

Book reviews

Building a new Rome: The imperial colony of Pisidian Antioch (25 BC–AD 700), eds. E.K. Gazda & D.Y. Ng, in collaboration with Ü. Demirer, Ann Arbor, Michigan 2011. 219 pp., 168 ill. + 1 video disc. ISBN 978-0-9741873-4-1.

Building a new Rome: The imperial colony of Pisidian Antioch (25 BC–AD 700) is an anthology from the Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The book is the result of a joint project between Ünal Demirer, the director of the Yalvaç Museum who currently conducts excavations at Pisidian Antioch, and a graduate seminar at the University of Michigan and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology directed by Elaine K. Gazda. The book therefore comprises both the results of new archaeological fieldwork and gives considerable attention to the archive material from the University of Michigan's expedition to Pisidian Antioch in the 1920s. The nucleus of the Michigan project has been to provide virtual 3D renditions of the architectural remains, which have been conducted at the UM3D Lab at Michigan.¹

Building a new Rome begins with a foreword by Demirer followed by a preface and introduction to the project by the editors. Six case studies follow, on selected architectural contexts focusing on the urban infrastructure as well as the religious and civic buildings of the city (Chapters 2–7). There are two additional chapters dealing with the indigenous cult of the lunar deity Mên (Chapter 8), and a survey of the making of the virtual model of Pisidian Antioch (Chapter 9). The book ends with an appendix listing the archive material held at the University of Michigan. An additional video disc features a virtual tour of the city and the extra-mural sanctuary of Mên Askaênos, which is located about 3.5 km further to the south-east.

¹ Cf. <http://um3d.dc.umich.edu>.

At a first glance of this generously illustrated book, the ruins of Pisidian Antioch seem to project a marvel of architectural grandeur, which initially appears to me like a unique Anatolian wonder, well in line with the grand heading “Building a new Rome”. Yet, in the aftermath of the initial excitement, it is sobering to recall that Pisidian Antioch was one of perhaps 100 monumental cityscapes of central Anatolia during the period of study (25 BC–AD 700). Still, far too few sites have been published and the innovative architectural design of Anatolia in the Roman period deserves more attention. When studying the examples of Pisidian Antioch, for instance the Arch of Hadrian and Sabina, we see a hybrid construction in a seemingly dynamic movement in the midst of Italian, Roman concepts and regional workmanship and crafting traditions. It is therefore books like *Building a new Rome* that need to be integrated in the new encyclopaedias of ancient architecture in order to give a much desired nuance to the old, well-known (and almost canonized) examples of the Roman architectural repertoire.

The Imperial Sanctuary is analysed in Chapter 2 by Benjamin Rubin. It has proven to be a noteworthy case study that relates to the dynamics between political centre and periphery. Apart from reconstructing the architectural remains of the temple, propylon, and colonnaded square, the Imperial Cult and its role within a colonial identity are discussed. In 25 BC, Emperor Augustus dispatched a colony of Roman war veterans from it seems mainly the Apennine Peninsula, to settle at Pisidian Antioch. The introduction of this new ethnic group of Roman *civitates* into the previous pseudo-autonomous Hellenized *polis* changed the socio-political structures of the city. Yet, the dedication inscription of the *Augusteum* has for instance a disposition where the three gods mentioned are Roman in origin but where the epigraphic formula belongs in the Hellenic tradition of Asia Minor. This may imply that also parts of the previous indigenous elite

may have contributed to the shrine of the Imperial family and the supreme gods.

Further dedications to the Imperial family can also be seen elsewhere inside the city. From the 2nd century AD the Arch of Hadrian and Sabina constitutes a tangible example of a hybrid Roman concept in an Anatolian implementation (Chapter 5), which is scrutinized by Adrian J. Ossi. As with for instance the similar arch at Patara in Lykia, it is a truly interesting sample of a typical Roman structure but in style far from the “always-referred-to” examples of Rome, Benevento, and Orange, etc. Again, both the inscriptions and the sculptural programme prompt queries about the relation between the local elites and the Imperial family. The arch also gives iconographic and structural references to earlier buildings of the city, which recalled the revered past of the colony that dated back to the heyday of Augustus.

In the analysis of the extra-mural temple site of the lunar deity Mên Askaênos, Katherine A. Raff highlights further aspects of a “Romanized” sanctuary originally of the Hellenistic period (Chapter 7). The sanctuary features, beside temples, also inferred banqueting halls, a theatre/odeion, as well as an early Christian church. It is suggested, however, that the Temple of Mên was actually rebuilt in the Antonine period, however following the original outline of its Hellenistic predecessor. The additional survey by Lori Khatchadourian in the cult of Mên in the Antioch area (Chapter 8) supplements the architectural excursus of the extra-mural sanctuary in an illustrious way. This chapter is undeniably one of the most well-written and important contributions of the book.

A deeper diachronic understanding of Pisidian Antioch, seen from a socio-religious perspective, is made possible in Chapter 6 by Lydia Herring-Harrington who deals with the early Christian architectural remnants of the city. A number of churches are surveyed, for example the Church of St. Paul, which was built as early as the second half of the 4th century. This chapter adds a truly important sample to the infected discourse on the chronology of the spread of early Christian architecture in Anatolia (some scholars still seem to believe that it did not start properly until the age of Justinian).

The final chapter of the book concerns the making of a virtual model, which is featured on the attached video disc. J. Matthew Harrington portrays the process of making the virtual rendition. Harrington offers for instance detailed comments on how the source material was treated in order to array the models with “photorealistic” texture. This chapter is in parts an *enkômion* on the advantages of 3D modelling and the illustrative powers it possesses. Personally, I am not fully convinced of the way that the city of Pisidian Antioch and the Sanctuary of Mên have been virtually brought back to life. The real reward may be to allow for the viewer to encircle selected buildings in order to see their full appearance. It is also

valuable to better apprehend certain geographical features. Still, the vibrant reconstructions provided by the architect Frederick J. Woodbridge already in the 1920s, offer far more information than the rather lifeless virtual work seen on the video disc. The texture of the virtual rendition only features whitish imitations of marble/limestone walls crowned by monotone reddish terracotta roofs, quite far from the general idea of “photorealism”. The low resolution in details like the angular *voussoirs* of archways (which are rounded in the drawings by Woodbridge), for instance in the Arch of Hadrian and Sabina, rather gives the impression of an out-dated videogame of the mid-1990s. Furthermore, the discourse on painted architecture in Antiquity that has been so active the last decade is completely ignored. Even fully hypothetical suggestions would have been welcome in order to reach the results that the author ascribes the study: “... elaborate texture maps can increase the visual impact of an image ...” (p. 176). There are no people walking the streets of Antioch, there is no commerce in the squares, no cultic practises performed at the Temple of Mên, and not a single drop of water spouting into the monumental *nymphaeum* behind the Arch of Hadrian and Sabina. Today the viewer simply expects more of virtual media in terms of architectural details, colour and high-resolution rendering.

Despite these graphical flaws in the virtual work of *Building a new Rome*, I find the book to be a very important scholarly contribution that may enhance our current understanding of urbanism, architectural, social and religious history of the Roman provinces. It is furthermore an admirable mission to restart work on archival material which is almost 90 years old. The appendix listing this material is, and will be, even more valuable in the future. The new analyses on the old excavations are also appreciated along with Demirer’s recent fieldwork on the theatre of the city. Finally, there is a true value in the republishing of Woodbridge’s work on the architecture, which has been done justice by the editors of the volume by large size, high-resolution prints.

JESPER BLID KULLBERG
Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
jesper.blid@antiken.su.se

E. Farinetti, *Boeotian Landscapes. A GIS-based study for the reconstruction and interpretation of the archaeological datasets of ancient Boeotia* (BAR-IS, 2195), Oxford: Archaeopress 2011. xiv + 425 pp. + 1 CD. ISBN 978-1-4073-0750-3.

GIS (Geographic Information Systems) has had a major impact on Greek landscape archaeology. It has successfully been used for the treatment of survey data as well as forming part of broader field methods both in regards to survey and excavation. Studies dealing explicitly with GIS analyses of previously published material and regional datasets have, however, not been as plentiful. Emir Farinetti's (henceforth, EF) study is therefore a very welcome contribution to Greek landscape archaeology, but given the central focus of landscape analysis and long-term perspectives should interest anyone working with the archaeology and history of central Greece.

The current book is a reworked version of the author's PhD thesis, submitted at the University of Leiden in 2009. The primary aim is to "illustrate a possible way of dealing with a regional landscape and its long-term settlement history based on the integration of archaeological data applying a GIS-based approach to the social dimension of landscape" (p. 1). EF, however, emphasizes that research on the ancient Boeotian landscape is central to the investigation and that GIS "must be a tool to carry out such research" (p. 14). This is a sound way of dealing with the material which put the questions regarding the economic potential of the landscape and long-term habitation patterns to the fore, rather than the different ways in which archaeological datasets can be broadly analysed in a GIS environment.

The first chapters (Part I.1 'Regional approaches to landscape studies' and I.2.1 'Physical landscape') introduce the various key concepts which are consistently utilized in the study, as well as the physical landscape data which was assembled in the GIS. The concept of landscape is of course a primary feature of the work, and is sufficiently defined within Part one. In particular, EF refers to the large volume of previous scholarship on ancient landscapes, stressing the significance of understanding spatial and environmental dimensions of past societies as well as the importance of recognizing socially constructed landscapes embedded with cultural significance (pp. 4–5).

Much emphasis is given to micro-regional perspectives of landscape and settlement patterns, and the way in which we may understand Boeotia as a region comprising several micro-regions, environmentally and in terms of settlement structures, as well as the individual *chorai* (the primary geographical unit for the analysis).

The micro-regional approach is also concerned with the identification of "settlement chambers" within the different

chorai landscapes. Settlement chambers may primarily be understood as micro-regions that present an environmental optimum for long-term habitation, even if shifts of the primary settlement may occur. Previous studies of such settlement chambers have often tended to be deterministic in their view on the impact of the physical landscape, limiting the role of social and political developments on pattern of settlement.² EF manages to avoid such determinism by drawing from the more recent *community area* theory and the concept of *taskscape* (pp. 7–11).³ The result is the impact of the physical environment and social and cultural developments combined, as well as the transformations of landscape (encompassing both the physical and the social) which occur over time as consequence of human action.

One of the benefits of using GIS as a way in which to investigate and analyse long-term aspects of settlement and land use is the ability to combine and work with a large body of diverse information in a meaningful way. The assembled data are divided into a series of physical landscape datasets on the one hand and archaeological/cultural datasets on the other. Classified land capabilities, created in the GIS, were of particular importance in the analysis of settlement chambers and the economic potential of micro-regions. The surface classification is broad and generic, based on the available topographic and geological data and not on field autopsy (pp. 19–24), but should nevertheless be regarded as sound and innovative as it provides an economic context for Boeotian settlements, albeit general.

