Classic is not only a book for those interested in Demosthenes, or for that even smaller band concerned with Demosthenes' ancient commentators. It has important lessons for all classicists: how we have privileged the process of 'transmission' over the purpose of it; how mercilessly we have held such ancient commentators to anachronistic standards; how, in short, we have so rarely stopped to ask what these men, our ancient counterparts, were thinking of. We should all hope for a Craig Gibson, two thousand years hence, to rescue our motives and reputations.

THOMAS HARRISON

Roman History

The architecture of this review, suggested by its subjects, adopts a fashion that came in a generation ago, presenting a perspective that leads from centre to periphery – and beyond. To start with the beginning as well as the centre, A. Meurant's *L'Idée de gémellité dans la légende des origines de Rome*[1] appropriately follows a double track, though in a three-part work. In the central part, Meurant studies the legend as it appears in Latin and Greek sources ('Les grands témoins': I could have done with more of this) and finds that Roman writers patriotically reject variants of the 'official' version. Parts 1 and 3 give more space to theoretical enquiry, first accommodating Romulus and Remus to global, even to Old-World versus New-World twins (39), then to Indo-European patterns, notably to G. Dumézil's tripartite schemes, showing an Indo-European schema was adapted to the exigencies of Roman rationalism (96); after that a guiding star is R. Girard's theory of 'le désir mimétique', with explanatory diagrams: against a background of exogamic succession by the maternal line (188), pairs of rivals with identical (*i.e.*, conflicting) desires, starting with Aeneas-Turnus, culminate in the twins proper. This book is richly documented (until 1996) and sometimes the text rests on a bed of footnotes deeper than itself, offering a generous insight particularly into francophone anthropological method. Next, metropolitan literature. Two of the life-enhancing Bristol jackets are on show: E. L. Kennedy's 1941 edition of ⋆*Caesar, De Bello Civili III*,[2] and ⋆*Introducing Cicero: a Latin Reader* edited by six members of the Scottish Classics Group, saluted below.[3] The first gives the modified OCT, a preface stating that the book is intended for 'the average pupil of today of about School Certificate Standard' (do your own conversions), an introduction historically well past its sell-by date ('*Parties in the State* . . .'; 'A new nobility, . . . called Optimates or Aristocrats'), 111 pages of notes (the nub), vocabulary, illustrations nostalgically revealing their epoch, and maps. Perhaps a revised edition would have been worthwhile. *Cicero* is designed for today. The editors provide two dozen passages, mostly from

[1] *L'Idée de gémellité dans la légende des origines de Rome*. By A. Meurant. Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politique, 3^{e} sér. tome 24. Académie Royal de Belgique, Brussels, 2000. Pp. 335. Paperback.

[2] *Caesar, De Bello Civili III*. Edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary by E. C. Kennedy. Bristol Classical Press, London, 2002 (first published by Macmillan and Company, 1941). Pp. xxx + 280. 4 illustrations, 3 maps. Paperback.

[3] *Introducing Cicero*. A Selection of Passages from the Writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero, with Notes on his Life and Times. Prepared by the Scottish Classics Group (M. R. Burns, I. R. Macaskill, M. Barclay Miller, R. M. Orr, H. L. Philip, W. F. Ritchie, K. G. Silver, G. Suggett). Bristol Classical Press, London, 2002. Pp. xvi, 255. 14 maps, 15 illustrations. Paperback.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gr/51.1.121 Published online by Cambridge University Press

