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Reviews

Alexandra Dardenay, Nicolas Laubry (eds.), Anthropology of Roman Housing. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020. 324 pp., 47 b/w ill. + 10 colour ill., 30 b/w tables + 5 colour tables; 23,5 cm (Antiquité et sciences humaines 5). - ISBN 978-2-503-58860-5.

In June 2018 a conference was held at the Ecole Française de Rome, with the title *Anthropologie de l'habitat romain / Anthropology of Roman Housing*. The papers of this conference have been collected in the present book, edited by Alexandra Dardenay (University of Toulouse) and Nicolas Laubry (Ecole Française de Rome).

The introduction by both editors describes the state of affairs in the field of the anthropology of Roman houses. Special attention is paid to the anthropological methodology in the study of Roman living space, which allows for new interpretations by way of combining archaeology and anthropology, and also leads to the revision of older material, for example analyses of the layout of the Roman house. Among other things, the Moroccan house is looked at as a comparison to see if that can help to reconstruct the Roman, read Mediterranean, experience of a house. An anthropological view of Roman houses also contributes to the deconstruction of the Vitruvian framework of interpretations. Also important is the application of new techniques such as 3D reconstructions, in particular in the 'Vesuvia' project in Herculaneum.

Sandra Zanella outlines the studies that have been carried out in the field of the archaeology of domestic space in Pompeii. She sketches the history of the rediscovery of the Roman house, partly due to the excavations in Pompeii, and the terminology of its rooms, for which J. Overbeck and A. Mau are largely responsible (on the basis of the layout of Pompeian houses combined with the texts of Vitruvius). She then describes the methodological revolution that was achieved at the end of the last century by the studies of P. Allison and A. Wallace-Hadrill. We should think of, for example, Allison's groundbreaking views on the redefinition of spaces, in which she refrains from the commonly used Latin terminology. Zanella concludes with an overview and critical discussion of some individual anthropological studies of Pompeian houses.

Antonella Coralini discusses the study of household archaeology and also different ways to look at Pompeii, e.g., how we can better reconstruct the situation of AD 79 on the basis of excavation material and archives. What is particularly important is new research in the archives, for example in the case of the publication of Insula IX. 8 (Insula del Centenario) by Antonella Coralini: *Pompei. Insula IX 8. Vecchi e Nuovi Scavi (1879-)*, Bologna 2017. From the archival material, some new conclusions can be drawn about the relationships within the *insula* between residential functions and production and commercial functions. Methodologically, her work connects to studies by P. Allison, J. Berry and R. Berg. The study of the excavation reports of Ins. IX.8 shows, among other things, that not all finds were carefully excavated, but on occasion were gathered to be excavated 'by chance' in the presence of high guests.

James Andrews deals with the upper floors at Herculaneum, focusing on spatial hierarchy, accessibility and visibility, as well as seasonal effects. He has examined seventy-eight houses – see his (still unpublished) dissertation 'The use and development of upper floors in houses at Herculaneum' (University of Reading 2006 - https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.555339). Wall paintings are present almost everywhere, often of high quality. There are also colonnaded upper floor rooms that formed the more important areas of the house. In the rooms in houses such as Casa di Nettuno e d'Anfitrite one sees parts that were for staff and parts that seem to complement comparable quarters on the ground floor. In the Casa del Bel Cortile, access to the upper floor appears to have been consciously arranged so as to encourage visitors upstairs. In the large peristyle houses we see rented floors with residential function, such as Casa di Tramezzo di Legno and Casa dei Cervi, but also luxurious rooms for guests, for example in Casa d'Argo. Upper floors provide extra dynamics and seasonal usage also plays a major role: they are warmer in winter, and provide an open view in summer.

The study by Anna Anguissola on the south-west sector of Pompeii is partly based on the principles of Amos Rapoport concerning the meaning of the built environment (whether and how there are 'hidden' meanings in these houses/city villas). The ideology in this case is that there is an axiality or sequence in the Roman houses, which was sometimes imitated, for example with niches in the atrium, when side quarters were lacking, and which eventually were replaced by, for example, wall paintings. In the town houses the influence of the aristocratic villas is visible: water features and mythological landscape paintings, all focusing on *otium*, but also with the possibility to have conversations in 'cave'-like environments. The city villas, mostly terraced houses on the edge of the build-up area, differ from the other houses in Pompeii, because they were not hindered by all kind of constraints and could expand independently, for example with private baths and terraces. In some cases, a *piano nobile* was also set up.

Alain Bouet discusses latrines in domestic settings, based partly on his study of latrines on Delos and in Gaul. He thinks latrines were not important features and were not class bound - chamber pots (Latin: *matella, scaphium, lasanum*) were in general use. In his conclusion, Bouet briefly discusses cleanliness and hygiene: houses were maybe 'clean', but they were far from hygienic by our standards. This contribution provides a nice addition to the study of Roman toilets, for which the summary overview from 2011 (G.C.M. Jansen/A.O. Koloski-Ostrow/E.M. Moormann, *Roman toilets: their archaeology and cultural history* (Leuven – BABESCH Supplements 19)) is still indispensable.

Marin Mauger's research focuses on house altars and sanctuaries, more specifically on the way in which these religious elements may have influenced the layout of the houses. This especially holds good for the *Lararia*. For example, did the *Lararia* mark a certain living space, and do they indicate that such space is an independent unit? It is an interesting question, which is also used to review houses with upper floors and separate apartments (some examples from Herculaneum and Ostia).

Ria Berg discusses the location of female toiletry items in Pompeian houses, based on finds. She clearly shows the uncertainties of her results: objects are not always uniquely identifiable; finds are not always well documented; and the situation in 79 may not be entirely representative. In general, three categories of women's rooms are distinguished: 1) separate apartment complexes; 2) specific *cubicula;* and 3) reserved *triclinia, diaetae* or *oeci*. In her dissertation Berg already concluded that female toiletries were stored in cupboards and also in storage rooms, not in special women's quarters. In other words: this material evidence can say something about the storage pattern, not about usage patterns. In case studies she shows her research of objects in storage and in usage spaces, concluding that in smaller houses the *tablinum* was a mixed usage space for men and women, whereas in larger houses there were separate *oeci* for men and women, located next to the *tablinum*.

Polly Lohmann treats graffiti as a source for determining the use of spaces by men or women. In Pompeii, c. 5600 graffiti were examined, mentioning c. 4000 people; of these, only 612 are women, or 16%. The conclusions are that women as a social group remain largely hidden from archaeologists and that women are rarely the authors of the graffiti.

In the contribution of Mantha Zarmakoupi the 'Italian houses' of late Hellenistic/Roman Delos are examined, with special attention paid to the distinction in these houses between private and public spaces. One of the most striking elements is that the so-called Italian houses (after the Roman/Italian population that came to Delos after 167 BC) have *lararia* with paintings at the entrance (for the *Lares Compitales*). The graffiti in the houses are also studied, showing that these were mainly found in the passageways.

Another study of domestic buildings outside Italy is by Jesús Bermejo Tirado. He focuses on the social analysis of urban domestic architecture in Roman Celtiberia and examines the houses in eight Roman cities in Spain. He uses some special methods which work surprisingly well, such as the study of kinship relations (e.g., by onomastic formulations), 'space syntax' models of the houses and an analysis of the chronological evolution of households. It seems attractive to apply these methods elsewhere, wherever possible, also in the context of Roman cities in Italy, like Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The final contribution provides completely different, more social demographic input, by Nathalie Baills-Barré and Mélissa Tirel. They have studied the burials of young children in a domestic context in Roman Gaul. The study involves 200 sites and 866 cases and answers several questions about the social position of young children. Also, attention is paid to where and how they were buried within the domestic environment, possibly copying public adult funerals.

The book concludes with a place index and a source index. An overarching bibliography for all contributions is missing. The literature is listed in the footnotes to every article, according to the principle of author-short title. These references are on the one hand very tiring to use (where is the first entry of a title referenced, stating all the bibliographical details?), and on the other hand error-prone: in Ria Berg's article, for example, note 34 does not contain the full mention of L. Scatozza Horicht, *L'instrumentum vitreum di Pompei*, Roma 2012, which is described in the following references only as Scatozza, *L'instrumentum*. With a note system referring to a central bibliography, preferably using the author-year combination, this could have been prevented. Also, the contributions could have been stripped of all those repeated references to studies like the ones by Allison and Wallace-Hadrill. It would also have been a first thorough bibliography in the field of the anthropology of the Roman house. Now the reader has to assemble this himself by going through the individual contributions. A missed opportunity.

The book could be seen as merely a bundle of congress papers, but it has more to offer: it shows an appealing power to think off the beaten track of research and offers a multitude of new insights that can stimulate further research. It is therefore a must-have for those who are engaged in the study of the Roman house.

Richard de Kind

VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA, SIMON HOFFMANN, GERHARD HIESEL (eds.), *Die Bibliothek von Nysa am Mäander*, with contributions by Karl Großschmidt, Fabian Kanz, Eva-Maria Kasubke, Nikolas Möller Figen Müller, Elsbeth Raming, Gerd Sachs, Hans Taeuber, Ralf von den Hoff and Rainer Warland. Darmstadt/Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2012. 238 pp., 65 figs., 102 plates,. 19 plans, 24,4 x 35,2 x 2.4 cm. (Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander. Band 2). – ISBN 3805345887.

İDIL VEDAT, VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA (eds.), *Das Gerontikon von Nysa am Mäander*, with contributions by Wolfgang Blümel, Yusuf Kağan Kadioğlu, Selma Kadioğlu, Canan Özbil and Rahşan Tamsü Polat. Darmstadt/Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2014. 211 pp. 83 figs., 81 plates., 13 plans, 24,4 x 35,2 x 2.4 cm. (Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander. Band 3). – ISBN 3805348517.

The reviewer apologizes for the extreme lateness of these reviews.

Nysa on the Maeander might not compete with the most impressive archaeological sites of Asia Minor, such as Ephesus or Aphrodisias, in terms of architectural grandeur or the amount of archaeological research

it has produced. Nonetheless, for a medium sized ancient polis the site boasts some impressively monumental remains of Roman period public buildings, including a spacious, fully-enclosed agora, a stadium and a tunnel-like bridge that connected the two parts of the town that were separated by a ravine. Many of Nysa's buildings have long been known but until recently none have been seriously studied.

The *Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander* series, thus far running to three volumes, represents the primary publication of three of these monuments. The first volume dealt with the theatre and its impressive series of reliefs depicting the birth of Dionysus, who was believed to have been born in the town. The two volumes reviewed here deal with the city's library and the so-called "Gerontikon" and represent the fruits of two separate research projects, both collaborations between German and Turkish scholars, carried out under the auspices of the University of Ankara in the first decade of the 21st Century.

Each book covers the full range of archaeological material found at the sites from architecture, sculpture, skeletal remains and small find material of various kinds in separate chapters written by individual experts. Both books pay considerable attention to detailed architectural analysis and the reconstruction of the buildings. The Library volume is written entirely in German, the Gerontikon volume mainly in German with some chapters in English. Both books contain helpful summaries in German, English and Turkish. The level of scholarship and production values are impressive though more could attention could have been paid to putting the buildings in their cultural, social and political context.

The Library of Nysa in many ways bears a strong resemblance to the far better known Library of Celsus at Ephesus, in terms of its appearance, size and date. The current volume dates the building at Nysa to c. 130 AD, so only two decades later than its famous Ephesian counterpart. Nysa lies some 90km east of Ephesus on the northern slope of the Maeander valley. Most striking, perhaps, is that both buildings served as tombs, in Celsus' case certainly and at Nysa presumably so, for the benefactors who paid for them. The authors here suggest the rather less likely interpretation that the two individuals buried in a sarcophagus in the library's vestibule had died during the building's construction.

The library at Nysa is connected to a 3rd C literary reference, preserved in a papyrus, to a library and archive building at Nysa. The authors make much of the double function of the building and perhaps too much of how its design was particularly suited to fulfill both roles. We cannot, of course, be sure if the building was constructed with a double purpose in mind or of how long it fulfilled the two functions. In Late Antiquity the building was heavily renovated and equipped with mosaic pavements in its vestibule. In the Byzantine period it was converted into a chapel. At some point, either before or after that it served as the burial place for some 34 individuals. It went out of use and collapsed some time in the 12th-14th centuries.

The Library volume includes a chapter on Roman library buildings, which raises hopes of a discussion of the cultural significance of libraries in the Empire in the 2nd Century that would contextualize the building at Nysa. Instead the chapter consists of detailed case-by-case discussions of individual buildings identified as libraries (some of them erroneously it is argued here) with a heavy focus on architecture. The discussion revolves around the expectation that Roman libraries should conform to a recognizable architectural type. That premise is questionable since providing space for storing and reading books would have allowed greater flexibility of design than buildings built for other functions such as public meetings. The section on the Library of Celsus is a rather arcane discussion of the minutiae of its architectural reconstruction that will only be of interest to those already deeply familiar with scholarship on the building, a readership that may not look for such a discussion here. This is a missed chance to consider the clear parallels between the two buildings and to address the possible influence of the one at Ephesus on the one at Nysa.

The so-called "Gerontikon" is the type of roofed, indoor theatre known throughout the ancient Greek world and normally identified as odeia and/or bouletueria. It was given its name early in the study of the site because Strabo, who knew Nysa intimately having studied there, mentions a "gerontikon" near the agora. Though the location fits the building is very unlikely to have been Strabo's gerontikon, as the authors of the volume readily acknowledge, since it dates to the second century AD. Excavations have, moreover, found no evidence for an earlier phase. The decision to retain the name for the publication is justified since it has become conventional. The authors' argument that the building was indeed the meeting place for Nysa's 'gerousia', however, seems rather pointless. For what it is worth we might note that in the 1929 Loeb edition H.L. Jones assumes that Strabo's 'gerontikon' was not a meeting place at all but a kind of gymnasium. Indeed, the authors spend rather too much energy in trying to pin down the building's function. While rightly stressing the flexibility of uses to which such buildings could be put their conclusion that it definitely did have a double function as an odeion and a political meeting place (for the boule and/or the gerousia) is really just an assumption. Ultimately the issue only serves to illustrate one of the greatest problems of Classical archaeology: ancient cities invested vast wealth and energy into erecting grand public buildings and we invest money and energy into excavating them yet all too often we have surprisingly little concrete evidence for how they were actually used.

One of the most interesting features of the building are the inscribed bases found within that attest to the setting up of statues within it by a member of the local elite, one Sextus Iulius Antoninus Pythodorus, in accordance with money bequeathed to the city in his mother's will. Combining fragments of sculpture found within the building with the bases the authors have convincingly reconstructed the statuary programme of the stage building, which mixed statues of this Pythodorus' family with those of the Antonine dynasty in a way that recalls other contemporary architectural facades such as that of the Nymphaion of

Herodes Atticus at Olympia. The book includes an evocative 3D computer reconstruction of the building's interior, which effectively shows how the statues would have been dwarfed by the architecture. It would have been helpful to have seen a similar reconstruction, whether computer generated or an artist's impression, for the library.

If the main goal of archaeological publication is the preservation and presentation of excavation data the books succeed in exemplary fashion. Both are as thorough and as detailed a translation of the material record to the printed page as could be hoped for. The precise and careful observations of architecture and finds are extensively supported with illustrations and photographs. At the same time, however, it is remarkable how little one actually learns about the society and culture of Roman Nysa from reading the fine-grained descriptions of building elements, vases, skeletons and potsherds. The discussion does little to alter existing views of the many larger issues this material connects to such as the political culture of Roman Asia Minor, the economy of Roman construction or the fate of the polis in Late Antiquity. Future scholars working on such larger issues, however, now have an excellent resource for integrating the evidence from Nysa into their discussions.

Christopher P. Dickenson

D. Piay Augusto, P.A. Argüelles Álvarez (eds.), *Villae Romanas en Asturias.* Rome/Bristol: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2021. 324 pp., 55 ill. col., 27 ill. b/n, 114 pls., 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 249) - ISBN 978-88-913-2253-1.

The past few years there is a rising interest in Roman *villae* on the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. R. Martínez González/T. Nogalez Basarrate/I. Rodà de Llanza, *Las villas romanas bajoimperiales de Hispania*, Palencia 2020). The book under review follows this tendency, providing the first study focusing solely on the twenty-six Roman *villae* discovered in the Asturian region presented in an extensive catalogue and preceded by five chapters written by experts on topics related to Roman *villae*. The book opens with a study of the classical sources on the *villa* in Roman times (chapter 1) and a historiography (chapter 2) by Diego Piay Augusto (DPA). The author rightly points out that the rural sites identified as *villae* often do not fit the concept of the *villa* as found in the classical sources. DPA treats these classical sources extensively, providing a good overview and a bibliography for the study of *villae*. In our modern literature on *villae*, authors tend to include many rural sites that could well have been *mansiones* or even small rural settlements. This devolves the terminology and impedes the study of the 'real' *villae*. Despite recognising this problem, DPA concludes that we can define *villae* by their richness of material, labelled as ´Roman´; this material sets them apart from other rural settlements. This broad definition is used to define *villae* in this book as "los restos de estructuras documentadas en el ámbito rural asociados a materiales romanos, localizadas en un emplazamiento topográfico compatible con lo expresado por los agrónomos latinos, serán considerados en este volumen evidencias de la presencia de una villa." (p. 37). From this point DPA continues with the historiography of the study of *villae* on the Iberian Peninsula, with a specific focus on the Asturian region. DPA not only introduces the modern literature but also treats the *villae* of the catalogue incorporated in the book. After this broad introduction of the subject, three thematic chapters follow.

The first thematic chapter, by the second editor Patricia Argüelles Álvarez (PAA), treats the road network of Asturias in antiquity, reconstructed through classical sources, and stretches still visible. PAA refers to the vicus viaria Lucus Asturum as the central node for this road network in the region (p. 57). Regrettably, the nature of this settlement and its relation to the *villae* is not treated in the book. Moreover, the map showing the road network leaves the reader with questions, as a legend is missing. There is no explanation for the difference in black and white roads. Nonetheless, the chapter shows how the roads connect the *villae* to the wider network, linking all up to the maritime port at Noega. The chapter would have benefitted from a broader view connecting these roads with the wider road network on the other side of the mountain range. The fourth chapter by José Ignacio San Vicente González de Aspuru, deals with the development of the *villae*, from the perspectives of numismatics. It clearly adds novel aspects to the important discussion on the chronology of *villae*. This chapter starts out with a short general overview on the development of *villae* from the early imperial period to late antiquity. From there we have a shift to the numismatics. González de Aspuru integrates Asturias and its *villae* into the empire-wide debates on late antiquity. In addition, the chapter gives a great overview of the late antique numismatic finds in Asturias and how these should be used to date the *villae*. Entering late antiquity, we come across the rise of Christianity and its evidence in or relation to late *villae*. The final thematic chapter, by Narciso Santos Yanguas, turns to this relation between *villae* and Christian cult sites. With the late rise of Christianity in the region - the earliest finds date to the 5th and the earliest churches to the 7th century - most *villae* were already in disuse when Christianity got a foothold. Therefore, the construction of churches and chapels on *villae*-sites must be seen as a reoccupation rather than a continuation of the site, similar to the *castros* that are often the site for chapels, possibly both functioning as a *lieu de mémoire*. Santos Yanguas states that the study of the Christianisation of the *villae* needs a full study of their archaeological record and should be dealt with in another monograph (p. 124-125 footnote 27).

