

reaching overview he strongly supports the view, that the numerous isolated towers in their vast majority were part of farmsteads serving first and foremost the protection of their owners, while their representative and prestigious aspects should not be omitted in silence. This view, first expressed clearly by J. Young in the 1950s, had largely been accepted by German scholarship long before it became the *communis opinio*.

In the last chapter 12 (pp. 231–248) ‘Regional begrenzte Phänomene’ (regionally limited phenomena) S. Müth und U. Ruppe introduce a topic, which, according to them, has so far never been touched upon before. As an (unfortunately unsuitable) example they point to the large number of farmsteads with towers on the Aegean islands (p. 233). But the farmstead with tower (the German ‘Turmgehöft’) is an ubiquitous phenomenon, although in the past many of them have been misinterpreted as state-run posts of control or signal towers. At the most it might be pointed out, that their density is higher on the islands than elsewhere. The places of refuge in Northern Macedonia (p. 233–234) are, on the contrary, indeed a regionally limited phenomenon as are their analogies in Caria, which are not considered here. But city walls with indented profiles are again less apt to display regional specialities. The Dema wall, mentioned in this context, does not date to the third quarter of the 4th century BC, but 403/2 BC. The so-called ‘Turmtore’ (towers with a gate) are claimed by the authors as another regional type of a fortified component, which they hold to be limited to Pamphylia and southern Pisidia. Doubts should be allowed. More convincing is the evaluation of architectonical details or certain building or construction techniques as regional phenomena like the corbels under the door lintels of Boeotian fortresses, the ‘Leitermauerwerk’ (ladder-like walls) at Stageira or the typical Lycian margin (‘Randschlag’) on fortifications in Lycia.

Finally the authors substantiate and exemplify their firmly formalized description of ancient fortifications in a voluminous catalogue (pp. 249–386) of selected regions, fortifications, building elements and details. One might find this helpful or doctrinaire: it is evidently in line with the current trend to split down everything into tiny little bits and pieces of information. Only the future will show, if this way of documentation and description will become the new standard.

On the whole the present volume is well worth reading and offers an excellent introduction into the field of ancient fortifications and into the possibilities and methods of investigating them. For everybody new

in the field the book marks the state of the art, when dealing with problems of fortifications and defence – last but not least thanks to its lavish bibliography. Those scholars, already acquainted with the topic, may gain rich advice and new insights for the study and interpretation of ancient fortifications from the throughout profound and learned contributions and their multiple perspectives. Many of the questions and problems related to ancient fortifications and urbanism have already been treated in the extant literature. What distinguishes the present volume is the highly successful attempt, to concentrate a large variety of different starting points and to arrange them systematically in well-matching contributions. To sum up: This volume may not be missed in any archaeological library.

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Rune Frederiksen, Silke Müth, Peter I. Schneider and Mike Schnelle (eds) *Focus on Fortifications. New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 18). 2016. Oxford: Oxbow Books. ISBN 978-1-78570-131-3 hardback \$110.

The present volume – the 2nd of the series ‘Focus on Fortifications’ –, comprises the papers given at an international conference organised by the Danish Institute and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens in the new Acropolis-Museum in December 2012. The total of 57 papers in German, English and French delivered by 73 authors, some of which participated in more than one contribution, spans a wide arc, reaching from the ancient civilizations of the Near and Middle East to the Early Byzantine era and geographically from Syria in the East to Spain in the West and from Gallia in the North to Yemen in the South. The contributions are not arranged in chronological order, but according to seven subjects: ‘Origins of Fortifications’ (9 papers), ‘Physical Surroundings and Technique: The Building Experience’ (5 papers), ‘Functions and Semantics’ (11 papers), ‘Historical Context’ (8 papers), ‘The Fortification of Regions’ (9 papers), ‘Regionally Confined Phenomena’ (9 papers), and ‘The Fortifications of Athens and New Field Research’ (7 papers). With a total of 732 pages the present volume is among the most comprehensive, but also

the most bulky publications on the topic ever. An aid to orientation is provided by the 'Introduction' of Frederiksen, Müth, Schneider & Schnelle (pp. 1-7). Since a detailed discussion of all 57 contributions is clearly beyond the limits of this review, here the attempt will be made to provide a rough overview of the wide scope of topics and methods in a very condensed form. The selection made is haphazard and not judgmental.

