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ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LXV

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INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

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ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

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Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, *Ancient Macedonia*, Trends in classics. Key perspectives on classical research 1, de Gruyter, Berlin – Boston, 2020, XIII + 241 p., ISBN 978-3-11-071864-5

This book is important not only as an interesting overview of the ancient Macedonians and the ancient Macedonian state, in the light of the huge amount of new epigraphical and archaeological sources discovered in the last seventy years, but also for its useful considerations on the Greek civilization as a whole. While in the last two centuries modern research placed on a pedestal the world of the Greek *poleis* and particularly the Athenian democracy, this book vindicates the mostly ignored and often despised other half of the ancient Hellenic civilization, that of the *ethnos*-states spreading mainly in Northwestern Greece¹, having as *exemplum* the most controversial of all: Macedonia. I would like therefore to cite *in extenso* the general considerations presented by the author on this topic:

“One has to admit that if in some modern works Greece sometimes becomes a mere synonym for Athens, it is only partially the fault of their authors. Their Athenocentrism reflects the Athenocentrism of our ancient sources. Athens was indeed the “school of Greece” (Thuc. II, 41, 1), and Greek political thought was centred on the city-state. [...] Modern faith in Progress and the prejudice inevitably attached to it shaped the evolutionary perceptions of the ancient Greek state. In all fairness, we must admit that the very one-sided information supplied by ancient political thinkers, the prestige of Polybius, and the usual ambiguity of Greek political terminology were also partly responsible for modern misinterpretations. The ancient terms *ethnos*, *polis* and *koinon* have been taken to represent three successive stages in a quasi-linear institutional development from a primitive tribal state to

¹ The interest in these states and the political alternative they presented to the southern Greek *poleis* is less than 50 years old and it still lurks somewhere at the periphery of classical studies. Precious contributions such as Gehrke 1986, Daverio Rocchi 1993, Beck 1997, Gehrke 2000 and several articles in Brock, Hodkinson 2000 have not yet turned the odds in favour of more balanced scholarly approaches between the world of the Greek *poleis* and the beyond-the-polis Greek world, even though “from the late fourth through the second centuries, the northern and western mainland became the core of Greek civilization (Macedonia, Epiros, and Aitolia) and the *polis*-centric lowlands the periphery” (Blome 2020, p. 108, based on Bintliff 1997). See more in Blome 2020, p. 2-4.

the classical city-state and finally to the ‘federal’ states of the Hellenistic period. For some time now we have known that the Greek perception of institutional realities was quite different. Traditional Greek thought, which practically refused to consider as legitimate any form of monarchical state, recognised only two forms of state, which did not succeed one another in a linear way, but coexisted in historical times. These were the *polis* and the *ethnos*. *Koinon* (community) was not the Greek term for ‘federal state’, but a very general term which could apply to both, as well as to any other sort of association. Both *polis* and *ethnos* were ideally tribal states based on a projected common ancestry, on a perceived community of blood, but in practical terms they were states based on a common citizenship. In the first case, however, the state was dominated by a single urban centre, whereas in the second no such privileged entity existed or at least was formally recognised. The economic and social origin of this differentiation explains why city-states emerged in the developed south-eastern parts of Greece, whereas the *ethne* predominated in the more rural western and northern areas of the Greek peninsula. This does not mean that urban centres were generally unknown in western and northern Greece and particularly in Macedonia. They developed there as well, and might consequently be termed *poleis* in our sources, but they were not sovereign, because sovereignty belonged to the *ethnos*, of which they were but part. [...] However, *poleis* were not necessarily the only local units into which an *ethnos* was subdivided. There could also be smaller *ethne* composed in their turn of urban centres (*poleis*) and/or villages (*komai*).” (p. 95-96).

The particular problem concerning Macedonia is not the fact that it was an *ethnos*-state, but one ruled by a powerful (still, not absolute!) monarch and that it competed for supremacy in the northern Aegean with the Chalkidians and the Athenians. The already marked regional differences between Macedonians and Athenians (and other people living in the southern Greek *poleis*) straightforwardly morphed into xenophobic narratives, whose focal point became the refutation of the very Hellenicity of the Macedonians, slant which in no way was reserved only to them². As before the 1950s Macedonia

² E.g. Thuc. III, 94, 5 against the Aitolians, in the context of the bitter defeat they administered to the Athenians in 426 BC; Livy XXXIV, 24, 3 presenting the point of view

had been only cursorily explored archaeologically, and before the 1970s its inscriptions had not been assembled in *corpora* (p. 73-74, 89-90), ancient literary sources were very authoritative in dictating the modern, particularly the Western perspectives on the Macedonians and their state. Moreover, given the Western reluctance towards real or perceived Greek nationalism influencing academic contributions, it is no surprise that the views of researchers such as the influential American historians Ernst Badian and Eugene Borza³ were oriented towards underscoring the actual and imagined differences between the Macedonians and the Greeks, and to further deny the Hellenicity of the former (p. 68-73, 90-93).

Besides vindicating the Greek *ethnos*-state, the present book also corrects such errors, either provoked by the lack of evidence, or by prejudice, or both. Founded on Miltiades Hatzopoulos's unequalled mastery of the recently enriched epigraphic record of Macedonia, this book advocates for the Greekness of ancient Macedonians, highlighting at the same time their profound originality. As emphasized by the author himself in his preface, the book is not a proper historical monograph on ancient Macedonia, but rather a topical discussion, organized on "three main axes devoted respectively to the land, the people and to a couple of prominent Macedonian personalities who have changed the course of world history", which should "interest a public beyond the narrow circle of experts" (p. V). It is, therefore, a complement to the obligatory reads of older monographs and companions, listed in the preface (p. V-VI)⁴, one which I though deem essential as it cursorily, but clearly explains the historiographical debates on the most tortuous topics of Macedonian history, presenting at the same time well-documented and thus very compelling solutions for most of them.

Thus, after an Introduction which matters as the first part of the book and which I will discuss below, the work continues with a second part entitled "The Land: Where was Macedonia?" (p. 4-48). A short, but useful remainder in the beginning of this section shows that the modern geographical, administrative and political meanings of Macedonia are the result of confused understandings of ancient narratives by Western geographers of the 16th-18th centuries and of arbitrary diplomatic designations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They were engendered by the fact that the memory of the independent kingdom

of the Achaian *strategos* Aristainos against the Aitolians, as his most dangerous foes, in 195 BC; Thuc. II, 80, 1 against Epirote tribes, in the context of the confrontation of Stratos in 429 BC between the Athenians and their Akarnanian allies and the Peloponnesians and their Epirote "barbarian" helpers etc.

³ Expressed in works such as Badian 1982 and Borza 1990.

⁴ The most celebrated (and partly irreplaceable) work is still the three-volume Hammond 1972-1988.

of Macedonia and the subsequent original Roman province was gradually obliterated by countless Roman and Byzantine administrative reforms and finally erased by the Ottoman conquest (p. 4-6). The total state of oblivion is masterfully illustrated by the cases of the ancient capitals of Pella and Aigai: not only their memory was lost by the local people, but even their exact identification proved to be long, tortuous and hotly debated by scholars, both for academic and political reasons (p. 6-11). The historical reconstruction of the territory of ancient Macedonia is based on the assumption that it is the land conquered and colonised by the *Makedones*, which extended at the end of the Hellenistic period from the Pindos range to the plain of Philippoi and from Mount Olympos to the Axios gorge (p. 11). Based mainly on the accounts of Herodotos and Thoukydides, the author envisages the expansion of the *Makedones* and thus, of Macedonia, as a progression mainly towards east of a people descending from the eastern slopes of Pindos, following the Haliakmon River, first on the northern foothills of the Pierian Mountains, where they founded their capital, at Aigai, in a region that started to be known as *Makedonis* (ca. 670-650 BC), and then to the lowlands of Pieria and Bottia. Interpreting a famously debated fragment of Thoukydides (Thuc. II, 99) as presenting the Macedonian conquests in chronological, not geographical order, the author then envisages as a third step the expansion to the Axios River, before the Persian wars, and then the advance east of the Axios, to the Strymon, in the New Territories (Mygdonia, Krestonia, Bisaltia and Anthemous), as a new phase that developed during the Classical period, with some reversals caused by the Athenians and Chalkidians. It was Philip II who finally secured these possessions and additionally Mount Pangaion with the plain of Philippoi, as well as the Greek cities of the Chalkidike peninsula (p. 12-17, 33-37).

This historical reconstruction is also compared with the spectacular archaeological discoveries in the Archaic (and Early Classical cemeteries) of "Sindos", Hagia Paraskevi, Aigai, Archontikon, "Thermi", Nea Philadelphia, Aiiane, which are briefly reviewed (p. 18-25). Taking into account as well the epigraphic evidence of onomastics, the author concludes that the Archaic rich graves from "Sindos", Hagia Paraskevi, Archontikon, "Thermi" and Nea Philadelphia should be attributed to other ethnic groups than the one which created the more sober necropolis at Aigai. The sudden impoverishment in the 5th century BC of these cemeteries belonging to people of presumable Bottic, Paionian or Thracian stock should be connected with the Macedonian conquest. Moreover, based on onomastics, the author maintains that the proper colonization of Anthemous and eastern Mygdonia with *Makedones* should be ruled out before the mid-4th century BC (p. 25-33).

The last pages of this second part contain a few useful remarks about the diversity of the solutions envisaged by the Macedonians for incorporating the conquered land into their state. Thus, there were the lands of Macedonian

citizens, the lands of “allied” (*i.e.* subjected) communities and the spear-won royal land, either exploited directly by the kings, or rented and granted to certain individuals (p. 37-41). The particular cases of Paionia, Perrhaibian Tripolis, Magnesia, Tymphaia, Parauaia, Atintania and Derriopos are discussed separately (p. 41-48).

The third part, titled “Who were the Macedonians?” (p. 49-124), is by far the longest and the most polemic, as it tackles the difficult topic of identity, reflected in political status, origins, language, cults and beliefs, institutions and self-perceptions. It starts with the observation that the Macedonians had multiple overlapping identities: while in their own country they mentioned in inscriptions only their civic community, abroad they also added their common Macedonian identity, much like the citizens of other Greek *koina* (p. 49-50). Macedonian citizenship derived from being a citizen of one of the many autonomous political communities of Macedonia. It was granted to those born from at least one Macedonian citizen, to part of those conquered by Macedonians, to some settlers from the rest of the Greek world. There should have been certain social limitations with regard to those that could have been Macedonian citizens, although it is noted that there were no *heilotes* or *penestai*, like in Sparta or Thessalia (p. 50-60). The discussion on the origin of the Macedonians (p. 60-63) develops the considerations already made in the previous section (p. 12-14) about the peregrinations from Pindos to the western slopes of the Pierian Mountains and then to their northern foothills, which became *Makedonis*. It stresses on ethnographic grounds that these early Macedonians should have been transhumant pastoralists who finally chose to settle in a very propitious land.

One of the hottest topics is that of speech (p. 63-79), where the author shows that based on the corpus of evidence available until the 1970s it was indeed very difficult to assess the true nature of the tongue spoken by ancient Macedonians, different scholars being able to propose different theories: that of Macedonian as an Illyrian dialect (*e.g.* Karl Otfried Müller); that of the *Mischsprache* character of Macedonian, explained by the initial existence of an underdeveloped Greek dialect, made distinct by the change of the Indo-European *mediae aspiratae* into simple *mediae* instead of unvoiced “aspirates” (B instead of Φ, Δ instead of Θ) and later strongly influenced by Thracian and Illyrian (*e.g.* Paul Kretschmer, Eduard Schwyzer); that of Macedonian as a Greek dialect, akin to Doric and other Northwestern dialects (*e.g.* Friedrich Wilhelm Sturz, Otto Hoffmann); that of two Macedonian tongues, one Barbarian and the other Greek (*e.g.* Hermann Hirt). Nonetheless, the new epigraphic *corpora* published in the 1970s produced enough evidence that, before being superseded by Attic *koinē*, Macedonian was a Northwestern dialect of Greek, characterized for example by the persistence of the long *a*, which in Attic and Ionic had evolved to long *e*, and by a late phenomenon of voicing unvoiced consonants (both

“aspirates” and non-“aspirates”), known from many other languages. Moreover, a *defixio* published in 1998 provided the first consistent dialectal text that allowed checking the conclusions reached from the examination of linguistic *membra disiecta* preserved in later *koinē* inscriptions. It is in this place where Miltiades Hatzopoulos becomes highly polemic against Ernst Badian and Eugene Borza because although they had access to the new documents, they allegedly persisted in refuting the Greekness of the Macedonian dialect because of academic and political prejudices.

