Richard Neudecker (editor), **Krise und Wandel. Süditalien im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Internationaler Kongress anlässlich des 65. Geburtstages von Dieter Mertens.** Palilia, volume 23. Publisher Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Wiesbaden 2011. 212 pages with 139 figures in black and white.

The occasion of Dieter Mertens' birthday and his immense contribution to scholarship on Magna Graecia and Sicily have provided the wonderful opportunity for Richard Neudecker to bring together this collection of papers. The volume gives a superb snapshot of transformations in the human landscape across a relatively succinct geographical area through a narrow span of time, hence allowing similar patterns and differences to emerge.

It highlights changes in the nature of settlement, especially in terms of centralisation and the filling in of the countryside, which are shared across what are usually deemed to be disparate contexts. They are detectable at sites defined by scholars as Greek, indigenous and Punic, and across South Italy and Sicily, whether along coasts or deep in the hinterland. The changes may not have been simultaneous, but they nevertheless occur within the same relatively short time span and follow similar trajectories. Whether or not some of these should be classed as crisis, is an issue which, beyond the introductory chapter, is only problematised in some of the contributions but proves to be less central to the volume than other factors. Its main contribution is also not the depiction of ensuing political and military crises and their cultural and economic repercussions, although these are in fact detailed by the authors.

Rather, the real strength of this collection, in presenting these case studies together, is its implied invitation to rethink causality, and question the effect of specific events and local contexts for understanding the dramatic shifts in the way that communities restructured and used their resources from the fourth to the third centuries B. C. Hence, beyond the multiplicity of stories, it is their convergence which proves so striking. Broadly speaking the pattern of settlement change appears in three shifts: (1) at the end of the fifth century certain types of material culture become less visible, and there is a notable break in settlement at a number of sites; (2) the mid-fourth century is characterised by a substantial rise in archaeological material, differing from the preceding period, with evidence of increasingly nucleated settlements and restructuring of pre-existing sites, and simultaneously an extensive populating of the countryside; (3) there is another period of decline in the mid-third century at most sites, with cessation of certain settlements, a diminished occupation of the countryside and a change in the material culture. There will, of course, always be exceptions to the pattern above, but its overarching form stands and forces us to find supra-local factors that explain convergence. The changes of the mid-third century may be attributed to the growing hegemonic power of

Rome and the effects of its military campaigns and systems of recruitment and alliance. However, the changes of the fifth and fourth centuries cannot be so easily explained, and in turn make us question the singular causal explanation of the third century. In reviewing the contributions to this volume I will try and articulate the way that each case study speaks to the pattern and historical concerns outlined above.

Neudecker's introduction (Einführung. Geschichten von Krise und Wandel im Süden Italiens, pp. 15–20) sets out the aims of the volume to consider notions of the effectiveness of crisis and change as an evaluative tool in understanding the history and archaeology of South Italy and Sicily. As he states, someone's crisis is another's success, and rarely is crisis all pervasive. The case studies are intended to be a critical response and counterpoint to the narratives of ancient authors who, often writing at some distance, present situations as crises and responses to them. The aim of the research programme is also to criticise historical approaches that present stages of cultural development as a series of crises followed by periods of successful cultural adaptation. Acculturation is acknowledged as a problematic concept as is ethnos as a key point of analysis. Instead, as current scholarship continues to show, communities are to be seen in a socio-cultural continuum whose ethnic and territorial boundaries are fluid. Many of the contributions that follow do exemplify some of these trends in scholarship, and in different ways engage implicitly, if not directly, with the challenges outlined by Neudecker.

Pier Giovanni Guzzo begins by questioning the perception of Bruttian territory as continually being in crisis (Fra I Bretti, pp. 21–26). Through the archaeological evidence, along with others (F. Mollo in: M. Osanna [ed.], Verso la città. Forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico fra IV e III sec. a. C. Congress Venosa 2006 [Venosa 2009] 195–213) he challenges narratives that present the activities of ›ignoble‹ Bruttii as mere skirmishes of a barbarian group, and persistently cast them in the role of the enemy. From the second half of the fourth century there is evidence of fortified settlements and, in tomb deposits, rich material that shows obvious accumulation of wealth and engagement in the latest hellenistic cultural trends, that are equally present in the nearby regions of Campania and Lucania. Whether or not precious objects were produced in Bruttium or imported, is less important than the fact that they were active participants in the network of connectivity. The lack of structures within most fortified sites is in part due to the lack of full investigation and should not be taken as a sign of deficiency, which other studies have counteracted by showing evidence of organised planning in the centres and the countryside (Mollo op. cit.). The developments in the region may be seen as part of the rise of Oscan influence at that time.

