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BOOK REVIEWS

SCHLIEMANN'S EXCAVATIONS AT TROIA 1870–1873,
by *Donald F. Easton* (Studia Troica Monographien
2). Pp. xxxiii + 419, figs. 194, tables 13. Philipp von
Zabern, Mainz 2002. €102. ISBN 3-8053-2767-6
(cloth).

Not every wife would understand her husband dedicating his life's work to a splendid cat named Hattusilis, but anyone who knows Easton will, upon reading this book, immediately recognize his spirited personality and his special sense of humor. The first impression one gets from this book is the considerable amount of detailed information contained within. Even more astonishing is the fact that the published volume represents only part of his original 1990 University of London dissertation. It is, therefore, not surprising that both the dissertation and, later, the publication itself have taken more than 20 years to complete.

A student of James Mellaart, Easton was struck by the fact that a pivotal site such as Troy did not have a publication summarizing the results of Schliemann's, Dörpfeld's, and Blegen's excavations. Since Schliemann dug away much of the site, and since his publications left much to be desired, Easton began with the Schliemann archives and his original diaries in a search for additional information. Only diaries from the early years were preserved sufficiently, so this volume is devoted to the years 1870–1873.

Easton's reconstruction is based on certain premises that need to be mentioned here. Schliemann recorded the progress of his work and the locations of the finds by measuring in from the edge of the mound and down from its surface. Unfortunately, no contour plan exists of the site as Schliemann first found it. Drawing on a range of early observations and sketches, as well as on later plans and recorded measurements, Easton attempts to reconstruct that original contour plan of the site. This is crucial to all his subsequent interpretations, since any major inconsistency in this plan would have far-reaching implications for further studies of the position of Schliemann's trenches and the altitude of the excavated levels. The range and extent of the documentary sources used, as well as the reliability of such data, are described in the second chapter (13–26). The third chapter then continues with an almost day-by-day account of what happened during Schliemann's early campaigns (27–72).

The core of the book is the fourth chapter, devoted to actual deposits and finds, which are presented as they would be in a standard final publication. In the author's words, this is "a detailed excavation report which we should now like Schliemann to have written" (73). In order to handle such a vast area, Easton somewhat arbitrarily identifies individual trenches (many excavated slowly over longer periods of time) and several areas (usually uncovered all at once) within the trenches. For each area, he then reconstructs and describes a sequence of soil deposits, buildings, and objects recovered. He gives each deposit and building a number or abbreviation and assigns all finds an inventory number, using a recording system similar to that of the later Blegen expedition. In reconstructing some of the sections, Easton

occasionally refers to later stratigraphical observations, original photographs, and published sections by Dörpfeld and Blegen, as well as the new results from the Korfmann team. Given the fact that almost all of this relies heavily on suppositions based on Schliemann's often ambiguous notes, Easton aptly speaks of his own methodology as a "mental kaleidoscope" (73).

Other parts of the volume are more problematic. The original dissertation contained an analysis of Trojan finds covering both the third and second millennia, concluding with a new comparative stratigraphy for the Aegean, Troy, and Anatolia (presented partly in "The Chronology of West Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age," *BICS* 35 [1988] 180–81). Since the dissertation itself was so long in gestation, parts of this chapter were already outdated by the time of its submission, and other parts would have required considerable alteration by the time of its publication. For those reasons, but also because of length, the chapter was scaled down and turned into a summary at the end of the book (305–44). Unfortunately, Easton has kept his original chronological conclusions, which run against all earlier accepted conclusions on the subject and essentially contradict all new results as well. His lower date for Troy IV (beginning of the second millennium), along with many of his parallels between Troy, Aegean sites, Beycesultan, and Tarsus, is, in my opinion, untenable. On the current chronological scheme, Troy IV is roughly contemporary with EH III, and Troy V with the earlier part of the Middle Helladic period on the Greek mainland. The starting point of Troy VI should be placed somewhere around 1750 on the high Aegean chronology, contemporary with the MH II/III transition on the Greek mainland.

The book includes concordance lists and indices, which are both useful and convenient, followed by a series of plans, sections, and sketches of finds. The loose phase plans at the back of the book deserve special attention, for a study of these makes clear both the advantages and weaknesses of Easton's efforts at re-creating Schliemann's work at Troy. Whereas the Troy I–III reconstructions have stood the test of time, the new excavations have revealed many mistakes in Easton's plans for Troy IV–VI. None of Schliemann's walls can represent the fortification/terrace walls of Troy IV or even Troy V. Easton's Troy IV Wall 27 dates to the later part of early Troy VI, and his supposed Troy V Wall 26 belongs to the earlier part of middle Troy VI, as we now understand it. Likewise, Dörpfeld's Troy V fortification (Walls Vb, Vc, Vd, Ve), down-dated already by Blegen to early Troy VI, is now dated even later, to middle Troy VI. Wall 26 is a likely part of the same circuit system.

Easton's plan of Troy VI is also misleading. Architectural features covering almost 500 years are presented in one plan, implying that they are contemporary. One should also be aware that the house placed by Easton between House VIM and the Pillar House did not exist in late Troy VI (its Walls 24 and 25 are at most middle Troy VI in date). Nevertheless, the plan offers for the first time a reconstruction of some of the houses on the upper terrace inside the Troy VI citadel, an area virtually unknown to us. Perhaps the biggest contribution of this book is Easton's identification of the northern

fortification wall of late Troy VI. Its exact position and shape are not clear, but there is definite evidence for its existence (cf. R. Becks, "Die nördliche Burgmauer von Troia VI," *Studia Troica* 15 [2005] 99–120).

It is difficult to judge large parts of this book because, to an extent, they represent work grounded in the 1980s. Nonetheless, it should be clear from this review that I am both admiring and skeptical. Last, I must question to whom this book would be of interest. It is certainly useful for people working at the current excavations in Troy, but it might be unsafe for those unaware of the chronological and stratigraphical issues mentioned above. In general, Easton's interpretive reconstructions are probably more accurate for the Early Bronze Age than for the later periods due to the complicated nature of depositional processes on the site in the second millennium B.C.E.

This book will certainly help anyone intending to work with material from the early excavations at Troy. In localizing the finds from the years 1872 and 1873, it makes possible their further interpretation. While it does not include all the finds catalogued by Schmidt (*Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer* [Berlin 1902]), it locates a fair share of them. The book is likewise instructive regarding how one deals with information from old excavations and where the limits lie in re-creating past archaeological work at a site.

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KYKLADEN. DIE FRÜHE BRONZEZEIT, by *Jörg Rambach* (Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes 33). 2 vols. Vol. 1, GRAB- UND SIEDLUNGSBEFUNDE. Pp. xlvii + 236, figs. 192, pls. 28; vol. 2, FRÜHBRONZEZEITLICHE BEIGABENSITTENKREISE AUF DEN KYKLADEN: RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIE UND VERBREITUNG. Pp. iii + 472, figs. 30, charts 13, tables 3. Habelt, Bonn 2000. €189. ISBN 3-7749-2831-2 (cloth).

Between 1894 and 1898, Christos Tsountas, the undisputed father of Cycladic prehistory, cleared about 850 graves of the later fourth through third millennia B.C.E. for the Greek Antiquities Service on the central Aegean islands of Amorgos, Antiparos, Despotiko, Paros, Siphnos, and Syros. In two important articles published in *ArchEph* in 1898 and 1899, he describes the contents of 99 of these tombs, at the same time summarizing his findings at four settlements of this era—on the islands of Amorgos (Kato Akrotiri), Paros (Pyrgos and Avyssos), and Syros (Kastri). A full century after this pioneering fieldwork and its prompt publication, Tsountas' tombs still constitute some 60% of all the unrobbed graves of the Cycladic Early Bronze Age that have been excavated. Since more than 95% of them contained single inhumations, the

number of closed grave groups is impressive, even though a substantial percentage of Early Cycladic (EC) burials are accompanied by no grave goods at all (ca. 25%) or by just one pot (also ca. 25%). Yet, until Rambach began his work in the early 1980s on the full range of Tsountas' finds, no comprehensive publication and analysis of this rich body of funerary and settlement data had ever been undertaken, despite Tsountas leaving behind an inventory of 472 grave groups when he deposited his finds in the National Museum of Athens.

In this publication of his doctoral dissertation for the University of Heidelberg in 1990, Rambach achieves two principal goals. First, he presents all the information still available on the tomb groups recovered by Tsountas at the end of the 19th century, complete with drawings and photographs of all the identifiable artifacts currently stored or on display in either the National Museum of Athens or the much smaller archaeological museum in Ermoupolis, on the island of Syros. The fact that Rambach himself produced all these images accounts, in part, for the lengthy period required for the completion of this publication. His second goal is to provide a detailed seriation of the grave goods from 130 individual tomb inventories and an interpretation of the groupings of artifactual types that emerged from this analysis. These 130 tombs were chosen for inclusion because they contained at least two different artifact types other than obsidian blades, each occurring in at least two different tomb contexts. The definitions of the relevant artifactual types and their distribution over the 130 tombs in question are presented in a table (Beilage 14), which is a complex but clear graphic representation of the associations that the entire second volume is dedicated to reviewing and interpreting. A second, even larger table (Beilage 15) includes tomb inventories consisting of two or more artifact types of which only one needs to be represented in two or more tombs, thus both increasing the total number of tombs surveyed to 147 and allowing a number of unusual finds, particularly those of metal, to be integrated into the larger analysis. Only 79 of the more than 450 tomb inventories deposited by Tsountas in the National Museum of Athens qualified for inclusion in Rambach's initial selection of 130 tombs. The remainder, all of which must have been fully published to be used for this purpose, include grave groups excavated by Edgar on Melos (1 tomb); Varoucha on Paros (1); Stephanos on Naxos (12); Kontoleon and Lambrinouidakis on Naxos (10); Zapheiroupolou on Ano and Kato Kouphonisi (8); and Doulas on Naxos (17), Paros (1), and Syros (1). The results of the seriation exercise are five "groups," of which two pairs are argued to constitute two closely related "complexes" between which the fifth group stands by itself as an intermediate and linking assemblage.

Rambach tests the various groups for different kinds of significance—social, spatial, and temporal—and concludes that the groups are differentiated only chronologically. The tools he has chosen effectively make his case: comparisons of the constituent artifactual types peculiar to each group with the comparatively scanty published sequences of stratified settlement material available from the islands (Phylakopi on Melos, Ayia Irini on Keos, the Zas Cave on Naxos); Cycladic imports found in association with well-dated Early Bronze Age types on the Greek mainland (esp. in eastern Attica) or northern Crete (the Pyrgos Cave and the Ayia Photia cemetery); and a limited amount of evidence for

horizontal stratigraphy in well-recorded and more recently excavated Cycladic cemeteries, especially that of Ayii Anargyri on Naxos (2:48–57, Beilage 13). Rambach supplements his argument with additional considerations, such as the increasing frequency through time of metal artifacts in his various groups.

Not surprisingly, Rambach's differentiation between his "Panayia" and "Aplomata/Chalandriani" complexes corresponds to the long-established distinction between an earlier Pelos phase (EC I) and a later Syros phase (EC II), recognized in its broad outlines by Tsountas himself and currently enshrined in Renfrew's terms of "Grotta-Pelos culture" for the former and "Keros-Syros culture" for the latter. Equally consistent with previous analyses is Rambach's isolation of an intermediate Kampos Group between the two larger complexes. He argues in great detail for viewing this group as closer to the first than the second—thus, EC Ib, rather than some subdivision of EC II (2:229–47). More noteworthy is his conclusive demonstration of the validity of Renfrew's largely unsupported 1972 suggestion that the presence of marble vessels in tombs of the Panayia complex isolates a later series of tombs, the Plastiras Group, from the earlier ones of the Pelos Group. Even more interesting is the division of the EC II funerary assemblage into two major groups, termed Aplomata and Chalandriani, in chronological sequence. Only four of the 130 total tombs in the seriated selection can be assigned to Renfrew's Kastri Group, a subgroup of Rambach's EC IIB Chalandriani Group, which he puts at the very end of the EC II period in accordance with conventional wisdom. But he diverges sharply from what has become the canonical view in arguing convincingly that the so-called Amorgos Group, defined in slightly different ways by Renfrew and Doumas, is an archaeological chimera that lacks any objective reality (2:32–9, 62–4). He also rejects Doumas' identification of an early subphase of the Pelos Group termed "Lakkoudes" (2:44–6).

Aside from defining five chronological phases of Early Cycladic funerary development in extensive detail—Pelos (EC Ia1), Plastiras (EC Ia2), Kampos (EC Ib), Aplomata (EC IIa), and Chalandriani (EC IIb)—Rambach demonstrates the remarkable degree of behavioral continuity that is characteristic of this entire sequence on all the islands surveyed. He thus provides a thoroughly compelling case for abandoning the schema of successive "cultures" (Grotta-Pelos, Keros-Syros, Phylakopi I) championed by Renfrew in *The Emergence of Civilization* (London 1972) in favor of viewing the Cyclades as having hosted a single culture throughout the third millennium, in much the same fashion as contemporary Crete has been considered by all (including Renfrew) to have been the home of the single culture termed Early Minoan.

