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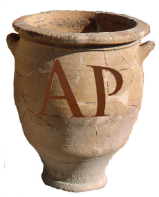

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Archaic to Classical

Myrina Kalaitzi. *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia, Fifth–First Century BC.* pp. xxx+288, ills, maps, many b+w and colour pls. 2016. Oxford: Oxford University Press, in collaboration with the Institute of Historical Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation. ISBN 978–0–19–874645–4 hardback £120.

Myrina Kalaitzi dedicates this important new study of ancient Macedonian tombstones of the fifth through first centuries BC not to any named individual but to 'the courageous reader.' Most readers will not need courage to understand its familiar structure: a catalogue of surviving tombstones preceded by a chronological survey discussing major trends in the corpus. As Kalaitzi outlines in her Introduction, it is a structure determined less by a conceptual or theoretical model than by scholarly precedent – a structure that has been developed and deployed by scholars of ancient material culture on numerous occasions in order, ostensibly, to describe rather than interpret. The framework presumes that, when the corpus is addressed in comparative terms, visual patterns will emerge, ones that might tell us about cultural values shared between the people who produced or commissioned the individual monuments.

For a study of this kind, Kalaitzi's book is exemplary, offering a meticulously detailed presentation of 216 tombstones that have survived from ancient Macedonia. Some of these, like the magnificent fifth-century stele from Pydna (no. 24) showing a mother sorrowing over the limp body of her child, or the stele from Dikaia of a girl holding a dove (no. 157), are already well known in their own right. They are here contextualized with many others that have received only minimal scholarly attention, including some that will not be familiar even to specialists. Kalaitzi has expended a tremendous amount of effort to study first-hand as many monuments as possible, while at the same time informing her readers of new discoveries or monuments that have not yet been fully published.

The result is a wealth of information and observations, including new studies of important groups of tombstones such as those from the 'Great Tumulus' at Aigai and those from Hellenistic Beroia. In both the main text and the catalogue, descriptions are precise and clear, citations are thorough and up-to-date (through 2012, when the manuscript

was submitted), and indexes and concordances are detailed and easy to use. Discussions of relevant inscriptions and an appendix on Macedonian cemeteries usefully complement the focus on sculpted images. Kalaitzi wades into scholarly debates in a circumspect and even-handed fashion, using her first-hand observations to inform her opinions or generate new interpretations. Readers wishing to judge for themselves can turn to the excellent photographs, beautifully printed in large scale and, in the case of painted stelai, in colour.

The book's dedication is only the first indication of Kalaitzi's self-reflexive approach to her objects, one that acknowledges the interpretive dimensions of even the most empirically-grounded catalogue. In the Introduction, she outlines the deliberations and decisions that have generated the terms for her study, and acknowledges their shortcomings or inherited nature with refreshing openness. Thus, the broad chronological scope, spanning five centuries, does not correspond to a discrete period of sculptural production or Macedonian history, and although the chapters are organized by century, the divisions between them are generally without historical significance. Likewise, 'Macedonian' here does not denote a style, a center of production, or even a coherent cultural context, but rather a geographical unit – one that is determined by modern constraints, such as the boundaries of Greece today, as much as by ancient historical conditions. Equally dependent on a modern definition is what constitutes a 'figured tombstone.' While Kalaitzi discusses early anthropomorphic monuments and the remarkable free-standing Archaic funerary sculptures from Aiane in the first chapter, these are not included in the catalogue itself, which confines itself to stelai either carved in relief or painted. Likewise, ancient visibility is secondary to modern: stelai found intentionally buried in tombs are included in the catalogue, but not those whose imagery no longer survives in a clearly legible state, even when they have appeared in other studies from which Kalaitzi derives her catalogue.

Kalaitzi openly discusses, moreover, the difficulty the modern scholar faces in giving equal attention to objects from a single geographical region that have been excavated under different circumstances and that are now dispersed in a number of different museums and storerooms. The survival and excavation of Macedonian tombstones has been much more happenstance and piecemeal than is the case with their counterparts in Attica and elsewhere in the Greek world, and most have only come to light in recent decades. Despite Kalaitzi's formidable efforts to be as thorough as possible, differences in presentation are inevitable depending on the level of access she was granted. Some monuments, for instance, are only illustrated in drawings, while others, such as the stele of Agenor (no. 165), one of the most remarkable Greek tombstones of the fifth century, are not shown at all.

Such unavoidable contingencies reveal that the traditional structure of such a book, with its chronological surveys and catalogue, can never fully tame the erratic and fragmentary nature of the corpus. By openly acknowledging the degree to which modern constraints shape the taxonomies of her study, Kalaitzi exposes the distance between our positivist desires for a coherent narrative and the realities of our evidence. It is into this rift that the 'courageous reader' must descend.