The extensive archaeological datasets consist of site information assembled from the bibliographical record of archaeological fieldwork in Boeotia, prior to 2006, and introduced in Part I.2.2 ('The archaeological/cultural datasets and the research methodology'). Rather than producing a traditional gazetteer of *sites*, EF has brought together a large amount of information from the available archaeological literature and deconstructs the archaeological record into a large amount of archaeological *components* that are based on material types and chronology (detailed information on all of the archaeological components is presented in the different appendices and on the CD). This approach has clear benefits as it allows for better comparability of the material remains, given the di-

² EF (p. 6), for example, highlights the importance of *Siedlungskammern* in the work of German historical geographers such as Lehmann (for example in *Geographische Zeitschrift* 45:6, 1939, 212–228), Philippon and Kirsten (*Die Griechischen Landschaften. Eine Landeskunde*, 1950/59).

³ Community area theory has been central to research carried out by landscape archaeologists based in the Czech Republic (a review of which is provided by EF, pp. 7–8). The importance of understanding landscape as *taskscape* has been emphasized by Tim Ingold (for example in *The perception of the environment*, London & New York 2000).

verse aims and interests that have produced the archaeological record; ranging from intensive artefact survey to small-scale rescue work and accidental discoveries. The approach also overcomes the problem of site identification within previous research.

Through this breakdown of sites into components the archaeological remains as such become the primary unit for the investigation instead all the material available at a specific place. I find this deconstructivist approach both innovative and useful, and should be of use to others working with regional investigations and assemblages of sites identified primarily through a diverse range of both systematic and unsystematic archaeological fieldwork.

The second part of *Boeotian Landscapes* presents the landscape analysis performed on the basis of the assembled GIS data, utilizing the methods introduced in Part I. Chapter II.1 describes in detail the physical topography and environment of Boeotia, while Chapter II.2 describes the state of archaeological research in the region. The next Chapter, II.3, forms the bulk of the study and is concerned with the landscape analysis of different Boeotian *chorai*. EF uses John Fossey's extensive study of ancient Boeotian settlements (*Topography and population of ancient Boeotia*, Chicago 1988) as the point of departure for the geographical division of the various *chorai* (primarily the territory of individual *poleis*), though there are some variations in regards to the area divisions employed compared to Fossey's study. For example, while Fossey treats the *chorai* of the three Corinthian Gulf *poleis*, Siphai, Chorseiai and Thisbe, in separate chapters, EF treats them as one unit (II.3.10, 'Three small *chorai* to the Gulf of Corinth: Siphai, Thisbe, Chorseiai'), though this approach has no direct impact on the treatment of settlement chambers and the diachronic landscape analysis.

The same analysis is carried out for all of the different *chorai* that make up the sub-chapters of the book, providing evidence on the topographical setting, the identifiable boundaries (physical and political) of these geographical units, and the different physical land units (i.e the total percentage of land belonging to three different landscape types: Plains, Hilly landscape, and Mountainous landscape). The resources available to settlements in each *chora* are also dealt with, based primarily on the classified land capability.

The archaeological record is subsequently presented, including the nature of archaeological fieldwork carried out in the geographical unit as well as the identified archaeological components. Departing from the material remains an analysis of the pattern of settlement and range of identifiable activities are presented (such as settlement hierarchies, farming, burial activities, etc.), focusing primarily on the Prehistoric and Greco-Roman periods (encompassing Early Iron Age to Late Roman material). A slight problem here is the treatment

of Classical and Hellenistic towers, which are simply regarded as part of the regional defensive network. Although some of these towers may be military in nature, previous discussions on these features of the Greek rural landscape have shown that in many cases they may rather be interpreted as part of extensive agricultural installations (cf. Morris & Papadopoulos in *AJA* 109, 2005, 155–225). An investigation of towers and their geographical correlation to local resources (such as fertile or mid-fertile land) would have been highly interesting. A long-term perspective of settlement and environment is subsequently presented in each *chora* chapter, placing the Prehistoric and Greco-Roman pattern in connection with later post-Antique periods. I find this approach useful in regards to the discussion on how much of the settlement pattern is dictated by the physical environment and local resources.

Overall the study is an important addition to Greek landscape archaeology and will be the standard work to consult for anyone working with the history and archaeology of the Boeotian landscape. The analysis is highly relevant for understanding the economic potential and restraints of large settlement sites in the region, during different periods. The appendices and CD contain significant amounts of information on the Boeotian archaeological record. I am, however, slightly surprised that no actual GIS shape files or surface layers, produced as part of the analysis, were included on the CD. This would have been beneficial for anyone working with GIS and I believe it is necessary that the scholarly community starts sharing such GIS resources amongst each other. Despite this minor criticism this study has set a benchmark for GIS-based landscape research in Greece.

ANTON BONNIER
Department of Historical Studies
Box 200
University of Gothenburg
SE-405 30 Göteborg
anton.bonnier@gu.se

G. López Monteagudo, M.L. Neira Jiménez, 'Mosaico', in *Arte Romano de la Bética. Mosaico. Pintura. Manufacturas*, ed. P. León, Sevilla: Focus-Abengoa 2010. 381 pp., 482 ills. ISBN 978-84-89895-27-0.

A magnificent edition, the book constitutes the last volume of a series of three (the earlier two cover architecture and sculpture) about *Roman art in Baetica* (ed. P. León), based on the 2008 exhibition in Seville on Roman heritage in Andalusia. This volume deals with mosaic, wall painting and minor arts and these three parts, together with the two earlier volumes in the series, centre around the room in the domestic space. The focus of all parts is placed on the craft and the artistic aspect of the material and on use, the movement of fashion and the way it spreads over an area. The present review concerns only

the part on mosaics, which comprises the most extensive part of the book.

The short and concise introductory chapter (Chapter 1) summarizes the long existence of the mosaic art in the Mediterranean. It recalls the double function of mosaic art as a protecting floor and as a décor with a strong potential, which gave it a place in many environments. However, this was also the reason why it, for a long time, was considered to belong to the minor arts, despite its capacity to provide us with valuable information about Antiquity. Mosaics have become, to an increasing extent, an extraordinary source of knowledge, because of their long existence, vast expansion and by their quantity, and also through the way they were constantly developed and adapted, and thus adopted a regional character. Additionally, the imagery of the mosaics is an important source of knowledge, partly because of their function as a frame of connecting values in the Roman Empire; partly because they act as a prime witness of the different provinces of the Roman Empire with their local diversities.

Lately, many new mosaic finds have been made in Baetica, which have contributed substantially to cast a new light on the region, but also on the whole of the *Hispania Antiqua*. Chapter 2 ('The land of Baetica') focuses on their development over time and is divided into three sections.

The first, 'From *Signinum* to *tessellatum*', provides detailed information on the origin and development of different techniques of mosaic used, as well as composition, patterns, motifs and style, presented together with a display of examples of occurrences in Baetica from this richly illustrated work.

The second section, 'On craftsmen and workshops', is concerned with the people, the knowledge, the material, and the techniques and not least the models that were widespread and varied around the Mediterranean. Further, the author reasons about how local variations can be used to identify workshops and teach us about the interaction between the two agents in the production process, the producers and the consumers.

In the third section, 'The large centres of production', particular attention is paid to the three economic centres in the area, Astigi (Ecija), Corduba (Cordoba), and Itálica/Hispalis (Seville), as these constituted the three large centres of mosaic production with their own specific features. Occurring in public buildings as well as in the private homes of the elite, the figurative mosaics of *opus tessellatum* have a particular capacity to transmit messages over time and space. Particularly fruitful here are the thoughts about the role played by *mimesis* (imitation) for preferences and choice; consequently also for the distribution of motifs, styles and compositions.

Chapter 3 ('The imagery of Baetica') is the most extensive chapter, presenting the enormous stock of mosaics of *opus tessellatum* in the region, mainly dating from the Imperial period. It is underlined that both the motifs and their iconography

long belonged to the conceptions of the Mediterranean world and appeared and reappeared in different forms, settings and media. Some representations prevailed and were spread through the process of continuous interpretation and reinterpretation by creative craftsmen. They appear with similar traditional iconography as in the rest of the Roman repertoire, but with combinations, frequency and predilection which give them their own regional identity.

The presentation starts with a concise and excellent overview of the possible different readings of mythological images. The reader is thus introduced to how to approach and understand the complicated and often synthetically represented scenes that can both be interpreted *per se*, or according to the, often moral, questions they raise, in addition to the abstract concepts in form of allegories and personifications.

In the following sections the reader is invited on a guided tour among the mythological motifs in Baetica, through a presentation of their written sources (Homer, Hesiod and others); including a necessary presentation of the possible variations. The two most popular mythological themes in the area are presented under separate headings and hence the authors show why Bacchus and his *thiasos*, and the marine world, respectively, have played such a role in a region made rich from agricultural and aquatic products and their export over its watercourses, rivers and sea.

Among the rest of the mythological themes, presented together as one heading, the so-called "loves of Zeus" dominate, with a predilection for the rape of Europe, followed by certain heroic themes and Nilotic scenes. Purely allegorical themes are also common, particularly related to the fertility and bounty of the earth and to notions of Time. The last part in the section concerns the motifs related to the sphere of leisure and economy, here presented under the term *Otium et negotium*.

In Chapter 4 ('Recapitulations'), it is underlined that the region's mosaics form part of the Roman world, but with preferences for motifs expressing prosperity, fertility and harmony besides unity between man on earth and the celestial sphere, often through fusion of many components into a whole.

In all, the part of the volume on mosaics illuminates the interaction between the symbolism of the motifs, the makers and the consumers. What is especially interesting in this truly well-read method of using the different literary sources to reveal and follow the pictorial versions of the myths, their narrative and developments, is that it casts new light on the work of the craftsmen. Moreover the method acts as a guide, leading the reader through this largely complex pictorial material with its many different layers of communicative powers.

The two authors' use of the facial expressions, bodily poses and gestures gives the material a new and deeper meaning and enriches the reading. Especially interesting is this notion concerning the interpretative importance of the variations of the

representation, which accordingly influences the meaning, including the symbolic significance, in the mythological narratives.

This is effectively illustrated through the representations of the rape of Europe by Zeus (pp. 121–127) existing in different versions and particularly popular in Baetica. These are markedly interesting, since the emotional and chronological narrative, with its many different phases, is displayed through the expressions in face and posture, seemingly according to a text from the Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II: 836–875), which underlines the emotional development in the young woman from curiosity, over fright to the final state of delight and consummate love. These hints, together with some further details in the iconography, enable the viewer to follow in an exact way the narrative of this particular version and interpretation of the myth from the beginning to the end.

Another excellent example of this extended reading is the convincing guiding through and detailed analysis of the mosaic of Polyphemus and Galate (pp. 110–111), in the scene with the young nymph whose face reveals alarm and dismay when looking at the cyclop who is courting her. The original episode, first appearing in a text “The Cyclops”, by the poet Philoxenus of Cythera (435–380 BC), Syracuse, and later re-interpreted by some of the poets of Alexandria and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XIII: 759), is here figuring in a scene presented as unique by the authors, with its complex message, referring to a particular passage in the texts which demands particular knowledge both of the producer to represent and the viewer to be able to decipher it.

These two examples of an inventive reading suggest that these variations of the images, with their subsequent slightly diverse emotional meanings, are due to precise literary sources that represent different phases or even episodes of one and the same myth, rather than pure pictorial variations of a cartoon or basic model *per se*.

