empire); and the place in society held by craftsmen. There are appendices on provincial and local leaders, on those involved in the study of Roman law, and on coins struck by the local mint. As the subtitle of the volume suggests, its main emphasis is on the later centuries, when the city had developed into an important centre for the study of Roman law, although the investigation of late antique Berytus is placed against the background of the earlier period, from the foundation of the *colonia* under Augustus onwards. The paucity of what can be known about the Hellenistic period is tacitly accepted throughout, although there may have been more familiarity with 'Greek culture' in the Roman city than meets the eye, partly subdued by Roman interpretations.

As a synthesis of different sources from, or related to, Roman Berytus, the book unfortunately promises more than it manages to offer to the reader. Or rather, one gets the impression that it provides too much information for its own sake, information which often causes the reader not to see the wood for the trees. At the same time, however, most of the material that Hall brings in deserves to be treated in much more detail, and one cannot escape the feeling that her handling of the sources is a bit superficial. In order to reconstruct the city's ancient history, she applies a 'technique of three-dimensional graphing', in which 'points of data from Berytus can be plotted on a general model of a Romanized city of the Greek East, and additional data can be supplied from cities that are demonstrably comparable'. Roman Beirut is further recreated as 'missing data can be "filled in" from the legal codes, economic and numismatic evidence, and geographical and political background. In addition, the shape of the city has been deduced from the references to buildings and some archeological information'. In what is thus pieced together, H. seeks 'to place the people and hear them "speak" through the saints' lives, and inscriptions' (pp. 4–5). The conclusions of the book are rather simplistic, namely that 'in a city such as Berytus, individuals formed a personal identity based on such multi-variable factors as their economic, social, ethnic, and religious affiliations. Although each person had an identity which consisted of multiple facets, it seems that some shared conclusions can be drawn about the construction of identity for and by Berytians in Late Antiquity' (p. 257). As for these 'shared conclusions', it is emphasized that literacy and education were thought highly of (where not?), that the city's inhabitants—'although religious competitiveness was valued'—were 'more open to 'reason'' (p. 258) than those of other places in the Greek East and the Levant, and that 'Berytus was a city that valued its "multi-cultural" confluence' (p. 258).

Ultimately, this ambitious book does not fulfil its potential. But it provides easy access to a lot of interesting information linked directly or indirectly to ancient Beirut and, as a work of reference, it can be a useful tool for further studies of various aspects of Beirut in the Roman and Late Roman periods, and of its place in the Phoenician lands, in the Levant, and in the empire.

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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni370

TAKING THE VEIL

L. Llewellyn-Jones: *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*. Pp. x + 358, ills. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003. Cased, £45. ISBN: 0-9543845-3-9.

Women and the veil is a topic of great contemporary currency and political urgency. From the controversial headscarf ban in French schools to Orhan Pamuk's new novel

The Classical Review vol. 55 no. 2 © The Classical Association 2005; all rights reserved

https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni371 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Snow, the veil is a potent visual symbol of political Islam and the 'clash of civilizations'. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's new study represents a welcome addition to the growing body of literature that explores the practices and ideology of female veiling, as it provides an important historical dimension to the discussion and locates the phenomenon—almost always associated in the popular imagination with the east, Islam, and 'Oriental seclusion'—squarely in the 'cradle' of Western civilization. L.-J.'s study, a revised PhD thesis for the University of Wales, Cardiff, explores the practices, language, and representation of veiling in the ancient Mediterranean from 900 B.C.E to 200 C.E. The book's main thesis is clearly stated: 'women in various ancient Greek societies were veiled daily and routinely, at least in public or in front of non-related men, as a consequence of a male ideology that required women to appear subservient in all walks of life' (p. 14). According to L.-J., veiling was so widespread and so routine that it was little remarked upon in antiquity. The author also suggests (pp. 3–7) that the practice has been little noticed, commented on, or studied by modern scholars, despite at least thirty years of intense interest in women in antiquity, primarily because of the powerful association of the veil with female suppression and Islamic fundamentalism.

The book is sensibly structured. The first five chapters deal with the textual and visual evidence for the practice of veiling in a broadly chronological framework. L.-J. surveys the vocabulary of the veil, which is diverse and in most cases frustratingly non-specific, and attempts to correlate, where possible, the ancient terms with the iconographic evidence. He catalogues the variety of veil styles represented in the visual material and traces their chronological development. I found it difficult, though, to understand and to recognize some of the distinctions he draws; for example, the pharos-veil (pp. 49–53) and the himation-veil (pp. 54–6) both seemed to me to be the same structurally. Here is where schematic drawings of the various veil types L.-J. identifies would have been very helpful to the reader. The visual evidence for face-veils (pp. 61–6)—veils designed specifically to mask the female face—represent some of the most surprising and interesting images in the book.

