

Book reviews

Giovanna Ceserani, *Italy's lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the making of modern archaeology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012. 352 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-974427-5.

Joshua Arthurs, *Excavating modernity: The Roman past in Fascist Italy*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press 2012. 232 pp. ISBN 978-0-8014-4998-7.

History of archaeology is a field that is rapidly expanding, not least the history of archaeology in classical lands. The exploration of the Graeco-Roman past of Italy has gone on for centuries and the interpretation of the material culture of the ancient world has varied considerably throughout history. Two recent titles in this field offer stimulating reads. In *Italy's lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the making of modern archaeology*, Giovanna Ceserani in great detail recounts how Magna Graecia was “rediscovered” in the 16th century and onward. In *Excavating modernity: The Roman past in Fascist Italy*, Joshua Arthurs explores how Fascist Italy appropriated *romanità*, the idea of Rome and the Roman past, as a model for the regime's new order and its radical vision of modernity.

Ceserani's book is published in the *Greeks Overseas* series at Oxford University Press, a series that, besides studies on Greek colonization, also includes works on the history of scholarship, such as the present volume. After an introduction setting the scene, the book is made up of five chapters the contents of which are presented below.

Chapter 1 (‘Discoveries and rediscoveries’) covers the earliest phases of the exploration of Magna Graecia in the 16th–18th centuries. One of the strengths of this chapter is the thorough presentation of three Italian Renaissance scholars and their work on ancient South Italy: Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (1550), Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo's *Liber de situ Iapygiae* (1558), and Gabriele Barrio's *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* (1571). These three scholars “introduced Greek South Italy in the humanist antiquarian tradition” (21) and in doing so paved the way for much later work in the 18th century. The chapter continues with the great Neapolitan historian Mazzocchi and his definition of what actu-

ally constitutes Magna Graecia. Given the commonly-held belief that the overgrown ruins of Paestum were discovered in the 18th century, it is refreshing to read this chapter which gives plenty of much-needed background to the explorations undertaken by northern European travellers in the 18th century. The chapter ends with a comparison of Mazzocchi's and Winckelmann's descriptions and highly different interpretations of the temples at Paestum.

Winckelmann himself did not venture further south in Magna Graecia than Paestum, but instead he sent his friend Baron Johann Hermann von Riedesel. In Chapter 2 (‘Between Classical and marginal’) Ceserani describes what a disappointment Magna Graecia turned out to be to Riedesel—“there were no more Paestums” (77). Sicily on the other hand proved much more rewarding and many travellers, including Goethe and other Grand Tourists, contented themselves with seeing the coast of Magna Graecia from the boat from Sicily back to Naples. In 1778 Dominique Vivant Denon set off for his journey through the Neapolitan kingdom and visited the many ancient sites that are described in his and Saint Non's *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* (1781–1786). At the same time the English traveller Henry Swinburne published his *Travels in the two Sicilies*. Ceserani correctly notes that both these works were the fruits of travels that had ventured “beyond the beaten track of the Grand Tour” (87), and as such they came to be very important for the exploration of Magna Graecia beyond Paestum. The chapter continues with a section on Magna Graecia and 18th-century histories of ancient Greece including the early modern discussions of ancient colonization and the question of to what extent the Italian peoples interacted with the Greek colonies.

In Chapter 3 (‘Individuals and institutions’), covering the first half of the 19th century, Eduard Gerhard features prominently. Gerhard's importance in the origins of modern Classical Archaeology is well known. In 1829 he established the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome, the precursor of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, and the first of the many foreign archaeological institutes that were

founded in Rome in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many early 19th-century travellers and explorers were aiming for Greece and not Italy, but they would typically pass through Rome and, as Ceserani points out, “[t]he drawings of the Parthenon by Stuart and Revett, for instance, were first publicized in Rome, during their trip back to England, and it was in Rome that Winckelmann, among others, saw them.” (144). But for Gerhard, Rome’s proximity to Naples was also an important reason behind the foundation of the Instituto. Discoveries in Greece, like those at Aegina and Bassae, had spurred the exploration of Magna Graecia with great results such as de Luynes’s excavations at Metaponto. Results of important discoveries were published in the Instituto’s publications the *Bullettino*, the *Annali* and the *Monumenti*. This chapter also outlines the debate in the first half of the 19th century on the provenance of painted Greek vases found in Italy and how it affected Magna Graecia; the realization that vases found in the Etruscan tombs had been produced in mainland Greece pushed Magna Graecia further toward the margins of the ancient Greek world.

Chapter 4 (‘Of nations and scholars’) covers the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th, the time of Italian unification, and how the *Risorgimento* influenced the historiography of Greek South Italy. The archaeologists François Lenormant and Paolo Orsi feature prominently in this chapter. The chapter also covers the transformation of the international (but German-dominated) Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica into the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in 1871, the subsequent establishment of other foreign schools and institutes in Rome as well as the corresponding foreign schools and institutes in Athens, beginning with the École Française d’Athènes in 1846.

Chapter 5 (‘Culture and excavation’) also deals mainly with the late 19th and first half of the 20th century. The chapter focuses on the divide between Emanuele Ciaceri and Umberto Zanotti Bianco, the two most influential scholars in the archaeology of Magna Graecia in the first half of the 20th century. Ciaceri was a formally-educated ancient historian who had been taught by Pais at the Scuola Normale in Pisa. In his research he “turned Magna Graecia into the earliest moment of a glorified Italian history that culminated in the Fascist age” (254). Zanotti Bianco, on the other hand, was a law student who had been trained as an archaeologist by Orsi, and he was an outspoken anti-Fascist. In 1920 Zanotti Bianco co-founded the Società Magna Grecia and in 1934 he began the excavations of what was to become one of the most important archaeological discoveries in Magna Graecia in the 20th century: the Sanctuary of Hera at the mouth of the river Sele near Paestum. Thus the book ends with that most prominent archaeological site of Magna Graecia with which it began—Paestum.

In sum, Ceserani has written a very interesting and detailed study of the history of scholarship of Magna Graecia. Given the historically important role of Naples in South Italy the book’s bias towards the scholarly activity produced in that city is perhaps not surprising, but one could have wished for a better treatment of what went on in Taranto and other cities in the south. Among minor points one can note that the Swedish orientalist Jacob Jonas Björnsthål is incorrectly named “Björnsthäl” (50) and that “Grecia” in the name of the Società Magna Grecia should be in Italian rather than Latin (262).

Excavating modernity by Joshua Arthurs is based on the author’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago. The book still feels very much like a dissertation, but given the clear and logical structure this does not affect the reading of it—on the contrary, it is a pleasant read. After introducing the concept of *romanità*, five chapters deal with the Roman past in Fascist Italy.

Chapter 1 (‘The third Rome and its discontents, 1848–1922’) constitutes a background to the Fascist idea of Rome, briefly discussing the *romanità* of the *Risorgimento* and the aspirations of creating a “Third Rome”, to follow ancient Rome (the first) and medieval Christian Rome (the second). The chapter also discusses the radical modernism of Marinetti and other futurists who claimed “We owe nothing to the past”. It also sketches the development of Mussolini’s view of Rome beginning with a modernist, anti-Romanist stand to his appropriation of Rome with the highly symbolical March on Rome in 1922. Arthurs quotes a revealing speech Mussolini gave before the march. In it he said that the new Rome would be “... purified, disinfected of all the elements that corrupt and sully it; we seek to make Rome the beating heart, the vigorous spirit of the imperial Italy of which we dream.” (27).

Chapter 2 (‘Science and faith: The Istituto di Studi Romani, 1922–1929’) gives a thorough and very interesting history of the Istituto di Studi Romani, the Institute of Roman Studies. Following the creation of the journal *Roma* in 1922 the institute had been founded in Rome in 1925 with Carlo Galassi Paluzzi as the driving force behind both the journal and the institute. The aim of the institute was “to promote and support studies with *romanità* as their object” (30). The institute was never the official organ of the regime and did not receive regular funding from the state until 1933, but Arthurs successfully demonstrates that the institute had affinities with the regime right from the outset.

Chapter 3 (‘History and hygiene in Mussolini’s Rome, 1925–1938’) covers the archaeological activities in Rome following the radical urban planning projects that transformed the city. Archaeology became an important tool for the regime in the creation of Mussolini’s Rome, which aimed at “liberating” the monuments of ancient Rome from the “parasitic and profane constructions”, to use the words of Il Duce himself

(51). The Rome of Stendahl and Piranesi was eradicated and replaced with rationalist architecture and grand avenues such as Via dell'Impero (today's Via dei Fori Imperiali). A famous photograph showing Mussolini with a pickaxe inaugurating the demolition for the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore is reproduced (fig. 4). Particular attention is given to the spatial relationship between ancient Rome and the new, modern capital of Fascist Italy.

As is clear from the heading, Chapter 4 ('The totalitarian museum: The Mostra Augustea della Romanità, 1937–1938'), deals solely with this major propaganda event of the Fascist regime—the exhibition organized to celebrate the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of Augustus. Arthurs rightly calls this moment “the apex of *romanità* in Fascist political culture” (7). The chapter describes the exhibition in great detail and also how it was received by contemporary critics.

