'idealised picture of how three major related world religions have co-existed in some form of harmony' – and a model of how (if only . . .) they might do so again. Finneran's aspirations for Alexandria were undermined for me from the start by his confusing presentation of Alexander himself as a champion of syncretism: 'he believed in syncretic values, and he could almost have been an orientalist, in the old-fashioned sense of the word (by this I mean that he took great pleasure in the aesthetic values of the "Orient").' Much more, I sense, could have been made of these themes (for example, of the symbolism of the appropriation of 'Cleopatra's needles') if only Finneran himself had had the space in which to develop them. And now from a post-modern pre-modern city (as Finneran dubs it) to the story of one (ancient) city's transposition into another (modern) one. *Athens in Paris* is a study of 'the interconnections between French classics and the wider appropriation of antiquity in modern French thought'[6], focusing (amongst others) on Sartre, Lacan, Vernant, Lévi-Strauss, Foucault, and Derrida. Rather than, for example, laying out in introduction the institutional connections between her various *dramatis personae* (some of which would have been helpful), Leonard organizes her material instead into three long (and immensely complex) chapters on the reception of Oedipus, Antigone, and Socrates. Though some of the most interesting passages of the book to me concerned her intellectuals' direct political involvement (or their avoidance of it), the political of her title is generally with a small p, the central themes explored being of a much higher order: the 'difficulties of subjectivity and agency', the 'gaps between ethics and politics', or the 'impossibilities of the relationship between self-analysis and social commitment'. I have a sneaking sense that this book was probably sent to me by mistake – and, though I happily agree with Leonard's (mildly finger-wagging) conclusion that we classicists should all want to explore our intellectual genealogies, I should admit also that *Athens in Paris* for large stretches defeated me. I am not sure how a non-classicist might respond to the claim that the French debate on the role of the citizen 'took a *necessarily* classical turn', and I wonder just how *au fait* a reader would need to be with French classics, Greek tragedy, and continental philosophy to be able to navigate their way through the byways of *Athens in Paris* without difficulty. But even this bluff ancient historian learnt a number of useful and interesting things (notably from the discussion of Sartre's *Trojan Women*, and his conflation of ancient and modern colonialism) – and I will never so glibly cite Vernant in a footnote again.

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[6] *Athens and Paris. Ancient Greece and the Political in Post-War French Thought*. By Miriam Leonard. Oxford UP, 2005. Hardback £45.

Roman History

We begin at rock bottom—literally, for in **The Seven Hills of Rome*[1] G. Heiken and his colleagues have produced a fetching guide to what underlies the city and its survival, with illuminating 'timelines' putting the Eternal City into geological perspective. Then the hills, but Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to the Tiber and to green sermons.

[1] *The Seven Hills of Rome. A Geological Tour of the Eternal City*. By Grant Heiken, Renato Funiciello, and Donatella di Rita. Princeton UP, 2005. Pp. xvi + 245, with 72 halftones, 19 line illustrations, 4 tables, 29 maps. Hardback £18.95.

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The last chapter consists of three field trips in and near the city. There is a subdivided 'Further Reading' section, an index, and plentiful and pertinent maps and photographs. I would recommend this book to students combining Geography or Geology A-Levels with Classical Civilization, but it has something for all (why Trajan's Column has survived better than Marcus'; the meanings of tuff/tufa/tufo). My complaints are against the cosying up to footsore users that the authors attempt with their invitations to coffee or *gelati*, and the repetitions (once almost *verbatim*), inevitable when field trips follow topographical surveys. I should welcome a handy paperback, field trips abbreviated by reference back to earlier chapters, and the inclusion, segmented, of the city map that the authors recommend. This volume teaches why one side of Rome's most famous monument has suffered so much more than the other. K. Hopkins and M. Beard, in their ebullient and learned **The Colosseum*,[2] take and give pleasure in guiding us round it, sad as it is that Beard had to pick up Hopkins' papers and complete the book alone. Six different probes go through the subject. The first deals with presentations in literature and guidebooks—and our touristic motives; the second expounds the meanings that the building once had. Originality and freshness of thought are found throughout. 'The killing fields' unshrinkingly tackles the frequency of shows, mortality rate, the question of flooding, and how charades like 'Pasiphae' were brought off. 'Life after death' is a biography of the building to the present, including its significance as a source of botanical specimens. Readers get advice on visiting and help with further reading. Entertainingly as everything is done, and with a lightly deployed learning that makes it gripping even to the learned, the book asks a serious question about our attitudes to brutality combined with artistic greatness (questions hardly raised by twentieth-century dictatorships). It does not matter that it cannot answer them; it makes the individual try to answer for himself. A. Fraschetti's title in English is *The Foundation of Rome*,[3] but the original *Romolo il Fondatore* of the 2002 edition seems to represent the contents better. Seeking his intended audience, we survey the chapters: 'The twins'; 'The foundation'; 'Romulus' government and his wars'; 'The disappearance of the founder: Romulus "cut into pieces" or his apotheosis'; 'Epilogue'. There are two appendices, on Tarpeia and the wall at the foot of the Palatine Hill associated by A. Carandini with Romulus.[4] This develops into an account of nineteenth-century, mainly Italian, controversy, while the end of the fourth chapter links 'The death of Romulus and the destiny of Caesar'. This is, as the author states, not a work of ancient history, but of historical anthropology. Fraschetti seeks to follow the 'segments' of the life in a coherent and not, as often, in a 'fragmented' way, to show the individuality that later Romans projected on to a 'civilising hero'. The author is generous with endnotes, but for illustration of the mirror discussed at pp. 7–9 we have only the cover drawing, and Fraschetti's allusiveness does not make life easy for his readers. (The translators do not seem to be at fault, although they have allowed 'Gnaeus Gracchus' and 'senatus consultus'.) What are we to make of