The next topic on cults and beliefs is approached through an exposal of previous academic conceptions about the un-Greek character of Macedonian religion (p. 79-81), then through a synthesis of the results of more recent epigraphical research. The Macedonian pantheon is dominated by Zeus, Herakles and Dionysos, followed by Artemis, Athena and Apollo, Asklepios, Ennodia and Hades. Some gods, as Herakles or Dionysos, have some regional peculiarities, as it should be expected, as well as some goddesses, which might actually impersonate a great feminine deity of eventual pre-Macedonian origin, worshipped under two hypostases, a maternal and a virginal one (p. 81-84, 86). The rites of passage from childhood to maturity and the beliefs in the afterlife are also typically Greek, as attested by inscriptions found in the sanctuaries of Lete and Beroia, or epigraphic and iconographic testimonies from the great Macedonian vaulted tombs (p. 85-88).

The section on customs and institutions is one of the most consistent in the whole book, as it is based on conclusions already expressed by the author in his celebrated monograph “Macedonian institutions under its kings” (1996) and a large series of articles⁵. It dismisses the hypotheses about an absolute, typically un-Greek, Macedonian kingship, superposed over a society of warlike aristocrats and coarse peasants and shepherds (p. 90-95, 106-113). It develops instead the image of a typical Northwestern Greek *ethnos*-state, such as Epiros, Thessaly or Aitolia, which was nonetheless ruled even in historical times, in an original manner, by a *basileus* like those which many other Greek political communities had had in pre-archaic, heroic times. Although the king concentrated great powers, his prerogatives were limited by old customs, which bestowed important rights on Macedonian citizens, both as individuals – the right of audience, the right of free speech, the equal right of speech with the king, the right of receiving a decent burial if fallen on the battlefield etc., as well as community – to convene in assemblies to trial capital cases and to formally designate a royal successor (p. 94, 103-116). Moreover, the Macedonian *ethnos*-state evolved quite rapidly into a *koinon* with very diverse subjects, mostly smaller regional *koina* and autonomous cities with

⁵ Hatzopoulos 1996; Hatzopoulos 2003; Hatzopoulos 2015a; Hatzopoulos 2015b etc.

well-developed institutions: assemblies (*ekklesiai*), councils (*boulai*), magistrates (*epistatai*, *tagoi*, *dikastai*, *archontes*, *nomophylakes*, *tamiai*, *agoranomoi*, *peliganes*, *skoidoi*) (p. 95-103). A few other historiographically contested institutional topics are tackled, such as the nature of the *epistatai*, who should be considered civic magistrates, not mere royal representatives, and the time of the creation of the four *merides* used by the Romans after the conquest, which seem to have already been in place before 168 BC, functioning as recruitment and administrative districts (p. 116-121).

The last contended topic is that of self-perception and the opinions of the other Greeks on Macedonian ethnicity. The author rightly emphasizes that the Macedonian elites proclaimed in solemn declarations and through myths their Greekness, as well as through participation in Panhellenic festivals and dedications in Greek sanctuaries. He also correctly shows that despite those opinions determined by political enmity or outright xenophobia which excluded the Macedonians from among the Greeks, there is a large array of ancient *testimonia* of the perceived Hellenicity of the former, either explicit, or implicit, as the everyday social practices demonstrate (p. 121-124).

The fourth part, devoted to "Personalities", starts with a review of the Macedonian kings before Philip II and Alexander the Great, like Alexander I, Perdikkas II (452-413 BC), Archelaos (413-399 BC) who deserve more thorough research, given their accomplishments, but who received few isolated studies, particularly by reason of the scarcity of evidence. A similar review of the scholarly production on the Antigonid kings of Macedonia is conducted (p. 125-127). Nonetheless, given the specific of this book, larger discussions are devoted only to the most contested topics in the academic literature, which not surprisingly are centred on the lives and deeds of Philip II and Alexander the Great. The selection made by Hatzopoulos contains the debates on:

- Philip's span of life, length of reign and dates of accession to power and death: the author advocates for a reign between October 360 BC, when Philip was 22 years old, and October 336 BC (p. 128-129);

- Philip's time spent as hostage in Illyria and Thebes: examining the testimonies of Aischines, Theopompos, Diodoros and Plutarch and earlier modern literature, the author concludes that after the death of Amyntas III, in 370/369 BC, Philip and his brothers were saved by the Athenian general Iphikrates from the menace of the usurper Pausanias, only to be sent as hostage to Thebes a little time afterwards, when the Theban general Pelopidas intervened in the quarrel between the king Alexander II, Philip's brother, and Ptolemy, the new spouse of Philip's mother (p. 129-135);

- Philip's regency: the author resumes his conclusions already expressed in 1982⁶, that Amyntas, son of Perdikkas,

was not proclaimed king after his father's death, given the Macedonian legal custom in the case of an heir of too low age, and that Philip assumed the reign first as *epitropos*, until the crisis of late 357-early 356 BC, and afterwards as full king (p. 135-137);

- Philip's wives: the author shows that the order of marriages preserved by Satyros (Ath. 13.557b-e) is mostly right and proposes the following sequence – the marriage with Audata in 360 BC, after Perdikkas's III crushing defeat in the war with the Illyrians, or in 359 BC, after Philip's victory over Bardylis; that with the Elimeian Phila around the same time, either for placating the revenge of the Elimeians, or for greater legitimacy (if Phila was indeed Perdikkas's III widow); that with Philinna of Larisa in 358 BC, for an alliance with the Aleuadai; that with the Molossian Olympias in 357 BC; that with Nikesipolis of Pherai in 352 BC, after the great victory exacted in Thessaly; that with Meda, the daughter of Kothelas, the king of the Getai, in 341 BC, during Philip's Thracian campaigns; that with Kleopatra in 337 BC, probably by reason of begetting a second heir; the author also shows that Philip did not have a harem, as many of his wives either died, or were discarded because of their low capacity of bearing healthy heirs (p. 137-142);

- Alexander's part in Philip's death: the author emphasizes the love and trust that linked Philip and Alexander and provides plausible evidence that despite recent quarrels between them, Alexander was not aware of the plot that led to Philip's murder (p. 142-147);

- Philip's last abode: after a detailed presentation of the captivating history of the competing identifications of Tomb II in the Great Tumulus of Vergina as either the tomb of Philip II and Kleopatra, or of Philip III Arrhidaios and Hadea-Eurydike, the author throws in his lot with the attribution to the older Philip, referring to two arguments of simple common sense, but which are not too often brought into discussion – the identification of the two central characters of the hunt depicted on the tomb with Philip and Alexander and the correspondence of the archaeological finds with details on the burial of Philip II preserved in the literary sources (p. 147-161);

- Philip's heritage and Alexander's plan: the author pervasively shows that Philip conceived an ambitious plan to unify the Greeks and to start a war meant at least to liberate the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor, if not to conquer the entire Anatolian peninsula or even the entire Persian Empire (p. 161-162); on another matter of high interest, he conceives Alexander as a rational leader, which was reasonably expected to halt his advance after the revenge exacted on Persepolis or at the news of Dareios III's death, in 330 BC, as shown not only by literary sources, but also by an inscription on the delimitation of the territory of the city of Philippi; nonetheless, Alexander's final decision to resume the war is attributed to a new rational assessment of the situation, which convinced the king that in order

⁶ Hatzopoulos 1982.

to secure his new empire he had to wage war against the eastern satraps, too (p. 163-169).

Hatzopoulos introduces a very short fifth part of his book in which he discusses the famous passage of Polybios's *Histories* (XXXVI, 17, 12-13) where he questions the mental sanity of the Macedonians because they revolted in 150 BC in support of the false Philip VI. In the author's opinion, the fragment attests not only Polybios's bias against the Macedonians, as an Achaian, but also his partial ignorance of the constitution of Macedonia, both a monarchic and "federal" state, and of the loyalty of the Macedonians to their own institutions and government. It is therefore an illustrative example of the main factors which hampered for so long, both in antiquity and in modern times, the creation of a balanced view on ancient Macedonia (p. 170-176).

The laconic conclusion counting as the sixth part of the book (p. 177-178) looks like a very short summary of what was previously written. It is followed by a rich bibliography (p. 179-204), not exhaustive, but more than sufficient for a book that revisits the most important topics in the history of ancient Macedonia, a handy index of important proper names and technical terms (p. 205-238) and three figures (p. 239-241): the map of Macedonia, according to the identifications supported by the author, the dialectal *defixio* of Pella and the "Hunt" fresco on the frieze of Tomb II in the Great Tumulus of Vergina.

While the bibliography and the index are adequate, the number of figures is too low, particularly as the book is aimed at general audiences, too, and some other archaeological and epigraphic sources which were discussed certainly deserved to be depicted (e.g. a rich grave from the archaic cemeteries, at least one of the lists of *theorodokoi*, which "constitute evidence of capital importance for the development of cities in Macedonia", p. 100, etc.). Nonetheless, this shortcoming, as well as the numerous typographical errors that distract the attention from the captivating content of the book (e.g. p. vi: "with the her equally recent monograph" instead of "with her equally recent monograph", p. 5-6: "Adrinople" instead of "Adrianople", p. 24: "cereamic wares" instead of "ceramic wares", p. 25: "cemetaries" instead of "cemeteries", p. 27: "artecrafts" instead of "artefacts", p. 28: "aricle" instead of "article", p. 29: "goups" instead of "groups" etc.), should certainly be forgiven, as the volume is the first in a new series and its price is quite affordable. I have no doubts that an editorial house like De Gruyter will significantly improve the quality of the next volumes.

In the end, it should be noted that the present volume successfully opens the series "Trends in classics. Key perspectives on classical research". It is neither a historical monograph, nor an annotated bibliography, but an excellent summary of Hatzopoulos's perspective on the most debated (and the most important) topics of classical research on ancient Macedonia. Without being new, as he already exposed most of his views in many

previous studies and monographs, this perspective is certainly welcome given that his thoughts and arguments are ordered here after a useful topical structure and at the same time can be judged in direct comparison with the evolution of the academic debates on the investigated topics. His perspective on modern historiography, although polemic, remains *sine ira et studio*, which is the fundamental condition for writing history. At the same time, his perspective on ancient Macedonia and ancient Greek civilization altogether is prone to open new horizons in classical research. The ancient Greek civilization is not only a civilization of city-states, but also a civilization of *ethnos*-states and, in its last phases, it was exactly these often-despised states that most originally contributed to the ancient Hellenic legacy. As rightly emphasized by the author in the Introduction, which I deliberately chose to discuss at the end, Macedonia was indeed one of the original creations of ancient Greek civilization, a tremendous "combination of archaism and modernity" (p. 2) quite similar from this point of view to the Roman Republic, but unfortunately rather unjustly rebutted by many ancient writers because of its (mostly) monarchical constitution and its political ambitions in the Greek world. Its legacy to the modern world, starting from intellectual and architectural achievements, like the determinant merit in the creation and acceptance of Attic *koinē*, or the use of stucco as an addition to masonry, and ending with political accomplishments, such as its monarchical and federal model, which through the Hellenistic kingship permeated even the Roman conquerors, is no less important than that of Athens (p. 2-3). Athens and Macedonia, Perikles and Philip II, are the two distinct models that the ancient Greek civilization proposed to the human spirit, and which were mixed in the ambivalent figures of Alexander and Aristotle.