The catalogue of *villae* (p. 139-282) takes up a significant part of the book. The presentation of the data and bibliography is an important and useful addition to the volume. Each entry has a table with information taking up at least two pages, followed by maps for the location. In some cases, aerial photographs or archaeological plans are provided. Logically the amount of data for each of the twenty-six *villae* is uneven; some have been excavated extensively and know a vast aca-

demic debate whereas others are less known and have got short entries. These latter cases raise a point of caution. The first chapter of the book gave the impression that the authors would not use the term *villa* lightly; however, the catalogue includes entries of complexes whose nature remains uncertain. Only eight *villae* are identified with certainty, whereas the remaining eighteen supposed *villae* need further investigation in order to establish their true nature.

The book raises an important question not related to the subject but to its conception: the students of a course organised by the editors (DPA & PAA) collected data and created the extensive catalogue (p. 16 & 140). The editors wrote most of the main chapters of the book and revised each catalogue entry. Even though the students are mentioned by name in two lists (p. 6 & 139) and are referred to in the catalogue entries they created, which the editors `rigorously and exhaustively´ revised (p. 140), the arrangement of using student work to publish a book needs to be discussed. As the authors rightly point out (p. 16 footnote 4), the whole process of data collection and publication could, or maybe should, be included in our curricula at universities. However, I question the ethics of using student labour to create a volume published with a well-known publishing house. Revision of, or maybe better, feedback on student work is part of our function as teacher, not as investigator or author. If we were going down the road of publishing the results of university courses, I would say that these should be published under the name of the students. In such a case, the book could have been an edited volume by the authors with (thematic) chapters written by groups of students based on their data, this could have been in collaboration with the experts. This way they would fully appreciate the process of publishing, including the satisfaction of seeing your work appear under your name.

The book provides an overview of the *status quaestionis* of *villa* culture in Asturias. Even though the book does not identify new *villae* besides the eight well-studied ones, the collection of eighteen possible *villae* and their bibliography could become a starting point for future research. Thanks to the nature of the chapters introducing themes related to *villae*, which seem to have been developed from the student course they were part of, the book could be used in teaching. Yet, the high price does not permit for it to be used as a handbook for a course on *villae*. In addition, its extensive treatment of the debate regarding *villae* on the Iberian Peninsula gives the reader a solid background concerning this interesting building type on the crossroads of urban and rural.

Pieter Houten

P. Gołyźniak, *Ancient Engraved Gems in the National Museum in Krakow*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2018. 318 pp., 30 figs, 112 pls., 21,0 x 29,7cm, ISBN 9783954902439.

For the study of Greek and Roman Ancient history an overview of the representations on ancient engraved gems is just as necessary as that of the images on ancient vases. For the gems, unfortunately, coordinated catalogues were not initiated in time, as with the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. It is therefore quite commendable that -- in addition to the Beazley archive at Oxford – international museums and individual authors have ensured that many collections are now well published, as certainly also in this case. A further compliment must be offered to the publisher, because the book is genuinely nicely edited and contains excellent, clear illustrations. A disadvantage compared to the *CVA* is that apparently few university libraries understand the importance of purchasing such catalogues. The author apparently had little trouble with this because he makes impressive use of a large number of publications. What is beginning to be missing nowadays are overview works, extensive studies on gem engraving and the use of gems in special periods and/or regions. In this regard, too, the author has taken a laudable initiative with his new book, entitled *Engraved Gems and Propaganda in the Roman Republic and under Augustus (*Oxford 2020, http://archaeopress.com/ArchaeopressShop/Public/displayProductDetail.asp?id={F81E84A2-AEA8-4EBF-A141-8E57469A3E07}). Such overviews written by experts are needed to find answers to the many questions ancient engraved gems still evoke and to stimulate archaeologists, art historians and historians to make use of the information gem images provide. After the publication of Erika Zwierlein-Diehl's *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben* (New York 2007), a very reliable hand book, this is less complicated than usually thought.

One must start at the very beginning, because the origin of the important role of engraved gemstones in ancient society has much to do with its perception of Egypt: "Egyptian magic, with its enormous variety of expressions, promised an all-encompassing protection of human existence, both on earth and after" (Günther Hölbl, in prep.). This is confirmed for instance by the imported scarab amulets from children's graves on Ischia in the Late Geometric period and their import and imitation at many other places (e.g. G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*, Leiden 1979) and further with the scarab shape of the majority of the ancient engraved gems up to the 3rd century BC (the relation between the publication of J. Sliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems from the Collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciazynski*, Cracow 1989 -- see also Golyzniac 2017 'Introduction' note 9 -- and the present publication is because of unavailability of the former book not clear to me). The Greek scarab from the late 4th century BC with the representation of a sphinx (Cat. 4) is, together with its many parallels, a clear illustration of the fact that the scarab shape should be regarded as a call for magical protection 'in Egyptian style'. In this vein one could read the development of ancient Greek gem engraving as a gradual 'take-over' with Greek imagery of this special branch of iconography. Special, because directly connected with people's personal beliefs and ideologies.

Ancient man must have been aware of and helped by the virtually indestructible character of the *intagli* in precious stone or precious metal, rendering the individually chosen representations valid for ever, long

after the original owner's death. The author's explanation as a grave gift of the gold ring Cat. 7 (from the late 4th century BC) showing a woman burning incense on a *thymiaterion* is based on the fragility of the ring and sketchiness of the representation. The ring would be a very moving consolation for the burying family, recommending the woman to the gods with this image. An acceptance of the author's plausible explanation makes it possible to interpret other *intagli* and rings that seem too fragile for daily life in this way.

One may also wonder how the Etruscan scarabs Cat. 43-48 with their beautiful 'tough' images of Greek heroes supported Etruscan men in real life. For Cat. 46, with the depiction of a 'Peleus washing his hair' – inscribed Pele – the author suggests ritual cleansing after the murders the hero committed. To serve as a personal seal with some worth as *exemplum*, this explanation requires much Etruscan implementation of Greek mythology. Hair-washing at *thymiateria* as here depicted is also used for female nudes on engraved gems (see Golyzniac's references), which makes it possible to understand this intaglio as praise of Peleus' beauty (and that of the owner?). In any case, this Peleus is engraved so well that the weird pose does not much disturb. It is a pity that a photo of an impression of this seal is lacking, because pictures of impressions always show details different from those in pictures of the engraved gems themselves with their many light reflections.

Thanks to the clear photos of the stones and most of their impressions, the catalogue offers a welcome opportunity to muse on questions concerning what the first owner of the stone saw in the image; for example, with respect to the rather uniform "heads of deities in profile" that are an important part of the book. A big advantage of Golyzniac's approach is that he separates "human portraits" (e.g. p. 101) from "busts and heads of deities and personifications" (e.g. p. 99) and is commendably precise. See, for instance, his comments on a young man's head (Cat. 28), which he interprets as a young Hellenistic prince with several valid arguments: the raised head, the chromium chalcedony, a kind of gem characteristics of similar portraits, etc. Together with the remarkable quality of the *intaglio*, these arguments do convince me, but I quite understand that for people who are not familiar with such gems it is difficult to see the difference with for instance the Hermes head of Cat. 20, a qualitatively disappointing *intaglio* but seemingly with similar characteristics. How to discern 'portraits' from 'busts and heads' is a puzzle also for experts, especially because in ancient portrait images assimilation with well-known cult statues is always strongly present (see D. Plantzos, The iconography of assimilation: Isis and royal imagery on Ptolemaic seal impression, in P.P. Iossif/A.S. Chankowski/C.C. Lorber (eds), *More than men, less than gods, Studies on royal cult and imperial worship, Proceedings of the international colloquium organized by the Belgian school at Athens (November 1-2, 2007)*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2011, 389-417). Only more study can bring us any further and especially study of the many new archives of ancient clay sealings that nowadays have become known and are under expert review (e.g. the conference 'Hellenistic Sealings & Archives', Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam 2018). An explanation for the many standardized heads, including that of Apollo with laurel wreath (Cat. 72-81), which we also know from Roman Republican denarii, has been found in their use as 'token' for the party to which the owner of the *intaglio* belonged (Cat. 72). But does that mean that the image was not a distinctive personal seal, for how could a trading partner distinguish one Apollo head with laurel wreath from another if so similar? Between the various groups of many similar *intagli* only details, such as the precise hair arrangement or the number of leaves on the wreaths are different and these may not come out clear enough to be distinctive on seal impressions in wax or clay. Yet, such *intagli* must have functioned as personal seals, as is clear from the addition of name inscriptions by some sensible Roman owners (Cat. 80-81). They include "Apollo heads with corkscrew hair locks", an archaic type, and (without inscriptions) "Apollo head with braid/hair roll around the head", which indicates standardization but with a degree of variation. Moreover, the difference between the one type of head with the braid – traced by the author and others to the cult statue of Apollo by Skopas on the Palatine (cf. Cat. 72) – and the other type with corkscrew locks – traced to the Apollo statue on the market in Alexandria (Cat. 80) – makes clear that the *intagli* with Apollo heads derive from known cult statues. To what extent the wearers of rings with such Apollo heads could still see them as representing 'Apollo the mighty god' and not the 'celestial head of political groups' is a question one must ask. Did the frequent use of *intaglio* types after famous statues 'flatten' the latter? Gertrud Horster, a dedicated and excellent *studiosa* of ancient engraved gems who sadly recently, passed-away, paid already very early in her career attention to the association between cult statues and engraved gems and continued to do so, but much work remains to be done because by means of gem study, the (political? magic? gender specific?) influence of cult images and thus cults *tout court* on the individual Greek or Roman may become clearer (G. Platz-Horster, *Statuen auf Gemmen*, Bonn 1970).

Did the gem images influence identity and did people associate themselves with the heads they were wearing in their rings? We take selfie after selfie but do not consider those snapshots to be portraits, although young adults stylize their photos until they think they have reached portrait quality. The satisfaction with such a portrait turns often out to be based on a – usually unconsciously – obtained likeness to an influencer, a famous painting, etc. For the Hellenistic and Augustan periods, the popularity of a series of intaglio images is evident but their 'agency' is still worth more study, and the latter will much benefit from this catalogue.

The human figures in full chosen as gem images are hardly ever individualised and are even more strictly standardised than busts and heads. Some gem images may answer why: Cat. 10 for instance, a late Hellenistic gold ring with a garnet shows a frontally standing goddess. She is not helmeted and holds a *phiale* in her right hand and a spear upright in her other. Because the image is sloppily engraved, details are not clear and thus it is uncertain if the engraver hinted at a

shield at the base of the spear, a feature that would identify Athena. If not, she could be Hera with a sceptre (both goddesses are suggested by the author). The *intaglio* must indeed represent a goddess, because although mortal women may be offering in sanctuaries with a *phiale*, they will not carry spears or sceptres in doing so. The addition of that object points to a statuary goddess type. The original owner of the gem knew of course which goddess was meant, but did the goddess know?? (That is, did ancient owners of the stone think the right goddess would respond to their prayer for support or protection?). To avoid such puzzles the ancient owners usually opted for standardisation, Athena is most frequently rendered in the iconography of the Parthenon cult statue, helmeted, holding a Nike and with spear and shield (e.g. Late Hellenistic Cat. 12-13). Although most of the many images of this type are mediocre, their strength must have lain in the belief that the image could evoke the goddess to the benefit of the owner of the object. More imaginative is Cat. 11, an Athena on tiptoe, *en route* so to say. 'Mars gradivus' (Cat. 386-388) is alluring for the same reason. Cat. 386, an imperial-period 'common' *intaglio*, shows the god on tiptoe and actively proceeding with a flapping *subligaculum* (loin cloth). This iconography challenges to follow the god (and the goddess), and if such an image coincided for a Roman soldier with the deity, the influence of ring stones within the Roman army becomes somewhat clearer. But how the representations of cult images on gems coincided with the deities for the users of the ring stones, for example soldiers, requires more study. The red cornelian with the frontal representation of a cult image of Mars Ultor near a burning altar (Cat. 382) seems rather to evoke the fragrance of holiness around the cult statue, which had been set up since 2 BC in his temple on the Forum of Augustus. The author points to the possibility that the altar is Ultor's. Local elements rendered like this, possibly allowed the owner of the seal to move mentally to the sanctuary. Jupiter Victor with eagle is another of such images for *legionarii* (e.g. Cat. 379) as Golyzniac shows. Why soldiers so often possessed rings with engraved gems, even of a fragile kind like glass pastes is still a question. Did they travel more often than other people and needed to write on wax-tablets and seal their messages or did their precarious existence ask for belief in the images on the seals?

The book has many surprises to offer, too many to write about or enumerate here. An example is the intaglio of Virtus Augusti (Cat. 444) known from Roman coins, as the author tells us, but there never rendered in this alluring, classical style. The portrait of a woman, who must have lived in the environment of Faustina the Elder (Cat. 510) is perky and seems to convey some of the confidence of the imperial class, but that may be my imagination. The gems grouped under the heading ''of uncertain dates" should be studied under the microscope before I dare to suggest dates for them.

The history of the collector, Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński (1818-1889), makes clear that a 19th-century Polish collector could still fully believe in his collection, as did his predecessors from the Renaissance onwards, something that we profit from, but which got lost in the 20th century. Engraved gems were attractive for people with a collector's mentality, especially since the desire for completeness could be satisfied with *dactyliothecae*. The high prices of the originals also played a role, as they automatically implied an aristocratic selection of owners and thus desirable contacts and influences. Developed historical or art historical interests are less prominent and are also more difficult to discover.

We should be grateful that collectors like Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński brought together these gems, which changed the fate of these objects and eventually allowed them to pique our interest. I always wonder where in the past all those gems that entered the learned world through dealers and collectors came from, because subrecent and recent excavations hardly ever render engraved gems and do not provide an answer. Nor are the very thorough studies about the collectors (as the excellent one in this book) helpful in this respect. But as said above, the objects have a very long life because of the semi-precious material, and many may always have been 'above ground'.

Marianne Kleibrink

T. de Groot, J.W. de Kort (eds.), *Veilig naar de overkant. Onderzoek naar een muntvondst uit de Romeinse tijd in het dal van de Aa bij Berlicum (gemeente Sint Michielsgestel)*. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2021. 160 pp., 11 tab., 30 cm. (Rapportage Archeologische Monumentenzorg nr. 267) - ISBN 978-90-76046-69-3.
To be downloaded free of charge at https://www.cultureelerfgoed.nl/binaries/cultureelerfgoed/documenten/publicaties/2021/01/01/ram-267-veilig-naar-de-overkant/RAM267_Veilig+naar+de+overkant.pdf

Though this publication analyses and discusses a Roman coin find in the Netherlands, the report is reviewed here because the coin find can be identified as an accumulated ritual deposition on a river bank, most likely near a ford. Ritual coin depositions in connection to rivers, springs, lakes and falls are also found in the Mediterranean area, and such depositions have recently become the object of scientific study. In 2017 the brothers Wim and Nico van Schaijk, both detector amateurs, discovered 107 Roman coins in a field bordering the rivulet Aa near Berlicum, part of the municipality Sint Michielsgestel in North-Brabant, the Netherlands. As the coins were found in an area classified as one with a high expectancy of archaeological finds and the coin find suggested a ritual deposition of individual coins over time rather than a hoard, a desk research and a field survey were carried out. The survey entailed augering in lines parallel to and across the river bed and digging a trial trench of 30 by 2 m. across the find spot. The geophysical properties of the soil were established and charted. Most of the collected find material (pottery, brick, glass etc.) dated from the modern era, with the notable exception of some Mesolithic flint artifacts, a few Roman pottery

sherds, two Roman bronze coins and a bronze pendant from a horse's bridle. A ^{14}C dating of the botanic material showed that the soil layers covering the layer wherein the coins had been found were formed not before the late Middle Ages.

The coins were found in the upper level of an OSL-dated late glacial sandy layer, the wet infiltration zone of the river valley. The authors assume that the coins were found *in situ* and that the soil layer was not disturbed or eroded, although a micro-morphological survey could not rule out a slight lateral drift of the coins, caused by the stream. The individual coins were covered by a layer of iron hydroxide, formed when reduced and iron rich seepage water reacted with the oxygen in the superficial layer of the soil and built up upon and chemically interacted with the copper coins. Chemical analyses showed that the layer of iron oxides was formed shortly after the coins had been deposited. In the report, this encrustation process and the microscopic, submicroscopic and tomographic techniques used to analyze the encrustation are described. The find spot is situated on a narrow stretch of the river, bordered by a sand ridge, an appropriate location for a bridge, dam or ford. However, although the first cadastral map of the Netherlands (1832) indicates a ford near the find spot, no traces of a ford in the Roman period were found.

In total 109 coins were found: 107 by the Van Schaijk brothers using a detector, and another two during the field survey (see chapter 6 for a description an analysis). Amongst these were four silver denarii: the earliest coin was struck during the Republican period for *triumvir monetalis* Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi in 90 B.C. Two of the denarii were issued for the emperor Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) and one for Trajan (A.D. 78-117). The denarii were well-preserved, the bronze coins found were corroded as explained above.

Of many coins the denomination cannot be determined, or not with certainty. Only 30 coins can be attributed to a reference number in the *Roman Imperial Coinage* series, the other coins are too corroded. The as is the denomination best represented with a total of 39 coins, many of which are issued for Trajan. Thirteen sestertii were found: two for Trajan, four for Hadrian and one for Antoninus Pius. The oldest coin is the Republican denarius and these coins circulated until well in the second century. The oldest datable bronze coin was struck in A.D. 71 for Vespasian, the youngest in A.D. 162-163 for Marcus Aurelius. These dates are no direct indication for the period of deposition of the coins, because bronze coins also circulated long after their production date. The supply of bronze coins to the northern provinces diminished considerably during the reign of Marcus Aurelius' son Commodus and bronze coins supplied earlier circulated until quite far in the third century. Thus, the *terminus post quem* of the coin deposition does not have to be shortly after the production of the last coin. Reviewing the coins, the author proposes that deposition started after the Batavian revolt in A.D. 69.

Discussing the reverse types of the coins, the author concludes that 13 reverses are of a military nature, many of which show the 'walking Victoria' type for Trajan. Nine reverse types refer to the ample and correct supply and distribution of coins, showing Abundantia, Aequitas and Moneta. An intentional selection of the coin types chosen as an offering has been noted before in coin depositions in a ritual context, e.g in the temple of Sulis Minerva in Bath. In the source of the healing spring within the temple complex thousands of coins have been found, including 52 coins with a Salus reverse type, produced for Hadrian (*RIC* II 975). Coins with this reverse type are absent from Italian sites and are very scarce (only 16 specimen known) in the Rhine/Danube area.

The paragraph on the coin find is concluded by a contribution on the metals composition of the bronze coins. Many coins contain a high share of iron, not intentionally added to the alloy. The iron penetrated the coins during the period of deposition in the ferruginous soil. Further analyses suggests, that most of the coins filed under de headings 'dupondius?', 'dupondius or as' and 'undeterminable' are produced from copper and are most likely asses and coins of a lower denomination. The metallurgic analyses also shows, that the clear-cut notion that post-Augustean asses were produced from copper and that the dupondii and sestertii were made of zinc-containing brass *(orichalcum)* does not apply in a strict sense during the second century. In the dupondii and sestertii less zinc was added to the brass alloy in the course of time and the brass was gradually replaced by bronze, leaded bronze and gunmetal (copper with tin and zinc). This evolution of the alloy has usually been dated to the end of the second century but the coins from the Berlicum deposition suggest that this replacement was started earlier.