speeches and letters, little from philosophy and rhetoric; each has background notes, vocabulary, and 'points for discussion' (universal as well as particular issues are raised). There is a chronology; valuable advice on reading Latin, with examples; two appendices, 'Cicero's legacy', rather slight, and 'Cicero and Oratory', with useful basic instruction on techniques still in use; and a geographical index and 'select vocabulary'; no list of passages or index of persons. My only criticisms are of the slightly confusing arrangement of these riches and of the naïve historical outlook (one item is entitled, apparently without irony, 'A Letter to his Idol'; and Catiline is a straight conspirator from 65 on). The inky illustrations will simply further endear this treasury to its readers. Focusing on one speech, C. Novielli offers welcome help with *La Retorica del Consenso: Commento all tredicesima Filippica di M. Tullio Cicerone*.[4] Her preface gives an account of the exiguous help already available: in English we have D. R. Shackleton Bailey's edition and translation, *Cicero. Philippics* (Chapel Hill and London, 1986), but it has no historical or literary commentary. Novielli's introduction begins with a review of the historical background and goes on to the difficult choice of war and to Antony's important letter to Hirtius and Octavian; then comes a section on structure and style. The text is taken, with five changes, from P. Fedeli's Teubner (second edition, 1986). The commentary is full and clear, devoting for example more than a page and a half to Lepidus at the Lupercalia, with quotations of other Ciceronian versions and references to other sources; for modern interpretations the reader must look elsewhere. There are indexes of names, notable words, passages cited, and rhetorical terms, and a bibliography. It would be good to see an English translation, perhaps in the blue covers. Taking a southerly route leads to a massive book that does honour to all involved, on subjects central to Roman history: E. Lo Cascio and A. Storchi Marino, in *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*,[5] publish papers presented at meetings held in Naples in 1997 and 1998, the second under the title above, the first on '*Hannibal's Legacy* trent'anni dopo', discussed by E. Gabba, G. Bandelli, and F. Grelle. Archaeologically and historiographically, through space and time alike, then, the scope is wide and invaluable. Contributors drill widely dispersed fields and offer cores of the material that they have brought up from Lucania and Bruttium (A. M. Small discusses 'one of the earliest examples of a true villa'), Apulia and Calabria (M. Silvestrini, on the distribution of *tribus Galeria*, finds the origin of C. Arrenus Gallus of the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre*), Campania and Samnium (I. M. Iasiello's paper on *pagi* in the territory of Beneventum and Ligures Baebiani, with its bibliography on the *alimenta*, is to be noted), two papers on city and countryside, and conclusions from F. Zevi and F. Grelle. Most of the papers are in Italian, but there is a strong Canadian presence, a theoretical paper by J.-P. Vallat, and an interesting contribution on roads and *fora* from R. Laurence (marred by mishaps with punctuation, to a point of making one sentence unintelligible). The volume, generously illustrated, brings readers nearly up to date and shows that simple pictures of overall development and decline have to be reconsidered; so too conceptions of the Romanization of republican Italy (Laurence and H. Fraccia). Variety (and hence resilience) is the

[4] *La Retorica del Consenso.* Commento all tredicesima Filippa di M. Tullio Cicerone. By C. Novielli. Edipuglia, Bari, 2001. Pp. 272. Paperback.

[5] *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana.* Edited by E. Lo Cascio and A. Storchi Marino. *Pragmateiai,* Collana di studi e testi per la storia economica, sociale et amministrativa del mondo antico, 7. Bari, 2001. Pp. 658.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gr/51.1.121 Published online by Cambridge University Press