Through interpreting the incised decoration of EC Ia1 pyxides and collar-necked jars as imitations of wickerwork that originally sheathed plain ceramic containers, Rambach offers intriguing speculations about the nature of aceramic Cycladic grave inventories predating the Pelos phase that may have consisted entirely of organic materials such as wickerwork containers and wooden figurines. At the other end of the chronological spectrum, he is inclined to see, in the sudden cessation of long-lived Early Cycladic funerary traditions at the end of the Kastri Group subphase, the beginning of a brief gap in our knowledge of human activity in the Cyclades during his EC IIIa phase, a hiatus that he suggests can be at

least partially and perhaps even wholly filled by an assemblage so far identified only on the tiny islet of Christiana to the southwest of Thera (2:390–93, 437–38).

Rambach is careful to point out that his seriation analysis and its resulting chronology apply to the Early Cycladic funerary repertoire only and may not be easily transferable to contemporary domestic assemblages (2:446–47, fig. 26). He also cautions that his seriation tables serve only to isolate his larger groups and cannot be used to distinguish between earlier and later tomb inventories within a particular group.

Though magnificently illustrated, these volumes are overburdened with repetitive text and footnotes (e.g., 2:32–9 nn. 221, 238). A fair number of typographical errors, almost inevitable in books as full of numbers and encoded abbreviations as are these, make Rambach's zeal in correcting those of others (see esp. 451–61) somewhat ironic. Perhaps most regrettably, his magisterial survey of Early Cycladic funerary assemblages appeared in the same year as two other important overviews of Cycladic prehistory, Broodbank's *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (Cambridge) and Sherratt's *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford), neither of which betrays any knowledge of Rambach's long-completed Heidelberg dissertation (1990). The latest publications cited by Rambach, however, date to 1996 (1: xiv–xli, bibliography) and 1998 (2:451–62, appx.), which is unfortunate, since the years 1998–2000 saw the publication of important studies by Carter, Maran, Nakou, Sotirakopoulou, and Wilson.

Rambach's work will unquestionably be of permanent value to all future researchers, but a synthetic work incorporating the broad range of his and a host of other important recent contributions to the study of the Early Cycladic era is already much needed.

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THE "KEROS HOARD": MYTH OR REALITY? SEARCHING FOR THE LOST PIECES OF A PUZZLE, by Peggy Sotirakopoulou, with contributions by Y. Maniatis, K. Polikreti, E. Dotsika, and I. Tzavidopoulos. Pp. 354, figs. 375, chart 1, tables 84, diagrams 6, drawings 95, maps 4. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. €60; \$80. ISBN 0-89236-837-3; 960-7037-79-0 (paper).

In the early summer of 1990, Felicity Nicholson showed me a selection of fragmentary Cycladic figures from the "Keros Haul," as Getz-Gentle (*Personal Styles in Early Cycladic Sculpture* [Madison 2001] 141 n. 134 [hereafter PS]) has proposed terming this body of material. They were about to be auctioned by Sotheby's in London. This experience, perhaps more than any other, was a catalyst for the article, written with my then Cambridge colleague Christopher Chipindale, "Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures" (*AJA* 97 [1993] 601–59). The shameless

way that these looted antiquities were auctioned—and the sensational headlines in the London papers calling for the sale to be stopped—foreshadowed the revelations of sleaziness that surrounded that specific auction house in 1997 (P. Watson, *Sotheby's: Inside Story* [London 1997]).

The Keros Haul represents about one-third of the corpus of marble figures from the Early Bronze Age Aegean. The corpus of Cycladic figures has been corrupted by fakes; few pieces, perhaps 15%, have come from secure archaeological contexts. Thus, the publication of a catalogue of 254 fragments (including a single “vase” fragment) is significant for Cycladic studies; not all are illustrated, and the present locations are not always known. The “Haul” itself gained public prominence in the 1976 Karlsruhe exhibition, “Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln im 3. Jahrtausend v.Chr.” (organized by J. Thimme), and was then discussed by Getz-Preziiosi in *Antidoron* (Karlsruhe 1983), the *Festschrift* for Jürgen Thimme. It is said that the fragments—torsos, thighs, and feet of mostly female figures—may have come from the site of Kavos at the western end of the small island of Keros, just to the southeast of Naxos.

The authority for attribution to the Keros Haul has been the work of Getz-Preziiosi/Getz-Gentle (41 [hereafter Getz]). Sotirakopoulou presents the fragments in two main sections: those once in the notorious Erlenmeyer collection, and those that followed a different route through the antiquities market (ch. 3). There is disagreement over what should be placed within the murky definition of the Haul. A Late Spedos head in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (inv. no. 76.214), was reported by Getz in the exhibition catalogue *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections* (Richmond 1987, no. 81 [hereafter NAC]) as “reputedly found on Keros.” It is excluded from this catalogue because the museum insists that “the object was purchased in 1976 and that there is no evidence to associate it with the ‘hoard’” (42).

But how many of the fragments in the catalogue came with an authenticated statement or signed receipt that the piece had been looted from Keros? Are fragments excluded because an admission by the museum concerned would be embarrassing or compromising? The commentary on a near-complete figure that passed through the Erlenmeyer and Spyros Metaxas collections states, “It is uncertain whether the figurine belongs to the ‘Keros Hoard’” (Keros no. 10). So why is it included in this catalogue, which seeks to be definitive? Keros-like fragments have also been emerging on the market in the last decade—should they be added to the corpus? Four torsos were once in the hands of John Hewett in London, three of them in the early 1970s, and then resided apart in the Sadler collection and in the private collection of the art critic David Sylvester before re-emerging in auctions at Sotheby’s in London (26 February 2002, lots 5, 26, 27; 31 October 2003, lot 16). Should the torso (“property of a New York Private Collector”) auctioned at Sotheby’s New York on 13 June 2002 (lot 57) be added? The previous time it appeared in those auction rooms, on 20 June 1990 (lot 19), it had traveled with the torso and legs of another figure, which appears here (Keros no. 218 = lot 20).

A more detailed discussion of the dealers and galleries who helped to spread material would have been helpful, though there is an informative table, “History of the Dispersal of the ‘Keros Hoard’” (263). A concordance of different

auctions, salesrooms, galleries, and dealers would have been telling and could have shown the way that the alleged Haul has been dispersed through the market, and indeed the way some figures have been provided with a paper trail—the term “laundered” springs to mind—even if they have lost their archaeological context forever. The Haul is said to have been acquired by an anonymous buyer (supposedly a conveniently now deceased dealer, whom I shall dub the Keros Haulier), who sold some fragments to Erlenmeyer while retaining other pieces. The fragments were studied by Getz between 1968 and 1975 (though in *PS* 141 she says 1967): 140 pieces in the possession of the Erlenmeyers and 167 still retained by the Keros Haulier. It is suggested that the Erlenmeyers acquired their fragments ca. 1955, though the earliest publications appeared in *AntK* 8 (1965).

The proposal is also made that the fragments were acquired perhaps as early as the 1940s (or 1930s)—is this more than a convenient smokescreen? Although Getz (*PS* 141 n. 135) has reported that some of the fragments “were wrapped in pre-World War II newspapers,” this is hardly conclusive proof that the pieces emerged in the 1930s. Did the looting take place in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when the burst of surfacing took place? There are a few pieces that are reported to have been known before 1960 (Keros nos. 171, 180, 191, 231). Getz (*PS* 157, no. 8) reports that the fragmentary torso and thighs in the Harmon collection in New York (Keros no. 180) was formerly in the “Halphen collection” and “acquired before WWII.” What is the evidence for this, and on whose authority? Is there authenticated documentation? Is it significant that one of the fragments (Keros no. 195) passed through Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, in May 1961 (and thence to the Binia Bill collection in Zumikon, Zurich)? Is there a reluctance to identify who was really involved in supplying these fragments? Material allegedly linked to the Haul (and once residing in the Erlenmeyer collection) continues to pass through the auction houses. They were materials such as the four figures (including one fragmentary male figure that may have been a flute-player) from “a European Private Collection” that were, in fact, part of the Spyros Metaxas collection, and some that were sold at Sotheby’s New York on 12 June 2003 (lots 10, 14, 15, 17 = Keros nos. 10, 62, 117, 147).

One of the intellectual issues associated with the collecting of Cycladic figures was the way that reported findspots “floated” or developed. A Spedos figure in the Seattle Art Museum (Keros no. 171), which is believed to have been in the collection of Roland Levy “before 1954,” was said in 1987 to have been “[r]eputedly found on one of the small islands southeast of Naxos” (*NAC* no. 36), and by 2001, to be from “one of the small islands SE of Naxos, area of Herakleia” (*PS* 156 no. 7). The head from an apparently colossal figure in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Keros no. 176), which came to light in the A. Leuthold collection in 1964 and subsequently moved to the Fleischman collection, was stated in 1987 as “[r]eputedly found on Naxos” (*NAC* no. 43), but by 2001, was stated as “quite possibly from the Keros hoard” (Getz in *PS* 178, pl. 97[a]). Pieces attributed to the Keros Haul need not have been found at Kavos or even on Keros itself. They may have just been added to the consignment of loot, part of which perhaps came from Kavos, part from elsewhere on Keros, part perhaps of new manufacture, that traveled from the Cyclades to the Keros Haulier in Switzerland.

Yet the story of Kavos and Keros is, fortunately, not one solely of destruction. Christos Doumas started excavations at Kavos in 1963 in response to looting there, and, with his permission, Sotirakopoulou presents a brief discussion, with helpful quantitative analysis, of the 282 fragments from more recent (1963, 1967, 1975) work at Kavos (ch. 5). It is striking that 41% of the finds consisted of lower legs and feet, the same percentage as for the pieces attributed to the Haul in the Erlenmeyer collection. The links between the excavated finds and the looted pieces are made by the joining of an ex-Erlenmeyer piece in the Museum of Cycladic Art (Keros no. 119; C.G. Doumas, *Early Cycladic Culture: The N.P. Goulandris Collection* [Athens 2000] no. 247) with a fragment in the Naxos Museum. A leg formerly in the Erlenmeyer collection (Keros no. 116; Doumas [Athens 2000] no. 282) seems to fit thighs from the excavations. Joins between two looted fragments are made (Keros no. 199). A head now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, and once in the collection of Paul and Marianne Steiner (NAC no. 83) who had acquired it in 1974, fits a torso in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts that had surfaced in an anonymous private collection in 1967 before passing to William B. Causey (NAC no. 82). The torso was “reputedly found on Keros” (248); the head was without findspot. No joins were made with the 35 fragments from the 1987 excavations at Kavos. But were the figures broken at Kavos, or elsewhere? Looted material will never provide the answer.

It is difficult to estimate the original number of figures at Kavos, but it is likely to run into hundreds; 670 is suggested (323). Marble analysis was conducted on 34 pieces from the Museum of Cycladic Art and the J. Paul Getty Museum using electron paramagnetic resonance spectroscopy and stable isotope analysis (ch. 7). This suggests that there were three sources of marble: one in northeastern Naxos, another on Keros, and a third either in southeastern Naxos or on Keros.

The volume raises even larger issues. What do you do with the alleged finds of third-millennium B.C.E. sculpture (assuming that they are not of modern manufacture) from a small island in the Aegean? Do you display them in an archaeological museum in the Cyclades? Or is it enough to purchase fragments at auction and “repatriate” them (10) to the heart of the modern political state of Greece to display them alongside other sculptures that have also been torn from their original archaeological context in the Cyclades? Elia, in his review of Renfrew’s *The Cycladic Spirit: Masterpieces from the Nicholas P. Goulandris Collection* (New York 1991) in *Archaeology* 46 [1993] 64, 66–9) and conveniently reprinted in *Archaeological Ethics* (K.D. Vitelli, ed. [Walnut Creek, Calif. 1996]) suggests “the likelihood [is] that the Goulandris’ collecting actually promoted the looting of Cycladic sites.” Does a volume like this salve the conscience? Would the research time and publication costs have been better spent on publishing the excavated fragments that are *known* to have come from Kavos? It is perhaps telling that (according to the Museum of Cycladic Art’s Web site, <http://www.cycladic-m.gr> [accessed 22 August 2006]) the chair of the Cycladic Art Foundation, one of the three institutions that published this volume, is the collector Shelby White, whose links with antiquities that have lost their archaeological context are well documented (C. Chippindale and D.W.J. Gill, “Material Consequences of Contemporary Classical Collecting,” *AJA* 104 [2000] 463–511; see also P. Watson, *The Medici Conspiracy* [New York 2006] 126).