Besides the universal appeal exercised by ancient Macedonia, the Romanian scholars' interest in it should be doubled by the influence which this southern kingdom had on the Danubian and West Pontic area in antiquity. A correct and holistic understanding of Macedonia is fundamental for a right assessment of the evolution of the Getae and of the West Pontic *poleis*, particularly in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. The reading of this good book certainly helps in this wise.

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Nikolaus Dietrich, *Das Attribut als Problem. Eine bildwissenschaftliche Untersuchung zur griechischen Kunst*, Image and Context vol. 17, De Gruyter, Berlin – München – Boston, 2018, 384 p., ISBN 978-3-11-049100-5

Originally planned as a small contribution, as the author announces, the work *Das Attribut als Problem. Eine bildwissenschaftliche Untersuchung zur griechischen Kunst* was developed into a book that focused on a less approached topic, the concept of attribute, a technical term in Classical Archaeology used in the description of the figures represented in various media (vase painting, sculpture, etc.). It is another main contribution of Nikolaus Dietrich (N.D.) in the field of image analysis and ancient Greek and Roman visual culture, after the publishing in the same series (*Image and Context*) of his dissertation about the concept of space in Greek vase painting (*Figur ohne Raum? Bäume und Felsen in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, 2010).

The book is divided into three parts: an introductory one, which outlines the methodological framework (*Was ist ein Attribut?*, p. 1-48), and other two in which the main directions of the study are developed: one follows the evolution of the attribute in its relationship with the body of the figure during the Archaic and Classical periods, and its reception in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (*Attribute in der Zeit der Bilder*, p. 49-137), and the second discusses the quality of the attribute to characterize and identify the figures represented in art, which is of direct interest to archaeologists, who face the problem of iconographic analysis (*Attribute und das Erkennen der Figuren*, p. 139-247).

The first part of the book is dedicated exclusively to the issue of the concept of attribute. In the first chapter (*Das*

Attribut: Intension und Extension des Begriffs, p. 5-8), starting from the comparative analysis of some examples from the vase painting, the author reveals the complexity of the implications of this term, for which he identifies at least three possible definitions, which partially overlap and even contradict each other: the attribute as an element of recognition of a figure, the attribute as a timeless iconographic element dependent on a given situation, the attribute as an element that characterizes a figure.

Two coordinates of the concept are discussed: what characterizes an iconographic motif (the intension) and to which motifs is applied the term in a given image (the extension). If the extension of the term does not pose problems, the intension is, on the contrary, much more polysemic and complex, for what we mean by attribute may involve a differentiated interpretation of the motives in an image, which leads to a rupture both in the spatial-temporal continuum of the image, and in the continuum of iconographic significance (postulating the idea of the image as a whole/continuum, in which all constituent elements have equal value), making these concepts debatable. In other words, in an iconographic analysis it is essential to establish from the beginning, which elements in an image can be considered attributes, and which cannot.

In a short chapter (*Der Begriff des Attributs in der bildwissenschaftlichen Literatur*, p. 9-11), N.D. notes that, although a central concept for a category of intensely consulted literature – iconographical lexica – it did not

benefit from a proper definition. As a result, these works present the complexity, contradiction and inconsistency of the attribute, which makes them to be criticized, but at the same time accepted and still used. Despite the interest the attribute aroused from an early age, the author remarks in the next chapter (*Zum frühen Gebrauch eines ‚verspäteten‘ Begriffs*, p. 12-27) that it appears as such only at the beginning of the 18th century in French literature. Thus, after a long tradition in the iconology of the Renaissance and Baroque, the attribute is finally defined as an addition to the body with semantic content. The body thus becomes secondary in the iconographic expression, the attribute being the main carrier of the message. This tradition of Baroque iconology is completely abandoned, with the questioning of the concept in the writings on the theory of Classical art of Joachim Winckelmann. As for him the ideal of art is the representation of abstraction (of the “great spirit”) in the concrete form of the image, the body, as the embodiment of the spirit, becomes the actual centre of the image, while the attribute is marginal, a foreign element in the economy of the image, a necessary evil (after Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Gottfried Herder). This approach is still found in the critique of Classical art, especially in the German literature, where the posture and attitude of the body of the statues are of more interest than the identification and significance of the attributes. Starting with the 19th century, with the establishment of the field of Classical archaeology, the theoretical debates were left aside, the term attribute being consecrated as a technical term in the history of art. Iconographic dictionaries continued to compile information based on the meaning of attributes, the attribute problem reaching a deadlock. In the last subchapter of the introductory part, the author resumes the theoretical debate from where it was left focusing on the relationship between body and attribute (*Attribut und Körper*, p. 28-48). Several exemplary case studies show that there is no clear separation between the two components of the image. Conceiving the body not only as a physical dimension, the idea of attribute as a separate part added to the body turns out to be wrong. Therefore, the attribute should not be dissociated from the body, but considered as an integral part of it, as an extension of it.

The second part of the book focuses on the relationship between the timeless nature of the figure and the impossibility inherent of the attribute to match the dynamics of represented time (*Attribute in der Zeit der Bilder*, p. 49-137). In a first chapter is presented the problem of the concept of attribute as a timeless, non-situational element (*Problemstellung*, p. 53-69). After a few examples, the author concludes that it cannot be about the timelessness of the attribute, as this is as temporal as the body it accompanies, but about different aspects of the present, in which the body and attribute are simply present in the chronological sequence of the image (*Präsente Attribute*, p. 53-55). The attribute is the expression of the force of the represented figure. Among

the given examples, the most eloquent is that of Gorgon’s wings. Thus, the wings, in the way they are rendered, make known the active or inactive mode of their force. Medusa beheaded by Perseus appears on the Nessos amphora with the wings left down (p. 55, fig. 2.1), the attribute is deactivated, meant to strengthen the expression of the dead figure. For a better understanding of the notion of visual presence of the attribute in the image, a short *excursus* is made, in which the double dimension of the present of a figure is explained: once in the chronological sequence represented in the image, and the second time in front and in the time of the viewer (*Gegenwart im Bild – Gegenwart des Bildes*, p. 56-62). An example in this sense is given by the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta (p. 61, fig. 2.5): the right arm is raised in the gesture of the speech made not only to a fictional audience, but also to the public viewing the image. The concept of the two dimensions of the present of an image is called by the author the modal polychrony of the image, after the model of the narrative polychrony of the images from the Archaic period, identified by Luca Giuliani. With the transition from the polychronic image to the synchronic one towards the end of the Archaic period, when the representation in the same image of several consecutive narrative moments is given up in favour of rendering of a single moment, the figure is engaged in a specific action, in which the attribute no longer finds its purpose (*Attribute, modale Polychronie und die Entwicklung des synchronen Bildes*, p. 62-69).

The next chapter (*Attribute im synchronen Bild*, p. 70-90) looks at the different strategies used to reconcile the attribute with the narrative situation of the image in the late Archaic and early Classical periods. One of the solutions found for this problem was to place the attribute in the image field when its presence is required, but it does not match the action of the figure (*Abgelegte Attribute*, p. 70-78). This is the case, for example, of the attributes of Heracles placed around him in the scenes that illustrate the moment of the fight with the lion from Nemea, in which to respect the narrative, the hero is portrayed fighting with his bare hands (fig. 2.10-15). Another strategy for representing the attributes in the image used in the same period was that on the contrary they should be engaged in the hands of the figure, gods or heroes, in a certain situation, thus fully integrating them into the pictorial narrative (*Situative Attribute*, p. 78-85).

Exemplary cases are the scenes of Gigantomachia, in which there is a tendency to depict the gods involved in battle with their attributes instead of ordinary weapons. Other examples are the plastic representations of Athena Promachos, or Zeus throwing the thunderbolt (the bronze statue also called “God from the Sea”, fig. 2.16), in which they appear in motion with the attribute in the raised hand in the most dramatic expression of their force. It is the hypostasis, remarks the author, in which on the one hand the position of the attribute in the image is in full agreement with the situation and the represented moment,

but on the other hand the choice of a particular posture is far from illustrating the complexity of the figure. What results from the integration of the attribute in a specific situation is in the author's terms "an impoverishment of the attribute characterization potential", and consequently a thematic narrowing (*Temporale Vereinheitlichung – thematische Verengung*, p. 85-90).

The next chapter presents the solutions found for this problem in the Classical period (*Neue Wege*, p. 91-113). A subchapter deals with the case of athlete images (*Das Fallbeispiel der Athletenbilder*, p. 91-100). We note here the comparative analysis of the *discophorus* on an archaic funerary stele from Kerameikos (fig. 2.25), and of the classic statues Myron's *Discobolus* and Polycllet's *Discophorus* (fig. 2.26, 2.27). The examples are paradigmatic to show the transition from one approach to another from the end of the Archaic until the high Classical period. From the *kouros*, a standard expression of *kalokagathia*, to which the disc was joined without any hint of action, to the athlete of Myron, whose body is fully involved in the discus throw movement, the emphasis being exclusively on his quality of athlete, and then to that of the polyclletian athlete, who again presents himself in a calm posture holding the disc in his hand. The author notes that Myron's solution in representing the victorious athlete, despite his fame, was only a short episode in the history of Classical art, the one who would make a long career being the polyclletian model, who gives up movement and returns to the archaic option of rendering figure and attribute, with the difference that this time it has been achieved what the author calls a "relaxed handling of the attribute". Another chapter discusses representations of deities (*Attribute in hochklassischen Götterbildern*, p. 100-113). The deities on the frieze of the Parthenon are other examples, which best reveal how their attributes, although they are not used and, as a result, are no longer in the centre of attention, still appear in a concrete activity, the same relaxed handling that achieves the agreement of the attribute with the represented situation and moment. The last chapter of the second part shows the success enjoyed in the art of the following centuries by the classical solution to the problem of harmonizing the attribute to the spatial-temporal unity of the body (*Attribut und Figur in der Zeit der Bilder – die klassische Lösung und ihre hellenistisch-römische Rezeption: Synthese und Ausblick*, p. 114-137). The author observes that since the middle of the 5th century BC there has been a tendency to represent the attribute of deities in the passive left instead of the active right. This detail is part of the relaxed handling of the attribute, which along with the calm attitude led to the creation of a more audience-oriented image, emphasizing the presence of the image. Thus, the solution found in the Classical period of harmonizing attribute and body became particularly popular in the following centuries. By simply

replacing the attribute, a statuary type could serve both representations of deities and portraits in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The third part of the book discusses the function of the attribute as criterion, which makes the difference between certain figures and common figures (*Attribute und das Erkennung der Figuren*, p. 139-247). The first chapter defines the concept of identity (*Individuelle Identität – generische Identität – unbestimmte Identität: Wonach soll der Betrachter suchen?*, p. 141-151). A parallel between modern and ancient painting reveals the existence of different degrees of identity, respectively that of generic and individual identity, as well as distinct functions of characterization (for generic identity) and identification (for individual identity). The author observes that in the Archaic and Classical periods the attribute fulfils only the function of characterization. The addition of the inscription with the names of the characters next to the painted figures shows that in addition to individual mythological characters, there are also generic, collective or archetypal characters, both the inscription and the iconography going in the direction of characterization (*Namensbeischriften*, p. 151-154). An example is the figure of the archer on the eastern pediment of the temple of Athena Aphaia in Aegina (p. 160, fig. 13.11a-c). The lion's head-shaped helmet he wears is an attribute that may suggest a double interpretation from a modern perspective: either "the archer Heracles", or "an archer like Heracles". This distinction did not exist in the ancient perspective. The attribute identification function appears much later. Such an example is given by the hairstyle of the statuary representations of Augustus (*Lockenschema*) (p. 166, fig. 3.15, p. 169, fig. 3.17). This feature specific to the portraits of Augustus is a criterion that identifies him, but it does not characterize him.