Chapter 5 ('Empire, race, and the decline of *romanità*, 1936–1945') covers the final decade of Mussolini's Fascist Empire. The Italian victory in Abyssinia in 1936 was a crucial event in this period. In Libya the colonization was intensified under the governorship of Italo Balbo. Archaeology played a very important role in Libya where it was used in demonstrating how the colonization by Fascist Italy in fact was a *riconquista* of land that once had been Roman. Thus the propaganda claimed that it was only right that the Italians—the descendants of the ancient Romans—returned to North Africa, their “fourth shore” of the Mediterranean, and farmed the land again. Perhaps more could have been said about the Libyan adventure, given the importance of archaeology there, but Arthurs gives a good summary of the events in this colony. The fall of the regime in July 1943, the subsequent German occupation of Rome and the Anglo-American conquest of the city in June 1944 end the chapter.

In the conclusion some important points deserve mention, in particular the “stain of collaboration” that “marked an entire generation of Italian classicists, archaeologists and ancient historians” (151). Galassi Paluzzi, for example, tried to distance the Istituto di Studi Romani from Fascism. The institute still operates today under the name of the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani and the journal *Roma* has been renamed *Studi Romani*. One can also note that the great Mostra Augustea della Romanità in a downscaled way lives on in the Museo della Civiltà Romana at EUR. The ancient monuments in the city of Rome, as we know them today, are largely a result of the Fascist period “liberation”. The new constructions of the regime also remain intact to a surprising degree, most conspicuously at the Foro Italico with the “Mussolini Dux” obelisk, around the Mausoleum of Augustus and at EUR.

The goal of the book is “to integrate *romanità* into current discussions about Fascist culture and its relationship to modernity” (5). Although much of what is presented is not new,

Arthurs is to be congratulated on having gathered information from many Italian archives and other sources into a coherent structure and analysed the material in a commendable way. This book will be of great value for any historian wishing to understand the concept of *romanità* and the complex relationship between Mussolini's Italy and Rome, both as a place and an idea.

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Robert Spain, *The power and performance of Roman water-mills. Hydro-mechanical analysis of vertical-wheeled water-mills (BAR-IS, 1786)*. Oxford: Archaeopress 2008, xiv + 107 pp. ISBN 978-1-4073-0217-1.

For quite a long time, scholarship concerning ancient water-mills has been dominated by archaeologists and historians, but even engineers and other technically educated scholars have devoted more of their energy to questions such as diffusion and breakthrough than to strictly technical matters. As pointed out by Robert Spain (66), Luigi Jacono's publication of the Venafro water-wheel (1938) was the first attempt to present a hydro-mechanical analysis of an ancient water-mill. But his followers have remained remarkably few, and their calculations are often ill-founded or simply wrong. Spain's explicit ambition is to provide a less shaky foundation for future analyses, even though few ancient mill sites offer sufficient information.

As early as 1976, Spain made a detailed analysis of the mechanism of the Haltwhistle Burn Head mill, in order to establish the total friction losses at its bearings (6). In 1985, he “designed and commissioned the making of a pair of mill-stones from Mayen”. They were designed according to extant, ancient stones, even though rather small for Roman ones (7). His studies of these constituted the basis for his 1992 dissertation—never published, but to large extents included in his present book.

In Part one (1–12), Spain presents the problems inherent in the study and his methods of approaching and solving them. In ‘Introduction’ (1–2), he argues for the need of a functional analysis “in contrast to the static, descriptive analysis made by the archaeologists”—in its turn divided into a theoretical analysis based on the physical laws of motion and practical tests using modern replicas. In the next chapter, ‘The dynamics of a water-mill and the limitations of evidence and analysis’ (2–3), the author establishes the conditions for his study. When basic facts concerning a

particular mill are known, the productivity can be calculated by theoretical analysis, with exception for the friction. Basing his argument, particularly, on finds from the Athenian Agora, the Baths of Caracalla, Hagendorn and Zugmantel, together with an educated guess that the runner-stone rotated at *c.* 60 rpm, he concludes that the friction losses at bearings and gears were insignificant (*c.* 9%) compared to those at the runner-stone (*c.* 90%).

In the chapter on ‘Hydro-mechanical analysis’ (4–12) Spain starts by criticizing the orthodox division of water-powered mills into overshot, breastshot and undershot ones: “To avoid confusion, the classification of water-wheels used in this study is based upon the two components of water-power, the impulse (caused by velocity) and the weight (caused by gravity) of the water” (4). Modern consensus allots 15–35% efficiency to undershot wheels and 50–70% to overshot ones (Spain hesitates to allow for more than 60%).

When torque and wheel-speed can be estimated, we can calculate the power available. This is easiest to do concerning wheels driven by impulse. In theory, the efficiency is greatest (50%), when the paddles move at half the speed of the running water, but in practice it is better if they move slightly slower. The potential power of a weight-driven, overshot wheel should be worked out by adding the separate buckets. This complicated method is actually what the author tries to apply in Part two.

The greatest uncertainties concern the wooden gears. Their size and, thus, mechanical ratio can very seldom be ascertained. Accordingly, the author bases his calculations on various possible ratios. He estimates the power losses at the gears to *c.* 5%. It is also difficult to estimate the friction between the two millstones: the necessary torque is proportional to the weight of the runner, which decreases constantly through wear during the stone’s life-cycle.

Part two (13–74) is a catalogue of 29 water-powered installations chosen for the simple reason that they provide information essential for Spain’s study (marked on the map, fig. 5). First come the mills powered by bucket-wheels/weight (nos. 1–5), then those powered by radial paddles (nos. 6–29): “Within these two broad categories, there are many sites having little difference in their hydraulic arrangements, so that the order in which they are given is unimportant” (13). This may well be, but the lack of a clear order (chronological, topographical or alphabetic) makes the book more difficult to consult.

Spain’s presentations of the separate mills vary much in length, always depending on their pertinence to his inquiry. They are lavishly illustrated by his own drawings (no photographs), artistically first-class as well as technically illuminating. Most entries are based exclusively on one fundamental publication, supplemented by the author’s own arguments,

when possible confirmed by autopsy. Apart from visiting most accessible mill sites, he has, for instance, studied ten millstones from Barbegal (no. 1) at the Arles museum (18); he can supply much unpublished information regarding the Fullerton mills (no. 6); and he presents the first printed description of a possible, 2nd-century tide-mill in London (no. 28)—a technological advance unknown before the 7th century until recently.

In some cases, Spain makes critical examinations—mostly convincing—of earlier studies (including one of my own: 72). He rightly rejects various bizarre misunderstandings about the Venafro wheel (64), and with good reasons argues that the upper Löslich wheel (no. 26) was breastshot rather than overshot. But one would have appreciated some comments on the doubts raised concerning the Chesters Bridge (no. 12) and Willowford Bridge (no. 13) mills.

Part three, ‘Summary and conclusions’ (75–90), combines the theoretical analyses presented in Part one with the case studies of Part two. In the chapter ‘Mill production’ (75–77), Spain discusses the power absorbed by hourglass-shaped animal-mills in relation to that of disc-shaped, water-powered millstones, pointing out that we know nothing of how such stones would react when rotating faster than usual (as in the Nahal Tanninim water-mill, no. 25).

In the next chapter, ‘Incidence’ (78), Spain explains the difference between the over-driven stones (mostly from animal-mills) and under-driven ones (mostly water-powered); he points out that most ancient water-mill sites are rural, but repeats the old (and completely groundless) statement that the Collegium pistorum “may have worked actively against the introduction of water-mills in Rome”.

In the chapter on ‘Machine efficiency’ (78–80), the author summarizes the results of his studies of nine ancient mill sites – the most striking fact being the small variations in efficiency between the three mill types:

- Three mills with bucket-wheels had an efficiency of 36–43.8%.
- Two impulse-driven, overshot mills had an efficiency of 34–42.6%.
- Four impulse-driven, undershot mills had an efficiency of 27.5–42%.

But the author wisely saves the most thought-provoking part of his book to its very end: “The natural phenomena which tend to accelerate technological evolution” (80–83), and “Theories of evolution” (84–90). The “natural phenomena” are summarized as follows (82):

- (1) That a small impulse-driven wheel can deliver the same power as a larger one with the same water-flow and velocity, but at a higher speed of rotation.

(2) If the flow rate is held constant and the velocity is doubled, the power generated is quadrupled.

The consequence of these phenomena is that the best method of increasing the productivity would be to adopt smaller, vertical impulse-wheels and accelerate the head-races. A survey of Imperial mill sites convinces the author that the Romans eventually became aware of this fact.

This argumentation leads Spain to a novel conception of the invention of the horizontal-wheeled mill. This type remained rare in Antiquity, but recent finds have added five such mills in Gaul and two in Britain, dated from the 1st to the 7th century AD (85). As he rightly points out, history of technology shows that the development does not always proceed from simpler to more complex solutions, but occasionally the other way around. Smaller, faster water-wheels give lower gear ratios and, eventually, smaller gears: “there would come a time when the velocity of the accelerated head-race could drive a wheel at a rotational speed similar to that required by the mill-stones for satisfactory grinding. Thus, a gearless direct drive was possible, simply by changing the axis of the water-wheel from horizontal to vertical” (86).

