

## MULTIPERIOD

**Nevett, Lisa, *Ancient Greek Housing*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2023. £24.99 Paperback, also available as hardback or e-book, 329 pp., 128 b&w figures, ISBN 9780521124638**

Lisa Nevett has established herself as perhaps the foremost current expert in ancient Greek housing, both in the homeland and the Greek colonial world, since the publication of her thesis on this topic in the 1990's (Nevett 1999). She has taken her scholarship further with the significant reopening of excavations at a key ancient planned city at Olynthus in Northern Greece.

There was of course a succession of predecessor and contemporary scholars who paved the way to, or accompanied her own series of books and articles on this theme, notably the team of Hoepfner and Schwander (1986), Michael Jameson (1990), Franziska Lang (1996), and Monika Truemper (2005). These earlier and parallel studies had clarified some of the key developments over time: the Iron Age to Archaic villages and early urban sites with indications of elite dwelling-houses, the shift from simple, often one-roomed basic homes open to their neighbours to multi-roomed houses with an enclosing wall that had become typical by Classical times, finally the re-emergence of a more clearly stratified housing ensemble with luxurious multi-courtyard mansions set amid smaller homes of the working classes (reviewed in Bintliff 2010, 2012).

This volume gathers together the fruits of her many previous publications on Greek housing with an excellent up-to-date survey of recent fieldwork and publications, clearly written, and covering the whole chronological span from 1000 BC to the end of the Hellenistic era, and the Greek world over much of the Mediterranean and Black Sea. It is an ideal basis for students and scholars of Classical Antiquity to catch up on this clearly still-developing field. The text is supported by an appendix on ancient sources and a rich bibliographic essay.

Just one minor criticism seems necessary: despite noting the papers of Ruth Westgate on the historical evolution of the Greek house in the references, we look in vain in the index or text for discussion of the insights that her use of the technical methodology of Space Syntax can bring to understanding domestic lived realities, through mapping movement and

visibility patterns embedded in houseplans (e.g. Westgate 2000, 2007, 2015).

JOHN BINTLIFF  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH  
johnlbintliff@gmail.com

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**Alastair Small and Carola Small (eds) *Archaeology on the Apulian-Lucanian Border*. pp.884, 383 figures, 31 tables (colour throughout). Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022. ISBN 978-1-80327-064-7 hardback £ 125, Digital: 9781803270654 (Open Access PDF downloadable from Archaeopress website and eBook)**

This substantial monograph of almost 900 pages presents the results of the intensive Basentello Valley Field Survey, led by the authors between 1996 and 2008 in the Fossa Bradanica region on the border of the Basilicata (Lucania) and Puglia (Apulia) regions in South Italy (roughly between the present-day cities of Bari on the coast and Potenza inland). It does so in the context of three earlier surveys, by Sterling Peter Vinson, Hugh Chapman assisted by Albert Ammerman, and Dennis Aldridge respectively. The areas covered in the latter's surveys, referred to in the volume as 'the Older Surveys' are adjacent to the authors' surveys that in the volume are consequently referred to as 'Our Survey', thus forming a vast survey area. The amount of terrain covered in the Older Surveys was far larger than the authors' surveys that covered an area of just below 100 km<sup>2</sup>, but was much less intensively covered. The authors have used this circumstance to publish the data obtained in the Older Surveys' as 'legacy data' useful to evaluate their own observations done in the much less favourable conditions for archaeological survey between 1996 and 2008, in a period when agriculture had intensified greatly. While the Older Surveys found still plenty of diagnostic ceramic fragments of all periods ploughed up recently, the survey of the authors yielded more fragmented and worn material in comparison. Combining the information of the Older Surveys and the author's surveys in a broader framework of site interpretation, confirmed how the trends in the extensive surveys were not significantly different from those in the authors' surveys, except for the Neolithic period when the area surveyed by the authors appeared to have been 'on the margin of the region of Neolithic settlement in an area which probably had not yet been cleared of forest'.

Unlike other published studies of this size, such as the long-term project of Carter *et al.* in Metapontino or the work of Yntema and Burgers in the Salento region, both south of the area of interest of this publication, the Neolithic plays an important role in the research dataset, being close to the Tavoliere region to the northeast, famous for its dense neolithic settlement pattern of so-called 'villaggi trincerati', villages surrounded by ditches. Following a brief discussion of the Palaeolithic period in the first chapter, chapter II discusses settlement dynamics from the Neolithic period from the early Neolithic (ca. 6200-5600 BC) via the Middle Neolithic (ca. 5600-4800) and Late Neolithic (ca. 4800-4300 BC) to the Final Neolithic (4300-4000 BC). The discussion format is structured by first an evaluation of the data of the Older Surveys and then a presentation of the data of the authors' surveys,

this against the background of a broader southeast Italian view of the Neolithic. This format is adopted for all periods.