A supplementary benefit from this combination of traditional classical scholarship in the field with new openings of interpretations between specific text and iconographic variations, I suggest, is that it opens the many times unnecessarily locked discussion about the role of the craftsmen and their potential independence, both toward possible readymade cartoons and toward the presumed buyers. This concerns the craftsmen's literary knowledge, manual capacity and artistic talent, through hand and eye, to shape a version of a myth, through the use of facial expressions and body language, and to express its deeper meaning and thus communicate it to the public.

To conclude, this well-written study of mosaics with its broad and scientifically updated content recreates, in an appealing way, with its often new and frequently exceptional illustrative material, the lost Baetica, *Hispania Antiqua*. It has

succeeded well in its intention to appeal to various groups of readers using a fruitful and inventive new approach regarding antique visual culture. The lavish illustrations allow the possibility to study the subject thoroughly, both the mosaics *in situ*, in museums and in private collections in Andalusia, and their place in the general history of mosaics. It would be an excellent course book as it presents a remarkably didactic way to learn the myths of antiquity—and to teach others—as well as it is of great interest for the general public, as certainly also for the keen scholar in the field.

MAJA KRAMER
Department of Historical Studies
University of Gothenburg
maja.kramer@class.gu.se
Postal address:
Hagens stationsväg 24
SE-426 71 Västra Frölunda

Mesohelladika. La Grèce continentale au Bronze Moyen. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française d'Athènes, en collaboration avec l'American School of Classical Studies at Athens et le Netherlands Institute in Athens, Athènes, 8–12 mars 2006 (BCH Suppl., 52), eds. A. Philippa-Touchais, G. Touchais, S. Voutsaki & J. Wright, Athens 2010. 1046 pp. ISBN 978-2-86958-210-1.

This impressive volume, the acta from the conference in Athens in March 2006 on the Greek Mainland during the Middle Helladic period, organized by the French School at Athens, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Netherlands Institute in Athens, is in many respects impossible to review, at least with any ambition to give a fair treatment to or even mention all, 63 papers and 28 posters, of the well written and interesting contributions in Greek, English and French. The ambition of the conference was to cover the Middle Helladic culture in all of mainland Greece, to give it an identity as a cultural epoch in its own right, not only as a materially rather boring predecessor to the Mycenaean, or in the words of Oliver Dickinson, in his stimulating introduction that gives a background to the current state of discussions within Middle Helladic studies: one cannot judge a culture simply by its material manifestations (p. 13).

A preface by the directors of the organizing Schools and an introduction by the editors are followed by a list and chronological subdivisions and of abbreviations of publications. Other bibliographical references are found in the footnotes of each paper. On 1000-plus pages around 100 scholars then present their views and ideas of various aspects of the Middle Helladic period, ranging from presentation of new material, topographical issues to symbolism, organization and economy to production, technology and methodology. The presentations are organized in seven sections of various length and

themes that in many cases could easily have been published as separate books.

In Section I, 'Topography and habitat' (pp. 29–329), the contributions naturally have different foci, some presenting newly excavated material, often from rescue excavations, other being useful syntheses from restudied sites. The papers are ordered by geography, starting with the Argolid and Pylos in Messenia, but also treat recent finds at sites such as Galatas in Troizen and sites in Laconia, and regional overviews are given of recent research in the western, north-western and northern part of the Peloponnese. Further articles treat sites in Attica, on Euboia, in Achaia Phthiotis, Thessaly and on Skyros. Especially welcome are the papers on so far less well-known areas and sites. So, on the island of Aegina it is interesting to note the preliminary finds from "another prehistoric site" than Kolonna, namely Lazarides on in the eastern part of the island. Together the authors of the papers offer much new information that will be important for further studies concerning settlement patterns as well as regional chronological and social developments. Overviews of recent discoveries always have "best before" date, but together the articles give a good idea of the state of Middle Helladic excavation results in the beginning of the 21st century that will be useful for many years to come.

Funerary issues are discussed in the 15 papers of Section II ('Funerary practices and physical anthropology', pp. 331–494). Also in this case presentations of recent finds dominate, but here are also found critical discussions of various topics such as gender, regional differences and discussions of changes in funerary practices from the Middle Helladic to the early Mycenaean period. The second part of the section demonstrates the emerging importance of bio-archaeology, physical anthropology and osteology. The authors deal with results of studies concerning the physical remains of the dead with discussions of health, nutrition and disease, but also social issues, such as kinship, facial reconstruction of the dead and DNA analyses of human remains.

The section treating symbolism and ritual (Section III, pp. 495–548) is, together with the section on social organization and evolution (VI, pp. 753–822), the shortest, but certainly not the least interesting, of the volume. Symbolism and ritual in the Middle Helladic period have long been subjects that were never or rarely discussed. In this volume it is the shortest part with slightly over 50 pages, but the five authors ably demonstrate how various aspects what may be called ideology or mental structures, such as symbolism, iconography and traditionalism over longer periods, may be inferred from the material evidence through stringent methodology.

Aspects of social organization and evolution have also interested the five authors of Section VI. Their studies range from large scale socio-political overviews based on survey

records and regional studies, to questions concerning demographic issues, group identities, settlement planning at Argos and domestic economy at Asine. The aim is towards a better understanding of the dynamics in the Middle Helladic communities themselves, not only as places for formation processes of the emerging Mycenaean period.

Ceramic studies and chronology would some years ago probably have been the largest part of any book on the Middle Helladic. Here this section (IV, pp. 549–647) takes up roughly a tenth of the volume, with ten papers and posters. It is also noticeable that the authors deal less with pure classification problems and more with presentations of stratigraphy at individual sites and discussions of ceramics as evidence of inter-communication. A few pottery classes merit separate discussions and re-evaluations, especially the Minyan group and the polychrome wares. The database for the classification of the pottery from Aegina Kolonna is presented as an important tool by W. Gauss. No doubt these contributions on the archaeological "hardware" will form the basis for further research.

The production of pottery and regional specialization is taken into the next section (Section V, 'Production, technology and economy', pp. 649–751) together with metallurgy, discussions of husbandry and subsistence and other economic issues. Here two papers deal with subsistence patterns and diet, while three other contributions treat archaeozoological, archaeobotanical as well as marine data. That may be compared with the four papers that treat production and consumption of pottery and metallurgy and that aim at integrating questions concerning material production with social issues, especially during the transition from Middle to Late Helladic. It is clear that further studies of material production, together with modes of production and consumption will be important when understanding the period in question.

A number of studies have been undertaken on various aspects concerning trade and communication and that is reflected in the discussions of external relations and interactions in the last section, VII (pp. 823–1036). The section contains 20 papers and posters that together attempt to see the Middle Helladic culture and social groups in wider perspectives, and as an integral part of the synchronic interactions in the Aegean, with papers not only treating the mainland but also the Cyclades, Crete, Corfu and the north-east Aegean. Also areas that not often have been considered in the discussions of interaction in the Middle Helladic culture zone, such as Macedonia, and the material culture from Sovjan in Albania and Vivara in Italy, are shown to have a place in the interactions concerning the Aegeans of the time. These papers and posters present new material and explore issues such as cultural transfer, social and economic interactions.

The editors get the last word in the concluding remarks and emphasize that the multifaceted character of the colloquium and thus the publication of it reflect the state of research.

On a more formal issue it may be noted that thanks to the vigilance of the editors, there are very few typographical errors. The illustrations are generally adequate, even if more photos of the ceramic material (also in colour) would have been welcome, as well as a map with discussed sites marked.

Naturally it is possible to discuss the organization of such a large and rich volume, and it is sometimes more a question of taste whether a certain article should have been classified as treating external relations, funerary practices or something else. It is also noticeable that there are some issues that do not get their own section, as e.g. site planning and architecture—which does appear under several headings—and so the reader is strongly recommended not to limit her or his reading only to one of the sections. It is understandable, and does not take away anything from the usefulness of the volume. As it stands it is an important work, giving a comprehensive (and sometimes exhaustive) view of where the studies in Middle Helladic culture stood in the early 21st century. It will therefore be a valuable tool and reference work for Middle Helladic scholars for many years.

GULLÖG NORDQUIST
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History
Uppsala University
Box 626
SE-751 26 Uppsala
gullog.nordquist@antiken.uu.se

E. McGowan, *Ambiguity and Minoan Neopalatial seal imagery* (SIMA-PB, 176), Uppsala: Astrom Editions 2011. xii + 96 pp., 47 figs. ISBN 978-91-7081-244-6.

The monograph under review is an original and engaging study of the problem of purposeful ambiguity (or, rather, multivalence) in figural imagery on Minoan Neopalatial glyptics (seals and signet rings produced in c. 17th–15th centuries BC). It originates in a 2010 dissertation at the University of Melbourne entitled *Cryptic glyptic: A rhizomatic exploration of ambiguity in selected Minoan Neopalatial glyptic images*, completed under the supervision of L. Hitchcock. McGowan has set to explore an intriguing possibility: that modern/etic scholarly difficulty to identify certain images in Aegean Bronze Age glyptics may not reflect a problem to be resolved through progress in our knowledge and our familiarity with Aegean imagery; the author proposes to consider the possibility that certain cases of ambiguous identification may in fact be intentionally so and she proposes a theoretical framework in which such a possibility can be further explored.

This work is neatly divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 (pp. 1–8) presents the main theme of the volume, which is to

argue that “the imposition of a positivist scaffolding has obscured alternate connections and reduced the perceived multiplicity of imagery” (p. 2). The agenda to be further explored in following chapters is explicitly—albeit briefly—stated (pp. 1–3). For the rest of this chapter (p. 5–8), the author helpfully attempts to provide the non-specialist reader with basic knowledge about the context of production and use of Aegean glyptics, focusing on the Neopalatial period (an era when this craft witnessed unprecedented prosperity and which forms the focus of this book). Perhaps the section on “seal imagery and other media” (p. 7–8) could have been more expanded, since it is most closely associated to the main question of this monograph. The lack of chromatic contrast, the potential of reproduction through the impression of seals and signets and the small scale are features that definitely set glyptics apart from other image-bearing artefacts in the Aegean Bronze Age. As the author herself remarks, multivalence is another “way in which glyptic imagery may have been condensed to conform to the small parameters of the medium” (p. 8).

