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.

Duke University SHEILA DILLON
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/bni372 Published online by Cambridge University Press

unpublished material edited by M. with a full account of his editorial method and of the manuscript (in Bulwer Lytton's own hand) on which the new text is based.

The published version of 1837 takes us down to 440 B.C. (the Samian War). With the added material, some of it fragmentary, it now extends to the battle of Delium in 424 B.C. The editor, rightly I think, eliminates those parts which are essentially Thucydides in 'exuberant early Victorian prose'. Instead he selects the passages 'where Bulwer Lytton reveals his own opinions and comments on events' (p. 530). The single exception is the account of Pylos and Sphacteria (425 B.C.), included partly for its literary interest and partly for a striking contemporary parallel, the battle of Navarino (1826).

The new edition is important for three reasons. (1) It (re)acquaints us with a work well worth our attention. (2) It adds previously unpublished material. (3) Above all, it contains two masterly introductions by the editor, one to the version published in 1837, the other to its newly published continuation. Both are in themselves an important contribution to the study of early Victorian historiography.

A brief review of earlier eighteenth-century British histories of ancient Greece sets the stage for a discussion of Mitford's *History of Greece* (1784–1810) and for a careful and balanced assessment of that often maligned work (pp. 7–15). In particular, M.'s acute comments on the strictures of Mitford's harshest critic, George Grote, clarify the transition from Mitford to Utilitarian history. For M., Grote was in effect 'asserting the right of the radical tradition [i.e. James Mill and his circle] to appropriate Athens for the modern world . . .' (pp. 12–13).

Only two out of a projected four volumes were published in 1837. The reason given in the Knebworth edition of *AthRF* (1874) is competition (1) from Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, which began publication in 1835, and (2) from Grote's *History*, which first appeared in 1846. M. understandably and justifiably gives his attention almost entirely to the latter, but more on Thirlwall's *History* would have been helpful. Did it in fact play a rôle in the suspension of *AthRF*? Or was Bulwer Lytton himself 'disingenuous' in emphasizing its impact, as M. suggests (pp. 31–2)?

As for Grote, the prehistory of the *History* is a bit more complicated than *apud* M., but the latter may well be right that a work whose publication began in 1846 had little to do with the fate of *AthRF* in the late 1830s and early 1840s. A more likely culprit is the outpouring of novels (seven), plays (two), and a book of poetry between 1837 and 1843, enough to sap the energy even of this amazing author. But Bulwer Lytton did not give up on *AthRF*. He continued to work on it between 1842 and 1844, but by then he had to contend both with the publication of Thirlwall's last volume (1844) and with Grote's paper on 'Grecian Legends and Early History' (1843), not to speak of the first two volumes of the latter's *History*. For the mid-1840s, to quote M., the view that the 'gradual abandonment' of *AthRF* was due to 'the competition from first Thirlwall and finally Grote, is correct . . .' (p. 528).

But why bother to read *AthRF*? M.'s claims for it are (1) '. . . it is the first serious history of Greece in modern Europe', (2) 'and the most important work' in 'the transition from the ancient model to the Aryan model of Greek history'. (3) 'It also provides the earliest and most significant work of the English Romantic school of history . . .' (4) 'and constitutes the most original English contribution to the continental movement that began the great age of history' (p. 16).

Of these, (3) and (4) are the most persuasive and are in themselves enough to justify M.'s labours. But the editor himself reminds us that, in the arena of 'Romantic' history, Carlyle's *French Revolution*, albeit 'bizarre and compulsively unreadable', appeared in the same year as *AthRF* (p. 29). Add too that Macaulay's essays

https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni372 Published online by Cambridge University Press

advocating the writing of history on this model go back to 1828. As for (1), Thirwall should not be forgotten, and the reviewer perforce leaves (2) to those who have grappled with *Black Athena*.

In his assessment of *AthRF*, M. emphasizes the extent to which it anticipates Grote's *History* in its 'sustained attack on Mitford' and in its consistent use of German scholarship: '. . . like Grote, Bulwer Lytton sees the reason for Athenian pre-eminence in the sphere of culture as due to the spirit "of unceasing emulation and unbounded competition" ' (p. 32). M. also points out that the new *AthRF* reveals that Bulwer Lytton preceded Grote in his 'defence of Cleon as a radical politician' and in his 'sustained attack on the character of his conservative rival, Nicias . . .' (ibid.). True. But there is a moral here: don't wait to publish your ideas.

In fact, comparison with Grote is a bit unfair. The latter set out to write a scholarly history; Bulwer Lytton, a popular one. For example, by the time Grote got to the reforms of Ephialtes, there was at least another decade of German scholarship to exploit and confront; so an entire chapter with numerous footnotes—some quite lengthy—is devoted to this episode (Part 2 Chapter 46). Bulwer Lytton expressly refuses 'to plunge the reader' into the morass of German scholarship, and succinctly rehearses the main points in less than two pages (pp. 404–5).

The new *AthRF* is a welcome addition to our knowledge of British historical writing in the early nineteenth century, and we cannot but thank the editor for his dedication, skill, and expertise. An added plus is the author's often florid and luxuriant prose, which can be great fun to read. His description of a day at the Olympic festival (p. 123) reads as if inspired by the same muse that prompted Ouida's evocation of North Africa under the dancing feet of Cigarette (*Under Two Flags*, Chapter 16).

University of Illinois at Chicago JOHN VAIO
doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni372

ODYSSEAN WANDERINGS

W. Erhart, S. Nieberle (edd.): *Odysseen 2001. Fahrten—Passagen—Wanderungen*. Pp. 217, map, ills. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003. Paper, €32.90. ISBN: 3-7705-3723-8.

In the terminology of Gérard Genette's *Palimpsests* (Paris, 1982; Engl. trans., Lincoln, 1997), the *Odyssey* is Western literature's most influential 'hypotext', a work that shapes subsequent 'hypertexts' through numerous and various creative impulses. The collection of essays under review illustrates some of the hypotextual aspects of the *Odyssey*. The book derives from a conference held at the University of Greifswald in 2001 under the auspices of its Institute of German Philology. Editors and contributors come from a variety of academic fields, chiefly German literature and culture. Two have classical training.

As the editors emphasize in their introduction (pp. 9–24), any attempt at doing justice to the pervasive influence of the *Odyssey* is impossible; no single volume can represent the hypotextual nature of the *Odyssey* even in its most fundamental aspects. The editors appropriately characterize their book as itself an intellectual odyssey, with stopovers at several places in the epic's reception history. Stanley Kubrick's film

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni372 Published online by Cambridge University Press