In his concise overview on the history of research Leriche (pp. 9-20) calls for a revision of former conceptions and interpretations *a profundis*. In their introduction to chapter 1, 'Origins of Fortifications', R. Frederiksen and M. Schnelle (pp. 21-22) underline, that 'Fortification has been part of urban life from the time of the first settlements of the Neolithic revolution'. A contribution by an anthropologist on human territorial behaviour might have enlightened us on the reasons. The papers in this section make it clear that important defensive achievements had already been made in the ancient Near and Middle East, earlier than formerly thought. With his contribution on 'Fortifications of Prehistoric Crete' Alusik (p. 53-65) complements his important monograph of 2007 on this topic.¹ With regard to the several hundred 'guard houses' the critical handling of traditional theories Leriche has asked for is so far only token. The spatial coherence between dynastic tombs and gates of Middle to Late Helladic fortifications observed by Hubert (pp. 66-81) might turn out as highly significant in future field work. Cifani (S. 82-93) summarises the discourse on the Archaic fortifications of Rome sometimes not regarding the warning of Leriche (pp. 9-20) not to combine literary texts and archaeological findings too deliberately.

Vergnaud (p. 94-108) demonstrates Hittite-Anatolian building traditions in (early-) Iron age fortifications of Central Anatolia (the captions of fig. 8 and fig. 9 are interchanged). It seems obvious that the (superior) Anatolian architectural tradition may also have influenced builders of Greek fortifications. The intensification of defensive activities during the 7th and 6th century BC 'should be considered in the tumultuous military contexts of Iron Age Anatolia, marked by the rise and fall of the Phrygian and Lydian kingdoms and the rising threat represented by the Persians' (p. 104). The paper of Schnelle (pp. 109-122) shows, that already in the Early Bronze Age a highly advanced architecture of fortifications existed in Southern Arabia.

Section 2, 'Physical Surroundings and Techniques', bears on the second meeting of the network Focus

on Fortifications in 2009. The papers of this section intend 'to identify which elements of a fortification were generated by practical necessities ... and which characteristics were optional' (de Staebler p. 124). Since this question eludes to some extent from objective assessment, it has to be feared, that this approach might remain somewhat hypothetical. This applies especially with regard to any attempt to calculate the costs of a fortification and to relate them to the economic strength of a settlement. Therefore, such attempts are extremely rare, as Bessac (pp. 129-141) underlines in his paper. The same holds true for the different techniques of stone working, the assessment of which needs special competences which are only acquired by practical experience and, therefore, difficult to be found among academics. Helms & Meyer (pp. 142-158) analyse the complex findings of the fortification works made exclusively from mudbricks, thereby taking the Early Bronze Age settlement of Tell Chuera (Northern Syria) as an example and starting point. In the case of Larisa on Hermos, Saner, Sağ und Denktaş (pp. 159-170 with their critical revision of former interpretations and datings, follow the methodological approach of the paper by Leriche (see above pp. 9-20), who had called for such a revision. The fortified settlement of the indigenous Lucanians on Mt. Croccia (1200 masl), where recently a solar observatory of the Late Bronze Age has been claimed, has unfortunately not been integrated into the overall context of other similar settlements (pp. 171-182).

In her introduction to section 3, 'Functions and Semantics', Müth (pp. 183-192) takes up the discourse referring to this in vol. 1 of FoFo and substantiates the 'symbolic meaning' of fortifications or parts of them with many examples. Using the Euryalos Fort at Syracuse as an example, Beste (pp. 193-206) demonstrates, how fast its builders reacted to the rapid development of the artillery. Abdul Massich & Gelin (pp. 207-219) report on their research on the city walls of Kyrrhos (North Syria), which have been built during the Hellenistic period and later on renewed in the Byzantine era. W. Martini (pp. 220-231) proposes convincingly to date the city walls of Perge in the time of emperor Augustus. Likewise U. Lohner-Urban & P. Scherrer (pp. 232-243) disavow with regard to the Eastern gate of Side, that 'Prunktore' (exclusively representative gates without any defensive value) existed already in the Hellenistic period. The strong fortification of many sanctuaries during the Eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is convincingly explained by Freyberger (pp. 244-262) by the need for protection of their treasures. Radt (pp. 263-276) treats here once again the late Hellenistic