The next chapter is a case study of the scene of the judgment of Paris in vase painting (*Fallbeispiel Parisurteil*, p. 173-202). Starting from the generic representation of the three goddesses (in some cases with minor differences in the ornamentation and polychromy of clothing), the author observes the tendency to individualize one of the characters: Athena. The phenomenon should not be understood in the traditional sense of an evolution from an archaic generic to a progressive individualization in the Classical period, warns the author. The undifferentiated representation of the goddesses is not due to the painter's incapacity, but is part of his strategy, in which it is necessary to use together both types of generic and individual distinction, because both differentiation and the lack of it are equally important in establishing the identity of the figures. This identity is not firmly established by the painter, but rather suggested to the viewer (*Die Suggestion von Identität als Bildstrategie*, p. 186-188). A parallel for this observation is made in connection with the non-sense inscriptions: nonsense words that appear in the pictorial

field of the vessel next to a figure with the clear intention of suggesting to the viewer its identity (*Die Rolle des Betrachters, oder: vom Sinn des nonsense*, p. 188-192).

This idea is also developed in the next chapter, which analyses another category of representations: the archaic *kouroi* and *korai* statues, generic representations of young men and women (*Zum Verzicht auf identifizierende Attribute in der archaischen Plastik*, p. 203-226). The rare attributes that accompany them have a polysemantic character, and can be interpreted differently by the viewer depending on the context in which the statues appear: sanctuaries, or necropoleis (*Polyseme Attribute in der archaischen Plastik*, p. 204-210). The analysis of the statue of the Moschophorus on the Athenian Acropolis (fig. 3.36) shows the multiple implications of the attributes, which do not lead to an exclusive characterization of the figure, but to an offer of meanings (called by the author productive significance, p. 215), from which the viewer can make a selection (*Widerstreitende Bezugspunkte von Attributen – und ihre friedliche Koexistenz*, p. 211-214). In the next subchapter the author notices that, compared to similar representations on reliefs or painted vessels, the statues of *kouroi* and *korai* show a much more reduced iconographic differentiation. This was determined, on the one hand by the capacity of the three-dimensional sculpture to manifest the presence of the image in front of the viewer, and on the other hand by the spatial context in which it was installed, both considered sufficient to suggest its identity (*Ökonomie ikonographischer Differenzierung im Wechsel der Räume und Bildmedien: Kouroi und Koren im Kontext der archaischen Bilderwelt*, p. 216-219). N.D. argues for a conscious reduction of the distinctive iconographic content, a strategy of the monumental art specific to the Archaic period that does not exclude the individual identity. According to an opinion long established in the literature, the *kouros* is a generic form of representation for a generic identity, in other words it is a representation for a social category, the archaic aristocracy with its values; which would mean that it characterizes any individual, not a particular one. The author makes a nuance: it is a generic representation, to whom an individual identity is ascribed. It does not present an identifying element *per se*, the sculptor did not intend to render a specific individual. But through location and sometimes through inscription, it is suggested to the viewer that the represented person embodies an individual, who holds the norms and values of an elite (*Reduktion ikonographischer Differenzierung und die Frage nach der Identität der Kouroi und Koren*, p. 220-226).

The last chapter of the third part is a retrospective on the main ideas of the book from a diachronic perspective (*Blicke zurück – Blicke voraus*, p. 227-247). From the study

of monsters on archaic vessels that remained anonymous despite their iconographic diversity, it becomes noticeable that the attribute only characterizes, it does not identify the figures. During the Archaic and Classical periods there was no distinction between the two functions. The lack of a differentiation in iconography does not simply mean the lack of an individual identity, this being suggested by the narrative context on vessels, or by the spatial context in sculptures. Towards the end of the Archaic period, the tendency to identify the figure by attributes in situational representation, independent of the narrative content, had its limitations. The Classic solution, the defunctionalisation of the attribute, was a way out of this blockage, leading to the accumulation of attributes, a phenomenon that is best observed in the iconography of personifications, or in the representations of dynasts. The ambiguity of dynasts' images – dynast with the attributes of a god, or god with the features of a dynast – was interpreted as deification, a false problem that starts from the misunderstanding of how the attributes function. Judging by the logic of N.D.'s theory, the attribute does not offer an identification, but a characterization, the identification belonging to the viewer, when the location and the inscription suggest it, when it does not, than these are deities with dynastic features. The phenomenon of Roman private portraits in divine bodies is a continuation of this way of representation, but also a turning point in the handling of the attribute, due to its growing identification potential.

A bilingual summary in German and English highlights the main ideas of each chapter and subchapter, giving the reader a quick look at the content of the book. Following are the appendices, which consist of footnotes, abbreviations and bibliographic references, information on the 110 illustrations used in the text and their sources, and finally a selective index of attributes/objects and inscriptions in the image.

The work is well structured and exemplified, providing a comprehensive perspective on the concept of attribute, a term often used by those dealing with description and iconographic analysis. As before any study it is necessary to define the terms, the reading of this book is recommended to all those interested in the study of the image. It presents the multitude of problems posed by the comment of an attribute (how the attribute works, how to read its message, how it was perceived by the public), problems whose ignorance can lead not only to gaps in interpretation, but also to misinterpretations.

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Gabriele Castiglia e Philippe Pergola (a cura di), *Instrumentum domesticum. Archeologia cristiana, temi, metodologie e cultura materiale della tarda antichità e dell'alto medioevo*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane. Pubblicati a cura del Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana XXIX, Città del Vaticano, 2020, vol. 1 (789 p.), vol. 2 (468 p.), ISBN 978-88-85991-67-5

Les éditions du Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana (cité ci-après PIAC), accueillies par la Cité du Vatican, comportent cinq collections actives, dont celle intitulée *Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane* débute en 1936 et compte déjà 29 volumes⁷. La collection rassemble des synthèses régionales concernant les monuments chrétiens, des études thématiques sur l'art de la période (paléochrétienne), *corpora* d'inscriptions, actes des différents colloques et réunions scientifiques, certaines autour des figures emblématiques du domaine.

La dernière parution de la série propose un recueil de travaux qui portent sur le grand thème générique *instrumentum domesticum*, dans une perspective intégrative et diachronique. Gabriele Castiglia et Philippe Pergola, l'élève et son maître, se sont attelés à l'édition d'un imposant manuel d'archéologie chrétienne de plus de 1250 pages, en deux volumes, centré sur les grands thèmes, les méthodologies et les différentes catégories d'objets destinés à la vie quotidienne, véritables *fossiles directeurs* de la période tardo-antique et du Moyen âge précoce. On remarquera, par ailleurs, l'usage exclusif de la langue italienne dans la rédaction des contributions rassemblées dans ce volume.

L'ouvrage s'organise en deux grandes parties, la première dédiée au cadre matériel de la production, aux méthodologies et aux domaines fondamentaux qui définissent la vie quotidienne et l'économie antique, la seconde aux productions, chacune répartie, en effet, dans un volume à part.

Le premier volume est constitué de vingt-quatre contributions, dont la taille varie beaucoup, entre une dizaine et environ soixante-dix pages. Les travaux, réunis sous le vocable de la méthodologie, équivalent presque 800 pages qui offrent plutôt une approche régionale sur l'archéologie chrétienne. L'intérêt des contributeurs au volume est d'abord centré sur les progrès enregistrés dans les dernières décennies dans l'étude du monde chrétien avec un regard particulier sur la Péninsule italique. Au cœur du discours scientifique se trouve donc la production dans sa globalité, en commençant par son rôle dans la topographie chrétienne, milieu urbain et rural confondu,

⁷ On rappellera brièvement qu'un volume de cette même collection porte sur l'architecture paléochrétienne de Roumanie : I. Barnea, *Monuments paléochrétiens de Roumanie*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana 6, Città del Vaticano, 1977. Cette synthèse est d'ailleurs la seule, jusqu'à présent, dédiée aux monuments chrétiens de nos régions.

en passant par le phénomène funéraire, par la production artistique et l'épigraphie, l'architecture et les techniques de construction, l'archéologie ayant une place éminente dans ce panorama sans, pour autant, oublier les domaines de frontière, tels que l'anthropologie, le GIS, l'archéologie subaquatique.

Après une brève prémisses du recteur du PIAC, Danilo Mazzoleni, qui souligne la nécessité de l'existence d'un manuel destinée à la recherche archéologique des périodes tardo-antique et proto-médiévale, suit l'avant-propos des éditeurs. Ces derniers rappellent, entre autres, que le sujet de cet ambitieux volume constitue, depuis désormais deux décennies, le titre d'un projet didactique du PIAC. La vision formatrice des initiateurs du cours tenu à l'Institut abouti à présent dans la publication soignée d'un instrument de travail destiné non seulement aux étudiants dudit établissement, mais également aux spécialistes de la discipline de partout, comme avoué même par ses éditeurs. La production éditoriale en discussion s'alimente de la longévité extraordinaire du cours dont elle reprend le nom, de son succès académique et intègre le chemin pluridisciplinaire sur lequel l'archéologie chrétienne italienne s'est engagée ces dernières décennies. La large adhésion du corps enseignants du PIAC à cette idée émanant originairement de Nino Lamboglia, dont le professeur Philippe Pergola en fut le disciple, mais également des jeunes chercheurs, certains d'entre eux anciens élèves dudit établissement, en dit long sur le rôle déterminant du PIAC dans le développement et la promotion du camp de recherche de l'archéologie chrétienne.

Le premier volume s'ouvre avec la contribution de Lucrezia Spera, professeur de topographie chrétienne de Rome au PIAC, d'archéologie et d'Antiquité tardive à l'Università degli Studi di Roma « Tor Vergata ». Le travail porte sur la topographie et l'archéologie de la production à la période tardo-antique et post-antique, dans un périple très ample à la fois dans l'Occident et l'Orient chrétiens. L'autrice livre ses réflexions sur la production comme instrument d'expression économique au sein de l'institution ecclésiastique à travers le monde antique, en suivant un chemin ouvert déjà à la fin des années 1990 par Rossana Martorelli. La dimension entrepreneuriale de l'Église est explorée en se servant d'une riche évidence archéologique qui couvre la fourchette chronologique des IV^e-VIII^e siècles et des exemples venant des régions assez éloignées les unes des autres. L'économie, la distribution des biens et les réseaux commerciaux apparaissent comme des domaines dynamiques, polyfonctionnels de manifestation de l'Église en tant qu'acteur de la vie quotidienne de la période étudiée. De Rome à la Corse

ou à l'Afrique du Nord ou bien à la lointaine Mésie Seconde, l'archéologie fournit de nombreux exemples d'activités productives en mouvement des édifices religieux. L. S. souligne l'existence de différentes installations de productions des biens pour l'Église et par l'Église, ce qui autorise des considérations sur le consommateur final, mais aussi d'en crayonner une image bien complexe de la société tardo-antique où le pouvoir civil semble déclinant. L'article est assorti d'une ample bibliographie, étendue sur une trentaine de pages.

Enrico Giannichedda, membre de l'Istituto di Storia della Cultura Materiale di Genova et responsable du Museo etnografico ed archeologico di Masone, spécialiste de l'histoire de la culture matérielle, offre une synthèse sur l'archéologie de la production dans les campagnes, ayant un regard spécial sur l'Italie. En faisant référence à ce milieu rural, E. G. est d'accord que nos connaissances sur les structures de productions sont redevables à l'état de la recherche, qui s'intéresse plus souvent aux ensembles urbains eux-mêmes qu'à l'étude de l'arrière-pays et au développement des centres de productions qui lui sont propres.

Alessandro Vella, assistant à la chaire de topographie des cimetières chrétiens du PIAC, consacre une contribution assez étendue à l'archéologie des tombes chrétiens, en partant de la définition de ces structures funéraires, en passant par leur typologie, la gestion des cimetières et les différents contextes archéologiques à vocations funéraires. Il est sans doute intéressant et utile pour le lecteur de voyager à travers un vaste cadre géographique, de Rome en Asie Mineure ou en Afrique du Nord, avec des recours répétés à l'épigraphie funéraire, aux sources textuelles ou aux différents aspects concernant le traitement des corps après la mort. L'auteur maîtrise bien la documentation et consacre pratiquement la moitié de son article à un ample recueil bibliographique, qui rassemble les travaux essentiels sur le sujet.

