
The Agora of the Italians on Delos—a large, slightly trapezoidal enclosure (5440 m²) surrounded by a double-storied colonnade on all four sides located at the north of the sanctuary of Apollo—has been one of the most discussed Hellenistic buildings over the past four decades. The debate has revolved around the function of the building. Excavated between 1877 and 1905, and published in 1939 by É. Lapalus, the building was given the appellation “Agora des Italiens.” Although the name has remained, the identification of the building as an agora was questioned early on. It has been interpreted as a multifunctional commercial meeting center for the Italians and Romans (Ph. Bruneau), a slave-market (M. Cocco and F. Coarelli), and an all-purpose recreational facility featuring a combined palaestra, gladiatorial arena, and bath complex (N. Rauh). Trümper’s book—a revision of her 2004 Heidelberg Habilitationsschrift—compellingly argues for a new interpretation of the building as a luxurious porticoed garden—such as the Porticus Pompei in Rome—which also featured a bath complex. Italians and Romans met at their leisure in this complex which, for Trümper, symbolized “Villenglück fürs Volk” and should be understood as an important forerunner of the numerous porticoed gardens and public baths of the imperial period.¹

The building was built around 120 B.C.E., during a period in which Delos had become an international commercial center, an intermediary in Rome’s commercial relations with the Hellenistic East. Italians and Romans formed the largest ethnic contingent on the island and the building served their need to present themselves and promote their interests. But the building was also open to the wider cosmopolitan Delian community—as is suggested by the non-Italian donors—that interacted with the Roman-Italian community for economic and political reasons.

By analyzing its architecture, Trümper addresses the ways in which the building amalgamates the architectural practices of Hellenistic and Roman cultures. Her discussion is exhaustive and persuasive, addressing previous scholarship and analyzing various building types and forms attested across the Hellenistic world. By examining the archaeological remains as well as the archival documentation of the building, Trümper traces its chronological development. The bath complex

¹ Trümper revisits the question of the function of the Agora of the Italians in her more recent book: *Graeco-Roman slave markets. Fact or fiction?* (Oxford 2009) 34-49.
and the shops were later additions, as were several niches in the porticoes—but
an absolute chronology cannot be established. The inner enclosure was unpaved,
which leads Trümper to argue that it was a garden. She admits that there are no
archaeological remains of a garden but points to the evidence suggesting that:
the abundant provision of water in the enclosure secured by three or more wells
as well as the fact that the waste water from the bathing complex added later
was directed into it rather onto the nearby street. An important objection to this
interpretation is that the geophysical exploration of 2000 and the test trench of
2002—both conducted by R. Étienne (BCH 127 [2003] 502-503)—showed the
presence of a layer of stones (perhaps from a previous building) on the west side
of the enclosure, where the principal entrance was located. Trümper persuasively
argues, however, that although the existence of a garden is not proven, the combi-
nation of the architectural framework of the portico enclosure and the extensive
decorative and sculptural program points to the imperial public garden porticoes,
with which we are familiar from the western Mediterranean. Given the building’s
short life and the time it takes to cultivate a garden, I would suggest that a park
was envisaged but never fully realized.

Less convincing is Trümper’s discussion of the upper story of the enclosure,
which R. Vallois reconstructed as an open Ionic colonnade. Following up on
Lapalus’s observation that the pillars and capitals of the upper story bear traces of
a partition between the intercolumniations (1939, 28–32), she proposes that the
upper story was a cryptoporticus (a covered and enclosed walkway). Her discus-
sion, however, is not accompanied by a detailed architectural study of the surviv-
ing members from the upper floor that would enable her to support her proposal
with a detailed reconstruction of this cryptoporticus and investigate the ways in
which it would have been accessed from the ground floor. This observation aside,
the book is a welcome addition to the bibliography on Delos during the late Hel-
enistic period that convincingly presents a novel interpretation of the building. It
will be indispensable for the study of the architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions
of the Agora of the Italians, which Trümper here assembles for the first time.

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Christina S. Kraus, John Marincola, and Christopher Pelling (eds.). Ancient His-

It is difficult to overestimate the influence that A. J. Woodman has had on the
study of ancient historiography over the last forty years. Appropriately, papers
on historians from Thucydides to Ammianus, but particularly on Tacitus, pre-
dominate among the twenty-one contributions to this Festschrift that will appeal
to scholars and advanced students alike. Woodman’s extensive engagement with
Latin poetry is also represented with discussions of Catullus and Horace (Fee-
ney), Vergil (D. Nels; J. Marincola), Ovid (D. West), and Juvenal (J. Powell).
Other writers are discussed with insight along the way, and navigating the sea of
authors is made easier by an index locorum and a general index.