keynote. M. R. Salzman, in *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*,[6] offers a new approach to a question to which many answers have been given, how the change came about. It was not just the influence of fourth-century Christian autocrats, still less the effect of living in an age of anxiety, not even the influence of women; the emperor had to conciliate his élite and be one of them; the author has no time for psychological explanations; and women were subordinated, their prominence as converters in the literature due to needs of males who lacked prestige (170). Salzman plausibly argues for a focus on status and honour, and to make her points deploys a database of 414 names (AD 284–423), using them statistically to produce significant-looking percentages. Thus new men, notably Gauls, were more likely to be Christians than established members of the élite, children tended to follow parental religion, and so on. Here is a *caveat*: 'Christians were more likely than pagans to have made their career in the imperial bureaucracy' (125); this is based on percentages of 19 against 6, that is 18 men out of 95, 8 out of 125; not all figures are even as high. But the author puts the cards on the table, providing 46 pages of sources and tables. A salutary book, and instructive to read along with P. MacGeorge's gritty study of *Late Roman Warlords*,[7] which carries us into the mid-fifth century and the end of the Empire in the West (for the continuation of competitive, high-profile lifestyles see 171). It is gritty too for the qualities as an historian that the author has to deploy in the face of her evidence (consider 'Anonymous Valesianus is the only evidence that Orestes the *notarius* to Attila . . . is the same Orestes who . . . made his son emperor', 277). The fact that she has faced the lacunae, deceptiveness, and mendacity, though with the help of some numismatic evidence, makes the book seem the more reliable, and the cautious but independent conclusions she reaches the more trustworthy. The subjects are Marcellinus of Dalmatia, the Kingdom of Soissons, its very existence disputed, and Ricimer, with Gundobad, Orestes, and Odovacer, in Italy. Even the title of the book is problematical, because it is the nature of the protagonists (MacGeorge unashamedly presents them as such) that is in question. As to Dalmatia, the author's discussion, suggesting (42) that Marcellinus came to rule from a regional power base, may recall T. Wiedemann's interpretation of revolts in northern Europe in the mid-first century in *Federazioni e Federalismo nell'Europa antica* (Milan, 1994) 425–34. The author gives her own Latin translations and published translations of Greek, but these without the originals. This is regrettable, especially as she is quite picky, and sometimes unnecessarily so, as with Priscus (48): 'Marcellinus, whose strength was [or ''military forces were'' (Whitby)] increasing . . .'. But her arguments are clear and her narratives compelling. As to literary sources, in Gaul or more precisely Trier, R. Rees proves an excellent guide with *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric*.[8] With special attention to lucidity from the introduction onwards, for he has dealt with technical points elsewhere, he makes sense of five panegyrics of the Dyarchy and Tetrarchy, taken in chronological order and almost certainly all delivered as encoded expressions of local preoccupations. For emperors increasingly sought the

[6] *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*. Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire. By M. R. Salzman. Harvard UP, Cambridge, MA., and London, 2002. Pp. xiv + 354. £34.50.

[7] *Late Roman Warlords*. By P. MacGeorge. Oxford Classical Monographs, Oxford UP, 2002. Pp. xviii + 347. 4 plates, 3 maps, 1 fig.

[8] *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric, AD 289-307*. By R. Rees. Oxford UP, 2002. Pp. xviii + 237. 5 plates.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gr/51.1.121 Published online by Cambridge University Press

periphery and dominated it with their presence, or at least their *numen,* and Rees's order enables him to present each speech very helpfully in a developing historical situation. 'Parochial', and without the stamina of Pliny's panegyric, which opens the corpus, they survived in the first place because their authors cherished them; but they had merit: Rees can expound variants on *Concordia* and how the orators negotiated the metaphorical 'marriage' of their Augusti, absenteeism in members of the Tetrarchy, and delicate degrees of seniority, notably 'brothers' in politics (shades of Germanicus and Drusus Caesars!) when the system had begun with fathers and sons: Jovian and Herculean emperors. There is a concluding chapter, an appendix on the authorships of X (2) and XI (3) (Rees is swayed more by stylistic considerations than by textual), and a list of passages cited. But perhaps it is D. Shanzer and I. Wood who have faced the toughest task in the West: *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose*.[9] The translation is the first complete one, and reasons for that are clear enough. Sidonius Apollinaris' kinsman of the following generation, who stands between him and Gregory of Tours, was jokey (puns!), pompous ('the winnowing fans of Your Ordination'), and obscure, badly transmitted and imperfectly edited. Now we have a glossary (skimpy), a 70-page introduction, historical and literary, with a section on MSS and editions. The letters are topically divided into eastern questions and, much longer, the West. This is subdivided: the Papacy; the King of the Burgundians; episcopal connexions; pastoral letters to bishops; laymen in Burgundy; the Visigothic kingdom; 'external matters'. Each item is preceded by an introduction and is annotated. Two homilies, no. 25 on martyrs, no. 6 on Rogations, follow, and there are appendices on the use of honorific forms of address. A list of textual changes to Peiper's edition is also offered; likewise bibliographies, maps, and genealogies. Ungratefully I hanker for the original text; bulky, but it would have saved some notes, and the reader still needs some Latin. The labours and scrupulous care of Shanzer and Wood give him a sure and lasting guide to a writer who is a vital source for the Burgundian Kingdom, and to Catholic-Arian relations; see, for instance, their comments on the letter to the converted Clovis. Their own style combines wit and gaiety, a miracle in the circumstances, though there is a pregnant nun and a shortage of doctors to lighten the way. *En route* now for the East we encounter in Byzantium the Empress Theodora and in Bithynia the orator Dio. J. A. Evans has material for a spectacular soap or for a new *Evita*. **The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian*[10] divides it partly chronologically, partly by theme: after the Nika riot we have 'Friends and Enemies', Foreign Policy', 'the Theological Dilemma', and so on. One problem is the evidence, and, as the author says, notes are reassuring. I could have done with more to complete separation of the strands and show the authority for what is printed. However, the author offers repeated warnings and an introduction to the sources, and his judgments on Theodora's activities and power are prudent. There is another problem beyond the evidence: so packed with incident is the period that the work still suggests a useful and readable brief scenario; but to have done it perfect justice would have cut Theodora's role as the subject; the author seems to have got the balance about right. Some repetition and anomalies ('As long as she [Euphemia] was alive, she would

