Edwards believes that Arnobius and Lactantius, both teachers, used their educational training and extensive knowledge of Latin literature to 'maintain that the Christian is the true compatriot of the virtuous Roman' (p. 204). Lactantius uses Lucretius in his demolition of traditional Roman religion; Arnobius derides the myth of the birth of Servius Tullius. Lactantius could take over Virgil as *noster Maro*, but still regarded the new world of Christianity as superseding the old, in the process quoting a Sibylline prophecy of the death of Rome.

Eusebius is not known primarily for his apologetic writings, but Frede finds apologetic elements in some less than obvious places, such as the *Chronicle*. When discussing earlier Christian apologists, Eusebius applies the term apology only to works nominally addressed to the emperor or government, but in other contexts he can use it for any defence of Christianity. *Against Hierocles* responds to anti-Christian use of *Apollonius*, illustrating how pagan anti-Christian arguments and Christian replies developed over time. *Against Porphyry* aims to show that Christianity depends on reasoning rather than blind faith.

Finally, Edwards looks at the *Oration to the Saints* preserved by Eusebius and now widely thought to be a Greek version of a genuine speech by Constantine. It is a work of much less obviously apologetic nature than the others in the book, and marks a turning point in the nature of Christian apology, moving from defence to attack. The place and date of the speech seem to have aroused more interest than the content. Edwards's chapter has been rapidly followed by a new article by T. D. Barnes, 'Constantine's *Speech to the Assembly of the Saints:* Place and Date of Delivery', *JTS* 52 (2001), 26–36. Barnes argues that the speech was given at Nicomedia at Easter 325, against Edwards's view that it was given at Rome in 314.

A particularly useful feature of the bibliography is that works by ancient authors are cited both by the English titles which are used in the text and by traditional Latin titles. Latin-less readers will thus be able to find out that, for example, the work by Tertullian referred to here as *To the Gentiles* is the one usually called *Ad Nationes*.

This book provides many illuminating insights into a type of literature often seen as exclusively Christian. It becomes clear that apology, in the sense used here, did not constitute a recognized literary genre in the Ancient World, but the disparate works studied can profitably be viewed side by side. One point of disagreement is that, while making Constantine's reign the cut-off point is perfectly logical for the Christian side, it excludes later, defensive, pagan apology such as Symmachus offered in the Altar of Victory debate; thus the book is perhaps slightly more dominated by Christian writers than it might have been. Nevertheless, placing Christian apology within a wider literary and historical context is in itself an important development.

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THE NEAR EAST IN TRANSITION

A. Cameron (ed.): *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III: States, Resources and Armies* (Papers of the Third Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam). Pp. xvi + 491, 3 maps. Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1995. Cased. ISBN: 0-87850-107-X.x

Building on the dramatic growth of late Roman studies over the past three decades or so, a number of major collaborative projects have more recently been initiated, with

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the aim of enhancing understanding of the transition from late antiquity to what followed. One of these projects, the 'Transformation of the Roman World' series, has resulted in ten volumes since 1997. Given that its main source of funding has been the European Union, it is perhaps not surprising that the focus of that project has been the emergence of the Germanic kingdoms from the western Roman empire. The volume under review here is part of another series whose focus is the Near East and its transition from a world dominated by the east Roman and Sasanian empires to one contested by Byzantines and Muslims. This series has not had funding on the same scale as the 'Transformation' series, but the results are no less important. To date, three volumes have appeared—Averil Cameron and Lawrence Conrad (edd.), *Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton, 1992), G. R. D. King and Averil Cameron (edd.), *Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (Princeton, 1994), and the present one—and a further three workshops have now been held—'Patterns of Communal Identity' (May 1994), 'Trade and Exchange' (November 1996), and 'Elites' (April 1999).

Whereas Pirenne famously saw the advent of Islam as marking a crucial hiatus in Mediterranean history, this series is as much interested in continuities as discontinuities. The task is not easy, however, because research in the field ideally requires competence in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, and the number of polymaths who possess such a formidable array of linguistic skills is limited. The series, however, represents major progress towards bridging the divide between Classical and Islamic studies by bringing together scholars from the different fields for dialogue on themes of broad significance, and none more so than that taken up here—the relationship of state structures to the central preoccupation of war-making.

