ancient times. For us now these graffiti provide insight in what moved ordinary people: ‘bread and circuses’ (gladiators), ships coming from far, and sex: the number of phalloi and of ‘phalloid’ objects is impressive. If the reader really wants it that way, we might conclude that the drawers ‘communicated’ to us their day-dreams.

H.W. Pleket


This book is an abridged and slightly modified version of a dissertation, which Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais defended in 1996-1997 at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg, supervised by Tonio Hölscher. She discusses the fixed decorations of tombs in Rome and the suburbium. Unlike the architectural shapes of these tombs and their movable ornaments (urns and sarcophagi), their paintings, stucco reliefs and mosaics had not yet received integral treatment.

Chapter I (pp. 11-15) sketches a clear image of the events following a death, known from especially literary sources. It is noticeable that Feraudi-Gruénais only divides the social status of the Roman populace into two when she discusses the pompa (funerary procession). That division ought to have been made before, when the display of bodies in the atrium comes to the fore. In a city where atrium houses were the exception rather than the rule, it seems certain that not all Romans had access to an atrium.

Chapter II (pp. 17-25) provides the status quo of the tombs. There had not yet been a complete analysis of tombs from imperial times with their movable and fixed decoration, with (for Rome) the exception of the Vatican necropolis. Geographically, the research is limited to material from Rome and the Vatican, and includes tombs that are documented but no longer extant. Only tombs from inaccessible private property are excluded. This geographical demarcation is understandable in light of the size of the subject, but unfortunately rules out important control groups like the Isola Sacra burial site. A comparison with the Pompeian material would have been similarly useful.

The main part of the book is occupied by the catalogue (Chapter III, pp. 27-148). All 84 entries present tomb and decoration as unity, and give a fine overview, though some points ought to be raised. The given context is sometimes very minimal (K1-4); many entries either lack photos (K7, K12-16, K23, K50-59, K63-65, K68, K73-77, K80 and K84) or show images that give no view of the decoration (K41, K46, K51), whereas, in stark contrast, some tombs are accompanied by an enormous amount of visual material (K19, K24, K28, K42). This makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the

229
reader to draw comparisons. In some places, modern literature should be added (e.g. S. de Maria, Le tombeau de la via Portuense à Rome, in: N. Blanc (ed.), *Au royaume des ombres. La peinture funéraire antique*, Saint-Romaine-en-Gal/Vienne/Paris 1998, 126-129, ought to have been mentioned for K9; the absence is surprising, since the author cites Blanc’s volume at K45). Furthermore, the author mentions, but does not discuss, a number of tombs along the Via Triumphalis, which according to her are not well disclosed (pp. 62-63). The rather vague information supplied here can be enhanced by P. Liverani, *La topografia antica del Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano 1999, 47-51 (*edificio funerario 2 e 3*) and P. Liverani/G. Spinola, Mosaici in bianco e nero dal tratto vaticano della necropolis della via Trionfale, in: *Atti V Colloquio AISCOM*, Roma 1998, 211-222. Especially the lower chamber of tomb 2, with geometrical paintings and a black and white mosaic with vegetative motives is interesting. The tomb of the Nasonii (K28, p. 73) is given a different date from the commonly accepted Antonine period, based upon an unpublished manuscript by H. Mielsch, but without further argumentation. Of K31 only an *arcosolium* remains and K40 and K70 similarly lack context. It is questionable whether these entries warrant insertion. When discussing the Pyramid of Cestius (K69), F. Bastet/M. de Vos, *Il terzo stile pompeiano*, s-Gravenhage 1979, ought to have been included in the bibliography. Also, the much more common technical term *opus lateritium*, as preferable over *opus lateritium* (only in Saint Jerome). A final point of criticism applies to the descriptions of the decorations themselves, which are often mere characterisations in a few words, with only very limited informative value.

