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and their various uses. They also provide clear, graphic illustrations of their findings. Two maps are provided which illustrate the various types of cults and altars respectively. It is interesting to note the predominance of altars which were dedicated to funerary cults in the areas of San Giovenale and Blera.

Friedhelm Prayon follows suit, with an article on the tomb as an altar (pp. 75–82). He demonstrates that, for the Etruscans, the grave monument was not only a place to deposit the dead, but it also served as an altar from the beginning to the end of Etruscan tomb building. He points to the presence of ramps leading onto the summit of *tumuli* in earlier periods, possibly with a *cippus* on top and points out that the Etruscan *cippi* have not yet been studied in great detail. Later periods had other types of altar constructions, but the habit of using the tomb as an altar was maintained and did probably later inspire the Romans in their construction of the “altartomb/*Altargrab*” as a symbol of the cult of the ancestor. In Roncalli’s paper (pp. 117–125) an Archaic golden ring with an incised bezel depicts the altar, as well as a crouching creature sitting on top of it. The creature has a human body and a wolf’s head, mane and outstretched paws and “... can only be the Etruscan demon of death, related to *Aplu/Suri* ...” (p. 124).

The last contribution by Giovannangelo Camporeale, “Il teatro etrusco secondo le fonti scritte, spettacolo, ritualità, religione” (pp. 156–164), provides a useful collection of all the sources in Greek and Roman literature for various types of Etruscan performances.

To conclude, this is a valuable book of interest for any student of Etruscan religious activities. As is evident from the above descriptions, most of the contributions in the colloquium proceedings illuminate the ideas and propositions of each other. The quality of each individual text is reflected in the overall volume, as it is a high-quality scholarly endeavour.

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Nancy A. Winter, *Symbols of wealth and power, Architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 B.C.* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Supplementary volume, IX), Ann Arbor, Michigan 2009, lii + 650 pp., 525 figs. ISBN-13: 978-0-472-11665-2; ISBN-10 0-472-11665-7.¹

Jette Christansen & Nancy A. Winter, with contributions by Patricia S. Lulof, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue Etruria Vol. I, Architectural terracottas and painted wall plaques, Pinakes, c. 625–200 BC*, København 2010. 198 pp., 254 figs. ISBN 978-87-7452-312-3.

Patricia S. Lulof, *Architectural terracottas in the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam* (Collections of the Allard Pierson Museum, 2), Amsterdam 2007. viii + 117 pp., VI + 32 pls., 35 figs. ISBN/EAN 978-90-71211-40-9.

The progress of research concerning Central Italic architectural terracottas has centred around five particular years. In 1918, Alessandro Della Seta divided the terracottas in the Museo di Villa Giulia into three chronological (and stylistic) phases, a classification still valid to a great extent even today. In 1940, Arvid Andréén published his fundamental *corpus* of the entire bulk of material known at the time. In 1966, American archaeologists started excavating an Etruscan site at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) and Swedish ones, another at Acquarossa—two projects that were soon to alter entirely our comprehension of early terracotta production in Etruria, even adding an earlier unknown phase before the first one of Della Seta’s.

In 1990, the first international conference on Central Italic terracottas was held at the Swedish Institute in Rome, followed up to now by three more—all of them entitled *Deliciae Fictiles*. These four conferences have considerably promoted the publication of both new and old finds. In 2009, finally, Nancy Winter’s new handbook, *Symbols of wealth and power*, superseded Andréén’s work that, through the wealth of new discoveries from the 1960s onwards, had become increasingly obsolete. It is, however, telling that Winter’s weighty volume has room only for Della Seta’s first phase and for the earlier one that we now know preceded it.

It may be more than mere chance that the distance between these five fundamental dates happens to be more or less the same (19–26 years)—each, thus, representing a new generation of scholars with new aims and new methods. While Andréén’s *corpus* clearly reflects early twentieth-century scholarly traditions, Winter’s *magnum opus* is firmly based on the

¹ Parts of my review of Nancy Winter’s book have been published before (in Swedish) in *Medusa* 32:1, 2011, 43–47.

methodology and the framing of questions grown out of the Acquarossa and Poggio Civitate publications as well as of the four *Deliciae Fictiles* conferences.

New technical examination methods have paved the way for detailed information on production processes: the concentration on studies of entire terracotta roofs rather than individual, detached objects of art has laid the foundations of a more reliable chronology and, thus, of a better understanding of technical as well as decorative development in the early terracotta industry.