Chapter III is dedicated to the Eneolithic or Copper age and with only four pages, is both an epilogue to the Neolithic and an introduction to the Bronze Age. Dated between ca. 3650 BC and ca. 2150 BC, this long period appears elusive just as other transitional periods, as for instance the period between the end of the Bronze Age and the start of the Iron Age, even if the time lapse between the latter transition was much shorter and a real settlement gap may have existed between the end of the Neolithic and the incoming Early Bronze Age.

Chapter IV is dedicated to the Bronze Age, the beginning of which is set at ca. 2150 BC and marked by the diffusion over large parts of the southern peninsula of the so-called Appenine culture, which, as it comes to pottery production, in time shows a relatively homogeneous repertoire of shapes in the settled landscapes along the Appenine mountain ridge. This relative homogeneity, promoted by interregional contacts, would last till the Final Bronze Age – Early Iron Age transition when regional differentiation becomes markedly apparent as an indicator of regional identities. Following a general discussion of climate, subsistence and artefact production, the authors discuss Bronze Age settlement patterns and territorial organization in their area of study with the general framework of Bronze Age cultural development as a point of reference. The Fossa Bradanica, according to the authors, appears as 'one of the most densely settled areas in the MBA and LBA' (p.64). Settlement preference in the Bronze age may, according to the data of the Older Surveys, have been determined by the potential of combining agriculture of heavier soils and nearby access to pasture, in contrast with the Neolithic settlement preference especially for areas with easily workable sandy soils. In the authors' survey area, the intensive survey yielded 5 main sites from the MBA onwards but gave little evidence for previous Bronze Age occupation. Main sites varied in size between 450 (single scatter) and 1,400,000 m<sup>2</sup> (single area with several discrete scatters) and a number of smaller scatters (16 sites in all, see Table IV.2 on p. 71). The general absence of burnt daub makes the authors suspect that 'the BA population in Our Survey Area was living in more temporary shelters made of more perishable and less solid materials than the huts of either their Neolithic predecessors or their successors of the FBA'. (p.70). The two larger sites, also featuring storage jars, then would have been more permanently settled. The low dating resolution of

the ceramics however does not allow the authors to analyse their full Bronze Age data securely as a single settlement system (see Table IV.2 on p.71). On the whole the authors' survey area remained quite isolated from coastal socio-economic developments that saw intense interactions during this period with Aegean seafarers. The transition to the Final Bronze Age was marked, however, and is described as a 'complete change in site location' (p.71).

It is for the above reason that the authors decided to start a new chapter discussing the Final Bronze Age (ca. 1200-1000 BC). As the previous period, the Final Bronze Age shows a continuous development into the Early Iron Age (ca. 1000-750 BC) comprising the latter period as well. The format of this chapter is consistent with chapters II to IV, with first notes on chronology, climate, economy and material culture with the aim to familiarize the reader with general developments in Southeast Italy, with famous BA sites as Roca Vecchia and Termito in Basilicata and extending into northern Calabria, well known for its Bronze age archaeology on account of Renato Peroni's research at Broglio di Trebisacce. The gist of the overview is to show how widespread significant changes in the settlement pattern were, that led from the full Bronze Age into the Iron Age. In this period it appears that 'Defence was of primary importance in site selection' and that 'The process of site formation must have been driven by population expansion and migration' (p.77). This is in line with the overarching theory of Renato Peroni on the general process of selection and concentration of population during this period, leading to site hierarchy in the coastal landscapes of Central and South Italy, with Etruria, Latium Vetus and the Sibaritide as the best studied areas. It is interesting to see how this process took shape in Central Apulia where many new sites were founded in this period (see MAP V.1 for a useful overview of the distribution of FBA and EIA 1 sites). Within Central Apulia, in the Fossa Bradanica area many sites well-known for their (early) Iron Age phases appear, such as Timmmari, Botromagno/Silvium, Incoronata, Cozzo Presepe, Monte Irsi and others. The Older surveys and the authors' surveys revealed a relatively dense pattern of minor sites founded in this period, which however seems particular to this area as it was not found in intensive surveys elsewhere in the region (e.g. the surveys in the Metapontino by Carter or those around Cannae by Goffredo or Venosa by Marchi and Sabbatini). This leads the authors to state that 'the Fossa Bradanica was not a peripheral area on the boundary between other cultural groupings. It had its own dynamic regional culture which emerged in the FBA and continued to develop in the EIA' (p.79). This

