

lenism, especially under Augustus and later under Hadrian. The Conclusion is followed by an extensive Bibliography (pp. 275–308) and an Index (pp. 309–19).

In sum, the book is a very well documented scholarly debate about a complex and interesting issue, using extensive and very recent literature, presenting well-justified paradigms and offering a skilfully written narrative. The sources Spawforth uses are primarily ancient authors, epigraphy and architecture, although the focus is heavily on the first two categories. Forays into archaeology and the theoretical side of 'Romanity' are of a more limited nature, but in general the bibliography provides a fresh look at research on Early Imperial Greece, and can be recommended to anyone interested in this area and in this period.

The discussion is not so much about power and the effects of imperialism, colonization and dominance and responses to this as about moral discourse as the linchpin of cultural change and the (positive) responses to this discourse by the provincial elite. This is, however, the slight drawback of the approach. The top-down view of elite agency adopted in this book offers a rather narrow perspective of cultural changes in a complex society. Current scholarship on responses to Roman imperialism stresses the diversity of local responses, which certainly should also be evident on the elite level, but recognizable also in other spheres of society. The nature of our evidence leads us to concentrate on the elite but to bypass other strata of society, and this cannot be beneficial for the understanding of the whole. Spawforth makes a brief reference to this aspect in his book (p. 274) but still it is a pity that, in a book so filled with insightful discussions, the issues involved in this are not more fully explored.

*Pirjo Hamari*

*The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions.* Edited by LARISSA BONFANTE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19404-4. XXIII, 395 pp. GBP 60, USD 90.

While barbarians have never really been neglected within the field of Classics, the study of European Iron Age communities, in particular, seems to have gained in self-assurance in the past decade or so. The apologetic tone has been shed, and together with the rehabilitation of the term 'barbarian' for scholarly use, the study of "non-classical" cultures of the ancient world has proliferated. A wide array of studies has managed to cover most conceivable aspects of not only the barbarian interaction with Mediterranean civilisations, but also their 'factual' archaeological cultures and, not less importantly, the reception and use of ancient 'barbarian' identities in more recent centuries. With the increasingly confident modern recourse to the concept of barbarity within ancient studies, attempts have reappeared to bring into negotiation literary sources and archaeological interpretations – a technique with great potential to both enrich and muddle our understanding.

Enrichment is most emphatically what is achieved by the work under review, along with tolerable amounts of muddle. Based on papers given at the University of Richmond in March 2003, the collection presents a selection of perspectives into the relationships between Mediterranean and 'barbarian' archaeological cultures. Ancient literary testimonies are dealt with in most of the contributions, and in a large majority of them this strategy is well handled. Occasionally, however, inherited scholarly presuppositions grounded in the literary sources do

affect the conclusions drawn from the archaeological data. The desire itself to look for common elements in European barbarians is partly dependent upon the Classical tendency to entertain ethnographical commonalities. Similar circularity is inherent in the remark by the editor Larissa Bonfante that "[the Greeks] were the 'Others', for they did things differently from all other peoples around them" (p. 7) – a statement that is echoed in other contributions, but which seems like an unwitting perpetuation of the ancient Greek perception of their own exceptionalism. Such hidden presentiments, while almost unavoidable in ancient barbarian studies, do not diminish the overall value of any contribution as long as they are recognised.

Chapter 1, "Classical and Barbarian" by Bonfante serves as an introduction, and provides all the mandatory caveats concerning the use of archaeological evidence. Bonfante's pedigree in Etruscan studies is very strong, and her principal contribution to the book, Chapter 8 ("The Etruscans: Mediators between Northern Barbarians and Classical Civilization"), reflects her intimate knowledge of the subject. The crucial role of the Etruscan communities leads rather smoothly to the skilled iconographical contribution by Otto-Herman Frey ("The World of Situla Art") in Chapter 9. Frey looks into the *situlae* (essentially, very fancy buckets) from the broad area mostly extending around the north shore of the Adriatic, and presents readings of their pictorial elements that allow some rather nuanced conclusions to be drawn both about the local elite culture of the area, and the preferences concerning consumption and decoration that emerge from the international models for these *situlae*.