Nancy Winter got her archaeological training at Poggio Civitate around 1970 and wrote her dissertation about early, human-head antefixes from the whole Graeco-Italic world. In 1993, she published a scholarly handbook on Archaic Greek architectural terracottas, but later returned to the Central Italic material. During a long succession of years, she personally examined every piece and fragment of importance for her study and could finally present an almost complete catalogue,² with analyses of the material from every possible aspect.

In all, Winter publishes 101 terracotta roofs from 32 sites, distributed among seven groups (chapters), partly chronological and partly representing different but contemporaneous, decorative traditions. By a consistent grouping and treatment of the roofs, she manages to present a convincing picture of the development. In spite of minor, regional variations (particularly at Caere), there was a basic uniformity over the entire Central Italic area, and Winter, thus, can once and for all refute those earlier theories that maintained that some terracottas with early stylistic traits were examples of late, retarded characteristics in isolated, hinterland regions.

Through the study of entire roofs and both their technical and their decorative details, Winter evades these pitfalls. She presents a convincing survey of the various chronological stages: the experimental phase, when each workshop tried to find its own solutions (c. 640–600/580 BC: Chs. 1–2), the increasing influence from the Hellenized world (c. 600/580–550/540 BC: Chs. 1–4), and finally the emergence of various competing systems (c. 550/540–510 BC: Chs. 5–7). I find only one weakness in this arrangement of the book—that is, the very first chapter: “Undecorated or modestly decorated roofs, 650–530 BC.” Not only is the time-span of the period too great to be treated as one, but the chapter also inevitably combines roofs that never had any decorative terracottas with others that may have had but lost them before excavation. Moreover, this arrangement divides obviously identical

roof-tiles from decorated and undecorated roofs between different chapters and, thus, obstructs a comprehensive view of their evolution.

Winter’s arrangement of the material presented within each chapter is, at first view, quite difficult to grasp, but soon appears perfectly logical and crystal-clear. After a general introduction and a chronological survey of the roofs (for instance, “Roof 2–6” is the sixth roof discussed in Ch. 2), the terracotta categories are presented under eight headings: A. Raking simas, B. Lateral simas, C. Antefixes, D. Revetment plaques, E. Akroteria, F. Pan-tiles, eaves-tiles, G. Cover-tiles, and H. Ridge-tiles.³ For instance, “no. 2.B.1.a” denotes lateral simas (B) from the Late Orientalizing period ([Ch.] 2), belonging to the morphologically first group presented (1) and the subgroup decorated with a feline-head water-spout (a).

After the seven chapters that present the material follow two thematic ones: “8. Manufacturing techniques and evidence for workshops”, and “9. Topographical synthesis”. In Ch. 8, Winter summarizes and comments on our constantly increasing knowledge of the manufacturing process, roof constructions, etc. Ch. 9 presents, in chronological order, the buildings (and some *disiecta membra*) from the 32 sites included in the book. More than half of the space is taken up by seven sites: Acquarossa, Caere, Rome, Poggio Civitate, Tarquinia, Veii, and Rusellae. It is worthy of note that only two of these are located in North Etruria, four in South Etruria, and none (except possibly Rome) in Latium.

In her “Conclusions”, Winter gathers information on the various kinds of buildings involved, the locations on the roof of decorative terracottas, the evolution of decorative motifs, etc. Many of these issues may become the point of departure for more detailed studies by other scholars. Less than five pages are devoted to the author’s “Historical considerations”—a matter which the reader could have expected (and hoped for) more of, considering Winter’s long-standing interest in these questions. She wisely abstains from involving herself in the highly imaginative attempts of some scholars to provide far-fetched “historical” explanations for the motifs of relief scenes on raking simas and revetment plaques. But we do get a useful summary of the “Bacchiad theory”, developed and expounded by Winter in a series of articles from 1999 onwards. It is a daring theory but—well argued and to a great extent convincing—it helps to explain various issues in the earliest history of roof terracotta production.

The text of the book is complemented by a comprehensive selection of illustrations, including mostly well substantiated reconstruction drawings, of separate terracottas as well as entire roofs. A number of indices and museum concordances

² For practical reasons, we are not dealing with a true catalogue of pieces, but rather, one of types and groups of terracottas. But, in most cases, Winter lists all inventory numbers belonging to each of these.

³ The order of these headings appears odd to me, but Winter presents no explanation for it.

make the book easier to consult. But it goes without saying that it is not a book suited for perusal: it is a book of reference for the specialized expert, while the non-professional would soon become swamped with the wealth of information.