[2] *The Colosseum*. By Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard. Wonders of the World, Profile Books, London, 2005. Pp. x + 214, with 30 illustrations, 3 figures. Hardback £15.99.

[3] *The Foundation of Rome*. By Augusto Fraschetti, translated from the Italian by Marian Hill and Kevin Windle. Edinburgh UP, 2005. Pp. xiv + 178, with 3 maps. Hardback £60; paperback £18.99.

[4] A. Carandini, 'Le mura del Palatino, nuova fonte sulla Roma di età regia', *Bolletino d'Arch.* 16–18 (1992) 1ff.

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'Starting in 45 or 44 BC, the *cognomen* 'Father of the Country . . . is an integral part, to all intents and purposes, of the title 'Caesar'? Who then *is* the audience? A final sly reference to '*Liberalismus* across the Seine' recalls the origin of the book: seminars delivered at the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes. S. Dmitriev has rock in mind, real and metaphorical, in *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor,*[5] rock less volatile than that of Italian volcanoes: it is on the marble and limestone of epigraphic documents, complemented with numismatic, papyrological, and literary evidence, that he builds. Accordingly, there is an index of ancient authors and texts and one of inscriptions and papyri, the latter divided into a list of publications and one of cities and important locales. This takes up thirty-five pages, and there is also an index of names and subjects, and a bibliography. All this is indispensable as a reference tool for readers wishing to trace the fates of individual communities in those changing times, to discover the author's interpretation of individual documents, and to assess the over-arching theses constructed on their basis. These, formulated in three sections, Hellenistic, with a chapter on Miletus, Priene, and Samos, provincial, with a chapter on the *metropoleis* Smyrna and Ephesus, and an overview, differ considerably from received ideas documented in the notes. In particular Dmitriev challenges the view of changes attributable to Roman intervention; they were influenced by traditional practice. Again, enfranchised local élites entered the Roman élite; 'interference' was a form of interaction between segments of that. These theses lead to a reassessment of Roman imperial practice overall. Other subjects are dealt with *en route*: the word *arche* and its relation to *leitourgia* (in contrast with Roman vocabulary), the classification of city offices, the gap between socially and politically significant posts, the roles of women and children, the survival of the role of the assembly. Turning west, we come to another place, rocky in every sense. M. Kulikowski has worked *Late Roman Spain and its Cities*[6] and his disciplined labour has done a service in helping to open up a region that is only now receiving the attention due to it, especially in its later phase. He appreciates continuity between early and late Empires, and starts with the thesis that Roman urbanism, developed in the first and second centuries, remained stronger than scholars have supposed. Only after 460 were the ancient foundations destroyed, the last vestiges at the end of the sixth century. Kulikowski, in constructing his work, contended with failings in Spanish archaeology, now remedied, but damage has been done. There was also desperate willingness to attach material finds, sometimes ascribed ethnic identity, to unsatisfactory literary evidence, making up stories that came to seem Gospel when material evidence demanded priority. So Kulikowski's methodological theme, caution, recurs throughout. There are consequential subordinate themes, too, about the third-century 'crisis' (with interesting remarks on the decline of the epigraphic habit) and the comparative importance of Diocletian's reforms (Tingitana surprisingly significant). There is useful preparatory work on the creation of Roman Spain and urban institutions before the chapters on change. The story of Christianity (long an extra-mural affair, the author claims) offers refreshment, and the last chapters deal with the Goths, and the new world. The author's courage and his achievement are to

[5] *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. By Sviatoslav Dmitriev. Oxford UP, New York, 2005. Pp. xvi + 428, with two maps, frontispiece. Hardback £45. My having read sections of the original doctoral thesis means making this review purely factual.