In Chapter IV (pp. 149-200), the discussed tombs are compared to each other. According to the author, in the 1st century AD a transformation took place in the development of tomb monuments leading to the arrival of interior decoration. The author then differentiates four types of tombs: *columbaria* (7 ex.), chamber tombs in tuff (19 ex.), brick chamber tombs (35 ex.) and large brick chamber tombs (3 ex.). Three tombs she deems to be *Sonderformen*: the Pyramid of Cestius (K69) and two round tombs (K34 and K84). Considering, however, their construction in the late first century BC and the first half of the first century AD, it seems likely that they do not form exceptions, but follow the tradition of the first century BC. The fact that it is exactly the Pyramid of Cestius which is decorated, may indicate an example function by tombs of the elite (such as this pyramid) for the other decorated tombs that are discussed here. But further indications for this are still lacking. The social position of those individuals who commissioned the tomb or were buried there can only be determined by possible titulus inscriptions. From these one can authenticate builder, owner, and social status. The conclusion that these kinds of tombs are ‘ausschließlich ein Produkt zu Vermögen gekommener Mitglieder der Unterschichten’ (p. 157), seems accurate, but is difficult to verify in light of the limited number of decorated tombs with such inscriptions (ca. 10%).

The author places much emphasis on decorative themes (pp. 166-200). She distinguishes four groups. Eighteen tombs contain mythological scenes. A slight preference for scenes that only exist in a funerary context notwithstanding, almost as many scenes were also popular in other contexts, such as in villas, chosen according to the author for ‘Evozierung von Villenluxus’. She then discusses mythical creatures and animals, and allegories. Many of those have Dionysian connotations, or refer to the *felicitas temporum*. In very general they would symbolise the notion of ‘hope’. The third category consists of the rare depictions of humans, including portraits and depictions from real life. Some of these the author attributes to the world of *otium*, but it is questionable whether that applies to images depicting the lower layers of society. Rightfully, her conclusion on the themes is that ‘das Diesseits (scheint) präsenter als das Jenseits gewesen zu sein’. The remaining painted elements (animals, plants, objects, still lives) are standard fill-up motives.

Chapter V (201-223) brings modern research into graves to attention. Following three lines of questioning, the author attempts to integrate conclusions from the field of movable decorations (urns, sarcophagi) with those of fixed decorations. To this end, she analyses programmatic similarities, parallel iconographic developments, and the question whether non-movable decoration had an exemplary function on the flourishing of art on sarcophagi in the 2nd century. There are no programmatic similarities. In their subject matters, sarcophagi are much more sepulchral than fixed tomb decorations. In images of the rape of Persephone, popular in both movable and non-movable decoration, a gradual de-mythologisation takes place. According to the author, sarcophagi did not set the pattern in this. Still, as mass-products with which experiments were possible, sarcophagi did influence the scarcer fixed decorations. Does this conclusion, however, take the relatively poor preservation of fixed tomb decorations sufficiently into account? The material simply does not allow for such a conclusion. An important factor, which is ignored, is the prior history of tomb decorations in the Greek and Hellenistic world from the 4th century onwards, and the potential role of that material as an example: compare for instance the depiction of the rape of Persephone in Vergina.

Feraudi-Gruénais’ detailed approach of funerary decorations in their contexts allows her to nuance some of Von Hesberg’s notions. She agrees with his theory that the importance of architecture diminished, but challenges his idea that emphasis changed to the interior, since the importance of decoration only increased relatively. Following Zanker, she discusses whether aristocratic tombs formed an example for tombs of those of lower rank. As in other cases, her suggestion seems too speculative: ‘Vorstellbar, aber m.W. noch nicht nachgewiesen, wäre beispielsweise die Auskleidung der Innenräume aristokratischer Grabanlagen mit Marmor.’ But the only example that she deems relevant, the Pyramid of Cestius, has painted decoration. Four different, older, examples could in fact be added (see E.M. Moormann, Scene storiche come decorazioni di tombe romane, in: A. Barbet (ed.), *La peinture funéraire antique*, Paris 2001, 99-107). Actually, it is questionable whether the interiors of tombs were decorated with marble in the first century BC, as the author supposes; in residential houses marble is only used as wall
decoration on a larger scale from the late first century AD onwards. The restricted number of preserved tombs of honestiores does not allow for the conclusion that fixed decorations of tombs were limited to the lower layers of society.

