

the events of the second and first centuries B.C.E. What emerges is a considerable degree of continuity, with the third century (unsurprisingly) appearing particularly important, and with what some have considered a second-century clampdown on earlier openness here seen rather as a time when symbolic actions made further claims about where and how boundaries were to be drawn between Roman and non-Roman. Practices such as a senatorial ban on certain forms of human sacrifice, a ban dated by Pliny to 97 B.C.E., thus form part of an ongoing effort to specify what was and was not acceptable in Rome, allowing O. rightly to note the success of such efforts (197) in Livy's later assertion that the sacrifice of two Greeks and two Gauls in 216 B.C.E. was 'minime Romano sacro'.

The book brings little that is new, particularly in the second chapter, building as it does on O.'s own earlier work (*Temples, Religion and Politics in the Roman Republic*, and subsequent articles on Venus Erycina, the pomerial rule, Augustan religion and Roman memory, and Octavian and Egyptian cults) and that of others, notably MacBain (ch. 4), Bernstein (ch. 5), and Scheid (ch. 6). Its value lies rather in the overview that it provides, bringing together well- and lesser-known episodes from the period during which Roman expansion brought inevitable tensions in its wake, to explore these tensions in terms of choices made over which deities to include, and over when, where and how to pay them cult. O.'s discussion of the importance of Lanuvium (ch. 1) is particularly helpful as an early example of the kinds of practices in which he is interested, and fuller examinations of some of the other episodes that are less widely discussed elsewhere would have made the book still more valuable. Important questions are raised in the conclusion, which rightly leave the reader reflecting on the effects of what has been discussed on the imperial period.

O. approaches 'identity' sensibly, rightly making no claim as to how the kinds of actions he is discussing were received in the 'foreign' communities and equally seeing the redefinition of the community for which he argues as a cumulative effect of multiple actions rather than an intentional delineation. Nevertheless, one drawback of the work is its avoidance of any discussion of how and by whom individual decisions were made, particularly in the middle Republic. The topic is addressed in O.'s previous book, in which he argued for a high degree of co-operation among the group from which temple founders came, but here little attention is given to the question until the last years of the Republic and Octavian/Augustus' time in power. O. frequently claims that 'the Romans' acted or thought in particular ways or discusses 'the Roman mindset' without addressing the sense in which 'identity' is created precisely through *discussions over* the kinds of decisions and claims that he is addressing. He rightly states (216) that 'The discourse itself about the contours of Romanness served as perhaps the most important element in the maintenance of clear boundaries for the Romans', but fails to consider fully how far discourse was articulated in such terms during the Republic itself. He draws usefully on discussions in various other disciplines, such as Barth on boundaries, although he underplays the scholarship currently applying such approaches to the Republican period and perhaps relies too heavily on Antony D. Smith's work on nationalism in his approach to ethnicity, describing Rome as a 'nation' on more than one occasion (e.g. 122, 126, 210), despite professed wariness over importing anachronistic terms.

Surprising omissions from the bibliography include Feeney's *Caesar's Calendar*, Smith's *The Roman Clan*, and especially Erskine's *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, which is important for O.'s substantial discussion of Venus Erycina (ch. 2) and was published the year after O.'s own article on that goddess. The book contains few typographical errors, although the inclusion of terms such as 'a *municipia*' (128) and '*ius conubium*' (158) is regrettable, and of the phrase 'lock, stock and bandit' (34) unexpected. Nonetheless, the work remains a positive contribution to our understanding of the Roman Republic.

Christ Church, Oxford
anna.clark@chch.ox.ac.uk
doi:10.1017/S0075435812000378

ANNA CLARK

T. D. STEK, *CULT PLACES AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN REPUBLICAN ITALY. A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH TO RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF RURAL SOCIETY AFTER THE ROMAN CONQUEST* (Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 14). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009. Pp. xii + 263, illus. ISBN 9789089641779. €49.50.