Chapter 2 (pp. 9–32) is essentially a critical historiographic essay on how problems of ambiguity had been addressed by previous scholarship. McGowan begins, very appropriately, with Evans. His approach to the interpretation of glyptic imagery is brilliantly described and it is recognized that the great pioneer acknowledged that images conveyed multiple messages, although he ultimately viewed these as reflecting the bursting creativity of the Minoan artist. Moreover, the author critically assesses the contribution of the *CMS* (*Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*) project, whose meticulous recording of all Aegean seals and sealings called for terminological uniformity, refinement and consistency in image description and identification. McGowan identifies the 1980s and the 1990s as the period when “positivism” prevailed in studies of glyptic imagery and when the “correct” identification of such images or motifs came to be considered as a pivotal prerequisite for any progress in their proper understanding. Within this epistemological context, she studies the fluctuations of scholarly reactions against ambiguity in image identification: studies by Morgan, Yule, Marinatos and Loughlin, are carefully and fairly considered. A most important part of this chapter is the section where works by Pini, Onassoglou, Krzyskowska, the van Effenterres and Wedde are considered as to their, by and large, “positivist” attempts to resolve what was seen by them as a “problem”, either in our understanding of the images or in the quality of our available documentation of them. It is, from this perspective, most refreshing that the author chooses to enter, at this point, a brief review of case-studies from other media, in order to demonstrate that, elsewhere, “ambiguity and connections between categories have been seen as bases for enquiry rather than problems to be minimised” (p. 28). Interesting, in this regard, is her discus-

sion of Rutter's interpretation of a multivalent image on a Late Minoan II (i.e. post-Neopalatial) ceramic jug from Kommos (pp. 31–32).

Chapter 3 (pp. 33–50) is concerned with human perception of images from an epistemological and cognitive psychological perspective. McGowan carefully considers a selection of factors that influence or shape visual perception. The approach followed she considers loosely “post-structural” (p. 33). A highlight of the chapter is the introduction of rhizomes versus “arborescent” perceptual modes (pp. 42–44), as well as the discussion on field-dependency/-independency in the visual reception of ambiguous images (pp. 46–50). A few really minor points: the associations between “rhizome-thinking” and “field-dependent cognitive style” (p. 45) should have been expanded more; the observation that “the resolution of ambiguous [visual] stimuli achieved by establishing a singular, dominant identification is primarily characteristic of western, field-independent cognitive styles” (p. 50) is of paramount importance for the scope of the book, and it is a pity that is rather briefly supported. These ideas are very fresh in Aegean prehistory. The account is overall quite readable, although a further section stating the exact relevance and potential application of each section to the material studied would have been highly welcome.

Chapter 4 (pp. 51–74) is the main “course” of the volume, where the agenda and theoretical framework discussed in previous chapters is applied to selected material. Discussion mostly focuses on *CMS* II.6 nr. 20 (a depiction of a “cult”-boat which can be seen as a bird if rotated 90° to the right) and *CMS* II.6 nr. 28 (a “bird”-lady which can be seen as consisting of a bucranium atop a boar-tusk helmet, as well as a papyrus bloom?/reminiscent of the “lion mask” when rotated 180°), both from Late Minoan IB (i.e. final Neopalatial) Ayia Triada, although many comparanda (mainly from glyptics, but occasionally also other media, more or less contemporary) are also inserted. The choice of these particular examples is particularly apt and the discussion elegant and sensible. The author does not retract from discussing all major aspects of her proposals, including e.g. the symbolic implications of multivalence (pp. 65–66). Most interestingly, the potential for such multivalent perception or semantic fluidity of these images is closely associated with the particular features of glyptics (including most sealing types) as a medium: rotation, for instance, is most feasible—and can even take place unintentionally—when handling such small and portable items.

Lastly, Chapter 5 (pp. 75–77) is a concise summary of the main conclusions of this study, including brief suggestions for further research. The volume is concluded by a list of bibliographic references (pp. 79–96) (incidentally, Deleuze and Guattari 2004 refers to two publications which should have

been indicated as “2004a” and “2004b”). Its relatively small size notwithstanding, it could have benefited from a short index.

This volume has several strengths. It manages to deal effectively and comprehensively with a difficult and complex subject that demanded an interdisciplinary approach. Its style is highly attractive and the result quite readable (typos are also scarce), succeeding in conveying its essence to the non-expert reader; the quality and depth of the theoretical discussion matches sufficiently that of the analysis of the actual material; the end-result is original and highly stimulating.

The only “complaint”—if it can be considered such—that may deserve mention in this short review, is that the approach followed by the author could have initiated more extensive discussions. To be fair, as McGowan herself admits, this book “highlighted only a few pathways through the rhizomorphous net and there remain many others yet to be explored” (p. 76). Besides image orientation, which is chiefly addressed in Chapter 4, other aspects are only very summarily addressed (cf. the section on “associative contexts” on pp. 52–53). However, certain important implications could have been discussed instead of being briefly mentioned. A most important issue is that such intentional multivalence/ambiguity does not occur in all glyptic images: “Many images remain relatively unitary and make visual sense only in one orientation” and, therefore, “the next question to be asked is why some glyptic images seem to deliberately engage and fuse together different motifs, and express these multivalently, while others do not” (p. 76). This crucial question is not sufficiently explored. From a different perspective, one may be concerned that this study discusses Neopalatial evidence only: Considering the outburst of figural imagery in Middle Minoan II art (particularly featured on seals), what could be the Protopalatial antecedents of such Neopalatial ambiguity? Was there a subsequent development of this tradition in the Third Palace period? Such questions of diachronic development in image representation are not considered.

It is always possible (or, indeed, desirable) that the author may explore them in subsequent studies, or that other scholars may be stimulated to do so themselves. None of these points can possibly obscure this reviewer's opinion that this is a remarkable and attractive study, which deserves to be broadly read and carefully considered by anyone interested in the study of Aegean Bronze Age imagery. In any case, McGowan's own ambition, “to have forged a new path for future investigation of glyptic imagery” (p. 74) can be considered largely fulfilled.

VASSILIS P. PETRAKIS
Affiliated researcher
National Hellenic Research Foundation
vpetrakism@yahoo.gr

S. Goldhill, *Sophocles and the language of tragedy (Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012. 296 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-979627-4.

Simon Goldhill—distinguished author of many stimulating works on Greek literature—has once again returned to what for many of us is the core of literary life in Athens during the 5th century BC: Sophocles and the art of tragedy. The title of Goldhill's book indicates the double focus of his approach: both an analysis of the language in the tragedies and a thorough discussion of the characteristic art of Sophocles. As stated in the introduction, the aim is to combine an analysis of language and concepts with the reception of the dramas, based on theories of *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, in order to elucidate the significance of Sophocles' tragedies, from ancient times up until now. Nevertheless, the author has chosen to divide his book into two sections (with some overlapping); in the first part he discusses the language, in the second the reception. However, in the closure of the book, called 'Coda,' he tries to bring the two parts together.

In the first part, Goldhill gives us many examples of how rewarding close reading of the texts can be in the hands of a specialist of his rank. Among them, his discussion of the Aristotelian concept *lisis* ("untying"), and how *lisis* is related to *katharsis* in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, but also in tragedies as *Trachiniae* and *Electra*, could serve as an example. Roughly speaking: each attempt of the characters to achieve *lisis* leads inevitably to even harder entwining. True release is achieved only when *lisis* and *katharsis* converge, i.e. in death. And, as Goldhill also reminds us, in Sophoclean texts *lisis* is linked to *telos*, which means "death" but also "fulfilment"; i.e.—as shown in the late dramas of August Strindberg (who eagerly studied Greek tragedies at the time when he wrote the *Chamber Plays*)—an initiation into a new and better existence.

Another stimulating feature is the discussion of how Sophoclean irony is to be understood. Here Goldhill, despite all earlier comments upon the topic, opens our eyes to the etymological complexity in Sophocles' text, especially when Goldhill points out what he calls "the limits of our reading of Sophoclean irony" (p. 27); limits, which are settled by the Greek language itself and therefore must be, but not always are, observed. For example: *oida* ("I know"), the most vital term in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, etymologically means "I have seen". This remark helps us understand the complexity of the famous scene, when Teiresias and Oedipus confront each other: the blind man *sees*, while Oedipus thinks that he is capable of *knowing*, but in order to know he must pay with the loss of his eyes.

Another example of the necessity of etymological skill, when contemplating Sophoclean irony, is Goldhill's elucidation of words and concepts as *didaskēin*, (*ekdidaskēin*, etc.)—

"teach" ("teach fully")/"learn"/"know"—in *Trachiniae*: What Hyllus asks to be *taught*, is in fact what he doesn't want to *learn*—knowledge leads to destruction. Another example yet would be *to koinon* ("the common") in *Antigone*; a wording which incorporates "what two share, should share or cannot share" (p. 31)—i.e. the dilemma, which torments Antigone's mind (and actually the mind of Creon as well, which is another twist of Sophoclean irony).

In the first part of the book, we can also read about the importance of the audience—whose members were to judge what was shown on the stage, the dynamic interplay between chorus and actors, the rhetorical use of *stichomythia* and other elements which formed the structure of the fully developed tragedy.

In the second part Goldhill deals with critical readings of Greek tragedy, starting with Plato, Aristotle and Seneca, but emphasis is laid upon German critics and authors from the 18th and 19th centuries: Lessing, Schiller, Schlegel and Schelling, later followed by Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Wagner. And after the discussion of critical readings of Greek tragedy, the author leads us to tragedy in performance—e.g. Reinhardt's staging of *Oedipus Tyrannus* and Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, etc.

The starting point in Goldhill's survey of the later reception of Greek tragedy is the concept of the tragic, and after scrutinizing texts from Antiquity he urges that the tragic is a modern conceit, formed by the German Idealists. This remark has a general application: if we want to grasp Greek tragedy in Athens, we are often obliged to go beyond the aesthetical reflections of the German critics around 1800 and sometimes neglect the academic tradition known as *Altertumswissenschaft*. Nevertheless, of course, Goldhill pays due attention to the writings of Friedrich Schlegel—"the most cited of nineteenth-century theorists of tragedy" (p. 147)—and others, and Goldhill gives a fascinating survey of the aesthetical and philosophical reflection on Greek tragedy during the 19th century and its connection to, for instance, Romantic Philhellenism and even Christianity (as we may notice in Schelling's ideas about *Sittlichkeit*).

Of special interest in this second half of the book—at least to drama scholars, like myself—are the parts about Richard Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* and Max Reinhardt and his performances; i.e. stagings, inspired by the emotional power in Greek tragedy, which paved way for modern drama. Both Wagner and Reinhardt were possessed with the idea of the performance as a "people's festival". In Wagner's case—at least in *Parsifal*—the impression given was sublime, almost religious. In Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, with its use of huge choruses, which dominated the action and even invaded the audience space, the impression was quite the opposite. The chaotic power of Reinhardt's adaption of Sopho-

cles seemed to mock the calm dignity that was expected by audiences marked by the Winckelmann conception of Greece and—once again, what Goldhill identifies as—the German idealist tradition. Even more scandalous was Reinhardt's production of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Elektra* (1903), especially the ending with Elektra's wild ritual dance, leading to her death. As Goldhill summarizes: "The blood of violence and the new perspective on the blood of the German Hellenic inheritance were both threatening challenges to the comfort of German Philhellenism." (p. 196). During the rest of the 20th century, and up until now, scholars and directors even more eagerly confronted the German aesthetic tradition and instead stressed the political and ethical discourse to be found in the Athenian tragedies, as we can see in the writings of Jean-Pierre Vernant and the stagings by Peter Stein.