observation is based both on the funerary record (Timmari's FBA burial ground) and the complex form of centralised settlement organisation that developed in this period and which, in social terms, can be interpreted using the wider context of well-investigated (funerary) sites in South Italy, as the transition from the Bronze Age social organisation of extended kinship groups to one in which powerful families played a leading role. Against this background the Older Surveys are first discussed (33 certain sites of various sizes from < 2 ha to 66 ha) and then the authors' surveys (16 sites between 4.5 and 7 ha and three very small sites between 400 and 200 m<sup>2</sup>). The authors' surveys function as a useful control set for the interpretation of the sites of the Older Surveys and lead to the conclusion that the FBA/EIA period 'was a period of intensive and experimental site formation' (p. 87). Both surveys attest to the founding of new settlements, partly on spacious plateaux not settled previously, and are indicative of a developing site hierarchy, that in the following period of the early Iron Age II would gain momentum.

Central to chapter VI are the early interactions during the Early Iron Age II (ca. 750-675 BC) and Middle Iron Age (ca. 675-500 BC) between the indigenous population in Central Apulia and the Fossa Bradanica area and Greek traders and settlers. These are especially evident from the appearance of Greek material culture in the indigenous settlements and early *apoikiai* along the coasts of South Italy. To start the chapter, the authors provide a synthesis of current theories on the nature of these interactions. The site nearest to the authors' study area providing convincing evidence on such interactions as early as the first half of the 8th c. BC is Incoronata, in the foothills of the later chora of the *apoikia* of *Metapontion* that is still under excavation by the University of Rennes (M. Denti). A first set of introductory paragraphs inform on the influence of Greek pottery on local productions during the Early Iron Age II and more in general on the concept of Greek 'colonisation' (quotation marks by the authors) with reference to the Salentine coast and the nature of Greek pottery imports. This is followed by a second set of paragraphs discussing especially the indigenous pottery repertoires of the Middle Iron Age (the so-called Apulian matt-painted wares) and their supposedly ethnic significance as pointers to the region's historically known peoples, the Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians. On pages 95 – 99 the profound knowledge of the authors on Apulian ceramic wares becomes evident. They conclude that such clear divisions in 'pots and peoples' is not very likely and state that 'In fact, the analysis of these

pottery groups suggests that whatever traditions lay behind the tribal labels, the material culture of the population was centred on relatively small sub-regional groupings of territorial units' (p.98). Map VI-2 shows the distribution of main Middle Iron Age sites in Central Apulia and the Fossa Bradanica in the survey area of the Older Surveys and the authors' surveys. Following an evaluation of settlement organization and the developing rural economy, the Older Surveys (14 sites) and the authors' surveys (8 sites, among which two larger sites) are discussed, with the implication that the settlement pattern in the study area cannot be evaluated without taking the larger settlement outside it into consideration (in casu Monte Irsi and Botromagno), even if the authors' survey showed that two larger settlements (San Felice and Crocevelina, about 10 km apart), would have functioned as settlements that controlled their own surrounding farmland (p. 110). Settlement dynamics veered towards the formation of what the authors call 'proto-cities', with the Fossa Bradanica as a transitional area between sub-regional cultural groupings and 'as a communications corridor' (p.111). The final remark of this chapter introduces the term 'hellenized' in the phrases 'The result was a hybrid culture, only partly hellenized. The indigenous inhabitants of the Fossa Bradanica adopted many aspects of domestic life from their Greek neighbours, but maintained their own form of social organisation and continued to be buried *rannicchiati* (curled up) with lavish grave goods' (p. 111).