¹ Alusik 2007

stronghold on Mt. Karasis, which was only discovered in 1996, and interprets it as fortified palace. Among other sites, he compares Teke Kale in Caria, already known in the 19th century, but since then regrettably neglected. Only recently it suffered from the erection of a fire warning station next to it. Radt's interpretation of Teke Kale as a kind of fortified palace should be substantiated in more detail. Where are the residential quarters? A peristyle as only element of prestigious architecture seems somewhat meagre. In her contribution on the semantics of the arch as an architectural element, Böttcher-Ebers (pp. 277-187) discusses when arches used for city gates obtained a semantic function. According to her, the arch did not become a decorative architectural element of the facade before the Late Roman Republic. The paper of Stevens (pp. 288-299) focuses likewise on the symbolic functions of Roman city walls and on how they organized the social, legal and religious space within them. Taking as examples eight 'secondary settlements', which she defines as subordinate to the *civitas*' urban centre (p. 301 n. 6), along the road from Lyon to Langres, M. Jonasch (pp. 300-313) investigates the consequences of the crisis of the 3rd century for the development of the rural space, where during the end of the 3rd and the end of the 4th century AD many new settlements arose, which evidently met different needs and functions. Von Bülow (pp. 314-324) argues that the two sets of fortifications, the inner and the outer one, of the Late Roman imperial palace of Romuliana (Ganzigrad, East-Servia) served different functions: while the older pre-Galienian circuit reflects the original military purpose of the site, the later fortification offers a representative aspect since it is lacking barracks or other military structures. However, here von Bülow seems to overrate the concept of 'symbolic' functions.

Section 4, 'Historical Context', comprises eight papers. A methodologically oriented introduction by Laufer (pp. 325-331) is followed by a short examination by Ducrey (pp. 332-336) of the thesis of P. Pascal concerning the fate of the inhabitants of a defeated Greek town, which Ducrey confronts with the extreme cruelty that Egyptian and Mesopotamian rulers enacted on their victims. The topic merits a broader discussion especially with respect to warfare in modern times. In his lavishly illustrated paper Kerschner (pp. 337-350) gives a detailed account of the most recent discoveries concerning the historical topography of Ephesus and its fortifications in the Archaic and Classical period. Other contributions to this section are touching upon the Early Republican expansion of Rome (De Haas & Attema pp. 351-362) and Italic city walls of the Middle Republican era (C. Winkle pp. 363-372) in the light of Livy's account. Pimouguet-

Pedarros treats fortifications in the *chora* of Myra (pp. 373-383) thereby rejecting the well-founded explanations of Koneczny² (and many others) and – like in her dissertation³ – following obviously outdated ideas about the function of isolated towers in the countryside as building networks of signalling and defence. Against the evidence, which consists of oil-presses and threshing floors, she emphasizes that the towers 'bénéficient d'une large vue sur la mer'.

These questions lead directly to section 5, 'Fortifications of Regions', which starts again with a methodological introduction by Fachard (pp. 413-416), who shortly resumes and broadens his considerations on this topic in vol. 1 of FoFo. Balandier (pp. 417-434) offers a portmanteau overview, mainly methodologically driven, of the fortifications in no less than five different regions: Cyprus, Palestine, the Argolid, Boeotia and Thessaly. For the last three of these she is relying on three unpublished master theses of her own students. Despite the well-founded warnings of Fachard, also Balandier offers ready-made concepts of 'fortification networks' which, somewhat surprisingly, left no traces in the written sources. Guintraud (pp. 435-445) treats fortifications in Laconia and Messenia in Classical times, which are evolving since the 2nd half of the 5th century BC, but are largely unexplored. Evidently, Laconia disposed of many more fortifications and fortified settlements than could be expected from the scarce literary sources. In the mountainous Molossia in Epirus, isolated towers are seemingly extremely rare. Three known examples are treated by Nakas (pp. 446-455), who holds, that although they are evidently not part of a signalling network, a military function cannot be excluded. Isolated towers and fortified farmsteads of the Hellenistic period in Southern Spain are explained by Moret (pp. 456-467) as response to the insecure situation during this period. The case of the 'maisons fortes' of La Serena in Estremadura is discussed within the framework of the growing mining activities of the region. The findings remind us strongly of the situation in the mining district of Laurion, where towers of evidently varying functions are also frequent. With her moncausal interpretation of fortifications in the Black Sea region being part of a 'Mithradatic defence system' Sökmen (pp. 469-476) risks to step into the same trap as McCredie in the 1960s, when he explained fortifications of various periods in Attica as belonging consistently to the Chremonidean War. Underwood (pp. 477-491) investigates the Late Roman fortifications of Narbonne, Carcassonne

² Koneczny 1994; Koneczny 1997.

³ Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000.

and Toulouse which are 'indicative for the complex reality and changing priorities of the period'. Višnić (pp. 492-505) demonstrates in his paper on the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, a Late Antique defensive system in present day Croatia and Slovenia, which was created from the mid-3rd century AD onwards and abandoned in the early 5th, the positive effect it had on the urban development of Tarsatica (todays Trsat in Rijeka) and that it never served the purpose it was created for. Milinković (pp. 506-515) interprets the numerous early Byzantine 'fortifications' in Illyricum as fortified villages, thus forming the base of the settlement hierarchy and the dominant feature of the settlement structure of the region in the 6th century AD.

Section 6 concerns 'Regionally Confined Phenomena'. Starting from the observation that there are seemingly not many regionally confined phenomena of fortifications, Müth (p. 517-516) outlines the problems of the search for such and puts the question if 'thus the theory of a rapid spread of fortification knowledge also into remote areas' is confirmed. Huguenot, and Kermas (pp. 519-534) offer a case study of the Celtic iron age oppida of Drôme in Southern France, which does not end up in a definition of their regional peculiarities, but tries to assign certain territories to certain Celtic groups. Ouellet (pp. 535-546) argues that the so-called Ladder-pattern masonry (better known as interstice masonry) is restricted to Attica and the Cyclades, while a combined use of it together with Lesbian masonry within the same wall is typical for Northern Greece between the rivers Nestos (Metsa) and Axios (Vardar). But he has to admit (p. 545) that the only two known examples are from Thasos and Stageira. Özen-Kleine (pp. 547-559) reports on the recent excavations of the fortifications of Pedasa (Gökçeler), an important Carian settlement on the peninsula of Halicarnassos. With regard to its building technique the fortifications differ largely from the typical Carian ring walls of the 7th to 6th century BC. On the other hand the whole situation reminds strongly of Zindan Kale near Iasos, where an Archaic fortification has been 'modernized' in the Classical era. Pedersen & Ruppe (pp. 560-580) present 'double corner bond' (DCB) as an important regional, but time-limited phenomenon, which may have started from Caria, from where it spread all over Caria and Ionia during the early Hellenistic period. The earliest examples of DCB date to the Hecatommnid era in both Halicarnassos and Labranda of about 370/60 BC and go down to at least 250 BC, if not later. Pedersen holds that the purpose of the second header was to create a good 'rhythm' in the masonry, but its aesthetic quality should not be underrated. As Ruppe points out, DCB is much less significant at Priene than in other places of Western

Asia Minor. The hypothesis, that the Hecatommnid might have to do with the refoundation of Priene seems, therefore, rather unlikely. Helas (pp. 581-594) discusses the regional phenomenon of the large number of city walls made in polygonal masonry in Middle Italy and Latium reaching from the 6th to the 1st century BC. Since this technique makes the stones inept for reuse, polygonal walls have come down to us in large numbers and often in an excellent state of preservation. As already Lugli and others did, she links their far reaching distribution to the Roman expansion from the early Republican era to its end. Relying on most recent excavations Fantuzzi (pp. 595-608) rejects outdated perceptions of the chronology of city walls and fortifications in Sardinia, where so far only the fortification of Othoca can be dated back to the 6th century BC. In many other instances their chronology remains uncertain, due to the lack of proper excavations. She states, that so far a complex Carthaginian fortification system on Sardinia is neither proven nor even likely. In his commendable illustrated paper Eisenberg (pp. 609-622) presents Hippos in the Dodecapolis (todays Qual'at et-Husn on the Golan) as 'a fascinating test case for the alterations in military architecture in the Decapolis region between the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods' (p. 609) by confronting the excavation results with the recommendations of Philon's *Poliorketika*. At its apogee between ca. 100 and 250 AD the Kushan empire comprised a vast territory reaching from today's Tadzhikistan to the Caspian Sea and from Afghanistan to the Indus valley. The paper of Leriche & de Pontbriand (pp. 623-642) is devoted to the peculiarities of its fortifications, which display a surprising homogeneity.