As stated above, in the 'Coda' Goldhill tries to bring the two parts together, mainly with the purpose to describe the distinctiveness of Sophocles, compared to Aeschylus and Euripides. But in the 'Coda' one can also see an attempt to cope with theoretical issues in general; for instance, with references to Hegel, the need of historicity of reading and, as Goldhill puts it, the risk of naïvety when classical scholarship is marked by an idealistic view of ancient Greek culture and society. Further, Goldhill suggests that we should generally renounce the term *text* in favour of the term *script*, at least when we cope with artefacts which only come "into voice in and through performance" (p. 262). Here, before taking leave of his readers, the author also pleads for a personal engagement with the object of the study; if not, scholarship will be reduced to what Goldhill prefers to spell in German: *Wissenschaft*.

The structure of the book, with its two heterogeneous parts, might seem odd: rather two books in one, than one coherent study. (However, as mentioned above, in the 'Coda' the author endeavours to join the two parts, to unite philology with historical criticism.) Sometimes, one is apt to think, Goldhill is rather harsh when he discusses other scholars and perhaps a bit too content with his own interpretations, but—as indicated in the beginning of this review—a new book by Simon Goldhill is of utmost interest and joy for all who devote themselves to the study of ancient Greek literature.

BJÖRN SUNDBERG
Department of Literature
Uppsala University
Box 632
SE-751 26 Uppsala
bjorn.sundberg@littvet.uu.se

M.S. Cyrino, *Aphrodite (Gods and heroes of the ancient world)*, London & New York 2010, 155 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-77523-6.

The goddess Aphrodite has received a lot of attention lately. In the wake of V. Pirenne-Delforge's fundamental study *L'Aphrodite Grecque* (1994), several monographs have appeared, e.g., S. Budin, *The origin of Aphrodite* (2003), R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite. Art and cult in Classical Athens* (2004) and G. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre: Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (2007). A 2008 conference at the University of Reading was devoted to the goddess, *Aphrodite revealed: A goddess disclosed* (later turned into the *Brill companion to Aphrodite*, eds. A. Smith & S. Pickup, 2010), and in 2011–2012, a major art exhibition, *Aphrodite and the gods of love* travelled the United States and graced the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Getty Villa and the San Antonio Museum of Arts. Monica Cyrino's contribution to the flourishing Aphrodite literature appears as a part of the Routledge series *Gods and heroes of the ancient world* and aims at introducing the goddess's cults, character and origins to the general and academic audience alike.

Cyrino's book consists of three parts: the introduction 'Why Aphrodite?'; the central section 'Key themes' and finally the lately obligatory reception chapter 'Aphrodite afterwards'.

'Why Aphrodite?', begins with the short introductory section 'Who is Aphrodite?' which presents Aphrodite as the traditional "goddess of erotic love and beauty". Then follow, under the heading 'Aphrodite emerges', three ideas Cyrino finds fundamental for understanding how the ancient Greeks conceived Aphrodite: her *anodos* ("going up"), i.e., the powerful epiphany of the goddess emerging from the sea and rising into the sky, the *kosmesis* ("adornment"): bodily adornment as underlining Aphrodite's power to attract and thereby more or less intrinsic to her nature, and, finally, *mixis* ("mingling"). The latter concept, as forcefully argued by Gabriella Pironti,⁴ designates the goddess's ability to unite: (primarily) bodies in sexual as well as martial encounters. A following short section then presents the 'Evidence for Aphrodite': Cyrino bases her study on iconography and literary sources.

The 'Key themes' part is opened by a chapter with the self-explanatory title 'Birth, origins, names'. The initial discussion of the goddess's birth presents the different pedigrees given by Hesiod and Homer, and underlines that although her parents vary in the two accounts (Ouranos in Hesiod and Zeus and Dione in Homer), Aphrodite's connections to the sky and the sea are expressed through both. The account of the Homeric Aphrodite also introduces the goddess's affinity with the bat-

⁴ G. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre: Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (Kernos suppl., 18), Liège 2007.

tlefield, to be explored further in Chapter 3. Cyrino next gives an overview of the three major theories concerning the vexed question of Aphrodite's origin as a Near Eastern, a Cypriot or an Indo-European deity. Closely bound together with theories of origins, the subsequent 'Names' section follows in the same track, exploring the search for possible Indo-European or Semitic roots within the goddess's name, as well as a discussion of the Greek etymological understanding of Aphrodite's name as alluding to *aphros*, foam (and thereby to the goddess's Hesiodic birth), along with epithets alluding to the islands of Cyprus and Cythera.

'Love, sex, war' are the next key themes to be explored. Under a first heading, 'Love and sex', we encounter Aphrodite in her traditional role as goddess of sexuality and all things erotic. The concept of *mixis*, mingling, is introduced, as are the epithets or companions Peitho, Pandemos and Philommeides. Notably, there is a section on prostitution, which, following the work of Pirenne-Delforge, presents a clear dismissal of the modern popular idea of sacred prostitution in the Greek cult of Aphrodite. This is followed by a section treating Aphrodite as the goddess of beauty ('Beauty, adornment, nudity'), which discusses the goddess's appearance and its significance to her powers. The next chapter, 'Intimacy with mortals', examines Aphrodite's sometimes extraordinary closeness to the human realm. Aphrodite's love for Helen and Paris, Anchises, Aeneas and Adonis, her hatred for Hippolytos and her connections to Pandora are analysed and Cyrino suggests that each relationship "encapsulates and confirms a particular aspect of her [Aphrodite's] overall divinity" (p. 80): e.g., the couple Helen and Paris show Aphrodite's dominion over both love and warfare, whereas Aphrodite's abandonment of her son Aeneas as an infant and her failure in protecting the adult Aeneas on the battlefield indicates that she did not function as a kourotrophic deity.

In Chapter 6, the author treats the (interwoven) themes 'Sea and sky'. Aphrodite, as a deity born when the severed genitals of the sky god Ouranos fell into the sea, is closely connected to both elements. Cyrino, as many scholars, thus argues that this myth illustrates the vast domains over which the goddess holds sway: she is simultaneously a marine and a celestial deity, and "the entire natural world lies under the goddess' control" (p. 103). Aphrodite, as the goddess of *mixis*, mediates between the two realms: when Aphrodite moves between them and their boundaries blur, "contact, blending and unity" (p. 103) is attained, thereby explaining the importance of the goddess's *anodos*, or rising, in myth and iconography. The 'Sea and sky' chapter furthermore includes sections on Aphrodite worshipped as a marine goddess and a survey of the goddess's various associations with the sky, such as the epithet Ourania, mountains and birds.

The closing section, 'Aphrodite afterwards', is an eclectic one, treating many and varied contexts where the goddess Aphrodite, or simply her name, appears. Chronologically it covers a huge time span: from the Hellenistic period to the present day. Initially, Greek Aphrodite's relationship to Roman Venus is discussed, both during antiquity and, very briefly, during later centuries. Then follows a somewhat amusing survey of Aphrodite in modern society, which includes an analysis of Aphrodite as a brand name in the contemporary fashion and cosmetics industry, as well as Aphrodite's appearances on film and TV.

An overview of something as complex as a major Greek deity is a difficult task, no less so in a book of restricted format. This is clearly illustrated by Cyrino's book, which would have needed a few extra chapters to paint a full portrait of Aphrodite. As it is, the book offers an account of Aphrodite as she appears in the literary sources, especially in early poetry, and to some extent in iconography. Cyrino shows elegantly how the concept of beauty and bodily adornment are not superficial qualities but intrinsic and fundamental features of Aphrodite's capacities, and how her divine entourage (e.g., the Graces, the Hours, Eros and Himeros) both externalize some of her capabilities and "supply the tangible emblem of Aphrodite's sphere of authority" (such as flowers, perfume, jewellery, etc, p. 73).⁵ The analysis of the goddess's exceptionally close relationship to certain humans, or semi-humans ('Intimacy with mortals') is likewise very interesting, as Cyrino demonstrates how in each of these relationships, there is a correspondence between the interaction goddess-mortal and a certain aspect of Aphrodite's power.

Lately the literary image of Aphrodite, with traditional focus on sex and beauty has been, if not rejected, enlarged and diversified. Pironti's work, for example, has focussed on the violence in Aphrodite's character, inherent to the goddess through the concept of *mixis* that is at the heart of her powers. Archaeology continuously offers new evidence for the prime importance of Aphrodite's links to the sea: the excavation of her sanctuary in Miletos, and the Koan inscriptions related to the harbour cult site of Aphrodite Pontia (and Pandemos) are recent examples.⁶ Epigraphic material from all over the Greek

⁵ As noted recently by Rosenzweig, in iconographic sources, Aphrodite is often only identifiable through her retinue: Eros, Himeros, Peitho, etc. These personifications represent the goddess's powers and they function as her attributes: without them, Aphrodite becomes quite anonymous and hard to recognize (R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite. Art and Cult in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor 2004, 24).

⁶ R. Senff, 'Das Aphroditeheiligtum von Milet', in *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens*, ed. G. Heedemann (Asia Minor Studien, 49), Berlin 2003; R. Parker, 'The cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia at Cos', in *Kykeon: Studies in honour of H.S. Versnel*, eds. H.F.J. Horstmanshoff et al., Leiden 2002, 143–160.

world keep underlining her role as protectress of officials,⁷ both military and civic: when all available evidence is considered, Aphrodite, like most major Greek deities, appears as an almost disconcertingly multi-faceted deity. Cyrino certainly underlines the polyvalence of Aphrodite throughout her account, but to do justice to this plurality of meanings more stress on the actual cults of Aphrodite would have been necessary, along with more extensive evidence from archaeological and epigraphical sources as well as from literature and iconography. As it is, the fundamental question of who worshipped the goddess and in which circumstances, is only partly answered. Furthermore, perhaps due to the restricted format of the contributions to the *Gods and heroes of the ancient world* series, some complex issues are too narrowly presented, such as the concept of *mixis*, and the epithets Pandemos and Ourania. Although Cyrino notes the many meanings of the first two concepts, their polyvalence is obscured by their placement in the 'Love and sex' section. Whereas both *mixis* and Pandemos clearly can belong to an erotic context (the *mixis* of bodies in sexual encounters and Pandemos as an epithet used for a goddess approached in the marital process) they are not limited to this framework. *Mixis* spans Aphrodite's entire spectrum: she makes bodies mingle in love, war and civic harmony and although sometimes involved in the erotic sphere, Pandemos is mostly encountered in civic circumstances. (It is moreover questionable that it is an epithet specific to the Athenian *polis*, p. 38; the title is attested all over the Greek world.) Ourania, on the other hand, is not mentioned in the 'Love and sex' chapter, although we now know for certain that at least the Athenian Aphrodite Ourania was worshipped as a marriage deity. An inscribed treasure box testifies to the fee due to this goddess at the occasion of a wedding (*SEG* 41. 182, see for example Pirenne-Delforge 2007). *Aphrodite* thus gives an image of the goddess largely based on literary evidence that provides a starting point for a closer acquaintance. For a fuller picture of the goddess, readers of *Aphrodite* will hopefully be inspired by Cyrino's engaging style and use the 'Further reading' section to further explore Aphrodite's cults and character.

JENNY WALLENSTEN
Swedish Institute at Athens
Mitseon 9
GR-117 42 Athens
jenny.wallenstein@sia.gr

⁷ J. Wallensten, *ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΑΡΕΑΣ. A Study of dedications to Aphrodite from Greek Magistrates*, diss. Lund University 2003.

