her final chapter: why were ancient poets able to assign such an exceptional position to dreams as a strategy of presentation and as carriers of meaning, and what relation is there between literary presentations of dreams and the contemporary understanding of dreams? The author stresses the versatility, adaptability, and uniqueness of the dream motif, as well as the liminality of dreaming in itself. The answer to the second question, which is interesting from a historical point of view, has to be constructed from isolated remarks. What deserves respect in any case is the attempt to analyse the material comprehensively and in a differentiated manner. Whether the inclusion of an at times rather strong focus on modern psychoanalytical categories can do justice to the scrutiny of poetical texts from antiquity will be tested by continued scholarly research in the field.

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CICERO'S LETTERS COMPLETED

D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.): *Cicero:* Letters to Friends*, Volume 1*. Pp. 497. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001. Cased, £14.50. ISBN: 0-674-99588-0.

D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.): *Cicero:* Letters to Friends*, Volume 2*. Pp. 477. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001. Cased, £14.50. ISBN: 0-674-99589-9.

D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.): *Cicero:* Letters to Friends*, Volume 3*. Pp. 475. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001. Cased, £14.50. ISBN: 0-674-99590-2.

D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.): *Cicero:* Letters to Quintus and Brutus*,* To Octavian*,* Invectives*,* Handbook of Electioneering. Pp. viii + 483. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002. Cased, £14.50. ISBN: 0-674-99599-6.

These four volumes complete Shackleton Bailey's new Loeb edition of Cicero's letters: the volumes containing the letters to Atticus were reviewed in *CR* 49/2 (1999), 575–6.

The three volumes of the letters to friends draw heavily on S.B.'s earlier work: the two-volume Cambridge edition and commentary (Cambridge, 1977), the Teubner text (Stuttgart, 1988), and the two volume Penguin translation (Harmondsworth, 1978). But they are not simply reprints. The text diverges from the Teubner in around forty places, and a minimal apparatus highlights these divergences and indicates points where the manuscript tradition is particularly problematic. Most of the changes are minor tweakings and there is little which has not been suggested in S.B.'s earlier work. But it is good to see Pompeius ejected from 43.2 (*Fam.* 16.10.2) in favour of the old conjecture 'Pomponius', and with it the dissolution of an improbable, albeit intriguing, literary *tête-à-tête*; and the young Marcus Cicero is placed in the altogether more convincing location of his mother's embrace (4.3 [14.4.3]). The translation, with accompanying explanatory notes, is closely based on the Penguin translation, adapted to fit changes in the text and with a few further minor revisions. As S.B.'s translation of

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the letters to friends is still available in its reprint by the American Philological Association, its appearance in this series is a less urgent stimulus to joy than the reappearance of the translation of the letters to Atticus; nonetheless, this is the first occasion that S.B.'s text and translation of the letters to friends have been printed together. Volume I includes a brief description of Cicero's correspondents, and at the end of vol. III are reprinted the appendices from the Penguin translation, the glossary of terms, and the concordance of S.B.'s numbering of the letters with the order by book; there is also an index of names and places, and a small selection of maps. So, while there is little reason for anyone who already possesses, in some form, S.B.'s text and translation to purchase these volumes, they do offer what is now the most convenient and accessible compendium; however, they do not plug the gap in the undergraduate market, particularly on non-linguistic courses, for translations of the letters: three Loeb volumes are simply beyond most student budgets.

The *CR* review of S.B.'s Loeb of the letters to Atticus complained about the inflation in volume numbers from three to four. No such complaint is justified in this case, as the fourth volume reviewed here contains more than the volume it replaces: in addition to the letters to Quintus and Brutus, the spurious letter to Octavian and the *Commentariolum Petitionis*, we are given the invectives *in Ciceronem* and *in Sallustium*, and a generous selection of the fragments of the letters. The texts of the letters to Quintus and Brutus, the fragments, and the *Commentariolum* are as in S.B.'s Teubner, with minor revisions; the translations of the letters to Quintus and Brutus are revised from the Penguin translation; the translation of the *Commentariolum* is M. I. Henderson's from the previous Loeb edition, revised in accordance with S.B.'s modified Teubner text; the text and translation of the letter to Octavian and the invectives are new, as is the translation of the fragments.