Spécialiste éminent de l'épigraphie chrétienne, depuis bien plus de quatre décennies pivot des *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, dont il est parvenu à publier en 1985 et en 1992 les secondes parties des volumes IX et X (consacrés aux découvertes de *Coemeterium Priscillae et des coemeteriorum Pamphili et s. Valentini*), Danilo Mazzoleni consacre un bref aperçu à la production épigraphique, plus particulièrement chrétienne. L'auteur propose une discussion très structurée des techniques et des supports de cet artisanat. Certains aspects relevant de l'activité des lapicides et d'autres concernant leur clientèle permettent de reconstituer fidèlement l'univers de l'épigraphie chrétienne du III^e au VII^e siècle.

Elena Dellù, spécialiste de la Soprintendenza Archeologica di Bari, propose une étude sur l'anthropologie, domaine connexe de l'archéologie. Son approche bioculturelle permet de fixer le cadre théorique de l'étude des populations anciennes, en s'appuyant néanmoins sur l'expérience de fouille acquise à travers les projets de

recherche de San Calocero ad Albenga et de la basilique de Cap Don à Riva Ligure. E. D. souligne l'apport incontestable de l'interdisciplinarité à la mise en valeur de la recherche archéologique de terrain, notamment par la contribution grandissante de l'archéoanthropologie et de la bioarchéologie.

Fabrizio Bisconti, spécialiste réputé de l'histoire de l'art et plus précisément de l'iconographie chrétienne, professeur des universités et au PIAC, magister de la Pontificia Accademia Cultorum Martyrum et surintendant des catacombes d'Italie auprès de la Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, disparu le 22 mars 2022, porte son regard de fin connaisseur sur les sarcophages chrétiens et la peinture de la période tardo-antique à caractère chrétien, dans deux contributions successives. Ces deux brèves synthèses livrent ses réflexions valeureuses sur la production et l'iconographie de sarcophages, sans toutefois oublier le décor peint. L'auteur récapitule les traits essentiels de ces deux domaines majeurs de la production artistique de l'Antiquité tardive, en proposant des clés de lecture du langage sémantique utilisé par les deux productions, accompagnées des considérations sur les centres de production et le répertoire artistique caractéristiques de différentes périodes et régions du monde antique. Son enquête sur l'artisanat des sarcophages repose sur une casuistique générale, tandis que les exemples de peintures proviennent des catacombes de Rome ou d'Italie.

Olof Brandt, professeur d'architecture chrétienne au PIAC, examine le bâti chrétien en croisant deux domaines de recherche qui lui sont chers : l'architecture et l'archéologie. Faisant le constat que le bâti chrétien jouit d'un avantage incontestable sur le terrain par rapport à tout autre type de bâtiment gréco-romain, à savoir la survivance des structures en élévation, l'auteur procède à la mise au point d'un modèle d'étude des structures construites. L'approche méthodologique et l'immense expérience d'O. B. sur le terrain en font de son contribution un exemple suggestif de lecture et d'interprétation subséquente des maçonneries antiques, à travers la stratigraphie et à l'aide des techniques d'investigation qui combine le relevé, la photographie, ainsi que la mensiochronologie. Cette analyse du bâti au-delà du plan et de toute typologie permet de documenter les structures construites d'une manière complexe et surtout, dans le contexte de leur devenir au fil du temps.

À l'instar de la contribution d'Olof Brandt, Elie Essa Kas Hanna, ancien élève du PIAC, professeur invité à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental de Rome, examine différents aspects concernant les maçonneries dans les contrées centrales-septentrionales du Massif Calcaire syrien, du II^e au VI^e siècle. Cet article offre une typologie détaillée des appareillages, accompagnée d'une chronologie plus poussée de ces derniers. En s'appuyant sur une connaissance approfondie des structures construites, l'auteur montre les particularités de cette architecture

et souligne également les singularités de l'évolution de la technique constructive dans le Massif Calcaire. Il aboutit à affiner la chronologie des différents types des maçonneries proposée par Georges. Tate en 1992, tout en distinguant entre les ressorts administratifs des régions centrales-septentrionales et celles méridionales du Massif Calcaire de Syrie.

Andrea Paribeni, chercheur à l'Università degli Studi di Urbino « Carlo Bo », spécialiste des marbres de la période paléobyzantine et plus précisément des sculptures antiques et byzantines d' Ayasofya Müzesi à Istanbul (dans le cadre du projet Ayasofya Müzesi dirigé par Alessandra Guiglia), propose de rouvrir le dossier de l'architecture religieuse dans le monde byzantin avec un regard particulier sur la sculpture et l'aménagement servant à la liturgie. L'auteur fait le point des différents aspects qui vont de la mise en chantier d'un monument, laquelle suppose une maîtrise des techniques constructives, l'accès au matériel de construction, ainsi que des équipes spécialisées, jusqu'à la réalisation de l'appareil décoratif et à la fonctionnalisation des monuments en vue du déroulement du service divin. A. P. montre, à travers l'examen attentif de la documentation archéologique et des sources écrites, une certaine tendance à la standardisation dans le domaine du dessin d'architecture, avec toutefois des spécificités locales et une simplification continue des appareils décoratifs, sculptures et meubles liturgiques confondues.

Deux jeunes spécialistes formées au PIAC, Giovanna Assunta Lanzetta et Priscilla Ralli, livrent une contribution sur la réutilisation des matériaux dans l'activité constructive durant l'Antiquité tardive. Ce phénomène symptomatique de la période étudiée est examiné à partir du cadre législatif de l'époque et à travers la documentation archéologique et d'architecture. Les auteurs tentent d'apporter des éléments de réponse concernant l'expression matérielle de ce phénomène de spoliation et de réutilisation des vestiges du passé.

Professeur émérite d'architecture chrétienne au PIAC, autorité scientifique dans le domaine du décor et des pavements des églises, Federico Guidobaldi donne ici une étude poussée sur l'une de ses thèmes favoris de recherche : les pavements en *opus sectile* dans une perspective chronologique allant de l'Antiquité au Moyen âge. L'auteur s'intéresse à nouveau à la production des *sectilia pavimenta* dans sa complexité, de la mise au point typologique aux questions liées à la chronologie, en s'appuyant dans sa démonstration sur une riche illustration de belle qualité.

Dans une troisième contribution au volume, Fabrizio Bisconti étudie les mosaïques chrétiennes comme production à part entière au sein du palier chronologique de l'Antiquité tardive, son survol mettant l'accent sur le langage iconographique, à confondre, aux débuts de son parcours, avec le décor des espaces à vocation funéraire, plus particulièrement des catacombes (de Rome).

Vittorio Fronza, formé en archéologie médiévale à l'Università degli studi di Siena, membre du Laboratoire d'Informatiques appliquées à l'archéologie médiévale de la même université (LIAAM), et Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, professeur d'archéologie médiévale et d'archéologie urbaine de Rome à l'Università degli studi Roma 3, co-directeur des fouilles des *fora* impériales menées par la Comune di Roma dans les années 1990-2000⁸, examinent les techniques constructives caractérisant l'architecture privée de la période tardo-antique et du début du Moyen âge. Les auteurs s'intéressent à l'architecture de l'habitat privé afin de retracer brièvement ses lignes d'évolution, ainsi que ses caractéristiques en perspective chronologique. À la lumière de la documentation archéologique il apparaît que le bâti résidentiel en maçonneries en pierre connaît un déclin évident déjà au cours du V^e siècle, voir même un abandon dans les premières décennies du siècle suivant. Avec la déstructuration progressive du système de vie et des structures sociales propres à l'Antiquité tardive on assiste, en effet, à l'affirmation de nouvelles structures d'habitation plus modestes (*Grubenhaus*), en matériaux périssables, réutilisant souvent, du moins en partie, des bâtiments anciens. Cette tendance est étudiée à travers des algorithmes mathématiques et par régions, permettant ainsi de valider l'adaptation d'un modèle économique de subsistance. Il mérité également de remarquer que le travail est assorti des restitutions graphiques en desseins couleurs réalisés par Studio InkLink, illustrant différents types de structures d'habitation prises en considération.

Franco Cambi, professeur associé de méthodologie de la recherche archéologique à l'Università degli studi di Siena où il enseigne l'archéologie du paysage antique, l'archéologie et l'histoire de l'agriculture antique, propose une étude de cas sur la géomorphologie et le paysage antique en Reggio Maritima. La région de la Toscane côtière centre-méridionale, plus précisément la Valle dell'Albegna, respectivement Val di Cornia se trouve au cœur de sa contribution qui est, en effet, une réflexion ouverte sur l'histoire circulaire de l'Étrurie antique,

⁸ De l'ample bibliographie générée par ces fouilles déroulées sur plus de 15 ans, de 1991 à 2007, rappelons rapidement quelques titres : R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani (a cura di), *Roma, lo scavo dei fori imperiali, 1995-2000 : i contesti ceramici*, CEFR 365, Roma, 2006 ; R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani (a cura di), *Formae Urbis Romae. Nuovi frammenti di Piante Marmoree dallo scavo dei Fori Imperiali*, Collana Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. Supplementi, 15, Roma, 2006 ; R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani, *I Fori imperiali : gli scavi del comune di Roma (1991-2007)*, Roma, 2007 ; R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani (a cura di), *Scavi dei Fori imperiali. Il Foro di Augusto. L'area centrale*, Roma, 2010.

laquelle identité socio-historique et culturelle est redevable au devenir de son cadre géographique.

Le propos de Franco Cambi est prolongé par Cristina Corsi, enseignant-chercheur à l'Università degli studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale, qui propose un approfondissement du sujet de la topographie antique par le biais des nouveaux instruments technologiques permettant une démonstration scientifique en faveur d'une archéologie non invasive et non destructive. L'archéologie sans fouille est, en effet, envisagée sous angles croisés des techniques modernes d'investigation, telles que la reconnaissance topographique, *remote-sensing*, la géophysique.

Le volet destiné à l'archéologie des paysages antiques est complété par la contribution de Giuliano Volpe. Professeur de méthodologie de l'archéologie au Département des études humanistiques de l'Università di Bari Aldo Moro, l'auteur examine le thème de l'archéologie subaquatique comme discipline connexe de l'archéologie, en particulier celle de l'Antiquité tardive et (ou) chrétienne. Depuis presque 15 ans l'auteur concentre ses efforts sur des projets d'archéologie subaquatique (en Italie) déroulés avec des équipes internationales, pour étudier les routes économiques et le commerce dans le bassin de la Méditerranée. Dans ce contexte, les épaves de navires commerciales identifiées le long des côtes de l'Italie, de la France, de l'Albanie ou sur la route Afrique – Italie, viennent offrir une image complexe des différentes catégories de marchandises transportées à longue distance. À juste titre, l'auteur s'interroge sur le mode et les formes concrètes que prennent les activités économiques liées au commerce maritime géré par l'Église.

Jacopo De Grossi Mazzorin, professeur à l'Università del Salento, s'intéresse à l'économie des centres religieux, plus précisément à l'archéozoologie en contexte ecclésiastique de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen âge. Ce bref aperçu permet de reconstituer avec beaucoup de précision la diète en milieu monastique de VIII^e au XIII^e siècle, la pratique du *refrigerium* dans les cimetières, ainsi que la mise en place d'un artisanat lié au travail des matières dures d'origine animale. Il faut noter que seulement avec ce dernier aspect l'auteur se situe réellement sur le palier chronologique du VI^e siècle et dans le contexte d'une production d'objets liturgiques.

Une dernière section de ce premier volume est réservée aux méthodologies de fouille et rassemble six contributions étendues sur environ 130 pages. Un premier article est proposé par Michela Flavia Colella – archéologue, secrétaire de la Fondation Nino Lamboglia ONLUS – et Elie Essa Kas Hanna, une seconde fois. Les auteurs examinent la méthodologie, l'histoire des études concernant la fouille archéologique et les techniques de recherche sur le terrain (domaines interdisciplinaires compris). Le cadre théorique établi, les deux auteurs s'intéressent rapidement à l'histoire de la discipline archéologique en Italie et aux progrès qu'elle enregistre tout au long du siècle passé. Vient d'être souligné de manière convaincante l'importance de l'analyse

stratigraphique comme méthode judicieuse d'étude des contextes archéologiques.