One of the final conclusions is that honouring the deceased was certainly not the sole purpose of tomb decorations, but especially the ‘Selbstdarstellung der Familie’. The own status would have been placed over that of those who had died. According to me, that status ought to be seen as on par. The status of the family, including the deceased, is the issue. With her study, Feraudi-Gruénais fills an important gap in scholarship. As a collection of material, the work has its limitations, but especially the extensive and interesting analysis merits recommendation.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols


The latest in a long series of Pompeii exhibitions organised by the Soprintendenze of Naples and Pompeii focuses on the victims of the AD 79 eruption of Vesuvius. Therefore, a lot of small objects are the main points of interests: coins, small statuettes and jewellery had been gathered by the people who tried to get out of the hells caused by the volcano. It is a pity that Gesa Schenke had not been invited to collaborate to this exhibition and the accompanying catalogues, as she would have had a lot to contribute. Her beautifully edited monograph, fruit of a Cologne dissertation of 2000, is an excellent counterpart to the two books that go with the Pompeii show. Schenke tries to interpret the jewellery as expressions of private and social status in the society of an average town in Roman Italy. Pompeii - as in many cases - offers an excellent starting point for her studies.

The author is neither interested in the objects themselves nor presents a catalogue of the finds. She also omits an overview of the artistic and stylistic development of jewellery in Hellenistic and Roman times, but looks at jewellery as a category of luxury objects used in Roman society, searching for a ‘Schmuckverständnis’, i.e. a comprehension of the meaning of jewellery (p. 1). Pompeii offers a good sample, since it is not only the excellent state of preservation of the archaeological record we encounter in that city, but also the combination of jewellery and owners of the objects, viz. the victims. In addition, the iconography of jewellery on Pompeian paintings and in Pompeian sculpture can be used for a better understanding of the material. Another source used for this study are papyri from Egypt, discussed in a short chapter (pp. 150-155). They provide data concerning dowry, private inventories and prices of jewellery. The fact that these records date from another region and another period is problematic, and could diminish their value for the comparison with Pompeii.

In the first chapter Schenke discusses the use of jewellery by both sexes. Men, for instance, usually had one ring only on their left ring finger, and officially it was a right restricted to the senatorial class to use them, taken over by others in later times. Under Tiberius men worth more than 400,000 sesterces could wear rings (p. 20). According to the Lex Oppia (p. 145) a Roman matrona showed little gold in her public performances and stressed her dignity in other ways than by displaying lots of gold, silver and precious stones. That image of sobriety is confirmed by representations of men and women in both official and funerary sculpture from Rome and Pompeii from the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (pp. 86-113). In contrast, much more jewellery was shown during religious and private meetings and those sets of jewellery could contain various types of chains (necklaces, long chains to adorn the upper part of the body, bracelets and rings around the feet), earrings and finger rings. Diadems were extremely rare. The materials used for Pompeian jewellery are gold, gilded iron, bronze and silver, combined with (half-) precious stones and pearls. They are not as rich and elaborate as Hellenistic and late-antique Roman objects. The value of jewellery consisted of its gold and precious stones and it thus served as a sort of private bank: the pieces could be melted and/or sold easily in case of necessity and otherwise were compact financial deposits at home. As a matter of fact, many jewellery treasures found at Pompeii also contained coins, silver tableware and small statuettes, all the things people tried to carry away on their flight from the disaster of AD 79. Especially women possessed such property, being their dowries brought from their paternal home. The afore-mentioned papyri endorse this point.

As to the modes to wear jewellery, Schenke compares the pieces with those on Pompeian wall paintings (pp. 62-85). Since most of these paintings contain mythological scenes, I doubt whether they can be used for such an antiquarian research without problems. Painted portraits, however, are good comparison pieces and mostly show a restrained use of necklaces, earrings and finger rings. The long chains covering the torso (crossing between breasts and on back) are only depicted on mythological scenes, which, moreover, show nude or semi-nude Aphrodites and other enchanting women of particular beauty. The analysis of treasures in specific houses (Faun, Menander, Tragic Poet, pp. 157-168) and the comparison with the paintings in those houses are not convincing: the iconography of the paintings is purely mythological and the chronology does not match exactly.