The authors discuss the nature of the coin deposition. The coin find is tested against the characteristics of nine types of coin deposition which are summarized in a comprehensive and very useful table. The characteristics include intentions of the owner of the coins, the moment or period of deposition, geographical and archaeological context and objects associated with the coins, etc. Each type of deposition (including lost coin, lost purse, emergency hoard, circulation hoard and votive deposition) is exemplified by (a) characteristic and well-documented find(s) in the Netherlands. The authors conclude that the coins were deposited individually over a long period in a ritual context. The (low) denominations used, the spatial distribution and the geographical context (on a river bank, plausibly near a fordable spot) all contribute to this conclusion. The association of coin depositions and water(ways) is subsequently discussed. Rivers, sources, springs etc. were a *locus sacer* where votive objects like weapons, coins and other gifts were offered to the gods. Well-known examples include the baths of Sulis Minerva mentioned before, Coventina's well in the United Kingdom and the Aquae Borvonis in Bourbonne-les-Bains in France. While at the time the Berlicum report was written, few French ford depositions had been published, the authors mention two Gallic depositions near a river ford only: Saint-Léonard and Namur. I can now add seven more ford depositions in France and Germany summarized in a more recent publication: J. Chameroy/B. Lam-

bot. Offrandes bien tempérées. Monnaies offertes lors du passage d'un fleuve, à l'exemple du gué de Selles (dép. Marne/F), in *Honesta Missione. Festschrift für Barbara Pferdehirt*, Mainz 2014). All depositions show that the vast majority of deposited coins were asses and this supports the identification of the Berlicum find with its large share of these coins as a ritual deposition at a river ford.

Six Dutch coin depositions in relation to rivers or fens are compared to the Berlicum find, some of which (Nederwetten and Meierijstad, both near the rivulet The Dommel) closely resemble the Berlicum deposition. Subsequently, the nature of Roman religion is highlighted, with its notion of reciprocity. The authors conclude that the coin find at Berlicum is a conglomerate of ritual-sacral offerings, deposited by travelers hoping for or in recognition of a safe crossing of the river. They point out that votive offerings near rivers, marshes, lakes etc. date back to the Iron Age and even the Bronze Age, when valuable ornaments and weapons such as swords and axes and (from the third century B.C. on) coins were deposited. According to the authors coins with a military reverse were selected because this choice anchored the offers in the tradition of offering weapons by their ancestors in eras long gone. This hypothesis is appealing, but can only be established as plausible by comparing the reverses of the coins in the Berlicum find to the reverse types of the coins in a number of well-published ritual depositions in relation to fordable rivers and other waterways.

The report is an important contribution to the scientific discussion of ritual coin deposition in relation to rivers and other waterways. Unfortunately, as no summary in English or other language current in the international scientific discussion is provided, its practical use will be limited to those mastering the Dutch language. I can only hope that the authors will publish the results of their study in an international journal and subsequently on an open source platform. The results of this well-organized, well-written, carefully edited and profusely illustrated report with its convincing identification of the Berlicum find as a ritual deposition at a river crossing definitely deserves international attention.

Antony Kropff

A.L. Fischetti, P.A.J. Attema (eds.), *Alle pendici dei Colli Albani. Dinamiche insediative e cultura materiale ai confini con Roma / On the Slopes of the Alban Hills. Settlement Dynamics and Material Culture on the Confines of Rome*. Groningen: University of Groningen/Groningen Institute of Archaeology & Barkhuis Publishing, 2019. 268 p., ill., 29.7 cm (*Groningen Archaeological Studies*, vol. 35) - ISBN 978-90-429-2538-0.

This volume consists of the proceedings of the symposium "Tra Appia e Latina: dinamiche insediative e sviluppo del territorio alle pendici dei Colli Albani", held at the Royal Dutch Institute at Rome (KNIR) on February 9, 2017. The 23 papers concern subjects relating to the area of the Alban Hills, adjoining the southern suburbium of Rome, from Prehistory to the Middle Ages, with a special focus on 'minor' settlements and the interaction between human and natural elements in the landscape of this part of the Campagna Romana. In the following, the contributions are not presented in their order of publication, but rearranged with reference to the relevant arguments.

The introductory paper by Peter Attema (1-14) is devoted to the tendencies of landscape archaeology at a regional scale and presents, first, a review of the different positions of scholarship from the earliest phase of the discipline in the nineteenth century to the contribution of archaeological field survey and environmental studies in current research. The alleged 'great divide' between the in-depth analysis of specific sites and a broader geoarchaeological survey that takes into consideration also 'marginal' spaces is only apparent when considered in an integrated approach to archaeological landscapes at a regional scale.

A practical example of this approach is provided by the international research project presented by Francesca Diosono, Consuelo Manetta and Birte Poulsen (133-149), whose goal is to gather integrated information on the residential, sacred and funerary buildings along the via Appia between the XII and XVIII miles. The effectiveness of this critical approach is confirmed by their evaluation of the relationship between villas and mausoleums.

The contribution of Paolo Carafa and Maria Cristina Capanna (15-28) derives from the results of recent studies for the *Carta dell'Agro Romano*, carried out by a team of the Sapienza University of Rome. Three local case-studies in the Suburbium around the via Nomentana, the viae Latina and Appia and the via Aurelia highlight the inevitable differentiation of the relevant landscapes, as a consequence of historical phenomena of continuity and discontinuity in the settlement patterns and the exploitation of resources.

Gijs Tol, Tymon De Haas and Carmela Anastasia (29-42) present the result of their research into the minor centers in the Roman economy through the analysis of two case-studies at *Forum Appii* and the *statio ad Medias* along the via Appia. Despite the different scale and historical development of the two settlements, their role as central places is evidenced, as well as the relevance of water and the road connectivity.

In his contribution (91-104) Paolo Garofalo discusses the identification and localization of sites mentioned in ancient literary sources. First, there is the case of the *Fossae Cluiliae*, which refer to Tullus Hostilius' war against Alba Longa and probably were placed along the via Latina, and next the case of the *Lucus Ferentinae* with its namesake *Caput Aquae* that are connected to a *Porta Ferentina* mentioned in a single passage by Plutarch, and which probably led to the via Castrimeniense studied by C. Daicovici (1930) and A.L. Fischetti (2009-2019).

An extended, though preliminary study on the route of the aqueducts heading towards Rome from the south-eastern Campagna Romana is the subject of Diego Blanco's and Piero Sebastiani Del Grande's paper (157-170). The authors systematically combine data deriving from earlier scholarship, historical maps

and new excavations related to the activities of the Soprintendenza, thus highlighting the close link between protection and research.

The impressive continuity of the human presence in the Alban Hills is introduced by Flavio Altamura and Mario Federico Rolfo (43-50). In particular, the distribution and chronology of the remains of *homo Neanderthalensis* from the Mid- to the Upper Paleolithic are probably related to a reduction of the volcanic activity in certain periods.

Silvia Aglietti and Alexandra W. Bush (197-206) dedicate their work to the *Castra Albana*, whose monumental *Porta Praetoria* is presented, as well as the social aspects of the *canabae legionis*, where the foreign soldiers and their families lived, having severe problems of integration with the local population.

The role of the epigraphical evidence is highlighted by the paper of Diana Gorostidi Pi (239-250), who surveys the relationships of the *gentes* of Tusculum with Praeneste (*Decemii*), Gabii (*Plutii*) and Aricia and Nemi (through the legendary *flamen Dialis* Brixus Amonius). Andrea Pancotti (77-90) also makes use of epigraphical and archaeological sources to provide an interesting hypothesis on the identification of ancient Castrimoenium with the so-called Castellano at the boundary between Marino and Ciampino. In the same area, a number of villas are analyzed by Alessandro Betori (223-230) with reference to inscriptions on lead *fistulae* and recent discoveries.

In the proceedings equal relevance is given to those papers that had been originally conceived as posters at the conference, thus providing the authors with the possibility to broaden their topics. This is the case, for instance, of the archaeo-speleological contribution of Luca Attenni, Angelo Mele and Giuseppe Granata concerning the underground levels of the sanctuary of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium (207-216); a paper on the cult of Hercules in the Alban Hills by Chiara Baranello, Laura Mazzoni and Sara Polvere (171-178); the archival research presented by Andrea Pancotti (51-56) on the placement of proto-historical sites discovered by Alessandro Visconti in 1817; two short contributions on classes of finds from specific sites at Ciampino, such as the architectural fragments of peperino from Marcandreola (Giulia Coccagna, 251-260) and wall painting from Colle Oliva (Federica Pollari, 261-268).

Further papers present new discoveries, such as the *mansio* at Casale Molara, to the south-east of Tusculum, introduced by Lucio Benedetti and Alessia Palladin (151-156); the diverse structures found at S. Lorenzo in Lanuvio, as recorded by Luca Attenni (207-216); the new data from the Bronze Age habitation at Villaggio delle Macine, near Castel Gandolfo, presented by Micaela Angle, Pamela Cerino, Andrea Cesaretti, Giuseppe Granata and Noemi Tomei (179-184).

A special mention deserves the outstanding discovery of boundary sites at Castel Savello, placed between the adjoining territories of Aricia and Bovillae. The research group including Paolo Dalmiglio, Giuseppina Ghini, Maria Grazia Granino Cecere and Alessia Palladino (105-132) presents a masterly essay on the archaeological contexts in which watercourses, sacred areas and inscriptions are intertwined.

Archival research is the subject of the papers of Alessandro M. Jaia (185-196) and Giuliana Calcani (231-238): the former dealing with unpublished drawings of 1928 of the Villa di Pompeo at Albano; the latter identifying on the ground two lost archaeological sites where important sculptural finds were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The last contribution, which originated the whole publication as part of the research project of Agnese Livia Fischetti (57-76), contains an analysis of the route of the via Castrimeniense with important achievements for the geomorphology of the area, the identification of several sites, the study of road connectivity throughout the centuries and the outstanding excavation at Marcandreola, where an impressive continuity has been detected with funerary, productive and sacred activities from the seventh century BCE to the late Imperial period. This preliminary report precedes the forthcoming publication of the research work that Fischetti has been carrying out in the past ten years.

In conclusion, besides presenting the proceedings of a congress, the volume *Alle pendici dei Colli Albani* has become an opportunity to introduce the current state of the art of archaeological research in the Alban Hills and the neighbouring areas. As a consequence, the variety of arguments and approaches presented by the authors of the contributions has already started to stimulate further research in the relevant fields and even, in some cases, will be the starting point for future studies.

Daniele F. Maras

EVELYN E. BELL, HELEN NAGY, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. U.S.A. 5: West Coast Collections*. Roma - Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 186 pp., b/w ill., 33 cm. – ISBN 978-88-913-2185-5.

The thirty-seventh fascicle of the international corpus of Etruscan mirrors (*CSE*) is a carefully edited *catalogue raisonné* of twenty-eight items, one of which is a modern forgery (no. 20). Those in the University of California, Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, San Francisco State University, and the Frank V. de Bellis Collection are described, analyzed and dated by Evelyn E. Bell, those in the Los Angeles County Museum, Malibu, the J. Paul Getty museum, the City Museum of Santa Barbara, University of California, Santa Barbara, University Art Museum and Seattle Art Museum by Helen Nagy. Both present the history of the collections. The drawings were made by Barabara A. Forbes.

Several unengraved circular mirrors, handles and fragments were not published before. Some discs are dated by referring to *comparanda* from Bologna. In some cases, it is not clear whether they are Etruscan or Roman, for example no. 1 (studied without chemical analysis) and no. 8. The original of type handle no. 5, from Orvieto, without context, is presumed to have been made in Praeneste and subsequently imitated in Etruscan workshops during the third century BC. This is unlikely as Praeneste only produced the typical piriform mirrors. Etruscan mirrors were exported from Etruria to Latium and not vice versa.

As for the engraved scenes on mirrors, there are the well-known ones like the 'sacred conversation' scenes, the Dioskouroi (alone or flanking *dokana*) and Lasa or pseudo-Lasa. The winged, armed Menerva on tang mirror no. 14 imitates the scheme of the latter (ca. 300-275 BC). Tang mirror no. 11, from Chiusi (ca. 300 BC), shows Perseus running, holding the head of Gorgon between two seated onlookers, one of whom is armed (one of the Dioskouroi?). Enigmatic is the scene on tang mirror no. 15 (ca. 330-300 BC): Eros holding a hare opposite to a warrior, Ares or a hero of the Trojan War, e. g. Menelaos or Alexandros (Paris). Handle mirror no. 16 (ca. 300-275 BC) represents the Recognition by Tyro of her twin sons Neleus and Pelias, a scene known from one of Sophokles' *Tyro* tragedies. The scene is visible on eight other mirrors, some of which bear inscriptions. The unique scene on tang (?) mirror 21 (end fourth century BC) may show the Toilette of Helen, Helen being observed by Alexandros and a nude woman in front of a basin (*labrum*) or fence. Above them are a star, the moon and the sun. Box mirror lid relief appliqué no. 23 represents Dionysos leaning on Eros, preceded by a female *kithara*-player. It is tentatively dated between ca. 250 and 180 BC. Handle mirror no. 24, that belongs to the so-called Spiky Garland Group, is the only one with inscriptions (on the border). They read from right to left: *menle* (Menelaos), *palmithe* (Palamedes), *mera* (Menerva) and probably *prumathe* (Prometheus). The only recognizable person is Mera. The scene looks like a 'sacred conversation', with 'a symbolic, not narrative' meaning (p. 58). But what does this symbolism mean? The proposed date of the mirror (late 3rd, early 2nd century BC) has to be raised to ca. 300 BC (see my *Interpretatio etrusca.* Amsterdam 1995, 228). Tang mirror no. 25 probably illustrates Menelaos threatening Helen (ca. 400 BC). Tang mirror no. 27 shows a running Maenad who is about to tear apart a small fawn. The engraving may be modern. Tang mirror no. 28 may show the Judgement of Paris (ca. 300 BC).

The Appendix presents the results of the chemical analysis of fifteen of the twenty-eight mirrors. Table 1 contains the raw results of the analyses by Inductively Couples Plasma (ICP) Atomic Emission Spectroscopy and Table 2 the normalized results. According to the authors 'analysis of the chemical composition of the mirrors is an invaluable tool to help scholars determine where the mirrors were manufactured...' (p. 9). In my opinion, their view is too optimistic since bronze casters may have travelled from place to place.

As for the Indexes, a perfume dipstick is not a *discerniculum.* Instead of *me'ra* has to be read: *mera* (p. 182).

The fascicle is dedicated to Richard D. De Puma, great connoisseur of Etruscan mirrors. He will be proud of CSE USA 5.

L. Bouke van der Meer

ANNARENA AMBROGI, RITA PARIS (eds.), *Il Museo della via Appia antica nel Mausoleo di Cecilia*-Castrum *Caetani*. Rome/Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2020. 607 pp., figs., 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 234). – ISBN 978-88-913-1951-7.

Thanks to the initiatives of the former director of the archaeological area of the Appian Way, Rita Paris, nowadays there are several public visiting centres in the archaeological park of the Via Appia. Next to S. Maria Nuova and the Casale Cederna, the *Castrum* Gaetani, built as a medieval extension of the famous Tomb of Caecilia Metella serves as an antiquarium showing material from various tombs and other monuments collected over the past decades. Its display may not be very 'sexy', but provides a fine impression of the various structures, mainly funeral monuments, constructed in the Roman era. Paris opens the book with a presentation of the Tomb of Caecilia Metella cum *Castrum* and (re-)tells their vicissitudes from the tomb's erection ca. 27-10 BC, via the erection of the *castrum* by Francesco Gaetani in 1302-1303, up to the most recent restorations and explorations in 1997-2000. Pope Sixtus V wanted to demolish the Tomb and use the material for building projects in Rome but abandoned his plan due to fervid protest of the Romans. From the early 19th century onwards, the complex has become a depot and open-air museum sheltering stray finds from the Appian Way. An enigma not solved by Paris and Claudia Ferro (in an appendix on Caecilia's epitaph) is the question who commissioned this grandiose tomb. Carla De Stefanis describes the restoration and further interventions on the monument in the 19th century, especially focusing on Giuseppe Valadier's fundamental work in 1824, when the tomb and the *castrum* were in a woeful state. Valadier's project was innovative, since he wanted to keep the finds of the area together rather than transfer them to the Papal and Communal museums. Due to political and personal intricacies Valadier's work suffered from a total *damnatio memoriae*, so that his successor in the field, Luigi Canina, not even mentions him. De Stefani also sketches the sequel: Canina's interventions in 1851-1853 and, more extensively, those of Antonio Muñoz in 1909, who created the 'Museo di Via Appia', many pieces of which still form the core of the collection. In 1997-2000 finally the modern Antiquarium got its shape. One more contribution by De Stefanis describes excavations carried out during the latest restoration of the *Castrum* Gaetani. The *Castrum* lies against the south-eastern side of the tomb, its ancient entrance in the *Castrum*'s courtyard. After quarrying lava basalt for the road's pavement from 189 BC onwards, three round monuments were erected in the last decades of the 1st century BC, followed by some further modest graves in the time of Constantine. While the older tombs were demolished, that of Caecilia Metella probably became a fortification in the 8th century. The later developments, known from written sources, have been ascertained by the excavations.

The bulk of the book is a catalogue of 186 objects, coordinated and briefly introduced by Annarena Ambrogi and described by her and six more colleagues, De Stefani already mentioned, Daniela Bonanome (most 'figurative' items), Eliana Fileri (idem), Cecilia Proverbio (idem), and Anna Maria Rossetto (architecture). Claudia Ferro has done a fine job with her presentation of the many, exclusively funerary inscriptions, both on plaques and altars and on (fragments of) architectural and figurative monuments.

Especially Bonanome's extremely learned and dense analyses of pieces that often seem extremely unattractive call for attention. We may distinguish the following categories: (1) some 75 architectural elements, mainly in marble stemming from funerary buildings, (2) ca. 60 funerary statues, urns, sarcophagi and reliefs in travertine and marble, (3) 10 altars and cippi, (4) 50 epitaphs on slabs or blocks as well as texts on monuments of the other categories, in tuff, travertine and marble, (5) 6 pieces with mythical themes, probably from villas and other non-funerary contexts. Here one of the red porphyry Dacians of the Forum of Trajan (cat. 140) is a *rara avis*. The pieces vary from tiny chips broken of larger monuments to complete and precious items, among which the standing *togati* and *palliatae* (cat. 144-149) which grace the book's cover, as well as the superb fragmentary late Republican head (cat. 106) also illustrated on the cover.

Most objects have no exact provenance, apart from 'Via Appia', whilst one group stems from the 1877 excavations at the Appian Fort at the third mile. Some pieces entered the collection more recently, after the modern restoration and excavation campaigns and thus have a more precise provenance. The catalogue is a *Fundgrube* for the study of funerary monuments, not only those in the area of the Via Appia, but far beyond. Although the authors do not try to reconstruct complexes, every student of the ruinous tombs and other buildings along a *Gräberstraße* can use the well documented items as comparanda in his or her work. It is a pity that there is no synthesis of, say, the architectural pieces of the subsequent periods (Republic from 150 to 30, Augustus, Julio-Claudians, Flavians, etc., up to Constantine), like the studies by Barbara Borg on the tendences in funerary architecture and connected practices in the second and third centuries (B. Borg, *Crisis and Ambition. Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century Rome*, Oxford 2013; *Roman Tombs and the Art of Commemoration*, Oxford 2019), but this would not match the chosen format of a catalogue. Consequently, there are repetitions of interpretations in, e.g., descriptions of fragments of round monuments (like Caecilia Metella) and dado-shaped tombs with friezes and relief adornments. The same is true for urns and sarcophagi, occurring from the mid first century until 300. The number of 10 strigil sarcophagi is relatively high (here I miss references to J. Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi. Art & Social History*, Oxford 2015). The absence of indexes (e.g. *CIL*, names, topics, museums) is a great flaw: in this way, the book cannot easily be used as a (rich!) database for various aspects of Greco-Roman sculpture and architecture. This lack is all the more serious since the arrangement of the entries is not helpful either. The descriptions are arranged according to the display of the objects in the five exhibition rooms in the *Castrum* Caetani and in its façade. The reader has to go through the entire book to find pieces he or she is specifically interested in and may therefore miss substantial data on the interpretation of larger categories hidden within detailed descriptions. Nevertheless, the book is a fine working instrument for all scholars interested in Roman funerary art and architecture.