For anyone studying the local cultures of pre-Roman Italy and the transformations concurrent with the emergence of Rome's hegemony during the last three centuries B.C., T. Stek's book will be an

essential reference point. Originating from the author's own fieldwork in Samnium and his PhD thesis on *Sanctuary and Society in Central-Southern Italy (3rd to 1st Centuries B.C.)*, the book provides a useful synthesis of the nature and rôle of sanctuaries in the countryside of central/southern Italy and their function within the organization of the local communities, at a time of major changes in the cultural and political map of the Italian peninsula. If the time-frame of most of the arguments discussed is indicated as the last three or four centuries B.C., the geographical focus of the inquiry is only very loosely defined in the book title, although the map at fig. 1, adapted from E. T. Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites*, provides an immediate visual reference to the Italic areas of the peninsula. Specific mention of the central and southern regions of the Italian peninsula is also made in the Introduction (3). It is evident, however, that the major emphasis of the research is on Samnium and most of the evidence discussed is from the Apennine hinterland. Both the chronology and geographical focus of the study allow the author to examine relevant points regarding the debate on settlement and cultural change in the Italic areas. Relying on a sound contextual approach based on the cumulative evidence provided by literary sources, epigraphy and archaeology, S. points out a number of problematic aspects of the conventional models generally used to understand the function of 'rural' sanctuaries in the Italic landscape. He then takes those problematic aspects as a point of departure to study the rôle of these cult places in the controversial and much debated process of 'romanisation'. The author aptly uses the term in commas, given the more recent radical attacks on the very use of such a category, perceived by a large number of scholars as still very much embedded in nineteenth-century Romano-centric views of 'Italian unification'.

The first chapters are devoted in large part to the analysis of current issues on religion and society in Italy during the last centuries B.C. In ch. 1, S., in line with the current debate on acculturation, reviews commonly held ideas on the nature and pace of 'romanisation' in Italy and argues against configuring changes occurring in the Italic areas as a mere phenomenon of local emulation and assimilation of Roman culture (so-called 'self-romanisation'). To his credit, S.'s arguments are balanced and free of the jargon which often characterizes the on-going debate on the topic. While criticizing the simple, one-way configuration of change affecting the Italic communities, the author also acknowledges that it would be misleading to ignore the major rôle of Rome's growing power in the process. Ch. 2, on 'Religious Romanisation', is very much indebted to a number of key theoretical papers edited by E. Bispham and C. Smith in *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy* (2000). S. addresses, in particular, the spread of Roman religious models such as *Capitolium* temples and anatomical votive terracottas. For the first, he quotes research by E. Bispham and E. Fentress that has challenged the actual reality of Aulus Gellius' 'little Romes', even in the case of colonial foundations, showing that *Capitolia* are in most cases a relatively later development. For the anatomical votives, S. underlines the fact that it would be wrong to read fixed meanings (i.e. Rome's primary rôle in their spread across the Italian peninsula) in selective aspects of material culture.

Ch. 3 is dedicated to the main area of his research, Pentrian Samnium. Not surprisingly, major emphasis is placed on the discussion of Pietrabbondante, where the monumentality of the buildings, reminiscent of Roman models of temple architecture, has often been assumed as outstanding evidence for 'self-romanisation'. In S.'s view, these seemingly Roman-inspired architectural features were instead part of widespread cultural models and 'common imagery' (52) used by the Italic communities to express their own identity. Reference to comparanda in the southern Apennines, in particular the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio near Potenza, might have provided added support to S.'s argument. The following chapter addresses the location and function of Italic sanctuaries. Here the author introduces a crucial issue: the use of the *pagus-vicus* model for the Italic settlement system and the rôle of cult places within it. He also underlines that the actual meaning of 'rural' is problematic since the settlement context of 'rural' sanctuaries has in most cases been overlooked by archaeological investigations in favour of the more prominent and materially visible remains of the sacred buildings and votive offerings. It is exactly this problem that stimulated his own research at San Giovanni in Galdo, presented in the following chapter. The results show that the seemingly isolated sanctuary building stood in the proximity of an inhabited village throughout its use, from pre-Roman to imperial times. Given the systematic nature of the data collected from both excavation and field-survey, this case study may thus deal a serious blow to the generally accepted view of remote Italic sanctuaries, which conventional wisdom would see unrelated to a specific habitation context. Hence, S. argues against the view of the *pagus-vicus* model as the Italic type of hierarchical territorial organization in pre-Roman times.