Shifting to the hinterland of Western Sicily, Andreas Thomsen presents the results of a survey at Pizzo

Don Pietro and Castello della Pietra, the site of an Elymian hill settlement in the hinterland of Selinunte (Zentralisierungsprozesse im Hinterland von Selinunt, pp. 27–37). The aim is to gauge the effects of the foundation of the Greek centre of Selinunte on the nearby indigenous settlements, seventh to third century. Contrary to the assumption that Greek presence brought on a period of crisis in the second half of the seventh century, there is evidence of settlement continuity. Where there are signs of destruction Thomsen questions whether it was the result of conflict between indigenous groups as well. He outlines the long history of the Elymian sites and traces connectivity and exchange, focusing mainly on the first phases of contact from the Iron Age into the Classical Period. The surveys show that while sites in the immediate hinterland of Selinunte may have suffered, indigenous settlements further afield show signs of centralisation and flourishing with changes in the nature of settlement type. The presence of the Greeks contributed to the competition between indigenous communities, and affected their form.

In a rather creative and fun contribution (Reperti italici nei santuari greci, pp. 39–53) Alessandro Naso attempts to reconstruct the context for two of the very few and fragmentary dedications of Italic objects at Greek sanctuaries, namely the fourth century Samnite belt and cheek-piece found at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (on dedications of weapons in this sanctuary cf. also Ute Klatt's review in this volume of the Bonner Jahrbücher). Through a series of intricate arguments he observes that arms dedications were rare in that period and suggests that these were made by private individuals. Whether we believe his final conclusions or not – the overview of this elusive subject is very useful, and provides a wider context for thinking about the history of Oscan influence, and its presence on the international stage at Olympia.

Returning to Sicily, Stefano Vassallo investigates the changes in the hinterland of Himera after the Punic takeover and its destruction in 409 B. C. (Trasformazioni negli insediamenti della Sicilia centro-settentrionale tra la fine del V e il III secolo a. C. con nota preliminare sul teatro di prima età ellenistica di Montagna dei Cavalli, pp. 55–77). The phases of settlement outlined here are a text book example of the three shifts presented in my introduction above. There is evidence of decline in the fifth century (although here earlier in the century) and site abandonment. This period is followed by growth in the fourth century, as at Montagna dei Cavalli, where fortifications were built, and there is evidence of central planning and the influence of Hellenising trends in material culture and architecture. Most impressive is the creation of a mid-size stone theatre, some fifty-two metres in diameter, created in the second half of the fourth century. It is not only one of the highest, at about one thousand metres, but also one of the earliest in Sicily. Decline of this vibrant site during the mid-third century and

its abandonment are connected to the Hannibalic War, and the takeover by Rome. Vassallo usefully contextualises these changes in the situation in Sicily overall, and particularly the Punic hinterland, that shows a parallel flourishing in the fourth to the start of the third century, with a vibrant culture and a well-off populace. He also stresses that we need to think of a variety of complex inter-community relationships and mixed populations at sites.

Moving back to the coast of South-West Italy, Maurizio Gualtieri presents the results of decades of work at the site of Roccagloriosa and its hinterland (Organizzazione insediativa e sviluppi istituzionali nell'hinterland magno-greco, pp. 79–88). Here we have most explicitly the inner workings of an Oscan power and its institutions, thanks to the finds of a lex in Oscan, on a bronze tablet attesting the presence of a »touta« governed by »meddices«. The lex is examined in more detail in earlier publications (M. Gualtieri / P. Poccetti in: M. Gualtieri / H. Fracchia, Roccagloriosa II. L'oppidum Lucano e il territorio [Naples 2001] 187–275). In comparison to this find, the rest of the site, while exhibiting elite tombs and houses, has little in the way of extensive public areas or buildings, yet the material evidence shows that it was very much tied in to the network of Greco-Italic communities in Italy and abroad. The three shifts in the settlement pattern are equally visible at Roccagloriosa and its hinterland: little evidence before the end of the fifth century, then a flourishing period characterized by the construction of fortifications and a centre in the mid-fourth century. Surveys show populating of the surrounding countryside at this time, which declines along with the settlement from the mid-third century. Gualtieri stresses the symbiotic relationship between different communities and cultural exchange.

