citizens. Then she considers the possibility, in later law, of adoption by women; the desirability of adoption of illegitimate children and within families of slave origin; the practice of reconstructing priority of right to intestate succession, when a *paterfamilias*, for instance, adopted a grandson, and the motives for transferring children from one family to another. Gardner has now discussed these themes more fully in *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 114–208 and elsewhere. Olli Salomies, 'Names and Adoptions in Ancient Rome' (pp. 141–56, updated) demonstrates how far we can explore adoption through names, attested chiefly by inscriptions. Under the Empire, at least, 'for all name types there is always at least one alternative explanation' (p. 154). This is a useful summary, though readers must be referred to the author's *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (Helsinki, 1992). Hanne Sigismund Nielsen, 'Quasi-kin, Quasi-adoption and the Roman Family' (pp. 249–62), studies foster-children (3% of all persons described by a kinship term in *CIL* vi). Nielsen has now treated the adjectives used for foster-children more fully in B. Rawson, P. Weaver (edd.), *The Roman Family in Italy* (Canberra and Oxford, 1997), pp. 169–204.

Each paper has a separate bibliography. There is no index. Contributions in English might usefully have been checked for style by an anglophone. The book will interest non-specialists who want to situate contemporary adoption, which aims primarily to give a family to a child, in the different traditions humans have evolved.

Stanford University SUSAN TREGGIARI

THE CELTS AND ROMAN ITALY

J. H. C. Williams: *Beyond the Rubicon. Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy.* Pp. xiii + 264, 1 map. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Cased, £40. ISBN: 0-19-815300-7.

Williams's book addresses the characterization of the peoples and the geography of Northern Italy by outsiders following Rome's conquest of the region, in particular Cato and Polybius. The author initially investigates the modern mythology of a 'Celtic' people, noting that the modern acceptability of this term within the discourse of a united Europe was wholly absent in antiquity (pp. 6–7, compare S. James, *The Atlantic Celts* [London, 1999]). This factor alone points to the difficulty of pinning down the ethnicity of the peoples of Northern Italy, and as W. observes: 'There were, it seems, as many different ethnic arrangements of the peoples of the north as there were authors who wrote about them' (p. 74). Faced with this problem, W. juxtaposes Cato's *Galli* with Polybius' *Keltoi* to investigate the conceptual frameworks within which these two very different authors characterized or represented the peoples of northern Italy with reference to their own and other cultures. These frameworks shaped the discourse of these two authors' texts, as much as the original information. There are dire implications for those scholars wishing to simply read off the characteristics in these texts to create an unproblematic view of these peoples from antiquity. What W. provides is a grid or frame from which to contemplate the information from Cato and Polybius—ethnicity was remade or recreated, and seldom remained static even within the written record of antiquity.

The second half of the book is concerned with the rôle of a mythology of a Gallic invasion of Italy and destruction of Rome within Greek and Latin writers. W. makes it clear that these accounts are not real but are mythologies or simplifications made by

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authors looking at distant peoples from the past. The variation between writers on these two related subjects points to the creativity of the historical tradition. The sheer difficulty of understanding that in 268 B.C. Northern Italy was part of Gallia and by 148 B.C. it had become part of Italia (p. 130), with its total incorporation by the end of the first century B.C., tends to become simplified in these accounts. But underlying them is a Greek and Roman fear of the destruction of their cultures by Gauls or Celts. Historiographically, W. points out, there is a replay of the Persian attack on Delphi narrated by Herodotus (8.37–9) in the sack of Delphi by the Keltoi in 279 B.C. and of Rome in 387 B.C. This, he suggests, is not accidental. Rome's acceptability as the hegemonic power in the Greek world depended on her rôle as the protector of Greek cities from the Celts, a fact commemorated and publicized by Rome at Delphi. There is an interesting discussion on how the Gallo-Roman Pompeius Trogus and Livy (as a Northern Italian) rewrote this narrative to create a positive view of the Gauls as the founders of cities in the manner of the Graeco-Roman mythology of colonization (pp. 113–20). W. identifies a millenarian expectation at Rome of a destruction of their city, with Gallic peoples as the principal agent. This fear causes the Roman historical imagination to view the whole of Northern Europe as full of Gauls waiting to destroy Rome at some unspecified future date (later substitute Germans). W. argues that it is this imagined reality of a northern world full of Gauls and Celts hell-bent on the destruction of Rome has created the modern myth of a common Celtic identity for modern Europe in our own present.