The Keros Haul is a sad and familiar tale, and it underscores the reality, not the myth, of the corrupt nature of the antiquities market (in spite of protests to the contrary). It tells of the greed of private collectors and narrates the unprincipled formation of museum collections of “ancient art.” The material and intellectual consequences for collecting Early Cycladic sculpture are massive (see D.W.J. Gill, rev. of *Personal Styles in Early Cycladic Sculpture*, by P. Getz-Gentle. *BMCR* 2002.09.24). Sotirakopoulou should be praised for her desire to “focus on finding more efficient ways of fighting illicit excavations and trade” (43), but archaeologists need to open their eyes to the destruction of the archaeological record. Collectors whose pursuit of antiquity encourages looting need to be named and shamed; museums that fail to ask reasonable questions when making acquisitions must be exposed.

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REPORTS ON THE VROKASTRO AREA, EASTERN CRETE.
VOL. 2, THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF THE VROKASTRO AREA AND RELATED STUDIES, by *Barbara J. Hayden*, with *Heidi Dierckx*, *George W.M. Harrison*, *Jennifer Moody*, *George Postma*, *Oliver Rackham*, and *Allaire B. Stallsmith* (University Museum Monograph 119). Pp. xvi + 427, figs. 29, maps 34, CD-ROM 1. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2004. \$95. ISBN I-931707-59-6 (cloth).

Following in the line of famous pioneer women archaeologists working in eastern Crete such as Hall (Vrokastro) and Boyd (Gournia), Hayden, equipped with a good knowledge of Cretan archaeology and the landscape, has accomplished a marvelous task. She and her partners Moody and Rackham (environmental archaeology and survey methodology), Dierckx (lithic industry), Postma (sedimentology), and Stallsmith (medieval history, ethnography, demographic studies) admirably present an interdisciplinary study by joining subjects such as climatic conditions, geology, topography, hydrology, survey methodology, ancient epigraphy, older accounts, and actual archaeological remains (surface pottery and architecture) to form a coherent unit focusing on the settlement history of the sites within the Vrokastro Survey Area (1).

Chapter 1 considers the survey boundaries, topography, toponyms, routes (ancient, Venetian, and modern), climatic conditions, vegetation in eastern Crete (but not animal life), and regional geology and hydrology. Moody and Rackham’s account of the survey methodology establishes 13 “ecozones” that create a “grid” of the survey. Nevertheless, it is not clear to the reader what the decisive characteristics are that sepa-

rate some zones from others, since, for example, zone 2 and zone 9 share a few common geological features.

The same chapter, however, associates diachronic settlement with geology and hydrology. Clear maps showing these relationships (figs. 5, 7, 9–13) prove instructive for understanding the *raison d'être* of each site in the survey region.

Chapters 2–13 constitute the core of this book. Chapters 2–5 refer to the prehistoric periods, chapters 6–13 to the historic. This is a successful attempt to reconstruct the history of the settlements by period, from Final Neolithic (FN) to modern times, with special topics also considered, such as immigration, trade, and agriculture. In each period, the settlement history is examined within the proposed zonal system, but some of the zones are considered as one system (usually zones 2, 11, 9 and zones 8, 12, 13). Hayden gives a detailed account of each site, recording pottery finds and the extant architectural remains. Site location is clearly marked on maps (figs. 15–29), but since sites are considered according to their ecozones, the reader would have benefited from the limits of each zone being marked in a dotted line within each map, to avoid constantly flipping over to where the ecozones are shown in figure 5.

In the summary for chapter 2, Hayden's suggestion that the local population may have been augmented at the close of the FN or during EM I by colonization from various parts of the Aegean, including the Cyclades (51), is corroborated by the recent astonishing finds from the FN/EM I cemetery excavated at Gourmes by the 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (P. Galanaki, in N.T. Detorakis and A. Kalokairinos, eds., *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Cretan Studies, Elounda 2001* [forthcoming] 95).

All the prehistoric sites within the survey area are described as settlements of various sizes. One wonders if the new type-site, Soros, essentially a MM II–III creation (177–86; and N. Panagiotakis, "Contacts Between Knossos and the Pediada Region in Central Crete," in G. Cadogan et al., eds., *Knossos: Palace, City, State* [London 2004] 180–84), could be identified among the Old and New Palace period sites of the Vrokastro Survey Area, and if not, why not?

A similar format is kept for the chapters on the historical periods, but these are now enriched with epigraphical evidence, historical texts, or travelers' accounts, toponyms, and early 20th-century rural practices. This additional evidence results in chapters 7, 10, 12, and 13 being subdivided into two or three parts at the expense of narrative flow. For example, the discussion of the bar graphs illustrating distribution by zone, elevation, and distance from the coast (329–33, figs. 55–61) could have happily stood as part of the "Concluding Remarks" instead of part 3 in chapter 13.

The correlation of the survey's results with contemporary settlement systems in the rest of Crete, the mainland, and the Cyclades puts the survey into a wider perspective, acknowledging the role of Crete in the Aegean world in all periods. This reviewer praises Hayden's ability and mental strength to cope with difficult issues in "Settlement Size and Ranking" and "Demographics and Growth," employing various systems invented by various scholars to calculate population numbers and settlement size (in ha) that are often confusing. However, what seems chaotic at first sight is greatly clarified with the aid of tables (figs. 62, 63) indicating population estimates per period and total size of the site in hectares. All the detailed and complex evidence is carefully

balanced among these 12 chapters, giving the reader the assurance that the subject could not have been covered in a more thorough way.

The recording and mapping of architectural remains (ch. 14) in good state plans should prove to be highly valuable for the protection of these ancient sites, since these plans are a weapon in the hands of the archaeologist working for the Greek Archaeological Service, who can prevent destructive farming and bulldozing in these areas, ensuring the protection of the ruins in the generations to come.

In the closing chapter 15, Hayden is right to say that not all areas of Crete fall into the same developmental pattern (a view recently supported by excavation data; A.L. D'Agata et al., eds., *Ariadne's Threads* [Athens 2005]). I also find highly tenable Hayden's hypothesis that the pattern by which a large Greek polis absorbs a smaller neighbor may be used for reconstructing the Late Bronze Age polities.

The book is well edited, with correct transliteration of the Greek names (minor mistakes in the Greek references do not alter the overall quality of the volume). The numerous notes at the end of each chapter and the up-to-date bibliography make this a useful reference book for the history of the area. A CD-ROM at the back cover of the book provides brief accounts of the project, good general color photographs of the survey area, and six appendices on various related studies.

Volume 2 of the series *Reports on the Vrokastro Area*, part of a triad of volumes, should exist in every scholarly library in Crete (particularly in the libraries of the Greek Ephorates of Antiquities) and in the rest of Greece.

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DAN 2: A CHRONICLE OF THE EXCAVATIONS AND THE LATE BRONZE AGE "MYCENAEAN" TOMB, by *Avraham Biran* and *Rachel Ben-Dov*, with contributions by *Baruch Arensburg*, *Dan Barag*, *Baruch Brandl*, *Christa Clamer*, *Lilly Gershuny*, and *Liora Kolska Horwitz*. Pp. vi + 249, figs. 223, color pls. 4. Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Jerusalem 2002. \$48. ISBN 0-87820-308-7 (cloth).

Since 1966, the large mound of Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi) has been the scene of a systematic program of archaeological investigation under the directorship of Biran, who, along with a dedicated staff of specialists and volunteers, had worked first under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities and Museums and later for the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion. Their efforts have revealed that occupation at Tel Dan goes back at least to the Pottery Neolithic period in the fifth millennium B.C.E. (stratum 16) and that, after a gap, the site had been occupied almost continuously from the EB II period (stratum 15) in the third millennium

B.C.E. through the Iron II period (stratum I) that ended in the sixth century B.C.E. In addition, abundant material from the subsequent Persian (sixth–fourth centuries B.C.E.), Hellenistic, and Roman (first century B.C.E. through fourth century C.E.) periods was encountered, although these later periods were not assigned specific stratum numbers within the overall sequence of the tell (4, chart).

The first installment of the final publication of Tel Dan appeared in 1996 and presented the results of excavations conducted between 1966 and 1992. The volume under review here continues the format established in the initial volume by presenting two stand-alone sections: a general chronicle of the major results of a series of excavation seasons, and a specific topic that had been selected for an expanded discussion (1).

In part 1, “A Chronicle of the Excavations” (5–32), Biran and supervisors from six excavation areas offer the architectural history of those parts of the site explored between 1993 and 1999. In each area, the stratigraphy is presented in detail according to the field season. The text is well written and illustrated with clear line drawings and, when appropriate, photographs of relevant stratigraphical relationships. However, except for some of the more remarkable finds (e.g., the “House of David” inscription), very little of the material culture associated with the dating of these strata, or with the interpretation of individual loci, is illustrated or discussed.

In addition, two minor factors could cause confusion in an otherwise carefully recorded and clearly written analysis of the stratigraphy. The first concerns the fact that part 1 appears to be the compilation of a series of end-of-season area/field reports. These require the reader to juggle a variety of stratigraphical details from the description of one season to the next without ever being certain of the direction in which the discussion is heading. The reason for this area/season format is neither specified nor apparent, but a clearer and more approachable format might have been an area/level or area/phase format like that utilized in the publication of Hazor, Tell Gezer, and other large, multiphase, multiseason sites. Such an approach would have made it much easier for the reader to quickly grasp the occupation history of the site rather than a history of the excavation of the site.

The second possible point of confusion, especially for those who might be approaching the material for the first time, is the frequent use, without definitions, of terminology specific to biblical or Syro-Palestinian archaeology. Terms such as *tabun* (oven) or *massebah/massebot* (standing stone[s]) may well cross over to those working in other archaeological subdisciplines, but this reviewer admits a certain degree of uncertainty over the structures identified as *hussot* in area A (11–22). The excavators confess that they could not precisely determine the function of these structures, and they simply base their identification on a reference in 1 Kings 20:34 “where the term *hussot*—from the Hebrew *hs*, ‘outside’—is mentioned” (see also 11, 16). Despite this identification, however, what *hussot* were or what the Tel Dan *hussot* did is never addressed.

Part 2, “The Late Bronze Age ‘Mycenaean’ Tomb,” under the general authorship of Ben-Dov, is by far the larger of the two sections (33–248) and consists of an in-depth report on the contents and the immediate stratigraphical environment of Late Bronze Age Tomb 387. Originally discovered in 1969, the tomb acquired its appellation “Mycenaean” from the cache

of well-preserved Aegean imports it contained, including a magnificent chariot krater (FS 53–55) that was promptly published by Biran in the *Israel Exploration Journal* (1970).

The basis of this section is an English translation by Glick of a portion of Ben-Dov’s 1999 master’s thesis, “Tel Dan in the Late Bronze Age II. Stratum VII: The Settlement and the ‘Mycenaean Tomb,’” submitted to Trude Dothan of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose inspiration and mentoring are evident throughout. To Ben-Dov’s work shorter studies are added on individual aspects of the material culture: glass and glazed ware (Barag), the stone vessels (Clamer), the bronze vessels (Gershuny), an interesting Egyptian frog scaraboid (Brandl), and the faunal remains (Kolska Horwitz).

Of the more than 500 objects in the tomb, about half are ceramic vessels. These exhibit a full spectrum of open and closed forms in local fabrics that find ready parallels in the ceramic corpora of Hazor and Kamid el-Loz. There is also imported Aegean (Mycenaean IIIA:2 and Early IIIB) and Cypriot pottery (Base Ring II and White Slip II), much of which is illustrated not only by black-and-white drawings but also in color photographs (pls. 1–4). It is a pleasure to finally see the publication of the full corpus of Aegean pottery from this tomb—and with the acknowledged guidance of Hankey (96). Noteworthy in Tomb 387 is the fact that, unlike similar deposits elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean vessels outnumber the Cypriot imports by a ratio of almost 10:1.

Also found in Tomb 387 were bronze weapons (daggers and arrow/javelin-heads), Egyptian duck-shaped cosmetic boxes decorated with ivory/bone inlays, and fragments of gold and silver jewelry. Ben-Dov skillfully mines each category of artifact for its maximum value in reconstructing the early history of Tel Dan.

Part 2 concludes with Arensburg’s first-rate investigation of the fragmentary skeletal remains of at least 30 individuals (men, women, and children) interred within Tomb 387. This study goes well beyond a simple catalogue of gender and age, and includes morphometric comparisons between the occupants of the Tel Dan tomb and both earlier and later populations from the immediate region, as well as those from as far away as mainland Greece, where evidence for the practice of trephining is also found and documented. Interestingly, Arensburg concludes that the evidence provided by the human remains seems to echo that of the material culture, suggesting “contact if not relationship” (213) with other Mediterranean groups. The inclusion of this work offers a great deal of food for thought and helps to put a human face on what otherwise could have been simply the publication of a collection of spectacular artifacts.

Under Biran’s editorship, Ben-Dov and her colleagues have produced what can only be viewed as a pure joy to all who study the complex systems of commercial and cultural exchange that characterized the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age.