To conclude, the main function of jewellery was displaying or feigning luxury (they frequently looked more precious than they were and iron finger rings were numerous). Both by wearing objects and collecting them a person could show his or her prosperity. Some jewels, such as snake-shaped bracelets, lunula- and phallus-shaped pendants, were supposed to possess an apotropaic or curing value.

The book itself has been edited like a stylish jewel box, though with rather weak reproductions in colour of amateuristic snap shots and copies of book illustrations, sometimes reworked (background and colours...
made equal). It is well written and forms a good interpretative addition to the catalogues of jewellery from the Vesuvian cities by Antonio D’Ambrosio et al., which do not contain interpretative chapters.

Eric M. Moormann


This carefully published volume offers a ‘state of the art’ for research on Pausanias and his Periegesis. There is much to admire in the book. The number of essays (12) and commentaries on themes dealt with in the essays (7 in total, sometimes small articles in themselves) first of all ensure that there is no interpretation of this author and his text that is overlooked. Remarkable, moreover, is the fact that Nachleben, the perception and usage of Pausanias in 19th and 20th century scholarship and culture, gets a lot of well-deserved attention. From this innovative research we begin to understand the immense role Pausanias played and still plays as our interpreter of Classical Greece. In many aspects the road leading to a perception of Classical Greece as the cultural and intellectual cradle of European civilisation seems to have been paved by Pausanias.

A short periegesis through the book. Part I comprises four essays on Pausanias and his text proper. J. Elsner, who earlier enriched the range of interpretations on Pausanias by seeing him as a pilgrim, (again) makes a case for the Periegesis as a literary construct: Pausanias would have turned the landscape of Greece into a rhetorical discourse and thus, for that matter, have created one of the first Romantic texts. Like many of the other contributions in search of cultural context, Elsner considers the Periegesis as a typical example of the Second Sophistic. E. Bowie reviews date, genre and readership and, although he tries to dissociate himself from C. Habicht’s seminal Pausanias’ Guide to ancient Greece (1985 and 1998, revised edition) he reaches no different conclusions: as a preface to the Periegesis (if there originally has been one) has not been handed down, we can only guess at Pausanias’ intentions while at the same time we know nothing about the contemporary reception of the text. C.P. Jones adds interesting information on the local guides Pausanias will have consulted (hence his frequent use of ‘the imperfect of recollection’); these people probably were respectable local antiquarians belonging to the middle level of Greek intellectuals and not ‘lowly people’ as was thought earlier. I. Rutherford summarizes the debate on the interpretation of Pausanias as a pilgrim or, as opposed to that, as a tourist. He convincingly shows that in the cultural context of Pausanias no sharp distinction can be drawn between these categories: ‘the distinction between pilgrimage and tourism is an artificial one in Greek tradition’ (52). For the moment an intelligent close to the debate. This first part is finished by well written commentaries on cultural context and the joys of reading Pausanias by M. Torelli and D. Konstan respectively.