Section 7 'The Fortifications of Athens and New Field Research' comprises 7 papers, only two of which are dedicated to Athens. In general the fortifications of Athens and Attica play only a minor role in the present volume and 'new finds' were not a paramount topic of the networks conferences, as Frederiksen (pp. 643-644) points out in his introduction to this section. Philippa-Touchais (pp. 645-661) gives a concise account of the most recent excavations of the Middle Helladic fortifications on the Aspis at Argos, the outer enceinte of which had been reused in historic times. The reasons for its abandonment in the Early Mycenaean era are presumably not owed to 'deliberate political or symbolic decisions' – whatever this may be – but to the ascent of Mycenae as central power of the whole Argolid, thereby absorbing minor kingdoms. Since 2008, the construction of the new motorway from Korinthos to Patras enforced enormous rescue excavations along its trace. During these Kissas and Tasinos (pp. 662-671) not only discovered parts of

the Western one of the two 'Long Walls', connecting Korinthos in the Classical period with its northern harbour Lechaion, but also larger parts of an early and a late Archaic city wall north of the Classical wall, between the new motorway and the new railroad. The sumptuous construction of these walls underlines once more the wealth and importance of archaic Korinthos. Also at Palaiomanina (Akarnanien) Lambrinoudakis & Kazolias (pp. 672-681) uncovered parts of an older early Archaic fortification. It surrounded an area adjacent to the Classical fortifications of the town. This finding lends further support to the identification of Palaiomanina with ancient Metropolis conquered and burned by Philip V. in 219 BC. New excavations at Eryx (Erice, Sicily) helped to clarify the chronology of the different construction phases of the city walls (De Vincenzo, pp. 682-695). Phase 1 is contemporaneous with the first coinage of Eryx in the early 5th century BC. The 2nd phase dates to the 1st half of the 3rd century BC, while phases 3-5 are medieval. The two final papers in this section are devoted to the Late Antique city walls of Athens. Baldini & Bazzetti (pp. 696-711), who are preparing a larger publication about Late Antique Athens, discuss them within the wider frame of reduced enceintes in Greece and elsewhere as response to the barbarian threat, thereby arguing in favour of a much later date for the so-called post Herulian wall. Contrary to this Tsioniotis (pp. 712-724) insists on the conventional date of the wall 'some decades' after the Herulian attack.

The present volume draws a vivid picture of the enormous diversity of prehistoric and ancient fortifications, the variety of their building techniques, functions and symbolic meanings. In addition to the abundant amount of fortified remains presented, it provides orientation in some aspects, for instance the question of symbolic meaning, but – according to the state of research on the whole – wisely contains itself in others like the questions of typology and development. The present volume offers an impressive amount of new ideas, insights and findings, although it deals only with a small proportion of what has been handed down to us from antiquity. The enormous wealth of our cultural heritage asks for more efforts for its preservation than the civilized states of Europe are willing to spend. Furthermore they are largely lacking the instruments in order to master the rapidly growing flood of information and publications. The database Zenon of the German Archaeological Institute is insufficient as well with respect to its structure as its contents. I wonder, therefore, why the network 'Focus on Fortification' did not take the necessary steps towards a special database of ancient fortifications. Ideal in this regard is the database

of ancient theatres 'www.theatrum.de', which – for short-sighted financial reasons – will not be sustained any more. With regard to the present volume it should be clearly stated, that it marks an important step towards better understanding of and a better research on ancient fortifications. The 57 papers are throughout of best scholarship and this second volume of the series as well as the first may not be missed from any library. The only critique concern the reproductions. Although it is most welcomed that their majority is reproduced in colour, many of them are much too dark. How this can happen in the digital era remains enigmatic.

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Janet Burnett Grossman. *The Athenian Agora Vol. XXXV: Funerary Sculpture*. pp xxxii + 246. 2013. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. ISBN 978-0-87661-235-4 hardback \$150.

The Agora of Athens was never a cemetery. That observation, elementary enough, warns the reader of this corpus not to expect an array of integral and wonderful monuments. Such funerary sculpture as recovered during the Agora excavations (since 1931) is necessarily dislocated – most probably, from the nearby Kerameikos, though of the inscribed families only one gives Kerameis as deme; and usually dismembered, having been used (and often re-used) as landfill or construction material down the ages. The effect of the *ensemble*, numbering 389 catalogue entries, is poignant: so many shattered and battered pieces of tombstones once intended for perpetuity. No curatorial effort can restore their original placement. Yet there is a sort of pious justice in