us – or as Robin Lane Fox enjoined us recently on US radio, just 'open our hearts'.

doi:10.1093/gromej/cxi013 THOMAS HARRISON

Roman History

A martial people under constant scrutiny will give rise to a cluster of soldierly reviews. A. Goldsworthy's **In the Name of Rome*[1] does the Romans proud. Stoutly repudiating trends, it defends the achievements of individuals: 'Leaders matter'. The choice of fifteen military men from Fabius Cunctator through Trajan to Belisarius was dictated by the state of the evidence, and Goldsworthy not only retells and analyzes stories from Livy to Procopius with verve and clarity, but adds a slight, skilful narrative that unifies his book, and the occasional bonus: Suetonius Paulinus in Britain. The author is less sure-footed in civil matters, misnames two of his heroes, and misdates the birth of one. Enjoyment will not be spoiled, but would have been enhanced, especially for the young or untravelled, by illustrations; there are maps, a chronology, and glossary, sparing notes, which have to serve for bibliographical material, and an index. The subtitle of E. Hildinger's *Swords against the Senate*[2] lays claim to a great theme. The first chapter leads up to Ti. Gracchus, discussion of the army preceding that of his and his brother's tribunates. With the Jugurthine war we have the figure that dominates the second half of the book, Marius, though it ends with the supremacy of Sulla: the purported aim, to tell 'how the Republic was toppled by men with private armies' is not achieved. The author has made good use of the ancient sources to produce a vivid narrative, and his analysis of battles is useful; he makes no new contribution to political history, and Marius is only a 'clumsy' politician. There are also slips (the Metelli are repeatedly patricians, for the patrician/plebeian antithesis looms large), names, especially geographical, suffer, and there is no map. Notes and bibliography are rather jejune; no reference is made to R. Evans' work, or even to *CAH*[2]; Scullard's textbook appears only as a publication of 1959. J. M. Blázquez-Martínez' *Trajano*[3] belongs to a series of biographies that includes Cardinal Richelieu and Sir Francis Drake, and is thus limited in scope in various ways. A Spanish work has interest in a 'Spanish' Emperor, and Trajan's origin (Spanish rather than immigrant Italian) is dealt with in full, with reference to new work. Indeed, Spain is very fully treated all through. But the limitations on the work, which has neither notes nor index nor photographs, except on the cover, and one map (provenances of senators from Spain!), mean that it is no rival to J. Bennett's study. The bibliography, like the copy-editing, is deficient, preventing access to works cited in the text. Turning to technical matters, we have M. Roxan and P. Holder's *Roman Military Diplomas IV*,[4] sadly the last for which historians are deeply indebted to her meticulous and selfless scholarship.

[1] *In the Name of Rome.* The Men who won the Roman Empire. By Adrian Goldsworthy. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 2003. Pp. 415, with 15 maps and diagrams. Hardback £20.

[2] *Swords against the Senate.* The Rise of the Roman Army and the Fall of the Republic. By Erik Hildinger. De Capo Press, 2004. Pp. xiii + 240. Paperback £14.99.

[3] *Trajano.* By José María Blázquez. Ariel, Barcelona, 2003. Pp. 309. Hardback.

[4] *Roman Military Diplomas IV.* By Margaret Roxan and Paul Holder. Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, London, 2003. BICS Supplement 82. Pp. xx + 313, with 68 colour and black and white plates. Paperback £75.