Part II (‘Studies and Comparisons’) consists of four essays more heterogeneous in character. J.I. Porter provides background information on the Second Sophistic in comparing Pausanias to Longinus. In both authors Porter distinguishes a search for the sublime; something typical, in his view, of what he calls the rhetoric of classicism. A long essay by A. Colson (‘Art, Myth and Travel in the Hellenistic world’, pp. 93-126) is the most archaeological contribution to the volume; unfortunately it is also one of the weakest. The author places Pausanias at the intersection of geographical (spatial) with mythological (narrative) concerns (Pausanias’ text as verbal map, in her words) and subsequently looks at Hellenistic and Roman interest in travel and geography mainly by taking the visual arts into account. Via the Telephus frieze (Pergamon) and a case study of a Hellenistic terracotta relief bowl (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 2104), focusing on its narrative dimensions and mapping impulse, we end up with Roman wall paintings, Trajan’s column and late-antique topographical mosaics. Although the text certainly contains some interesting thoughts (the ‘fast time’ of the Roman world as opposed to the ‘slow time’ of mythical Greece, for instance), the themes dealt with (art in relation to myth and travel) and objects and monuments discussed remain so heterogeneous that the text lacks a clear conclusion, neither on its theme nor on Pausanias. Much better, and moreover a pleasure to read, are A.M. Snodgrass’ (archaeological and historiographic) thoughts on Pausanias’ description of the chest of Kypselos. He clearly shows how Pausanias, in his quest for an Homeric interpretation of the chest’s decoration, emerges as a founding father of Classical art history. In the same vein S.E. Alcock demonstrates how Pausanias’ account of the Messenians dominated the perception and study of Messenia in 19th and 20th century scholarship. Two commentaries close this second part of the volume. In a fine essay B. Bergmann summarising her earlier, important studies on Roman landscape painting, pays attention to the relevant material culture of Pausanias’ 2nd century AD. P. Cartledge’s piece deals with Laconia.

The third and most innovative part of the volume, on Nachleben, consists of four essays (by S. Buck Sutton, J.M. Wagstaff, J. Henderson and M. Beard) and three commentaries (by S. Bahn, J. Cherry and J. Elsner). These texts show, as also illustrated by Snodgrass and Alcock in part II, the enormous impact of Pausanias on the 19th and 20th century view of Classical Greece. This is nicely illustrated by the article by Buck Sutton on Nemea and ‘the recurrent form of a Nemean visit’: up to the present day visitors recall the loneliness of the temple of Zeus, as did Pausanias, thus not taking into account the rather large village that had grown up around this spot! Most articles are well written (although sometimes too much in detail concerned with British and especially Oxford microcosmographia academica) and concern early interpreters of Pausanias like Colonel Leake, L.R. Farnell, J.G. Frazer and Jane Harrison, again witnessing to Pausanias’ influence on the discipline via these important scholars.
Under the single name Pausanias we meet many personalities in this book: Pausanias is presented as historian and art historian, antiquarian and mythographer, travel writer, tourist and pilgrim, geographer, cartographer and ethnographer, amongst other things. This presentation of so many different views, without favouring a specific line of interpretation, together with the large amount of attention for Forschungsgeschichte makes this volume typically post-modern. This is intelligent and helpful but also creates some dissatisfaction. The merit of this book, presenting a wide range of interpretations and not a single view, is at the same time troubling because certainly also with Pausanias some truths are more true than others. I think this problem is also due to the (too) large amount of contributions. Why add in total 7 commentaries, often not discussing the articles specifically, to 12 already heterogeneous essays? Several times different contributors even fully contradict each other, as is nicely illustrated in essays by Konstan, celebrating Pausanias as a high quality author, contra Cherry who is so brave to ask if Pausanias was just badly in need of a good editor. In sum we end up with a typical 21st-century Pausanias, as is to be expected of course.

M.J. Versluys


This small but attractive booklet from the series Shire Archaeology is intended, as the author states in his preface, as a ‘general introduction to the urbanisation of Roman Britain, useful to both the amateur and the student (...) a synthesis, however, rather than a detailed exposition’. Despite these limitations the merit of Bennett’s book lies in the concise explanation of terminology and concepts related to the origins and workings of the towns in Roman Britain. The new third edition of this book has been expanded including results of the hundred or so major excavations that were carried out since the previous edition appeared. Particularly illustrative are the maps, ground plans and restored axonometric views that help to visualise an overall picture.

During the 366 years of direct Roman rule, starting with the invasion of Britain in AD 43, some 110 urban communities are so far known to have existed. It was one of Rome’s main achievements in Britain to persuade the most backward of its dependencies to accept urbanisation and classical culture (p. 13). In ten chapters many different aspects of urbanisation are touched upon, from wealth, commerce and industry to religion and religious buildings. In general it was Rome’s urbanisation policy to establish a modus vivendi with local folk. Because of the lack of urban culture in first century Britain it was difficult to constitute a system of provincial authority. It was therefore necessary to create a new political and economic structure which was achieved by forming a series of self-governing civic regions, each a res publica or republic, a community with a ‘democratic’ constitution defining its relationship with Rome (p. 9). The book gives ample information of how Roman towns were organised and administered, plus their evolution during the four centuries of Roman rule in Britain.