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ARCHILOCHOS HEROS: THE CULT OF POETS IN THE GREEK POLIS, by *Diskin Clay* (Hellenic Studies 6). Pp. xiv + 215, figs. 22, pls. 36. Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C. 2005. \$39.95. ISBN 0-674-01455-3 (paper).

Archilochos Heros is the only comprehensive and up-to-date study of the cult of Greek poets, with a special focus on the cult of Archilochos on Paros. The book can be divided into two parts. The first, consisting of three chapters, examines the history of the cult of Archilochos, the iconography of Archilochos, and the cult of poets in Greek cities. The second is a useful compendium of the available sources of evidence, consisting of eight catalogues, an appendix, and 32 plates. Especially helpful is the collection of evidence for the cult of poets in Greek cities.

Clay's major hypothesis suggests that the cult of Archilochos on Paros existed as early as the late sixth century B.C.E. This is a challenging and intriguing view that will be much discussed by students of the subject. Clay's principal sources for the date are the Mnesiepes inscription and a relief from Paros. The Mnesiepes inscription, dated to the third century B.C.E. on the basis of its lettering (similar to that of the Marmor Parium), is a fascinating text describing Archilochos' life and the establishment of his cult. Clay interprets the language of the inscription as indicative of a previously existing cult. The lines in question concern Mnesiepes consulting an oracle about worshiping various deities. The first two oracular responses, "Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν ἐν τῷ τεμένει, ὃ κατασκευάζει, ἰδρυσάμενοι βῶμόν καὶ θύοντι ἐπὶ τούτου [names of deities], θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν [names of deities]," are translated by Clay as: "The god replied to Mnesiepes that it was meet and best, in the precinct he was constructing and in which he had established an altar on which he sacrificed to [names of deities], to offer propitious sacrifices to [names of deities]" (12–13). I agree with MacPhail (rev. of *Archilochos Heros: The Cult of Poets in the Greek Polis*, by D. Clay. *BMCR* 2005.09.32) that the dative participles are better understood as expressing conditions: "the god replied to Mnesiepes that it is more suitable and better if he establishes an altar in the precinct which he is constructing and sacrifices on it to (names of deities), and to also offer propitious sacrifices to (names of deities)."

The third oracle makes this interpretation of the dative participles preferable, since there is no infinitive following the participial phrase: "Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν ἢ τι μῶντι Ἀρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὰν καθ' ἃ ἐπινοεῖ." The god replied to Mnesiepes that it is more suitable and better if he honors Archilochos as he (Mnesiepes) intends. Such is also the interpretation of Fontenrose (*The Delphic Oracle* [Berkeley 1978] 266), whom I follow in understanding Mnesiepes as the subject of ἃ ἐπινοεῖ, since, if Apollo planned the details of a cult honoring Archilochos, we should expect the details to be expressed here. Oracular responses usually repeat the questions posed to them precisely, and we can assume that Mnesiepes' questions were of the type: "Is it more suitable and better if I establish an altar . . . and if I sacrifice . . .?" and the infinitives, θύειν δὲ καλλιερεῖν, in the first two responses should contain Apollo's prescriptions to honor some deities, in addition to the ones specified by Mnesiepes.

There is no definite proof in the language of the inscription for previous existence of the cult of Archilochos. This

is especially clear, as MacPhail notes in lines 16–19, which imply that the cult was established following the oracle's advice: "Once Apollo had given these replies, we call the area the sanctuary of Archilochos and we establish altars and sacrifice both to the gods and to Archilochos, according to the instructions the god gave in his sacred oracle" (13).

The other argument that Clay advances in order to suggest that "Archilochos was honored on Paros as both poet and warrior by the end of the sixth century" (63) is iconographical. A relief from an unknown building on Paros portrays a *cena funebris* depicting a reclining male figure holding a phiale. Facing him on the left is a seated woman parting her veil, and a nude boy is to the right. The relief was dated by Kontoleon to 510–500 B.C.E. on stylistic grounds. In the major study of funerary reliefs, however, Dentzer provides detailed arguments for dating the Parian monument to 480–450 B.C.E. (*Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.* [Paris 1982] 254 n. 229).

Another serious problem is the identification of Archilochos in the relief. Clay interprets the short weapon above the right arm of the reclining man as a spear, and argues that spears are infrequent in funerary reliefs, thus permitting an identification based on the importance of the spear for Archilochos (fr. 2 West): "On my spear is my barley meal; on it my wine from Ismaros; on it I steady myself as I drink" (50). The spear, however, has also been interpreted as a sword, apparently a much more common object in Totenmahl scenes. I cannot offer a definite opinion on the type of weapon, but even if we accept its interpretation as a spear, it is insufficient to demonstrate that the depicted man was Archilochos. Dentzer ([Paris 1982] 260) notes that the identification of the figure as Archilochos is merely hypothetical, and that it is unclear whether the monument came from a heroon. The earliest clear evidence for a cult of Archilochos, therefore, is the third-century document of Mnesiepes.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that, despite the above criticism of the hypothetical nature of some conclusions, *Archilochos Heros* is a learned, clear, and useful discussion of the little-studied phenomenon of the cult of poets. The author intertwines evidence from a variety of disciplines—literary studies, iconography, history of religion, and epigraphy—in his intriguing discussion and indispensable collection of sources, which will undoubtedly benefit future scholars.

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LAKONISCHE VASENMALER DES SECHSTEN JAHRHUNDERTS V. CHR. SUPPLEMENT, by *Conrad M. Stibbe*. Pp. xv + 265, b&w figs. 60, color fig. 1, pls. 96. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004. €76.80. ISBN 3-8053-3279-3 (cloth).

The present volume, a supplement to *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam 1972 [hereafter *LV*]), is an important contribution to the field of Greek ceramics. Stibbe is the leading authority in Laconian wares. He has published a substantial number of studies on black-

glazed pottery and on the highly controversial "Laconian" bronze vases.

One of the main scopes of this supplement is to incorporate material that appeared or became known after the publication of the original volume (*LV*). Indeed, during the past 30 years, we have seen a series of works dealing especially with new material, most notably by Stibbe himself but also by such distinguished scholars as Pipili, Williams, Schauss, and Pelegati. The majority of these vases are discussed in this volume, and are included in a detailed catalogue (201–51) in the manner established by Beazley. Only about 20 vases are cited here for the first time, a fact that shows the growth of Laconian studies after the publication of *LV*. The catalogue includes 400 pieces, 360 of which were not listed in *LV*. For the 40 pieces that were included in both publications, Stibbe felt it necessary to alter his original opinion and has reattributed them or placed them into new stylistic groups.

At the beginning of the book, there is an extensive bibliography, which cites the most important recent contributions to Laconian studies. A short preface is followed by an informative introduction dealing with the history of the study of Laconian pottery since 1972. As becomes apparent from this discussion, the framework provided by *LV* was a stimulus for classification and publication. Pertinent discussions of broader archaeological interests (relations of pottery to metalware, figured vases vs. black-glazed vases, the status of the Laconian artist, trade and diffusion of vases, iconography) remain matters of secondary importance, save for a limited number of relevant contributions by a handful of scholars in addition to Stibbe (Pipili, Faustoferri, Nafissi, Förtsh). The introduction briefly addresses these problems (some of which have already been dealt with in *LV* [1–9]).

Chapters 1–6 are set up as supplements to the corresponding chapters of *LV* and describe stylistic groups, each one headed by a major painter: (1) the Naucratis Painter, (2) the Boreads Painter, (3) the Arcesilas Painter, (4) the Hunt Painter, (5) the Rider Painter, and (6) lesser painters. Each chapter is introduced by a summary of the style of the painter and the group in question, followed by a discussion of new data (ornament, iconography, stylistic and chronological groupings). Some of the pieces in *LV* are given special attention, as the author wished to reply to criticisms of his earlier opinions and provide new readings and additional information on shape, technique, and findspot.

The last chapter is the most innovative and the most extensive. In *LV*, the lesser Laconian painters are dealt with in 16 pages (177–93). In the supplement, these minor figures receive 60 pages (89–149), with almost half of the additional pieces (nos. 234–400). Inevitably, the picture that *LV* drew has been seriously altered: the painter of the Taranto Fish is given four stylistic groups; the lists of vases by the Chimaera and the Allard Pierson Painters are considerably expanded; and new groups are recognized: the Hoplite Painter, first studied by Schauss (25 vases); the rather consequential Miniature Painter and his circle (22 vases); and the Olympia and the Dioscuri Painters (with a few vases each). The last part of the book ("Veröffentlichungen einzelner Gefässe") presents a more detailed examination of additional pieces (151–99), again on the basis of the corresponding chapter of *LV*.

As is apparent from this short review, this book cannot stand as an independent study of Laconian vase painting. Its intention is to supplement and correct *LV*. However, it does not incorporate the results of the earlier volume, nor does it

present any substantial addenda, save for the necessary corrections in attributions. This task, without the aid of a tool comparable to the *Beazley Addenda* for Attic pottery, would have required an immense amount of work. It would have been extremely useful, however, to have provided minimum bibliographic data for pieces that were unpublished when *LV* was written but are available now (e.g., no. 316 in *LV* by the Rider Painter has been published by M. Rendelli, *La necropoli del Ferrone* [Rome 1996] 7, pl. 67, no. 17). In short, to follow the discussions and to appreciate the author's use of terminology, one needs to have *LV* in hand for reference.

Contrary to similar works, the present volume is lavishly illustrated; 95 plates show the most significant vases in the catalogue (with the reasonable exception of the majority of vases from Olympia, Samos, Cyrene, and Gravisca, which have been published recently and are easily accessible), a total of more than 150 items. The volume is completed by a museographic index, photographic credits, and a general index.

It is a happy coincidence that many of the additions come from controlled scientific excavations in Greece and elsewhere, a situation much in contrast with, for example, the corpus of south Italian red-figure vases or even Athenian black- and red-figure vases of the Archaic and Classical periods. More than 80% of the material is provided by reports of fieldwork. Equally telling are the data emerging from the study of Norskov (*Greek Vases in New Contexts* [Aarhus 2002] 352–55), in which it appears that only 28 Laconian vases have been presented in auctions from 1954 to 1998, a negligible percentage of the total number of vases on the market (and few fetched high prices on the art market).

Such a situation allows for a contextual approach. The evidence provided by this supplement verifies the overall picture that has already emerged from earlier studies, mainly that Laconian figure pottery, especially the cups, were mainly a product for dedication in sanctuaries, either at home or in some key sites enjoying a close relationship with Laconia during the sixth century: Olympia, Taranto, Samos, Sardis (an ally of Sparta), Miletus, Cyrenaica, and, more surprisingly, Gravisca and Naucratis.

The quality of the editing of the volume, especially considering the price, is excellent. The illustrations are superb, as is usual in von Zabern publications. There are few and minor typographical errors.

I found somewhat misleading the continual reference to different number labels for the vases of the catalogue; the full citation ought to incorporate both the number in the list of works of an individual painter and the number (expressed as "Nr.") in the general catalogue. Unfortunately, this is not always the case (e.g., in the last part of the text, where only numbers referring to the painters' works are given, or in the museographic index, where only the number in the general catalogue is provided). Given that the reader must constantly refer to the numeration of the catalogue of *LV*, which follows the same system but is not continued by the present volume, the danger of confusion is evident.

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MEISTERWERKE. INTERNATIONALES SYMPOSION ANLÄSSLICH DES 150. GEBURTSTAG VON ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER. FREIBURG AM BREISGAU 30. JUNI–3. JULI 2003, edited by V.M. Strocka. Pp. 352, numerous b&w figs. Hirmer, Munich 2005. €34.90. ISBN 3-7774-2655-5 (cloth).

In June 2003, the 150th birthday of the great German archaeologist and scholar Furtwängler was celebrated by an exhibition and a symposium in Freiburg, Germany, organized by the editor of the present volume. The 23 papers range in topic from pottery of the Greek Bronze Age to ancient gems, with an emphasis on vase painting and sculpture. Furtwängler's influential *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (Leipzig/Berlin 1893) is the starting point for several of the articles. This review addresses a small selection of them.

Three studies generally follow the master himself in attempting to attribute Roman statues of specific sculptural types to works by Greek sculptors mentioned in the ancient sources: Kansteiner, "Furtwängler's Vorstellung von Wiederholung bestimmter Bildmotive in der griechischen Skulptur"; Strocka, "Kopien nach Pheidias: Logische Stilentwicklung oder *circulus vitiosus*"; and Despinis, "Die Statue der Göttermutter des Agorakritos."

Strocka pinpoints the problems by arguing that, through a combination of precise iconographic observation, strict use of style, and a close study of chronology, it should be possible to reach a better understanding of the Greek sculptor Pheidias (122). Based on the enormous amount of literary sources relating to Pheidias, five statues are identified in Roman copies. One, the Athena Promachos, reveals clearly the problems facing us. It is mentioned in ancient literary sources but only briefly described. The only unequivocal testimony relating to the statue consists of inscriptions from the Acropolis where it was erected, informing us it was bronze (123). Pausanias (1.28.2) writes that the spear was visible from the sea when one approached Piraeus, and Hadrianic coins show the Acropolis with a large statue of Athena, identifiable by her helmet—this must be the Promachos (fig. 5).