Spain finds Michael Lewis’s early date for the horizontal wheel “persuasive” (85), but in no way impeding for his own theory. The horizontal-wheeled mill may well have been invented in the mid-3rd century BC (Lewis), but been displaced by the vertical-wheeled mill and later reinvented (Spain).

Robert Spain’s book is an important and welcome contribution to the slowly growing number of monographs on ancient water-mills. It constitutes the first basically trustworthy hydro-mechanical analysis of these mills, and it offers ample material and suggestions for further studies.

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Thomas F. Tartaron, *Maritime networks in the Mycenaean world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013. ISBN 978-1-107-00298-2.

The aim of the author of this volume is to present a more balanced picture of Late Bronze Age maritime interactions in the Mycenaean world. In doing so, Thomas Tartaron analyses and reassesses the maritime networks by emphasizing the importance of small- and medium-scale voyages in the Mycenaean period. He concentrates on the coastal networks where small- and medium-sized vessels were used, especially in the Saronic Gulf—an area he knows well from earlier research. He argues convincingly that such local networks are much more representative of the Mycenaean communities than the long-distance connections which previously have received so much attention.

In the introductory chapter (1–11) Tartaron treats ‘The problems of the Mycenaean world’ i.a. and discusses the issue of terminology: several terms which are commonly used, such as ship, boat, vessel, craft, anchorage harbour, port, and port town give rise to many problems for the identification of the available evidence and material when seen as uncomplicated; consequently, if used without deeper consideration, these terms make further analyses of maritime interconnections problematic. Instead, he argues, they need to be defined within the context of Bronze Age Greece (3–5). He also notes the complexities inherent in a discussion of the coastscape, caused by natural factors such as geomorphological change and global sea-rise, and refers to the challenge of defining the Mycenaean coastal world (7–10). In this analysis, together with the discussion of Mycenaean and the sea in Chapter 2, ‘Mycenaean and the world’ (12–47), Tartaron thus directs attention to the methodological and logical problems within discussions of Mycenaean maritime activity and sets the scene for the next chapters. He also considers the ethnographic material in this discussion. The use of ethnographic parallels is always tricky (as the author recognizes), but here and elsewhere in the book they are handled sensibly and in a balanced way.

Chapter 3 concerns the archaeological finds and depictions of ships and boats dated to the Aegean Bronze Age (48–89). Tartaron provides a critical analysis of previous research on Bronze Age ship technology; he attempts to identify various types of ships and boats and concludes that only the galley is widely enough attested to allow for a reasonable understanding of it. As he points out, various smaller vessels may also have been used, but these are more difficult to identify with any certainty (88–89).

The vessels and their crews navigated in the Aegean Sea, and this is the focus of the next chapter (90–138). Here, the maritime environment is examined, while Tartaron takes into account not only local but also global-scale network systems.

Ways of navigating by use of various aids, such as landmarks, seamarks, skymarks, and what Tartaron names “phenomenology of the voyage” are discussed, as well as the transmission of this knowledge from generation to generation. He concludes that short- and medium-distance social and economic sea travel normally would have carried on with little or no palace interference, while long-distance trade involving high-status goods would more likely have required palace involvement. He also treats the evidence from Linear B and iconography as well as the Homeric epics, and concludes that the information which can be drawn from the *Odyssey*, for example, is not new for the Iron Age, but must reflect—at least partly—older traditions of building phenomenological itineraries. He analyses the factors which affected communication by sea—an analysis which is also of interest for studies of human interaction with the natural environment in the wider region. Tartaron’s conclusion that the local networks were more stable and permanent than the long-distance connections is convincingly argued.

The discussion of navigation and landmarks in Chapter 5, ‘Coasts and harbors of the Bronze Age Aegean’ (139–181), puts the light on the coastal landscape. The author’s discussion of the coasts and their geomorphology over time also includes anthropogenic contributions through, for example, the construction of harbours. The section on methods of reconstructing the landscape and detecting Bronze Age harbours is informative and also useful for people working with the historical environment in general in the area. The chapter ends with a model for a systematic approach to detecting Bronze Age harbours.

Chapter 6 (182–211) deals with the concepts relating to the coastal worlds of the Mycenaean period—for example, maritime cultural landscape, coastscapes, etc. The term “small world” is often applied to mean a type of social network, but it is used in different ways in different fields. Tartaron defines his use of the term clearly, and that makes it possible for him to refine the discussion of such local worlds within the region in question, into a more coherent picture of everyday activity, and define the factors that influenced it. These local networks are then reflected against the evidence for long distance trading in order to explore the connection between various levels of networks. He also criticizes the more quantitative network models that have been presented for the Aegean Bronze Age; he prefers qualitative models of the maritime networks. Neither is wrong, if well and carefully applied, but it is true that Tartaron’s case studies on the Saronic Gulf, together with what he names “potential coastscapes and small worlds”, i.e. Miletos and Dimini, enable him to weigh various types of evidence against each other and present his ideas on the small-scale world in depth. His case for the existence of a handful of larger nodes of what he calls “maritime connectivity” and

the fluctuations between cohesion and fragmentation in this maritime cultural landscape in the Saronic Gulf is well and convincingly argued throughout. The discussions are also situated in a larger regional framework, which adds to the value of the book.

The illustrations are adequate even if some photos are rather dark (e.g. 3.5). There is a useful index and an impressive list of references.

The book is well written and the author’s engagement with and knowledge of his subject is evident in the text. There are of course points that can be criticized, but those are minor and do not detract from the value of the volume. This is a book that fills a gap in our discussion of the Aegean Bronze Age world.

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Kunst von unten? Stil und Gesellschaft in der antiken Welt von der »arte plebea« bis heute (Palilia, 27), eds. Francesco de Angelis, Jens-Arne Dickmann, Felix Pirson and Ralf von den Hoff, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Wiesbaden 2012. 184 pp. ISBN 978-3-89500-915-0.

In June 2007 a group of distinguished scholars participated in a colloquium held in Rome, in celebration of Paul Zanker’s 70th birthday. The theme discussed at the event was the relationship between the form, content and social position of images in the ancient world. The inclusion of the concept “*arte plebea*” in the colloquium’s title emphasizes the importance of Zanker’s teacher, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, within this line of research, especially the latter’s groundbreaking article of that same title, published in the first issue of the *Dialoghi di archeologia* in 1967. Zanker soon paid heed to Bianchi Bandinelli’s call for studies that approached ancient art from a historical and sociological—as opposed to a purely aesthetic—point of view. This is most clearly the case in two of his articles published during the 1970s, and dealing with the funerary reliefs of freedmen (*JdI* 90, 1975, 267–315) and decorations in Pompeian houses (*JdI* 94, 1979, 460–523). The fact that all contributors to the present volume are among the leading scholars in their respective fields is a testament to Zanker’s lasting influence on the study of Roman art. When viewed as separate entities, all articles included in the reviewed book are of the quality that one would expect from such distinguished scholars.

A brief introduction sets the agenda for the volume, and includes the usual summaries of the contributions. For some unintelligible reason, these summaries are not presented in the same order as the articles appear in the volume, something that adds an unnecessary element of confusion. The contributions are collected under three different headings: ‘Begriffe und Methode’, ‘Pompeji’ and “*Arte colta*” versus “*arte plebea*”. The contributions written by Baldassarre and Hölscher constitute the section regarding concepts and methods, and both present reconsiderations of Bianchi Bandinelli’s notion of an “*arte plebea*”.

Ida Baldassarre, in ‘*Arte plebea. Una definizione ancora valida?*’ (17–26), presents a close reading of Bianchi Bandinelli’s article of 1967. It is often assumed that Bianchi Bandinelli considered the “*arte aulica*” and the “*arte plebea*” as static sociological classifications, governed by the social standing of the patrons of art. To the contrary, Baldassarre emphasizes that Bianchi Bandinelli did consider these different aspects of Roman art to be more dynamic. She moves on to illustrate how this more dynamic notion of the “*arte plebea*” can be used, in a study of the mosaics that embellish the Tomba della Mietitura on Ostia’s Isola Sacra.

In ‘*Präsentativer Stil im System der römischen Kunst*’ (27–58), Tonio Hölscher takes the opportunity to build upon his highly influential notion of Roman art as a semantic system (*Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System*, Heidelberg 1987). Even if Bianchi Bandinelli’s static correlation between social standing and forms of visual representation may be flawed, Hölscher argues that the different modes of representation noted by Bianchi Bandinelli can instead be tied to the different messages that the images were made to communicate. Hölscher argues that the visual traits usually tied to the “*arte plebea*” (frontal representation, for instance) should rather be seen as a “presentative” (“*präsentativ*”) mode of representation. This mode was deemed fit for conveying individual success and as such it was, as Hölscher demonstrates, evidently used by persons from different social strata. Hölscher’s thoroughly theoretical approach, as well as his wish to make observations valid for Roman art in general, makes his contribution particularly valuable. Due to these traits, this article stands out among the other contributions, which generally present less wide-ranging observations based on a relatively small set of examples.