[6] *Late Roman Spain and its Cities*. By Michael Kulikowski. The Johns Hopkins UP, Baltimore and London, 2004. Pp. xxii + 489, with 2 maps, 13 plans, 8 photographs. Hardback.

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be saluted, but the pathetic little maps fall short and more plans and photographs would have helped the reader along; endnotes and bibliography are generous. Nearer home we have in A. R. Birley's *The Roman Government of Britain*[7] a new incarnation, longer by 56 pages, of his standard Fasti *of Roman Britain* of 1981. Beginning with an appendix of additions to that list of officials, he ended with a completely new version. Birley is master of the literature and the slimmed-down Bibliography (nine new or revised works of W. Eck!), itself shows how well justified this enterprise is. Friendliness has been another aim (even the cover is jollier): translations have been added, and (one may regret) have replaced Greek except in inscriptions. There has been some condensation, and 'The senatorial career' now contains items from 'Origins and careers of governors', a section of *Fasti* now omitted (to the regret of prosopographers). Most importantly, imperial visits and historical developments (the Gallic Empire and the end of Roman rule) provide a major and valuable narrative feature that justifies the new title. Its predecessor was something for an enquirer to take off the shelf with hope, returning it without disappointment; the new version joins that class. As to the Empire as a whole, cheers greet F. Millar, *Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*,[8] the second volume of a triple-decker. Those who have read the essays one by one will be happy to have them for reference, those who have not (university students and general readers wanting insight into later twentieth-century developments in the subject) are lucky to have them available all at once. The first eleven are on imperial government, the last nine on society and culture. Even at the reasonable price purchasers will want to know how easily these classic papers, ranging from 1963 to 2002, can be had. A dozen come from the *Journal of Roman Studies*: the younger a subscriber is, the more he or she needs the volume; and there are seven items from foreign publications. It is odd to call the papers 'Chapters', but the work's value is much greater than that of their sum. The hard core of Roman society was the family, and it has been getting the attention it deserves. Invidious as it is to single out names, it would be unjust not to mention Beryl Rawson, and the work edited by M. George, *The Roman Family in the Empire,*[9] is dedicated to her. Indeed, 'this volume follows from the three Australian conferences begun by her in 1981', though itself stemming from one held in McMaster University. Its participants carried the study further afield than before, and both individual contributions and the book as a whole offer rich food for thought, because of diverse material available from different parts of the Empire. There is a temptation to accumulate 'facts', but several authors deal with methodology and the celebrated treatment of R. P. Saller and B. D. Shaw.[10] The editor, though content to talk of an urban Italian middle class, has pertinent questions about what makes up 'the family', which is reviewed again in the Egyptian essay, with nice criticism of

[7] *The Roman Government of Britain*. By Anthony R. Birley. Oxford UP, Oxford and New York, 2005. Pp. xiv+ 532. Hardback £80.

[8] *Government, Society, and Culture. Rome, the Greek World, and the East 2*. By Fergus Millar, edited by Hannah M. Cotton and Guy M. Rogers. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, 2004. Pp. xxxiii including one map + 470. Hardback £43.95; paperback £20.50.

[9] *The Roman Family in the Empire. Rome, Italy, and beyond.* Edited by Michele George. Oxford UP, Oxford and New York, 2005. Pp. xx + 358, with 35 figs., one map, 12 tables. Hardback £70.

[10] R. P. Saller and B. D. Shaw, 'Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Soldiers, Civilians, and Slaves', *JRS* 74 (1984) 124–56.