[9] *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes. Translated Texts for Historians Vol. 38. By D. Shanzer and I. Wood. Liverpool UP, 2002. Pp. xviii + 450. Four maps and genealogies. Paperback £14.95.

[10] *The Empress Theodora*. Partner of Justinian. By J. A. Evans. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2002, Pp. xxvi (including 9 plates and 1 map) + 146. £22.95.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gr/51.1.121 Published online by Cambridge University Press

have nothing to do with Theodora', xv) could have been weeded out, and the publishers invited to provide an adequate plan of Constantinople. P. Volpe and F. Ferrari, in *Ricerche su Dione di Prusa*,[11] have gathered together essays by young scholars of the Università degli Studi di Salerno. The boreholes into Dio's work are diverse, and to ensure that the material reaches relevant destinations, I list topics and authors. L. Baldi introduces C.Valgulio's 1497 translation of *Or.* 38; G. Caiazza studies Dio's treatment of the Achaean wall in Homer (*Or.* 11); M. di Florio writes on the comic in Dio; A. Ricciardi on *eudaemon daemon* (*Or.* 25); and (at the greatest length and interest for historians) R. Scannapieco on *Or.* 7: 'Conscienza della crisi ed etica della filantropia'. Still within the Empire, alien, unurbanized and unloved by ancient writers – and moderns 'sometimes share this ancient castigation' (poor things!) – lies R. Van Dam's *Kingdom of Snow*.[12] The author redresses the balance by devoting three volumes to Cappadocian topics. This one 'investigates the impact of Roman rule in Cappadocia and the fate of classical Greek culture in an increasingly Christian society'; the others are *Families and Friends* and *Becoming Christian*. The author explains the otherwise inexplicable rise of Cappadocia to prominence: it was on the border (1), but there is more Hellenism and Roman rule than Cappadocia. Three sections cover 'Badlands', about local aristocracies and what they had to expect; 'Empire and Province' on relations between the court and the province and notable provincials such as Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus at court; and 'Culture Wars', on Julian in Asia Minor, Basil's 'Outlines of Virtue', and Gregory of Nazianzus' dealings with Julian. There are notes, a list of editions and translations, bibliography, and index. The map, such as it is, lies within either cover. The author's enthusiasm is as patent as his knowledge of the literature, and helps to make the book readable, in spite of its over-sprightly chapter titles with their monotonous colons. He is refreshingly firm in his judgments on Basil and Gregory (both exhibit 'outright meanness', 132 and 195), and shows insight in his examination of the tug-of-war over Greek culture, though his appreciation of some of Julian's aims (172) seems inadequate. R. B. Jackson *At Empire's Edge*[13] also recalls an ancient name, 'land of fire'. One can feel the sand under one's feet, even though he spares one of his eloquent photographs for his camel. Jackson bravely went underground too, into the aqueducts of Ain Umm Dabadib. This is a fetching work of autopsy ('gazetteer', says the blurb) and synthesis. The author systematically examined the remains of Roman occupation in Egypt, in the Eastern Desert (perhaps the most solidly informative section, because of its nature; historians hear more of Montes Porphyrites and Claudianus than they actually know), the Upper Nile Valley, and the Western Desert, ending with Siwa: ten sections in all; the author thoughtfully gives translations of Arabic place-names of the sites he visited. As to synthesis, Jackson incorporates the results of earlier travellers and excavations, and provides bibliography. There are weaknesses here: Julian did not exile 'Eugene' or 'Macaire'. So too with his title, compounded by Map 1, with lines joining the oases to enclose Roman territory: only in the South was Jackson really dealing with a frontier. One is not sure of the