For those interested in representations created by, and for, the lower social strata, the provincial Roman town of Pompeii provides a treasure trove of material. As mentioned above, Pompeian houses received the attention of Zanker in the 1970s, and so it is hardly surprising that Pompeii is the focus of one of the reviewed collection’s three subdivisions.

Mario Torelli, in “*Arte plebea. Una verifica nella pittura pompeiana*’ (61–76), uses the abundant contextual evidence

available in Pompeii in order to single out a series of wall paintings that are, due to their placement, likely to have been commissioned by plebeians. The frescoes discussed include the well-known depiction of the riot at the amphitheatre from the Casa della Rissa dell’Anfiteatro (I, 3, 23) and the bread salesman from the Casa del Panettiere (VII, 3, 30). Most of these wall paintings can be seen as adaptations of official (i.e. “high”) art; the scene with the bread salesman can, for instance, be compared with the *liberalitas* panel from the Arch of Constantine. Thus, Torelli’s contribution is one of several to point out that the art of the *plebs* and that of the court should not be seen as two unrelated strands within Roman visual culture.

Pier Giovanni Guzzo, in his contribution ‘*Statuto e funzione delle pitture erotiche di Pompei*’ (77–91), instead looks at Pompeian frescoes depicting erotic scenes, excluding those that represent mythological characters. Among the 40 depictions analysed, most are stereotypical representations of the sexual act, devoid of any element that may have added a narrative quality to the scene. Arguing that the characters depicted are prostitutes and their clients, Guzzo states that the images can be seen as expressions of the successful business undertaking of the brothel owner, or pimp: i.e. also these erotic scenes can be counted among the visualizations of personal achievements among Roman entrepreneurs—the most well-known category of depictions traditionally identified as “*arte plebea*”.

Richard Neudecker, in “*Felix et tu. Bilder aus Kneipen und Lokalen in Pompeji*’ (93–108), directs his attention to the frescoes that decorated two Pompeian *cauponae* (VI, 14, 35–36 and VI, 10,1). As opposed to the erotic scenes scrutinized by Guzzo, the scenes rendered in these *cauponae* tell vivid narratives of what went on in the premises: wine is delivered, guests are depicted drinking, gambling and even being thrown out due to a (presumably drunken) fight getting out of hand. The wish to express a stirring narrative is also manifested in the inclusion of captions. As Neudecker points out, these crude paintings visualize the daily round, without expressing the “*Stilwollen*” that Bianchi Bandinelli tied to the “*arte plebea*”.

With the title “*Arte colta*” versus “*arte plebea*”, the last section is the most vaguely defined among the three, and it alone includes half of the volume’s contributions.

H. Alan Shapiro’s contribution ‘*Anonymous heroes. Reinterpreting a group of Classical Attic votive reliefs*’ (111–120) is the only one that does not deal with Roman art—to which the notion of an “*arte plebea*” is generally applied. There is no denying that the article does come off as somewhat misplaced in this particular volume. Shapiro discusses three Classical Attic votive reliefs depicting a female pouring libation for an armed warrior, in the presence of one or two worshippers. Shapiro convincingly argues that there is not much credibility to the earlier interpretations of the main figures as Aphrodite

and Ares. They are more likely to represent a cult hero (perhaps Kodros) with a female consort. In an almost apologetic manner, the article's last two paragraphs mention that these marble reliefs cannot be considered folk art, but that there is a popular aspect tied to their function because, as Shapiro would have it, the average citizen felt an especially close religious connection to their local heroes, and that the general viewer could therefore identify him- or herself with the worshippers depicted in the reliefs.

Filippo Coarelli, in his contribution 'Libitina e i sepolcra publica dipinti dell'Esquilino' (121–132), emphasizes the danger of connecting depictions to persons of a specific social standing, by merely observing the style and artistic quality of the depictions. To ascertain this point, Coarelli discusses the Tomba di Fabio and the Tomba Arieti in the Esquiline necropolis. Due to the style of their frescoes, it has been assumed that these graves cannot have belonged to members of the Roman elite. Coarelli emphasizes that the discussed frescoes seem to have been placed on the graves' façades, and that they were therefore meant to address a general public. Thus, the simplistic composition of these reliefs could be explained by the wish to make the depicted scenarios "readable" for a general viewer—even if the graves did, in fact, belong to members of the social elite.

Adolf H. Borbein's article 'Augustus/Romulus. Italische Reminiszenzen in der augusteischen Bildsprache' (133–155) is, in essence, rather a reaction to the strong influence of Zanker's studies on Augustan iconography, than a contribution to the study of the societal position of Roman art. He argues that research has placed too much emphasis on the Hellenistic influences on Late Republican and Early Imperial art and culture. In order to balance the scales, Borbein presents examples that show the strong influence of Etruscan visual culture: for instance the restoration of Etruscan temples, the use of Etruscan-styled tombs and the symmetric compositions used for the so-called Campana reliefs. This point is well worth making, but with regard to the publication's overall theme, Borbein's article is, as is that of Shapiro, somewhat off the mark.

The next contribution is by Henner von Hesberg, 'Individualisierung innerhalb der Bilder an römischen Gräbern' (157–170). Using provincial grave reliefs as his examples, von Hesberg argues—as have several other contributions in this volume—that there was no separate system of communication used by plebeians: i.e. there was no "*arte plebea*" in the sense envisioned by Bianchi Bandinelli. Regarding funeral reliefs, it has been noted that members of the Roman military generally preferred simple designs for these monuments. But even so, von Hesberg argues that the iconography used for funeral reliefs was not primarily governed by the patron's social standing.

R.R.R. Smith's 'Monuments for new citizens in Rome and Aphrodisias' (171–184) is the volume's last contribution. Smith compares funeral monuments commissioned by new citizens of the plebeian classes in Rome and Aphrodisias, with a certain emphasis on the monuments from the latter city. Smith stresses that the funeral monuments traditionally labelled as "*arte plebea*"—those depicting work scenes—are a clear minority in Rome. He also notes that these rare scenes, where prosperous new citizens showed how they had reached their level of financial dignity, were hardly intended to be viewed by Rome's senatorial aristocracy. In Aphrodisias there are, however, no funerary monuments depicting work scenes: thus, in a sense, the "*arte plebea*"—as it is known in Rome—is absent here. This is, according to Smith, due to the fact that Aphrodisias constituted a smaller social world, a world that was to a greater extent than Rome dominated by the ideals and values of a conservative elite. In an effort to participate in this high social stratum, also the new citizens (i.e. the plebeians) fashioned their funeral monuments in the same manner as the elite.

To sum up this review, I would like to quote Tonio Hölscher, who begins his contribution with the following personal reflection: "Es hat den Reiz des Paradoxes, dass eine Gruppe jüngerer Forscher die Generation ihrer Lehrer zu einer wissenschaftlichen Frage zusammenruft, die zu deren Jugendzeit aktuell gewesen war." With this notion in mind, it is tempting to point to another paradox that governs this publication: meant as a tribute to Paul Zanker, the theme chosen for the colloquium constantly directs the attention to *his* teacher, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, and the latter's definition of the "*arte plebea*". Unfortunately, Zanker's contributions to this field of research are never discussed at length in this book, produced in his honour. This weakness aside, the theme as such is an important one: as all contributors agree, the concept "*arte plebea*" needs to be reconsidered, if it is to have any bearing on future studies of Roman art. Hopefully the reconsiderations presented in this volume will leave their mark on subsequent studies within this fascinating field of research.

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Carl Hampus Lyttkens, *Economic analysis of institutional change in Ancient Greece: Politics, taxation and rational behaviour* (Routledge Explorations in Economic History, 58), London & New York: Routledge 2013. xiii + 188 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-63016-0 (e-book 978-0-203-07763-4).

Prof. Lyttkens is an economist with a long-standing interest in and involvement with ancient Greece. In this book he presents an economist's view of the development of Athens' institutions and of the interplay of political and economic factors in that development.

In Ch. 1 he justifies the study of ancient Athens (it would have been better to specify Ancient Athens rather than Ancient Greece in the title of the book) and the application to it of New Institutional Economics. In his use of it this approach assumes that the tendency to maximize utility is limited by the principles of "bounded" rather than totally rational action and of "satisficing", by which when one has found a sufficiently good course of action one ceases looking for a better course; and it also allows for the fact that rational decisions frequently have unintended consequences. Lyttkens notes that differences between economic activity in the ancient world and in the modern are not as great as has sometimes been alleged, and that by the end of the Classical period in Greece market activity had developed to a significant extent. He gives a suitably cautious review of the sources for the study of ancient Greece.

Ch. 2 gives, for non-classicists, an outline of the history of Greece to 323 BC. One item which might have been included but is not is the Second Athenian League of the 4th century BC; and the concluding remark that by 323 "the independence of the Greek city-state was now effectively dead" represents a view which is increasingly being qualified or abandoned.

Ch. 3 begins Lyttkens's detailed study of institutions by focusing on the establishment of boundaries and the recognition of private property and of citizens as men entitled to own property, on competition among the élite, and on attempts to control that competition through the introduction of boards of officials with limited tenure and of written laws.