In chapter VII the focus narrows the framework of reference of the Older Surveys and the authors' surveys onto the Fossa Bradanica between the 5th to the end of the 4th century BC corresponding to period V and the first part of Period VI of Gravina (the site of Botromagno, excavated and published, forms an important point of material cultural reference on account of its own authoritative stratigraphically embedded chronological framework). The volume at this point enters what in many other landscapes of Italy would be termed the Late Archaic/Classical and Hellenistic period. In line with the emphasis on pottery as the main object of analysis in the volume, this chapter starts out with a paragraph on the pottery of the period (painted (slipped) wares (i) and plain and cooking wares (ii)) followed by paragraphs on the historical context (there are relatively trustworthy sources now, while contacts with the powerful Greek colonies of Taras/Tarentum and Metapontion / Metapontum and colonies more south in Magna Graecia can be reconstructed using pottery, including contacts with Athens itself). These historical and material contacts are dealt with in detail, giving rise to discussions of the

5th/4th century BCE Italic peoples and their social and material entanglements with the Greek world, including those related to warfare. This is followed by a detailed discussion of settlement patterns in Lucania and Peucetia and of the prevailing cults of these peoples, communal and in household context, and burial customs. Next the topic of city status and state formation is tackled for Peucetia and Lucania and farming in the 5th and 3rd centuries BC. These topics, testifying to the increasing social, economic and political complexity of Central Apulian society, are informative in themselves and function as a reference for the settlement data from the authors' study area. Clearly this is a period of settlement expansion with the Older Surveys producing 54 sites and 37 uncertain. This proliferation of sites in the countryside – we likely deal with isolated farmsteads – is thought to be linked to Botromagno / *Silvium* in the area north and northwest of it and testifying to a phase of planned? rural infill starting in the 5th and reaching a climax in the late 4th century BC (much in line with observations in several other South Italian landscapes). This pattern is reflected in the authors' surveys with 36 certain and 9 uncertain sites. Following the presentation of this significant change in the mode of exploitation of the territory, the authors provide a detailed assessment of the economic status of these rural sites based on the pottery finds (p.143-146). Interestingly, they note that some sites may have had 'dolium yards', which they think may be linked to wine production. The authors note various forms of rural organisation in the wider landscape linked to centralised settlements, such as Botromagno, Monte Irsi and a central settlement with the toponym San Felice in their own study area. To explain the ruralization process, so evident in the wider study area, the authors note that 'It was probably this new middle class which broke whatever rules there were on ownership of land and established new farms in the open countryside, such as those we have traced in our survey area'. (p.147). They link this process to redistribution schemes of land and the 'creation of well-spaced farms' (p. 147), in the vein of what was happening in the Greek chorai of South Italy. Clearly the rise of the 'Hellenistic' city in indigenous contexts played a fundamental role including a three-tier hierarchy of city, settlements of intermediate size and (clusters of) farmsteads. The economy of the period is characterized, according to the authors, by surplus production with a role for textile production. The latter commodity would become central to the economy of the Hellenistic period.

This brings the book to Chapter VIII: The Hellenistic Period. The period discussed here extends from the



capture of Peucetian Botromagno, now *Silvium*, by the Romans in 306 BCE, to the start of the Principate of Augustus (i.e. comprising the entire Roman Republican period). Two ceramic wares are central to this period as dating tools until the middle of the 2nd c. BCE: Black-gloss and Grey-gloss. Their production and distribution over the countryside is linked to the founding of Latin colonies in Apulia in general (early foundations being Brundisium (founded 314 BCE) and Luceria (244 BCE)) as the new economic centres. In the northwest of the Fossa Bradanica this is the Latin colony of Venusia (291 BCE). Apart from traditional Hellenistic cooking wares, gradually also 'Romano-Campanian' types of cooking wares appear in the late 2nd or 1st century, and amphorae from overseas, attesting to the transformation of the Hellenistic economy and material culture into that of the Roman imperial one. The general discussion on the wider area and the Fossa Bradanica is more or less split into two periods: the 3rd c. into the 2nd c. and the 2nd into the 1st BCE. For the first mentioned period, the main material cultural changes of the period (among innovations in house architecture and agricultural processing, burial customs) are dealt with at some length with a discussion of the turbulent historical context of with Second Samnite War and Roman expansion into Apulia in 306 BC. Settlement dynamics of the 3rd c. BCE are characterized by contraction and revival as evident from a discussion of the excavation data from Monte Serico, Jazzo Fornasiello, Botromagno, Monte Irsi, Timmari, Montescaglioso, Difesa S. Biagio, Cozzo Presepe and Metapontum. The historical perspective of the second period starts with the consequences of the Second Punic War (218-202 BCE) and its consequences for landuse and landownership in the wider region due to land confiscations. A theme that now comes into full view is that of *Ager Publicus* and transhumant pastoralism, which had started to occupy tracts of land already since 367 BCE under the terms of the Licinio-Sextian laws, but now became a major component in the rural economy. The discussion of this dynamic is linked to the upsurge in the wool industry (p. 161 – 166) and constitutes a major change in land use and economy over large parts of inland Apulia and Ionian South Italy. Maps VIII.3 shows the drove roads (*tratture*) passing through the Fossa Bradanica including the area of the Older Surveys and the authors' own surveys. Rural intensification now centred on the Roman foundations, which in some cases have yielded information on centuriations, some linked to the early phase of Roman expansion, others to the Gracchan land reforms that were meant to revive the agricultural economy in response to the trend