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The series is an indispensable tool, and it is good to know that P. Holder will be continuing in his editorship (he indicates his part in the present volume, to which he has done great service, in the foreword). This volume collects 69 unpublished diplomas and 52 previously published by Roxan and others. The user's needs could not be better attended to: the diplomas themselves, which range from AD 61 to 245, are preceded by bibliography, a table of the diplomas, and a revised chronology of published items, affecting Nero's tribunician power and Trajan as Optimus (Appendix IV). There are four other appendices, including one of sites on the Capitol before AD 90, and eight comprehensive indices, and the illustrations are plentiful and clear. A year before Roxan's death a colloquium in her honour was held. Ten contributions from the distinguished scholars who took part have been edited by J. J. Wilkes in *Documenting the Roman Army*,[5] some offering their own bibliographies; they make a treasury of great variety and interest in small compass. There are close-ups of individuals (D. B. Saddington on Velleius Paterculus) and sites (V. A. Maxfield on the Eastern Desert, D. Breeze on the manning of mile-castles on Hadrian's Wall, and R. S. O Tomlin entertaining audience and readers on the epigraphy of Carlisle – Agricola was here!). At the other end of the scale, W. Eck, in a weighty exposition in German, reveals the personal role of the Emperor in the issuing of diplomas, a matter of great significance, and P. Holder's examination of auxiliary deployment under Hadrian – and so of paper strength – will be constantly consulted. Between these two extremes, A. R. Birley shows how equestrian officers were commissioned (not all his documents are translated), S. Dušanic proposes an interesting hypothesis – which needs further testing – on dates significant in imperial propaganda and the interpretation of diplomata, and L. R. Keppie illustrates how veterans were integrated into communities. P. Weiss rounds off the volume with an inquiry into the future of the study. There is an index and a bibliography of Roxan's writings. Embedded in these military matters is the most important book considered in this review: N. Rosenstein, in *Rome at War*,[6] challenges (he is not quite the first) cherished doctrines of Roman historians, doctrines that have been used to explain the explicit rationale for the agrarian legislation of Ti. Gracchus, namely that second-century military service carried off small farmers with catastrophic results for Italian agriculture and eventually the Roman Republic. He uses sophisticated models, lucidly, with scrupulous caution, and in combination with the literary evidence, to show that warfare in the second century was not very different from what it had been in the third, lasting most of the year; that the men who were taken were not men of the usual marriageable age (late twenties upwards); that the absence of an adult male need not cripple the work of a farm; that the outcome was over-population. It is absolutely necessary that a work of this kind should be well annotated, and Rosenstein's documentation, for subsidiary as well as main hypotheses, is generous and detailed. The problem is that Rosenstein's convincing contributory arguments lead to a conclusion clean contrary to what Romans themselves believed, complained about, and attempted to remedy. His answer is simply that the Romans got it wrong,

[5] *Documenting the Roman Army.* Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan. Edited by J. J. Wilkes. Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, London, 2003. BICS Supplement 81. Pp. xviii + 204, with portrait and black and white plates. Paperback £45.

[6] *Rome at War.* Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic. By Nathan Rosenstein. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2004. Pp. x + 339, with 3 tables, 2 figures. Hardback £31.50.