Labraunda and Karia. Proceedings of the International Symposium commemorating sixty years of Swedish archaeological work in Labraunda. The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities Stockholm, November 20–21, 2008, eds. L. Karlsson & S. Carlsson (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas, 32), Uppsala 2011. 475 pp. ISSN 0346-6442, ISBN 978-91-554-7997-8.

The Swedish excavations at Labraunda in Karia have a long but far from continuous history. Between the early campaigns (1948–1951, 1953, 1960) and their modern resumption (from 2003 onwards), 43 years passed, devoted particularly to the study and publication of the early finds: ten fascicles appeared between 1955 and 1995, covering large parts of the early discoveries. While this work is still in progress, the new excavations have focused upon “three study areas that were given very little attention in the early excavations” (p. 12): the military installations and tombs around the Sacred Way and the sanctuary, and the Late Roman and Byzantine buildings.

In spite of the long time that passed between the early and modern excavations, they now undoubtedly must be seen as parts of one and the same grand-scale project, and it is only natural that scholars active at the site today seized the opportunity to celebrate the 60-years memorial of their endeavours. In November 2008, a symposium was arranged in Stockholm, the *acta* of which appeared three years later.

The book is divided into four parts, the first of which is an introduction containing a history of the excavations by Lars Karlsson (pp. 9–17) and a survey of the documentation of Labraunda by the 18th and 19th-century travellers, written by Pontus Hellström (pp. 18–47).

Part II (pp. 49–272) contains 13 papers directly relating to the Labraunda sanctuary and its surroundings. Three of these discuss inscriptions and their historical implications, two are devoted to the festivals and banquets celebrated at the site, one to the coins found there, and seven to various architectural issues. Among the latter, I have chosen three for more detailed discussion.

Abdulkadir Baran presents his studies of ‘The Sacred Way and the spring houses of Labraunda sanctuary’ (pp. 50–98). The Sacred Way from Mylasa up to Labraunda had a total length of *c.* 14 km, but it can be traced only in its upper part, *c.* 6 km from the sanctuary. Its construction, presumably in the Hekatomnid period (392–333 BC), had various possible reasons: first of all to carry marble from Mylasa to the sanctuary, but perhaps also for military purposes, not least as the road continued past Labraunda towards Alinda. From 2003 onwards, the ten preserved stretches of the Sacred Way and the two of the Alinda road have been carefully documented.

The surrounding mountains offer ample water resources, and at least 42 natural springs in the vicinity of the roads (some 20 around the sanctuary itself) were furnished with built spring houses for the convenience of the travellers. Even though no pottery or other datable material was found at the spring houses, they were obviously associated with the Sacred Way and are, thus, to be dated within the Hekatomnid period. The author refers to nine groups of similar spring houses, all situated in the hinterland of Karia and dated to the Hekatomnid period.

While the spring houses have not yet been the subject of archaeological examination, extensive excavations were undertaken in 2007–2010 in a number of fortresses and free-standing towers north of or up to 3.4 km south and southwest of the sanctuary. These are presented at some length by Lars Karlsson in his paper ‘The forts and fortifications of Labraunda’ (pp. 216–252).

The most impressive construction is the ring-fort on the Labraunda Akropolis, *c.* 150 m north of the sanctuary but on a level *c.* 100 m above the Temple. It has eleven towers, two of them in an inner wall defending a small, upper fort. The Akropolis fortress was apparently the centre of a larger, Hekatomnid defence system, including the central tower of Tepe-sar Kale and the square “castle” of Burgaz Kale, with its three catapult towers. During the 3rd century BC, this system was extended with three free-standing, rectangular towers. All of these forts, except for Burgaz Kale, were clearly visible from the Akropolis.

Quite unexpected was the discovery, in the upper fort of the Akropolis, of extensive, Byzantine remains, including both buildings and ceramic material. Karlsson tries to place this occupation in the historic situation after the first victories of the Seljuk sultans in the late 11th century up to the abandonment of the area by the Byzantine emperors in the early 14th century.

One of the main reasons for starting the excavations at Labraunda is said to have been its Minoan-sounding name. But no Bronze Age artefacts were ever found and interest came, instead, to focus around the architectural remains from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Against that background, it is perhaps not too hard to understand that very little attention was given to the (not insignificant) traces that had come to light of Late Antique, Christian presence at the site. From 2005 onwards, however, this flaw has been remedied—with quite important results.

Jesper Blid has presented a number of articles on the subject but, in this symposium volume, he is represented only by a short paper on ‘Recent research on the churches of Labraunda’ (pp. 99–108). The main part of this paper is devoted to the quite impressive East Church erected between the South and East Propylaia. The author draws attention to various traits

connecting the building with 4th-century, Syrian churches—as, for instance, the single nave, the tripartite sanctuary with elongated apse, and (probably) the twin-tower façade.

When the East Church had fallen into ruins, it was superseded by a small, Middle Byzantine chapel, inside and close to the entrance of the church. Other finds, notably the remains of a 5th or 6th-century *ambo* of Karian type, may indicate the existence of another, West Church.

Two papers try to elucidate the aims of the processions and ritual banquets performed at the sanctuary. Pontus Hellström, in his paper ‘Feasting at Labraunda and the chronology of the *Andrones*’ (pp. 149–157), starts his argument from the rather extensive feasting that took place at the sanctuary, with particular reference to a 4th-century BC decree preserved in two Roman copies. The reading of the text, as well as its precise meaning, remains a matter of doubt, but most scholars agree that it refers to a lengthening of the annual festival from one to two or perhaps even five days.

This, according to Hellström, should be seen in the light of the Hekatomnids’s ambition to enhance the status of their family—also reflected in their magnificent building programme. Not only the *andrones* but other buildings as well, such as the East Stoa and the Oikoi Building, were intended for couches with room for altogether more than 150 banquetters. Moreover, thousands of people of lower rank may have taken part in the cult meals on various terraces outside the buildings—offering excellent “possibilities for the Hekatomnids to show their generosity as hosts and to hand out prestige on a number of different levels” (p. 154).

Hellström ends his paper with a (to me totally convincing) redating of Andron A, erected by Idrieus. The ethnic of this dynasty, *Mylaseus*, may indicate that he was not yet satrap in Halikarnassos, but rather his brother’s hyparch at Mylasa. If so, Andron A, too, must be assigned to Maussollos’s reign.

Similar issues are tackled by Anne Marie Carstens in her paper ‘Achaemenids in Labraunda. A case of imperial presence in a rural sanctuary in Karia’ (pp. 121–131). The author assumes that the title “King of the Karian federation”, known from the early 5th century BC onwards, must have been carried by the Karian satraps who, thus, combined it with their position as high priests of Zeus Labraundos. The ritual activities at the god’s sanctuary aimed at enhancing the status of the Hekatomnids. The paved Sacred Way enabled them to arrive at Labraunda in a truly magnificent manner, and the processions then passed through the sanctuary along an intricate route, compared by the author with that encountered at Delphi. Likewise, the main purpose of the Hekatomnid building programme was to create a splendid setting for the ceremonial banquets.

So far, Carstens’s account has much in common with that of Hellström. Her subsequent argument remains partly hypo-

thetical, but also thought-provoking and thrilling. Departing from a discussion of banquets and royal audiences in Achaemenid Persia, she proposes that a “vital part of [Hekatomnid] court life was [...] transferred to the sanctuary, where the multifaceted capacities of the high priest, King of the Karians, and the satrap were omnipresent” (p. 125).

Carstens prefers to see the *andrones* more as reception halls than dining rooms, and she emphasizes the Achaemenid iconography of the two male, bearded sphinxes that served as corner *akroteria* on Andron B. Similar representations are to be found guarding the palace of Dareios at Persepolis and (often) on Lydian seals surrounding the winged sun-disc of Ahuramazda. The author, thus, tries further to enhance the importance of the sanctuary at Labraunda by adding traits directly bringing out the position of the Hekatomnids as representatives of the highest worldly authority besides that of the supreme god.

Two of the three epigraphical papers are of a prosopographical nature, while the third aims at covering the entire ancient history of Labraunda: ‘The epigraphic tradition at Labraunda seen in the light of Labraunda inscription no. 134: a recent addition to the Olympichos file’ (pp. 199–215) by Signe Isager. The new inscription, discovered in 2002 and complementing an already known fragment, was published by Isager and Lars Karlsson in 2008. Here it is presented and discussed rather briefly. The main part of the paper is devoted, instead, to the “epigraphic tradition”—that is, a survey, period by period, of the various categories of monumental inscriptions known from the sanctuary from the 4th century BC to the early imperial period. For instance, *stelai* were unusual before the 2nd century BC, when many earlier documents were copied—perhaps as a consequence of the increasing Roman presence in Karia. It may at that time have become important to prove the rights of the city of Mylasa to the Labraunda sanctuary. This may also have been the purpose of erecting a statue of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, if he is correctly identified by the author (and many others) with the Roman commander in Karia in 129 BC (and future consul of 122). This identification, however, is precisely what Jesper Carlsen tries to refute in another paper in the volume: ‘I. Labraunda 62: text and context’ (pp. 109–120), assigning the honorific inscription on the statue base, instead, to a much later member of the family, the consul of 32 BC. But in spite of his (quite good) arguments, no certain solution seems possible.

Part III (pp. 277–459) has a wider scope: nine papers discuss the ancient history of Karia or finds and remains from a number of Karian sites. Here, too, architectural studies prevail, one of which stands out in the crowd: Suat Ateşlier’s ‘The Archaic architectural terracottas from Euromos and some cult signs’

(pp. 279–290)—being the sole paper in the volume dedicated to an Archaic-period subject.

Very few decorated, architectural terracottas were known before from Karia south of Miletos/Didyma, just some occasional fragments from Mylasa and Amyzon. But in 1971–1972, Turkish excavations at Euromos, c. 12 km north-west of Mylasa, revealed a *bothros* filled with about 800 terracotta fragments, most of them with well-preserved paint.

The many fragments derive from a number of terracotta members (and presumably several buildings): relief-friezes depicting processions of chariots drawn by winged horses, banquet scenes, a centauromachy, and spiral ornaments; raking and lateral simas with many parallels from Karia and Phrygia; antefixes with Gorgoneia, lion heads, and lotus flowers; a disc *akroterion* with a Gorgoneion, high relief fragments probably deriving from a pediment, and eaves-tiles with relief guilloche. The author shows particular interest in the procession frieze, arguing for the identification of a veiled, female figure with the goddess Hekate—with reference, among other things, to the children and dogs surrounding her chariot.

The terracottas seem datable to the second half of the 6th century BC, and Ateşlier—quite reasonably—assigns the earliest group to the Temple of Zeus erected c. 550 BC, and the later ones either to a repair of that roof in 525/500 BC or to new buildings erected in the sanctuary during that period.

A short but thought-provoking paper by Simon Hornblower, the biographer of Mausollos, tries to place the achievements of the Hekatomnids in a wider context: ‘How unusual were Mausolus and the Hekatomnids?’ (pp. 355–362). Were they really as unique as they now appear to us, or is their apparent peculiarity mostly the result of suitable building material and an extraordinary amount of preserved inscriptions? In order to answer these questions, the author examines a series of “comparable and perhaps influential developments in Krete, Rhodes, Kilikia, Cyprus, and Egypt” (p. 355).