Giorgio Nestori, ancien préfet des collections du PIAC, propose un article sur la photographie archéologique. L'auteur montre comment les progrès technologiques et l'invention de la photographie digitale ont pu contribuer au perfectionnement des méthodes de documentation de la fouille. G. N. insiste sur la nécessité que la documentation photographique de la fouille soit confiée à un professionnel et discute, par la suite, les détails techniques de la photographie adaptés à chaque catégorie de découvertes.

Federico Zoni, archéologue chercheur en Archéologie Médiévale et Archéologie de l'architecture à Università degli Studi di Bergamo, évoque le thème complexe du relevé archéologique et donne un aperçu théorique du sujet. De l'examen méthodologique mené par l'auteur il ressort toute une série de techniques, à la fois traditionnelles et innovatives, ainsi que d'actions à réaliser durant la fouille, en vue d'une meilleure documentation des sites archéologiques. L'auteur se tourne finalement vers le cas du site de la basilique paléochrétienne de Cap Don à Riva Ligure afin de valoriser le cadre théorique esquissé auparavant et d'exposer l'applicabilité des différentes techniques de relevé (DTM – *Digital Terrain Model*, orthomosaïque, photogrammétrie).

Stefano Bertoldi (Università degli Studi di Siena) et Angelo Castrorao Barba (Università degli Studi di Palermo) font le choix de privilégier les applications des analyses GIS (*Geographical Information System*) dans la topographie chrétienne. Ces analyses spatiales offrent des nouvelles perspectives dans la compréhension de l'implantation des sites, de l'occupation du territoire, du potentiel et de l'accès aux ressources naturelles, la perception de l'espace et les questions de visibilité, ainsi que la perception du son.

On lira avec profit l'article de Daniela Esposito, enseignante au Département d'histoire, dessin et restauration d'architecture de l'Università degli studi « La Sapienza » di Roma, concernant la protection des monuments à travers les travaux de conservation et de restauration. Un exposé limpide rappelle brièvement le cadre normatif européen et italien et offre plusieurs études de cas dans le domaine de la sauvegarde des sites archéologiques.

Le premier volume s'achève avec la contribution de Marco Valenti, professeur à l'Università degli studi di Siena, sur l'archéologie publique, allant de sa signification théorique à la situation explicite de ce domaine en Italie.

Le cadre théorique établi, regardons par la suite le second volume de cet œuvre ambitieux. Ainsi, la seconde partie réunit quinze contributions totalisant environ 470 pages qui abordent la question de la production tardo-antique et du Moyen âge précoce, par catégorie de biens (vitre, céramiques diverses, objets métalliques, monnaies) ou de productions particulières (récipients en pierre ollaire, vaisselle en argent, objets liés à l'artisanat

du tissage). Tandis qu'une seule contribution est réservée à la production de la vitre à l'Antiquité, pas moins de sept articles très documentés et richement illustrés sont dédiés à la production céramique.

Lucia Saguì, archéologue, membre du Département des sciences de l'Antiquité de l'Università degli studi « La Sapienza » di Roma, offre une synthèse sur les technologies de production du verre durant l'Antiquité, de la fin de la période hellénistique au VII^e siècle apr. J.-C. L.S. se livre à un examen rapide des aspects techniques de cette production et à une analyse des sources textuelles la concernant, en rappelant aussi l'organisation des ateliers. L'auteur porte son regard expérimenté sur la typologie du verre par période, en se référant plus en détail aux productions particulières, telles que : verres soufflés en moule ; verres à facettes ; verres incisés ; verre à fond d'or ou *sectilia* en verre (à partir du IV^e siècle apr. J.-C.). En s'appuyant sur l'évidence archéologique, l'autrice observe, à juste titre, des modifications frappantes dans le répertoire de formes vitrées à partir du V^e siècle, quand le verre vert ou vert foncé devient dominant. Il est également observé qu'au début du Moyen âge l'Orient conserve toujours un répertoire de formes vitrées plus varié que celui rencontré dans l'Occident, avec néanmoins deux formes qui acquissent une notoriété plus large : les lampes et les calices.

Le second article est de Tommaso Bertoldi, archéologue, céramologue, collaborateur du Centro per lo studio delle trasformazioni del territorio (CeSTer) de l'Università degli Studi di Roma « Tor Vergata », qui offre une synthèse rigoureuse et appliquée sur le matériel amphorique du V^e au VII^e siècle. Après une brève introduction qui passe en revue les principaux centres de production amphorique à l'échelle du monde tardo-antique, l'auteur traite les différentes productions, par région, à l'aide d'une riche illustration et des cartes de distribution de types de récipients de transport. Il discute entre autres, à l'examen de la documentation disponible, la typologie des *spatheia* et en fait le point de la circulation des variantes des LRA, tout en ajoutant au dossier les productions occidentales.

Enrico Cirelli, professeur à l'Università di Bologna, se livre à l'étude, d'ailleurs très poussée, de la production de céramique sigillée d'Afrique du Nord (TSA), laquelle est une des classes céramiques la plus présentes dans la Méditerranée à la période considérée. L'auteur s'intéresse aux types connus, à leur chronologie et aire de diffusion, avec des remarques concernant les ateliers et le répertoire décoratif, le tout assorti des planches qui montrent l'évolution du matériel. À la lumière de la documentation archéologique et d'un remarquable travail de typologie de John W. Hayes, E. C. discute la production de sigillée à décor en relief, par style. Le travail s'achève avec des considérations sur la distribution dans le temps et dans l'espace du groupe céramique TSA, laquelle n'était pas un produit destiné seulement à l'exportation, mais aussi aux marchés locaux. De la moitié du V^e jusqu'à la moitié du siècle suivant, dans le contexte de la conquête vandale

de ces contrées, la production du groupe D de TSA est en déclin, son arrivage étant néanmoins mieux documenté en Occident. D'autres formes, par contre, à savoir H.105 et 109 (avec des variantes), sont en circulation jusqu'au VII^e siècle et sur des grandes distances, à la fois en Orient et en Occident.

L'archéologue Gianfranco de Rossi complète le panorama des productions céramiques par une nouvelle synthèse sur les lampes. Le travail repose sur un important effort de classement qui permet d'établir une typologie et des repères chronologiques pour chaque catégorie prise en considération. De ces différents cas discutés, apparaît le fait que déjà au V^e siècle la production de lampes en céramique est déclinante par rapport à celle de la période impériale, tandis que l'usage des lampes en verre est croissant.

De son côté, Fulvio Coletti, archéologue travaillant pour la Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo e l'area archeologica centrale di Roma, livre une version révisée de sa contribution pour le III^e Congrès international sur l'étude de la céramique antique, tenu à Tarragone en 2014, qui porte sur la céramique de table à vernis rouge de Rome et de Lazio. L'introduction précise le cadre des recherches et par la suite l'auteur examine le facies céramique concerné, en offrant un classement des formes basé sur une ample documentation archéologique.

Dans son travail, Alessandro Bona, archéologue et numismate, doctorant en cotutelle de l'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano et University of Warwick (Coventry, UK), propose une brève synthèse sur le groupe céramique connu comme dérivée de sigillée paléochrétienne. Au-delà d'une introduction générale sur cette production particulière de vaisselle fine de table sud-gallique et d'une histoire des études sur le problème, l'auteur examine les centres de production, la typologie, la distribution et le commerce de ces céramiques gauloises.

Les céramiques communes de l'époque romaine à la période du Moyen âge précoce sont évoquées par Eliana Sedini, avec un appendice signé par Giovanna Ganzarolli. La première autrice est une archéologue travaillant pour la Soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia et la seconde est titulaire d'une thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université d'Aix-Marseille (France) sous la direction du professeur Philippe Pergola et d'Alexandra Chavarria Arnau. Leur propos est centré sur l'une des classes céramiques les plus significatives parmi les découvertes archéologiques. L'intérêt de la céramique commune est souligné dans une brève introduction à la matière, complétée par la suite avec l'examen minutieux des typologies, des techniques de production et de l'apport de l'archéométrie à l'étude des céramiques en général et plus particulier à cette catégorie.

Ilaria de Luca se joint à Fulvio Coletti, ce dernier pour une seconde intervention à ce volume, dans un effort remarquable d'examiner la céramique glaçurée de Rome et du Lazio dans la fourchette chronologique couverte par l'ouvrage (période tardo-antique et proto-médiévale).

On lira avec beaucoup d'intérêt une introduction riche en commentaires concernant la définition de la catégorie céramique concernée, sa méthodologie d'étude et histoire des recherches, pour ensuite se pencher sur la production proprement-dite par palier chronologique.

L'article suivant est dû à Enrico Giannichedda, Laura Vaschetti et Mauro Cortelazzo qui proposent d'examiner les récipients en pierre ollaire. Cette catégorie d'artefacts intéresse le milieu de la recherche archéologique depuis les années '70 et '80 du siècle passé dans différents contextes et périodes historiques, surtout en Italie septentrionale. On lira avec beaucoup de curiosité les assertions des auteurs sur les modes d'extraction, les pétrotypes, les lieux de production et la technologie basée sur la pierre ollaire dans l'Arc Alpin italien. La documentation italienne permet d'observer la survivance d'une production utilisant cette matière première entre la période romaine du Haut-Empire et le Moyen âge.

Quittant le vaste domaine de la production céramique pour l'industrie métallurgique, Vasco la Salvia, professeur à l'Università degli studi « G. d'Annunzio » Chieti (Pescara) traite des sites de production, les technologies et les matières premières de la métallurgie de la période de prédilection du manuel. L'auteur observe, à juste titre, que cette industrie est significative dans le milieu ecclésiastique, lequel en est l'un des récipiendaires des objets en métal. Vient ensuite expliquée la technologie de transformation du minerai en étroit lien avec les différents types de four.

L'article d'Alessia Rovelli, numismate, professeur associée à Università degli Studi della Tuscia (Viterbo), offre une réflexion originale sur l'histoire de la monnaie de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen âge. L'examen méthodique et précis du système monétaire tardo-antique, du *solidus* au *nummus* permet de suivre l'évolution dans le temps du monnayage, sans toutefois omettre la production monétaire en milieu longobarde et le phénomène de christianisation des émissions monétaires à partir du second quart du IV^e siècle.

Les arts mineurs font l'objet d'une étude de Matteo Braconi, chercheur à l'Università degli studi Roma 3. Il s'intéresse ici à la production de l'argenterie dans le contexte de la commande impériale, aristocratique et ecclésiastique et le panorama de ce secteur artistique s'ouvre avec une discussion concernant les *missoria* (*largitiones* spécifiques au IV^e siècle) et continue avec la présentation de différentes autres catégories d'artefacts de luxe – patères, trésors liturgiques⁹ – émanant des

commanditaires distincts de la personne de l'empereur (à savoir membres de l'élite et de la hiérarchie de l'Église).

L'article suivant, rédigé par Eva Margareta Steinby, professeur émérite à l'Institut d'archéologie University of Oxford et ancienne directrice de l'Institut finlandais à Rome, examine la production des briques estampillées tardo-antique, en commençant de la période sévérienne, en passant par la Tétrarchie, jusqu'à la production du matériel téglulaire des rois goths.

Helga di Giuseppe, coordinatrice du projet international FastiOnline (www.fastionline.org), une base de données dédiée aux fouilles archéologiques en cours en Italie et dans onze autres pays, qui se sont joint à l'initiative, se livre à l'examen de la production textile et de son instrumentaire¹⁰. Une présentation rapide des matières premières, des chaînes de production, des outils servant

lot hétérogène d'argenterie comme appartenant à un complexe de culte de la cité voisine et à une production limitée, œuvre des ateliers distincts, de la seconde moitié du IV^e-première moitié du V^e siècle, comme indiqué par les principaux commentateurs : A. Rădulescu, T. Cliante, *Tezaurul de la Sucidava – Izvoarele (jud. Constanța)*, Pontica 19, 1986, p. 127-158 ; A. Rădulescu, V. Lungu, *Le christianisme en Scythie Mineure à la lumière des dernières découvertes archéologiques*, dans *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, Studi di antichità cristiana 41.1-3 / CEFR 123.1-3, Città del Vaticano – Roma, 1989, p. 2593-2614.