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Lévi-Strauss's views on incest. As to range, the first four papers concern Rome and Italy (Cicero, family values, the child in sickness and health) and the Justinianic law code; we go then to Egypt and Judaea (for careful distinction of behaviour between classes), then wing dizzily west to Lusitania and to 'the Roman North-West' ('how things must have been'); then south to Africa and finally the Pannonian outback, well illustrated. The absence of Greece and especially Asia Minor is painfully marked, but this is a beginning and the methods of the present authors will be developed for other regions. Drinking marks either end of this review; between cappuccino and Caecuban, readers might welcome a square meal. The *American Journal of Philology* offers *Roman Dining*,[11] a special issue dedicated to the memory of J. H. D'Arms and largely based on papers presented at a panel sponsored by the APA and AIA in 2002. N. Purcell's 'The way we used to eat', dealing with the history not of food but of Roman food *mentalités*, healthily demands re-jigging of the brain; J. Wilkins' 'Land and Sea' widens the area of enquiry; M. Roller, on 'Horizontal Women' leisurely undoes Roman claims that women 'used to' sit to eat; J. F. Donahue applies French commensality categories to Roman dining; and K. M. D. Dunbabin assembles well-illustrated evidence on 'The waiting servant in Later Roman Art' (deviating from the dining table). But the large subject has reached a point where interdisciplinary (ix) forking at aspects of it makes unity hard to achieve, especially when the number of papers is so limited and familiar items may be explained *in mediis rebus*. One could hardly be further from our starting point than with R. A. Kaster's 'expedition in cultural psychology', *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*,[12] but nothing is what it seems. First, the title envelops more than the content, softening it. The author deals with a few basic Latin social bricks: *pudor, verecundia, paenitentia, invidia, fastidium;* an epilogue, 'Being "wholly" Roman', handles *integritas.* The author would complain of this formulation: he eschews a lexical approach. He is concerned with dynamics, naturally different from those of the 'corresponding' English. For each word he sets up a branching set of 'scripts' showing how they are used on various occasions, for example *pudor* arising in circumstances which are/are not 'up to me'. These sets are brought into relation with each other, creating a deep and extensive system which goes some way towards justifying the title. The unravelling of *integritas* is particularly striking. Notwithstanding typographical slips, jokes that will grow old, and the strained use of 'face', the whole book is insightful and practical (there is a vital index of ancient authors and works and rich explanatory notes)—and is an engaging page-turner. Now to a single ancient author. S. P. Oakley approaches the end of his massive underpinning of Roman Republican history with the third volume of his *Commentary on Livy Books VI-X*.[13] With the present volume, and its near-twin on Book 10, the author has been dealing with material on Roman institutions that is 'much more reliable, or possibly more reliable' and has elicited much modern discussion; his principle has been to help the reader with his own investigations by citing earlier treatments. Hence the weight of the volume and, in part, the gap

[11] *Roman Dining*. A special issue of *American Journal of Philology*. Edited by Barbara K. Gold and John F. Donahue. The Johns Hopkins UP, Baltimore, 2005. Pp. xiv + 140, with 25 figs.

[12] *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*. By Robert A. Kaster. Classical Culture and Society, Oxford UP, New York, 2005. Pp. xi + 245, with unlisted figures. Hardback £26.99.

[13] *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X*. Volume III: Book IX. By S. P. Oakley. Oxford UP, New York, 2005. Pp. xvi + 758, with 2 maps (one fold-out). Hardback £130.

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between the appearance of this and the earlier volumes (1997 and 1998), which were enthusiastically reviewed.[14] Book 9 opens with the Caudine Forks and ends with the final years of the second Samnite war and the contentious aedileship of Cn. Flavius. Between them it takes in the resonant activities of Claudius the Censor, as well as the digression on Alexander. Oakley's introductory remarks, before the line-by-line commentary, are divided into sections: 'Livy's version', 'Parallel narratives' (for the last two-thirds he gives Diodorus Siculus in full), 'Literary analysis' and 'Historical analysis', and that is very helpful to the reader. 'Further conjectures' and 'Further interpretations' are gathered into Appendices that also deal with settlement and the origins of the annalistic portrait of the Claudii. Oakley's own photographs illustrate the text and the maps are excellent. Any student of Livy's writing or of later fourth century Rome and far beyond will need this book to hand. To end, more books for students. G. Jennison's **Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*[15] is reissued with coloured covers and the same, quaint-looking, text inside, its notes down the margins. Sadly, Jennison did not live to enjoy the success of his book, which has been on library shelves ever since. It was well reviewed when it appeared; the *Journal of Roman Studies*[16] said that the book provided 'a wealth of curious and interesting information' and was suitable for 'biologist, historian, antiquarian, or intelligent general reader'. Noting Jennison's position as Superintendant of Belle Vue Zoo, B. W. Tucker stressed an admirable combination of practical experience and sound scholarship, though he jibbed at some identifications (musk ox and orang utan). In case readers have not encountered the book before, Jennison, after two chapters devoted to Greek city-states and Ptolemaic Egypt, passes to the Roman games, Republic, early and late Empire. Then three chapters on menageries provide relief, before he returns to practicalities: capture and transport, development of the arena, provincial amphitheatres, stockyards, and shows. The work is based on ancient writers, and stands up well when the sources do; chapters with an archaeological component will have been overtaken by more recent work, and the pictures have not worn well; other, more sophisticated, works are cited at the end of relevant articles in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*; but we must be grateful to the publishers for making it possible to replace those tattered copies. Finally two books in series. His publishers have not served J. Malitz' *Nero*[17] well. Their blurb announces a 'fascinating new biography', outlining 'often forgotten' aspects, Nero's early political agenda, his initial popularity, and doing no justice to existing works. This translation of a German book of 1999 is unstylish and once or twice flummoxing: in Nero's deadly ship a beam 'would fall on the unassuming Agrippina'. Worst, the biography stops at p. 114 and we have an appendix: 'Suetonius . . . Nero [extracts]. . . . Philadelphia. Gebbie & Co. 1889', with 'Remarks on Nero' 157–62, all in the language of its time and including a lengthy passage quoted in the main text (in a different translation). It would have been preferable to have a longer, focused, study. The author deals with all