of extensive land use (Map VIII.1). These dynamics as they are visible in the settlement patterns of 2nd and 1st centuries BCE Fossa Bradanica, are dealt with in detail on pp.168 –175, showing complementary specialized regional economies with Catonian type villas in the *ager* of Venusia producing wine, olive oil and cereals, extensive forms of land use in the Metapontino partly due to environmental deterioration, animal resources and textile in the wooded areas of *Silvium* and cattle raising and arable around Monte Irsi. The chapter concludes with a resumé of changes in the settlement pattern of the Older Surveys and the authors' surveys, reflecting these dynamics on a smaller scale (Maps VIII-3; 4). Evidently there were profound consequences for the numbers of rural population: 'The drastic reduction in the number and size of inhabited sites must imply a steep decline in the rural population' (p.179). Two of the authors' once substantial sites, San Felice and Vagnari, testify to this, with Vagnari probably even totally abandoned. Map VIII.5 and 6 show the density of rural sites for the Early and Late Hellenistic period with a change of site location during the latter towards the stretch of Via Appia (its course is reconstructed on the map) in the northern part of the study area, pointing to the importance of the new road infrastructure. In the final part of the chapter, on p.182, the term 'Romanization' is introduced for the first time and is used for the period from the 1st century down to the beginning of the Principate. In their conclusions to chapter VIII the authors state: 'Roman influence in the Fossa Bradanica was transmitted through the latin colony of Venusia founded in 219 BC on land captured from the Samnites. As the city grew in importance over the next 300 years, so Metapontum declined at the other end of the Fossa. There was therefore a 180° change in the economic and cultural axis of our Survey Area.' The latter part of the period was also one in which Roman presence and Roman influence increased in the countryside, with a highly visible role for rich estate owners. In the authors' survey area this started with Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus), whose estate could be identified on account of tile stamps (site 229). This villa would later, during the Julio-Claudian period become imperial property, comprising a much larger area that 'occupied much if not all of the former territory of *Silvium*' (p.187). The farm of Vagnari, extensively investigated by the authors, likely was included in this estate.' The next chapter

<sup>7</sup> See Vagnari, il villaggio, l'artigianato, la proprietà imperiale / the village, the industries, the imperial property, a cura di / edited by Alastair M. Small, Bari, Edipuglia, 2011. For its countryside, see contributions in 'Beyond Vagnari, New Themes in the Study of Roman, South Italy, edited by Alastair M. Small, Bari, Edipuglia, 2014.

is dedicated to the Roman Imperial period from the Principate down to the Tetrarchy (293 AD) with a central role for the landowning classes.

In line with earlier chapters, the chapter on the Roman Imperial period starts with the various find classes, of which the various *terra sigillata* productions, amphorae and tile stamps function as important dating tools. This is followed by the historical geographical context of the Augustan restructuring of Italy into 11 regions. The border between the Augustan regions II and III ran through the Fossa Bradanica, likely following the Bradano-Basentello river and thus dividing the authors' survey area. However, before the discussion of the study area of the Older Surveys and the authors' survey area, a general picture is provided of the developments of the major cities in Apulia and Lucania. Map IX-1 shows the uneven distribution of the *municipia* and *coloniae* to the northeast and southwest of the authors' study area, the latter being void of any such large settlements. It also shows the locations of the impressive number of 31 excavated villas. In contrast, 'the central and southern part of the Fossa Bradanica and the hills and valleys of Eastern Lucania remained essentially ruralized, with a scattered population living in villas, *vici* and smaller farms and hamlets'. Landownership over large parts of Apulia and Lucania was in the hands of members of senatorial and equestrian families as well as local aristocrats, a topic that is well-studied and summarized by the authors on pp. 197-198, while site classes are discussed on the pages thereafter, including excavated examples. This provides a good overview of the Roman Imperial rural landscape in the first three centuries CE (map IX-1). Map IX-2 shows the situation in the Fossa Bradanica, which includes data from several surveys on villas and *vici* (variously defined in surveys in the area) showing a dense concentration of these site types in the intensively surveyed ager of Venusia and other well-investigated areas. The less dense distributions in the Older Surveys and the authors' surveys however do point to more extensive land use there (Maps IX.6 and 7) for respectively the Early and Middle Empire in the authors' survey area through which a drove road ran from East to West. In the absence of a *municipium* or *colonia*, the estate-centre of Vagnari undoubtedly served as the economic centre for the surrounding area (p. 222) and its main activity must have been linked to sheep raising apart from an agricultural and artisanal vocation (tile production). Its total area is estimated at 4800 km<sup>2</sup> of which just 500 ha would have been put to agricultural use, the rest serving as rough pasture. Within this area there would have been one additional villa at San Felice and a *vicus* plus a number of small sites. Maps IX.6