[11] *Ricerche su Dione di Prusa*. Edited by P. Volpe and F. Ferrari. Naples, 2001. Pp. 177.

[12] *Kingdom of Snow*. Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia. By R. Van Dam. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2002. Pp. x + 290. £35.

[13] *At Empire's Edge*. Exploring Rome's Egyptian Frontier. By R. B. Jackson. Yale UP, New Haven and London, 2002. Pp. xxvi + 350. 100 figs., 4 maps. £26.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gr/51.1.121 Published online by Cambridge University Press

identity of his 'Romans', nor satisfied with his formulation of Nero's foreign policy. But he has done sterling service. We go beyond the bounds with S. Mattern's ⋆*Rome and the Enemy*,[14] first published four years ago; its reappearance in paperback, hence cheaper, form makes it additionally suitable for sixth-form libraries (it has been selected by the History Book Club). It comes with its American and *JACT* laurels on its back cover, and was favourably reviewed here.[15] But it is into another dimension altogether that we move for the last two volumes, poles apart from each other though they are. F. Giordano has edited and introduced a collection of fifteen leisurely essays on *L'Idea di Roma nella cultura antica*,[16] opening with one by E. Gabba on the birth of the idea in the Greek world and going on to consider the work of Roman poets from Livius Andronicus to Lucan; then come Tacitus and the younger Pliny, and (once again) Dio of Prusa, F. Stok's paper on Rome as *caput* allows the elder Pliny a bow, alongside Strabo, and comes before Plutarch, Aelius Aristides, and the Sibylline Oracles have their turn; and the well-balanced, unexciting volume (Plutarch's 'idea di Roma non è diversa da quella della classe dirigente romana del tempo', concludes I. Gallo) ends naturally with Augustine (this has no notes, only reference to an earlier article). The editor admits that there is a danger of generalizing. Certainly freedom and permanence are recurring themes, but readers face multiple perspectives on Rome, internal and external and in between, even in the single essay on Tacitus. Besides an index of names, there is a list of modern scholars (in lieu of a bibliography), and a potentially more useful list of passages cited. In *Imperial Projections: Ancient Rome in modern popular Culture*,[17] S. R. Joshel and others have published eight papers, all but three for the first time, with bibliography and 'filmography'. After two general papers on the American 'toga movie' and its links with masculinity and success abroad, A. Futrell weighs domestic and political issues in *Spartacus*, and Joshel shows the Roman Empire domesticated in *I, Claudius*, which is treated very much with American audiences in mind. N. Cull's paper on *Carry on Cleo* and the post-imperial plight is boldly British: even more so M. Wyke's exposition of *Sebastiane* and what it meant to Jarman. For the rest, once Martha Malamud has given Colleen McCullough's personality a mini-analysis and her works a drubbing, we are in the U.S.A. *Plautinisches* in Brooklyn is Margaret Malamud's subject, while she and MacGuire top off the volume with a vapid description of Caesars (*sic*) Palace. The book, though sparingly illustrated, is a diverting read, for all the inevitable repetitions and the thinness of what may be gleaned from it. Nonetheless, it is published by a university press, and devotes paper and scholarly time (six of those involved are professional classicists) to subjects that, if they are anything, are part of (mainly American) social history and should be assembled on that basis. Worse, it gives weight to owlish film epics, persuading students that they have gained 'access' and are

[14] *Rome and the Enemy*. Imperial Strategy in the Principate. By S. P. Mattern. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1999; first paperback printing 2002. Pp. xxii + 259. One map, 5 figs. £15.95.

