not helpful to the reader. For example, on p. 212: 'One could alternatively construe femininity in terms of what the commentators saw in their female contemporaries and/or give women a Latin of their own coloured by this language of feeling as Gruppe does, and which was to be the reigning interpretation for the next hundred years'. A minor matter, perhaps: I would like 'both' to be balanced by 'and', rather than by the 'as well as' found throughout this work. This carping, again, is aimed at the editor rather than at the author, who has organized the Sulpicia materials in such a way as to reveal some of the inner workings of classical scholarship, and some of the conscious and subconscious motives of classical scholars.

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THE AQUEDUCT HUNTERS

H. B. EVANS: *Aqueduct Hunting in the Seventeenth Century. Raffaello Fabretti's* De aquis et aquaeductibus veteris Romae. Pp. xvi + 309, maps, ills. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. Cased, $55/£39. ISBN: 0-472-11248-1.

Fifteen years ago it could justly be said that in Roman aqueduct studies the American contribution was regrettably weak. That is no longer so. Scholars such as Aicher (on aqueduct topography), Pagan (baths), and Evans (urban distribution) have gone far to fill the gap, with Rodgers's forthcoming edition of Frontinus soon to follow. Indeed, the University of Michigan Press seems to have largely cornered the market in this growing field, a claim further supported by this present excellent work.

In it Prof. Evans follows up his earlier studies by breaking completely new ground. His book is a study of Raffaello Fabretti, who, in the seventeenth century, dedicated much of his life to investigating and tracing the aqueducts of the Roman Campagna, even if his contemporaries credited his horse, Marco Polo, with the ability to find antiquities on its own, like pigs sniffing truffles. He published his findings in 1680 in his *De Aquis et Aquaeductis Veteris Romae*, which is the foundation of all later work on the Roman aqueducts. E.'s book has two aims. One is a critical commentary on Fabretti's discoveries; the other is an illumination of the methodology and attitudes of seventeenth-century classical scholars, who often lambasted each other with ferocious and robustly phrased polemics that grate on a modern ear more accustomed to scholarly courtesy. To get a taste of it, we may note his comments on Pirro Ligorio, a favourite enemy of his, in # 351 of the 1680 MS.: 'Quis enim alius paucissimis verbis tot ineptias concludere sciret?'

Fabretti's work has never until now been offered in translation from its often 'baroque and quirky Latin', and not readily available even in Latin, though a facsimile version of the 1680 Latin text was reprinted in 1972, in the series Printed Sources of Western Art (Portland, OR). Latinists and non-Latinists alike will now thank E. for making Fabretti easily accessible, even without the Latin text.

E. begins with an introduction to Fabretti, well superseding the pp. 2–3 account in Ashby's *Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, and continues with an English version of Fabretti's three dissertations on Roman aqueducts, following each one with a critical commentary discussing and explaining the points raised in the text. The first dissertation, the shortest, is the most important for aqueduct studies; it centres largely

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on the Aqua Alexandrina. The second deals with the catchment area in the Anio Valley, including a discussion of Roman standard measurements. The third is more literary in orientation, with a commentary on Procopius and discussion of the aqueducts and topography of urban Rome. E.'s translation is first-rate, imaginative, and highly idiomatic, and very helpful to a reader trying to make sense of the often obscure Latin: otherwise who would guess that when Fabretti refers to an illustration as 'crassa Minerva' what he means is 'a rough sketch' (p. 150)? And it is endearing to find 'eius librorum farragine' reborn as 'the mishmash of his books'. One may perhaps regret that the full Latin text from which he is translating is nowhere given, so that one has to hunt it up in, for example, the Oregon reprint, but a glance at this facsimile can only increase our admiration for an author who had to be not just a translator, but often, especially in Greek quotations from Procopius, a palaeographer as well (E. implies on p. vii that he used the 1788 Barbiellini edition, but that cannot have been much easier).

A more serious criticism is that in the absence of any numbering of the lines or sections, it is often difficult to cross-refer items in the commentary to the relevant location in the text they are explaining, let alone find the place in the Latin original. Yet the 1680 MS does actually number sections, as in most classical texts. It might have been helpful if this practice had been continued. On the other hand, Fabretti's plans and topographical maps of the Roman aqueducts are all carefully reproduced, reprinted from originals in the Vatican, as are also numerous copies of bas-reliefs and inscriptions. In addition, all the quotations from a foreign language, Italian as well as Latin, are translated, to bring the book well within the grasp of the unilingual reader. There is also a ten-page bibliography.