Bennett’s approach to the subject is primarily functional and historical, using both archaeological and literary evidence. He explains how most of the origins of the towns in Britannia followed the general pattern in the rest of the empire, which is military. Such was the case with the coloniae (settlements of legionary veterans), or the municipia, which were formed from an existing native townships. Both of these urbanised settlements had regular features, like a regular street-grid, with a clear division for areas of public, religious and private use. Another form of settlement was the vicus; such settlements lacked regular planning or public and administrative buildings, and had no autonomy under Roman law.

Although Bennett explains in great length the practical set-up and other aspects of the different Romano-British urban settlements in modern contemporary town-planning parameters, he does not mention the ritual aspects that accompanied every Roman town planning activity. One has to realise that in antiquity a town or city was perceived as a symbolic pattern, as is confirmed by many ancient literary sources.

The book, that has to be perceived as a survey, is supplemented with an up to date general bibliography, intended for further reading in regard to the urban framework of Roman Britain and related issues. Moreover, a list is provided with British sites and museums open to the general public. Although the book may not satisfy the curiosity of the professional archaeologist, it could be particularly useful as a general introduction for undergraduate students. All in all it is written with considerable didactic skill, an ability that Bennett probably picked up when he was working as a guide.

Frederik Th.J. Godin


Nijmegen, the oldest city in the Netherlands, knew monumental architecture in Roman times, especially public buildings. Nothing of it remains to be seen nowadays. For the first time, scientifically based reconstructions of some of these buildings have been made: an early Roman officers’ quarter on the Kops Plateau, the headquarters of the Flavian legionary fortress on the neighbouring Hunenberg, and two villas. The main author is the architect and classical archaeologist Kees Peterse. The alphabetical order agreed by the authors of this volume does no justice to his leading role in this project: a small exhibition in Museum Het Valkhof in Nijmegen and this accompanying book, co-edited by the two keepers of Roman archaeology of the museum. The exhibition showed drawings, models (some full-scale and therefore necessarily partial) and computer
animations. The book contains twelve beautiful full-colour computer stills of the Nijmegen headquarters.

The reconstruction of the standing parts of the buildings is made in two phases: from traces in the ground to ground plan, and from ground plan to 3D.

The reconstructed ground plan made in the first phase is directly based on drawings made in the field, not on simplified ground plans often found in publications. The system of the measurements is convincingly treated in Roman feet.

The second phase, from ground plan to 3D, is executed in different ways for different buildings. The officers’ quarter on the Kops Plateau, probably Drusus’ headquarters during his German campaigns, is reconstructed with the help of what we know about Pompeian house architecture and from Vitruvius’ handbook. But the nature of the building material for the columns, wood, is also taken into account. The roof plan of this complex comes next, with the problem of shedding rain water in a way that would keep all parts of the building comfortable and dry. A somewhat strange but convincingly delightful complex with trendy Mediterranean rooms is the result.

With the headquarters of the Flavian legionary fortress, however, the roof plan takes pride of place in this second reconstruction phase, after which the height is reconstructed with the help of what is called here the critical section. This concept should have been explained to the reading public, consisting mainly of archaeologically interested people without architectural training. But more publications, of more technical nature, seem to be promised in the paragraph where it is written that not every detail can be treated within the scope of this modest book. Four aspects, however, are treated in some detail: a statue base just outside the heart line of the forecourt, the facade of the headquarters, the two storeys of columns in the basilica, and the sanctuary for the legion’s standards. Buttresses on the outside walls show the presence of barrel vaults in this sanctuary. A Roman interior of unexpected but convincing splendour is conjured up in text but especially in the beautiful computer still of Jonker and Wu, Rotterdam.

