

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 Palaioanina (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 Palaioanina 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 & Bazzechi (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 Tsoniotis (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.

- Alusik, T. 2007. *Defensive architecture of prehistoric Crete* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 1637). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Konecny, A. 1994. Ein hellenistischer Turm auf dem Keşlik Dağ. *Lykia* 1: 124-129.
- 1997. *Hellenistische Turmgehöfte in Zentral- und Ostlykien*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag
- Pimouguet-Pédarros, I. 2000. *L'archéologie du defense. Histoire des fortifications antiques de Carie* (époques classique et hellénistique). Paris: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises.

HANS LOHMANN
RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM
INSTITUT FÜR ARCHÄOLOGISCHE WISSENSCHAFTEN
hans.lohmann@rub.de

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

Janet Grossman's recommendation that 'the entire group of grave monuments from the Agora and the Kerameikos should be considered together' (p. 67).

The good news is that surprisingly many of the fragments are 'legible'. And because the evidence is in such pieces, it forces a more intense examination. Stelai from the Archaic period were published by Evelyn Harrison,¹ and none have been recovered since then; so here are the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman gravestones. As a detailed descriptive corpus, this is faultlessly done, and with sustained enthusiasm. Accepting the formulaic expectations of the genre, and the 'frequently modest' nature of these pieces as sculptural commissions, our author expresses her respect for 'the virtually infinite variety and creative use of a set of figure types and motifs' (p. 3). Should we be amazed by this quality, given the Athenian ambience? It is a somewhat down-to-earth observation, to suppose that after the completion of the Periklean project there were many accomplished craftsmen with, as it were, time on their hands. Over a hundred sculptors are named in the surviving Erechtheion accounts; the Erechtheion was probably completed by 405 BC – did its workforce then disperse from the city? It seems unlikely. Beyond the late 5th century, high standards of 'Pheidias' production were persistent – even if never quite matched (the Dexileos and Hegeso reliefs, and the stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas, are among well-known funerary pieces content to 'quote' from the Parthenon Frieze). Such craft continuity – apparently dependent upon the same Pentellic source for its material – generates some problems in trying to assign precise dates for the gravestones; Grossman, wisely, does not press too hard for an absolute system.

There was of course variety in size and elaboration. Historical evidence for anti-sumptuary legislation and its supposed relaxation c. 430 BC remains elusive, apart from Cicero's testimony (*Leg.* 2.64–5). The fragments collected here do not alter the consensus regarding a half-century 'suspension' of activity after the Persian occupation (even though the images on lekythoi would suggest that columns were set up during that period). What the evidence attests, however, remains a matter for debate. A catalogue is arguably not the place to rehearse conflicts of interpretation: Grossman's principal concern is to order the material, insofar as its qualitative homogeneity permits (thus in broad chronological order, with subdivisions according to gender, posture, and various decorative elements). Since she provides a prefatory historiographical essay on 'The study of Attic funerary sculpture',

however, readers may feel faintly disappointed that her analysis of the iconography leads in no clear direction. Details are admirably discussed, including nuances of physiognomy such as 'Venus rings' and 'crow's feet' (unfortunately for those scholars scrutinizing the so-called 'Peplos scene' of the Parthenon's East Frieze, 'Venus rings' are here shown to be not an exclusively female feature); foreigners and metics are distinguished from Athenian citizens, and the status-ambiguities of 'attendant' figures are broached with due delicacy. But does all this material from the Agora resolve any of the interpretative dilemmas regarding the Classical 'archaeology of death'?

Grossman mentions, without apparent favour (p. 5), Johannes Bergemann's study,² in which a reading of funerary monuments was proposed that effectively 'deprivatized' them – so the identity of the Athenian *oikos* becomes, in death, subsumed by collective civic values (*Wertsystem der Polis*). Absent from her otherwise comprehensive bibliography is Nikolaus Himmelmann's spirited rejoinder to Bergemann's theory.³ Himmelmann's analysis of 'a silent dialogue' between the imagery of separation and the imagery of 'bondedness' will obviously apply more readily to entire gravestones, such as the monument of Ktesilaos and Theano in the Athens National Archaeological Museum. But even with the fragments – and notably upon a number of marble lekythoi – we experience a viewer's sense of intruding, as it were, upon a private moment.