As shown by L. Capogrossi Colognesi and M. Tarpin and most recently E. Todisco (*I vici rurali nel paesaggio dell'Italia romana* (2011)) *pagi* and *vici* were non-hierarchical Roman institutions related to the administration of conquered territory. S. then in ch. 7 considers all the implications of this reinterpretation of the *pagus-vicus* model for the rôle of sanctuaries in the Italian countryside.

Finally, in chs 8 and 9, S. turns to rituals in Rome connected with *pagi* and *vici*: *Paganalia* and *Compitalia*. Rather than traditional festivals imported into Rome from the countryside, these were rituals exported to conquered territories for the administration of communities living under Roman rule. He also speculates that *Compitalia* may have been celebrated at Italic sanctuaries. The important implication is that the continuity in cult places between the pre-Roman and Roman periods, indicated by archaeological discoveries, may mask profound political and cultic changes at sanctuary sites. Thus, in these last chapters the discourse is shifted to Roman, rather than local initiative. No doubt some of S.'s views will raise discussion and debate, but it is exactly his provocative approach, as well as the breadth of his analysis, that make this book essential reading for any graduate course on the History and Archaeology of Republican Italy.

University of Alberta/Università degli studi di Perugia
maurizio@ualberta.ca

MAURIZIO GUALTIERI

doi:10.1017/S007543581200038X

J.-C. LACAM, *VARIATIONS RITUELLES: LES PRATIQUES RELIGIEUSES EN ITALIE CENTRALE ET MÉRIDIONALE AU TEMPS DE LA DEUXIÈME GUERRE PUNIQUE* (Collection de L'École Française de Rome 430). Rome: L'École Française de Rome, 2010. Pp. 400, illus. ISBN 9782728308286. €63.00.

The study of religion and ritual practices in ancient Italy, and changes therein after the Roman incorporation of the Italian peninsula, has recently gained momentum. In part this is due to an increased interest in cultural contact and the rôle of religion and ritual within it. More specifically for ancient Italy, it can be related to the deconstruction of previous approaches to Roman and Italic religions that typically tended to emphasize similarity over difference, merging Roman and Italic evidence to construct a unitary model. Together with a general scarcity of evidence, this situation poses formidable methodological challenges, especially regarding the robustness of reconstructions for single contexts without filling the gaps with evidence from elsewhere, and regarding diachronic developments in both Roman and Italic contexts.

One of the most important virtues of *Variations rituelles* — which focuses on the period of the Second Punic War but often refers to later developments — is that it offers a research framework that allows precisely these issues to be addressed. Lacam rigorously structures his work by first discussing the evidence for Rome itself, and then separately the Italic areas, evaluating similarities and differences in place and time. This approach, L. states, should also allow the detection of the first signs of 'un éventuel processus d'unification religieuse de tous ces peuples sous les coups d'une «romanisation» et d'une «hellénisation» grandissantes' (15). Roman religious patterns, Italic religious patterns, and a discussion on the eventual convergence of the two, correspond to the three parts that make up the book. The main axes along which L. gauges Roman and Italic religious patterns are ritualism, communitarianism and the structuration of the involved deities, all largely from a textual perspective. Because the bibliography is sometimes outdated I will suggest some addenda on the way.

Part I, on Rome, deconstructs the idea that Roman religion was in crisis during the Hannibalic War and sketches the main characteristics of Roman religious practice. Discussing previous interpretations of the proliferation of prodigies, disasters and the enhanced ritual responses to these, L. argues that the religious apparatus was not weakened: for him, the vitality of religious response rather points to the opposite. As the book in general, this analysis is almost entirely based on textual sources. The extensive use of the 'eye-witness' Plautus stands out here, although a critical discussion of his works and their context would have helped in assessing their significance (e.g. the work of M. Leigh). L. recognizes elements of change in the tendency towards more personal expressions and experiences of religiosity; in enhanced dramatic settings of rituals; and in newly established value deities (cf. A. J. Clark, *Divine Qualities. Cult and Community in Republican Rome* (2007)), as well as in the flexible ways of hierarchization of different deities according to different contexts. Discussion on the latter, analysing theonyms and their derivatives, is one of the strongest points of the book. L.'s final verdict is that Roman religion remained largely