Eric M. Moormann

ALIX BARBET, *Coupoles, voûtes et plafonds peints d'époque romaine, I^er^-IV^e^ siècle apr. J.-C.* Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2021. 365 pp., 456 figs., 2 maps, 28.5 cm. ISBN 9-791037-006806.

In her long career as a scholar working on ancient (especially Roman) painting, Alix Barbet has always been keen to call attention to the decorations of ceilings and vaults. Field archaeologists who find fallen fragments of stucco and plaster in their digs usually connect them to mural decorations, whereas the option of collapsed coverings of buildings should be accounted for as well. This monograph is the first ever to present a huge dossier of ceiling and vault decorations and relies on Barbet's long-lasting studies as well as work by other scholars, which she always generously mentions. Barbet's book opens with some brief remarks on the types of room coverings (flat = ceiling; curved = vault; variations and combinations). She observes the lack of exact terminology in various languages or better, the frequent absence of distinction between ceilings and vaults. Some remarks on the technicalities (Chapter 1), such as the supporting material and the application of the decorative schemes are too brief for non-specialist readers. The work relies on an articulation of seven decorative schemes Barbet conceived in previous papers. She gives no explanation or justification of the origin and development of these schemes, neither does she venture a discussion of recent proposals by Paul Meyboom (in E.M. Moormann/P.G.P. Meyboom, *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma* I-II, Leuven 2013) and Johannes Lipps (*Die Stuckdecke des oecus tetrastylus aus dem sog. Augustushaus auf dem Palatin im Kontext antiker Deckenverziehrungen*, on which see my review in *BABESCH* 94, 2019, 267-268). Unfortunately, Lipps' book has entirely escaped Barbet's attention, despite its fundamental character. The bulk of this book is formed by a catalogue of more or less lengthy descriptions of the decorations of hundreds of ceilings and vaults, arranged according to her classification (and a chapter on material not attributed), dating from the early Augustan time to late Antiquity. The statement that the catalogue entries are presented in a chronological order is not borne out by the text and the topographical arrangement is not clear either. Happily, there is a topographical index which permits an easy consultation of the described cases. It is difficult to assess the completeness of the collection of the 600 vaults and ceilings assembled (not complete, see p. 315, 317). The entries sometimes include succinct references to 'more' cases, apparently belonging to complexes badly explored. The group of vaults studded with stars, for instance, has one mithraeum (Bordeaux, p. 44), whereas various other examples are well known. And other mithraeum vaults are almost entirely absent, although they have decorations. The numerous examples of rectangular and circular trellises could be enriched, but here we often see that the same schemes occurred on walls as well. Barbet is aware of this problem and includes a few murals (e.g., p. 80: Voerendaal): would they be ceilings according to her? At p. 311, 315, 317 Barbet admits that many examples can be added. My remark on (in)completeness is not meant as a criti-

cism for failing ambitions, but only as a wish for the selection of the dossier to be better explained.

Chapters 2-4 are dedicated to three large groups of articulation schemes: 'décors à réseau' or trellis and coffer decorations, *vela* and draperies, and free compositions. It would be easy to quibble about the attribution of one scheme from one group to the other. The stray flowers and stars within the trellis types (p. 43-49) can be seen as free compositions of the last category as well. Especially the detailed articulation of the trellis and coffer schemes into 27 groups (chapter 3; see Lipps 2018 on this scheme) looks too complicated and might give rise to discussions for which this review unfortunately cannot be a platform. For me the 'coffers' of figs. 75, 100 and 103 do not differ greatly, all having floral motifs in a cross scheme within square fields. Plastically detailed renderings of coffer mouldings do not principally differ from simpler cases of outlines, but demonstrate stylistic developments of the same notion rather than different concepts (cf. figs. 76, 77, 138-139, 143, 163, 169, 172). Especially the octagonal coffers constitute clear translations from 3D originals in wood or marble into 2D paintings (many cases, pp. 94-112; some circle schemes are, undeservedly, included in this class, e.g., figs. 144, 146-147). In this group, one of the first cases would be the vault of the subterranean garden room of the Villa of Livia at Primaporta. In a brief comment, Barbet tries to define specific contexts like corridors and passage rooms. However, the presence of central scenes (a sort of *emblemata*) in various instances points at static rooms. The connection between floors and ceilings or vaults cannot be established in most cases, although Barbet has pointed at the relevance of the formal dialogue of two media in other publications. The iconographic analysis is laconically brief.

Chapter 4 inventories the small, but fascinating set of decorations composed with veils (*vela*) and other elements of fabric, seemingly suspended above the users of a room as a dais. In Hellenistic tombs in Alexandria, they protect the exposed corpses of the dead. Etruscan tomb ceiling could be cited as well in this context. In Roman times, this practice was not followed in tomb decorations, as evinces from Barbet's dossier. Some adornments look like seashells and adorn semi-circular niches (figs. 197, 305). 'Free' compositions (Chapter 5) include decorations of freely arranged figural motifs like flowers, flower scrolls, fish, birds, and human figures, as well as combinations thereof. They contrast, according to Barbet, with the more systemized equally free-standing elements ('jonchées' vs. 'sémis') of Chapter 2 (p. 143), but as said, I fail to observe great differences (cf. figs. 53-54 with figs. 214-215). Not rarely, v*ela* form part of larger compositions, which could belong to Barbet's typology of centralized compositions discussed in chapter 6 (e.g., figs. 195, 210-212, 305). This chapter 6 dossier is the largest among her sets of ceiling and vault decorations. Figural motifs seem to play a major role, since they occupy small and big fields inserted into schemes of parallel bands as well as into the central rectangle or circle (sometimes reminiscent of a cupola's *oculus*, as in the Volta Dorata of Nero's Golden House; e.g., figs. 249, 270, 317). Chapter 7 has similar decorations, but now characterized by large fields placed in juxtaposition. This group differs from the previous category by the absence of concentric bands as organisational features, although frameworks occur (e.g., fig. 305). Among the earliest examples are the House of Augustus and the Aula Isiaca from the 40s-30s BC (figs. 297-302). Barbet dates them to the early Third Style (p. 211), although she also gives the correct earlier dating for the House of Augustus (p. 26; cf. Lipps 2018 for the chronology). In Chapter 8, vaults with a central accentuation and diagonal and/or rectangular axes are assembled. As those of previous classes, they run from the beginning of the 1st through to the 3rd and 4th c. with dating based rather on stylistic criteria than on archaeological data. The final chapter 9 contains cases which cannot be attributed to one of the seven categories. In most cases, these are fragments found in excavations. The cryptoporticus of the Domus Tiberiana (p. 307-308) is the same as was discussed in Chapter 7 (p. 241-243, fig. 374). In my opinion, the depicted section belongs to the Flavian era, rather than the time of the Severi and can be compared to post-Neronian examples in the Golden House (figs. 305-307).

A major positive quality is the lavish apparatus of figures which present almost all decorations treated, a treasure trove for all future students of this sort of material. Many photos were taken by the author in a timespan from the late 1960s to recent years and testify to Barbet's enviable knowledge of the original material. A special feature is the insertion of photo montages around the ground plan of a building, which offer the opportunity to study all decorations at the same time (e.g., figs. 188-189, 193, 259, 269, 305, 307). Similar compositions show ceiling or vault decorations and their details in one picture (e.g., figs. 249, 270, 272, 318-320). In this way, the reader can easily determine the width of variation and/or single scheme (e.g., Ostia, figs. 370, 373). If I see it correctly, the Domus Transitoria and Domus Aurea display the greatest variation of compositions (figs. 290, 303-313).

Thanks to the large amount of material, the book offers in the first place a reference catalogue. The author has not tried to sketch a chronological or typological development and regarding iconographical themes she says a few words in the brief conclusion only. We would like to know more, but the book can be a starting point for interpretative research. In coming works on interior decoration, it will be an indispensable tool. Painted ceilings and vaults as such stimulate other question as well. One of them: did the painters, who were responsible for both walls and ceilings or vaults (p. 42), take into account the standpoint of the viewer? The many floating figures seem to give an affirmative example, but the architectural elements do not (or barely) have 'distorted' forms. Take a set of images in portico 1-2 of the Villa of San Marco in Stabiae (fig. 281). The Mercury flanked by nymphs is rendered frontally, as seen on a wall, whereas the stellar hemisphere should indeed be looked at from below. The same is true for a portrait medallion in the nearby Villa of Ariadne and surrounding mythical figures (figs. 282-284).

The name index is not complete; I missed *i.a.* Actaeon, Gigantes, Vents (p. 207), Hector and Andromache (p. 222), Hylas (p. 230).

In sum, Barbet's monograph is an important addition to the vast literature on interior decoration of houses and public buildings in the Roman Empire. The data collection does not get an assessment by the author and is now above all a jewel box from which future students may, and will, pick relevant treasures. A sequel would be an interpretative study of ceiling and vault decorations, tackling questions on décor and space, style, iconography, time and region, and many more.

Eric M. Moormann

HENRI BROISE, JOHN SCHEID, *Recherches archéologiques à La Maglina* 3. *Un bois sacré du* Suburbium *romain. Topographie générale du site* ad Deam Diam. Rome: École Française Rome / Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti Paesaggio di Roma, 2020. 522 pp., 410 figs, 18 folding plates, 28.5 cm (Roma antica 8). – ISBN 978-2-7283-1476-8.

Between 1975 and 2014, archaeologists from the French School in Rome have carried out investigations in the area around the railway station La Magliana, between Rome and Fiumicino. As early as the sixteenth century, vestiges were known of a monument associated with the *fratres arvales* thanks to the find of inscriptions with their protocols and calendar. The editors of the volume, prime experts in both the field project and the political and religious aspects of the Arval Brethren, were involved in this project from the outset and have delivered an excellent final report of their explorations, carried out in close collaboration with colleagues from the Superintendency. The book's authors include French, Belgian, and Italian collaborators, each writing in his or her native tongue, so that sometimes within the same chapter the readers have to reset their linguistic minds, changing from French to Italian and vice versa. All fifteen authors have signed their sections with initials listed at the end of the book.

Antonella Corsaro is responsible for two historical chapters. The first is on the sixteenth-century explorations, mainly known from some drawings and notes by Alonso Chacón, Sallustio Peruzzi and Pirro Ligorio. Although Ligorio has yielded the most extensive notes, he compiled his remarks after his stay in Rome and gleaned his information indirectly. These first explorations brought to light part of an allegedly tetrastyle temple in which bases and busts of second- and third-century emperors were found in their quality as Arval Brethren. Between 1857 and 1890 local tenants, the Ceccarelli brothers, carried out more or less yearly excavations. Corsaro has worked out the notes and (few) publications of these hardly systematical works and provides a detailed year-by-year overview, sometimes difficult to follow due to the lack of contemporary illustrations and plans of the trenches. The active interventions of the German scholar Wilhelm Jensen were instrumental for the study of the numerous fragments of inscriptions related to the Arval Brethren. Both chapters are supplemented by transcriptions of relevant source material.

The lion's share is the documentation of the 1975-2014 excavations, presented in clearly articulated chapters and subchapters, with contributions on specific material categories by experts (e.g. architectural pieces of the round Severan temple, published by Emmanuelle Rosso, pp. 212-242). There is a difference in documenting the explorations between the Italian and French parts: the French authors include separate lists of important finds within the descriptions of the archaeological fieldwork, whereas diagnostic objects get a place in the narrative of the Italian sections. The maps of figs. 51 and 58 (pp. 181, 184) are extremely relevant to the understanding of the descriptions, but unfortunately show some inconsistencies or lack details like excavation dates and indications of stratigraphic units (US). Yet, the reader can get a perfect insight from the meticulous presentations, – and displaying the results of fieldwork is not always as easy as it might seem. The reader also obtains a good overview of the remains and the reconstructions of the various phases and their defining elements. Whereas traces of the Republican and Augustan phases are scarce, some elements of a large Flavian intervention can be distinguished. The bulk of traces and finds belongs to the Severan era, viz. the rotunda reconstructed like a small version of the Pantheon, the southern part of the portico around the sacred terrain, and the adjacent baths. A precinct surrounded three sections which corresponded, as becomes clear in the evaluation of these findings, with three terraces, with the *lucus* around the rotunda 'on top' (on the highest level), a gathering place connected with a sanctum for the emperors in the middle (the *Tetrastylum* found in 1570), and baths at the lowest level. The location of the circus remains uncertain, although some blocks found outside the precinct seem to belong to the starting line and would, therefore, present a clue as to its location.

The third part of the book entails the interpretation of vestiges and cult practices and gives an important *summa* of the knowledge acquired over decades of meticulous research. The discussion of the various aspects includes a reassessment of some previous sections (e.g. the value of the 1570 documentation), but the users of the book, many of whom will presumably not read the entire text, will get an easier access to the work in this way. For this reason some repetition is not irritating, but welcome as a help to give more easy access to the results. Since, in the view of the editors, all purely interpretative parts apparently belong to this section, the reader finds here 'comments' on material presented before. So the shell motif present on cornices described before by Rosso is now explained by Scheid in detail: the shell would refer to heaven and express the qualities of Dea Dia as a celestial goddess who stimulated the growth of grain. A fine section is Cécile Evers' discussion of the three (out of originally nine) imperial portraits, also mentioned before. An important issue is the specific crown composed of grain stalks and long fabric ribbons which fall on the shoulder ('couronne d'épis et bandelettes blanches'). Evers discusses the old references and collection history and

gives fine reflections on possible further candidates in this gallery, as well as effigies of other Arval priests. Scheid interprets the 'bois sacré' – part of the complex located on the upper terrace around or near the rotunda – as a realm of the gods, where men should not change anything, and which connects human and celestial spheres. The extensive inscriptions of the Arval Brethren published previously and most extensively by Scheid, are contextualized by Carlotta Caruso who discusses the texts in a chronological order. Whereas the texts from 20 BC until Claudius probably featured on columns, from Nero to Diocletian the text were inscribed on arcaded walls of a monumental structure. In the Flavian age they were 'published' on the walls of the tetrastylum, dedicated to *diui* Vespasian and Titus, on the second terrace. Later on, other walls were graced with these 'minutes' of the Arval activities which became less frequent and extensive over the subsequent decades. A brief section on the late-Antique interventions, including the installment of a nearby Catacomb complex, and a summary of the results complete this impeccable publication.

This brief presentation can barely do justice to the importance, intellectual depth, and richness of this study. It forms the superb conclusion of a long series of publications and adds important data to suburban religious practices in and around Rome throughout the Republican and Imperial era.

Eric M. Moormann

Paolo Giulierini, Antonella Coralini, Valeria Sampaolo (eds), *La pittura vesuviana: picta fragmenta: una rilettura*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2020. 680 pp., ills., 29.5 cm. (Le archeologie. Storie, ricerche, metodi) - ISBN 978-88-836643943.

This huge volume contains 53 papers plus pre- and postfaces by editor Antonella Coralini, based on conference contributions presented in 2018 and peer-reviewed after submission. The involvement of the director of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN), Paolo Giulierini, and his predecessor Valeria Sampaolo, is justified since much of the research deals with musealized material from the Vesuvian area. Moreover, Sampaolo is an acknowledged scholar in the field of Pompeian wall painting. The format of the book is similar to a volume edited by Coralini (*Vesuviana. Archeologia a confronto*, Bologna 2009) and it precedes proceedings to be edited by her of the 14th international congress of the Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique (AIPMA) held in 2019 in Naples. An overkill of painting studies, therefore, or a fine and necessary addition to the wide field of *pompeianistica*? I would answer positively, since the contributions presented here show methodological rigour and innovative aspects, planned as desirable outcome by Coralini, as formulated in her introduction. These qualities complement the 2009 volume considerably. Since it is impossible to discuss all papers, I will touch only upon the main themes.

In the footsteps of pioneering studies by Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, Coralini has advocated over the years that the re-contextualisation of paintings stored in museums (esp. those from Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Pompeii in the MANN, but also elsewhere, e.g. Pozzuoli, see D. Neyme in this volume) or in private collections (see A. Barbet) is important in order to get a better understanding of those isolated pieces and their original contexts, and also of the methods and history of their excavation. The secondary 'excavations' in the museum storages are wittily labeled 'Alibi' by the editors and presented in contributions on material from some of the oldest excavations in Pompeii: the *Praedia* of Julia Felix (Sampaolo) and the so-called Villa of Cicero (R. Ciardiello) as well as Stabiae (M.C. Napolitano). Many orphaned pieces are returned to their original context in a virtual form (e.g. 'Area Sacra' in Herculaneum: M. Notomista). An unexpected source is the model of Pompeii made in the 1860s in the MANN, where murals are rather precisely represented (paper D. Malfitana et al.), so that it can serve to reconstruct decorative contexts. A separate section 'Alibi' has, *i.a.*, papers on an manuscript by F. Galiani, member of the 18th-century Accademia Ercolanese, about paintings. P. D'Alconzo, known for many contributions on the early excavations and their documentation, shows how this scholar gave a fascinating sketch of ancient painting much beyond the antiquarian presentation of the fragments cut from the walls in the earliest excavations. The importance of old drawings as well as their flaws (G. Stefani on the Macellum in Pompeii) and virtual refitting of fragments into schemes (Coralini and M. Lioncelli) are made clear as well.

August Mau's famous 'Four Styles' have been criticized since their 'invention' in the 1870s, but are still a workable format or tool. Allroggen-Bedel gives a fine portrait of their inventor, who was more admired outside than within German academia despite his great achievements. Indeed, in most papers Mau's articulation is used as a tool to date and interpret paintings from campanian sites. D. D'Auria discusses some pre-Roman decors at Pompeii, whereas R. Benassai, C. Regis, and O. Vauxon present (pre-)Second-Style material from Campania and Cuma. Some other complexes, *i.a.* the Villa of Oplontis, display murals from various phases and are good cases to discuss changing tastes, including the 'marmorization' of opulent villas in the first century AD (R. Gee and J. Clarke, main reseachers of this villa and (Clarke) editor of the magnificent e-book volumes on Oplontis). Genres and iconography yield one more section, with *i.a.* contributions on still lifes, brilliantly analysed within the house contexts as token of prosperity and luxury (S. Costa), villa depictions and the possible relation with real villas (Josef Souček), and dogs (M. Di Gerio and A. Fuscone). R. Federico interprets the lavish architectural backgrounds of mythological scenes as reminiscences of Second Style paintings in a new setting of (suggested) wealth in the course of the first century AD. L. Caso suggests a relation between a priest of Venus, Istacidia Rufilla, and the elderly lady ('domina') in the grand frieze of the Villa of the Mysteries. Entirely new and an incentive for further study is an essay on gestures in

figural scenes by F. Fagioli, M. Salvadori, and C. Sbrolli: they analyse finger snapping as a specific gesture. A mix of iconography and connection with space is addressed in papers on Egyptianizing and garden scenes (A.K. Koponen, R. Montella, É. Morvillez), paintings in specific rooms like *alae* and baths (E. Cova, L. Narès). Montella proposes a three-dimensional rendering of Pompeian garden paintings on the basis of the eye of the beholder versus the objects and statues standing in the greenery and surrounded or separated by fences. Frankly, I doubt whether the 3d suggestions (here translated into models) were envisaged so precisely by the artists.