In this sense, Kalaitzi is the first reader of her own text. In the Introduction, she outlines how her study is motivated by questions concerning the expression of cultural identity in ancient Macedonia and the ways in which ancient individuals represented themselves as Greek or non-Greek.[1] In extracting cultural history from figurative sculpture, questions of style and iconography loom large. Beginning with the Classical monuments, specific visual devices or carving techniques, such as the treatment of drapery folds, are used to trace the influence or even the hands of foreign sculptors, especially those from Attica. Iconographic motifs, such as particular gestures (the so-called 'gesture of the horns') or garments (the Macedonian kausia), are identified and analyzed with an eye to evaluating the degree to which they record local cultural practices. Other characteristic features of Macedonian tombstone iconography, such as the prevalence of men at arms, emerge when the Macedonian corpus is compared with monuments from elsewhere in the Greek world with which they share stylistic affinities.

The insights generated by stylistic and iconographical analysis of this kind can help us better understand the relationship between sculptural practice and lived reality, and so can generate more precise and accurate readings of what these monuments depict or the values they express. But a focus on mining sculpture for cultural information comes at the cost of understanding tombstones in the context for which they were created – as monuments erected to commemorate a particular death and a particular experience of bereavement. Comparisons to Attic or Ionian monuments were surely not on the minds of

[1] Kalaitzi follows Bergemann 1997 and others who have adopted similar approaches to Attic funerary monuments. Approaches that locate the imagery of tombstones in the funerary realm are generally not cited or, in the case of Himmelmann 1999, explicitly rejected.

most individuals who viewed or even commissioned these monuments. (The single signature in the corpus, on no. 142, identifies the sculptor as Beroian and so proudly associates him with a local sculptural tradition). Instead, as suggested by epigrams carved into several monuments (see, for instance, no. 10, 42, 53, 84, 88, 186, and 209), bereaved families were more likely searching for the most effective means to make visible and permanent the memory of the deceased. In some cases, the evidentiary status of tombstones with regards to Macedonian social realities can overshadow more salient aspects of their funerary function.

I take as one example the unusual Hellenistic stele of Hadea from Beroia (no. 84, discussed on pp. 64–66 and 205–206). Kalaitzi identifies the deceased as a priestess primarily because a wreath is depicted in the upper right corner of the figure field. As a result, much of her discussion – one of the more substantial in the book devoted to a single stele – is focused on Hadea's public role and determining the local cult where she served. Yet the wreath is only one of a number of objects depicted in the field, including a mirror, a hat, a fan, and a small chest. Rather than encode the fact that she was a priestess, these objects might simply allude to the kinds of funerary gifts that could have been buried with a young woman or left at her tomb – an interpretation bolstered by the fact that they are here depicted floating in the figure field as if affixed to the surface of the stele itself. (The identification of the objects in Hadea's hands is the subject of some debate; Kalaitzi describes them as a sceptre and an object with a handle and pointed 'prongs').

Yet even if Hadea was in fact a priestess, this biographical detail is hardly the stele's focus. The relief depicts several other figures in addition to that of Hadea, including a double depiction of the god Hermes in an anthropomorphic guise and as a herm statue, both standing on a base inscribed with a dedication to Hermes Chthonios. While this doubling is difficult to interpret iconographically, it suggests the ways in which a single entity can exist both in flesh and in stone, and so offers a way to theorize the relationship between the corpse beneath us and the monument before us. This relationship is explicitly articulated in the four-line epigram inscribed below the carved figures which commands the reader to 'Observe Hadea's tomb, which lies beneath me,' and goes on to describe how Hadea was snatched by Hades while suffering from an illness, leaving permanent grief to her parents. Rather than characterize Hadea biographically, the inscription speaks in the first person to establish the monument as its own social agent, one that is distinct from the tomb below, and so one that helps negotiate the gap between figure and monument that is made visible through Hermes. Like the other objects shown in the figure field, the wreath, if understood as a funerary gift, might do nothing more than emphasize the monument's status as a monument – a material presence that does not provide direct access to Hadea herself, but Hadea as she was remembered and grieved for by her parents.

In highlighting the memorial function of Hadea's stele rather than its ability to establish her public persona, I aim merely to emphasize that there is no 'objective' way to present such tombstones. As I hope I have shown, this point is entirely consistent with Kalaitzi's own methodological self-consciousness and her willingness to approach her material in variegated ways. Rather than lay claim to the final word on Macedonian tombstones, Kalaitzi has masterfully provided us with everything but the courage necessary to study them ourselves, with fresh questions and interpretations of our own.

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Bergemann, J. 1997. Demos und Thanatos. Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten. Munich: Biering and Brinkmann.

Himmelmann, N. 1999. Attische Grabreliefs. (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften Vorträge G 357). Wiesbaden: Opladen.

Mary Emerson. *Greek Sanctuaries and Temple Architecture. An Introduction*, 2nd edition. pp. xx + 270, 2 maps, 85 b/w illustrations. 2018. London: Bloomsbury Academic. ISBN 978–1–4725–7528–9 paperback £17.09.

In her preface the author explains what is new in this second edition: chapters on Paestum and the temple of Zeus at Akragas, commentary on architectural sculpture, and an expanded bibliography. The book is avowedly introductory, the emphasis is on buildings, and a glossary explains the technical terms used in the text, which the reader had best get used to since – as Emerson says – they litter the further reading. Other than the new sites (above),