Whether the statue is handed down to us in the much-copied Athena Medici type, as Strocka argues (figs. 6–8, 10), is debatable. Two important aspects must be considered: full-sized copies of the Athena Medici are regularly just under 3.5 m high, and attempting to date the original according to the style of the Roman copies is difficult. The Athena Promachos was large, but Strocka's argument (123) that the congruent size of the Athena Medici copies reflects one-third of the original is not attested by other statue types (see also Kansteiner in the subsequent discussion, 141). The many copies of the Athena Parthenos are actually diverse in size and detail. The statue from Pergamon, which is brought into the argument because it also is one-third the size of its original (123), is, however, the only one that is so, and it differs in several details from other copies of the type (230 n. 70).

Concerning the date of the original Promachos, Strocka accepts the epigraphical testimony that its latest date is 460 B.C.E. The original for the Athena Medici is accordingly dated to the same period. But this is unlikely, since its drapery has more in common with the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon, and, therefore, its original must date to the second quarter of the fifth century (B. Lundgreen, *AnalRom* 24 [1997] 11–36; *JHS* 117 [1997] 190–97). However,

such arguments are problematic, as highlighted in the two chapters by Borbein and Childs. In "Sinn und Unsinn der Meisterforschung," Borbein surveys the history of this method, the search for inventors of important achievements (ὁ πρῶτος εὐρέτης, 223). The result is convincing: the ancient Greeks were more interested in technical achievements, not aesthetic ones. The latter, however, gained favor under Brunn, Furtwängler's teacher and mentor: "schöne Kunst sei das Produkt des Genies" (224).

This is not new, and has been argued by Borbein before, but it seems to have little impact on the ongoing line of research, particularly by German scholars. Statue types are used as "Illustration einer der sogenannten 'Schriftquellen,'" as Borbein aptly writes (226). The search for masters should rather be concerned with the character of their works (230). This approach is continued by Childs ("Stil als Inhalt statt als Künstlersignatur"), who argues for the artists of antiquity as inventors of particular techniques or topics. The Romans choose their statues as part of a specific decorative program (235), and the sources focus on this aspect as well: to describe the subject represented (239). The sources do not discuss specific sculptural styles (237).

An interesting addition to dating by style may be found in Fejfer's *Roman Portraits in Context* (forthcoming). Her work concerns Roman portraiture, but the technical implications are profound. For example, in the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi, a complex group of statues was set up by the freedman and actor Fundilius. Five of the portrait herms have been dated stylistically to a period spanning half a century, from Tiberius to the Flavians (M. Moltesen, *In the Sacred Grove of Diana* [Copenhagen 1997] nos. 24–8). Isotopic analysis, however, suggests that these herm portraits were all made from the same block of marble from the Lychnite quarry on Paros. This suggests they were made at the same time and that the differences are due to the client's desire to express different aspects of identity or ancestry, or to provide an air of contemporaneity, luxury, or verism. The best workshops were able to fulfill such wishes, and when we look at Roman copies of Greek sculpture, we should bear this in mind.

The main problem concerning so-called *Meisterwerke* is the underlying assumption that a statue of Roman date gains significance by its attribution to a famous Greek sculptor. If we are ever to acquire anything close to an understanding of the values of antiquity, we need to approach the material evidence in a different way.

In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., such "masterpieces" were an integral part of everyday life. Statues were erected as offerings by individuals or the state to the gods, in memory of deceased family members, or to commemorate important military, political, or artistic people (philosophers, playwrights, poets): they were never erected to promote the individual who created them. Borbein and Childs argue this point coherently and consistently. They do not reject that masterpieces were created, but they stress that they may only be described as such because of their ability in antiquity to express the purpose of dedication in the best possible way.

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ANONYME GRIECHISCHE PORTRÄTS DES 4. JHS. V. CHR.:
 CHRONOLOGIE UND TYPOLOGIE, by Dirk Piekarski
 (Internationale Archäologie 82). Pp. x + 211, tables
 39. Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2004. €69.80. ISBN 3-
 89646-354-3 (cloth).

In his 2002 Ph.D. thesis at Bonn University, Piekarski deals with a group of Greek portraits whose names we either do not know or cannot agree upon. These sculptures' common characteristic and single distinction from other named portraits is their anonymity. Given the neglect unnamed portraits have suffered in previous scholarship, one must ask whether this premise of anonymity warrants the claim that they deserve to be studied as a group. Certainly, one goal should be an expanded history of Greek portraiture, one that is better founded on the preserved evidence, and Piekarski takes an important step in this direction.

His book is not the only current contribution to this area. Another publication on the subject of anonymous Greek portraits has appeared with Dillon's *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles* (Cambridge 2006), based on her Ph.D. thesis of 1994. Written independently, the two books overlap considerably in the material they analyze. The authors share the conviction that anonymous portraits should be studied in their own right. Dillon's book is broader in both scope and approach. She deals with portraits from the Classical through the Hellenistic periods, and is concerned with questions of Roman reception, iconography, and practices (i.e., the original functions of portraits in their Greek context) but not with identification or dates.

As the subtitle indicates, Piekarski focuses on chronology and typology. Leaving aside images of *strategoí* (generals) wearing helmets, he limits his study to "male bearded portraits in the round" of the fourth century B.C.E. (11). Like Dillon, he stays clear of the "name game" that has long dominated the history of ancient portraiture. He sets out with the hypothesis that the so-called citizen portrait, a category established by Zanker and others to describe a general programmatic tendency, is by no means representative of the Late Classical period exactly because the unnamed portraits have not been taken sufficiently into account. Portraits such as the Type A Socrates, often described as antithetical to the normative image of the good citizen, are neither exceptional nor isolated, Piekarski argues. By looking at the substantial corpus of anonymous portraits, he attempts a rehabilitation of the fourth century as a period in which individuality and diversity first developed to a degree commonly credited to Hellenistic portraits of the third century and later. In challenging this traditional view, Dillon's argument follows a similar path.

The first analytical part of Piekarski's study is concerned with chronology (ch. 4), which he considers the basis for further typological analysis. His reversal of the methodological convention that a typological framework is required in order to suggest relative dates is not fully convincing. Piekarski's dating relies entirely on style. He uses named portraits and their problematic chronology for reference, from the Farnese Sophocles (410/0 B.C.E.) to the Demosthenes (firmly dated to 280/79), as well as Attic funerary reliefs, whose chronological sequence is more securely established but whose stylistic development is not necessarily parallel to sculpted portraits.

For the largest part of his book, Piekarski engages in a discussion of typology and *Motivgeschichte*, the "history of motifs" (ch. 5). By comparing the portraits with depictions of men on Attic grave reliefs, he tries to answer the thorny question of how these two genres actually relate and what this comparison contributes to our understanding of both. Piekarski is well aware of the genre differences at play here and the different representational levels between foreground and background figures within the reliefs. Based on the problematic assumption that the grave reliefs have a "canonically fixed typology" (163), he regards them as conventional expressions and normative (self-) representations of the Athenian citizen. Thus, they serve as a gauge indicating the degree to which portraits in the round follow the standards and schemata established in the grave reliefs. This in itself is a rather schematic perspective of Greek sculptural production, as though the grave reliefs provided the portraitists an official reference for the *Normalschema*, the "default mode," of male representation. In a somewhat mechanical understanding of creative processes, Piekarski observes that "in extreme cases, single motifs [in the portraits] have no parallels in grave reliefs or other artistic genres" (165). He comes to the conclusion that "the rules [of representation] were ignored in the portrait statues" (163), failing to recognize that those rules may not have governed the ancient reality of image making but reflect our own limited knowledge of it.

At times, the author loses sight of the fact that the reliefs were created with no specific individuals in mind. They were selected by clients to match the number of family members, their gender, age, and so forth, and then personalized with inscriptions. To create a portrait, of course, sculptors also used a set of visual formulas and standard motifs, not because they looked at contemporary grave reliefs but because they looked at other portraits. More than a revolutionary iconography, as Piekarski seems to suggest, or unprecedented realism, it is often the unique combination of conventional elements that make a portrait individual and recognizable, particularly in the fourth century. I agree with his initial hypothesis regarding the innovative potential of this period's portraiture. The many unnamed examples support the view that it is in the fourth century that the individualized portrait emerges, not as a phenomenon but as a developed artistic genre. Reversing the old prejudice and echoing Pliny's verdict about the decline of Greek art, Piekarski pushes it too far when he concludes that Hellenistic portraiture does not have the same originality and diversity as fourth-century examples of the genre.

The catalogue lists 47 pieces, with a discussion of extant replicas. Included are 25 single portraits of which no copies exist, making up more than half of the catalogue. Nevertheless, they are all labeled as types (e.g., "Typus Neapel 6154"), which misrepresents the evidence. With single Roman pieces, the case for a Greek model can often be made on typological and stylistic grounds, but it remains methodologically questionable to postulate a type from a single portrait. Nowhere in his study does the author consider the possibility that some of these singletons may not be the only surviving copy of some Greek original but instead may be Roman inventions of a portrait in Greek style created in the absence of an older model. A good example is the concentration of unique anonymous portraits—classical or Hellenistic in style—found in the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum and in the Villa di Pisone at Tivoli. Writing on the subject of un-

named Greek portraits, Vorster (in P. Bol, ed., *Die Geschichte der griechischen Bildhauerkunst*. Vol. 2 [Mainz 2004] 403) reminds us that Pliny actually refers to a Roman practice of rendering *non traditos vultus* (HN 35.9). If the Greeks could “reconstruct” faces they had never seen, such as Homer’s or Anakreon’s, why could not the Romans? They would have been able to make use of the same repertoire of forms and motifs that was available to Greek sculptors for creating the likeness of, for instance, a philosopher.

But to speak of “types,” as Piekarski does, is bizarre when applied to the few original Greek portraits we do have, and of which there are no ancient copies, including the Porticello Head (now called “Typus Reggio di Calabria 17096”), the bearded bronze head of a boxer from Olympia (“Typus Athen 6439”), the “Maussollos” from Halikarnassos (“Typus London 1000”), and the Delphi Philosopher (“Typus Delphi 1819”). With all due respect for the study of anonymity, why can certain things not be called by their conventional names?

Piekarski goes about his complex task in a systematic way, and his detailed typological treatment stands on its own next to Dillon’s more general coverage of the subject. We are fortunate that this diversity of approaches exists in current scholarship. Typology is an analytical tool not widely taught now; yet given the scarcity of original works in our record, it is still a method without which the serious study of Greek portraiture is not possible, or so this reader believes.

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THE ROMAN REMAINS OF NORTHERN AND EASTERN FRANCE: A GUIDEBOOK, by *James Bromwich*. Pp. xii + 458, b&w figs. 100, b&w pls. 40. Routledge, London 2003. \$120. ISBN 0-415-13994-5 (cloth).

In the summer of 1999, I led a small group of students around the south of France, showing them Roman sites and museums in such places as Arles, Nîmes, and Orange. I prepared with the usual guides and reference works but found one work particularly helpful: Bromwich’s *The Roman Remains of Southern France: A Guidebook* (London 1993). Not all of its information was up-to-date six years after its first publication. Nevertheless, its maps, plans, and descriptions were helpful, and in some cases it contained the only extensive information I could find in handbook form. Though by now over 12 years old and perhaps superseded by Cleere’s *Southern France* (Oxford 2001), Bromwich’s work retains value.

Bromwich has now produced a second volume, organized and illustrated like its predecessor (though without as many photographs). There are entries for 92 sites, as well as brief mentions of several more, along with many helpful maps, charts, and illustrations. Some entries get extended coverage, while others range from several pages to a page or less.

Like the earlier work, the book is divided into four geographic sections that follow the lines of the modern *départements*, though this is not always indicated and would have made coordinating with a modern guidebook easier. The sections are: the Paris region and northern France (Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Picardie, Île de France); Burgundy and the Franche-Comté Champagne; the Ardennes, Lorraine, and Alsace; and the Rhone and Savoy (Rhône-Alpes, including Lyon but no farther south than Grenoble). Sites are arranged alphabetically within each region.

As does its predecessor, this volume has three brief essays, one between each section, on some aspect of life in Roman Gaul: “The Romano-Celtic Sanctuary,” “Travel and Communications in Roman Gaul,” and “Dress and Appearance in Roman Gaul.” There appears to be no particular connection between each essay and either the preceding or following section. The essays are in some ways the most interesting part of the book, perhaps strategically placed to break up the monotonous roll of site descriptions and museum *horaires*. This is understandable, since reading any guidebook straight through is tedious, and the essays are thus in danger of being overlooked. They would have served better as appendices.