In Ch. 4 Lyttkens turns specifically to Athens, following J. Ober on the interrelation of mass and élite and stressing the trade-off between political and economic power: the rich voluntarily extended democracy in order to assure the poor that their share in the growing prosperity would not be confiscated, but the poor needed to allow the rich some power in order to secure their co-operation through the ability to prevent themselves from being subjected to punitive taxation. Cleisthenes' revolutionary change was to bring the *demos* into politics; Lyttkens follows those who believe that after the loss of the Delian League and the revenue from it Athens became less democratic in the 4th century because the rich needed to

be assured that they would not be taxed too heavily in order to make up the deficit.

Ch. 5 sees Solon as making the minimum of concessions to the *demos* to preserve the dominance of the élite, Pisistratus as breaking the power base of the other aristocrats, and Cleisthenes as seeking to get the better of Isagoras, with the move towards democracy an unintended consequence (the élite introduced changes which eventually undermined their own position). The allotment of archons in 487/6 BC (Lyttkens rejects the earlier use of allotment by Solon) was an attempt to control rivalry among the élite—but it failed: ostracisms continued and the elected generals supplanted the allotted archons as the principal officials of Athens.

In Ch. 6 Lyttkens considers taxation. Rulers need to maximize revenue in order to pay for their plans, and will prefer means of raising revenue which have low "transaction costs". One element of that is voluntary compliance as opposed to resistance; and with tax-farming, liturgies and the capital tax called *eisphora* (there is a greater willingness to pay taxes in support of wars which are considered justified) Athens achieved that, keeping the transaction costs low and the proceeds high.

In Ch. 7 Lyttkens maintains that institutional change and the development of the market economy stimulated each other. Taxation pushed people into market activity in order to acquire the money needed to pay, and pulled them into it because forms of wealth other than land were more easily concealed. Apart from its control of the grain trade Athens scored highly for "economic freedom". As market activity increased people had an increasing need to interact with those outside their immediate circle and to trust them to act rationally and honestly, but there was a strong distrust of officials and various measures were used to prevent them from becoming too powerful.

Ch. 8 concludes the book by stressing the development of market activity, the nature of short-term changes with unintended longer-term consequences (Lyttkens frequently quotes the judgment of J.K. Davies that commonly changes were made not in order to implement some ideal but in order to prevent something undesirable), and the universality of taxation, the consequent importance of who makes decisions about it, and the large-scale involvement of Athenian citizens in the running of their state. In the transition from the 5th century to the 4th the Athenians preserved their stability through flexibility, and Lyttkens compares with this the way in which in recent decades Sweden through flexibility has preserved what threatened to become an unviable welfare state.

The book has a glossary, of Greek and of economic terms (the latter could perhaps have been longer, but surprisingly includes *ceteris paribus* and *mutatis mutandis*), endnotes, bibliography and index.

Lyttkens is Swedish, but he writes almost flawless English (and from time to time surprises readers with a light-hearted remark). To a non-economist his economics was intelligible, and seemed realistic about the extent to which the actual behaviour of people departs from economic rationality. His ancient history I think ought to be intelligible to non-classicists. He knows the subject, and recent work on it, fairly well: there are a few slips or dubious details, but they could be corrected without invalidating his main points. In view of his readiness to allow for unintended consequences, I find it surprising that he considers it an intended consequence of Solon's changes that the linking of office-holding to property encouraged rich men to spend lavishly in order to demonstrate their wealth (79–82; he dates the beginnings of what later became the system of liturgies here, but I think few now would accept his guess that Athens already had some triremes this early). Poorer citizens undoubtedly formed the majority of those attending the assembly, but, since there is very little evidence that opinions in the Athenian assembly were divided on class lines, I think it is misleading to claim that in the 5th and 4th centuries “to be successful in the Assembly, a political leader would increasingly have had to advocate measures that benefited the poor majority” (61, repeated later).

Distinctive features of Lyttkens's approach are, for early Greece, an emphasis on the development of states with boundaries, of defined property of individuals within states, and (in a system in which only citizens could own landed property) the need to define who were citizens and were entitled to own landed property; and, throughout Greek history, an insistence that “nothing will change unless there are individuals with an incentive to act” (70; he follows P.B. Manville in arguing that there were many men whose citizenship of Athens might be challenged and who therefore had an incentive to support Cleisthenes' plan to establish a new basis for citizenship). It should now be agreed that, although the Athenians were not sophisticated economists, they did understand some basic economic principles and did sometimes make decisions from economic motives. This book is a sensible and worthwhile exercise in exploring the possibilities.

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I. Mañas Romero, *Pavimentos decorativos de Itálica (Santiponce, Sevilla). Un estudio arqueológico* (BAR-IS, 2081), Oxford: Archaeopress 2010. 234 pp., 122 figs. ISBN 978-1-4073-0480-9.

I. Mañas Romero, *Mosaicos Romanos de Itálica II. Mosaicos contextualizados y apéndice* (Corpus Mosaicos Romanos de España, XIII), Madrid-Sevilla: CSIC & Universidad Pablo de Olavide 2011. 188 pp., 188 figs., 32 colour plates. ISBN 978-84-00-09268-9.

Spain boasts a seemingly inexhaustible reserve of Roman mosaics of great quality, as well as a brisk pace in the work of archaeological excavation and publishing. New discoveries and interesting studies in the field are regularly published. Presented here are two books from 2010 and 2011, which are further contributions to the general picture of a vivid and prolific production.

The mosaics of Itálica constitute the greatest collection of Roman mosaics in *Hispania Antiqua*. The discovery of the site and its enormous amount of material gives an unprecedented opportunity to investigate themes of motifs, fashion, distribution and maybe also the existence of regional workshops. It also provides opportunities for drawing conclusions on location and chronology.

The two books, Mañas/BAR and Mañas/Corpus, are both based on a more extensive thesis on the Roman mosaics of the site by Irene Mañas Romero, defended at the University of Complutense, Madrid (*Pavimentos decorativos de Itálica (Santiponce, Sevilla)*) in 2008. It was written under the tuition of the Corpus project on Roman mosaics of Spain (CMRE) (*Corpus Mosaicos Romanos de España*) at CSIC (Consejo Superior de los Investigaciones Científicas), the Spanish board of scientific research in Madrid.

The original purpose was to present the mosaics *in situ*, together with other contextualized mosaics from the site. This was intended as a complement to the earlier corpus on Itálica, A. Blanco Frejeiro, *Mosaicos romanos de Itálica I. Mosaicos conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de la ciudad de Sevilla* (*Corpus Mosaicos Romanos de España*, Fasc.II), Madrid 1978, which concerned the non-contextualized mosaics in museums and private collections in Seville, including those preserved only through drawings.

This is an extensive work, not just a compilation; it is a re-evaluation of earlier finds and new research resulting in these two publications, which can be advantageously consulted together, along with the earlier volume by Blanco Frejeiro. The main task was thus to examine several aspects of the mosaics from the viewpoint of the archaeological context. Hence, this is not only a way to delimit the topic; it puts focus on the importance of the location as such, a principal point of reference

in the following thematic analysis and reasoning. A second purpose was to collect the data of all known, but not always published, mosaics of the site in an extended study.

This included mosaics with a documented context, whether still *in situ*, in museums, in private collections, or lost and only known through drawings. Consequently the bibliography from the 200 years of excavation history of the site (from the turn of the 18th century onwards until the last rescue excavations took place in the first decade of the 21st century) was presented, including unedited documents such as photographs and manuscripts. All this was done with the overall perspective of studying the mosaics and their environment with up-to-date methods in order to obtain a concise and full picture of the ancient city.

In the Mañas/BAR publication, the catalogue covers 67 of the most significant mosaic pavements of *opus tessellatum* occurring in domestic spaces in Itálica. These were selected from the original 133 entries of *opus signinum*, *sectile* and *tesselatum* that were included in the thesis. They all date from two main periods of production: between AD 150 and 220, and from the end of the 3rd century AD and first half of the 4th century.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first part, 'Introduction' (the following titles of parts and chapters are the reviewer's translation) includes four chapters of a historiographical character. The first chapter ('Project, method and objective') starts with a presentation of the outline and structure of the work, including a short account of the main purpose, methods and goals of the project.

In Chapter two ('Introduction to the history and topography of Itálica'), the author introduces a concise chronology of the complex and still not fully established history of the oldest part of Itálica, *vetus urbs*. Even though this area is unexcavated, and the full extent of the later remains is unknown, recent rescue excavations have nevertheless added dramatic new evidence. Recent archaeological finds have for example changed the state of knowledge concerning the foundation date of the ancient city, its geographic extent and urban structure. For instance, there is now evidence that the site was an early Turdetan settlement long before the Romans arrived. Under Hadrian's rule (AD 117–138) it became a *colonia* and grew from 5 ha. to 51 ha., due to the so called *nova urbs*, an extension built on new land. Gradually abandoned for reasons not yet fully clarified, this zone today corresponds to the archaeological park. During the second half of the 2nd century AD, the 48 *insulae* were constructed, containing the public areas and the large, lavishly decorated private *domus* where the vast majority of mosaics have been found.