Another programmatic topic is the archaeometric study of paintings, both *in situ* and in museum contexts. Coralini, again, gives a state-of-the-art paper, addressing the various questions and methods, and introduces the diverse approaches in the section dedicated to these matters. Economy is one of the topics involved as well: how long did the work last and how many painters did you need? See F. Bologna's paper on the House of the Unfinished Murals in Pompeii. Hence, what would be the price, also taking into account the pigments used. A fascinating source, unexpected in this mainly Campanian context, is the painters' shop (also workshop) dating to the third or fourth century AD excavated in the area of Sant'Omobono in Rome, mainly known thanks to the archaic temples. The sets of pigments found contain ingredients for different blues and for other colours, each with different prices (M. Ceci and H. Becker). The restauration projects presented pertain to both fragments in the MANN and Campanian houses and villas. We can observe a combination of documentation, virtual re-assembly, and *in situ* interventions, providing a huge mass of data and a wide array of new insights (e.g. Herculaneum, House of the Bicentenary: F. Sirano et al.; L. Rainer et al.). Coralini concludes the volume with a brief, but promising statement: '*Picturae*. Per una lettura al plurale' in which she shows the perspectives of large and collaborative projects which have the advantage of working together of archaeologists, restorers, historians, and information technology people (to mention just a few…) and the combination and integration of their different approaches. Let us hope that this volume will get a good diffusion and will become an example for further projects, both in Campania and beyond.

A full general bibliography (luckily, instead of separate bibliographies for each paper), name and place indices, English summaries (unfortunately not flawless), and a list of authors constitute the conclusion of this perfectly curated volume. Compliments to the editors, therefore, and in the first place to Antonella Coralini who, with her many briefer and longer interventions has become a leading scholar in this exciting field of pluriform approaches to ancient mural painting.

Eric M. Moormann

UMBERTO PAPPALARDO, SYBILLE GALKA, AMEDEO MAIURI, CARLO KNIGHT, LUCIA BORRELLI, MASSIMO CULTRARO, *Heinrich Schliemann a Napoli*. Con una nota di Paolo Giulierini. Napoli: Francesco D'Amato editore, 2021. 262 pp., 21 cm. Orsa Maggiore - ISBN 978-88-55250528.

The 'discoverer' of Troy and excavator of mainland Mycenaean sites, Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), was a great lover of Naples. Pompeii, the main archaeological site in the area, also got his intensive attention and it has long been known that he fostered a friendship with its post-1860 excavator Giuseppe Fiorelli. The director of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN), Paolo Giulierini, opens the book with a passionate introduction into the topic, revealing that Schliemann had thought of selling 'Priam's Treasure' to the Naples museum, since there it would attract many visitors. A brief introduction by the editor, Umberto Pappalardo, is followed by a succinct biography of Schliemann by the director of the Schliemann museum in Ankershagen, Sibylle Galka. She describes the extraordinary development of Schliemann's fortune (both economic and intellectual). Although her sketch does not contain many novelties for readers acquainted with this subject, it offers a fine, slightly romanticized but at the same time critical assessment. A brief essay by the 20th-century excavator of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Amedeo Maiuri (1886-1963), does not shed much new light on Schliemann, while it is a nice historical document. No source is indicated for this piece, the introduction to an Italian translation to Schliemann's autobiography (mentioned at pp. 77-78, where part of it is quoted again).

Galka hints at one of the main topics of the book, the possible transfer of Priam's treasure to Naples. Pappalardo, rather unnecessarily, retells Schliemann's *vita* before passing to his ten documented trips to Naples which can be reconstructed on the basis of his own documents. Pappalardo is right in defining the visits as those of (1) a general tourist, (2) a *cognoscente*, and (3) a professional archaeologist (p. 61), as we may glean from the pages of his diary (p. 159-160), Like his letters to Fiorelli edited in 1926 in a nowadays rare booklet presented in facsimile at the end of this publication, these pages are written in an "italiano talvolta davvero ostrogotico" (facsimile p. 18). These pages show how his insights regarding various archaeological sites grew in the course of his stays in Naples. During his visits to Pompeii and the MANN, Schliemann apparently paid more attention to minutiae than to important pieces. Despite his wealth he was extremely parsimonious and did barely enjoy the amenities Naples offered the well-to-do traveller. Among his contacts we find the famous Pompeii excavator Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823-1896) and the minister and archaeologist Ruggiero Bonghi (1826-1895), as well as the medical doctor/physical anthropologist Giustiniano Nicolucci (1819-1904), whose academic interests were comparable to those of Schliemann's friend Rudolf Virchow in Berlin. When he failed to get access to Hissarlık around 1875, Schliemann considered taking up residence in Italy and the study of prehistoric sites connected with the Homeric heroes and their *nostoi*. The idea of offering 'Priam's Treasure' to the MANN was proffered by Fiorelli, but seemed impossible to Schliemann due to its size, despite

the great influx of tourists to Naples, interested in his finds rather than those of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

One of the possible sites of interest to Schliemann was Arpi, researched by Nicolucci, who is the subject of two contributions. In the first, Lucia Borrelli, director of the Naples University Anthropological Museum, describes the history of Schliemann's donation of a collection of finds from layer II at Troy to Nicolucci, now conserved in the museum. Borrelli describes the epistolary exchange of courtesies and books between the two self-made archaeologists. The donation comprised some 200 pieces stemming from Troy II's Yortan Culture (p. 97), dating to ca. 3000 BC. New research has procured a better understanding and the material has been newly displayed for the public. Thorough research on Nicolucci and other prehistoric archaeologists in Italy by Massimo Cultraro (who wrote extensively both on these scholars and on Schliemann in Italy) makes clear how the Italian scholars esteemed the finds from the early layers of Troy as *comparanda* for their own Italian finds. Schliemann also donated material to Luigi Pigorini, by far the most important prehistorian in 19th-century Italy, in Rome, and to Edoardo Brizio in Bologna. Due to various circumstances, there is no fourth Schliemann collection, planned for Reggio Emilia. The plans to donate material to its museum failed due to Schliemann's death in 1890. Cultraro sketches the place the lithic objects presented by Schliemann occupied in the growing number of studies on old cultures in Italy.

A not very relevant excursus is Carlo Knights' contribution about Fiorelli and Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli. He elucidates how the great Pompeii explorer got into problems due to a misalliance with a poor Neapolitan girl, and children who were never legalized. For this reason, Fiorelli was happy to leave Naples to pursue a career in Rome. In his fine piece Knight shows Fiorelli's dark sides, that is his bad behaviour towards the girl as well as his great vanity expressed by the erection of his portrait at the museum. He expands on Fiorelli's contact with Caetani Lovatelli, one of the earliest female archaeologists in Italy and holder of a grand cultural and political salon in Rome. Here Fiorelli was among the frequently returning guest (see on her Floris Meens, *Archeologe en muze. Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli en het culturele leven in Rome tijdens het Fin de siècle*, PhD Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen 2015, with English summary).

Pappalardo, finally, presents a transcript of the aforementioned diary pages pertaining to three of Schliemann's sojourns in Campania. At the end, there is the facsimile, also referred to above, of the rare booklet from 1926 with the correspondence between Schliemann and Fiorelli.

The book would have profited from a rigid editing process. The bibliographical references (in notes and bibliographies) are not standardized. Many quotes from letters and other documents occur more than once, but there are no internal cross references, although all contributions deal with the same topic. Yet, this small book deserves attention from all those who are interested in Schliemann's excavations in Mycenaean Greece and the formation of prehistory in Italy. The Neapolitan flavour conveys a fine background to Schliemann's Greek undertakings.

Eric M. Moormann

PATRIZIO PENSABENE (ed.), *Il complesso di Augusto sul Palatino. Nuovi contributi all'interpretazione delle strutture e delle fasi*. Rome/Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 344 pp., figs., 8 pls., 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 243). – ISBN 978-88-913-2050-6.

With this book Patrizio Pensabene wraps up recent and older scientific work in the complex commonly known as the 'House of Augustus'. Recently, it has become clear that the oldest structures excavated by Gianfilippo Carettoni, but never properly published despite many articles and books up to and including Maria Antonietta Tomei's 2014 edition of his excavation diaries, should be called the 'House of Octavian': the remains belong to the first house of Caesar's heir, built between 42 and 36 BC. The construction of the Temple of Apollo demanded a new, grander project and implied the obliteration of this dwelling. Like Johannes Lipps (*Die Stuckdecke des oecus tetrastylus aus dem sog. Augustushaus auf dem Palatin im Kontext antiker Deckenverzierungen*, Tübingen 2018; idem, Ceiling Decor Contextualised: A Case Study from the 'Casa di Augusto' on the Palatine, in A. Haug/M.T. Lauritsen (ed.), *Décor* 2. *Principles of Decoration in the Roman World*, Berlin/Boston 2021, 91-106), Pensabene and his team (here represented by Patrizio Fileri and Enrico Gallocchio) were actively involved in the most recent explorations in the house's surroundings (see P. Pensabene, *Scavi del Palatino*, Rome 2017). The present study is a mix of meticulous archaeological and architectural analyses and attempts at interpreting the vestiges, which mix makes it sometimes difficult to read. As to the 'House of Octavian', discussed in Part I, the possible ideological significance of the house's decorations are partly elaborated on, partly glossed over. The author sees connections with the prince's *vita*, luckily without overstating the supposed messages of the upcoming youngster. He suggests that the two rooms without windows, known as Stanza delle maschere and Stanza dei festoni di pini, were intended for 'rituali d'iniziazione' (pp. 65-67), a function we do not know from any ancient house, except for the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii (at least, according to some scholars). The veracity of such a specific suggestion should be argued more extensively. Personally, I would rather interpret them as private, cool *cubicula*, located at a certain distance from sections of the mansion which open to the south, as we know from Pompeii in great abundance. Vitruvius' remark on orientation and specific use in specific seasons might be apposite.

After 36, there came a 'casa interrotta': a never completed project, some bare walls of which can be observed in the complex labyrinth of remains (in later sections of the book some more vestiges are presented). This building was planned to be much larger than the House of Octavian and included luxurious *oeci*, called *cyzicenus* and *aegyptiacus* (unfortunately, both terms

and the relevant features in the remains are not explained). Some marble elements from both the first and probably the second phase were taken out to be reused in the new still much grander complex around the temple of Apollo, constructed between 36 and 28 BC. The rooms themselves served as part of the substructures of the new complex's podium.

The shrine and its annexes constitute the subject of part II. Pensabene explains the religious and ideological match Apollo had with his neighbours Victoria, Magna Mater, Pales, and Vesta, all venerated in this area of the Palatine. There follows a detailed description of the substructures, the only remains of the temple which would have remained standing until a fire in AD 363, after which disaster the (cult) statues and marble elements vanished into lime kilns except for some tiny fragments. On the basis of these broken pieces, Pensabene reconstructs a façade of 28 m height, with columns cum capitals of 14.68 m; the capitals were gilded (p. 94, fig. II.1.c), while the building was left white, which corresponds to Virgil's, Propertius', and Ovid's evocations of the monument. Rising in a high position, the temple front shone brilliantly for spectators looking up from the Circus Maximus/Valle Murcia (p. 119). Pensabene gives sound reasons to reject Amanda Claridge's proposal to reconstruct the Temple of Apollo with its front directed towards the north. The author presents a fine reconstruction of the temple's huge doors. The iconography of the reconstructed door frame (i.a. griffins and tripods) corresponded to the mythical scenes executed in ivory relief on the *valvae*, with Apollo as the protagonist, known from Propertius: the slaughter of the Niobids and expulsion of the Celts from the Parnassus. The House of Augustus itself has left no traces, since on its location the Domus Flavia and Augustana (and maybe before them Nero's Palatine palace) were erected.

Part III is dedicated to traces of the edifices surrounding the temple, first and foremost of which is the Porticus of the Danaids, inaugurated in 25 BC. One of the first events taking place here was the *Ludi saeculares* of 17 BC. As in the previous sections the reader gets a mix of technical and detailed *Bauforschung* (e.g. the terraces extending to the South, see p. 169, fig. III.14) and interpretation, all documented with many images. Augustus' residence gets somewhat out of sight, but, Pensabene locates parts of it in the House of Livia at the northern side of the temple terrace (p. 171). A three-aisled 'basilica' at the eastern side and a round shape can be reconstructed as an extension, on top of the 'Casa interrotta' and with the 'Bagni di Livia' (older than the Neronian era, as is generally assumed, or Neronian after all, see p. 221) as elements of it next to the tholos-shaped Temple of Vesta. The nymphaeum was covered by the Domus Flavia and the Casino Farnese.

In the following, further arguments are given for the interpretation of the House of Livia as part of the house of Octavian/Augustus after 36. First, pilasters clad with opus latericium in the oldest house belong to the substructures of the Aedes Caesaris. Second, changes caused by both the reshaping of the Porticus of the Danaids as well as the construction of the Domus Flavia are described. There are some more elements discussed: a multi-column entrance and a memorial arch at the north side of the temple and a small shrine on the Scalae Caci, dedicated to Cybele and added in the late first or second century AD.

In the fourth section, the House of Livia is addressed one more time. Now a dense analysis of th architectural remains is given, in which various phases, from an archaic cistern up to the construction of the Aedes Caesaris, are distinguished. From the development sketched here, there results a sequence of buildings, such as a porticus connected with a portico around the temples of Victoria and Magna Mater, constructed after a fire in 111 BC, subsequently changed into the lower floor of a house, and then partly rebuilt after 36. The lower house, well known for its paintings, might be part of the House of Octavian just before or just after 36 BC. The correspondences of the decor (and of the flooring) with that of the House of Octavian would suggest both being simultaneously decorated. Pensabene argues that these rooms originally had a function as the *Curia Saliorum* (p. 274, 284), the Salii being an old sacred college known from the sources. It would be one more appropriation into Augustus' realm of an old institution on the Palatine. Yet, its new decor does not reveal anything but an interest in Egyptian cults and shows no reminiscence of the old cult. This section got new stairs and an 'atrium' accessible under the new house and its follow-up. A brief conclusive chapter brings together all elements.

The text is dense and abundantly provided with illustrations. However, these are often very small and for that reason less informative than one would like. This is a pity, especially while the situation is so complex and the site is not easily accessible, even for experts. In the bibliography, one misses a reference to Fleury and Madeleine 2019, very important in Pensabene's reasoning: Le sanctuaire d'Apollon, trait d'union entre le Palatin d'Auguste et celui des Flaviens. Proposition de restitution virtuelle, in *Neronia X : Le Palatin, émergence de la colline du pouvoir à Rome : de la mort d'Auguste au règne de Vespasien, 14-79 p.C.*, Bordeaux 2019, 167-182. It may be clear that this book will establish a firm foundation for further studies on this part of the Palatine, so important for the history of Augustan Rome and its connection with previous and later periods.

Eric M. Moormann

STEFAN ARDELEANU, *Numidia Romana? Die Auswirkungen der römischen Präsenz in Numidien (2. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.).* Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2021. xii, 576 pp., 174 ill., 36 plates, 30 cm *(Archäologische Forschungen* 38) – ISBN 9783954905096.

Even before one has read any of the contents, one will be suitably impressed by this monograph: a hardcover folio-sized volume weighing a hefty three kilograms, almost 600 double-column pages on glossy paper, with 4430 footnotes, and many illustrations and maps. It looks like a worthy successor to the equally impressive 1979 catalogue of an exhibition at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn (*Die Numidier. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*, edited by Heinz Günther Horn and

Christoph B. Rüger). But while that catalogue was a tell-all-you-know about Numidia (now hopelessly outdated), the book by Ardeleanu has a more specific goal: as the question mark in the title, and the subtitle, "the effects of the Roman presence in Numidia", make clear, this study revolves around the perennial issue of 'Romanization'. That regrettably inexterminable word is avoided here, except to explain why the R-word is not used: the author questions the Romanization model, with its binary opposition of Roman and indigenous (Numidian, Libyan, Berber). For the same reasons, he also finds fault with a supposed Punicization in pre-Roman days, with its simplistic opposition of Punic and indigenous. Another break with much of scholarly tradition is Ardeleanu's rejection of the dogma of "l'Afrique retardée", a Northern Africa where nothing much happens until the early 2nd century AD when with the so-called "African boom" a Roman urban culture starts blossoming. As Ardeleanu pithily states: his main interest lies not with an impressive monumentalized townscape such as Thamagudi, but with "the road that led to Thamagudi" (4), the urban development in Numidia from Hellenistic days onwards – which he seeks to show was there, without the need to wait for Roman initiatives.

To study the settlement history of an area that stretches some 450 kilometres from east to west, and almost as much from north to south, over a period of three centuries, from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century AD, seems something of a Herculean task. Of the few qualified to tackle this task, Ardeleanu certainly is one of the front-runners: he has an imposing bibliography to his name, largely dealing with Roman Africa. He shows himself in command of all types of evidence, and has an intimate knowledge of sites and finds that comes from autopsy. The present volume is the shortened and updated version of Ardeleanu's 2015 Berlin dissertation, incorporating relevant literature up to the spring of 2018 (and some more recent work by Ardeleanu himself).

In addition to the introduction and the conclusion, the book consists of two sections: I) the theoretical framework: concepts and models; and II) the developments from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century AD, divided into six chapters. The first section is not the obligatory run-through of 'theories' encountered in many dissertations, but a thoughtful, important discussion of a number of central concepts, and as such it is an integral part of this book. Ardeleanu argues that his rejection of Punicization and Romanization, but also of Hellenization and "Autochtonologie", and the flawed binaries from which these depart (Roman v. Numidian and so on – the constituent parts of which are in fact also devoid of meaning) add up to an abandonment of the acculturation model. To my mind, this is not the case: despite frequent misuse, acculturation, originally, is a neutral concept that states that when human groups in the broadest sense meet, this will have some influence on all sides. Culture contact leads to culture change. It need not be a meeting between two sides: it could be any number, although the complexity of the analysis has of course led many to leave it at two parties – and obviously these were often reduced to ethnicities. Ardeleanu's alternative, of a Mediterranean-wide connectivity and its consequences, seems to me to be a beautiful example of the study of acculturation as it should be. But this disagreement about the right vocabulary aside, his conceptual discussion is exemplary.