and 7 indicate the massive extent of the imperial estate. Apart from Vagnari, the authors' survey area yielded evidence for the existence of a number of additional smaller estates. The authors conclude this chapter by stating that in general the survey results in the wider region 'show that it is rather pointless to make broad generalizations about the state of agriculture and of the rural population in Italy under the Roman empire, given the degree to which the pattern of settlement and land use varied from one subregion to another.' (p. 228). This brings us to chapter X: The Late Empire between 284 and 476 CE (deposition of Romulus Augustulus).

Diagnostic pottery for this period to date site occupancy is limited to African red slip and amphorae, cooking wares not yielding reliable dates and glass vessels, coins and lamps being almost absent from the survey sites. In line with other chapters, first the general historical background of South Italy in the Later Roman Empire is discussed, emphasizing the turbulent situation after the death of Theodosius (395 AD), when Goths, Huns, and Vandals upset the initial relatively stable situation under Diocletian (emperor 284-305) and Constantine (emperor 306-337). The period saw the introduction of Diocletian's administrative reforms continued under Constantine, geared at taxes in kind and services. In Apulia tax in kind concerned probably foremost grain and wool and as such impacted the diversity of the rural economy. *Vici* (small villages with market and administrative functions) as the central nodes in the *pagi* (administrative rural regions) and the road system for transport were central to the functioning of the taxation regime. Vagnari, in the authors' survey area and already introduced above, became such a *vicus* as the excavation results seem to indicate. The challenge of classification of an artefact scatter as a *vicus* is discussed on p. 242. The details of the taxation context sketched by the authors and the terrestrial and maritime infrastructure that made this possible (p. 231-236), are useful for the interpretation of the settlement and land use changes in the Fossa Bradanica and the authors' study area (pp. 253-256). Before this topic is tackled, social and economic aspects of the Late Imperial cities, the landowning classes, distribution of villas, *vici*, *casae* (isolated peasant dwellings) and imperial estates are dealt with. The rise of luxurious Late Imperial residences as a new type of villa is discussed on p. 241 alongside the continuation of traditional villae geared at agriculture. Map X-1 gives an overview of the higher level settlement pattern in the Fossa Bradanica and adjacent regions. Based on the overview, the authors conclude that the rural economy 'highlights two rather different tendencies, which can be related

to the differing needs of the state. On the one hand the new tax regime required some drastic changes in the agricultural and stock-raising practices to meet the demands of the levies in commodities, especially pork and grain; and on the other hand the *res privata* continued to require wool produced by transhumant sheep grazing on the imperial saltus.' At Vagnari, in the authors' survey area, the former change prevailed (p.249). New excavations by Maureen Carroll are showing now the profound changes Vagnari underwent in this period and reveal several functions akin to a *vicus* (a smithy, where tools could be mended or acquired, possibly also a market place, a kiln for the manufacturing of tiles). In the Older Surveys and the authors' survey, site numbers continue to decline but, as mentioned above, the trend is likely to be biased by the low dating resolution of the pottery. The small sites that characterize the settlement pattern are thought to have belonged to poor peasants who rented their small holdings from the imperial estate. The presence of imported amphorae and African red slip ware at the more prominent sites indicates that the area was still fully partaking in the Mediterranean trading network, with Vagnari on the Via Appia gaining in importance.

