In Greece, architects and entertainers were never slaves, while in Rome they generally were. In the third chapter, S. enters the obscure and slippery area of slave experience, and tries to characterize their attitudes and feelings by examining the evidence for affective ties, engagement in cult and ritual, their treatment in law, and physical punishment. Again, as he admits, the Greek evidence is a pale shadow to the Roman, and the chapter focuses almost entirely on the latter, relying on the wealth of details derived from the juridical sources and funerary commemoration. The caution which underlies this chapter limits it to a somewhat dry recounting of facts, suggesting a reluctance by the author to explore this dimension of slave life in a more meaningful way, as others have done (e.g. K. R. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* [Cambridge, 1994]).

Several other weaknesses should be pointed out, although, given the scope of the project, they are easily pardonable. More could have been made of freedmen, their own values and their rôle in the social hierarchy at Rome, in seeking aspects of the slave mentality and general attitudes toward them. Although material culture is claimed as his entryway to ancient slavery, S. relies more heavily on conventional historical sources such as prose historians and inscriptions, sometimes rendering the archaeological angle more marginalized than necessary (e.g. the discussion of rural slavery, images of household slaves). There is also a tendency to put particular emphasis on images, mostly funerary stelae, which are now located in German museum collections at the expense of evidence from Italy or other provinces. Many of these, however, will be unknown to the non-specialist, and their reproduction here brings them deserved attention. Although the detailed content and scholarly method might be thought too learned for a general book, S. never dwells too long on any one aspect to risk the charge of pedantry. The book has much to offer the non-specialist academic or graduate student, indeed enough to make one wish for an English version for undergraduate teaching.

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ROMAN WARFARE

C. M. GILLIVER: *The Roman Art of War*. Pp. 192, ills. Stroud: Tempus, 1999. Cased, £18.99. ISBN: 0-7524-1422-4.

This engaging survey of the Roman art of war from the middle republic to the late empire (p. 11) is arranged in five chapters. The organization of the army is well set out (pp. 12–31), although it is not made explicit that Polybius set his legion in the second Punic war (p. 16), and the idea that Livy just retrojected and complicated the Polybian legion gets no mention (p. 17). Evidence for the army on the march is covered next (pp. 32–62) and includes useful diagrams (Figs 11–17). The chapter on campaign camps (pp. 63–88) restates G.'s plausible theory that the stakes carried by legionaries formed not a fence but a series of giant caltrops around the camp (pp. 77–8), and includes a speculative attempt to apply Ps.-Hyginus' hypothetical arrangement of an army to the archaeological data from the camps at Res Cross and Durno (pp. 82–6). The penultimate chapter on pitched battle (pp. 89–126) features a reprise of G.'s view that the use of auxiliaries in the frontline did not stem from 'a desire to preserve the legions at the expense of non-citizen troops but the versatility of the auxiliary units and their strength as a fighting force' (p. 114). The final chapter on siege warfare (pp. 127–60) includes the striking argument that until the fourth century A.D. towns were not summoned to surrender because the initiative was

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expected to come from the besieged (pp. 154–8). Topped and tailed with a brief introduction and conclusion, the book ends with two appendices. One gives a brief description of the military treatises, and for the extant ones the availability of texts and translations. A. M. Devine's translation of Aelian should be added (*The Ancient World* 19 [1989], 31–64), as should J. G. DeVoto's texts and translations of Arrian's *Tactica* and *Expedition against the Alans* (Chicago, 1993). The second appendix provides another translation of the latter.

This is a difficult book to review. Despite its origin as a doctoral thesis in London (p. 8), it is aimed at a wide audience: 'for all interested in the Roman army and ancient warfare' (p. 11). What they get is 'hard core' military history. This is a book concerned with *Realien*, not *mentalites*. In terms of the historical novel, it is Bernard Cornwell, not Patrick O'Brian. For example, religion features twice: the practical Romans make use of the religious scruples of others to catch them at a disadvantage (p. 94), and the effect on Roman morale of the taking (and manipulation) of the auspices and the interpretation of omens is discussed (pp. 101–2). Analysis seems set at a rationalizing level and religion is sidestepped: 'whatever the religious beliefs of commanders and soldiers, and whether or not they believed in the omens' (p. 102). No place here for the divine apparitions found in art (e.g. scene xvi of the column of Marcus) and literature (e.g. Herodian 8.3.8–9)

The main appeal for the specialist is the bringing together of the theoretical treatises and the 'reality' we construct from histories and archaeology. Although aware of the problems, above all that the claim to utility may be a literary topos (p. 10), G. reads the manuals (or some of them) in practical terms. Despite two emperors setting up versions of 'Alexander's phalanx' (Suet. *Nero* 19.2; CD 78.7.1–2; Herodian 4.8.2; cf. Plut. *Ant*. 54.6), Asclepiodotus, Aelian, and Arrian's *Tactica* do not feature in the analysis (cf. p. 10). One reason that the anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis* does not even make it into the appendix may be that it is just too obviously divorced from reality.

With so few literary passages linking such treatises to practicalities, and all of these from the republic (Polybius and Cicero), a systematic study of their later reception might be helpful in forming an appreciation of their perceived utility in Roman times (cf. p. 10). Vegetius was read in practical terms in the medieval west (P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* [Oxford, 1984], pp. 211–12), and a wider range was thus considered in the Byzantine world (J. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars* [Stroud, 2001], p. 146). Psellus claimed that it was the learning he had acquired from such works that made Romanus IV demand his presence on campaign (*Chronographia* 7.6–7; cf. 11–12).

Some might consider that a concentration on reading these treatises in terms of of the realities of war can only give a partial explanation of the genre (or genres), and could close down other approaches (cf. A. Xenophontov, 'Polyaenus: a Greek Job-seeker in the Roman world', in E. N. Ostenfeld [ed.], *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks* [Aarhus, 2002], pp. 212–15).

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S. P. MATTERN: *Rome and the Enemy. Imperial Strategy in the Principate*. Pp. xviii + 259, maps, ills. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999. Cased, $35. ISBN: 0-520-21166-9.

Mattern's overview of Roman strategy covering the period 31 B.C. to A.D. 235, but including earlier and later material (p.5), uses literary evidence rather than frontier

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