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and it is ironical that one of his few concessions is to Gaius Gracchus' suspect story of his brother's journey through slave-ridden Etruria. Rosenstein's contribution, if not convincing overall, will elicit further argument, much of it conducted on bases that he has laid down. Scholars will remain greatly indebted to his work. On bad days Roman armies could be defeated by gladiators, a current publishers' favourite. First a general treatment, F. Meijer's *Gladiators: History's most deadly sport* ('sport'?).[7] The publisher claims grandly that he 'captures all of Roman society and history' (he certainly takes in *venationes*) and the author's thesis is that we are closer to 'gladiator shows' (thus throughout) than we might like to admit; he also offers 'A Day at the Colosseum', and comments on *Spartacus* and *Gladiator*. The author is knowledgeable; he has adequate illustrations but sparing notes, bibliography, and index. This is a good read for a railway journey, but students might find the author's personal note obtrusive, and his 'insane emperors' silly. There are also slips and misspellings that betray the translation. Best in this group is L. Jacobelli, who sets out to describe **Gladiators at Pompeii*[8] in a work published by the Paul Getty Museum on shiny paper with plentiful illustrations. No knowledge is assumed, and Part 1, 'The Institution of Gladiatorial Combat', is general, with female gladiators given high billing; we reach 'The Spectacles at Pompeii' at p. 39, and a postscript by R. Lattuada (called 'Introduction') bringing in G. de Chirico adds little. This is an attractive souvenir for non-specialists; the bibliography is unhelpfully arranged, and there are unidiomatic phrases ('Nordic quattrocento'; one gladiator 'died at the age of 30 and was grieved by his wife'); nor are the sources of the illustrations always clear. So to Russell Crowe. M. M. Winkler's *Gladiator: Film and History*,[9] exhibits nine classical scholars and (ancient) historians, who have squeezed the pips out of a film reminiscent of computer games in its technology (scenery and sword-play) and with corresponding intellectual and emotional depth. Some reasons for participating in this production are obvious: here is a 'classical' subject with mass and class-room appeal: the reader, having an easy time, can still feel connected to a serious subject. It is a way of keeping the subject 'alive'. The reasons deserve an essay – but it would be doubly parasitic. Curious film buffs and students of 'Classical Civilization' could certainly season their work by reading some of the papers, notably A. M. Ward's sober 'Historical Perspective', and A. M. Eckstein offers a corrective to attacks on Commodus' handling of the Danubian tribes. Taken from cover to cover they produce surfeit, and there are slips (Narcissus as a *praenomen*); the pages on 'sources' are refreshing. They are followed by a selective Chronology (161–217) and 'Further reading': a single item in the section on German tribes, three on history and historiography. There is more film than history in the book, as the Plates show, starting as they do with a map of the Roman Empire that deserves a prize for blinding uselessness. Military matters and gladiatorial shows both figure in the **Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*,[10] fifteen articles, including one by the

[7] *The Gladiators*. History's Most Deadly Sport. By Fik Meijer. Translated from the Dutch by Liz Waters. Souvenir Press, London, 2004. Pp. xvii + 266, with about 50 figures, and a map. Paperback £9.99. (Cover and publicity sheet have '*The Gladiators*': this was a preview copy, and there could have been changes before publication.)

[8] *Gladiators at Pompeii*. By Luciana Jacobelli. Getty Publications, Los Angeles, 2004. Pp. 128, with 120 colour illustrations. Hardback $29.95.

[9] *Gladiator*. Film and History. By Martin M. Winkler. Blackwell, Oxford, 2004. Pp. xii + 215, with 26 figures. Paperback £15.99.

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editor, Harriet Flower, by North American, Continental, and British scholars. A 'companion' should make the consumption of learning's bread more agreeable; notwithstanding some wavering between the narrative and the thematic, this book will give comfort to students and inquiring general readers, S. Oakley opening with just what is needed, a plain and lucid introduction to the early Republic (matched by E. Fantham's paper on literature at the opening of Part 4), and T. C. Brennan, on 'Constitution', offering a useful appendix of institutions. Part I ends with a basic account of the political crisis of the Republic (the *SCU* is a 'suspension of the constitution'), passing from Gracchan land reform to guilty individuals. Part 2 is devoted to society: household, women, economy, religion. When chapters are necessarily short, some are not satisfactorily focused: J.-J. Aubert decides 'to present ... economic history ... from a legal standpoint', treating a series of major enactments and including 'The villa phenomenon and the law of agency'. Something broader on methodology would have been welcome. Part 3 belongs to Rome's Empire – Italy, Carthage, and the Greek world; nothing else on the West or on 'administration'. In Part 4, literature is followed by A. L. Kuttner's punchy discussion of art (omitting the 'much studied' Roman house) and what made it Roman. The editor herself writes on the inevitable spectacles, and M. N. S. Sellers contributes an interesting and nuanced epilogue on the influence of the Republic on the French and American revolutions. There are notes, 'Timeline', (divided!) bibliography, and index, adequate illustrations and maps. Even more handsome and attractive is the **Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*, edited by G. Woolf.[11] The illustrations alone will attract students to the subject. The book is divided into two sections, 'The Romans and their History' (five chapters, the Republic passing in a flash), and 'Cultures of Empire' (eight chapters); unalluring 'War and Peace' is relegated to the end. The texts are useful and clearly written. It seems invidious to pick anything out, but the sobriety of N. Morley on economic matters is helpful, and R. Flemming's 'Knowledge and Empire' looks interestingly into unusual places. When a chapter, by P. M. Allison, is devoted to cities, it is understandable that the greatest and most photogenic figure largest: the chapter might have expanded on common features, exposing the range of Roman power. A general point for contributions to general works: only particular finesse in writing avoids making claims that would need a battery of notes to support them: so with the identification of the figures on the Grand Cameo and with D. Potter's claim that Augustus took *imperium maius* in 28 BC. Sidebars adorn the margins, offering teachers topics for essays, students gobbets for quotation. It is here and in picture captions that slips creep in. An obvious ballerina gets a caption on Ravel's 'opera' *Daphnis* (also a mistake in the text); coins blatantly Byzantine are labelled Julio-Claudian *aurei*. Captions do not always tell one where to find the object depicted; but there is a list of sites and collections, as well as the requisite glossary, who's who, list of ancient authors, bibliography (I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford, 2002) deserved inclusion), and index. I end with books variously as far from the military as can be. First, Nero. For all the military pomp that surrounded him, Nero even turned his triumphs Greek, and incorporated Parthian diplomatic