¹⁰ Aux propos de l'auteur dans l'introduction à son article on pourra ajouter la mention très utile de l'existence du projet international EuroWeb (COST Action CA 19131) initié par Centre for Textile Research à Copenhague, Danemark, sur une période de quatre ans (2020-2024). Ce projet a pour but la création d'un réseau transnational de spécialistes dans le domaine de l'étude des textiles, qui comporte déjà 32 pays membres et environ 200 participants (<https://euoweb.uw.edu.pl/about-euoweb/about-euoweb/>), dont plus de 20 en provenance de Roumanie. Le principal instrument de travail de ce noyau de recherche est une base de données (The Digital Atlas of European Textile Heritage ; site web : <https://euoweb.uw.edu.pl/the-digital-atlas-of-european-textile-heritage/>), censée d'inclure des découvertes significatives pour le domaine des textiles qui couvre la fourchette chronologique du 5000 av. J.-C. à nos jours. Rappelons également qu'une thèse de doctorat due à Alina Iancu, elle aussi membre du projet EuroWeb, est en cours à l'Université de Bucarest. Ce travail téméraire s'intitule *Bobines antiques en céramique découvertes en Péloponnèse et leur rôle dans la production de textiles* (en original, en roumain : *Mosoare antice din ceramică descoperite în Pelopones și rolul lor în producția de textile*) et sera soutenue prochainement (directeurs de thèse : prof. † Alexandru Avram, Ioan Carol Opriș).

⁹ On connaît dans la région du Bas-Danube la découverte fortuite d'un trésor composé de 17 objets en argent (six petites cuillers, six bols, deux œnochoés dont une à bec trilobé, une patère, une passoire et un reliquaire), signalée en 1984 à Sucidava en Scythie (de nos jours Izvoarele, dép. de Constanța, Roumanie), dans un site danubien et notamment sur la rive du fleuve ; on juge ce

à l'activité du tissage, des structures destinées au filage et à la réalisation des tissus permet, en effet, d'évoquer les spécificités de cette production à travers un ample arc chronologique et géographique, de la Grèce archaïque à l'Italie méridionale et centrale au V^e siècle apr. J.-C.

La seconde partie se clôt par la contribution de Gabriele Castiglia, coéditeur du volume et assistant au PIAC, qui porte sur la rémanence et à l'intrusion des matériaux dans les contextes archéologiques. En effet, G. C. relève le défi de proposer une approche méthodologique de la dynamique de constitution des dépôts et des couches archéologiques. L'auteur privilégie les questions de chronologie, auxquelles il offre des clés de lecture à la lumière d'une documentation pertinente des contextes fouillés et des unités stratigraphiques.

Cette publication imposante propose ainsi une vision globalisante de la production et du commerce tardo-antique et du Moyen âge précoce et réunit les compétences de nombreux chercheurs principalement italiens. C'est peut-être pour cela que le volume recensé est dépourvu de conclusion générale. Malgré la grande diversité thématique et une documentation hétérogène et parfois inégale des contributions ici réunies, il faudra avouer que les éditeurs se sont brillamment acquittés de leur tâche, en produisant un véritable manuel de la période tardo-antique et de

l'univers du christianisme. Disons donc que ce livre restitue de manière assez fidèle les différents contextes servant à la production et à l'échange des marchandises, vue qu'une contribution est dédiée à la plupart des domaines d'étude ou catégorie de biens produits le long de la période concernée. Chacune des 39 contributions qui forment le livre est pourvue d'une bibliographie sélective et récente et, en règle générale, d'une illustration en parfait équilibre avec le texte qu'elle accompagne. Le lecteur est invité à naviguer dans une ample documentation, sur des paliers chronologiques étendus et d'un espace géographique à l'autre avec aisance et compétence. Il est donc tout à fait compréhensible que ce compte rendu soit loin de rendre justice à la démarche scientifique remarquable du PIAC, à l'indéniable richesse de documents de toute sorte, sources et restes archéologiques qui ont alimentés la matière de ce livre polyvalent. Enfin, il faudra admettre qu'il est rare qu'un manuel de cette taille aura présenté une pareille amplitude, interdépendance des thèmes traitées et profondeur de la réflexion.

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Damjan Donev, *The Busy Periphery: Urban Systems of the Balkan and Danube Provinces (2nd – 3rd c. AD)*, Roman Archaeology Series 61, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2019, 380 p., ISBN-10: 1789693497

The volume represents a part from the study carried out within the framework of the University of Leiden's international project "An Empire of 2000 Cities: Urban Networks and Economic Integration in the Roman Empire", coordinated by prof. Luuk de Ligt. Between 2013 and 2017, Damian Donev was highly engaged in this project, earning also his doctoral degree in 2014, at the same university. His research interest includes regional studies, with a special emphasis on settlement patterns, hierarchies, and territoriality, methods of field survey and remote sensing. One of the purposes of his book is to include the Balkans in the wider discourse on urbanization in the ancient Mediterranean, because the previous studies on this area (the Pannonian, Moesian, and Dacian provinces; Dalmatia and the northern Adriatic; Upper Macedonia with Epirus and Thrace, except for the northern Aegean) were more on individual towns or on the local history of each province, while his methodology is opening a new tendency of a large-scale and a geographic network-study of the cities. The author is focused on economic geography, central place theory, and rank-size analysis in order to establish economic relationships between urban centres and their hinterlands.

The structure of the volume is as follows: Chapter I: Introduction (p. 1-13); Chapter II: The Genesis of the Roman Settlement Network in the Balkan Provinces and on the Danube. Settlement Chronology (p. 14-50); Chapter III: The Genesis of the Roman Urban Network in the Balkan Provinces and on the Danube. Newly Founded Settlements (p. 51-85); Chapter IV: Settlement Size Distribution (p. 86-122); Chapter V: Agricultural Territories (p. 123-178); Chapter VI: Administrative Territories (p. 179-273); Chapter VII: Conclusions (p. 274-293); Bibliography (p. 294-321); Appendix: A Catalogue of Towns and Settlements, Built-up Area, Agricultural and Administrative Territory (p. 322-379). Each chapter has the same structure *i.e.* main purpose, issues, debates and sources, and a synthesis about discoveries, ordered by provinces. The volume ends with a large bibliography, obviously very useful for those interested in the analysed study area, as well as an appendix, a catalogue of towns and settlements, build-up area, agricultural land, administrative territory.

From the first lines of the introduction, the author sets the main goal of his study through which he aims „to reconstruct the urban geography of the Balkan and the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire at the time of

the Severan dynasty, with a particular emphasis on the quantitative properties of the regional urban systems and the urban hierarchy” (p. 1). This period marks the peak for many urban centres, as they were granted municipal status, and on the other hand, it is well known from an archaeological and epigraphical point of view, as long as inscriptions and architecture provide valuable information about institutions, territories, economic and administrative life, etc. Explaining why he chose the Balkans and the Danubian provinces, the author admits that he was guided by practical considerations, more precisely: the accessibility of the relevant literature and the language of the publications (p. 3-4). Moreover, he is of opinion that the Balkan and Danube provinces never became closely integrated enough to form a compact territorial block within the Roman Empire (p. 4)! By any standard, this is not only a vast study-region (even the customs zones – the largest fiscal units of the Empire – did not encompass the integral study area), but also culturally quite diverse, and we agree, together with the author, that this choice may have facilitated the gathering of data, but it surely complicated the interpretation of the results, especially because of the inclusion of regions with a Hellenistic urban tradition in a study-area that was predominantly Latin (p. 4). Taking this difficulty into account, the author decided to present the survey results by provinces, as well as to carry out the rank-size analysis also for each province.

Another aspect that catches our attention is the main characteristic Donev chose to define an urban centre/settlement. He leaves apart the juridical status, and takes into consideration the size and the population of each of them. Donev uses almost exclusively the term “urbanity”, based on agglomerations of 5 ha, stone structures, local institutions and centrality of the settlement. He usually avoids the notions of “town” or “cities”, instead he uses the more flexible and complex notion of “urban systems”. According to the author, far more significant is the observation that urban functions can be appropriated by settlements that lack an official urban status. In these cases, neither the urban label – the juridical status – nor the urban functions are bound to certain size and formal settlement categories. Therein lies the principal difficulty of defining the urban and rural categories (p. 7). As a consequence, the labels “town” and “urban” will be applied exclusively to the central places in the self-governing communities, while the settlement categories that display certain urban features or are involved in non-agrarian economies – ports, road-stations, mining colonies, garrison settlements – but lack an official urban status will be called “secondary”, “town-like” or “non-agrarian” agglomerations.

Chapter II presents the chronology of the settlements that were included in this study. The basic distinction is between the settlements founded prior to and after the Roman conquest. Donev highlights how “as its counterpart on an Empire-wide level, the settlement system in the Balkan provinces was a composite phenomenon” (p. 14),

of inherited and imposed sites, societies and land-use. Especially for the Moesias the author draws on one hand attention on the differences between the coastal zone and the interior due to the lack of urban infrastructure, and on the other on the almost complete absence of continuity in settlements and native institutions in the provinces along the Danube (p. 29). In addition to the discussion related to the continuity/discontinuity of the urban settlements before and after the arrival of the Romans, we note with regard to Moesia Inferior, the large number of *vici* – the largest in the entire analysed area (p. 32), and for Dacia the little survival of the old central places after the Roman conquest (p. 38).

In Chapter III the genesis of the newly founded segment of the settlement network is discussed. The author identifies two main categories of settlements founded after the conquest, garrison and civilian settlements, and he also attempts to establish the respective extents of the military and civilian sectors. The follow-up to this approach would be to obtain clues that determined the layout of the newly founded settlement network.

The analysis of this topic for Moesia Inferior raises particular problems of interpretation because of the high number of settlements with unclear chronology and character (p. 66). Another characteristic of the same province consists in the importance of the military factor: the presence of Roman army had a major impact on the genesis of the garrison settlements, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, two of the official civilian foundations (Oescus and Troesmis) emerged from former legionary camps. Excluding the Greek colonies, there is little room for urban development in this province, but still – taking into account the epigraphic sources from *vici* (and *komai* in Thrace) – some of the settlements displayed at least some urban features (p. 67-68). The military factor is even more pronounced in Dacia, where the garrison settlements are by far the most numerous, and in this category are also included some of the largest towns in Dacia. *Vici* instead are poorly attested in the epigraphy of Roman Dacia, but the differences are evident in the archaeology of the individual settlements. Particular attention is given to the mining district of Ampelum (p. 70-72). One of the concluding remarks for this chapter, which represents a general feature of the entire study-area, is the fact that the Romans maintained the principle of separating the military from the civilian sector throughout the Early Roman Empire (p. 77).

The variable size of the settlements is the subject of Chapter IV, where the author relies on the technique known as rank-size analysis. The chapter includes also analyses graphs for each province and the study-area as a whole in relation to the general types of rank-size distributions and their socio-economic implications. The specific rank-size graphs referring to Moesia Inferior and Dacia (figs. IV 12, 13 on p. 106, and figs. IV 17, 18 on p. 111) reflect the composite nature of the urban systems. According to the author, Dacia was composed of at least

two separate regional units, while the urban system in Moesia Inferior combined two segments of very different age and character (p. 118).

Chapter V is a survey of the settlements' micro-locations. The basic premise of this analysis is that the founding of the settlement was determined chiefly by the strategic and economic considerations of its settlers. These are implicated in the position of the settlement in relation to the natural resources. The most viable non-descriptive way of analysing the settlements' micro-locations was to estimate the amount of arable land available within the area enclosed by a set-catchment radius. The main challenge the author faced carrying out this survey was the scant and sometimes the accuracy of data from Balkan countryside. Nevertheless, it still provides an important insight into the creation and workings of the urban segment of the settlement network. By far, the most important locational factor for the group of analysed settlements, regardless of their rank and status, was access to the Danube or the Black Sea. In this respect, the urban system of Moesia Inferior is a small-size replica of the urban system in the study-area (p. 163).