In Chapter 3 ('The gradual discovery of the mosaics'), the author continues with the story of the different phases of discovery and the archaeological excavations relating the mosaics to the buildings and the urban planning. Here, the author

gives a vivid account of the often dramatic events during the early days of the excavation of the site in an interesting and elegantly composed prose. An especially neatly condensed section is the painful reading of the story of discovery, further exploration and decay of some of the discoveries and finds, a story one wishes could have turned out better.

In Chapter 4 ('The present situation of investigation and analysis of the bibliographic production'), the author gives an extensive account of the full bibliographic production from the beginning of the 19th century up to the present. Attention is drawn to the fact that despite the multitude of works, the majority of which were written before 1920, few authors treated other than the most spectacular examples. Authors of the antiquarian tradition of the 19th and the 20th centuries are named along a timeline, illustrating the gradual increase of interest in the archaeological context from the 1920s onwards. This was followed by the systematic approach to both composition and iconography in the 1960s, carrying on with the *Corpus* project starting in the 1970s, when investigation enters into yet another phase with an interest in analytical description. The presentation ends with detailed, instructive, and up to date summary of the work of the last two decades, with its interesting new focus on the archaeological context of the mosaics, permitting a range of different kinds of questions to be posed.

The core of the work, the extensive second part ('Thematic analysis'), follows in five analytical chapters, where different themes are all closely related to the buildings to which the mosaics belong.

In an introductory chapter ('Domestic space of Itálica and its pavements'), the 16 buildings of domestic type are presented with useful summaries, which help the orientation in the text, for example Casa de la Exedra (The House of the Exedra). The author provides a detailed account of each building, including location, archaeological excavations and type, as well as investigations concerning social status and chronology. A detailed presentation of the individual mosaic floors is followed by an overall analysis of the use of *décor* in domestic space, including the proportion between the different areas of the house: social, private, sacral and service areas, as well as the circulation pattern of the house. Six of the buildings and ten of the *triclinia* of the buildings are presented in tables in this section.

The second chapter ('Figurative themes: the reception and use of images in the domestic space'), presents a systematic study of the topic which aims to find the conceptual intention behind the choice of motif. Indeed, the city of Itálica lends itself well to this objective because of its limited geographical extent and period of activity. There are 51 contextualized mosaics with figurative motifs comprising a mythological repertory, similar to that employed in the rest of Baetica. The

distinct difference between the topics of the two periods of production is of particular interest. During the first period in the second half of the 2nd century AD, the turn of the century and the first two decades of the 3rd century AD, Bacchus and his sphere dominate the mosaics, along with other narrative mythological themes, idyllic scenes, and especially love themes such as Hylas and the love stories of Zeus, Eros, Psyche, and Venus. Other narratives of mythological types, the marine world, and apotropaic and beneficent motifs were also in vogue. During the second period of production, the end of the 3rd century AD and first half of the 4th, new themes appeared, related to new ways of self-representation. Using fresh modes of symbolism, the mosaics alluded to the social status of the owner through motifs such as the horse races of the circus, the muses, philosophy and astronomy. The author points to how this corresponds to a new period in the history of the city, which is supported by many discoveries and finds.

In Chapter three ('Geometric compositions and vegetal repertory'), the author gives a concise account of different repertoires of the site and presents different approaches. The quantity of material assists in determining the characteristics of the site and for establishing a chronology. Traces of workshop activities in the city are recorded. This chapter is exceedingly well illustrated with a section of fine computerized drawings made by the author, including geometric compositions, and ornamental patterns such as borders and other decorative fillings.

In the technically-oriented Chapter four ('The manufacture of the mosaic of Itálica: the work as it can be seen in the remains of the material') the author presents what kind of information about the mosaics' manufacture can be gained by current archaeological techniques, and describes the subsequent restoration and conservation of the mosaics. The author emphasizes that through close study of the remains, material and method can be identified, and also related issues such as work organization and productive cycle, despite the lack of written sources concerning the craft.

A particularly interesting section deals with the geometric planning. For example, the author describes the assumed method of dividing the surfaces by set measurements, basic geometry, instruments, and mathematics. Concerning the decoration, the author gives an informative account of the repetitive use of some models, and subsequently develops this long-discussed subject in an unusually unbiased manner. The author succeeds in giving a comprehensive overview of the motifs and their variations by using known examples. Starting with the confirmed existence of cartoons, the author avoids becoming too deeply involved in the complicated question of their origin, their distribution and use, or concerning the subject of artistic independence and creativity. A further benefit of this highly practical approach is that it also considers one

of the major topics in today's research, the identification of workshops.

Finally, a last section considers evidence for the possible presence of a specific school in this area of Guadalquivir, based on the assumption of the size of the workshops, the area covered by mosaics and the similarity of the economy. The author highlights the variation in scholarly opinion on this matter, with some researchers opposing the idea of clear-cut schools as such, preferring to attribute the variations to the different artistic styles, environments and influences of taste and fashion then circulating throughout the Mediterranean. This important and accomplished chapter constitutes a well-balanced combination of an up-to-date summary of research, personal investigations of the site, and reasoning.

In the last, historically oriented, Chapter five ('Conservation and restoration of the mosaics of Itálica: a historic perspective'), the author considers the history, geography and topography of the city in relation to the different phases of its history of discovery, ending with the present-day state of investigation. The first section of the chapter tells the story of the origin and fate of the mosaics excavated before 1890, the mosaics left *in situ*, and those excavated after 1890, which were extracted with different levels of expertise and are today located in private collections and museums. This is a well-written and fascinating story of the cultural interests, politics and techniques of past centuries; it is illustrated with original black and white photographs of great interest. The second section relates to different conservation methods, before and after the 1970s. Before this date, conservation equalled extraction as much as it later meant leaving the mosaics *in situ*. In this stimulating chapter, the author displays a wide archaeological knowledge, and touches on the delicate question of the pros and cons of extraction. Many (although not all) of the mosaics that were extracted, as *objets d'art* and kept as such, turn out to be in a considerably better shape today (thus allowing more visually-detailed studies) than the mosaics still *in situ*. This is independent of whether or not they were excavated legally or illegally before 1912, or whether they were left *in situ* after the 1970s. The author places these facts in contrast to the study's primary focus: the context and its importance for subsequent analysis.

In the third part ('Final considerations'), the author provides a short summary of the different parts of the work along with the chronology of the site, underlining Itálica as a major site of importance for mosaics in the Roman world. The author concludes that she has tried to evaluate the significance of the mosaic floors and to validate the importance of the results as a fundamental source of archaeological evidence which may present new information concerning many varied topics related to the ancient city, its nearest surroundings and the Roman world. Hence, this study starts with the context of

the analysis of the floors, and returns to an even wider context with the sum of the results.

The Mañas/*Corpus* publication is divided into two parts; in the first ('The city of Itálica'), the author provides an extensive presentation of the history of the site; in the second ('The catalogue'), the author presents the mosaics in each building of the site.

The author starts by recalling the purpose of the original project; as earlier mentioned this was the completion of the previous corpus of the site by Blanco Frejeiro. The intention was thus originally to include the mosaics still *in situ*, but this was later changed to include all contextualized mosaics independent of their actual location. In addition, by incorporating knowledge achieved later (after 1978), the project was gradually enlarged, in order to give a fuller picture of the ancient city.

Hence, the work concerns the mosaics still *in situ* and some later finds discovered during rescue excavations. It also includes three appendices. The first appendix covers additional unpublished mosaics from the store of the Archaeological Museum in Seville; a second deals with mosaics from private collections. A third appendix presents a mosaic of importance, the lost mosaic "the Circus". New information has recently appeared which has permitted a new analysis of this mosaic. The book also presents a review of the historiography of the site, having the same structure as the earlier volume, but with added material from 1978 onwards. The extensive catalogue constitutes the main part of the book, accompanied by plans and illustrations.

The part 'City of Itálica' constitutes a shortened version of the two first chapters of the BAR publication, including new information about the city's foundation, as well as a concise reiteration of the further history, its growth and several changes of legal status. A separate second section, 'Discovery of the mosaics of Itálica', summarizes the complex history of excavation of the site in a remarkably clear and comprehensive presentation. We can follow the development of the events, from when the systematic excavations started in the beginning of the 19th century, to the most recent rescue excavations in the first decade of the 21st century.

In this publication, the catalogue, the core of the book, covers 82 mosaics in total of different *opus* (*sectile*, *signinum*, *tessellatum*). They are presented in relation to the 13 buildings to which they originally belonged. Further, it includes the finds from a few later rescue excavations, as well as some other well-known mosaic ensembles of both known and unknown location and context. The history of the buildings covers the time of discovery and excavation, and further explorations. Each building is described giving type, size, extent, orientation, plan, chronology and type of *opus*. This is followed by

a presentation of the best-known mosaics of the site and their localisation. The entries in the catalogue describe the characteristics of the mosaics: measurements, tesserae information, material and colours, type of *opus*, context, today's localisation and bibliography. Their context is further discussed, concerning form, motif, details of borders and composition, together with descriptions and parallels, concluding with the author's personal appraisal and comments on chronology. The buildings are: the House of the Exedra, the Edifice of Neptune, the House of the Birds, the House of the Rodio, the House of the Taverns, the House of Hila, the Second House, the House of the Planetarium, the House of the Birth of Venus, the Major Bath, the House of the Street of Silo and the Street of the Muses, and the Enclosure of the Forum.