Of the six chapters in the second section, the first deals with the developments per region, distinguishing between the western Pertica Carthageniensium (the area around Thugga), the Thusa, the Pertica Sicca Venerias, the Campi Magni of the valley of the Medjerda, the Cirtensis and the South, with the limes, every region with its own characteristics and specific history – which again shows how huge a subject is broached here. Delve deeper and things become ever more complex, and their analysis more complicated. There follow three chapters on specific kinds of building activity: private dwellings and workshops; sanctuaries; and necropoleis. Within the limits of this review it is impossible to summarize Ardeleanu's findings – his own summaries that conclude each chapter count from about 1500 to 4500 words. Two recurring conclusions are the long history of Numidian urbanism reaching back to Hellenistic days, and regional differentiation. A fifth chapter takes a closer look at urban buildings with an economic purpose (*macella*, *horrea*, and so on, but also harbour installations), but widens the scope to include the economic life of Numidia in general, discussing the grain trade, marble quarrying, and the distribution of pottery and of coins. Here again, it can be shown that trade networks – which embraced much of the Mediterranean – were already in place in pre-Roman days. In this chapter, even more so than in the others, Ardeleanu is doing ground-breaking work: the economic history of Numidia in Hellenistic and early imperial times is largely *terra incognita*. In the sixth chapter we zoom out and look again at the settlement history of pre- and early Roman Numidia. If we combine the evidence laid out in the previous chapters, we are confronted with a vibrant urban landscape from the 2nd century BC onwards: two maps (plates 35 and 36) with the consolidated sources make this abundantly clear.

In his conclusion, Ardeleanu underlines again that we have no *tabula rasa* waiting for the Romans to create an urban network. *The* urban settlements in Numidia have a three centuries long history – and along the coast five or more centuries before that (as far as that previous history is concerned, Ardeleanu stresses that Punic influence should not be overestimated either). A huge variety of late 3rd- to late 2nd-century BC settlements acquire urban characteristics, in a century in which the connectivity within the area reached an unprecedented level and the political situation changed completely. "Variety" is a key word here: a city like Thamagudi is utterly unrepresentative, every community is different. Town walls, sanctuaries, living quarters and workshops, funereal monuments, and the degree of monumentalization all show regional differentiation.

Picking individual elements (*tophetim*, podium temples, *opus signinum* floors, black-glaze pottery, and so on) as the correlate of Punic, Roman, or Hellenistic influence, Ardeleanu rejects as simplistic – as is the idea of local continuity because of the occurrence of

certain grave types. All these things are contemporaneous and show how these communities become part of economic and political networks that are large enough to accommodate all these elements (and at the same they get a local twist – happily, the author refrains from the more obfuscating than illuminating use of terms like global and glocal). Certainly, Numidia was not, as it is still portrayed in many accounts, a *petite Rome*: the question mark behind the "Numidia romana?" of the title can stay. Roman influence is obvious, but it cannot explain everything that we see on the ground: to understand Numidia we need complex, multicausal clarifications.

There follow an English summary and a French résumé, 25 pages of tables (describing nine find complexes), 65 pages of bibliography, and indices. There is an index of African place names, of other place names, and of museums. Alas, there is no subject index: if you want to know what the author says about, for instance, *terra sigillata*, you have to study the tables, pp. 469-496, and also read the book – the tables do not contain references to possible further discussion of finds elsewhere in the volume. An index of epigraphic texts is also sorely missed.

This is an incredibly wide-ranging book, considering it is a monograph with single authorship. But as already stated: though wide-ranging it is not a general history of Numidia or a general guide to the many Roman remains, it has a purpose, namely to say something about cultural change and its driving forces. This is a study that is obviously of importance to anybody interested in the development of Numidia (or all of Northern Africa, or the whole circum-Mediterranean) between Hellenistic and early imperial days. But it is also an impressive contribution to the study of the mechanisms and modalities of culture contact and culture change.

Frederick G. Naerebout

DIEGO CHAPINAL-HERAS, *Experiencing Dodona. The Development of the Epirote Sanctuary from Archaic to Hellenistic Times*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021. 264 pp., maps and plans, 24,5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-11-072751-7.

Maybe this new study of the sanctuary at Dodona should have been titled *Contextualizing Dodona* as its main aim is to put the development of the sanctuary in the context of Epirus and beyond, and of Epirote/Molossian history, from the beginning of the Archaic Period to 167 BC when Rome conquered Epirus (there is a lot of contextualizing going on throughout the volume, but not much experiencing: we have to wait for that until chapter 6). According to Chapinal-Heras, although a lot of attention has been paid to the oracular texts found at the site, studies of the site itself are relatively few and far between, let alone studies that situate the site in a wider landscape. Here Chapinal-Heras gives too little credit to Jessica Piccinini (*The Shrine of Dodona in the Archaic and Classical Ages. A History*, Macerata 2017) and Nikola Moustakis (*Heiligtümer als politische Zentren. Untersuchungen zu den multidimensionalen Wirkungsgebieten von polisübergreifenden Heiligtümern im antiken Epirus*, Munich 2006). It must be said, however, that he frequently refers to both studies, and acknowledges their contribution (see esp. p. 9). But he thinks they both fell short of what Chapinal-Heras has in mind: "a holistic treatment of the sanctuary" (1). This is the task that he has set himself to provide in the volume under review. Keywords are "paths and communications", not to be understood simply as plotting the routes leading to the sanctuary and listing the contacts established along those routes, but as the continuous creation, physically and mentally, of an interconnected landscape with cultural, political, religious, economic and social facets. His theoretical framework here is that of landscape archaeology.

Two chapters deal with the history of Epirus in general and of the Molossian kingdom in particular, and how this impacted Dodona. Another two chapters discuss the Dodona sanctuary and the cults established there against the backdrop of Epirus and the further Greek world. One aspect of Dodona's involvement with the outside world, pilgrimage, is treated in a separate chapter. A final chapter looks at the so-called polyfunctionality of the Dodona sanctuary. In addition, there are 16 pages of general conclusions, followed by an extensive bibliography and two indices: the first is a subject index which is rather perfunctory (computer generated?) and the second is not in fact an index, but a bibliography of excavation reports.

The chapters on the history of Epirus first outline the geography of the area, more specifically its orography and hydrology, When zooming in on Molossia and the Ioannina plain, and the valley of Tcharacovitsa a map would have come in handy to locate all mountain ranges, corridors and rivers mentioned. Epirus was made up of three areas: Thesprotia, Molossia and Chaonia. These areas were divided among many *ethne* – dynamic groupings with a constructed collective ethnicity/identity. The boundaries between, indeed, the number of these *ethne* are not known. Epirus itself has no clear boundaries. About the population we know next to nothing: as Chapinal-Heras notes, "there are … no extant Epirote authors to offer us insight about how the inhabitants of this territory conceived of themselves" (17), and any modern attempts in that direction are hampered by "the paucity of early epigraphic material in the region" (18) and the sparse information in literary sources (21).

Along the coast, we find *poleis*: products of colonizing efforts. In the interior of Epirus, *poleis* only arise between the Classical and Hellenistic age. They do not so much replace *ethne*, as coexist or coincide with them. In the area we encounter both oligarchies and monarchies. Molossia, ruled by the Aeacid dynasty from at least the early 5th century to 232 BC, when queen Deidameia died heirless, was pre-eminent and its power expanded over other Epirote *ethne*, in a complicated interplay with Macedonians and Romans. After 232 there existed an Epirote *koinon*, dissolved by the Romans in 167 BC.

This summary account of Epirote history takes up almost one half of the book, which might seem a bit much. But in defence of the author it should be said that the history of the Dodona sanctuary is deftly interwoven with the more general history. In this way, it

becomes apparent that with the growth of Molossian power in the last quarter of the 5th century, the monumentalization of Dodona, previously an extremely simple open-air sanctuary, began and rapidly turned it into an impressive ensemble. Apparently, in the past there had been no power near Dodona that could have coordinated and financed such a building spree. But according to Chapinal-Heras the site may also have been an example of the deliberate avoidance of "anthropization" (42). Supposedly, this wish to remain a "natural" site was at that time overruled by political considerations. In 219, Dodona was plundered by the Aetolians: the damage done and the reconstruction afterwards are archaeologically attested. All this is illustrated by plans of the site and of individual buildings – taken from existing publications. The architectural features and finds are discussed at length, with many references. The lead plaques with oracular questions – surely the best known finds – are only dealt with as late as chapter 4 (116-119) and chapter 6. Some peculiarities are duly noted: the presence of a lot of Bronze Age pottery, but very few pottery remains after that. Which is certainly odd enough for some explanation to be called for – but we do not get any; permissible, because an analysis of the finds was not the goal of this study. Another anomaly is that when the building boom creates a monumental Dodona, the number of offerings decreases, not only of dedicated spoils of war, which decrease in number all over the Greek world, but of all votive and other gifts. Again we are left to contemplate its causes without assistance from the author (although later in the book there is some speculation).

Chapter 4 takes a closer look at the cultic activity at Dodona, and the way it developed over time, obviously with the oracular proceedings at the centre of interest. Here, there is nothing new – but the compilation is helpful, especially where Chapinal-Heras presents a very comprehensive overview of gods worshipped at some stage at Dodona. In 4.7, he discusses the religious connections between Dodona and the rest of Greece, focussing on Boeotia, Athens and Olympia. The connections are mainly mythical traditions, or sharing the main god; only in the case of Athens, there are documented contacts between the Athenian *polis* and the Molossian kingdom: Zeus Naios and Dione, probably the Dodonic ones, had an altar on the Acropolis, Athens had frequent recourse to oracular consultations at Dodona, and Tharyps, the Molossian king during whose reign the monumentalization of Dodona took off, seems to have spent his formative years in Athens.

In chapters 5 and 6 we come to the central part of this book: the landscape, the "paths and communications" of the introduction (although the previous chapters already contained several hints, e.g. by pointing out the mountain tracks that connected seemingly isolated *ethne*). Chapter 5 inventorizes the routes to Dodona, happily accompanied by six full-colour maps. It also takes a close look at the Molossian and further Epirote landscape. Chapinal-Heras lists sanctuaries and settlements in a very useful overview that makes available a lot of (recent) archaeological research. What it is all about, the connections between Dodona and the sites on the routes towards Dodona, and more generally with sites in Epirus, must remain largely hypothetical – the evidence simply is not there. Of course, in many instances it is extremely likely that there were links, even intimate links, and the maps show us where to look for them. But they cannot be substantiated. There have no oracular tablets from Dodona been found anywhere else than in Dodona itself, and – strangely – Molossian/Epirote place names are almost absent in the thousands of tablets found (however, in the majority of cases the place of origin of the individuals consulting the oracle is not listed, so this may be pure chance). Many sites in Epirus remain unexcavated, and there is a serious mismatch between the archaeology and the written sources: to the majority of archaeological sites as yet no ancient name can be assigned, and vice versa.

The tablets take centre stage in chapter 6: after a general account of pilgrimage and oracular divination, Chapinal-Heras offers an analysis of places (cities, regions, *ethne*) mentioned in the tablets – nicely captured in a table. He also points out the importance (and frequent pitfalls) of the onomastics and dialectal features of the tablets, other inscriptions by dedicants, and the provenance of offerings and of coins. It appears that people travel to Dodona from far and wide – which we already knew. Alas, no clear patterns are recognized, and no conclusions drawn, except for the observation that very few pilgrims come from nearby Illyria, explained by Dodona's preference for customers from Hellenic areas (184). But one would not expect an oracle choosing which people to serve, rather people choosing what oracle to go to, if at all. The Illyrians may have had other sanctuaries which they thought served them better.

Chapter 7 looks at the "polyfunctionality" – another keyword – of the Dodonic sanctuary. Already in the introduction we had been told that polyfunctionality is no exception, but rather the norm. Sanctuaries are religious, political, economic and socio-cultural centres. These different functions cannot be seen separate, but they are entangled – a fashionable word that Chapinal-Heras seems quite enamoured of. It is a nice word, though: I daresay that this proposition of "entangled functions" is quite correct and that – of course taking into account the huge variability across sanctuaries – nobody will contradict this. Which also implies that it does not tell us very much about Dodona. More helpful is the discussion of Catherine Morgan's concept of the "inter-state sanctuary": originally on neutral ground (but tending to be overshadowed by some neighbouring power), and usually panhellenic. Chapinal-Heras presents an able defence of the idea of panhellenism, that recently has come under some fire.

This is a study of Dodona full of interesting observations and with an important central thesis: the sanctuary as situated in a landscape, or maybe we should say landscapes, plural, when dealing with a sanctuary as Dodona that fulfils local, regional, supra-regional and panhellenic functions (as fully acknowledged by Chapinal-Heras). Its overview of the archaeology of Epirus in general and Dodona in particular is valuable for anyone who wants a quick update. It could, however, have been a far better book when more time and effort had

been put in editing. It really is a pity that there has been no or insufficient copy-editing. Now we have some annoying repetition, and an arrangement of the contents that could have been more clearly structured, especially in the chapters 4-7 and in the conclusion (which is mostly a summary). The landscape archaeology might have been treated more prominently. Now it is a *very* implicit theoretical framework: after the introduction it gets a mere two mentions towards the end of the book. The English is not always idiomatic and could have benefited from the attention of a native speaker, and there are some small, but sometimes worrying mistakes, e.g. Piccinini 2019 for Piccinini 2017 (n.11), 370-378 for 370-368 (39), Aphodite for Aphrodite (130). The English practice of capitalizing nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs in titles is sometimes erroneously extended to German and other non-English titles. Otherwise the book is very decently produced as can be expected from De Gruyter.

Frederick G. Naerebout

MARCO GIUMAN, *La trottola nel mondo classico. Archeologia, fonti letterarie e iconografiche*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2020. 146 pp., 24 ill., 19 plates, 24 cm (Quaderni di Otium 4). – ISBN 9788876893247.

Anybody familiar with the work of Marco Giuman – a long list of publications – will not be surprised that his latest book, *La trottola*, the spinning top, does not limit itself to toys and child's play. Toys in a literal sense in fact account for only a small part of the text: most of it is dedicated to spinning tops and a range of related objects, all characterized by a gyrating movement and a humming sound, in the context of ancient religion and symbolic thought. Movement and sound have been the subject of previous studies by Giuman: (with Federica Doria) The Swinging Woman. Phaedra and Swing in Classical Greece, *Medea* 2.1 (2016) 115-147; «Ho incatenato lingue ostili e bocche nemiche». Magia, parola e silenzio nel culto romano di Tacita Muta, *Medea* 1.1 (2015) 301-324 (in a special issue 'Frontiere sonore' also edited and introduced by Giuman et al.); *Melissa. Archeologia delle api e del miele nella Grecia antica*, Rome 2008; as an editor (with Romina Carboni) *Sonora. La dimensione acustica nel mondo mitico, magico e religioso dell'antichità*, Perugia 2015 (Quaderni di Otium 1).

Despite it relatively modest size of 120 pages, this is an extremely rich, dense text that touches upon a wide range of subjects: the spinning top as a children's toy, but above all its ritual and symbolical dimensions, which are many. This need not surprise us: a spinning top, which spins without falling over, and would do so forever (if it was not for the friction), is something magical and hypnotizing – 'hypnotizing' being the word that Giuman uses of his own childhood experience with his "trottola di latta rossa" (xiii). My spinning tops, richly decorated with push pins and my mother's nail polish, evoke comparable memories.

After a short introduction there follow four chapters and no conclusion. There is an index of ancient names (Zagreus was overlooked) and an index of ancient authors (just names, so not an *index locorum*). A subject index would have been helpful in dealing with this text stuffed to bursting with detail, and with many twists and turns, as befits the subject. Only a summary account can be presented here, let alone detailed criticism of particular items. Departing from actual tops and scenes of child's play, by way of Hermes spinning his top, we arrive at the *rite de passage* from boyhood to manhood, as associated with Hermes. Scenes with girls or women with tops have been usually interpreted as merely illustrating that these were playthings not just for boys, but for females as well. Departing from burial ensembles, Giuman argues for the connection of the top with Eros and Aphrodite, and again Hermes, as an oracular god. Tops as grave gifts, "the spinning tops of Hades", correspond to the "nexus between marriage and death", when a *parthenos* dies before her wedding day. This leads on to the top and other toys as symbols in Dionysiac mystery cults, and as votives donated at sanctuaries: especially the Theban Kabirion. "Spinning" and other circular motions, sometimes in combination with buzzing or whirring sounds, are connected with ecstasy. This connects to other objects related to tops, several of which share the name *rhombos*, amongst them bull-roarers. Another word for *rhombos* is supposed to be *iynx*. Giuman sees the two as different and dedicates a chapter to the *iynx* in its own right, as a magical instrument, a spinning love charm. The mythical character Iynx who was changed into a bird, *iynx*, the wryneck, and the charm are intimately connected. More generally, circularity and repetition are essential elements of the world of ancient magic.

Confronted by this roller coaster ride, one might entertain some methodological misgivings: Giuman's appreciation of authors such as Jane Harrison, Mircea Eliade and Karl Kerényi who do not shun some quite speculative notions, raises some doubts. These centre on what I have previously called the 'scrapyard approach' to ancient religion: every disparate bit of evidence that might be relevant is adduced to support a hypothesis, with a certain disregard for dating, genre, context, and so on. Although Giuman is not nearly the worst offender, and builds up his arguments quite carefully ("procediamo per gradi", 37), these doubts linger in my mind. Is not too much made of too little?

The subject matter, both the *realia* and the religious-symbolic analysis that accompanies them, reminded me of studies of a century ago, by authors like A.B. Cook (of the mind-boggling three-volume *Zeus, 1914-1925*). And indeed, Cook has a long section on Iynx in his first volume and discusses the bull-roarer (referring to, i.a., J.G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Jane Harrison's *Themis)*. Giuman's work presents a comparable combination of classics, archaeology, ethnography and folklore. But even more than by these Cambridge Ritualists, Giuman appears to be influenced by French scholarship: when we look at the entries *s.vv. Rhombus* and *Turben et turbo* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 1877-1919, authored by respectively Edmond Saglio himself and Georges Lafaye, we meet with exactly the same blend of *realia* and symbolic-religious interpretation (one could add to the entries in *DAGR* the 1948 contribution

by August Hug in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft s.v. Turbo,* not mentioned by Giuman). Saglio and Lafaye are duly included in Giuman's bibliography, but are not given enough credit. Both figure in his text and annotation quite sparingly (except for a lengthy quote from Saglio on p. 83) and he does not give us a historiographic account of previous work on the spinning top and related objects where he could have lauded them. But in fact, Giuman's chapters read like an amplification and elaboration of the two entries in *DAGR*. This feeling is strengthened by his use of a number of illustrations deriving from these publications, including the image on the cover. This is a study with an admirable time-depth: if only everyone would read what was published a century ago. But the author seems to find this not worthy of comment, or takes no pride in it. I say he should have flaunted it.

It is definitely not my intent to say that Gumann is a hundred years behind his time. Not only does he include new source material, even unpublished, but his analysis is also very much of the present: it partakes in the so-called material turn, and reflects current interest in the senses, performance and play, and lived religion. Taking a – necessarily very selective – look at the extremely voluminous literature dealing with the religions of the ancient world, I find that much subject matter tends to come full circle: it falls out of fashion and comes back into fashion. But it will be equally obvious (when it is *not* obvious, we are not dealing with legitimate scholarship) that something has happened in the meantime. The subjects may re-appear, the ways in which they are dealt with are different, and I daresay, on the whole more sophisticated. Giuman's book about the *trottola* builds on a century of publications since Frazer, Cook, Harrison, Saglio, or Lafaye. I have not been able to come up with any immediately relevant title that is not in his bibliography, or it should be Huizinga's *Homo ludens* (in the preface by Mauro Menichetti we find the homo ludens referred to in general, without mention of Huizinga).

In sum total: a very thorough account of an old-fashioned subject updated for today. Despite the misgivings already mentioned, I feel that anyone interested in ancient religion should engage with it – and with Giuman's other publications which do not seem widely known outside Italy. For those with a primarily archaeological interest, there is a large selection of archaeologically attested spinning tops and related objects illustrated: not only the spinning tops themselves, but also relevant vase paintings, reliefs, statuettes, a wall painting and a piece of jewellery. This study, however, contains no catalogue. Giuman's main focus lies elsewhere, as we have seen above. But this will interest the archaeologist as well: in addition to the *realia*, there is the social and religious embedment of these objects and images in a whole world of play, games of chance, fortune telling, divination, love magic, initiation and mystery cults.