Chapter VI is dedicated to the study of the territorial extents of the autonomous towns and state-run districts in the provinces on the study-area. The territorial reconstructions are based on Thiessen polygons in combination with the distribution of the epigraphic material and the physical geography. For Moesia Inferior, an east-west divide emerges, with eastern poleis and districts making up a two-thirds majority of the administrative units, contrasting with the towns and military districts in the west (fig. VI 19, p. 265), while for Dacia, the low numbers of inscriptions create notable divergences in calculations of territorial units compared to those proposed via Thiessen polygons (p. 257-258). On a more general level, the author demonstrates the lack of positive correlation between the rank and built-up areas of the towns and their territorial sizes (p. 265-266).

In the concluding chapter, Donev summarizes and synthesizes key findings, based on the nature of imperial redefinition of conquered territories and the imposition of a new and distinctive economic and administrative settlement organization. The author concludes: "the framework of the settlement system consisted of a set of vertical relationships

between the frontier and civilian settlements and the civilian settlements and the secondary agglomerations. These relationships were mediated chiefly by the central and provincial government (...), and it has emerged that, theoretically, there was not much incentive for regular economic interactions on a regional level" (p. 293).

The volume is accompanied by a rich illustrative material – maps, graphs and tables, which present the information synthetically, with the observation that some of them are difficult to read, especially the maps with the distribution of the inscriptions in the territory (e.g., map VI 78, p. 264), or have the wrong legend, as with maps regarding the city of Odessos, which appears as Odessa (e.g., map VI 48, p. 238).

The volume represents an expansive quantitative approach to the economic geography of diverse urban centres in the Roman Balkan provinces, and contributes to the study of urbanization in the proposed study-area. Its essential contribution is to shift the focus on urbanity towards the distribution of size-categories, as well as the micro-locational and functional variations or the changing density of the settlement networks.

We emphasize in particular the considerations on "secondary agglomerations" (5-10 ha in size, like road stations), which fill the gap between cities and farming communities, especially since such settlements rarely appear in research. Even so, it would have been very useful for the author to consult some important works, analysing similar aspects for the area he investigated, such as: Dan Aparaschivei, *Orașele romane de la Dunărea inferioară (secolele I-III p.Chr.)*, 2010, and Adela Băltăc, *Lumea rurală în provinciile Moesia Inferior și Thracia: (secolele I-III p. Chr.)*, 2011.

In conclusion, Donev offers to the readers a very thorough investigation of a diverse and sometimes uneven range of data for the archaeology of Roman towns and territories in the Balkan and Danubian provinces during the Early Roman Empire, introducing new concepts and analysis tools and also opening up new research directions.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
(A)ARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București
ABSA – Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens
ACMI – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaPraehArch – Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin
AÉ – L'Année épigraphique, Paris
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America
AJPh – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
American Anthropologist – American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association,
([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1548-1433](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1433))
AnaliSofia – Anali. Spisania za istorija, clasičeska kultura i iskustvoznania, Sofia
Anatolia Antiqua – Anatolia Antiqua. Revue internationale d'archéologie anatolienne. Institut français
d'études anatoliennes, Istanbul
AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
Angustia – Angustia. Arheologie, Etnografie, Sfântu Gheorghe
ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren
Forschung*, Berlin – New York, 1972-1998
AnUBucurești – Analele Universității din București
AnUCraiova – Analele Universității din Craiova
AOR – Arheologički otkritija i razkopki
APL – Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia, Leiden
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Aquitania – Aquitania. Fédération Aquitania, Bordeaux
Archaeological Journal – The Archaeological Journal. Royal Archaeological Institute, London
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
ArhSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologički Institut i Muzej, Sofia
ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata,
Budapest
ArchHung-Archaeologia Hungarica. Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz
Argesis – Argesis. Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești
Aristonothos – Aristonothos. Rivista di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico, Università degli Studi di Milano
BABESCH – BABESCH. Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, Leiden
Banatica – Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
BayVgBl – Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter. Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der
Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit dem Bayerischen Landesamt für
Denkmalpflege und der Archäologische Staatssammlung, München
BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes – Paris
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,
Frankfurt am Main
Berytus – Berytus. Archaeological Studies. Faculty of Arts and Sciences, American University of Beirut
BiblMusNap – Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
BiblIstrPont-SA – Biblioteca Istro-Pontică. Seria Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă
Simion”, Tulcea
BiblMusAp – Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia

- BiblThrac – Bibliotheca Thracologica, București
- BMTAGiurgiu – Buletinul Muzeului „Teohari Antonescu”, Giurgiu
- Britannia – Britannia. A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, Cambridge
- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BSS – Black Sea Studies, Aarhus
- CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie. Asociația ARA, București
- CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge
- Carch – Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l’Antiquité et Moyen Âge, Paris
- Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu”, Bacău
- CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași
- CCGG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz. Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
- CEFR – Collection de l’École Française de Rome
- CercIst – Cercetări Istorice. Complexul Național Muzeal „Moldova”, Iași, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
- CIG – *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 volumes, Berlin, 1828-1877
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 volumes, Berlin, 1853-
- CIS – *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 5 volumes, Paris, 1881-1962
- ClAnt – Classical Antiquity, Berkeley, California
- Colloquium Anatolicum – Colloquium Anatolicum. Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Istanbul
- ComArchHung – Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest
- CRAI – Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
- Crisia – Crisia. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d’Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », București
- DHA – Dialogues d’Histoire Ancienne. Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon
- Eirene – Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina. Centre for Classical Studies at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- Epigraphica – Epigraphica. Periodico Internazionale di Epigrafia, Roma
- EpigrAnat – Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens, Bonn
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain, Leiden
- EurAnt – Eurasia Antiqua. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Eurasien Abteilung, Berlin
- EVO – Egitto e Vicino Oriente. Rivista della sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente, Dipartimento di Civiltà e Forme del Sapere dell’Università degli studi di Pisa
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Gephyra – Gephyra. Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesi Eskiçağ Tarihi ve Kültürlerini Araştırma Dergisi / Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Kulturen des antiken östlichen Mittelmeerraums. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Antalya
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
- GLIHalmyris – M. Zahariade, C.-G. Alexandrescu (eds.), *Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Halmyris. Inscriptions on stone, signa, and instrumenta found between 1981 and 2010*, BARIntSer 2261, 2011
- Hesperia – Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- Historia Urbana – Historia Urbana. Comisia de Istorie a Orașelor din România, Academia Română, Sibiu
- Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua. Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb
- HOROΣ – HOROΣ (Horos). Greek Epigraphic Society, Athens
- IDR II – G. Florescu, C.C. Petolescu (eds.), *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. II. Oltenia și Muntenia, București, 1977

- IDR III/1 – I.I. Russu, M. Dušanić, N. Gudea, V. Wollmann (eds.), *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. III/1. *Dacia Superior. Zona de sud-vest (teritoriul dintre Dunăre, Tisa și Mureș)*, București, 1977
- IDR III/2 – I.I. Russu, I. Piso, V. Wollmann (eds.), *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. III/2. *Dacia Superior. Ulpia Traiana Dacica (Sarmizegetusa)*, București, 1980
- IDR III/3 – I.I. Russu, O. Floca, V. Wollmann (eds.), *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. III/3. *Dacia Superior. Zona centrală (teritoriul dintre Ulpia Traiana, Micia, Apulum, Alburnus Maior, Valea Crișului)*, București, 1984
- IDR III/4 – I.I. Russu (ed.), *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. III/4. *Dacia Superior. Zona răsăriteană*, București, 1988
- IDR III/5 – I. Piso (ed.), *Inscriptions d'Apulum*, Paris, 2001 (2 volumes)
- IG II² – J. Kirchner (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, pars I-III, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1913-1940
- IGB III/1 – G. Mihailov (ed.), *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. III/1. *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: Territorium Philippopolis*, Sofia, 1961
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- IGLS – *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris – Beirut, 1929-2012
- IK Iznik – S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 9 und 10, 1-2, Bonn, 1979, 1981-1982
- Il Mar Nero – Il Mar Nero. *Annali di archeologia e storia*, Roma
- ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, București, I (2005), II (2016)
- IMT – M. Barth, J. Stauber (eds.), *Inschriften Mysia & Troas*, München, 1993
- Inv XI – J. Teixidor, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, vol. 11, Beirut, 1965
- IRT – J.M. Reynolds, J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rome, 1952
- ISmyrna – G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 23 und 24, 1-2, Bonn, 1982, 1987, 1990
- ISM I – D.M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, vol. I. *Inscriptiones Histriae et viciniae*, București, 1983
- ISM III – A. Avram, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, vol. III. *Callatis et territorium*, București, 1999
- ISM V – E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, vol. V. *Capidava, Troesmis, Noviodunum*, București, 1980
- ISM VI.2 – A. Avram, M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, vol. VI. *Supplementa. Fasciculus alter. Tomis et territorium*, București – Paris, 2018
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
- IzvestijaŠumen – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej, Šumen
- JAHA – Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology, Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei Cluj-Napoca, Universitatea Tehnică Cluj-Napoca
- JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science, Elsevier
- JDAI – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- JFA – Journal of Field Archaeology, Boston University
- JHS – The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Cambridge University Press
- JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Cambridge University Press
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- LGPN I – P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. I. *Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford, 1987
- LGPN II – P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. II. *Attica*, Oxford, 1994

- LGPN V.A – T. Corsten (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. V.A. *Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia*, Oxford, 2010
- MAGW – Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien
- Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MEFRA – Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité, Roma
- MN – Muzeul Național, București
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- NCE – Nuovo Catalogo Epigrafico, Musei Capitolini
- OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
- Orpheus – Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies. International Council of Indo-European and Thracian Studies, Institute of Balkan Studies with Centre of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
- PAS – Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- PAT – D.R. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore, 1996
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M., Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea
- Plural – Plural. History, Culture, Society. Journal of the History and Geography Department, “Ion Creangă” Pedagogical State University, Chișinău
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- RA – Revue archéologique, Paris
- Razkopki i proučvanija – Razkopki i proučvanija. Nacionalen Arheologičeski Institut s Muzej, Bălgarska Akademija na Naukite, Sofia
- RCAN – Revista de cercetări arheologice și numismatice, Muzeul Municipiului București
- RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893-
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques. L'associations pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France, Paris
- Revue Biblique – Revue Biblique. École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem
- Revue d'Égyptologie – Revue d'Égyptologie. Société française d'égyptologie, Paris
- RI – Revista Istorică. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIB – R.G. Collingwood, R.P. Wright (eds.), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. I-II, Oxford, 1965-1995
- RRH – Revue roumaine d'histoire. Academia Română, București
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași
- Saalburg Jahrbuch – Saalburg Jahrbuch. Bericht des Saalburg Museums, Bad Homburg
- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice din România, București
- Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva
- SB I – F. Preisigke (ed.), *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Strassburg, 1915
- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-1971, Amsterdam 1979-
- SNG ANS – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, USA. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, New York, 1969
- Starinar – Starinar. Naučni časopis Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, Beograd
- StCl – Studii Clasice, Societatea de Studii Clasice din România, București
- Studi ellenistici – Studi ellenistici, Pisa – Roma
- Studia Palmyreńskie – Studia Palmyreńskie. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw
- Sumer – Sumer. A journal of archaeology and history in Iraq, Baghdad
- SympThrac – Symposia Thracologica

- Syria – Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie, Institut français du Proche-Orient, Paris
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
- VAMZ – Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
- VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Otdelenie istoriko-filologičeskikh nauk Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
- Xenia – Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Konstanz am Bodensee
- Zephyrus – Zephyrus. Revista de Preistoria i Arqueologia. Universidad de Salamanca
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
- ZSAK – Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte. Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, Zürich