It is difficult to bestow upon Winter's book the praise it rightly deserves; its merits are too many and varied. There are, of course, issues on which I do not share her views, and there are (of course) some errors and flaws; but I see no reason to list them here.⁴ The really important thing is that Nancy Winter's impressive study has provided us with the tools necessary for further scholarship: a summary of (almost) all early terracottas known up to now, a basic classification of them, and an at least mainly trustworthy chronology. In spite of the rapid pace of contemporary terracotta studies, her book will undoubtedly remain the basis of all work on the subject during the foreseeable future.

Along with her work on the terracotta *corpus*, Nancy Winter has also been active with the publication of special groups of terracottas as, for instance, the clandestine finds from Capri-fico (near Cisterna di Latina) and the collections in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

To a great extent, the Copenhagen collection of Etruscan architectural terracottas—presumably the largest one outside Italy—has never been published before. Winter and her co-authors, Jette Christiansen and Patricia Lulof, have strived to attain a form of publication aimed for both the experts and the general public—and have been quite successful in doing so.

The "Foreword" by Christiansen (pp. 7–10) gives a short background of the history and growth of the collection. In the "Introduction" (pp. 11–24), Winter provides a basic account of the various terracotta elements and their decoration, Christiansen, of the painted wall plaques (*pinakes*).

The "Catalogue" (pp. 25–191) presents "roughly 250 more or less joining fragments of architectural terracottas" (p. 7), gathered under 77 catalogue numbers, and about 65 fragments of *pinakes* under eight entries. One catalogue number may refer to a single object or fragment, but it often includes several, more or less closely related ones.

The roof terracottas are arranged, not chronologically, but according to category—mostly (but not entirely) in the order used by Winter in her *corpus*. The most common terracottas are antefixes (nos. 16–52), followed by revetment plaques (nos. 53–67), raking simas (nos. 7–14) and akroteria (nos. 68–74). Chronologically, the terracottas represent

most periods from the late VII to the II century BC, while the fragments of *pinakes* are all dated between 525 and 460. But among the terracottas, too, the one hundred years from 550–450 dominate completely: only eight catalogue numbers are earlier and fourteen younger.

The skewed chronological distribution is, at least partly, due to the extensive acquisitions made by the Museum in 1977–1978—material apparently deriving from clandestine excavations and later "... part of the evidence in a pending lawsuit in Rome against, among others, the art dealer who sold these architectural fragments to the Glyptotek". Christiansen gives a plain and unreserved account of these embarrassing developments and the attempts at finding a solution to the problem satisfactory for both Danish and Italian authorities (pp. 9f.).

The fact is that more than half of the catalogue numbers of roof terracottas (and all those of *pinakes*) belong to these questionable acquisitions. But it is noteworthy that even the rest of the Museum's architectural terracottas (mostly acquired before the First World War) includes pieces of great quality and interest. For instance, parts of the Poggio Buco terracottas have been kept in Copenhagen since 1905 (nos. 15, 53, 54, 58), including the single lateral sima preserved from that site.

Among the sixteen "old" numbers from Caere are, among other things, a rare 4th-century raking sima with open-work cresting (no. 13), a female-head antefix with diadem and particularly well-preserved polychromy dated c. 520 BC (no. 24), and a number of terracotta warrior statuettes from an akroterion (no. 74) and two *mutulus* plaques (no. 75). Also worthy of special attention is the "head of a female akroterion statue wearing *tutulus* and diadem" (no. 68)—allegedly coming from Caere, but recently shown to join an akroterion statue (of Ariadne?) from the second temple of Mater Matuta at the Forum Boarium in Rome.

In spite of its total (and deplorable) lack of profile drawings, this catalogue is in many respects a real treat—for its clear presentations of the objects (a more general one to the left, measurements, detailed descriptions of clay and paint, etc., in a separate column to the right), but particularly for the lavish colour photographs illustrating each object. Whatever may happen in the future to the acquisitions of the 1970s, they have been treated here in a most splendid way.

Patricia Lulof's catalogue of architectural terracottas in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam differs in many respects from the one from Copenhagen. First, it is a strictly scholarly publication and, second, it includes *all* terracottas in the Museum, irrespective of chronological and geographical extraction.

⁴ I am discussing some such mistakes in my forthcoming publication of the Poggio Civitate roof-tiles, and a list of errata is presented by the author herself in the Acta of the "Giornata di studio" arranged around Winter's book at the Università di Roma, La Sapienza in March, 2010: *Tetti di terracotta. La decorazione architettonica fittile tra Etruria e Lazio in età arcaica* (Officina Etruscologia, 5), ed. A. Conti, Roma 2011.

