KING JUBA

D. W. ROLLER: *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene. Royal Scholarship on Rome's African Frontier*. Pp. xvi + 335, maps, ills. New York and London: Routledge, 2003. Cased. ISBN: 0-415-30596-9.

I suspect that many readers may come away from this book feeling, as I did, just a little disappointed. R. does a masterful job of collecting every known fact about Juba's life, career, and scholarship, including even the name of his chef (p. 160 n. 241). His approach to the evidence is cautious and meticulous, sometimes exhaustively so (the bibliography alone is thirty-four pages long). What's missing, it seems to me, is any kind of sustained argument, about who Juba really was, for example, or about the ways in which his life or career could shed light on the larger history of his time.

To be fair, R. says explicitly that the book is not a biography of Juba (still less of Kleopatra Selene), but rather a 'cultural analysis of personalities, and of the world that produced them and upon which they had impact' (p. x). It is, he claims, 'the first examination of their lives and careers in English', and 'the first analytical critique of the king both as an implementer of the Augustan program and as a notable scholar in his own right' (p. x; cf. p. 59, where Juba's education at the court of Augustus is said to have prepared him to be 'the implementer of Augustan policy in northwest Africa'). Exactly what 'the Augustan program' might have entailed is never adequately explained. Much the same could be said of R.'s rather cryptic remark that Juba's rule in Mauretania can be considered to have been 'a crucial factor in the multiculturalism that was the Roman Empire', or the equally puzzling statement that 'Juban studies' need to 'move beyond the colonialist perspectives of the first half of the twentieth century' (p. x). What it is about the perspectives of earlier scholars that warrants labeling them 'colonialist' is never made clear.

The book opens with a detailed and careful (though hardly ground-breaking) recounting of Juba's Numidian ancestry and the history of the region of Mauretania down to about the middle of the first century B.C. R. then relates what little is known about Juba's youth and education, and the even fewer facts that can be unearthed about Kleopatra Selene. Though it is hardly R.'s fault, given the very limited nature of the sources, Kleopatra Selene remains frustratingly enigmatic. Certainly, there is little that would appear to justify R.'s conclusion that she was 'an implementer of Juba's kingship and scholarship' (p. x). R. goes on to describe the history of Mauretania as a client-kingdom (*c*. 25 B.C.–A.D. 40), and what he calls 'the artistic and cultural program' of Juba and Kleopatra Selene, which, it seems, consisted mainly of building at Volubilis and Iol (Caesarea). Curiously, though he refers to Mauretania as a 'frontier zone with a developing Roman presence' (p. 105), he has almost nothing to say about the Roman frontiers, or about the pioneering studies of the last thirty years that have revolutionized our understanding of them.

The heart of the book, in many ways, is R.'s extended discussion of Juba's scholarship. A brief survey of Juba's minor works is followed by a richly detailed discussion of the *Libyka*. Here R. is at his best, confidently negotiating a wide range of poorly documented topics in the history of North Africa, from the Canary Islands to the territory of the Trogodytes. The book concludes with a surprisingly long account of Juba's limited rôle in the eastern expedition of Augustus' grandson, Gaius, an often fascinating analysis of Juba's last major work, *On Arabia*, and a brief description of the later history of the family of Juba and Kleopatra Selene.

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni146 Published online by Cambridge University Press

A very helpful appendix (pp. 261–3) catalogues the fragments of Juba's published works. The photographs in the book are delightful, the maps few, and generally of poor quality.

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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni146

THE EMPEROR PROBUS

G. KREUCHER: *Der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius Probus und seine Zeit*. (*Historia* Einzelschriften 174.) Pp. 298. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. Paper, €48. ISBN: 3-515-08382-0.

Kreucher's book is a Trier dissertation, presented in 2000, but revised to refer to work published up to January 2003, including F. Paschoud, *Histoire Auguste Vol. 2. Vies de Probus, Firmus, Saturninin, Proculus et Bonose, Carus, Numérien et Carin* (Paris, 2001). Probus reigned for six years and was highly praised by all ancient writers. But as Kreucher points out, there has been no recent monograph on him. He cites (more frequently than necessary) J .H. E. Crees, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus* (London, 1911), E. Dannhäuser, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Probus* (diss., Jena, 1909), G. Vitucci, *L'imperatore Probo* (Rome, 1952), and M. L. Kennedy, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus* (unpublished diss., Minnesota, 1952). K. can deploy much new epigraphic, papyrological and numismatic evidence, as well as important work on the literary sources, not least the dreaded *Historia Augusta* (*HA*), for which Paschoud's commentary is particularly helpful, as is also the new edition of his *Zosime. Histoire Nouvelle I. Livres I–II* (Paris, 2000^2). In Chapter 1, after a brief introduction (pp. 11–14), K. discusses the sources: literary (pp. 14–39), papyri (pp. 39–41) inscriptions (pp. 41–7), coins (pp. 47–9), legal and archaeological (pp. 49–50). The section on the *HA* (pp. 19–31), is unnecessarily long; K. could usefully have cited Paschoud's calculation, *Vies de Probus et al.* 301, of the 'contenu factuel' of the *HA*'s last five *vitae*: *Aurelian* 26.6%, *Tacitus* 15.3%, *Probus* 16.8%, *Quadrigae tyrannorum* (Firmus et al.) nil, *Carus* and sons 17.2%. Chapter 2 (pp. 51–89), the most useful part of the book, documents the emperors' *trib. pot*., consulships, *dies imperii*, and titulature, from 274/5 to 282/3, listing all dated papyri and ostraka. Chapter 3 (pp. 91–186) is a biography. As K. makes clear (pp. 93–102), for the years before Probus' accession in 276 there is no evidence at all, except on place and date of birth: Sirmium 232. The *HA*'s account is fiction, and the *Epit. de Caes.*, at 37.1, has either invented Probus' rustic father 'Dalmatius', *hortorum studiosus*, or garbled something quite different. K. devotes a long section (pp. 102–25) to the '*interregnum*' after Aurelian's murder in 275, lasting at most a few weeks, not the six months of the Latin sources, and the reigns of Tacitus and Florian, which may indeed have been described as a 'six month *interregnum*' between Aurelian and Probus, later misinterpreted. The rest of the chapter deals with Probus' own reign, with thorough discussion, for example, of his northern campaigns against Alamanni,[1] Franci, and others, and of

[1]At p. 133 n. 290, K. follows the current *communis opinio*, as argued e.g. by L. Okamura, *Alamannia devicta* (diss., Michigan, 1984), pp. 84–124, that the Alamanni did not exist until the later third century, their naming in excerpts and summaries of Cassius Dio and other third-century sources, on Caracalla, supposedly being derived from Byzantine glosses. But B. Bleckmann, *MH* 59 (2002), 145–71, shows that the arguments for that thesis are defective.

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni146 Published online by Cambridge University Press