During this examination, Hornblower draws attention to a number of politically active and even ruling women in 5th and 4th-century Asia Minor and Cyprus, as parallels to and models for Mausollos’s sisters. But his main subjects are, on the one hand, the possible connections—ethnic and others—between Karia and Crete and, on the other, the Syennesis family in Kilikia, “a partly Greek hereditary dynasty which was allowed to rule an enclave in the Persian Empire” (pp. 359f.) from the 6th century BC perhaps into the 4th. Admittedly, Hornblower’s *stemma* of the Syennesis kings remains to large extent hypothetical (a fact which he does not at all hold back), but the parallels with the endeavours of the Hekatomnids to enhance their status and power without provoking the Achaemenid rulers are in various respects hard to deny.

Besides the *koinon* of the Karians discussed by Anne Marie Carstens, we meet during the Hellenistic period a *koinon*

of the Chrysaoreis comprising seven certain and two possible member cities in northern Karia. It is attested epigraphically from 267 to 81 BC and is still mentioned by Strabon. Departing from a newly found (1999) and published (2003) honorary decree from Lagina, Vincent Gabrielsen tries to establish the true nature of ‘The Chrysaoreis of Caria’ (pp. 331–353, with a detailed analysis of the decree in an appendix, pp. 346–351).

According to general (but not total) consensus, the Chrysaoreis were mainly a religious league centred around the sanctuary of Zeus Chrysaoreus near Stratonikeia but, by close reading of all documents referring to them, Gabrielsen argues convincingly for the league being, in fact, also a kind of federal state. He presents his conclusions under three points:

(1) The members of the *koinon* were all Karian *poleis*. Strabon states that Karian lineage (*genos*) was necessary, but this finds no support in epigraphical sources and is certainly not correct as far as Stratonikeia is concerned. Also according to Strabon, the voting strength of the individual *poleis* depended on the number of *komai* belonging to the city.

(2) *To koinon ton Chrysaoreon* was a federal state, probably based upon a *sympoliteia* agreement. Decisions were taken by an Assembly (*ekklesia*), and its activities were perhaps supervised by officials called *hierommemones*. The partaking *poleis* made obligatory monetary contributions to the federal treasury. The inhabitants of the separate *poleis*, “the multitude” (*to plethos*, and probably *ho sympas demos*) had the right to take part in the civic and religious life of the other cities.

(3) Adducing several examples, the author shows that “the League’s political loyalties [...] internally within the League were fragile, while externally vis-à-vis other powers they were divided” (p. 344). Particularly the 3rd-century struggles between Ptolemies and Seleucids laid great strain upon the *koinon*, and separate *poleis* tended to act independently in order to benefit from the political situation.

The dividing line between a religious league and a federal state may, admittedly, be vague, and the available sources are partly abstruse, but Gabrielsen’s methodical study arrives at evidence weighty enough to prove his point: the Chrysaoreis were more than a religious league.

Labraunda had a momentous history even after the Hekatomnids and so, apparently, had Halikarnassos. In her paper on ‘Halikarnassos during the Imperial period and Late Antiquity’ (pp. 424–443), Birte Poulsen vigorously challenges the orthodox view (based upon ancient authors) that the city “was almost deserted and ruined during the Imperial period and later” (p. 425), perhaps already after its destruction by Alexander.

As shown by Poulsen, even ancient authors—such as Cicero, Vitruvius, and Strabon—may be interpreted in quite a different way, and archaeology, inscriptions and other literary

texts attest to the presence of important monumental buildings during the first centuries AD: a theatre, a large stadion, at least two gymnasia, a library, a custom house, a temple dedicated to Emperor Tiberius(?), and a Kaisareion for the cult of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

In Late Antiquity, Halikarnassos apparently enjoyed an era of prosperity during the 5th century, attested by the House of Charidemos with its rich mosaics, both geometric and figurative, at least six more mosaic floors throughout the city, and monumental family tombs in the necropoleis outside the Myndos and Mylasa Gates. During the reign of Emperor Justinianus, Halikarnassos was mentioned as the third city of Karia, surpassed only by Miletos and Herakleia.

The author concludes that Halikarnassos was “fully functioning during the Imperial period” and “a flourishing centre during Late Antiquity” (p. 438)—still, apparently, with the same general extension as during the reign of Maussollos. The evidence brought together by Poulsen clearly proves her right.

Part IV—‘Appendices’ (pp. 461–475) consists of the facsimile and English translation of humorous drawings and notes on the life of the Labraunda excavators sent by Kristian Jeppesen as a gift to his father in 1951, and moreover of an extensive bibliography on Labraunda 1948–2010.

Of the 26 contributions to this symposium volume, only 15 have been discussed here—chosen mostly from my personal interest and whims. Still, I hope that this review will provide a tolerably adequate picture of the wealth of information supplied on new and ongoing studies on Labraunda and Karia as a whole. Little has been said about pottery, coins and other small finds, nothing about the Karian language and inscriptions. But the volume still shows to what degree the subject has widened since the excavations started 60 years ago—thematically, methodologically, and chronologically. The points of reference extend from Rome and Sicily to Persia, from Constantinople to Egypt. The rich epigraphical yields from a number of Anatolian cities now cast a new light on the increasingly informative inscriptions found at Labraunda. This is a volume of which both editors and authors can be proud. It is also technically a high-quality product, with illuminating and beautiful colour photographs and extremely few misprints.

ÖRJAN WIKANDER
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History
Lund University
Box 117
SE-221 00 Lund
orjan.wikander@klass.lu.se

Guy De la Bédoyère, *Cities of Roman Italy: Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia* (Classical World Series), London, Bristol Classical Press, 2010, 123 pp., 45 figs (plans and photos). ISBN 978-1-85399-728-0.

Guy de la Bédoyère is a British historian who has written on a variety of topics from modern history to Roman archaeology in Britain as well as Italy and Egypt. He has also appeared regularly on *Time Team*, the archaeological television series on Channel 4, and he teaches at Kesteven and Sleaford High School in Sleaford, Lincolnshire, specializing in Modern History and Classical Civilization.

The aim of Guy De la Bédoyère's book is to present a short introduction to Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia for school and university students and it "has been written to provide a starting point for those studies, by integrating all three sites into a discussion that covers general aspects of Roman city life as well as selected individual buildings" (p. 7).

The first chapter, 'The background to the cities: History and development' (pp. 9–20), comprises overviews of each city's background in the light of Rome's expansion. The descriptions circle around themes like prestige, public display and visualizing status in the ancient Roman city. The high tide of the Roman Empire is the chronological horizon whereas the Greek, Etruscan and Samnite origins and influences in Pompeii are only touched upon, as is the Late Antique development of Ostia. There is an updated description of early Pompeii, with its prehistory as well as the earliest buildings (the Doric Temple at Forum Triangularum and the remains under the Temple of Apollo) and of the "old town discussion" of the city core. Herculaneum is described as a coastal resort, although it is emphasized that, due to the limited excavations and the fact that modern Ercolano overlies the remains, we cannot know its full extent. Ostia's dependency on Rome and its elite is emphasized while Pompeii and Herculaneum are described as local power structures reliant on the influence of Rome, but within self-governing economic and political spheres ("local landowning interests, local politics and local concerns", p. 13) based on the local economy of land, trade and transport.

'Government and social structure' (Ch. 2, pp. 21–38) is a short and efficient description of the social structures and government within the Roman Empire, with a clear focus on the social, economic and political elite. The social and political arenas of the "free citizens, Latin citizens, provincials, freedmen and slaves" (p. 23) are touched upon, as well as the institutions of civic government (from *aediles*, *duoviri*, *decurion*, and *ordo decurionum* to *pontifex maximus*) and the social life (from *familia*, the *patron* and *client* to commercial guilds, *collegia*). This information is essential for visualizing the wealth and status in society as treated in the following chapter, 'Pub-

lic institutions and identity' (Ch. 3, pp. 39–60), which deals with the aspect of identity through the financing of public buildings connected to entertainment, leisure and in service of the state; political, as well as religious. Focus lies on the persons initiating or financing the building projects. In Pompeii, the Forum and its attendant buildings (the basilica and Eumachias building), the entertainment and recreation areas (the palaestra, the theatre, the odeion and the amphitheatre), and the religious institutions are treated in length, as are Piazzale delle Corporazioni (II,VII,4) in Ostia and the baths of all three cities. Further, in Ostia Caserma dei Vigili (II,V,1–2) and Grandi Horrea (II,IX,7) are given special attention to illustrate the difference in the structure and organization of the cities in close proximity to Rome.

In 'Private expressions of social identity' (Ch. 4, pp. 61–85) the private and semipublic spheres of the *domus* and *insula* are treated as expressions and the consequence of status; the atrium house in Pompeii and its deviation in Herculaneum are discussed, as is the development of *domus* and *cenaculum* in the *insulae* of Ostia, including architectural structure, wall paintings and mosaics.

The graves of the men, and women, that built Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia, and their prestige in the afterlife, as a reflection of the activity in life, are discussed in *Status and prestige in death* (Ch. 5, pp. 86–94). Included in the discussion are the different burial types and individual tombs, in addition to the commemorative and prestigious inscriptions (some included at the end of the book) and decorative reliefs on the large tombs.

'Destruction, excavation and preservation' (Ch. 6, pp. 95–102) is a brief description of the sequence of the volcanic eruption and how Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed. The history of the excavations is followed by selected remarks concerning the substantial problems with restoration and maintenance of the remains, a discussion that in recent years has achieved a magnitude that even reaches a political level in Italy.

The book also comprises a glossary of Latin terms and a collection of texts and inscriptions in translation. Included are the famous letters of Pliny the Younger and inscriptions on buildings and graves bearing witness to the practice of prestigious donations and public displays of the Roman elite. For more illustrations and plans, the author refers to online resources, described in the end of the book (p. 117) together with some advice on how to contact the authorities for booking group visits to houses and how to travel with local transportation.

The general theme in the book is about the public and private milieus in Pompeii where "status was eagerly sought and proudly displayed" (p. 53) and this line is followed accordingly—under the banner of "identity"—in the public and private buildings and in the display and spatial organization

of the cemeteries. The aim to integrate all three sites into the discussion, however, falls flat since the focus is largely on Pompeii. Today Pompeii dominates the scene almost entirely, both in research and in the number of books produced and, thus, a new general book on Pompeii is in this sense not necessary.

The first two chapters (1–2) constitute almost one third of the book (pp. 9–38). Efficiently articulated, they provide the reader with all the essential information necessary for understanding the historical background and political machinery mentioned. The chronological matters are less emphasized, though it makes the description of the functions of social and political apparatus clear and sound.

The selection of buildings leans towards the grand designs, i.e. the houses and public buildings that you would visit as a tourist. Significant effort is spent on the ownership of some of the houses, which in the larger scope of the book, is less important.