The final chapter of W.'s book discusses the interaction of the disciplines of archaeology and history. He points out, quite rightly, that the archaeology of the 'Celtic' peoples of Northern Italy has been determined in its interests and interpretations by the textual evidence. Since he had effectively shown that the textual evidence puts forward a series of myths, as opposed to representations of reality, he points to the weaknesses of this procedure. His intention is not for total or negative deconstruction, but instead to consider the millenarian perception of the Gallic peoples as a force that shaped Roman activity in the North. He rightly rejects any notion that a 'Celtic' ethnicity or people can be associated closely or exclusively with evidence of 'Celtic' languages. It is striking that the mere discovery of a 'Celtic' graffito can cause scholars to re-date the hypothesis of a Celtic invasion of Italy (p. 187). Equally, the dominance of a narrative chronology based on a series of events: Celtic invasion of Italy, battle of Sentinum, Roman Conquest, and the Cimbric Wars, into which archaeological finds are placed, seems inappropriate to both author and reviewer. It would appear that the concerns of social archaeology in terms of gender, status, or style have yet to be articulated due to a continuing adherence to a Celtic mythology of Northern Italy that effectively ends with the Roman conquest. W. highlights how the Romans responded to the perceived or imagined danger of the Gauls by destroying the conquered landscape through centuriation and road building. Furthermore, at a micro-level, the Gallic response shows a continuity of weapon burials at the same time as Roman style buildings were being erected in Mediolanum and Brescia (p. 216). This takes us into another area of narrative, that of Romanization. W. finds the widely utilized concept to be wanting, since it is 'a retrospective verdict given with hindsight' (p. 217), and fails to ascribe motives or reasons to the complexity of choice, particularly in the mortuary context (p. 213). Here, W. suggests alternatives, notably that indications of resistance may be present (p. 216)—but this concept is as flawed as that of Romanization, since it is given with hindsight. The fact is, we have yet to see a social archaeology develop in the context of Gallic and Roman Italy that is not pegged onto the Graeco-Roman mythologies of the *Keltoi* and *Galli.* These powerful concepts influenced the way Rome

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responded to the Gauls and continue today to influence the way the professionals and the public view the material culture of Northern Italy.

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JEWS IN THE LATE EMPIRE

K. L. NOETHLICHS: *Die Juden im christlichen Imperium Romanum (4.–6. Jahrhundert)*. Pp. 271, ills. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001. Paper, €19.80. ISBN: 3-05-003431-9.

Sourcebooks in English on Late Antiquity and on the Jews are abundant. The material collected by M. Stern in *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem, 1974–84) has been amplified in more recent collections by non-literary sources. Noethlichs provides a German equivalent, dealing with sources on the Jews from the reign of Constantine onwards (some of it is from the seventh century and occasionally even later, despite the title). The book is divided into a study of the period (Darstellung, pp. 17–95) and the sources themselves (Materialteil, pp. 99–242). There are links from the first part to the second, but not from the second part back to the first, so it is much easier to go from the discussion of a topic to the relevant texts than from the texts to the discussion.

The first part has both thematic and chronological sections. The main issues are developments within Judaism and, much better documented, the increasingly tenuous position of the Jews under Roman rule. N. shows that things could have been worse: although 'heretics, pagans and Jews' were often classified together, the Jews, unlike the other two groups, did not face book-burning, and received some legal protection even if it was not always enforced. The contradiction between archaeological evidence for renovation of synagogues (some of which is given on pp. 226–32) and legislation which forbade it might have been discussed further. Meanwhile, church councils tried to isolate the Jews, apparently without much success in many places; Judaizing Christians were their main concern.

The sources are predominantly legal ones (Kaisergesetze, pp. 99–161), and thus there is considerable similarity to A. Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit and Jerusalem, 1987). Many texts cover more or less the same ground as each other, and comprehensiveness rather than representativeness is evidently the principle of this section. The heading for each entry gives date and source but no indication of content. Julian on the Jews and Ammianus on the attempted restoration of the Temple are found rather surprisingly in the middle of the legal section.

The other sources are in much briefer sections: orders of church councils; theological debate between Jews and Christians; Jewish writings; Jewish inscriptions; evidence of Jews and Christians together in daily life; Jews in non-Christian sources; archaeological and artistic evidence. N. often paraphrases his texts rather than giving full translations. Direct quotes are indented, but paraphrase and comment are presented in exactly the same way typographically, and are therefore sometimes hard to distinguish from each other.

The theological debate section includes an interesting attempt to identify some biblical passages used by Jews against Christians (M89), necessarily reconstructed from Christian refutation. Christian anti-Jewish polemic could make use of relatively recent history (the destruction of Jewish Jerusalem) as 'proof' that God was not on the Jews' side. There is a welcome inclusion of some out-of-the-way material, e.g.

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