His analysis of the iconography of veiling (Chapter 4) shows that while many women in Greek art are shown with their heads uncovered, particularly in Greek vase painting, Greek artists developed a range of strategies for alluding to the presence of the veil. Chapter 5 considers the relationship between veiling, social status, and identity as expressed primarily in the textual evidence, particularly Homer and Hesiod. From this close reading of the evidence, L.-J. suggests that in pre-classical Greece the veil was a symbol of élite social status. He then proposes that beginning in the late Archaic period there was a change in the type of veil worn by women, and in the type of women who wore the veil. L.-J.'s idea of the 'democratization' of the veil is, however, based on the problematic identification of certain veiled female figures on a number of Greek vases as *hetairai* (Figs 47 and 54). The seemingly straightforward interpretative assumption that allows us to identify images of women on Greek vases as representations of the social reality of classical Athens as known from written evidence has now been thoroughly called into question by Gloria Ferrari's groundbreaking study *Figures of Speech*. Although this book appeared in 2003 and so too late for L.-J. to take into consideration, it has important implications for much of the material analyzed in the present study.

The second part of the book (Chapters 6–10) examines the social and symbolic meanings of Greek veiling. Here L.-J. deploys a substantial body of recent scholarship on women and the veil in the modern Middle East to suggest some of the ways in which the veil may have functioned and signified in ancient Greek society. He

https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni371 Published online by Cambridge University Press

identifies *aidōs* as a crucial component of Greek veiling ideology; like *aidōs*, the practice of Greek veiling was inherently complex, and incorporated notions of modesty, shame, honor, and veneration. Like the veil, *aidōs* is visible; both also have erotic associations, and are said to engender beauty. The meaning of the image evoked by the book's title—Aphrodite's Tortoise—is fully explained in a fascinating chapter (Chapter 7) that traces the literary, linguistic, and material evidence for the associations between the veil and domestic space. Wearing the veil extended the protection (and containment) that the domestic space afforded women to the unprotected space of the public sphere, allowing them to be present in public while at the same time neutralizing and effacing that presence. Here L.-J. makes the interesting and original observation that in the early Hellenistic period, just as women become more visible publicly, the full face-veil or *tegidion*, an item of apparel specifically designed to mask most of the female face, first appears.

The seemingly contradictory notions of modesty and eroticism embedded in the concept of *aidōs* and the relationship between veiling and sexuality are more fully fleshed out in L.-J.'s illuminating discussion of 'conspicuous' veiling (Chapter 10). I found his formulation of the veil as 'erotically concealing but simultaneously conspicuous' (p. 297) particularly compelling, and consonant with the kinds of contradictory messages one sees expressed in Hellenistic female portrait statues, where the modesty gestures and massive rounded bodies, completely covered in tightly wrapped transparent clothing, create a palpable tension between female modesty and sexual attractiveness. As L.-J. so eloquently demonstrates, the veil is a powerful means of non-verbal communication. It acts as a boundary and a container, imposed on women because of their incapacity for self-containment. Although it protects the woman from unwanted (sexual) attention, it could also arouse desire; the veil is erotic in that it marks out while deliberately concealing that which is desired.

This book is arguably the most important study of Greek female dress in recent years. It deserves to be very widely read.

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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni371

BULWER LYTTON'S GREEK HISTORY

E. BULWER LYTTON: *Athens: Its Rise and Fall. With Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People*. Bicentenary Edition. Edited by O. Murray. Pp. xviii + 610, map, ills. London and New York: Routledge, 2004 (first published 1837). Cased, £75. ISBN: 0-415-32087-9.

Few have thought of Bulwer Lytton, the extravagantly overproductive nineteenth-century British novelist, as an historian of ancient Greece. The names that come to mind are Mitford, his predecessor, Thirlwall, his coeval, and above all Grote, whose work superseded all earlier efforts. Now, thanks to Oswyn Murray, Bulwer Lytton's *Athens: Its Rise and Fall* (henceforth: *AthRF*) has been rescued from near oblivion and reappears in an important new edition. Not a mere reprint of the original (Paris, 1837 [two volumes in one]), it incorporates over sixty pages of previously

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni371 Published online by Cambridge University Press