The potential reader should know what this book is not: a review of recent archaeological work for either the specialist or the general reader, such as King’s *Roman Gaul and Germany* (Berkeley 1990), although much of it can serve that purpose. Nor is it a description of Roman France with an archaeological emphasis along the lines of an old classic such as MacKendrick’s *Roman France* (New York 1971). It is closer in spirit both to Knight’s *Roman France: An Archaeological Field Guide* (Gloucestershire 2001), although Knight’s work covers all of France while Bromwich focuses on only a quarter of the country and in much greater detail, and to any volume of the *Oxford Archaeological Field Guides*, although there is currently no volume in that series that covers the same area or in such detail.

Major centers of Roman activity (Paris, Lyon, Metz) are given extensive treatment, while Bromwich also includes a large number of out-of-the-way museums and sites only reachable on foot or otherwise easily missed. The book thus serves an essential purpose for any serious student of the Roman presence in northeastern France.

Twenty pages of historical introduction serve to set the general context for the reader. Almost half of this is spent on Gaul in late antiquity, which says a great deal about the nature of our sources. Of the “major original sources mentioned in the text” and listed in the bibliography (446), half are from the fourth century or later. Strangely, however, his list of “Gallo-Roman Studies” (447) lists only two books on Late Antique Gaul and does not include, for example, any of the work by Ralph Mathisen. One might have hoped for more site bibliographies, which are lumped together by region in the back. In this respect, Knight’s *Roman France* is better.

Guidebooks are, by nature, snapshots that inevitably go out of date, either quickly or slowly, and this one is no exception. Thus, the book is peppered with comments such as: “When will the transformation of the permanent collection take place?” (94); “A new programme of excavations, begun in the early 1990s, has not yet been completed” (132); and “Hopefully you will have the pleasure of seeing a revitalized display” (138). Bromwich includes the *horaires* for the many

and various local museums, but as any traveler knows, even the best of the annually updated guidebooks are notoriously unreliable about such things as museum hours. Bromwich also helpfully gives Web site addresses for several museums and locations, but of the 10 I checked, only six still worked. Yet in the 13 years since its appearance, Bromwich's earlier work on southern France has never been reissued in an updated edition, and one suspects that the same will be the case here. Moreover, the hardcover edition sent to me for review would hardly do for anyone seeking to travel light, but as yet, no paperback edition has appeared.

The book's value, which is considerable, does not lie only, or perhaps even mainly, in its use as a guidebook but as a lasting record of Roman remains. Its detail is such as to almost guarantee a long shelf-life. To give but one example, Knight's *Roman France* (a fine book) covers the *oppidum* at Mont Beuvray (Roman Bibracte, capital of the Aedui and a central location in the revolt of Vercingetorix and the victory of Caesar) in one page. Bromwich gives it nine, complete with site plan and museum description. In this sense, Bromwich's work should be as lasting as McKendrick's and stand for a generation. Should I take students to France again, whether in one, two, or 20 years, it is likely that Bromwich's work will still be an essential resource.

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THE ORIGINS OF ROMAN HISTORICAL COMMEMORATION IN THE VISUAL ARTS, by *Peter J. Holliday*. Pp. xxv + 283, figs. 111. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002. \$80. ISBN 0-521-81013-2 (cloth).

The origin of the historicism that lies at the heart of Roman cultural identity has long proved elusive, resulting as much from scarcity of surviving physical and textual evidence as from the Romans' own attempts in the Late Republic and the early years of the empire to reshape their earlier histories. Holliday's book, derived from his 1983 Yale dissertation, attempts to situate these origins within the context of Roman political expansion in the third and second centuries B.C.E., elite self-fashioning, and an emerging philhellenism. The resulting argument concerning "the transmission of Rome's heritage by means of the convention of another culture" (20) relies heavily on socioanthropological methods, especially those of Bourdieu and Veigne.

Principal chapters explore four related categories of commemorative imagery in painting and relief sculpture: triumph, battle and conquest, funerary commemorations, and civic and religious duties of magistrates. The author compensates for lacunae in the Roman material by investigating comparable themes in Etruscan and Campanian tomb painting, as well as on Volterranean sculpted urns. As a result of the book's consistently Hellenocentric view of early

Rome as "on the fringes of Hellenism" (7), and as largely devoid of significant artistic inspiration or production of its own, Holliday presents the lost Roman public monuments as also reflecting the essentially Greek stylistic and conceptual trends present in the private funerary art of Etruria and Campania. Ultimately, Holliday treats his Roman monuments as "Greek prototypes recast in local idioms" (82). Indigenous Roman artistic innovations remain mostly unrecognized or unexplored in the text despite the fact that historians have increasingly recognized that later Roman authors constructed the idea of early Rome as a cultural and artistic backwater. Horace's often quoted formulation of victorious Rome and uncouth Latium taken captive by the arts of conquered Greece (*Epist.* 2.1.156) is now generally acknowledged to be a literary conceit, expressive of a Late Republican/Augustan mentality provoked by a collective national identity crisis, rather than an accurate historical assessment. By the sixth century B.C.E., Rome was already a major center of artistic production with strong cultural links to mainland Greece and Magna Graecia, capable of constructing the largest work of architecture then known on mainland Italy (the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus) and, slightly later, producing works of sculpture like the Capitoline she-wolf (ca. 470 B.C.E.), which commemorates the mythohistoric foundation of the city.

As the earliest named Roman painter, C. Fabius Pictor proves a pivotal figure for establishing the origins of historical commemoration. In 304 B.C.E., Pictor completed paintings for the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal. Apparently highly admired and influential until their destruction in a fire during the principate of Claudius, they most likely celebrated the military achievements of C. Junius Bubulcus, who vowed the temple in 311 and dedicated it in 303. Holliday links the Temple of Salus paintings to the well-known military scenes from the Esquiline tomb probably belonging to Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, indicating that both incorporate the coloristic technique of *splendor*, mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 35.29), or ἀνθηρόν, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems to think a hallmark of Pictor's work (*Ant. Rom.* 16.3.6). Holliday dates the Esquiline fresco to the first half of the third century B.C.E., so it seems surprising that the major commemorative painting from this period, the *Tabula Valeriana* commissioned by M. Valerius Maximus Messala and set up outside the Curia Hostilia in 264 B.C.E., is not placed within the Roman tradition established by Pictor but rather assigned to a Sicilian artist because "only an experienced painter with Hellenistic training could have so quickly painted a panel of such large proportions destined to have such a profound impact" (82).

A nephew of the poet Ennius, Pacuvius is the second named Roman painter of elite status, and Pliny praises him for both his paintings and his tragedy (*HN* 35.19). Holliday persuasively suggests that Pacuvius' work in the Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium commemorated events associated with Aemilius Paullus' triumph of 167, but speculates that the style of the paintings might have been equivalent to his writing and executed with a strongly hellenizing gloss. Pacuvius' own literary output, however, raises important questions concerning *aemulatio* and *imitatio*, which could be applied profitably to the Roman commemorative paintings created during this period of intense cultural cross-fertilization. In general, Holliday chooses to view the sophisticated

compositions of triumphal painting as “probably beyond the capabilities of Roman artists at the time” (198), despite Pliny’s explicit statement that early Roman painting, such as that of Fabius Pictor and Pacuvius, was comparable in quality to Greek works (“Apud Romanos quoque honos mature huic arti conigit” [HN35.19]). Greek painters such as Metrodorus are certainly attested in Rome, but they are contemporary with Pacuvius, or later, and Pliny draws a clear distinction between paintings from Rome and elsewhere when he states that *tabulae externae* were not highly esteemed until the sack of Corinth by L. Mummius in 146 B.C.E. (HN 35.24). The city of Rome, therefore, and Roman artists seem the likely originators of the new developments in Roman historicism from the late fourth through the early second centuries. Welch has proposed similar metropolitan Roman origins for contemporary developments of new architectural forms, namely the amphitheater and the basilica (“The Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy,” *JRA* 7 [1994] 59–79; “A New View of the Origins of the Basilica,” *JRA* 16 [2003] 5–34).

To be sure, ancient authors such as Pliny present their own problems of interpretation. Holliday reads Livy as generally straightforward (196), although recent assessments, such as those of Feldherr (*Spectacle and Society in Livy’s History* [Berkeley 1998]), have amply revealed his ambivalence and biases. Vergil is no less problematic. Holliday evokes his *ekphrasis* on the Temple of Juno in Carthage (*Aen.* bk. 1) as an ancient model of historical commemoration and its reception (xvii, xviii, 78), but here, Vergil actually destabilizes modalities of viewing through Aeneas’ pointed misreading of the Trojan scenes and the motivations behind their appearance on the temple. Similarly, Anchises’ now canonical formulation of the Greek art/Roman government dichotomy (6.145–54; quoted in Holliday, 202–3) is embedded within one of the most problematized episodes of the entire narrative—where Aeneas’ exit through the gate of false dreams at the end of the book calls into question the strict veracity of the statements his father has just uttered. Holliday also uses Petronius’ description of Trimalchio’s house as evidence for actual Campanian domestic interiors, without referencing the strongly parodic nature of the scene (152).

In his conclusion, Holliday acknowledges the ambiguities encoded within historical narratives capable of eliciting multiple responses from an audience that was neither monolithic nor heterogeneous. For Holliday, Roman commemorative art expropriates a Greek artistic vocabulary to engineer elite ideologies and to forge national identity. In foregrounding the social phenomenology of his subject matter, the author proposes that styles, modes, conventions, and even imagery are subsidiary factors in commemorative art’s primary function of confirming cultural legitimacy and hegemony (219). Nevertheless, these formal and conceptual qualities are defining elements of later Roman art practice. Ultimately, it is the hellenizing aspects of the origins of Roman historicism that prove most difficult to establish.

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TRANSPORT AMPHORAE AND TRADE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN: ACTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM AT THE DANISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS, SEPTEMBER 26–29, 2002, edited by *Jonas Eiring* and *John Lund* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 5). Pp. 539, b&w figs. 206, color figs. 25, pls. 186, charts 43, tables 28, diagram 1, plans 13, maps 31. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2004. \$59.95. ISBN 87-7934-118-7 (cloth).

The present volume is the result of a scientific meeting celebrating the centenary of the Danish expedition to Rhodes. This opportunity is all the more justified, since one of the first studies about this expedition was Nilsson’s contribution on the stamped amphora handles in 1909 (*Exploration archéologique de Rhodes* 5 [Copenhagen]). The outcome is truly impressive. Only two years after the colloquium, 46 papers with an introduction and concluding remarks are presented in a high-quality publication.

Abadie-Reynal presents a preliminary study of Mediterranean transport amphoras from Zeugma (15–21). This site is now swallowed by the waters of the huge Birecik dam, and no more excavation will be possible since there can be no verification of the evidence and no exploration (besides the preliminary early soundings) of the deeper levels. The majority of the material collected covers the later Roman and Byzantine periods, mainly the third to eighth centuries C.E. Within that material, only about 5.5% of pottery can be attributed to Mediterranean amphora types, while local or regional amphoras are “abundant” (16). The author concludes that the small number of Mediterranean amphoras found at inland sites (Zeugma is ca. 150 km from the shore) may be due to the limited archaeological evidence compared with that found on coastal installations. But one could also ask whether clay amphoras are appropriate containers for shipping long distances inland and whether their contents were not decanted into other containers.

Bezeczky (85–97) and Lawall (171–188) present two interesting papers about Hellenistic and Early Roman Ephesos. Lawall offers good evidence for attributing the Nikandros Group to Ephesos and modifying its chronology to cover the entire Hellenistic period. Ephesos is known for inundating the whole Mediterranean with moldmade drinking bowls in the second and early first centuries B.C.E. (see, e.g., P. Guldager Bilde, “Mouldmade Bowls, Centres and Peripheries in the Hellenistic World,” in P. Guldager Bilde et al., eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* [Aarhus 1993] 192–209). A strong Ephesian wine production and export industry would help explain the concomitant trade in its fine ware.

Lawall’s paper further contributes a strong argument for “more archaeology” when dealing with amphoras, their production, chronology, and diffusion; only by applying to amphoras the research methods that are usual with other categories of pottery will their complete potential be realized. This clearly is one of the trends apparent in the present volume’s other studies, as pointed by Eiring, Finkielstzajn, Lawall, and Lund in their concluding remarks (459–66). Amphora studies have traditionally concentrated on the epigraphical and historical aspects of amphora stamps, but several contributions here demonstrate that amphora research

can develop further when considering these containers as “normal” pottery, including scientific analysis of their clay (see the studies focusing on Sinope [103–15] and Rhodes [325–27]). Such studies can allow for a better differentiation of locally produced imitations of “famous” wine jars, as is demonstrated by Rauh in the case of Cilicia (329–36), resulting in a clearer understanding of the complex functioning of ancient economic systems (not much different from modern ones). Finkielsztein’s paper on Rhodian stamps (117–21), however, makes it clear that there are still questions to be resolved and still possibilities for refining chronology within the more traditional fields of amphora research in the eastern Mediterranean.