These are, after all, monuments to the memory of individuals, and postprocessual archaeology demands 'focus on the individual as an active social agent'. The next question is how far can the symbolism of the tombstones be used as guideposts towards ancient eschatology? Sharing the scepticism voiced by Glenys Davies and others, Grossman is disinclined to pursue any interpretations that claim to yield evidence of beliefs about the afterlife – so while she acknowledges, for example, that the image of a false door may serve to symbolize 'the passing from life to death', its unusual appearance in Athens may simply 'signal a connection of the deceased with Rome or its environs' (p. 222).⁴ The word 'chthonic' is used just once, in a footnote (p. 145, n. 426); and while Grossman notes that items of 'traveling costume' help us to identify the figure of Hermes Psychopompos on three pieces from the Agora (p. 44), she evidently does not want to wonder why the patrons of these tombstones settled upon

¹ Harrison 1965

² Bergemann 1997

³ Himmelmann 1999

⁴ Davies 2003.

that choice of image. Can we get away with merely categorizing it as part of 'stock' funerary repertoire?

I enter such cavils only for the sake of defining the volume under review. As an empirical project, it fulfills its purpose perfectly; and the illustrations (as we expect from the series) are first-rate.

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 & Brinkmann.

Davies, G. 2003. Roman Funerary Symbolism in the Early Empire, in J.B. Wilkins and E. Herring (eds) *Inhabiting Symbols: Symbol and Image in the Ancient Mediterranean*: 211-227. London: Accordia.

Harrison, E.B. 1965. *The Athenian Agora: Archaic and archaistic sculpture, Volume 11*. Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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

NIGEL SPIVEY
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
njs11@cam.ac.uk

Michalis Karambinis. *The island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times*. pp. 476, colour illustrations. 2016. Leiden: Leiden University Press. ISBN 978-9-08728-234-9 paperback €59.50.

The island of Skyros presents the results of a PhD research project conducted at Leiden University by M. Karambinis, a native of Skyros, who worked for the Archaeological Ephorate of Euboea from 2007 to 2015. It offers a comprehensive overview of the history and archaeology of Skyros from Late Roman to early modern time. The work integrates data retrieved from past archaeological works, new intensive and extensive surveys of the island and historical sources. This all-encompassing approach to the archaeological and historical record of the island means that more unusual materials for the archaeologist, such as Ottoman costumes and furniture, are also included in Karambinis' analysis.

The book is divided into four Parts: 1. Background and historical data, 2. The archaeological survey: methodology and comparisons, 3. The archaeological survey: the sites, and 4. Interpretational synthesis. It also includes four appendices, namely: A. Gazetteer of archaeological sites, B. Catalogue of pottery, C. Catalogue of churches (Chora and suburbs), D. The synoptic Ottoman tax register (*icmal*) of the year 1670/1 for Skyros. It concludes with a bibliography, a summary in Dutch and notes about the authors. In total, this rather voluminous book includes 13 chapters and an introduction.

Part 1 introduces the reader to the island of Skyros. The geographical setting is discussed briefly in one chapter (Ch. 1), which describes the island as divided into three natural macro-areas (north, middle and south) and its geology. The climate of the island is examined, albeit very rapidly, at the end of the chapter. An historical outline (Ch. 2) provides the reader with an account of the island through the lens of the written sources, but does not consider the archaeological evidence much at this point as it is discussed separately and in more detail later. This narrative approach, which tends to keep the written and archaeological evidence separate, but which is justified by the focus of the volume, sometimes inconveniently forces the reader to go back and forth between the two sections to integrate the two. Historical sources for Ottoman Skyros are discussed in chapter 3. This provides a concise but useful discussion of the different sources that can be used to examine the Ottoman history of the island, namely travellers' accounts, local historical archives and *defters* (Ottoman tax registers), and the valuable information that can be extrapolated from them, specifically on administration, population, and economy and production. Karambinis rightly warns us of the biased nature of some of these sources, particularly travellers' reports, which are often misleading informants of the history of the island. The population estimate of Skyros in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, to cite an example, is often reported as low by the travellers' records, and yet, *defters* provide clues on the matter suggesting a steady increase of Skyros' population from the mid-15th to the late 16th century. The section ends with a chapter on previous archaeological and historical research on the island that examines what has been done between the end of the 19th century and the current day.

Part 2 provides crucial information on the survey methodology used by the writer and paves the road for understanding the data presented in subsequent chapters. The Skyros survey is a site-based intensive and extensive survey project which has been conducted over three year (2010-