The two same phases (from traces in the ground to ground plan, and from ground plan to 3D) are gone through in the reconstruction of two large-scale Roman villas, one near Nijmegen and the other farther to the south.

This book, splendid and modest at the same time, has one serious flaw: it is published only in Dutch and thus confines the reading public to a far too small circle. Now that there are plans to show the exhibition thus to the reading public, consisting mainly of archaeologically interested people without architectural training, but more publications, of more technical nature, seem to be promised in the paragraph where it is written that not every detail can be treated within the scope of this modest book. Four aspects, however, are treated in some detail: a statue base just outside the heart line of the forecourt, the facade of the headquarters, the two storeys of columns in the basilica, and the sanctuary for the legion’s standards. Buttresses on the outside walls show the presence of barrel vaults in this sanctuary. A Roman interior of unexpected but convincing splendour is conjured up in text but especially in the beautiful computer still of Jonker and Wu, Rotterdam.

The second phase, from ground plan to 3D, is executed in different ways for different buildings. The officers’ quarter on the Kops Plateau, probably Drusus’ headquarters during his German campaigns, is reconstructed with the help of what we know about Pompeian house architecture and from Vitruvius’ handbook. But the nature of the building material for the columns, wood, is also taken into account. The roof plan of this complex comes next, with the problem of shedding rain water in a way that would keep all parts of the building comfortable and dry. A somewhat strange but convincingly delightful complex with trendy Mediterranean rooms is the result.

With the headquarters of the Flavian legionary fortress, however, the roof plan takes pride of place in this second reconstruction phase, after which the height is reconstructed with the help of what is called here the critical section. This concept should have been explained to the reading public, consisting mainly of archaeologically interested people without architectural training. But more publications, of more technical nature, seem to be promised in the paragraph where it is written that not every detail can be treated within the scope of this modest book. Four aspects, however, are treated in some detail: a statue base just outside the heart line of the forecourt, the facade of the headquarters, the two storeys of columns in the basilica, and the sanctuary for the legion’s standards. Buttresses on the outside walls show the presence of barrel vaults in this sanctuary. A Roman interior of unexpected but convincing splendour is conjured up in text but especially in the beautiful computer still of Jonker and Wu, Rotterdam.

The same two phases (from traces in the ground to ground plan, and from ground plan to 3D) are gone through in the reconstruction of two large-scale Roman villas, one near Nijmegen and the other farther to the south.

This book, splendid and modest at the same time, has one serious flaw: it is published only in Dutch and thus confines the reading public to a far too small circle. Now that there are plans to show the exhibition also at nearby Xanten in Germany, it should be translated, into German at the least. And why not into English as well? Kees Petere’s expertise deserves to be known and available throughout the former Roman Empire and, farther afield, the institutions studying it.

**D.C. Steures**


In 2001, archaeologist A.H.S. (Peter) Megaw’s ninetieth birthday was honoured with the publication of a Festschrift by the British School at Athens. Megaw’s contribution to Byzantine scholarship, particularly in Cyprus where he conducted many excavations, is apparent when reading the bibliography of his work, included in the back of this volume. The eighteen articles are arranged in approximately chronological order and cover wide-ranging aspects of the Byzantine world from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries. A number of disciplines including iconology, ceramology, epigraphy, literary analysis and architectural history are featured in the book. In addition, Richard C. Anderson describes the use of kites in aerial photography for archaeology and Charlotte Roueché looks at how the Cyprus Department of Antiquities came into being.