What, then, is the special value of this book? Till now, Fabretti's work has remained largely *terra incognita*, often referred to and built upon but seldom actually seen, and accessible, even for specialists, only through secondary sources. Yet, though there were other antiquarians who studied the topic, he should surely be accounted the Father of Aqueduct Studies. Spending years riding and tramping across the Campagna in search of the conduits, even crawling through their tunnels, often at some risk, he stands before us as an archaeologist, topographer, cartographer, engineer, epigraphist, *littérateur*, and general scholar. He was neither perfect nor infallible, and one of E.'s strengths is that his perceptive evaluation does not blind him to his protagonist's shortcomings. As 'a scholar typical of his day' (p. 279) he did not introduce any 'new critical methods or approaches', and his study of Procopius 'makes too many assumptions, begs too many questions, and must ultimately be judged ingenious but unconvincing' (p. 276).

Yet none of this can detract from the comprehensive record of aqueduct remains, compiled not from studies in a library but from personal visiting on the spot, that has given us a detailed catalogue and cartography that remained unsurpassed right down to Ashby's day, of especial value since in the meantime so much of the evidence had vanished or been swallowed up under modern construction. E.'s summing up is clear and cogent (p. 280). It is a picture of

> . . . a serious scholar at work. We encounter our author meticulously weighing literary and epigraphical evidence against that of the physical remains (many of which he was documenting for the first time), in lively dialogue with his contemporaries and predecessors, vigorously correcting their errors when appropriate and making significant contributions of his own to the understanding of the ancient city in his time.

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Were it not too presumptuous, a reviewer might be tempted to find this also a fair commentary on the present book.

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CLASSICS IN AMERICA

C. WINTERER: *The Culture of Classicism. Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life 1780–1910*. Pp. x + 244. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002. Cased, £31. ISBN: 0-8018-6799-1.

What was the contribution of classicists to American intellectual and cultural life? *The Culture of Classicism* focuses on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classicists to explore how the study of antiquity was central to the formation of the humanities and the establishment of liberal education in America. It argues that, far from being purveyors of dead languages, classical scholars built up an enduring legacy for American universities: a culture that promoted inward self-perfection and acted to oppose the materialism, utilitarianism, and civic degeneracy of modern societies.

The book is based on a chronological structure. While its principal subject lies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it traces the history of classical studies from the colonial era up until the early twentieth century. The first two chapters describe how, after the mid-eighteenth century, a group of American classical scholars began to interrogate the linguistic orientation of their subject and deployed antiquity to articulate the new political ideology of republicanism. While in the colonial period classics was limited to grammar and rhetoric, and was predominantly used to educate a ministerial class, the antebellum era witnessed the emergence of a more overtly political engagement with antiquity. In order to deal with attacks claiming the uselessness of antiquity for modern market economy, scholars such as Edward Everet and George Bancroft suggested the thorough transformation of existing methods of teaching and research. Their main targets were the exclusive focus of school and university curricula on 'words', as well as the use of antiquity—and Rome in particular—as a mirror image of modern societies. As Winterer explains, these scholars replaced traditional English and Scottish classicism by the new approach to antiquity formulated by German historicism. This move allowed them both to discern the differences between the ancient and modern worlds, and to re-employ the classics as a means of radical self-critique and transformation.

The turn to German scholarship also entailed a shift of emphasis from Rome to Greece, which was further reinforced by the democratization of American society and the subsequent interest in Athens as a model for modern democracies. As it is argued in the second and third chapters, after the late eighteenth century, classical scholars evoked Greece to formulate the political principles of the democratic state. They believed that Athenian culture developed an 'educated democracy', which could serve as an exemplary school for contemporary democrats, but also as a means of criticizing the pitfalls of modern democracies: unbridled materialism, anti-intellectualism, demagoguery, and utilitarianism. Thus, under the dual influence of historicist intellect and democratic politics, nineteenth-century scholars engaged in the critical study of the ancient world in order to educate democratic citizens and inculcate in them the spirit of self-cultivation. As the book documents, their works on Homer and Greek

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