Penultimate Chapter XI is on Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages to the mid-7th century, as such covering the period 476 – 663 AD, i.e. the early Byzantine period in local terminology, which followed on the end of the Roman empire in the West and the beginning of Lombard dominance in the south. The chapter once again starts with pottery and other artefacts considered diagnostic for the period, such as late African red slip and Late Roman Painted Ware, but also Plain wares, cookpots, amphorae, glass and 'combed' tiles are potential dating tools for this period. Map XI- I shows the places in the Fossa Bradanica and adjacent regions mentioned in the text. It is a much altered map with less major sites with respect to the previous period. The general socio-economic trend is decline of the cities with new urban development centred foremost on church building. Ports like Taranto and possibly Bari and settlements on major roads, like Venosa and Canosa, upheld connectivity. A remarkable phenomenon is the continued investment of the elite in so-called *massae fundorum*, big estates with central to it a luxurious villa. The excavated villa at Giovanni di Ruoti (on which the first author has widely published) serves as an example (p.264). Even the Greco-Gothic war (started 536 AD) and Lombard invasion (568 AD) did not totally wipe away the Roman landowning class (p. 269), even if the overall adverse consequences for the socio-economic situation in Apulia (and elsewhere in South Italy)

certainly caused an overall drop in the standard of living and a general demographic decline. The lack of central authority, warfare, famine, and possibly climatic change, may have combined to cause the partial abandonment of cities and countryside in this period. Nonetheless the authors' inventory of sites (Map XI-2 of early Medieval I sites) still shows a good many settlements in the Fossa Bradanica and adjacent regions, often dated based on Lombard-type burials and /or presence of so-called combed tiles (p.275-277). The distribution of sites for this period 'contradicts both the theory that the interior of central Apulia had been largely abandoned for settlement, and the idea that the transition from villa- to village-type settlement which took place in Tuscany in the Early Middle Ages provides a model which can be applied to the whole of Italy' (p.277). Pages 277 -282 discuss roads, commerce and the circulation of goods in the Fossa Bradanica and adjacent areas with Map XI-3 showing the distribution of Late Roman Painted Ware found on 52 sites and present in the authors' survey in quite some numbers as well. The ware dates between 460 CE, then continuing into the 7th c. CE (see catalogue of artefacts 16 on LRPW) and is an important indicator for continued trade. The discussion of the authors' survey area is structured by a table showing diagnostic dated materials for the entire period (late Antiquity and early Medieval I). This table and the associated maps testify to a continued pattern of small rural sites during late Antiquity and a continuation thereof, be it in a more modest form, till the end of the 7th c. CE, after which sites can hardly be identified in the survey record.

The final chapter XII is dedicated to the Middle Ages, covering the long period from the late 7th to the 15th century and falls into three phases, respectively that of Lombard supremacy and Byzantine reconquest; Byzantine rule and Norman conquest; and Norman, Hohenstauffen and Angevin rule (helpful timeline table on p.297). Diagnostic artefact classes for all of these periods are few and their description fits on a single page. Next the turbulent historical background is briefly sketched for the 7th to 9th centuries CE under the title 'Shifting powers: Lombards, Byzantines and Franks'. The fate of the Apulian cities in this period is hard to gauge as written and archaeological evidence is scarce. Cities like Taranto and Bari continued and others developed, such as Matera in the 8th c. CE and Gravina likely in the early 9th c. CE. Evidence for rural settlement, both villae and isolated farms or *casae* is thin. The main settlement type in this period became the village, often on a hilltop, and built of wood (p.295). Monastic charters provide some information on large landowners (mostly

abbeys) and on how the land and the peasantry were managed. Two interesting forms are mentioned, the *gualdum* and the *gaio*. The former being 'a large uncultivated area conceded by the duke with the intention that the recipient should bring it into cultivation', the latter was also large but it had uncultivated land 'interspersed with cultivated areas including pasture and vineyards' (p.295). Archaeological evidence is in fact so thin that a massive desertion of the countryside seems likely, at least this was the case in the authors' survey area where most Late Antique and Medieval I sites by now had disappeared. Archaeological evidence for the later 9th to 11th centuries remains scanty in this period of Byzantine recovery of the South, that witnessed renewed fights between Byzantines and Lombards (historical account on pp. 298-300). There are signs however of economic and demographic revival in the literary, and to some degree in the archaeological, record. Some larger cities revived and new ones came into being. This modest revival preshadowed further growth of city and countryside under Norman and Byzantine rule. Gravina (Botromagno) just east of the authors' study area, is mentioned as an example. Climatic change towards warmer and wetter conditions from the mid-10th c. CE onwards may have been conducive to settlement revival, judging from the recovery of human settlement in the authors' study area, but this likely was just one of multiple factors, such as political ones, notably the Byzantine reinstalment (p.300-301). Evidence for rural settlement is scarce for this period and the lower classes will have lived in cave cities (Matera, Gravina) and in hilltop sites, and are not visibly present in the countryside. There is evidence in the wider region in this period for the arrival of *incastellamento*, i.e. the intentional grouping of scattered population in and around fortified (hilltop) settlements controlled by the elite, and for private churches (Eigenkirchen) and monasteries as focal points. The 11th and 12th centuries CE were marked by Norman presence with new lords and vassals, castle building and a revival of the countryside. In the authors' survey area the site of San Felice, that remained active in the foregoing period revived. Map XII-2 gives a useful overview of castles, *domus* and *comuni* showing how once again a substantial number of sites appeared in the Fossa Bradanica and adjacent regions in the 13th c. CE, with especially the number of *comuni* as an indication for significant population growth. The latter may have been due to improved climatic conditions, farming techniques and the decline in violence and disease, all lowering the risk of famines. The phenomenon of *comuni* on hilltop sites is particularly evident in the authors' study area both in the Older Surveys