Paul Keyser, a historian of ancient science, contributes Chapter 2 ("Greek Geography of the Western Barbarians"), an insightful treatment of the modes of thought characterising the Greek conceptualisations of the West and Westerners. Of particular value is the stress upon the mythologisation of the Western landscape itself. That said, one is left yearning for more debate about whether what is mostly taken as Greek modes of thought about barbarians could in some instances actually rather be modes of expression, dictated by the register of ethnographic writing. Keyser's contribution could be paired with that particular group of Westerners that the Greeks found difficult to label exactly, namely the Romans. This fascinating subject is covered by the tantalisingly brief contribution of John Marincola ("Romans and/as Barbarians") in Chapter 11. While the Hellenistic notion of becoming Hellenic through the adoption of cultural standards certainly allowed for a more inclusive attitude towards the Romans, other factors at play – both political and notional – are also examined by Marincola.

Scythians are represented in this collection by two contributions that together form a very strong pair. Individually, Askold Ivantchik's "The Funeral of Scythian Kings", constituting Chapter 3, is noteworthy in the breadth of its archaeological data and the vim of its comparative method, while Renate Rolle's Chapter 4 ("The Scythians: Between Mobility, Tomb Architecture, and Early Urban Structures") is much more solid in steering cautiously clear of outright speculation. Herodotus looms behind both contributions, with Ivantchik arguing vehemently (p. 73) against Hartog's *Mirror of Herodotus* (1980, transl. 1988) and comparing the archaeological remains of burial practices with the literary testimony. Rolle, for her part, believes that the remains of a huge enclosed settlement near Bel'sk, Ukraine, might be the Herodotean town of Gelonos, said to have incorporated a mixed population of Hellenes and Scythians. Both articles dwell too long upon matters that are either too basic (Rolle) or too speculative (Ivantchik), and cautious readers may feel slightly uneasy with the sweeping connections that the Eurasian steppe seems to both allow and invite. Generally, though, both are very useful when dealing with Scythian structural remains, whether tombs or *gorodishche*.

Thracians, a crucial group for the formation of Greek notions about the barbarian peoples of the north, are approached in this collection from the direction of pictorial studies and comparative mythology. In his "Philomele's Tongue" (Chapter 5) Ivan Marazov showcases a confident theoretical approach to the pictorial register of Thracian mythonarratives. Many hypotheses, however, are expected to be taken for granted, and despite several clever connections, the theoretical jargon may occasionally gloss over deep ambivalences in our sources. After all, to argue for pictorial polysemy in ancient mythological imagery can be a very convenient thing for a modern scholar to do, but to proclaim that this will "restore a dialogue with antiquity" (p. 133) smacks of hubris. The second contribution which has much to do with the Thracians is by Nancy Thomson de Grummond ("A Barbarian Myth? The Case of the Talking Head", Chapter 10), who approaches the curious pictorial motif of the talking head frequently used both among the Thracians and Italian groups, with further possible connections with "Celtic" Europe. The Orpheus paradigm of previous scholarship is usefully called into question, and despite occasional bold conjectures Thomson de Grummond has put together a remarkable investigation. She suggests a three-pronged typology for the image of a talking head, and the article as a whole seems like a very good starting point for any study into the narrative element of a prophetic voice, whether iconographic or literary.

Barry Cunliffe (Chapter 6) approaches the elusive category of "Celts" by combining the usual warnings regarding the circularity of the ethnonym with a theory previously advanced by himself and John T. Koch (*Celtic from the West*, Oxbow 2010). In this he is aided by the early Greek references to the *Keltoi* connecting this ethnonym with the west rather than the north, but in so doing he may be overreaching: the tendency of Greek ethnography to use very broad ethnic categories need not have stemmed from linguistic commonalities among the barbarian groups themselves (p. 200). The Germans, another group of northerners that depended upon the previously formed iconosphere of European barbarians, are covered in Chapter 7 by Peter S. Wells ("The Ancient Germans"). As with the Celts, many contributions to the study of ancient "Germans" find it necessary to engage to a certain extent with the history of scholarship, but having done this concisely, Wells proceeds to point out the sheer literariness and tendentiousness of much of the written tradition (p. 214, p. 218). Possible shared identities among the *Germani* are understandably approached through archaeological sources, and by the end of the article what emerges is a more nuanced, more careful alternative to the over-confidence of the Ethnogenesis School, albeit with the themes of the Migration Age treated in a slightly old-fashioned way (p. 226). The barbarians of Late Antiquity are also the context for Walter Stevenson's "The Identity of Late Barbarians: Goths and Wine" (Chapter 12). He provides a measured and valuable reassessment of the significance of the consumption of alcohol concerning the identity and self-identification of groups coming into contact with the wine drinking elite culture of Greeks and Romans. While some circularity concerning the use of the word 'ethnicity' is found in the article (e.g. p. 362), especially the argument that beer drinking had much longer roots in the Mediterranean than the literary sources lead us to expect (p. 359), is most interesting.