Further in the Lucanian hinterland Massimo Osanna presents the transformations of the rural landscape in the fourth and third century by focusing on Torre di Satriano and Cersosimo (Siedlungsformen und Agrarlandschaft in Lukanien im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr., pp. 89–106). These fit into the changes evident in the region as a whole, summarised briefly here and in more detail in earlier publications (E. Isayev, Inside Ancient Lucania. Dialogues in History and Archaeology [London 2007]; Osanna op. cit.). Here again the same pattern appears: Torre di Satriano has Archaic nuclei on the hill terraces, with impressive elite houses. These multiple nuclei are replaced in the fourth century with a single fortified settlement covering the entire hill. Extending into the countryside there is a substantial increase in rural habitations. Little remains of the fourth-century site, due to the medieval settlement that superseded it. Hence, Osanna turns to the aristocratic peristyle houses of the fourth-century settlement at Cersosimo, which match in splendour any found on the Greek mainland at that time. As such, by that period at least, a common Mediterranean trend may be a better way of contextual-

ising these impressive remains, rather than thinking in terms of adoption of a Greek culture, as they are happening contemporaneously. Both of these sites show a decline and break in habitation by the end of the third century, connected with Roman infiltration and the Hannibalic War. Osanna highlights the complex organisation of agrarian space from the fourth century and the centralising tendency required to enact it. There is also the lingering question as to whether the multiple Archaic settlement nuclei were abandoned due to a crisis, or rather a choice to create a more centralised place, perhaps in the form of a synoecism. Similarly we may want to consider whether the late third-century abandonment was the result of the population moving to such sites as the newly created major Roman settlement of Potentia.

Returning to the coast Roberto Spadea focuses on Croton and demonstrates how archaeology presents a context of development and continuity through the fourth and third century, negating any expectation of a crisis resulting from the conquest by Dionysius I (Crotone tra i Dionisi ed Agatocle, pp. 107–120). Rather the tyranny seems to have had the opposite effect, with evidence of growth and restructuring in the second half of the fourth century. Spadea suggests that the access to resources in Bruttium and good connections with Syracuse enhanced the flowering of this site and allowed the funding of impressive projects such as the fortifications stretching some seventeen kilometres, public spaces and monumental structures. Improved housing shows that economic wealth penetrated beyond the elite and ruling sectors. By the first half of the third century there is evidence of decline and hoard deposition, connected to Agathocles' campaigns followed by Roman conquests. By the end of the third century the settlement was only a shadow of its former self.

Taranto, a jewel of fourth-century Italy, is presented by Enzo Lippolis (Taranto nel IV secolo a. C., pp. 121–145) in this excellent and important chapter that has repercussions well beyond this Greek city. He directly engages with the key aims of the volume, questioning what might appear to be crisis, and highlighting the multiplicity of socio-cultural phenomena that act together to create a period of immense flowering of the city. He stresses from the outset that Greek and local populations were both actors in a process of transformation and reciprocal integration, broader than the one proposed by the simplistic criteria of ethnic differentiation (p. 122). The end of the fifth century, as at numerous other sites, shows decline and change in certain cultural trends, this is particularly evident in the funerary sphere. Not only is there a reduction of luxurious display, which may be connected to a prohibition law, but also a reduction in Attic imports. At that time there is also a progressive uniformity of the funerary deposit that continues well into the fourth century. By the mid-fourth century, economic growth and social dynamism may be connected to

Archytas and local Pythagorean traditions. The second half of the fourth century sees a true explosion in material exhibition, with quantitative increase of material goods, production and innovation that celebrates ornament. New models from Macedonia and Epirus contribute to more prestigious burial displays, while other influences underpin the change in votive culture and the sacred landscape. The changes reflect openness to new models and a resurgence of the aristocracy, fuelling growth of the crafts, which increasingly traverse between the colonial Greek and indigenous worlds. The integration of the city into the Roman political system in the third century seems not to have interfered with this buoyant production. The real end point to the Tarantine cultural and economic system were the Hannibalic wars, effecting the city's regional role and internal organisation. Taranto exemplifies the ability to be fully embedded in Mediterranean networks and ideologies while at the same time creating and leading a unique cultural trend that was celebrated by those with whom it traded ideas and objects.

A different context is presented by Hans-Peter Isler (L'insediamento a Monte Iato nel IV e III secolo a. C., pp. 147–173) who focuses on the Punic part of Sicily and in the midst of it the Greek site of Iatas that persisted throughout the Epicracy. He starts off by saying that the situation in Sicily is completely different from that in South Italy, which is true in terms of the sources of power. However, in terms of the changes that he goes on to describe what comes through most strongly are the similarities which we have already seen at other sites. Iatas has few remains from the Archaic period, largely due to overbuilding; institutionally we perceive a change through the coinage, the few issues from the early fourth century with the Greek legend are replaced by Punic coins. But there is no evidence of crisis, as with many other sites, a change and rise in material culture accompanied by re-organisation of the site and monumental construction is evident from the mid-fourth century. This included the construction of an agora surrounded by porticoes, a theatre, temple buildings and elite peristyle houses which like those at Taranto seem to draw on Macedonian models (p. 166). Isler points out that there was no evidence of destruction, and that similar modernising tendencies are evident at other sites such as Segesta and Solunto (p. 154). The site continued to exist throughout the third and into the second century with cultural changes evident in the import of Campana A ceramics, and the resumption of coining its own money. It was likely on the winning side during the Second Punic War.

