FRONTIERS

C. R. WHITTAKER: *Rome and its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire*. Pp. x + 246, ills. London and New York: Routledge, 2004. Cased, £55. ISBN: 0-415-31200-0.

In 1994 C. R. Whittaker published a book on *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore and London). In it he suggested that the Roman frontiers were to be regarded as zones of cultural and economic interchange rather than as linear barriers (cf. his chapter in *CAH* XI^2 [2000], 293–319): for favourable reviews see *CR* 45 (1995), 338–9; *JRS* 85 (1995), 292. Routledge has now issued a welcome collection of ten later articles on the subject (and on Rome's relations with India), seven of which have been published previously.

Chapter 1, 'Where Are the Roman Frontiers Now?' (pp. 1–27) develops ideas presented in his earlier work and analyses recent contributions by other scholars. He defines a *limes* as 'the land that forms the furthest extent of a country's settled or inhabited region' (p. 6). This suits developed limites but does not take into account the original sense of limes as a road driven into hostile territory for military advance (referred to on pp. 69 and 80): cf. Cicero's remark (*Pis.* 38) that the 'fines prouinciae' were where the soldiers' swords were. However, the chapter is a useful and up-to-date presentation of current thinking on Roman frontiers. Chapter 2, 'Grand Strategy or Just a Grand Debate?' (pp. 28–49), addresses E. N. Luttwak's *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore and London, 1976). W. rejects L.'s theory of a centrally directed evolution of the frontiers in favour of intermittent reaction to crises: the infrastructure hardly allowed much more (p. 34: 'make others slaves' seems too strong a translation of 'instrumenta seruitutis' in Tac. *Agr.* 14; the meaning seems rather to be that Cogidubnus, though a king, was just treated as a cog in the process of subjection). Chapter 3, 'The Importance of the Invasions of the Later Roman Empire' (pp. 50–62), maintains that traditional scholarship has exaggerated the impact of the Barbarian Invasions on the empire. Chapter 4, 'Mental Maps and Frontiers' (pp. 63–87), is concerned with the state of geography in the Empire. In fact, generals operated not with maps but linear itineraries. (p. 81: Velleius does not 'give the distance between the Rhine and the Elbe as 400 miles'; what he said was that Tiberius marched 400 miles from the Rhine to the mouth of the Elbe.) In Chapter 5, 'Supplying the Army: The Evidence of Vindolanda' (pp. 88–114), W. asks whether the Vindolanda Tablets throw any light on the question of army supply. His conclusion is that they provide little new evidence and that it appears that there was no uniform system. (p. 105: *Treuerus* should read *Treuer*; p. 111: *Classis Germanicus* . . . *Britannicus* should read *Germanica* . . . *Britannica*; p. 112: *quaestururam* should read *quaesturam*.) Chapter 6, 'Sex on the Frontiers' (pp. 115–43), treats two topics, the Roman custom of portraying conquered peoples as young women, and the presence of women on the frontiers and in the camps. On the first, it would have been better to distinguish more sharply between dignified personifications of female provinces and the weeping figures of post-conquest *prouincia capta* coins, and to have analysed the Britannia and the Armenia reliefs at Aphrodisias especially with reference to the second type rather than the first. The evidence for women in the camps is mounting (that of the Vindonissa Tablets should have been added): for a recent discussion see B. Pferdehirt, *Die Rolle des Militärs für den sozialen Aufstieg* . . . (Mainz, 2002), pp. 192–228 (p. 118: Claudius did not 'receive the title of Germanicus when his uncle, the Elder Drusus, triumphed'. Drusus was his father, and Claudius only took the title on the death of his brother

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Germanicus; p. 121: *pudicita* should read *pudicitia*; p. 133: *hetarai* should read *hetairai*.) Chapters 7 and 8 discuss the Roman view of Indians and the impact of trade with India on the empire. W. points out that the Romans tended to assume that those outside the empire who established diplomatic contact with them were in a sense under Roman control. (p. 165: there was no permanent Roman fleet on the Red Sea [M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986), p. 270]; p. 170: 'a maritime loan' was not 'given to Herod Agrippa in A.D. 36 by a freedman of the Empress Agrippina': Agrippina was not 'empress' at that date, the loan had been facilitated by a freedman of Antonia [not Agrippina], and it was not a 'maritime' one—Agrippa I used it to engage a ship for a voyage.) Chapter 9, 'Roman Frontiers and European Perceptions' (pp. 181–98), shows how the experiences of Lord Curzon and others in the nineteenth century have influenced Roman archaeologists and historians. Chapter 10, 'The Use and Abuse of Immigrants in the Later Roman Empire' (pp. 199–218), usefully points out that the Romans did not have the modern concept of an ethnically uniform state but that, in spite of abuses, they were generally receptive to immigrants in the later period.

There is a surprisingly large number of misprints, especially in foreign proper names. As noted above, there are also occasionally misleading interpretations of the Latin sources and even some historical misconceptions. There seems to be a tendency to downplay the military functions of the frontiers, and a general title to a collection of articles always seems to promise more than is given. But this is an important and useful book. Let us hope that Dr Whittaker will continue to develop his ideas, especially those on personification in ethnography and Roman relations with peoples outside the formal boundaries of the actual provinces.

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PROVINCIALS IN GOVERNMENT

N. SCHÄFER: *Die Einbeziehung der Provinzialen in den Reichsdienst in augusteischer Zeit.* Pp. 181. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000. Paper, DM 68. ISBN: 3-515-07723-5.

The aim of this book is quite narrow, to assess the extent to which provincials played a role in governing the Roman empire as equestrian officials and senators under Augustus. It does not offer to evaluate the integration of provincials as a whole into Roman society, nor even to discuss provincials who were equestrians if they did not hold some sort of official post, even if they were prominent in Rome. Schäfer also decides to exclude any freedmen or sons of freedmen, on the grounds that their integration differed in kind from that of the provincial elite. Her work thus focuses on just forty-two individuals, and this diminishes her chances of being able to answer some of the problems she poses herself. In Chapter 7, on marriage ties, for example, only five wives are known for the forty-two individuals in question. Chapter 6 sets out to investigate the role of patronage in promoting provincials, but, as she honestly admits (p. 62), virtually no traces of patronage are visible in the available evidence. Similarly, having set out to compare whether provincials of Italian origin or of local origin were more likely to be successful, and having pointed out that provincials of Italian origin were in a minority, she observes in a footnote (p. 35 n. 12) that quantitative analysis is invalid from such a small sample.

Discussion is rather limited and sometimes rather pointless. Chapter 1, on access to

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