The juxtaposition of the letter fragments with the other letters to friends, in so accessible a form, is very welcome. It serves as a reminder of how extensive Cicero's correspondence was and that the books which survive, substantial as they are, are only a proportion of what was originally available; and it is important to remember the intimacy of Cicero's relations with Caesar before the civil war, and the scope and number of Cicero's letters to Octavian, and to the consuls of 43, as he made desperate attempts to coordinate the fight against Marcus Antonius. However disappointing are the remains of these putative riches in size, the fragments are full of suggestive passages. What did Hirtius think about being lectured on the nature of nobility by Cicero (6.3)? What was Cicero talking about when he told Brutus 'I have duped the public and am regarded as an orator' (7.10)? (Though I wonder whether it is quite fair here to translate in the singular—Quintilian was interested in the passage, after all, because Cicero uses the plural.) And it is good to have one's attention drawn to Cicero's continuing flair for visual theatre and the impact of clothing, with his description in a letter to Octavian of his entry into the forum on 4 February 43 wearing a military cloak, while the other consulars, who were with him, were in their togas (4.16).

The other items in this collection are undoubtedly fascinating and under-used documents; but whether their natural home is as fillers at the back of Cicero's letters is a moot point. They are crucial material in any history of the reception of Cicero, and important evidence about educational practice subsequent to Cicero's lifetime; but their placing in this context turns them into evidence about Cicero himself. The problem with treating these rhetorical exercises—if, indeed, the *Commentariolum* is not by Quintus—is not simply that, as S.B. pithily indicates in the separate introductions, the status of the information they contain is highly questionable. It reinforces the idea—already present in S.B.'s imposition of a roughly chronological order on the

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letters—that Cicero's letters are primarily of interest because they allow us to track Cicero's life and times. But with letters so varied in tone—brilliantly captured in this translation—and in recipient and apparent purpose, there needs to be much more flexibility in how and why we read them. Besides, as S.B. demonstrated in the introduction to the Cambridge commentary (vol. I, pp. 20–3), and as Beard explored recently ('Ciceronian Correspondences: Making a Book out of Letters', in T. P. Wiseman [ed.], *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome* [Oxford, 2002], pp. 103–44), the manuscript order of the letters to friends is not entirely arbitrary, and the division into books is evidence for a particular, not uninteresting, ancient interpretation of Cicero and his relationships with others.

But it would be wrong to end with dissent. All these volumes fulfil the aims of the Loeb series with flair and panache, and the new material in the volume of letters to Quintus and Brutus is a delight.

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CICERO AND THE WRITTEN WORD

S. BUTLER: *The Hand of Cicero*. Pp. ix + 165. London and New York: Routledge, 2002. Cased. ISBN: 0-415-25149-4.

In this engaging and original book, Shane Butler sets out to challenge the view of ancient Rome as essentially an oral society. His investigation is structured around the career of Cicero, starting from the question of why Antony ordered the amputation of Cicero's hand as well as his head. The choice of focus is successful in two ways. First, it grounds B.'s rethinking of Roman documentary culture in a specific period (the merits of this are manifest in the first chapter). Secondly, it allows B. to demonstrate how his picture of Roman society results in new interpretations of Cicero's writing. For this is also a book about Cicero, examining his career, his self-representation poised, sometimes precariously, between equestrian and senatorial, his literary output, and, of course, his murder and mutilation. B. moves smoothly from the broadly historical to biography and philology, offering numerous insights in all areas. The endnotes offer comments of a more specialized nature, including B.'s engagement with other Ciceronian scholars. All passages from ancient texts are translated and Latin technical terms are glossed upon their first appearance; there remains, however, a sense that the reader is assumed to be conversant with Latin. Nevertheless, the average British ancient history student, even without Latin, will gain much from this book.

There are seven chapters, ordered chronologically. The first chapter concentrates on the most notorious written texts of the late Republic, the proscription lists. B. effortlessly combines scholarship and evocative description in painting the scene of Romans reading these lists. Pursuing the conflation of writing and violence, he examines two early speeches (*pro Quinctio* and *pro Roscio Amerino*) in which Cicero's citation of written evidence tellingly plays on the memory of the proscriptions.

Chapters 2–5 are concerned with various aspects of the Verrine orations, moving from the preliminaries of the trial (including a fascinating account of Cicero's hunt for evidence at Syracuse, pp. 29–34), through an exhaustive list of the documentary evidence and an examination of how Cicero presented that evidence, to a final reconsideration of the *Verrines* as published works, in which Cicero substitutes 'a

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