[14] Reviews of vols. 1 and 2: T. J. Luce, *CR* 49 (1999) 74–6: 'A splendid achievement'; T. P. Wiseman, *CR* 50 (2000) 81–3: 'A great work of traditional scholarship'.

[15] *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*. By George Jennison. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2005. Originally Manchester UP, 1937. Pp. xiv + 209, with 13 plates. Paperback.

[16] B. W. Tucker, *JRS* 29 (1939) 125–7.

[17] *Nero.* By Jürgen Malitz, translated by Allison Brown. Blackwell Ancient Lives, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria. 2005. Pp. xii + 174, with 9 illustrations. Hardback £50; paperback £14.99.

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the usual topics, but I should have welcomed a more dynamic account of the *Quinquennium*. (Nero, as the author points out, threatens to retire to Rhodes, but why Rhodes, if not in emulation of the high-principled constitutionalist Tiberius? There were issues at stake.) In spite of stemma, 'timeline', map of the Empire, adequate illustrations, brief bibliography, and index, the hardback at least is over-priced. S. Burstein's equally attractive-looking **The Reign of Cleopatra*[18] tackles a subject both inflammatory and haphazardly documented. Following the series pattern, he takes the only possible course: treating it in short segments. Hence mixed impressions. We have a Chronology, a basic narrative of Ptolemaic Egypt (Burstein goes beyond the boundaries of his title), and of Cleopatra herself; then thirty pages on how the country worked, multiculturalism, and Alexandria, its culture and conflicts. There is much for the student here. The concluding chapter, 'Queen and symbol', attempts a contrast between conventional views and Burstein's own view, but it is not very clear, and the page on 'black' Cleopatras seems timorous and unfocused. Burstein then offers sketches of sixteen prominent persons, including deities (repetition was inevitable). Sixty-one pages of translated documents follow (largely Caesar, Plutarch, papyri), some from ancient Loebs ('But if thou dost not like the thing . . .'); next a helpful glossary and bibliography, with critical comments; finally a sprinkle of notes. The book serves a purpose, including helping 'student research', but it is not as tightly built, nor as well written, as it should be. Perhaps there may be a second edition. Meanwhile: 'Before this day it had been wrong to bring our Caecuban froth from ancient bins'. Discuss.

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[18] *The Reign of Cleopatra*. By Stanley M. Burstein. Greenwood Guides to Historic Events of the Ancient World. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, and London, 2004. Pp. xxiv + 179, with 2 maps, 10 plates. Hardback.

Art and Archaeology

Between the end of 2003 and early 2005, museum-goers were subjected to a shocking experience. It was a travelling exhibition hosted in Munich, Copenhagen, and the Vatican. The purpose of the show was to make clear to the general public a feature of ancient art often overlooked: namely, the fact that Greek and Roman sculpture was originally painted – moreover, it is evident, painted in extremely bright or 'loud' colours. Anyone who did not suffer the direct trauma of seeing a cast of the Prima Porta Augustus arrayed in red and blue, complete with cinnabar hair and scarlet lips, is now obliged to seek out the volume of essays now published on behalf of the Vatican Museums, entitled *I colori del bianco.*[1] The paradox embedded in that title is eloquent enough: we generally see Classical statues as shiny white objects, and easily forget (if we were ever aware) the polychrome gaudiness these statues once possessed. J. J. Winckelmann is often reckoned as the authority who in the late eighteenth century 'canonized' the notion that the surface of ancient marble was finished to a cold, translucent white, compounding his aesthetic regard for the 'noble simplicity' achieved by Praxiteles *et al.* But the habit of appreciating carved marble for the sake of

[1] *I colori del bianco. Policromia nella scultura antica*. Edited by Paolo Liverani. Rome, De Luca Editore, 2004. Pp. 356, with 458 illustrations.

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