Several papers increase the number of sites that produced transport amphoras, further refining the net of ancient trade, as do the contributions that present jars and stamps exported from the Mediterranean. Lyding Will (433–40) and Williams (441–50) look at the greater scope of the Roman wine trade: the exportation of Mediterranean, especially Italian, wine jars to India. The existence of such long-distance contacts is nothing new, but there is new information concerning the quantity of such trade. For instance, there was a significant decrease (if not total collapse) in Campanian wine production following the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E., which not only had an effect on its shipment to final destinations such as India but should also be traceable along all shipping routes with ramifications in other local and regional trading networks.

In any case, the increasing and quickly expanding knowledge about amphora production, chronology, and diffusion all over the (eastern) Mediterranean will undoubtedly lead to future studies focusing on regional patterns within that general frame, especially since it is becoming increasingly difficult for the individual researcher to remain up-to-date with all research in the general field of amphora studies.

To balance the new scientific research in eastern Mediterranean amphoras, Martin-Kilcher was asked to contribute a chapter on amphora studies since 1989 in the Roman west (263–72), where studies of amphoras as “normal” pottery are more advanced. Since papers in this volume also deal with the earlier and later trade in the eastern Mediterranean (from the Classical period to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods), Martin-Kilcher’s contribution is complemented by Wolff’s paper on Punic amphoras found in the eastern Mediterranean (451–57), giving an overview on finds from the fifth to the first centuries B.C.E. In general, such amphoras are few in number and almost completely absent in contexts from the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., leading to Wolff’s suggestion that some Punic goods were not liquids transported in jars but rather were carpets and grain, both attested to in written sources, and that there was considerable Roman protectionism against Punic goods. While the first argument is a convincing one, the second would need a more detailed evaluation, since the evidence from Delos and Puteoli, both with truly international communities of merchants, shows that Roman protectionism was, if ever, a selective one.

A minor technical criticism may be expressed about the alphabetic order of the contributions. It would have been preferable to organize the papers in a chronological and/or geographical order, although this would not be an easy task with such a wide range of contributions.

Much more than just another volume of conference acts, *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* is an important landmark about the actual knowledge and future trends in amphora studies.

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LES SARCOPHAGES PAÏENS DU MUSÉE DE L’ARLES ANTIQUE, by *Vassiliki Gaggadis-Robin*. Pp. 332, figs. 309, table 1, diagrams 3, maps 2. Editions du Musée de l’Arles e de la Provence antiques, Arles 2005. €40. ISBN 2-9516385-6-6 (paper).

Advertised as the biggest collection of Roman sarcophagi in France after the Louvre, the 92 pagan sarcophagi, lids, and fragments in the Arles Museum of Antique Art form an important and coherent group deserving of this well-illustrated and scholarly catalogue. While some of the more complete pieces have been included in numerous publications, many of the 57 fragments—some quite small—are unpublished. Deriving from three Roman cemeteries (les Alyscamps, Trinquetaille, and the Roman circus), some have been known since the 16th century and have been housed in a variety of locations since, but others were discovered in the 19th and 20th centuries, and a significant number of the fragments were found in the 1980s in excavations prior to the opening of the new museum in 1995. Only one piece, the hunt sarcophagus (no. 26), was found unviolated in its original context (a mausoleum).

Gaggadis-Robin attempts to assess the provenance of the marble or limestone for each piece, and selected samples were subjected to scientific analysis (methods used are discussed in appx. 1 and 2). Although the results were not always definitive, they add important new information, aiding the author in her ascription of each piece to one of four workshops as the basis for the organization of the catalogue. Nine sarcophagi made of Proconnesian marble are assigned to Asia Minor, 16 of Pentelic marble to Athens, 28 of various marbles to Rome, and 39, some of marble (Proconnesian or from the Pyrenees) and others of limestone from Fontvieille, to local workshops. The earliest sarcophagi are dated to the first half of the second century C.E., the latest to the last quarter of the fourth.

The Asia Minor group includes one of the first sarcophagi imported into Arles, that of Cornelia Lacaena (no. 1), and one of the latest, that of Chrysogone (no. 9), who, according to the inscription, died at age three and will be missed by her parents all their lives. Assigned to the Attic group is a sarcophagus decorated with centaurs fighting a lion (no. 13), previously thought to be of local manufacture with a lid of Carrara marble, but Gaggadis-Robin has shown that both chest and lid are Pentelic and convincingly argues for an Attic provenance. This is one of several sarcophagi that were

reused. The inscription naming Flavius Memorius, a local VIP, dates to the late fourth century, the sarcophagus to the later second. Number 14 has a particularly fine decoration of Phaedra and Hippolytus (with hunting scenes on the minor faces). Dated to ca. 250 C.E., it is one of the latest sarcophagi exported from Greece and is assigned to a Maestro di Arles whose work is known elsewhere. The lid, originally with two reclining figures, was recut in Arles to represent only one, a man in a toga. The Rome workshop provided two fine hunt sarcophagi, one of which (no. 26), when found in 1974, contained the bodies of a young woman and a newborn baby. Also of interest is a fragmentary chest with the unusual scene of the olive harvest (no. 28) and a sarcophagus (no. 29) with scenes of the Dioscuri and a married couple in arcades on the front and New Testament scenes on the sides. This is one of a small number of later sarcophagi that show overlapping pagan and Christian, or “neutral,” iconography. Otherwise, the Roman group includes a number of pieces with mythological subjects.

The local workshop is in many ways the most interesting and original. A fragmentary lid (no. 54) shows what may be the owner of a racing stable with one of his winning horses, and two sarcophagi (nos. 55, 56) feature a hydraulic organ: that of Julia Tyrrania commemorates a young woman, who, to judge from the musical items represented, was a musician, while the other features Epona. Also unusual is the sarcophagus with Psyche being led by a Psychopompos toward two cupids, one seated with a reversed torch in the attitude of Pluto, interpreted as an allegory of the soul’s entry into the afterlife. The execution is clumsy, but the iconography appears to be unique, the invention of a local sculptor. Also puzzling are the simply executed motifs of an axe and a set-square and plumb line on nine pieces that mostly date to the fourth century C.E. The sarcophagus of Sex. Alfius Vitalis, a local lawyer, and Alfia Epauxis (no. 68) was made to accommodate two bodies and has his and her inscriptions, one on each long side.

In this catalogue, Gaggadis-Robin juggles a variety of information (provenance, history, materials, toolmarks, style, iconography and symbolism, dating, parallels), and comes to important conclusions about the nature of the sarcophagi imported into and made in Arles in the second–fourth centuries C.E. The criteria for dating individual pieces are not always adequately explained, and some dates appear rather arbitrary. It is also not clear why a lid (no. 4) and chest (of Attia Epsyche [no. 71]), which apparently were used together and are both made of Proconnesian marble, are assigned to different workshops (Asia Minor and local, respectively). I am not entirely convinced by some of the claims made for the smaller fragments (e.g., that a piece of ribbon [no. 3] belongs to a sarcophagus made in the same workshop as nos. 1 and 2). I also found the discussion of the symbolism of some motifs the least thought-through aspect of this wide-ranging study. Gaggadis-Robin does not present a coherent view of the afterlife beliefs of pagan Arles or the iconographical means by which it was expressed, and is content to quote interpretations of others that sit uneasily beside one another. One example is the head of Medusa. It is described as an old funerary motif that evokes the passage from life to death. Her round face is like the shape of the moon (where souls congregate after death). She averts the evil eye and protects the tomb against necromancy. The

discussion of the axe and set-square motifs is also less than satisfactory. They could either refer to the deceased’s profession (unlikely?) or be a sign of consecration and protection, or the axe could represent an allegory of the soul sloughing off its corporeal envelope just as wood is divested of its bark. Gaggadis-Robin is more convincing when discussing the evidence the sarcophagi provide for the society that bought them and the artistic milieu that made them.

These sarcophagi are important evidence both for society in southern Gaul and for artistic production in the wider Roman world, and this catalogue provides a solid and useful tool for those working in either area.

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COINAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES,
edited by *Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett*. Pp. xv + 228, pls. 32, maps 8. Oxford University Press, New York 2005. \$150. ISBN 0-19-926526-7 (cloth).

Coinage tends to be overlooked by historians and archaeologists unless it provides useful information in a specific context. Identity is a much sexier topic and will doubtless be the reason that anyone besides a numismatist picks up this book or reads this review. Yet Fergus Millar, quoted on page 1, has described coins as “the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity,” and the aim of the volume is to demonstrate the truth of this statement with reference to the Roman provincial coinages, ranging from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. and from Britain via Spain, Greece, and Asia Minor to Egypt. Most of the 16 contributors are primarily numismatists, but they also draw on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence.

The essays succeed in varying degrees to be, as intended, accessible to those without specialist numismatic knowledge: the majority are accompanied by excellent plates, though it is a pity that the chapters by Weiss (“The Cities and their Money”), Kushnir-Stein (“City Eras on Palestinian Coinage”), and, above all, Burnett’s concluding chapter contrasting the Roman west and the Roman east are not illustrated; the uninitiated are often but not always helped to read what is on the coins (the key to Klose’s plates on festival types is particularly laconic). But the introductory chapters by Howgego (on coinage and identity) and Heuchert (on the chronological development of coin iconography) are clearly written and fully illustrated. Heuchert understandably concentrates on the Antonines, the period he is working on for the RPC project to compile the first reasonably comprehensive study of the enormously diverse Roman provincial coinages—for the third century, he refers readers to Harl’s *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East AD 180–275* (Berkeley 1987).

Harl's is the only other book to cover some of the same ground, but not only is its range much narrower, it presents the view of a single author who often makes far more of the evidence than is warranted in arguing his case that the coinages reflect the values of the Roman provincial elite and an expression of the cities' "autonomy" and "sovereignty," terms that are not appropriate in the Roman context. Such criticisms cannot be leveled at *Coinage and Identity*: the authors are more cautious in interpreting the evidence and present more nuanced conclusions, starting with Howgego's lucid introduction. Both he and Williamson (whose perspective is that of an ancient historian now working for the British Foreign Office) emphasize the complex layers of identity in the Roman provinces and the limits imposed by the need, then as now, to find "acceptable" forms of expressing it. In the chapters based on specific regions, Williams (on Britain) and Butcher (on Syria) raise more provocative questions regarding what is meant by many of the terms employed in the discussion of coin types and identity. The fact that at this distance we are unlikely to be able to answer questions such as "what lay behind the elites' choices?" and "what, if anything, did users of coins understand by what was depicted?" does not mean that we should not constantly keep them in mind. Butcher shows, by applying them to Syrian examples, that we may learn more, rather than less, by doing so. Reading these essays would be a good antidote to Harl's oversimplifications.

Much of the content will not be new to anyone familiar with the specialist literature, although some of it is presented in English for the first time. Romanization is a well-worn topic, but in general discussions, coins normally rate at best a passing mention (e.g., once [on p. 130] in G. Woolf's "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek," *PCPS* 40 [1994] 116–43), scarcely more in S. Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek under Rome* [Cambridge 2001]). The papers here redress the balance and hopefully will open non-numismatic eyes to the rich material available for the study of both Roman and local identities: Weisser's chapter on Pergamum is exemplary in combining coin types with evidence from other sources. In an interesting reversal, Goodman examines what the coinage of the two great Jewish revolts against Roman rule would tell us if the literature had not survived. Although coin types offer a great deal of information about local mythologies in the Greek east, Price chooses to rely less on numismatic than on other sources. One instance he gives is misleading because the reference is opaque: the third-century coin of Aphrodisias (pl. 9.1, no. 12) tells us nothing about the city's "success in playing on the different interests of both Sulla and Augustus in their Aphrodite" (123); it merely shows the standard image of the cult statue—we know about Sulla from Appian and about Julius Caesar's gift of a golden Eros and Octavian's interest in the city from inscriptions (J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* [London 1982] docs. 10, 12). But this is a rare slip in a book that scrupulously footnotes most statements.

One area where coins have relatively little to contribute is festivals and games in the east because the epigraphic evidence is abundant and covers the whole Roman period, whereas there are few numismatic references before ca. 180. Coin types show wreaths or prize crowns and occasionally scenes with athletes but lack the detailed information provided by inscriptions. Mitchell's "Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor" (*JRS* 80 [1979] 183–93) or van

Nijf's paper in the Goldhill volume are more revealing than Klose's chapter (both articles are included in the volume's valuable 20-page bibliography).

Finally, a question to ponder: how were the designs representing each state chosen for the new series of U.S. quarters and what do locals and outsiders make of them? As an outsider, I was intrigued by Alabama's choice of Helen Keller with its accompanying tiny inscription in Braille.

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ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES: PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, edited by *Dan T. Potts, H. Al-Naboodah, and P. Hellyer*. Pp. 336, figs. 181, pls. 28, tables 19. Trident Press, London 2003. £39.95. ISBN 1-900724-88-X (cloth).