After a general introduction containing the history of the collection and a “guide to the reader” (pp. 6–8), the 88 pieces are presented (each with its own catalogue number). The arrangement is, in the first place, chronological (37 Archaic objects, 36 Classical and Hellenistic, 15 Roman⁵), then subdivided within each period geographically (Asia Minor 12 objects, Greece 2, Magna Graecia 39, Sicily 4, Campania 6, Etruria 10, Italy and Rome 15), and within each geographic region according to roof elements.

When the author maintains that the collections “provide ... an almost complete overview of Archaic and Classical-Hellenistic roof decoration” (p. vii), this is, thus, an exaggeration—a fact that becomes even more obvious when the material is divided according to categories. Of the 88 catalogue entries, all but eight are either antefixes (54) or revetment plaques (26). Nonetheless, by detailed and informative introductions concerning various regions and terracotta elements (including useful *Forschungsberichte*), Lulof manages to tie the book together and produce some kind of total effect.

In any case, the core of the collection (almost half of it) is composed of 41 Tarentine antefixes, 39 of which derive from the private collection of P. Arndt and reached the museum in 1934 via C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer. Lulof devotes ample space discussing and analysing these antefixes, which constitute a group of considerable scholarly interest (pp. 11–14, 41–44). The earliest fourteen numbers are decorated with various kinds of Gorgoneia (or Medusa heads, as Lulof prefers to call the more “humanized” versions *en vogue* in the Classical period). During the 4th century, they were replaced by a more varied repertory: female heads and male ones with Phrygian or lion-head caps, horned heads of Pan, etc.

The terracottas from Asia Minor consist of one almost complete geison revetment plaque from Düver (no. 1) and eleven small fragments “from the same mould”. The Sicilian and Campanian terracottas are mostly antefixes, the Etruscan fragments are small and insignificant. The most interesting pieces from Central Italy are two large fragments of moulds: one of a shell antefix with female head from South Etruria (no. 36) and the other of a Campanian Gorgoneion antefix framed by tongues (no. 37). Considering the rareness of such roof terracotta moulds, these pieces are of great importance, in particular for their good state of preservation.

Of the fifteen Roman terracottas, eight are “Campana” reliefs: one well-preserved, almost complete plaque from the *Horti Sallustiani* in Rome (no. 74) and seven small fragments. For reasons of personal preferences, I very much appreciate that Lulof has chosen to include (even though in an appendix) the sixteen Roman roof-tiles in the Museum’s possession.

The problems that have befallen many museums (including the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) because of the recent, stricter attitude to acquisition of unprovenanced objects of art has affected the Allard Pierson Museum, too: “Some forty items in the Museum’s collection of architectural terracottas [that is, almost half the number of entries in the catalogue] have been acquired on the art market over the last thirty years with unknown provenances” (p. vi). In spite of explicit hesitation, Lulof finally chose to include them in the catalogue. Strong arguments could be raised against her decision, but I still think she acted wisely. Mistakes already made are not remedied by concealing the existence of such objects.

The illustrations are numerous and of very high quality. Fourteen objects are reproduced in colour, all entries in black and white—a large number of them seen from more than one angle: “a front view and a view of the best preserved side (in some cases also a rear view, if advisable)” (p. viii). There are also drawings of all objects (made by the author herself): a vertical section, a rear view, and in some cases a front view, too.⁶

Lulof’s book is in many respects commendable. Its clear arrangement, detailed catalogue entries and lavish illustrations (including profile drawings) could very well serve as a model for a long-felt desideratum: a *Corpus ornamentorum fictilium antiquorum*.

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H. Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World* (Classical World Series), London/New York: Bristol Classical Press 2011. 99 pp. ISBN 978-1-85399-696-2.

Hazel Dodge’s new book on *Spectacle in the Roman World* forms part of the Classical World Series published by Bristol Classical Press. Over the years, this series has produced a large number of useful introductions to central topics within the Classical field, including, among others, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill’s *Augustan Rome* (1993) and Zahra Newby’s *Athletics in the Ancient World* (2006).

The series aims at presenting accessible guides to key themes in ancient civilisations for late school and early university students. This might seem an easy task, but is in fact no small challenge. To achieve their purpose, these introductions need to be concise but still substantial, basic but also

⁵ To which should be added 16 roof-tiles, numbered separately, in an appendix (pp. 93–98).

⁶ The profile drawings of two pan-tiles (fig. 35k–l) are printed upside down.