Frederick G. Naerebout

LUIGI LAFASCIANO, *Archeologia del sogno rituale. Dall'arcaismo alla tarda antichità nel mondo greco-romano.* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 368 pp., ill, 24 cm (Studia archaeologica 248). – ISBN 9788891321213.

Lafasciano studies dreams and visions in a number of different contexts, from archaic hero cults by way of epiphanic and healing gods to Christian saints. He does so in order to establish diachronic change in the ways in which such dreams and visions functioned within religious life and within communities at large, and to show how this impinged upon the construction of sacred space. And as if this was not enough – and maybe he is right and it is not – he wants to go beyond these already large questions by asking even bigger ones about the ways in which visionary rituals were used to create meaning and forge a cultural identity. This multi-pronged research goal is pursued across three chronologically arranged chapters, and a fourth chapter that takes one particular case study to illustrate and /or illuminate the historical development outlined in the previous chapters. The book concludes with an almost 50 page bibliography and three indices: an *index locorum*, an index of personal names (including classical authors and thus in part replicating the *index locorum*), and one of place names. A subject index is, as so often, sorely missed.

In the first chapter, which deals with archaic and classical Greece, we are straight away confronted with the pluriformity of the phenomenon of 'visions' in a ritual context: on the one hand there are epiphanies perceived by the subject while he/she is awake, on the other dreams that come to the subject while he/she is asleep – in a ritual context, that would be during incubation. Lafasciano focuses on incubation: see the title of his book. Incubation in its turn is also pluriform: its purpose can be oracular (oniromancy; but also more specifically a type of necromancy, where the dead appear in a dream), and its purpose can be healing. The healing can have an oracular aspect, when the sick individual is not forthwith cured, but is instructed on what to do in order to effect a cure. Despite the incubation focus, however, Lafasciano's account also takes in Pre-Socratic philosophizing, 'waking' oracles, and mystic initiation – true to his introduction where he speaks of "sogni *e* visioni" as two complementary phenomena. Another complication. Though I readily subscribe to the idea that everything has to do with everything else, it is not always practical to pursue this idea in one's research. However, Lafasciano argues, and not unconvincingly, that he needs to take this wide view because for part of the period dealt with in this chapter, incubation ritual as generally understood is only *in statu nascendi*. From Pre-Socratic wisdom branches out therapeutic cults and medical *techne*, the two from the start not in competition, but in symbiosis with one another.

In the second chapter, about the Hellenistic world and Republican/Imperial Rome, it appears that a more uniform incubation ritual with healing as its purpose has crystallized out, "l'incubazione terapeutico-oracolare" as it was progressively codified from the 5th century BC onwards, largely at sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius (epiphanic techniques, however, were never the exclusive province of Asklepieia). Not only is the ritual more

uniform, it is also practised over a wider area, which development Lafasciano calls "la formazione di una cultura visionaria mediterranea": one could say that incubation is sharing in the advance of an all-embracing Hellenistic *koine* which also extends to Italy beyond Magna Graecia. Uniformity, diffusion and increasing popularity also bring state regulation in their wake.

The third chapter, on Late Antiquity, looks at early Christianity's ideas about dreams and dreaming, with martyrs and saints as the new intermediaries between man and the supernatural, concerned with what Lafasciano calls the nexus between physical well-being and spiritual salvation. In the tension between continuity and discontinuity, there develops from the 5th century AD onwards a Christian incubation ritual, with eastern saints as Tecla, Cosmas and Damian and Demetrius. But Lafasciano stresses that there are also examples in the West, usually neglected – to which we will return below.

These three chapters are an admirable work of synthesis, a bit breathless because of the brave (or foolhardy) attempt to fit all of the above in a mere 185 pages, but based on a very wide reading in the relevant literature, punctuated with well-chosen quotes from the primary sources and useful illustrations, mostly of plans or aerial photographs of important sites. However, at this point, we cannot avoid mentioning the *magnum opus* of Gil Renberg, *Where Dreams May come. Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 184, Leiden 2017), of over 800 pages. This must have become available while Lafasciano was writing his study, two years before it was accepted as a PhD in a Salerno/Paris cooperation, in the summer of 2019. A quick scan of his first three chapters turns up a mere three references to Renberg. Now, of course, there is no obligation to refer a certain number of times to whatever publication, and even less so when what you write is the fruit of your own labour and there is no imperative to credit someone else with its results. Nevertheless, it seems proper to at least engage with a predecessor's work, especially when it is so encompassing, and to indicate where one's arguments differ and where they are in agreement. I will not attempt here to remedy what Lafasciano has neglected: a comparison of Lafasiano and Renberg is not the goal I here have set myself, and would not be fair. But there is one discrepancy that cannot go unmentioned: Lafasciano's *index locorum*, with an impressive range of literary authorities, lists only some 50 epigraphic sources, almost exclusively from *IG*, while Renberg has over 800 entries in his list of epigraphic sources, taken from a wide range of epigraphic publications. This contrast has to do with the amount of detail that could be fitted in, but also with a different approach: Renberg focuses on incubation throughout, Lafasciano's ultimate objective is to answer the bigger questions mentioned above. At least, that is what I surmise: one would like to see it addressed explicitly.

There definitely is no overlap with Renberg in Lafasciano's fourth chapter, where he looks at a particular locality, viz. Akragas/Agrigentum, and retraces his steps from archaic days to late antique, early Christian ones (there is no Akragas in Renberg's index). From this retracing of steps one gets the impression that the first three chapters are in fact a kind of outsized introduction to the analysis in the fourth chapter, the longest chapter (though not by much) and the only chapter to have conclusions of its own. We get an analysis of relevant religious phenomena in Akragas/Agrigentum, from possible precursors in chthonic cults and *theoxenia*, to an extra-urban Asklepieion, next a transference of the Asclepius cult to inside the city in Roman days, possibly connected with the theatre, and ultimately Christian epiphanic cults at some of the old pagan cultic locations: the so-called Temple of Concordia and the old Asklepieion. The account here is thorough, and well-illustrated (alas, some of the plans are blurred and murky, and difficult to read).

A general conclusion follows. Some of its summary points have already been mentioned above. Otherwise Lafasciano's concluding remarks centre on, first, the interplay of individual and community: in the ancient 'multiverse' the sick person is situated between the supernatural world and the human community (as opposed to the modern "bio-medical paradigm" where disease is something in and of the individual). There is no heuristic dichotomy to be drawn between the individual and the collective. Indeed, in the Hellenistic/Roman era of soteriological divinities, the sick individual can be seen as a privileged member of the community, in direct contact with the supernatural. But one can wonder in how far Aelius Aristides and Galen, the main sources in this context, can be considered as representative. Secondly, Lafasciano stresses the performative character of therapeutic ritual. He supposes a particularly intimate relationship between dramatic *mimesis* and *mimesis* in therapeutic ritual. Here one may argue instead that all ritual is performative. When Lafasciano for late Antiquity refers to Averil Cameron's notion of a "spectator's culture" this would hardly apply mainly or only to therapeutic ritual. Thirdly, identity: one can readily believe that the different modalities of visionary experience and its agents, and the mechanisms of sickness and healing add up to different "racconti identarii" and reveal something about "ideologie dominanti" (278-279), but to operationalize this is difficult without stating the obvious or losing oneself in speculative thought. Most interesting for readers of BABESCH might be the attention paid by Lafasciano to the settings of visionary cult and incubation: originally, the favoured locations were grotto's (natural and artificial), sacred woods, and springs. As incubation ritual becomes codified, we see a "relazione osmotica tra cultura medica e pianificazione urbanistica" (274; I suppose that Lafasciano includes extra-urban sanctuaries, well-represented in this text, in his concept of urban planning). The performative aspects lead to the inclusion of theatrical amenities, literally: theatre spaces form part of, or are associated with, healing sanctuaries, from the 5th-century BC Amphiareion onwards. Lafasciano also wants to see the theatricality of therapeutic ritual in Asclepius reliefs with scenes of healing: he considers these as truly scenic, which I find difficult to believe – that we find dramatic scenes in vase painting does not seem a valid argument. As we progress in time, we see further monumentalization and enlargement of healing sanctuaries. In the Chris-

tian world the topography becomes rather diffuse: *memoriae*, altars, *atria*, *hospitia*, and *xenodochia* can all attest to the power of martyrs and saints to impinge upon daily life. Most of the information on sanctuaries is well-known, with the probable exception of the archaeological evidence for the healing cults connected to Ambrosius of Milan, Vittricius (or Victricius) of Rouen, and Paulinus of Nola (at Cimitile, the ancient necropolis of Nola). The detailed information on Akragas/Agrigentum will also be new to most readers.

It is difficult to arrive at to a proper appreciation of this book: it is neither fish nor fowl, not just a synthesis of much previous work on incubation (it is that too – and does a proper job), and not just a piece of original research shedding new light on the religious history of Akragas/Agrigentum (it is that too – and again does a proper job). Trying to do both things at the same time, the author might have done an even better job pursuing the one or the other course, maybe a lengthier book on incubation in general and a major article on Akragas. But now I am sinning against the rule that a reviewer should never tell what book he/she should have written instead. Lafasciano's study should be judged on its own merits. And it has considerable merits. It not only amasses a lot of information, but tries to find use for it, sometimes rather speculative, however well-documented, but always interesting. Despite – or maybe because of – its ambiguous nature, this book can be recommended to those seeking a sweeping overview of incubation ritual in the Greek and Roman world (with some provisos), and to those interested in the finer points of the religious history of Magna Graecia.

Frederik Naerebout

FANNY OPDENHOFF, *Die Stadt als beschriebener Raum. Die Beispiele Pompeji und Herculaneum.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021. 398 pp., 125 figs, 6 maps, 24,5 cm (Materiale Textkulturen 33). – ISBN 978-3-11-072269-7.

This revised version of a 2014 dissertation (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) deals with a townscape where the inhabitant or visitor walking through public space is at every turn confronted by textual messages: inscriptions in stone and metal, dipinti and graffiti (in the following all subsumed under "inscriptions", as does Opdenhoff, following common practice). The Campanian cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius offer the only instance where we can study such a townscape in its quasi totality. But there are some important caveats: walking the streets and necropoleis of Pompeii and Herculaneum can easily lead the modern observer to think that (s)he can re-live the ancient experience of the omnipresent texts. In fact, many texts are no longer in situ or have been lost. And might the ways in which ancient observers experienced public space, and the texts in public space, not have been very different from our observations? In this monograph, Opdenhoff tries to reconstruct the textual townscape and problematize the way in which that landscape was created and was looked at. Her four leading questions are: 1) who was responsible for the inscriptions and who was addressed by the inscriptions; 2) what did the inscriptions communicate; 3) what is the relationship between materiality and contents; 4) how did context and circumstances interact with the inscriptions and influence the way in which they were understood, *inter alia*, are inscriptions put up at the most appropriate places for communicating their specific messages?

Opdenhoff opens with an excellent historiographical account which also highlights the most important controversies and outstanding questions, many of which have to do with literacy and agency. Also, the concepts of context, public space and communication are discussed against a number of theoretical backgrounds – for reasons of space we cannot go into any detail here, except to say that there is quite some knocking on an open door: "[context is] the connecting or interweaving of things in a particular situation" (Ian Hodder); the modern understanding of public and private cannot be transposed one-to-one to the ancient world (Peter von Moos); the transfer of information is only one of several purposes of text production and every recipient of a message will reconstruct that message anew (Charles Sanders Peirce). It seems fairly obvious that Opdenhoff could have, and will have, thought of these things herself. From this section it is (too) apparent that this study started life as a dissertation. Theory had to be mentioned, but otherwise this is not a study that is in need of a lot of theory (or contributes anything theoretical), except for the field of materiality, which, however, is not problematized at all.

The bulk of the book consists of three main parts: one looks at the materiality of the inscriptions, their contents, their number and their distribution across urban space. Another looks/focuses at the different contexts in which the inscribed texts occur: streets, amphitheatre and surroundings, and necropoleis are analysed. Sandwiched between these two is a shorter section dealing with the manner in which a Roman observer will have looked at texts in public space, in as far as literary sources, imagery and the texts themselves inform us about this. A conclusion is followed by an 80 page catalogue of the texts, again arranged in the three categories streets, amphitheatre and necropoleis. There also are 40 pages of plans and colour photographs (in addition to the over 50 black-and-white images in the text). There is an excellent index (names and subjects), and an index of CIL and Ve (E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I, Heidelberg 1953, for Oscan texts) numbers which refers to pages in the main text and in the catalogue – the inscriptions in the catalogue are not numbered (which on the one hand seems like a wise decision: the CIL and Ve numbers will do very well, and there is no need of yet another concordance; on the other hand, Opdenhoff has new readings where necessitated by autopsy or photographs: whoever wants to refer to those new readings cannot easily do so and will have to refer to CIL etc., together with an Opdenhoff page number).

Inscriptions on stone and dipinti are official texts originating with the town council and other bodies, and also texts originating in the private sphere, but addressing the public at large, such as grave inscriptions, building inscriptions, *programmata* or *edicta*

munerum. Such official, semi-official or legal content is never found in graffiti: the latter messages are of a more personal nature – but dipinti can also serve comparable purposes (greetings, warnings, advertisements). Opdenhoff presents a detailed analysis of materials used, types of lettering, size and shape. The results are sometimes predictable: grave inscriptions show a lot of variety depending on the wishes of the deceased or his/her relatives and the financial means available, but honorific inscriptions are put up by the community and answer to fairly strict rules as to their execution. Inscriptions are generally ruled by conventions, and this is as obvious with the dipinti as with the inscriptions in stone or metal. Graffiti, however, show a large range of letter types and so on: they generally have an impromptu character, and their writers range from those clearly accustomed to writing to the semi-literate. Most important conclusion here is that the way an inscription looked, already gave something away about its contents.

There is, as might be expected, a correlation between contents, formal aspects and spatial distribution: from a very strong correlation (epitaphs) by way of an almost as strong correlation (honorific inscriptions) to a slightly weaker correlation (building inscriptions, dipinti, graffiti). But it is fairly obvious that these three things hang together, e.g., one would not expect to find a dipinto advertising something in a small alley that is little frequented. But in case one would have entertained certain doubts concerning the correlation mentioned above, these are removed decisively by Opdenhoff. So now we can add the conclusion that also the spot where an inscription was employed assisted in categorizing and thus interpreting that inscription.

The (third) section about contexts takes this one stage further, and looks not only at inscriptions in relation to walls or other carriers, but also to other inscriptions in their immediate surroundings. Also the general surroundings where the prospective audience passes by, is taken into account: we have to consider sight lines, the general direction of movement, and so on. Again, there is this correlation between formal aspects, contents, and spatial distribution. Apart from some interesting asides about who decided to put up what where (and whether people were paid for making available their wall space), the main result of this section is the insight that there is an interaction between inscriptions and public space: an inscription is placed at position X because of certain qualities of that particular spot, but the inscription(s) also help shape and maintain the qualities that distinguish X. And as Opdenhoff stresses, certainly rightly so, aesthetics play their part – the colour, size, and lay-out of an inscription assure that the audience is aware of it, without the need to actually read it.

The middle section, dealing with the 'Roman gaze', could have tied everything together. It seems somewhat perverse to suggest that the Roman view of their textual townscape would have subverted all or some of Opdenhoff's conclusions: they look quite convincing to me. It would be nice, however, to have them confirmed. But – as might be expected – ancient authors are more interested in the contents of inscriptions than in the act of inscribing and the ways in which different people react to texts in public space. Otherwise, information is sparse. Literary texts show that the spatial distribution of inscriptions as seen in Pompeii and Herculaneum is 'representative': it is what a Roman writer/reader would expect. As to the question with whom a text would originate, we do not learn anything specific, except for the interesting fact that everyone was seen as a potential writer of graffiti – there is no intimation that this would be a lower class activity, and the modern idea of graffiti as 'deviant' seems absent. In this context also meta-texts are interesting: Opdenhoff discusses the well-known graffito "admiror te paries non cecidisse / qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas" in an interesting excursus (141-144) in which she makes clear that this is far from a critique of graffiti; it might even be poking fun of any such critique. Altogether, we have to make do with the texts themselves.

Some of the results of this study are self-evident, others are of a nature that anyone who would more or less familiarize her/himself with the inscriptional evidence from the Vesuvian cities could fairly easily come up with the same hypotheses. What this study contributes, however, is first of all to put all these hypotheses on a firm evidential base. Secondly, this evidential base is very well documented in an extensive catalogue and in many pictures – part of them in full colour. Proper pictures – other than drawings – of dipinti and especially of graffiti, difficult to photograph, are quite hard to come by: what we have here is as good as it gets. That is, except for The Ancient Graffiti Project, directed by Rebecca Benefiel: http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/ (accessed December 9, 2021). This important site is mentioned by Opdenhoff in two footnotes only: her work is valuable, but also in danger of being eclipsed by the rapid development of online resources. Joining forces should be the motto, I guess.

Frederick G. Naerebout

MASSIMO OSANNA, ANNALISA CAPURSO, SARA MATILDE MASSEROLI (eds.), *I calchi di Pompei da Giuseppe Fiorelli ad oggi*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 560 pp., numerous ill., 27,5 cm (Studi e ricerche del Parco Archaeologico di Pompei 46). – ISBN 9788891321169.

Ever since they started to be made in 1863, the plaster casts of victims of the 79 AD destruction of Pompeii and the surrounding area have been the subject of an often somewhat morbid interest. They have served, and still serve, to turn an abstract story of a volcanic eruption into a very human, timeless tragedy. The immediacy of the bodies of the dead (mind: not mere bones, but bodies, or in fact plaster-filled cavities left by their impressions in the volcanic material in which they were embedded, which is in effect the same thing) evokes the viewer's empathy. We read things like (we give a random selection from online sources): "bodies preserved in the positions in which they died," "an imprint of that person's last moment alive," "victims caught at the instant of death" or "the last moments of the ill-fated Pompeiians, frozen forever in plaster."

Also, some of the casts have been provided with hypothetical biographies.

But as so often, reality can be expected to differ from such essentially romantic notions. What we were in need of was a thorough scholarly study of the casts: strange to say, no proper study existed at all. With the present publication at long last it has arrived: a hefty volume that is the collaborative effort by an interdisciplinary group of 36 authors. What was started in 2014 as a restoration project has grown into a comprehensive study that illuminates many different aspects of the casts (but not their rich *Nachleben – see* Eugene Dwyer, *Pompeii's Living Statues. Ancient Roman Lives Stolen from Death*, 2010, and Eric Moormann, *Pompeii's Ashes. The reception of the cities buried by Vesuvius in literature, music, and drama*, 2015).

The first section (200 pages) deals with archaeology and vulcanology. The first chapter provides a volcanological analysis of the Vesuvian eruption and discusses how this created our archaeological artefacts. It is a full account, with clear maps and graphs, of the deposition of pumice and ash, and of the pyroclastic surges or flows, and (gruesome) details about how those caught in the pyroclastic surges met their end – if they had not been killed before by roofs collapsing under the weight of volcanic debris, or by inhaling ashes and toxic gasses. A second chapter adds some new data from recent excavations in Regio V.