[15] *G&R* NS 47 (2000), 251.

[16] *L'Idea di Roma nella culture antica*. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Salerno, 14-16 ottobre, 1996. Ed. by F. Giordano. Pubblicazzioni dell'Università degli Studi di Salerno. Sezione Atti Convegni Miscellanee 58. Naples, 2001. Pp. 432. €26.86.

[17] *Imperial Projections*. Ancient Rome in modern popular Culture. Edited by S. R. Joshel, Margaret Malamud, and D.T. MacGuire, Jr. Johns Hopkins UP, Baltimore and London, 2001. Pp. x + 299. Unlisted figs.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gr/51.1.121 Published online by Cambridge University Press

painlessly engaged with the 'classical tradition' (we are in heritage country here). There is something emblematic in the quotation of *sic transit Gloria mundi* from Thomas A. Kempis (*sic*) in these pages. Practitioners of music and art have been going the same way.

BARBARA LEVICK

Art and Archaeology

Downright derision: a crown of thorns. Consummate glory: a crown of olive leaves. From Golgotha to Olympia does not seem very far in Classical antiquity: in both places, at least, we find the pretence of royalty expressed by a garland that will not last. It was a biodegradable coronation: so what was it worth? There is no straight answer to that query, and it would be impertinent here even to consider the symbolic significance eventually given to the mockery of Jesus of Nazareth as 'King of the Jews'. But the Classical archaeologist must engage with the quandary as it affected an Olympic victor. To win an event at Olympia, the most prestigious of the four 'Sacred and Crown Games', ostensibly brought nothing more than a wreath of foliage from a tree kept sacred in the Altis or 'Grove' of the host sanctuary. Of course, further benefits for winning could be expected at home, some of them handsome in social and financial worth. But welcome as a lifetime of free meals might have been, the problem remained: how was the precious *kleos*, the 'renown' of victory, to be broadcast and preserved? An answer was supplied by two types of specialist in the diffusion of renown – the poet and the sculptor. I had always assumed that these poets and sculptors tended to compete as business rivals – with Pindar, the 'epinikian' poet *par excellence*, seeming to boast (*Nemean* 5.1–5) that his commemorations of victory were uniquely portable and durable. To read Deborah Steiner's *Images in Mind*,[1] however, is to beware of such an easy assumption. For the rapport that Steiner explores between literature and statuary is essentially a symbiosis – a mutual dependence, a complex of complementary devices, that almost forces us to envisage poets and sculptors as collaborators. As Steiner begins by admitting, she set out to write a book about how not only poets, but dramatists, philosophers, and historians used statues as 'cognitive and hermeneutic devices' in their texts – how statues became 'good to think with' in Greek literature. But she could not, as she admits, keep those statues on the page. They insisted on being regarded in their own three-dimensional space, as artefacts with something to say (as it were) by themselves. Whatever their function, these objects were once 'performative and efficacious agents, able to interact in a variety of ways with those who commissioned, venerated, and even on occasion defaced them.' Much of the evidence for this roaming interaction comes, naturally, from literary sources, and we can speculate how much of the process took place subconsciously (did Pindar and Bacchylides have bronzed flesh or hollow bronze in mind when they spoke of athletes 'shining'?). Still, there is surely enough evidence collected here to reaffirm that the 'iconology' of Greek art can only proceed by reference to Greek literature; and (*vice versa*) that an awareness of visual aesthetics is essential to understanding Greek texts. 'The task then . . . is to define the conditions that allow artifacts, epigraphical documents, and literary texts to throw light upon one another in reciprocal fashion.' So Gloria Ferrari phrases the

[1] *Images in Mind.* Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought. By Deborah Tarn Steiner. Princeton UP, 2001. Pp. xviii + 360, with 28 figs.

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