The volume comprises ten papers, plus a lengthy theoretical introduction by John Haldon on the distribution of resources in pre-industrial states and a briefer conclusion by Chris Wickham which endeavours to pull the threads together. Of the ten papers, the last five are likely to be of less interest to most readers of this journal, concerned as they are with aspects of early Islamic military organization and the evolution of the Byzantine system of *themes*. The first five, on the other hand, contain a great deal of interesting and thought-provoking material for those with late Roman interests, and it is on these that this review will comment.

Jean-Michel Carrié presents an overview of the ways in which the late Roman army was financed, emphasizing the need for a more nuanced assessment of the relative rôles of payment in kind and in coin during these centuries. He also offers some intriguing discussion of the category of troops known as *bucellarii*, whose emergence he sees as symptomatic of the transition from antiquity to Byzantium in this sphere.

Michael Whitby provides a very full and informative treatment of recruitment in Roman armies from Justinian to Heraclius, contextualized against Roman recruitment practices from the Republic onwards. He registers many telling points—e.g. he argues persuasively, against current orthodoxy, that conscription remained in use in the sixth century, while also observing more generally that 'in practical terms conscription and volunteering are not such opposites as they might seem, since the former depends on a willingness to come forward, the latter on a degree of "encouragement" for volunteers to emerge' (p. 68). At the same time, however, he also presents a lucid analysis of the impact of the plague of the early 540s (pp. 93–102) and a more general (and upbeat) assessment of the capabilities of sixth-century Roman armies.

The broad title of Ben Isaac's paper belies its focus on two rather more specific (and unrelated) issues, namely, to what extent 'considerations of material gains and losses [were] more important than ideology and glory in defining the aims of policy and

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warfare' (p. 126), and whether Palestinian evidence shows a deterioration in *limitanei* in the fifth and sixth centuries. He answers both questions in the negative, the latter corroborating some of Whitby's conclusions, the former perhaps explaining 'why none of the wars between Byzantium and Persia was decisive in any modern sense' (p. 137). While his prioritizing of ideology and glory has much to be said for it, I did not find all his arguments equally persuasive—e.g., Diocletian's antagonism towards Persia in his anti-Manichaean edict suggests that attitudes had not necessarily become more hostile in later centuries.

Although James Howard-Johnston's substantial paper is entitled 'The Two Great Powers of Late Antiquity: a Comparison', his focus is firmly on the less familiar Sasanian empire. Beginning with an assessment of the available sources, of whose parlous state he is only too aware, he proceeds to exploit what is available with intelligence and aplomb, and provides an invaluable synthesis and critique of much recent research on both textual and archaeological evidence. At the same time, he offers important qualifications to some of the arguments in Isaac's justly acclaimed *Limits of Empire* (Oxford, 1992), and also takes issue with some of the conclusions of the next paper in the volume, Zeev Rubin's exhaustive discussion of the reforms of the great sixth-century Persian king, Khusro Anushirwan. It is very useful to have the literary sources for these reforms laid out so clearly and in such detail, even if by the end I found myself inclining towards Howard-Johnston's more sceptical conclusions.

This is an important volume, much of which warrants the attention of late Roman historians, especially the papers by Whitby and Howard-Johnston. The series in which it appears is also important, and it is to be hoped that the proceedings of the subsequent workshops will soon be published.

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EUXINE SITES

S. L. Solovyov (J. Boardman, G. Tsetskhladze, edd.): *Ancient Berezan. The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea.* Pp. xv + 148, figs. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1999. Cased. ISBN: 90-04-11569-2.

G. R. Tsetskhladze: *Pichvnari and Its Environs 6th c BC–4th c AD.* Pp. 231, figs. Paris: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises (Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité), 1999. Paper, frs. 210. ISBN: 2-913322-42-5.

S.'s text, completed in 1998, distils over a century of research, by premier archaeologists from the Ukrainian Institute of Archaeology and the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Alas, this relationship is not set to continue (p. xiv). This is a very attractive publication, with excellent photographs, clear plans, and reasonably clear diagrams. John H. Pollock deserves congratulation for a thoroughly readable translation; ambiguities are rare. There are few typographic errors and the index is thorough. Figures are well referenced, but it would have been helpful to know whether the very interesting statistical diagrams (Figs. 17, 19, 23) were prepared

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