Though well written and describing the life of the public elite, the book leaves no room for the everyday life of the inhabitants in the small houses and *tabernae*, nor for the socio/economic/cultural differences that existed within the city walls. However, the author briefly touches upon the topic of *suburbanus pagus*, the area outside the towns, where the archaeological information is particularly limited.

The description of the first excavations and tunnellers is very vague and, I would say, the weakest chapter in the book: the grand Kingdom of Naples is not mentioned, with the early Bourbon explorers' search for prestigious objects and the way it has affected our interpretations and views of the material preserved. This is an essential aspect in the process of creating the archaeological park and the research objects that are presented at Pompeii and Herculaneum today. The word "tunnellers" was used both by robbers and by the first explorers and, although the technique of digging and the search of valuables are similar, it is not entirely accurate to mix them together.

The lack of city plans of each city, necessary for the overview of the locations of the buildings and structures described, is a serious imperfection. There are plans of the harbours in Ostia, the Forum of Pompeii and certain individual buildings and houses, though this does not reflect the intricate internal layout of blocks and townscapes developed during centuries.

There are some minor facts to question. The water supply (p. 64) is said to have been cut off in the earthquake in AD 62, though the evidence suggests that only some areas of the town were without aqueduct water after the earthquake.⁸ The mention of lava (p. 95) in the eruption context is not correct

since a lava flow was not a significant feature in destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the Plinian eruption of AD 79.⁹

There are some issues with the disposition of the book: the history of excavations in Pompeii from 1748 is essential for understanding the appearance and restoration of the remains, and should, in this reviewer's opinion, be mentioned earlier. Further, the labelling system for Pompeii invented by Giuseppe Fiorelli could have been described in the introduction, since it is used throughout the book, and not in the last pages. Also, Museo Nazionale in Naples is mentioned for the first time in the very last paragraph.

HENRIK BOMAN
Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
henrik.boman@antiken.su.se

Silvia Ferrara, *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions, Volume 1. Analysis*, Oxford University Press 2012, 326 pp., 41 illustrations, 26 tables and 13 charts. ISBN-978-0-19-960757-0.

In the introduction to her book, the first of two volumes dedicated to Cypro-Minoan (CM) inscriptions (the second volume, *Corpus*, is still in press), Silvia Ferrara states her aim: to "focus on ways of understanding an un-deciphered script without attempting to decipher it" (p. 1). In the book, based on her PhD thesis, she manages to present a sophisticated and detailed study of the diverse components of this second millennium BC script, in use for about 500 years, attested to on Cyprus and at the Syrian coastal site of Ugarit-Ras Shamra. The signary, palaeography, epigraphy and contextual associations are all thoroughly examined. During the course of Ferrara's research, both Joanna Smith's edited volume, *Script and seal use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages* published in 2002 and Jean-Pierre Olivier's *Édition holistique des textes chypro-minoens (HoChyMin)* from 2007 appeared. In relation to these two studies, Ferrara's independently global approach is decidedly a complementary and contrasting contribution.

The book is divided into three parts. Eight appendices provide a list of CM inscriptions, information on settlement data, archaeological contexts of the Enkomi material, the complete repertoires of signs and finally signs that are peculiar to the CM3 subset.

The first part, *Function object and context*, discusses literacy within the concept of Late Bronze Age Cypriot society, the script as an ideological symbol and the political geography. Ferrara provides an outline of the history of Cypro-Minoan

⁸ A.-M. Leander Touati 2010. 'Water, well-being and social complexity in Insula V 1', *Op.AthRom* 3, 105–162.

⁹ G. Luongo *et al.* 2003. 'Impact of the AD 79 explosive eruption on Pompeii, I–II', *Journal of Volcanology and Geothermal Research* 126, 169–200, 201–223.

scholarship and an assessment of the same: the analysis of Sir Arthur Evans of signs on a particular kind of enigmatic clay artefact, the so-called *boules*, Stanley Casson's typological classification of signs and the first establishment of a signary, Axel W. Persson's stress on the acrophonic principle, John Daniel's attention to the *ductus vis-à-vis* the type of inscribed object, and Émilie Masson's classification of the subgroups CM1, CM2 and CM3. She incorporates the recent works of Nicole Hirschfeld and Jean-Pierre Olivier into the discussion of the choice of criteria with regard to the inscriptions included in the second *Corpus* volume.

The total number of Cypro-Minoan records is limited; Ferrara lists 243 in Appendix 1 compared to Jean-Pierre Olivier's 217 in *HoChyMin* and more than 250 in Joanna Smith's book. The difference in number depends on the extent to which artefacts with one sign are included (p. 19).

Ferrara considers the geographical distribution of the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, in relation to literacy and political geography. Their limited number would presuppose that no major archival or administrative system was in place (p. 33). In Cyprus the majority of finds were recovered in coastal areas, at Enkomi and Kition. She reflects on the relation between Cypro-Minoan and Aegean scripts in general considerations, such as context and support, in which the concept of writing itself is found, concluding that administrative necessities were not necessarily a prerogative of Cypro-Minoan. Moreover, she highlights that the earliest evidence for the script shows a high degree of independence *vis-à-vis* Linear A, generally seen as the donor script. This seems to imply a conscious intention to create an independent expression rather than just accept a ready-made script and that this is a direct manifestation of identity (p. 42). Ferrara maps the archaeological setting, and the diffusion and purposes of the script are given ample consideration.

Ferrara devotes a section of her book to the enigmatic so-called *boules*, spherical clay objects and the most frequently inscribed artefacts in the Late Cypriote phase, the use of which has perplexed scholars. They are found in industrial, residential and sacred contexts. She provides further discussion of these *boules* throughout the book, considering their function through their archaeological context.

Ferrara stresses that the Ugaritic evidence of Cypro-Minoan script highlights, thus far, an exclusively private context for the script, as the fragments of tablets and one complete tablet were uncovered in private archives at Ugarit (p. 132).

Part two of the book, *Inscription and signary*, examines the pinacology and epigraphy of the script according to media and object typology, as well as the distribution of inscribed objects according to group classification, the different styles of writing techniques and the sign repertory and scribal traditions.

Moreover, Ferrara reflects on the subsystems CM1, CM2 and CM3, in which CM1 is seen as initial. She questions the concept, put forward by Émilie Masson, of linguistic divisions between the subsets (pp. 151–153). Jean-Pierre Olivier in the preface to his *HoChyMin*, sustains Masson's divisions¹⁰ and in a forthcoming publication states that CM1 and CM2 refer to two scripts which record two languages. The third CM3 may have been used for several of the languages current in 13th century BC Ugarit.¹¹

The variation in the number of signs in each signary put forward by different scholars—for instance, Masson listed 40 signs peculiar to CM1 whereas Olivier's recent study, the first standardized syllabary for the set, lists 19 with 96 signs in the overall signary, compared to Masson's 114—is a telling witness to the difficulties in understanding the enigmatic nature of this script. Ferrara is critical of a methodology which “uncritically accepts that the ratio of sign variation has to necessarily correspond to phonetic innovations created to register a different language structure” (p. 219).

Anatolian scripts and script borrowing processes are used as comparanda as she assesses the Cypro-Minoan script in terms of assumed C(onsonant)V(owel) and V(owel) set syllabic configuration for the signs of Cypro-Minoan. Ferrara posits that Cypro-Minoan may need to be uprooted from an Aegean lineage (p. 229) while “the borrowing dynamics at play from the Linear A system” (p. 233), need further investigation. Overall Ferrara, while not entirely invalidating the three subsystem view, at least promotes the idea of a coherent Cypro-Minoan script and thus in her book the script is always referred to in the singular (p. 271). The future of Cypro-Minoan scholarship depends on the discovery of new texts. Moreover, she calls for further possibilities of analysis, including a re-assessment of the Linear A Aegean connection in view of a link to a wider tradition of Near Eastern and East Mediterranean script. Ferrara refutes the idea that Hittite cuneiform may have served as a model for the CM script, as proposed by Émilie Masson, with regard to graphic features added to basic sign shapes, since these may not necessarily express phonological adjustments (p. 246). Ferrara is of the view that in the past there has been a lack of understanding of the importance of the *ductus* in the formation of signs. Variants may be due to the way in which they were put onto the medium, for instance a sign that is punched will look different from one that is drawn (p. 215).

¹⁰ J.-P. Olivier (avec la collaboration de Fr. Vandenabeele), *Édition hollistique des textes chypro-minoens (HoChyMin)*, Pisa/Roma 2007, 2.

¹¹ J.-P. Olivier, ‘The development of Cypriot syllabaries from Enkomi to Kafizin’, forthcoming in *Syllabic writing on Cyprus and its context* (Cambridge Classical Studies series), ed. P. Steele, p. 11. I thank the author for kindly giving me a copy of the proofs.

One section deals with analysis of sign variations. This is a complex task, as one example will show. On p. 236 Ferrara states that sign 20, found twice in CM3, is a mirror image of sign 19. In Appendix 7, giving the full CM3 repertory, sign 20 has an entirely different sign shape, perhaps the result of a typographical error. Here, it would have been useful to include a reference to Appendix 8 which lists signs defined by E. Masson as peculiar to CM3 and in which a sign, the mirror image of sign 19, is listed as 20. Olivier in his CM3 signary, has suppressed Masson's sign 20 and lists it as sign 19 to avoid confusion.¹² Ferrara calls attention to mirror images of signs in other scripts such as in Linear B, and she gives signs a_2 and a_3 in this script as mirrored. However, these two signs are diverse in shape; in Linear B, signs 34 and 35 are mirror images and in effect are denoted as 34.¹³

In the third part of her book, *Beyond decipherment*, Ferrara discusses the role of writing in social complexity (p. 268) and gives a number of suggestions for further research.

The eight appendices give useful listings of the CM inscriptions, in addition to catalogue number, provenance, number of words and number of signs for each inscribed object as well as inventory number, the complete repertories of the CM 1, 2 and 3 corpora, settlement data and models for the LC IIC–IIIA period are provided.

The book with its comprehensive bibliography caters in the first instance to a scholarly forum but would certainly be of interest to any reader with an interest in the intricacies of ancient script and society. This detailed study offers attractive perspectives on an un-deciphered script. In particular it shows the wealth of information that can be extracted through the kind of painstaking analysis that Silvia Ferrara has conducted in this study.

HEDVIG LANDENIUS ENEGREN
 Marie Curie Research Fellow
 The Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research (CTR)
 SAXO Institute, University of Copenhagen
 Njalsgade 76
 DK-2300 Copenhagen S
 hedvigenegren@gmail.com
 mx160@hum.ku.dk

¹² J.-P. Olivier (avec la collaboration de Fr. Vandenabeele), *Édition Holistique des textes chypro-minoens (HoChyMin)*, Pisa/Roma 2007, 480.

¹³ P. Carlier, C. De Lamberterie, M. Egetmeyer, N. Guilleux, F. Rougemont & J. Zurbach (eds), 'Comptes rendus des réunions. Index des groupes de signes et des mots', in *Études mycéniennes 2010. Actes du XIIIe colloque international sur les textes égéens, Sèvres, Paris, Nanterre, 20–23 septembre 2010*, Pisa/Roma 2012, 581.