Appendix I deals with diverse mosaics: two ensembles of the Seasons, *disiecta membra*, in private collections, mosaic fragments from the store of the Archaeological Museum of Seville, and the lost mosaic "the Circus" preserved as drawings. They are presented following the same form as the catalogue. Appendix II is a table of the chronology of the mosaics of the site. Appendix III presents a table of the contextualized mosaics, ordered by catalogue number, type of *opus*, chronology and location.

The Mañas/BAR is an extensive and painstaking work on the finds and research undertaken on a city of great importance in the Roman world. The author manages, despite its broad content, to combine a work of recollection, reference and personal investigation, considerably deepening our understanding of several issues. The unifying factor throughout the book is the consistent focus on the archaeological context of the mosaics, as a point of reference for all treated topics. This greatly helps the reader to refer to the large amount of information and automatically provides answers to questions concerning the first manifestations of the mosaics and the role they played. Consequently, the author is able to suggest several highly valuable answers that cast light on the society in which the mosaics appeared.

A particularly useful aspect in this volume is the ample information provided by the high quality plans, maps, tables and illustrations, old as well as new photographs, along with the computerized stylized drawings of patterns (made by the author). These provide a chronological frame and a basic geographical and historical guide, which can be continuously consulted during reading, and which is of great help. The result is genuinely impressive and this integrated publication fills a long-felt gap. It will certainly constitute *the* reference work for the site of Itálica for a long time to come.

The structure of the handsome and easily-handled Mañas/*Corpus* volume follows the standardized format of the earlier volumes in the *Corpus* series. It thus has several different advantages compared with the Mañas/BAR volume from a

readability point of view. This is partly due to its clearer and more legible layout and partly because it grasps and presents the material in a more concentrated way. This is due to the more limited material, presented in the form of a catalogue, which complements the earlier volume in the series. The excellent quality plans, drawings and pictures in colour form an extra bonus (the colour plates were omitted in *Mañas/BAR*).

A shortcoming of the *Mañas/BAR* volume is that the compilation and analysis of different sources and their subsequent divisions into different sections has led to certain overlaps in the historically-related parts. Another point pertains to the production of the volume: regrettably, colour plate illustrations are omitted. These exist in the original thesis, and in the *Corpus*. They would have been useful.

So, although both publications are essentially academic in character, the *Mañas/BAR* is primarily directed to an already-introduced reader as a condensed thesis. On the other hand, the *Mañas/Corpus* offers a more easily consulted, although specialized, manual of the site and is accessible to a wider public.

In both books, the text and images and their condensed and updated contents, together with the maps, figures, tables and pictorial material explain the former glory of the city and its rich heritage of often spectacular Roman mosaic floors from several periods. A majority of these can today be visited *in situ* in Itálica, or in museums and open collections. Further, the books complement each other as they focus on different areas and aspects of the rich assemblage of mosaics. Itálica is presented in its totality for the first time, including much well-known, but until now unpublished material. Together these two books on Itálica are both recommended for their high quality, the up-to-date contents, and the way they succeed in recreating a part of the lost Itálica through its lavish mosaic floors.

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Mitología e historia en los mosaicos romanos, ed. L. Neira, Madrid: Ediciones JC 2010. 175 pp., 25 colour ill. ISBN 978-84-95121-56-1.

This is a dense and highly informative publication based on ten seminar papers presented at a conference on the subject at the University of Charles the Third, Madrid, in 2009. Its focus is the close relation between history and ancient Greek and Roman mythology as depicted on mosaics of the Roman era at the two far ends of the Mediterranean. The aim was to consider and reconsider their value as prime testimonies to events and turns of history.

The focus of the contributions is set on the deliberate choices behind the depicted myths, here grouped as either specific motifs, complete iconographic programmes of individual villas, or mosaic compounds of entire cities. The contributions centre on the figurative mosaics of *opus tessellatum* in the private sphere of the local élites of the provinces, mosaics that were frequently configured to reflect their users. The period is mainly the Late Imperial period, continuing into Late Antiquity and the Early Christian era and well into the Theodosian period. The geographic regions concerned are mainly the Iberian peninsula in the west, with two papers on Portugal and six on Spain, while two contributions concentrate on two cities of the eastern provinces; more precisely the cities of Zeugma and Antioch.

The editor and seminar organizer, L. Neira, introduces the anthology with some reflections (7–18), which are of great help for the reader. This paper combines an introduction and a synthesis, and establishes the importance of presenting the different contributions in a coherent timeline and historic context. Hence, the focus is set on the active use of mythology to depict, predict, reflect—and possibly to contradict—greater events in society. The author reminds us of the original use of many of the ancient myths as stories of the tangible changes of Greek society. Furthermore, the focus is set on how many myths continued, in the form of significant mosaics, to be used and re-used to depict, symbolize and enhance continual shifts and new values of later local communities. Hence, it proposes a view that makes them an even more useful and unique historical source, illuminating the surrounding society and its values, behaviours, standards, and, as we shall see, also gradually hardening conflicts between religions. Consequently, not only do we have the written sources, but also pictorial material to tell us *how* the mythology was used and interpreted.

The limited space does not allow an extensive review of all the contributions. I have therefore chosen to consider more closely only the papers with focus on a certain group of issues which relate to the important role that the mosaic played as an ethnic and religious divider.

A first group comprises three contributions treating specific motifs. 'Daedalus and the labyrinth. Some examples' (19–23), by M. Pilar S. Nicolás Pedraz, concerns the concrete and symbolic signification of Daedalus, the archetype of the artisan. The author draws attention to how the motif was particularly popular on mosaics in the Iberian peninsula, and how its many variations could be read possibly revealing different levels of cultural refinement of the viewers. A second article by M. Pessoa, 'Portraits or allegories in the mosaics of ten seasons of the Roman villa of Rabaçal, Penela, Portugal?' (25–40), treats the motifs of the seasons in the mosaics of one 4th–5th century AD villa in the central part of Portugal. Previous views of their significance are reassessed and instead of being mere allegories, they are suggested to be the portraits of the owners with the explicit purpose of social display. The third article in this group is by J.M. Álvarez Martínez, 'The representation of Orpheus and the animals in Hispanic mosaics' (41–49). The author analyses the motif of Orpheus, originating from the distant past of Antiquity from the 6th century BC as a symbol of physical force and magic power, and relates its subsequent variations and popularity to the changes that had taken place in the Roman Hispanic society. Hence, the motif is an illustrative testimony of a continuous process of re-signification as it in Late Antiquity came to symbolize quite opposite values, those of peace and unity, and further on how it also became an important Christian symbol.

A second group of articles presents the iconographic programmes of urban compounds. The first one treats the issue in a city of the west of the Mediterranean, in the south part of the Iberian peninsula: I. Mañas Romero (51–61), 'The contribution of mythology in the formation of domestic visual culture. The example of Italica (ss. II–III)'. The author shows how some repetitive themes based on the most common mythological narratives such as Bacchus illuminate a homogenized visual culture of the élite, but also how the preference for particular representations may reveal their predilections in regard to festivity and private life. The next two contributions concern the display of cultural, ethnic or religious identities and objectives of different local groups in two multicultural crossroad metropolises in the eastern Mediterranean. This is done by using comparative methods together with epigraphic and literal sources, starting in the city of Zeugma, with 'The suppressed mythology. The Roman mosaics of Zeugma' (63–75), by G. López Monteagudo. The author discusses a group of mosaics with motifs of Hellenistic mythological heritage containing highly significant scenes. They are recognized to have been chosen by the local Romanized élites, explicitly in order to mark the limits between their own world and that of others, thus to underline their overt Roman identity. Also belonging to this group is J. Bermejo Tirado, 'The construction of a pagan identity: The mosaics with mythological themes

as documents for a cultural history of Antioch' (77–87). This study looks upon how cultural identity was displayed in the city of Antioch through the languages used in the epigraphy in mosaics and literature in combination with the motifs chosen for the mosaics. With focus on the Greek-speaking élite, the author shows how they explicitly employed the Hellenistic heritage in architecture, epigraphy, and mosaics showing their ancestors' gods and heroes, thus displaying their aristocratic past, possibly in opposition to a new religion, Christianity.

Yet another group of contributions approaches a similar subject, but now all in the Iberian peninsula, focusing on the iconographic programmes of the villas rather than urban compounds. Here they are viewed as displaying a cultural and religious identity, aimed not towards other local ethnic élites but against a new state religion. The editor, in her introduction, draws attention to the fact that many newly-discovered and spectacular mosaic compounds in the Iberian peninsula are not of the commonly-found type. More and more mosaics being discovered in Late Antiquity villas depict ancient mythology. Their presence in this period strongly contradicts the commonly-held view of the quick and general rise of Christianity in the area. This is a view adopted by the authors of the two following contributions.