Expanding the context of changes in Western Sicily Sophie Helas explicitly introduces human mobility and approaches to it as a key factor (Der politische Anspruch Karthagos auf Westsizilien. Mittel und Wege der Machtsicherung, pp. 175–191). She highlights the extent of those on the move, particularly the army and mercenaries, and discusses the various methods

used by those who held power to try and populate the territories in their spheres of influence. She considers the extent of the stationed Carthaginian army in Sicily and the character of Punic settlement on the island by focusing on the evidence of population increase at Selinunte and its territory following the Punic takeover of the city in 409 B. C. As she points out the Punic supremacy in western Sicily did not result in the occupation by a Punic ruler to match the tyrants of Syracuse, hence alliances and treaty arrangements allowing different levels of autonomy would have been key to maintaining their position. To enable the lasting presence of military troops in the Epicracy, Helas argues that from the second half of the fourth century there was a considerable influx of Punic civilian settlers, where in previous decades the military presence may have been more in line with phrouria type contexts and control by contingents consisting of Carthaginians or their mercenaries. Despite these very particular historic circumstances, what is worth noting is that the pattern of change at Selinunte is in line with the three shifts we have seen elsewhere. In the first half of the fourth century the site was either empty or sparsely populated, but by the final decades of the century there was clearly a substantial population occupying the site, whether a military colony or a Punic civilian outpost. A turning point in the early third century may be connected to the Pyrrhic campaigns, and from the mid-third century an archaeological silence descends on the site.

Malcolm Bell finishes off the volume with an intriguing combination of literature and economics (Agrarian Policy, Bucolic Poetry, and Figurative Art in Early Hellenistic Sicily, pp. 193–211). He argues that we need to see a relationship between the invention of bucolic poetry in the early third century and art that echoes similar themes on the one hand, and the agricultural policies of Hiero on the other. Were such idealized references to rural landscape, as in Theocritus' sixteenth Idyll, direct allusions to the economic programs of Hiero's rule? There are signs of military and agrarian crises in that period that may have required a new approach. Whether or not they may be connected to the exploits of mercenaries such as the Mamertines or the result of increasing raids is still a matter of debate. Through a series of intricate arguments Bell explores the possibilities of when a lex Hieronica may have come into being and whether or not there is a relationship between it and the laws of Ptolemaic Egypt. He also considers the administrative mechanism that would have allowed for the collection and storage of grain. Perhaps a koinon of five cities provided the necessary structure that calls for equal treatment of members, remains of which may be evident still in the Verrine orations. If we were to see Bell's proposals as the end of the story as it is told in Neudecker's volume then we may wonder whether the preceding period was one of prosperity that the following generations in the third century measured themselves against. Whether it was a period of crisis or change remains unresolved.

So, if not local factors and not just Roman hegemony, what do we look to for a better understanding of the causes that drove the transformations during this period? There was clearly a significant improvement in living conditions in the fourth century for a large sector of the population, judging by the spread of certain types and levels of material culture. It implies higher rates of consumption across various societal sectors, and also an increase in the number of habitations both inside and outside settlements. One possibility in explaining the preceding decline and then rise of quality of life may be a change in the environment factors. It is conceivable that an increased growing season and levels of precipitation could have affected the agricultural capacity and hence also the demography of Italy at the time. We may also look to new political ideologies that controlled and distributed resources, perhaps introducing new systems of land use and encouraging the diffusion of new technologies. Whether some of this innovation may have been due to the spread of Oscan power with its flexibility and adaptability to different environments, may be part of the story. The shifting demographics through this period suggest that there were favourable conditions for human mobility at that time, hence we need to think in terms of the circulation of people (and goods) rather than in terms of over- or de-population. As the Sicilian examples demonstrate particularly well, ruling powers were keen to amass large populations which could be used as a support base in both a military and an agricultural capacity. For making us think harder about these issues we need to thank the editor and contributors of this volume.

A couple of minor quibbles: the abstracts, particularly for non-English language chapters, could have been proofed better and written with more attention, so that these studies can be accessible to a wider young scholarly audience; the order of the articles seems somewhat random, and suggests a lack of a common strand, that could have been emphasised better.

Exeter                                        Elena Isayev