[10] *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Edited by Harriet Flower. Cambridge U. P., 2004. Pp. xv + 405, with 33 illustrations and maps. Paperback £19.99.

[11] *Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*. Edited by Greg Woolf. Cambridge U.P., 2003. Pp. 384, with illustrations throughout. Hardback £30.

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language into them. But why a new book on Nero when a fine biography remains in print? E. Champlin's simple title *Nero*[12] tells: this book is devoted to the man, dramaturge and artist; the cover has a Picassoesque graffito portrait from the Domus Tiberiana. Chapters on Nero's death and afterlife defend the enterprise; there is one on our sources of information; then Nero's activities are presented from his point of view: the performances (with a chronological analysis exposing 59 as a turning point); 'The Power of Myth', omnipresent to accept or distance crime and justify guilt; Nero as 'Shining Apollo' (developed by Nero in 59); the king of Saturnalia; Nero's (hetero)sexuality; the Domus Aurea, not so private a house as has been claimed. This book is no whitewash: there was neglect and a surrender to performance; Champlin even inclines to believe that Nero did fire Rome, with the idea of rebuilding better than fourth-century BC predecessors (his Guard Prefect accused him of it). It is bold to cut a new slice from a comparatively well-documented period, and the author has the knowledge and skills for the best that can be done short of having Nero interviewed by Jeremy Paxman. He brings out significant details such as the use of Christian torches to replace the light of Luna Noctiluca, whose temple had been destroyed. Not all is convincing (not the reinterpretation of 'qualis artifex pereo'), but all needs thinking about, with the help of Champlin's useful notes, bibliography, and maps. A statesman from late antiquity is next: Cassiodorus' *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning* and *On the Soul* have been translated and introduced respectively by J. W. Halporn and M. Vessey.[13] The volume belongs to a series which has already produced the *Variae* and forty other texts, and represents no falling away from a high standard. After a list of abbreviations (some might still baffle and need fuller expansion) there is a hundred-page introduction; the texts follow, then a bibliography and index, with a map of sites of Latin literary learning bringing up the rear. The subject is difficult and multifariously complex: Cassiodorus' significance in shaping western medieval culture is disputed, the sources of his unoriginal work need indicating, and its development needs teasing out (the translator has had recourse to parallel texts). All the more welcome are the lucid footnotes; scholars of course will still need their own text.[14] Students of the period, and of the history of education, will appreciate this painstaking volume. The inexperienced may find the opening of the Introduction intimidating: it is rather elaborate, with a poem of Peter Porter's in the mix. Finally, a factual account of L. Fezzi's *Falsificazione di Documenti pubblici nella Roma tardorepubblicana (133–31 A.C.)*.[15] The study begins by defining the meanings of the terms to Romans, bringing forward attempts at remedies, and giving an account of the previous history of the subject. The bulk of the work is devoted to a catalogue of thirty-four cases, with source, bibliography, context, 'dynamica', and scope; no fewer than eight post-date the death of Caesar. The author sums up in a

[12] *Nero*. By Edward Champlin. Belknap Press, Harvard U.P., Cambridge MA, 2003. Pp. 346, with 5 portraits, 5 maps. Hardback £19.95.