The transition from Paganism to Christianity in fourth-century Cyprus is discussed by Ino Nicolau who considers mosaic inscriptions from the church of Hagios Spyridon at Tremithous and a secular building known as the Complex of Eustolios at Kourion. Nicolau discerns the influence of pagan literary traditions in the sentential format of the inscriptions. Excavations carried out at Cape Drepanon on the west coast of Cyprus between 1952 and 1955 revealed the existence of three sixth-century basilicas and a small bath house. Material recovered included 34 fragments of a marble ambo in the lavishly-furnished ‘Basilica A’. Demetrios Michaelides considers how the components of this feature were crafted from Proconnesian marble in workshops near Constantinople, transported to Cyprus and assembled *in situ*. At the strategic Dhema Pass behind Thermopylae, military fortifications have been dated to the late fourth and early fifth centuries. John Rosser has catalogued finds from recent excavations at the site and this material is used to argue the existence of a Justinianic garrison at Dhema between the Hunnish raid of 539/40 and the invasion of Italy by Ostrogoths in 552. The castle of Sahyun (Qal‘at Salah al-Din) in Syria is the subject of Denys Pringle’s paper which considers four chapels identified at the site. One of the chapels is likely to date from the Byzantine occupation of the castle beginning in 975. Adjoining this is a chapel from the period of Frankish rule (c.1108-1188). A third chapel, previously assigned to the Byzantine period, may alternatively indicate an Armenian presence at the castle in the early twelfth century. With reference to nineteenth-century drawings and salvaged architectural elements, Charalampos Bouras attempts to reconstruct the Middle-Byzantine church of the Taxiarchs in Athens which was demolished in 1850. Pilgrimage to the Church of Our Lady in Nicosia in the late medieval period is discussed by Jean Richard, and Catherine Otten-Froux offers some notes on monuments of the late middle ages in the town of Famagouste.

Classification of pottery was one of Megaw’s major contributions to Byzantine studies. Pamela Armstrong’s article considers a group of impressed White Ware pottery found at Lakedaimon. Produced in Constantinople in the ninth and tenth centuries and transported overland to Sparta, these objects are described as being ‘a physical manifestation of the cultural aspect of rehell-
A re-appraisal of Byzantine polychrome pottery is provided by Guy D.R. Sanders who examines the fabrics, decoration and form of material excavated at Corinth, proposing a revised typology and questioning the chronology which has been established for this pottery type. Zeuxippus Ware was a group of pottery first identified by Megaw from examples found in Constantinople in the late 1960s. Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis provides some comments on this group, referring to a wall painting in a Cypriot church which may include a depiction of Zeuxippus Ware. A catalogue of 15 Middle Byzantine vessels, ten of which feature paintings of birds, is provided by Marie-Louise von Wartburg. The catalogued pieces, retrieved from shipwrecks and currently in Swiss private collections, lack any contextual information and they are therefore studied for their iconography. The bird representations are divided ornithologically before an attempt is made to connect these avian motifs to hunting practices of the time.

Byzantine art is studied in Karin Skawran’s contribution which discusses wall paintings found at three provincial Greek churches - in Naxos, Mani and Corfu. The iconography and style of the frescoes is seen as deriving from metropolitan church decoration in the region, as well as reflecting interaction between monastic communities in Greece and southern Italy. Iconography of wall paintings is also addressed in Charalambos Bakirtzis’s paper on the depiction of four military figures in the twelfth-century church of Panaghia Kosmo-soteira. Previously identified as showing four warrior saints, the paintings are re-considered as being portraits of family members of the church’s founder, Alexios I Komnenos. Anthony Cutler re-examines an ivory plaque now in the British Museum which shows St Peter and whose authenticity has been questioned. With reference to the iconography, craftsmanship and unusual features on the back of the object, Cutler concludes that the plaque could only have been the product of a Byzantine artist in the fifth or sixth century. A literary-historical contribution is provided by Sebastian Brock who looks at the process by which two Syriac manuscripts of the life of Epiphanius were compiled through reference to more than one source. A fragmentary tombstone slab from Paphos in Cyprus, incised with the figure of an armour-clad man, is the subject of Hector Catling’s paper. Six unusual features of the figure are identified, with the depiction of the armour (or chain mail) being used to date the tombstone to around the year 1300.

The overall quality of writing in this compilation was good, the scholarship sound and the articles well presented. A slight criticism might be the lack of a unifying theme (other than the connection with Peter Megaw), with investigations covering multifarious subjects, although this may also be seen as a virtue. The volume is well illustrated and important contributions are made to a number of aspects of Byzantine archaeology.

William Anderson