and the authors' own survey area (as at San Felice). The chapter ends with the Later Middle Ages, when under the Angevins again a period of population decline set in. A mix of causes may have been at the root of this; climatic deterioration starting in the 14th c. CE linked to the phenomenon of the Little Ice Age, with prolonged periods of unpredictable rain events; the conversion from much arable land to (rough) pasture for sheep rearing, not unlike what happened in the Late Hellenistic period; war, excessive taxation and disease (the 1348 CE outbreak of the Black Death); and likely an increase in malaria in the coastal zone. However, at Gravina, grain cultivation continued alongside stock-raising with limited oleo- and viticulture, two types of cultivation that never were prominent. In the authors' study area the evidence for settlement and land use is near to absent. The period is attested at the site of San Felice but terminates at the transition of the 14th to the 15th centuries CE. Wool production linked to transhumance practices thrived under Aragon rule through the *Dogana della mena delle pecore* (a tax-institution of the Kingdom of Naples established around the mid-15th c. CE) and impacted the rural landscape at large. The chapter ends with an overview of the rural economy of the Fossa Bradanica in this period.

Chapter XII is somewhat abruptly followed by the detailed catalogues pertaining to the authors' surveys and the Older Surveys (pp. 321-788). These comprise a) a List of Sites of the authors' survey area with descriptions of site location and materials found, artefact distribution maps and detailed artefact catalogues including Plates of photographed artefacts; and b) a List of Sites found in the Older Surveys with an evaluation of the survey methods by which they were found complete with tables with drawn artefacts. Then an extensive Bibliography (pp. 789-834) and an Appendix (in Italian) on the amphorae of the Basentello valley, the aim of which is the reconstruction of trade and consumption of foodstuffs (pp. 835- 884) by Giacomo Disantarosa.

In conclusion, Alastair Small and Carola Small have delivered a most valuable study on Southeast Italy, combining legacy data of the Older Surveys with the authors' own surveys and have succeeded in furnishing a detailed window on the long term settlement and land use patterns of a substantial area within the Fossa Bradanica in Central Apulia. The resulting data have skillfully been interpreted against the background of the long term settlement dynamics in the Fossa Bradanica in its entirety, including adjacent regions and in the context of the complex historical events taking place in Apulia and Basilicata. The survey data presented, and especially



the information on the ceramic record is a most welcome and impressive addition to the corpus of published surveys in the region, such as the work done by Yntema and Burgers on the Salento Isthmus in the heel of Italy, and that by Carter and his team in the Metapontino to the south, Italian surveys by Goffredo in the valle dell'Ofanto and those by Marchi and Sabbatini in the ager of Venusia and others, all of which are referred to in the volume, providing a comparative perspective that can now be elaborated further. A missed chance, in the reviewer's opinion is the lack of a concluding chapter in which the authors could have reflected on a higher level into the interplay between environment and settlement and land use dynamics in this part of Southeast Italy in the *longue durée*, the (recurring) socio-economic changes on the level of the *moyenne durée* and the role of 'histoire événementielle'. The data collected on different spatial and chronological scales from the Neolithic to the Late Medieval period and the detailed historical background from the Classical period onwards could have been conducive to such a Braudelian framework of interpretation. Parallels between periods, such as between the late Hellenistic and the Late Medieval period (see above) are extremely interesting from the perspective of understanding patterns of settlement and socio-economic change and their context and causes and many more of such parallels could possibly be made. This does not distract from the fact that this monumental work is a great achievement and a milestone in the archaeology of South Italy.

PETER ATTEMA  
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, GRONINGEN  
 UNIVERSITY  
 P.A.J.Attéma@rug.nl