Cunliffe's concluding Chapter 13 ("Some Final Thoughts") and a clever and approachable art historical essay by Ann Farkas (Note on Delacroix, "Enslaved among the Barbarians") bring the book to a close. The volume is lavishly illustrated with 15 maps, 23 colour plates, and 104 illustrations – the majority of which are of good quality, and of course quite crucial in a work so concerned with the study of iconography. Some errors are inevitable, such as the

location of the famous archaeological site of Vix (not in Vendée, but in northern Burgundy) in the map reproduced both on p. 2 and on the inside of the front cover. The Index is quite satisfactory, especially considering the wide variety of subjects covered.

*Antti Lampinen*

TILMANN BECHERT: *Germania Inferior. Eine Provinz an der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Orbis Provinciarum. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2007. ISBN 978-3-8053-2400-7. 167 S., 67 Farb-, 18 SW- und 15 Strichabb. EUR 29.90.

Il libro intende offrire al lettore uno sguardo generale sull'archeologia, storia e cultura della Germania Inferiore dal I secolo a.C. fino alla fine dell'antichità. Oltre alla graduale romanizzazione che, dopo una lunga presenza di legioni romane e di altre truppe nella regione, era culminata nella formazione, alla fine degli anni 80 d.C., della provincia romana con capitale a Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Köln), vengono discussi i molteplici aspetti della vita vissuta nei territori sulla riva occidentale del Reno, in corrispondenza dell'odierna Germania occidentale e di parti degli attuali Belgio e Olanda (amministrazione, esercito, città e insediamenti, istituzioni, economia e commercio, arte e artigianato, religione, integrazione e romanità, ecc.). Dopo un resoconto delle caratteristiche della società tardoantica, il volume si conclude con buoni indici e un'ampia bibliografia. Si tratta di un'ottima introduzione alla storia e cultura della Germania Inferiore, aggiornata con osservazioni sulle nuove scoperte e accompagnata da piantine e ricostruzioni architettoniche di edifici e di altre strutture.

*Mika Kajava*

MIROSLAVA MIRKOVIĆ: *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Orbis provinciarum. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2007. ISBN 978-3-8053-3782-3. 127 S. EUR 24.90.

Questo lavoro è dedicato al territorio e alle varie vicende storiche della Mesia Superiore dai tempi preromani alla fine del VII secolo d.C. Tra gli eventi più significativi nella storia mesica spiccano naturalmente la formazione della provincia romana della Mesia all'inizio del I sec. d.C. e la sua successiva divisione, verso la metà degli anni 80 d.C., in due parti, l'Inferior e la Superior, quest'ultima, con capitale a Viminacium (Kostolac), corrispondente a parti delle attuali Serbia e Bulgaria e della Repubblica di Macedonia. Tra i temi trattati, come era da aspettarsi, maggior enfasi viene data alla storia militare (insieme alla rete stradale), ma sono illustrati anche altri argomenti quali lo sviluppo degli insediamenti civili, l'economia e il commercio, la religione (a cui tuttavia sono dedicate solo cinque pagine) e la tarda antichità (cristianesimo, invasioni barbariche, ecc.). Le iscrizioni, non solo latine ma anche greche, da cui derivano le informazioni più importanti relative alla storia e alle istituzioni mesiche, sono discusse con competenza. Molto utile, alla fine del volume (pp. 113 sgg.), la breve sintesi delle cose che più hanno caratterizzato quella che era la Moesia Superior. In somma, un bel volume corredato,