In a third chapter (which, though very interesting, does not seem very relevant for the subject of the casts) Michele Borgongino and Grete Stefani contribute the most extensive discussion so far of the dating of Vesuvius' eruption: they do not set out from the recently discovered charcoal inscription that is thought to contain the date of October 17 as a *terminus post quem* (it is mentioned in their final paragraph), but analyse the textual tradition of Pliny and Cassius Dio, the archaeological finds and especially the botanical remains as indicative of that year's harvest. They conclude that October 24 (the *nonae* of the Kalends of November) is the most likely date. It is a conclusion that has been drawn several times before, but was still contested. After this very thorough examination of the evidence that will be difficult.

The next three chapters present in exhaustive detail the complete history of producing the casts: they deal with the 19th century and early 20th century, the 20th century from the 30s to the 60s, and the most recent 50 years respectively. Separate chapters deal with the casts from Boscoreale, and from Civita Giuliana. The Civita Giuliana victims – being the most recent casts (2020; nrs 92 and 93) – are analysed anthropologically and there is a section on the clothing of these two victims. In this way the chapter also functions as a kind of addendum to later chapters on textiles and on the casts' anthropology.

Two chapters deal with archaeological finds other than the bodies themselves, but associated with them. 43 casts can be linked to objects, sometimes embedded in the plaster of the cast, otherwise now stored separately: jewellery and other personal items. A lengthy chapter deals with clothing. Pompeian textiles are discussed generally, and more specifically through a number of case studies of casts. There is an appendix on the conservation of actual textile fragments from Pompeii. The authors caution that the clothing worn by the victims will not have been representative because of the unique circumstances; nevertheless, they argue, and indeed they show to an impressive extent, that the evidence of the casts offers excellent possibilities for contributing important details to a history of ancient textiles. A table list the 36 casts where items of clothing can be identified, and a further 24 with evidence of some kind of cloth. Different types of weave and quality (rough, medium or fine) are distinguished.

The second and third sections of the book (100 pages) are dedicated to diagnostics, restoration and exhibition. A first chapter reports on CT scans and x-rays of the casts. It is a first report only, discussing a quite limited number of case studies – for a full account we will have to wait until all casts have been fully studied. But already the preliminary results are quite important: skeletons are never complete, sometimes the number of bones remaining within the cast is very small, in one instance (the famous dog, cast nr 8, one of only three animal casts), there are no bones at all. A resin cast from Oplontis – not discussed in this volume – containing a complete skeleton, had led to the expectation that the Pompeiian casts would also contain more or less complete and articulated skeletons. It appears bones have been consistently removed, also apparent from the many post-mortem fractures of remaining bones. The older casts appear to have been re-worked after casting, and have frequently been restored. They contain a remarkable amount of iron supports and tenons, both inserted when the casts were made and during restorations. That some restorations had been "creative" was already obvious, but now the authors of this chapter go a step further and conclude more generally that "it is increasingly evident that there is some artifice in the creation of these forms of victims" (221). They observe stylistic differences between the casts made at different points in time. Osanna, in the introduction, suggests that the differences between high quality casts with much detail (19th-century ones) and lower quality ones (20th century) were caused by the use of inferior materials (vii; cf. 257 for a discussion of the composition of the casts). The one explanation and the other do not, I think, exclude one another: if an inferior cast, as Osanna would have it, answers to one's aesthetic sensibilities, it will be quite acceptable. Anyhow: caution in considering the casts as furnishing direct, unmediated contact with ancient Pompeians, which would have been a healthy attitude under all circumstances, is now an imperative. It is also quite obvious that we must revise several identifications, where age and/or sex have been misjudged, and that we must reject the stories that have been woven around the casts. The chapter provides us with two examples: the pregnant woman (cast nr 10) is not pregnant and maybe not a woman; the crippled old beggar (cast nr 15) is neither old, nor crippled, but a healthy young man or possibly woman, without whatever indication that (s)he would have been begging for a living. More such debunkings are likely to follow. But also new stories can be written, about health and well-

being, and many other aspects – as also the following chapters illustrate.

Next is an anthropological analysis of the casts of victims found at the Nola Gate. It is suggested that the cause of death was asphyxiation by volcanic ash and toxic gasses, and that the effects of the pyroclastic flow occurred *post mortem*. A short and very technical chapter on DNA sequencing of samples taken from bones, shows that despite degradation of the material this can be used to establish sex and to investigate possible blood relationships. In the test case here, what the archaeologists thought a family group, are shown to be unrelated individuals. Again, new stories are called for. A final chapter, which widens the view to include Herculaneum and Oplontis, reprises some of the anthropological analyses, and offers additional information on the effects of pyroclastic surges of differing temperatures. Hidden in the caption of an illustration (248, fig. 10) is the remark that fanciful restorations can be exposed by looking for anatomical improbabilities – as in cast nr 26 with its "fattezze poco plausibili", improbable features (the catalogue entry for nr 26 is a bit less confident, but notes some anomalies).

Two chapters discuss restoring the casts. The first deals with past restorations, the current state of preservation and types of damage and decay, how restoring is now being undertaken and, quite important, how the restorations are documented (the lack of any documentation for past interventions is repeatedly regretted throughout the volume). The second describes scanning the casts and making 3D copies. Another two chapters are dedicated to exhibiting the casts past and present, and to the ethical issues involved. To issues like visible skeletal material or casts of infants as opposed to adults, I would like to add something that to me seems quite specific for these casts. The last time we came really close to some of the more poignant examples was at the 2013 Pompeii exhibition at the British Museum and it felt like a rather voyeuristic and disconcerting experience. Most likely this was because of the visibly violent death of these individuals. As can be seen in the popular comments on the casts quoted above, it is not so much the fact that these are humans from the 1st century AD that arouses most interest, as the fact that they are humans from the 1st century *on the brink of death*. In exhibiting these casts, it would seem that quite some contextualizing is required to avoid a purely sensationalist urge to watch people's agony and death throes.

The fourth section is a 250-page catalogue of the 93 extant casts, and another 8 known from photographs, but now destroyed or missing. For each cast, there is a general description, find context, presence of any clothing, measurements, further provenance and present location, bibliography and anthropological data: sex, age, what laboratory research it has been subjected to, and its restoration history. Some 10 casts are fragmentary (the exact number depends on what you call fragmentary: only two numbers in the catalogue are labelled *frammenti*), 3 are of animals (a dog, cast nr 8, pig, nr 66, and horse, nr 91). Not included are casts of plants or other organic matter such as woodwork (there are some relevant images on pp 32-33, and cf. p.231: "vari calchi degli alberi caduti"). That makes less than 100 casts – of the about 1150 victims of the eruption known (of course, how many human remains went unrecorded we cannot quantify). Their impact on the public imagination for the past one and half century, however, belies their relatively small number.

For Pompeianists, and all interested in the anthropological study of human remains and of taphonomic processes, this is an indispensable publication. But it also makes clear that this is definitely not the last word to be said on these exceptional finds.

F.G. Naerebout & K. Beerden

STEFANIA PAFUMI, *Disiecta Membra. Frammento di statuaria bronzea di età romana del Museo Civico di Catania*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2020. 238 pp., ill., 24 cm (Bibliotheca archaeologica; 64). – ISBN 978-88-913-1649-3 (carta), ISBN 978-88-913-1936-4 (pdf).

Pafumi's volume constitutes a valuable contribution to the history of bronze collecting as well as to the analyses of the bronze fragments themselves from an interdisciplinary perspective. The book under review inserts itself into the long tradition of bronze studies, marked by conferences related to the topic, as the latest volume edited by P. Baas (*Proceedings of the XXth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes: resource, reconstruction, representation, role,* Oxford 2019) attests, as well as by several other publications. It analyzes a group of fragments of large bronze statues housed in the Museo Civico di Castello Ursino in Catania. The volume is organized in six sections: "Introduzione", "Bronzi per due collezioni", "Dalle collezioni ai contesti", "Archeologia e archeometria", "Dal frammento all'intero", "Catalogo".

The *Presentazione* by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill emphasizes the connection between the title (*Disiecta Membra*), borrowed from Horace's famous verse *disiecti membra poetae* (*Sat*. 1.4.62), and the conditions in which many of the artifacts were discovered in the Vesuvian area, citing in particular the equestrian statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus as an example. This constitutes a good introduction to Pafumi's topic, since a significant number of the fragments belong to the Catanian collections of the Paternò Castello family, princes of Biscari, as well as those of the Benedictine monks of the monastery S. Nicolò l'Arena (for the history of these collections, see "Bronzi per due collezioni"), including fragments from Herculaneum, Porto d'Anzio (ancient Antium, see "Dalle collezioni ai contesti"; however, the author expresses doubt about the provenance of these fragments, perceiving a possible error) and Syracuse ("Introduzione"; "Bronzi per due collezioni"), as the sources attest ("Dalle collezioni ai contesti"). The author's attempts to trace the origin of each fragment merit particular mention: she dates their discovery to the mid-eighteenth century, although it is still difficult to recover all the motivations behind the acquisition of each piece (see, for example, pp. 49–50).

The fourth chapter – "Archeologia e archeometria" – which constitutes one of the volume's most interest-

ing contributions, describes how modern technologies (e.g., X-ray fluorescence) have been applied to the fragments. Their production techniques are highlighted along with joins or repairs to statues (e.g., lost wax, p. 60; joins and restoration, 64 ff.). These analyses have been applied on an international level, for instance in the already mentioned volume edited by Baas, or in that edited by M. Kemkes (*Römische Großbronzen am UNESCO-Welterbe Limes. Abschlusskolloquium des Forschungsprojektes „Römische Großbronzen am UNESCO-Welterbe Limes" am 4./5. Februar 2015 im Limesmuseum Aalen*. Darmstadt 2017).

The subsection "Colore e policromia" devoted to the gilding or silvering processes of the statues' surfaces is also interesting, particularly the part dedicated to the "*decorazione ad agemina*" (among them, the use of the so-called *aes Corinthium*; s. A. Giumlia-Mair/J. Pollini, Past and Recent Metal Analyses of the Germanicus Statue from Amelia, 25–34, esp. 31–32, and J.-M. Welter, Corinthian bronze: was it just wrought high-tin bronze?, 155–164, in Baas 2019). Furthermore, chemical analyses of the alloys allowed several fragments (e.g., the *calcei patricii*, cat. 8-9, inv. nos. 3224, 3228; the hand with *anulus*, cat. 1, inv. no. 1694: chapter V, *Dal frammento all'intero*) to be attributed to the same bronze workshop.

From the fragments, Pafumi was able to identify the original statuary types, which are essentially imperial (equestrian or chariot type; togate or heroic), or idealized (e.g., youthful, perhaps also as *lychnophoros*) depictions (cf. chapter V, especially p. 86). For each type identified, Pafumi draws appropriate comparisons with well-known bronze statuary examples, including the equestrian portrait of Octavian from the Aegean and the bronze group from Cartoceto di Pergola.

The book's sixth chapter comprises the catalogue, divided into two parts: the first dedicated to fragments from the Benedictine collection ("Catalogo dei frammenti provenienti dalla collezione Benedettini") and the second devoted to pieces from the Biscari collection ("Catalogo dei frammenti provenienti dalla collezione Biscari"). Each piece is presented in detail, with a suggested date and bibliography, when applicable. In the Benedictine collection, noteworthy pieces include fragment n. 1 (inv. n. 1694), a left hand presumably holding the rein of a horse, which recalls the statue of Octavian from the Aegean, and the right (front?) hoof (cat. 3, inv. no. 3314) of a horse with hair subtly incised above the hoof itself, which resembles both the gilded hoof without any hairs from Durach (Raetia; s. Sascha Heckmann, LfdNr. 1167, http://grossbronzenamlimes.de/database/node/2222, consulted July 29, 2021) and two exemplars with accurately worked hairs from Kempten (Raetia; cf. Sascha Heckmann, LfdNr. 1171, http://grossbronzenamlimes.de/database/node/2226, and LfdNr. 1176, http://grossbronzenamlimes.de/database/node/2231, both consulted on July 29, 2021). Particular highlights of the Biscari collection include the bare foot cat. 12 (inv. no. 3313), where – as remarked on by the author – the insertion point for the base peg is recognizable and the horse's mane piece (cat. 13, inv. no. 3312) that finds comparisons in some newly discovered evidence coming from Raetia.

The bibliography is followed by an archaeometric appendix by L. Pappalardo and F.P. Romano, which contains the detailed results of the chemical analyses performed on the fragments. The variety of the sources used for comparison is indubitably one of this volume's strengths. Examples quoted do not only stem from Italy but also from the provinces. In this way, the research's international character is notably enhanced.

Aura Piccioni

PAOLA PELAGATTI, ROBERTA SALIBRA, WITH ROSALBA AMATO, REINE-MARIE BÉRARD, CONCETTA CIURCINA (eds), *Per Françoise Fouilland. Scritti di Archeologia*. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2021. 407 pp., figs in text, tables in text; 31 cm (Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni in Oriente, Supplemento 9). – ISBN 978-960-9559-26-3/ISSN 2653-9926.

This volume recalls the figure and work of Françoise Fouilland, defined in the preface as a *rara avis*, by the Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens, Emanuele Papi, or as "l'amie insolite", in the words of Cathérine Virlouvet, director of the École française de Rome, author of the afterword. Her archaeological and archival work went with a highly sensitive and empathic personality that emerges from the memories of friends and colleagues.

The contributions of the volume reflect the interests of Fouilland's scientific work and in the first part they are divided by themes and geographical areas, and almost always present unpublished or original results, which unfortunately cannot be exhaustively commented upon here.

In the section "tra Archeologia e Storia", for example, Paola Pelagatti touches on an extremely interesting aspect of the sixth-century BC Samian *lekythoi*, scarcely investigated by critics: their use as containers for perfumes, ointments, essences and drugs, products addressed to an elite market, as already highlighted by other scholars with regard to miniature ware in general. Most importantly, the author connects the specific formal typologies with the possible content.

The careful historical-social study of the context of the conquest of Megara Hyblaea by Gelon presented by Michel Gras and Piero Guzzo dispels the traditional Diodorean myth of the supposed practice of sharing lands in Lipara, which is completely contrary to the founding practice of an *apoikia*. This is certainly a conclusion of considerable importance.

After a fascinating examination of the feminine names of Kamarina offered by Federica Cordano, we get to the section on Syracuse, opened by Marcella Pisani, starting from work by Fouilland who had her first experiences at the Superintendency of Syracuse and at the Museum "Paolo Orsi". Here she was welcomed by Luigi Bernabò Brea and collaborated with Pelagatti in the 1970s. The excavation of a *bothros* near the Ionic temple of Ortygia carried out by Fouilland yielded fragments of a terracotta statuette which Pisani convincingly identifies as a young Dionysus carrying a crater on his shoulder. It was probably connected,

like the remaining filling materials, to the spring festival of *pythoi* and the first tasting of wine.

The black-figure *deinos* with three figural metopal zones in which Giuseppina Monterosso recognizes the representation of the myth of Helen kidnapped by Theseus and Peirithoos and then freed by the Dioscuri, offers another example of an unpublished or less known object for which an explanation is proposed. The elegance of the hatchings could even point to the circle of Exekias.

Angela Maria Manenti examines some helical metal objects, perhaps connected to an indigenous ornamental fashion, that were also found in the excavations of Fouilland. Concetta Ciurcina analyzes the grave goods of the archaic tomb of an adolescent excavated by Paolo Orsi in 1923. Rosalba Amato illustrates two painted *arulae* belonging to the Hellenistic period, one of which seems to be related to nuptial themes and female rites of passage.

The study of Sophie Bouffier of a cave chamber crossed by the aqueduct descending from the Hyblaean mountains, is of great interest as well. Fascinating and convincing is her hypothesis of an extra-urban sanctuary in the rural *chora*, as attested in other places in the Greek colonial world and among native populations.

The archaeological excavation of Megara Hyblaea remains the main French one in Italy up to today, and Françoise Fouilland made a significant contribution to the study and understanding of this site. Based on yet another work of Fouilland is the contribution of Reine-Marie Bérard on some Megarian sarcophagi, and in particular on the function of holes, already observed by Orsi, placed at their base and connected to a channel: probably a drain for corpse liquids, to facilitate the decomposition of the deceased, in view of a reuse of the monuments as collective tombs.

Still in the wake of Fouilland's Megarian research, Henri Duday resumes the identification and recontextualization of some sarcophagi of the archaic southern necropolis that were moved because of construction works.

The section dedicated to Kamarina, Castiglione di Ragusa and Monte San Mauro opens with a very interesting essay by Roberta Salibra paying due homage to the works of Fouilland at the archaic necropolis of Rifriscolaro in Kamarina. Salibra convincingly reconstructs the scene painted on a *lekythos* as the episode of the killing of Tityos by Apollo and Artemis, after he had kidnapped their mother Leto. With an impeccable method of comparison, the author attributes this work to the painter Lydos, therefore assuming its Attic provenance, dating back to the mid-sixth century B.C.

The interpretation of the bronze pomegranates of Monte San Mauro by Massimo Frasca, which were restored and inventoried by Fouilland, is also fascinating. He considers these as symbolic objects connected to rites of passage, chtonian cults and female fertility, as it comes to an end with death and burial.

The essay of Laurence Mercuri on the cultural relations between the Greek and the indigenous populations generated a particular interest from the writer of this review, because the cases of Castiglione di Ragusa and Monte San Mauro would suggest that social distinctions are more important than ethnic differences. His analysis assumes that a higher social role among the Epicorian population could facilitate privileged contacts with the colonists. However, we had better be more prudent when relegating the ethnic component to a secondary role and speaking of a "phénomène mimétique".

In the section dedicated to Calabria, Etruria, central Italy and Liguria, Maria Letizia Arancio pays homage to the great work done by Fouilland in relation to the second important French excavation in Italy, in Bolsena (1946-1986), where the archaeologist and archivist between 1981 and 1982 ordered and inventoried all the materials, which enabled the setting up of the local Civic Museum. Extremely instructive is the history of archaeology in Liguria from the restoration to the unification of Italy outlined by Giuseppina Spadea, from antiquarian efforts to collecting practices and issues of regulation and protection of antiquities.

To Greece is dedicated the contribution by Aliki Moustaka, which deals with the interpretation of the clay base of an Athenian *kore*, perhaps from a provincial workshop.

Finally, the section "Archivi" retraces the work of Françoise Fouilland when she was at the direction of the archives of the École française de Rome, from 1981 to 2015. Here she carried out invaluable work reorganizing, inventorizing, and cataloguing, and also taking the first steps towards digitization. Pelagatti and Emmanuel Turquin, who succeeded Fouilland in this position, tell us about it.

Roberta Salibra summarizes the scientific activity and publications of Françoise Fouilland, enriched by beautiful, older or more recent, photos.

The second part of the volume offers two unpublished writings by Françoise Fouilland, both part of her Diplôme d'études approfondies which she obtained in 1997 in Paris under the direction of Michel Gras. The first one is the study of the *bothros* from Ortygia, of which Fouilland has analyzed the material, taken pictures, while she also drew all the filling materials with precision and great detail. The second paper offers a precious example of archival-archaeological methodology: the analysis of the unpublished excavations of 1891 in the western necropolis of Megara Hyblaea of the sixth century BC, largely conducted through the consultation of the notebooks of Paolo Orsi and the general inventory of the Syracuse Museum. An emblematic example of how archival documentation is extremely useful to the study and understanding of archaeological contexts and historical analysis. This is Françoise Fouilland's great teaching, to whom this rich volume pays precious and everlasting homage.

Stefano Struffolino