The first international conference on the archaeology of the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.) was held in Abu Dhabi in April 2001, celebrating more than 40 years of archaeological exploration of the U.A.E. and Oman. The meeting was organized by the Zayed Center for Heritage and History and was supported by the Emirates Heritage Club and the Ministry of Information. Although this southeast sector of Arabia is devoid of the great cities and massive monuments of the southwest and northwest areas of the peninsula, it played a major role in the important international maritime commerce between the Arabian Gulf and India, China, and Rome in antiquity. The setting of the conference was appropriate, since archaeological exploration began with the Danish excavations on the island of Umm an-Nar near Abu Dhabi in 1959. This volume includes 28 papers by archaeologists from around the globe: the U.A.E., Europe, the United Kingdom, Japan, and Australia. The chronological scope is broad (extending from the Neolithic to recent centuries), and the topics are diverse, providing capsule summaries of the recent projects by scholars in the U.A.E. and Oman.

In the foreword, Sultan bin Zayed al Nahyan, deputy prime minister of the U.A.E., cites President His Highness Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahran's dictum that "a people that does not know the past can have neither present nor future" (5). In a similar vein, Potts' introduction to the volume optimistically foresees "a bright future for the country's past" (12), based on the native younger generation's involvement in the archaeological projects directed primarily by foreigners. But de Cardi provides a less optimistic forecast in "Is There a Future for the Emirates' Past?" The doyenne of archaeology in the Arabian Gulf laments that the region still lacks a federal antiquities authority and has no comprehensive policy for guiding excavations or conserving the U.A.E. heritage. The U.A.E. also has not provided the necessary institutions

to educate the public. The popular journal *Archaeology in the U.A.E.* which started in 1977 to publicize archaeology of the area for the general public, quickly fell into abeyance after four volumes. No U.A.E. universities currently offer courses in archaeology. De Cardi's candid appraisal is followed by an equally negative evaluation by Blau about the museums in the U.A.E. and the creation of a national identity. Although each of the seven emirates created museums after the region was unified in 1971, they focus mainly on the ethnography and material culture of the recent Islamic past, not the archaeology of pre-Islamic antiquity. Such candid assessments of the status of the discipline in the U.A.E. directly in the face of the royal benefactors suggests a united effort by locals and foreigners to raise the archaeological consciousness of the region.

The essays celebrating the achievements of recent work in the region are organized into six sections: Late Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, late pre-Islamic, Islamic, and environmental archaeology. All are of the highest quality and lavishly illustrated, with many color diagrams and figures.

The essays on the Late Stone Age or Arabian Neolithic (35–81) begin with an analysis of Neolithic burials from Sharjah, where an astonishingly high percentage of fatal head injuries exists among the 348 individuals examined; there is evidence of surgical operations such as trephination in three of the skulls (Kisewetter). The other essays involve lithic assemblages from Neolithic hunting and fishing camps on the islands of Dalma in Marawah, adjacent to Abu Dhabi (Poescu). Neolithic sites along the southeast Arabian coast are compared with the pastoralist communities in the Wadi Dhahr of southwest Yemen. Included is the discussion of finds of Ubaid vessels on the Arabian coasts and numerous freshwater lakes that existed from the seventh to the fourth millennia in the interior of what is today's desolate Rub al-Khali ("Empty Quarter"), the largest sand desert in the world (Kallweit). A similar comparison is made between lithic industries of Bahrain and those of Yemen, with the plunging technique unique to the former and fluting to the latter. Both represent distinctive cultural spheres unrelated to those existing elsewhere in the Middle East or eastern Africa (Charpentier). The large shell middens of the Neolithic period on the mountainous coast in the U.A.E. and Oman provide a return to the more localized evidence (Ueerpman).

The Bronze Age section (83–157) deals with such topics as the burial sites in the Sharjah that reveal contact with an-Nar culture (Jasm); archaeometallurgical changes in extraction and alloying techniques in the emirates (Weeks); the way stations used by Dilmun merchants between Bahrain and northern U.A.E. (Carter); the evidence of stamp seals for trade patterns (Cleumzion); and examples of the reed boats with woven mats and bitumen quilting that were used in the period (Vosmer).

The shortest section, concerning the Iron Age (159–91), consists of three excellent papers on hydrology, social analysis, and trade. Perhaps the most fascinating is Boucharlat's challenging hypothesis that the late second or early first millennium underground water-draining galleries, or *falaj* or *qanat* irrigation systems, in Oman are a product of local invention, not of Iranian origin.

For the Iron Age, there is evidence in Sharjah of villages of farmers who were also seasonal pastoral migrants (Córdoba). Finally, an inspection of the columned halls at Rumailah

and Muweilah, with their bridge-spouted vessels, animal figurines, and incense burners, raises interesting questions about intra- and inter-regional contacts and the possibility of a shared ideology and ritual (Magee).

The section on the late pre-Islamic period (193–242) presents evidence for international commerce involving Rome, the Levant, Parthia, and India from excavations at el-Dur in the U.A.E. (Maerinck) and includes the petrographic, chemical, and phytolithic analysis of the ceramics from the site by specialists of the Belgium project. The report on the excavations of a fifth–seventh century Nestorian monastery on the island of Sir Bani Yas off the western coast of Abu Dhabi additionally summarizes the evidence of Christian sites in the Arabian Gulf, extending from Kuwait across the Saudi Arabian coast to Qatar (Elders). The metal weapons (swords, daggers, arrowheads) from the cemetery at Al-Fue-dah in Oman (Yule) and the Bronze and Iron Age burials at Al Qusais in Dubai (Taha) complete the section.

The Islamic period (245–84) is represented by five essays: Roman, Sassanian, and Islamic glass from excavations at Kush (Worrell and Price); imported ceramics from Southeast Asia in the U.A.E. (T. and H. Sasaki); pottery scatters of exported ware across the desert interior of Abu Dhabi (King and Hellyer); and a study postulating that the sulphur mines at Jebel Dannah in Abu Dhabi probably served gunpowder demands in the 18th century (Hull).

Two interesting papers on environmental archaeology conclude the volume: fishbone assemblages from 30 sites in the U.A.E. extending back to the fifth millennium B.C.E. (Beech), and evidence for the arrival of the "black rat" (*Rattus attus*) in the Early Bronze Age perhaps aboard ships from Dilmun in the third millennium (Mosseri-Marlio).

These studies constitute a fundamental introduction to the archaeology of the area that offers an important challenge to the popular assumption that the inhabitants of the region were only a primitive nomadic population existing without change for six millennia until the dramatic modernization of the past century. The studies also provide ample illustrations of complicated (if not complex) societies, technological innovations, economic adaptation, and the interaction of the region with the imperialistic powers of antiquity. The majority of the contributions are by expatriates from the United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Australia, and elsewhere, with a noticeable absence of American scholars. Perhaps the volume will stimulate interest among Americans. This motive is implied by what I perceive as a half-serious conjecture by the French prehistorian Victor Carpentier that "the American parallel to the practice of fluting in the lithic production in Yemen might fuel an existing debate among the experts about the possibility of trans-Atlantic migrations during the Last Glacial Maximum" (70). In spite of such efforts, I fear Arabia will remain in the minds of American scholars as the soft underbelly of the Fertile Crescent, doomed to be the primary example of the myth of the "Unchanging East."

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THE SEPPHORIS SYNAGOGUE: DECIPHERING AN ANCIENT MESSAGE THROUGH ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXTS, by Zeev Weiss, with contributions by Ehud Netzer, Katia Cytryn-Silverman, Leah Di Segni, Orna Eliahu-Oron, Judit Gärtner, Yael Gorin-Soden, and Ya'akov Meshorer. Pp. vii + 360, figs. 204, pls. 17. Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem 2005. \$80. ISBN 965-221-057-9 (cloth).

This lavishly illustrated and well-researched folio-sized book is a welcome addition to the field of ancient synagogues. The authors carefully describe the Sepphoris synagogue and provide many photographs, both in situ and after restoration. This is necessary because its mosaics are significant, both in the context of ancient Jewish art and as another example of Sepphoris' rich mosaic tradition.

After a brief introduction, chapter 2 describes the building's architecture. It was constructed in the early fifth century C.E., in a residential quarter of Sepphoris, on top of buildings from the second century C.E. Constrained by the preexisting urban plan, the building was long and narrow (20.8 x 7.7 m). It had two major parts: a narthex (6.1 x 2.7–3.0 m), which encroached on the city street, and a main hall (16.1 x 6.5 m), which was divided into a nave (wdth. 4.4 m) and a narrow aisle (wdth. 2.1 m). Since this division was not structurally necessary (a 6.5 m hall could be spanned), the authors suggest that it allowed the addition of clerestory windows to increase illumination in the main hall. The bema was located at the northwest side of the synagogue. If the Torah shrine was here, the Sepphoris synagogue can be added to the list of others (including Yafia, Husefia, and Horvat Sumaqa) not oriented toward Jerusalem. The literary and archaeological sources represent "a climate wherein there was still no single direction of prayer" (45). Unlike some synagogues, there were no benches around the walls, so how seating (if any) was arranged is unclear.

Chapter 3 deals with the mosaics, first the carpet in the nave, then those in the narthex and side aisle. The nave mosaics were designed as one unit, divided into seven bands. Most bands were divided into several panels, many with inscriptions. Each of these is carefully described and compared to other ancient examples (Roman, Jewish, Christian) in a variety of media (mosaics, frescoes, illustrated manuscripts). Many of the motifs are similar to those found in other ancient synagogues, such as the zodiac, a Torah shrine, or temple facade flanked by menorot, lions, and illustrations of stories from the Tanakh. Although the narthex's mosaic is poorly preserved, it included a guilloche surrounding a white field with rosebuds and the figure of a square surrounding a circle. The aisle was decorated with geometric designs and boxed dedicatory inscriptions. The author concludes that the mosaic artists drew on common ancient motifs: Jewish, Roman, and possibly Christian. Comparison with the Nile mosaic at Sepphoris shows that it possibly provided some models for the less-skilled synagogue artist. Finally, Weiss suggests that the mosaic was laid by two people, probably the artist and his apprentice.

The inscriptions are analyzed in chapter 4. Hebrew appears infrequently, used only to label figures or items in biblical scenes (e.g., "Aaron," "oil," "fine flour") or to identify seasons and months in the zodiac. Eleven Aramaic inscriptions are found in the aisle, in panels (38 x 38 cm) inserted into the

geometric panels, and in bands between the columns creating the aisle. Fourteen Greek inscriptions are set into the carpet of the nave. The author concludes that (1) the community was bilingual, (2) the effort to build the synagogue relied on many families working together, and (3) the Greek-speaking part of the community was wealthier and could afford to fund the larger and more elaborate panels in the nave.

The most interesting and controversial portion of this book is chapter 5, which revisits the argument made by Weiss and Netzer in *Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris* (Jerusalem 1996). In the current publication, Weiss considers and refutes objections to the earlier publication and more fully explains the idea that the Sepphoris mosaic should be read as a thematic whole, offering a message of hope for the future redemption of Israel. Weiss begins by defending reading the mosaics in conjunction with Talmudic sources and then outlines three major themes. The first theme is God's promise to Israel, illustrated by depictions of the foretelling of the birth and the binding of Isaac. The second theme relates to the centrality of God in creation, illustrated by the zodiac. The last theme is that of the tabernacle, temple, and future redemption, seen in the panels showing the temple sacrifices and the priesthood of Aaron. The first band, immediately in front of the bema, testifies to the power of God, illustrated by the lion, king of the animals. Other readings are considered (these images could simply illustrate stories from the Bible, reflect the liturgy of the synagogue, or have been created at the behest of the priestly families) and rejected. Weiss suggests his thematic reading fits well into the early fifth century, when the synagogue was built, as it reflects the growing conflict between Jews and Christians. Significantly, all the biblical images in the mosaic had been appropriated by Christians, who interpreted them as referring to Jesus, the Trinity, or the church. Weiss argues that the synagogue artist attempted to reclaim the Jewish spiritual heritage from the Christians, and an anti-Christian polemic can be detected in many of the images. I found Weiss' reading of the mosaics persuasive, but it remains to be seen if this more detailed argument will persuade those who criticized his earlier presentation.

The final chapter is a catalogue of small finds, including coins, pottery, glass, lamps, and artifacts (metal and stone). Notable among them are pottery from the transition from the Byzantine to the early Islamic period, more evidence for the production of pottery at Kefar Hananiah and Shikhin during the Roman period, and an assemblage of glass from a synagogue that resembles those found in contemporary churches in the region.

This excellently researched and well-produced book is essential for research libraries and those interested in ancient Jewish art and synagogues, and perhaps also for those interested in Early Christian art. Even those who do not agree with Weiss' reading of the mosaic should applaud his complete description, as it facilitates alternate readings of the materials.

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