[13] *Cassiodorus*. Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning On the Soul. Translated by James W. Halporn with an introduction by Mark Vessey. Liverpool U.P., 2004. Translated texts for historians 42. Pp. x + 316, with two illustrations. Paperback £18.50.

[14] Cf. *G&R* 51 (2004), 124.

[15] *Falsificazione di Documenti Pubblici nella Roma Tardorepubblicana (133–31 A.C.)*. By Luca Fezzi. Le Monnier Università, Firenze, 2003. Pp. vi + 151. Paperback €10. (I have accepted a copy of the work as a gift from the author.)

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concluding section, containing a typology, lists the sources (Cicero is the main one), and ends with a thirty-page bibliography.

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Art and Archaeology

It was in 1936 that Humfry Payne's folio volume of archaic marble statuary from the Athenian Akropolis appeared – not long after the author's premature death. The illustrative plates, by Gerard Mackworth Young, set new standards for the photography of ancient sculpture, but that did not inhibit Payne from adding his own descriptive and subjective eloquence. And Payne was nowhere more eloquent than in his account of the *korai* – the statues of 'maidens', whose presence was such a distinctive feature of the Akropolis sanctuary prior to its occupation and vandalism by the Persians in 480 BC. Ostensibly, Payne's essay was concerned to arrange these korai into a stylistic and chronological series. But it reads more like a hymn to feminine beauty, with sculptors praised or blamed according to their capacity for rendering the parts and the whole of a woman's body with due delicacy and respect. So the maker of the kore known only by her Akropolis Museum inventory number 670 is castigated as 'a man with little feeling' because he was unable or unwilling to give his subject the lovely legs that would match her face; while the sculptor responsible for the kore dedicated by Euthydikos is warmly applauded for creating a portrait of 'unimpaired individuality'. With this piece, writes Payne, a 'feeling for the substantiality of the body beneath the dress runs through the whole figure.' It is tempting to wonder, with a snigger or raised eyebrow, how far the sculptor really did feel for the substantiality of the body beneath the dress; more sensible, perhaps, to assume that here is merely a scholar from a bygone age trying to point out that the kore of Euthydikos is more 'naturalistic' than previous examples of the type. But how far have we come since Humfry Payne in understanding more objectively what was signified by the type? Three new books on the subject provide the opportunity to answer that question. Largest, and most handsomely illustrated, is Katerina Karakasi's *Archaic Korai*.[1] This is not, strictly speaking, a full *catalogue raisonné*, opting rather for an area-by-area discussion of korai so far discovered: as such it is not a complete replacement for Gisela Richter's 1968 *Korai*. But the plates alone make this an essential library resource; with the colour plates, including reproductions of watercolour sketches done when some of the pieces were newly excavated, especially valuable in helping us to visualize the original display of gaudiness. Xenophon's worthy Athenian citizen Ischomachos deplored his wife for resorting to make-up, high heels, and other adornments (*Oikonomikos* 10.2): but most of the sculpted korai once visible on the Akropolis were presented as if fresh from some glamorous 'makeover', preened and painted from top to toe. Even the so-called Peplos Kore, demure in her choice of clothes, was richly embellished, and not only on the surface of her dress. Faces were whitened, with rouge applied to the cheeks; tresses and braids of long hair carefully arranged to accentuate an upright neck and firm breasts; and various items of jewellery festooned about the person. One of the few korai to possess a name is the image of Phrasikleia, well-known as the funerary

[1] *Archaic Korai*. By Katerina Karakasi. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2003. Pp. 187, with an additional 212 black and white and 66 colour plates. Hardback.

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