The first article is by J.M. Blázquez Martínez, 'Roman-Hispanic villas of the Late Empire decorated with mythological mosaics' (89–110). Here, splendid mosaics are presented, of a great scale with detailed and dramatic scenes from Greco-Roman mythology, from a variety of luxurious villas through the 4th century AD across the whole Iberian peninsula. The author draws particular attention to this persistence of pagan motifs in Hispania during Late Antiquity, a fact that obviously, together with the cited literary references, points to a principally still pagan cultural identity and a possible active resistance to the advance of the new religion. D. Fernández Galiano returns to the topic in 'The triumph of love: the mosaic of Paris and Helen in Noheda (Cuenca)' (111–136). The mosaic, divided in several longitudinal sections and of great pictorial and symbolic weight and complexity, is said to be one of the most spectacular on the peninsula. Particular attention is drawn to the scene of a Roman wedding ceremony. The author relates it to similar scenes both in Hispania and other parts of the Mediterranean, proposing that the *hierogama* symbolized the prosperity, stability and peace of not only the household, but also the society and land. Hence, it could have been chosen to represent the righteous, orderly and well-functioning part of the Roman society. This would be as a counterbalance to the propaganda of the new religion pointing much in that same direction underlining a similar set of values. The last contribution, also of the Iberian peninsula, now Portugal, is V. López, 'The compound of Mértola and its mosaics' (137–142), which examines the maintenance and longevity

of a series of both geometric and figurative motifs in the city. Some are mythological scenes of Hellenistic origin, which not only survived during 500 years of use, but were also gradually assimilated to new cultural and religious circumstances.

To conclude, the great impact of this book is in illustrating the importance of the motifs as results of a dynamic process of evaluation and re-evaluation of standards and beliefs over time. Here the focus is on the role played by the Roman mosaics in the important societal changes in Late Antiquity. Their complexity and number, and the fact that they were obviously deliberately used to serve as identity markers and messengers of sometimes subversive nature, places demands on both the viewers (read interpreters), and not least, the producers. Great knowledge is required to decipher the messages, as they were there not only to impress, but to distinguish between those who could decipher them and those who could not. There is a double purpose of both including and excluding, which thus constitutes an excellent testimony of the identity-shaping capacity of images. In addition, it is worth emphasizing that all the contributions in this publication provide us with proof of how the rich heritage of Roman mosaics, with their vast and complex visual representations, attest—in beautiful pictures—the strain and the complicated processes of a society during periods of transition and turmoil.

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Joseph E. Skinner, *The invention of Greek ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus* (Greeks Overseas), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012. 343 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-979360-0.

The invention of Greek ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus by Joseph E. Skinner is the third volume to appear in the book series *Greeks Overseas* by Oxford University Press. Like the two previous volumes I find this one to be stimulating, thought-provoking and original. Skinner and the editors of the book series, Carla Antonaccio and Nino Luraghi, deserve congratulations.

The main argument of *The invention of Greek ethnography* is that the Greeks had extensive contacts with Others, and that they were self-consciously aware of differences between themselves and Others far earlier than the 5th century BC: “this study sets out to emphasize the role that ethnographic interests played in a wider discursive process—a process through which Greek culture and identity were both invented and defined” (14).

The invention of Greek ethnography is organized in five chapters. The first chapter is a sensitive presentation of the relevant theoretical foundations and of the history of scholarship concerning these matters. It can also be read as an argument for the need to abandon the normative essentialism that has been governing in Classical Studies so far. Skinner identifies fundamental problems of the epistemological foundations of previous scholarship, both in normative scholarship during the 20th century and in the recent cultural turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Chapter 2 consists of a short account of Others with whom the Greeks were in contact. Greek perceptions of for instance the Hyperboreans, the Scythians, the Amazons, the Thracians and the Phoenicians are accounted for. Skinner does not distinguish between real and imaginary Others, nor between past and present. In Chapter 3 Skinner discusses various discursive strategies that the Greeks used to conceptualize the Others, such as stereotyping and listing. This is followed in Chapter 4 by various micro-histories from around the ancient Mediterranean: Olbia, southern Calabria, Delphi and Olympia. The micro-histories elaborate encounters between Greeks and Others. Skinner emphasizes the contribution of the Others on Greek culture. What we often regard as Greek culture was, in effect, hybrid cultures. A profound difference between Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 is the elaborate use of archaeology in the latter. The last chapter is a sort of conclusion. It summarizes the arguments, draws conclusions, and points to issues that remain to be addressed.

Skinner’s main argument is formulated in a self-conscious dialogue with, and in contrast to, a model of ancient Greek culture which has emerged during the last decades. According to this perspective, a Hellenic identity emerged only after the Persian Wars, and in opposition to the Persians. Although the Persians were the Others *par excellence* in Greek culture, Skinner omits the encounters between the Greeks and the Persians in his book; this self-imposed limitation remains enigmatic for me. Skinner not only identifies problems with the above-mentioned model, but he also argues that there is evidence of Greek encounters with Others, and a Greek consciousness about Self and Other, earlier than the Persian Wars. In other words, Greek self-consciousness—in effect, Hellenic identity—existed before the 5th century BC, according to Skinner. He emphasizes the plurality of Greek identities. The Greek experience differed since it was shaped by different encounters and experiences in different places; Greek identity is a heterogeneous phenomenon.

Skinner uses the term ethnography in an abstract way. He does not aim to produce an exhaustive account of Greek perceptions of other peoples or of foreign finds in Greek culture. Ethnography is a discourse about foreign lands and peoples. It entails “thinking about culture from the point of view of an outsider” (16), a catchphrase Skinner repeats. Ethnography is

conceptualization of Others and a discourse which shapes the perception of one's own identity and culture. Skinner's sensitive understanding of ethnography is influenced by recent ethnographic models which emphasize the mutability of culture and negotiation of identities.

Skinner views analytical dichotomies as problematic, and conceptualizes the Greeks as a heterogeneous culture. His understanding of ancient Greece is very similar to current models which are based on network theories, not the least Irad Malkin's recent publication (48). However, unlike Malkin, Skinner does not present an explicit model for how Greek culture and identity works. Skinner identifies different discourses, cultural strategies, in the relations between the Greeks and the Others. Skinner's argument is very sophisticated. It takes a lot of courage to break away from the positivism that has impaired Classical Studies.

However, the perfect publication lies still ahead of us. I have also my quarrels with *The invention of Greek ethnography*. First, I was surprised to find the editorial quality sloppy; typographical errors occur in clusters in this book and they are particularly frequent in the footnotes and the bibliography. Occasionally, I find Skinner's choice of references odd; in some cases there are far better and more relevant publications than the ones Skinner cites (e.g. 20 n. 74).

The intellectual setting in which Skinner works is apparent and sometimes restrains his work. The discourse of the Other is crucial. It is widespread in the humanities and the social sciences. Basically, the Other is a discourse which stipulates that we need to be aware of another different person, culture, or identity in order for our own identity to crystalize. Identities are formulated in relation with our surroundings. There is a mutual interdependence between Us and Them—no Self without the Other. Skinner argues that Greek culture was shaped by encounters with Others. I find it, therefore, enigmatic that Skinner, like several other scholars in Classical Studies, applauds Gruen's misconception of the Other. Gruen argues for the abandonment of the Other since it, in his view, emphasizes differences and divides and does not acknowledge mutual influences (22). Gruen's argument goes against the core of Skinner's main argument. *The invention of Greek ethnography* illustrates how Others, crucially, influenced and shaped ancient Greek culture.

My most serious quarrel with *The invention of Greek ethnography* concerns the inability to identify and organize the narrative around theoretical perspectives. Skinner does not hold back criticism, which I find to be a strength. He discusses every publication individually. For instance, Skinner's criticism of Felix Jacoby (31) is on the same level as his criticism of Jonathan Hall or François de Polignac (211). However, on an epistemological level Skinner's account is founded on the same discursive foundations (i.e. the cultural turn) as Hall's or

Polignac's publications. Also Skinner emphasizes the notions of negotiation and hybridity. To share certain epistemological foundations does certainly not mean a wholesale endorsement of another scholar's position. Accordingly, the criticism Skinner raises against other scholars in the cultural turn concerns often their tendency to construct bipolar models. This is, in my view, a criticism which has emerged during the last decade and we can view it as a criticism articulated by a "second" generation of scholars in the cultural turn against the "first" generation. I think that *The invention of Greek ethnography* would have benefited if theoretical perspectives, groups and schools had been made more visible in it.

I am very sympathetic to Skinner's agenda. I think that *The invention of Greek ethnography* shows a possible way out of the epistemological deadlock that Classical Studies often exhibit. It is a book which challenges widespread assumptions about the ancient Greek culture. Skinner contributes to further our understanding about ancient Greek culture in two ways: first, he illustrates the heterogeneity of ancient Greece by showing how Others shaped the Greeks, and, second, through the profound criticism of the conceptual model of ancient Greek culture and identity which is commonly accepted. Skinner is not only repeating the criticism against the normative compartmentalization and its effects, but introduces also a criticism of the cultural turn scholarship of the 1980s and 1990s. A general problem in current scholarship is that the criticism of the late 20th century has faded away. Skinner has produced a publication which builds on current theoretical ideas and retained the critical discourse of the cultural turn. He has chiselled out a position which holds great promise for the future; I am impressed.

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