criminal behaviour (e.g. *De off*. 3.73) the categories do not match up with the offences covered by the *iudicia publica*. A brief remark in the book's penultimate paragraph, in a reference to Nippel's *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 1995), concerning 'a society (such as Rome's) in which the law-writing class is largely insulated from ordinary crime by private security' indicates how many issues R. has left out: what happened outside the ruling classes? How did the ordinary citizen conceptualize being mugged? And what were his remedies? R.'s 'community' is too narrow for the social history he is trying to write.

Overall, however, this is a valuable book. The chapters on the four categories of speeches are a significant addition to the interpretation of Ciceronian oratory, and to say that they will be of immense use to students is not derogatory, but a reflection of how little material, apart from commentaries, there is as yet in English on these speeches. Just as importantly, R. demonstrates that those working on forensic oratory must take legal issues seriously: these are not an irrelevance to the rhetorical strategies that Cicero pursues, but an essential factor in moulding his arguments.

University of Glasgow C. E. W. STEEL

EQUITES REVISITED

S. Demougin, H. Devijver, M. T. Raepsaet-Charlier (edd.): *L'Ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C.–IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*. (Collection de l'École française de Rome 257.) Pp. 691, maps. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999. Paper. ISBN: 2-7283-0445-9.

This volume contains sixteen papers from a conference in Brussels in 1995 on developments in research on Roman *equites*, especially since the publication in 1950 and 1960–1 of H.-G. Pflaum's studies of equestrian procurators. The results, besides adding much new information, vividly illustrate the ways in which the interests and methods of ancient historians have changed and developed in recent years. The papers are arranged roughly into four groups, covering equestrian social status, in both private and public life, *equites*' governmental and military rôle in various provinces under the Empire, and their history in imperial government.

The main emphasis is on social history rather than, as in the past, on imperial military and administrative posts. However, three papers (Sablayrolles, Magioncalda, Piso) re-examine the career structures and responsibilities of equestrian military officers and provincial governors. Sablayrolles discusses the origin, development, and growth of the responsibilities of *equites* as governors of selected provinces, pointing out also the respective rôles in their selection of imperial patronage and individual talent. Criteria for appointment are the main theme of Magioncalda, who argues convincingly against assuming that equestrian provincial careers were determined exclusively either by a rigid *cursus* or by patronage; the criteria, he claims, were much more flexible, and adapted to suit particular circumstances. However, the most thorough-going attack against the notion of such a dichotomy is provided in the paper by the late Hubert Devijver, grouped elsewhere with papers concerned with social history.

Devijver's paper, 'Les relations sociales des chevaliers romains', is a *tour de force*. He criticizes the view presented by Saller and Brunt that careers were primarily

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determined by patronage, and examines in detail the actual workings of the system, demonstrating how family and social relations played a part in securing advancement, while at the same time, the requirements of Empire resulted in the development of an increasingly rigid military *cursus*. He concludes that the Romans themselves were probably unaware of the supposed dichotomy, and attested careers show virtually no anomalies to suggest the existence of such a conflict.

Piso describes the process by which *equites* gradually came to be used in provincial posts involving *imperium*, first as temporary substitutes during the absences of local senatorial commanders, then in command of separate corps, or as governors of individual provinces in threatened areas within larger, consular, complexes, and finally replacing senators in legionary commands after the reorganization of the later third century.

Piso's paper is a useful companion piece to Christol's important discussion of the reasons for this development, and how and why in the wake of the crisis of the third century the military section of the equestrian order came also to take over the main structures of government. The papers of Christol and Lepelley, towards the end of the volume, survey the historical development of the order under the Empire, challenging older theories about the supposed 'ousting' of senators by *equites*. Between them they cover the entire period from the start of the principate to Theodosius and the order's disappearance from history, Christol examining the *longue durée* from Augustus to the tetrarchs, with special emphasis on the consequences of the crisis of the third century, and Lepelley covering the period from Diocletian to Theodosius.

The collection opens, as already indicated, with a group of papers concerned mainly with the social status and connections of *equites* (Eck, Mrosewicz, Scheid with Granino Cerere, Rebecchi, Raepsaet-Charlier, and the aforementioned Devijver). Eck elegantly demonstrates that Tacitus' claim (*Annales* 13.27), *plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus non aliunde* (sc. from freedmen) *originem trahi*, though remaining potentially true of remoter descent, cannot be established from the extremely scanty evidence for freedmen (mainly imperial) and their sons who rose immediately to equestrian status.

Mrosewicz contributes an important paper on the high proportion of *equites* in Northern frontier provinces who actively participated in local municipal life, although his conclusions about their local or immigrant origins tend rather to downplay the former. That fifty-eight out of eighty-two in municipal office have 'imperial' *nomina* surely suggests the operation of *ius Latii*.

Scheid and Granino Cerere survey the evidence respectively for the minor Roman and the 'Latin' priesthoods open to *equites*. Rebecchi discusses the iconography of commemorative reliefs showing the *transvectio equitum*, and its rôle in publicly establishing their status. Raepsaet-Charlier usefully extends her research on élite women with a detailed examination of the rôle of female connections in equestrian social mobility.

Three papers (Andreau, Paci, Wesch-Klein) concern wealth and its use. Andreau establishes a position between the insistence of some scholars that equestrian interests were primarily commercial, and what he considers to be the excessive emphasis laid by others, Brunt and Nicolet in particular, on agriculture. He points out that the rôle of some *equites* as *publicani* and *negotiatores* in the provinces belongs mainly to the Republic; under the Empire, the *ordo* is more homogeneous and its interests, like those of senators, varied. Paci presents about twenty literary examples (epigraphic evidence being generally unhelpful) of equestrians, from the Flavians to the Severi, mentioned as holders of agricultural property, as evidence for its normality among this *ordo*. He

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should, perhaps, have stressed a little more that those attested are mostly high-level *equites*, either senators' sons, or themselves already senators. Wesch-Klein discusses epigraphic evidence for local euergetism, in inscriptions both by and in honour of the benefactors (most, but not all, involved in local public life), and discusses possible reasons for their willingness to undertake this form of public generosity.

A further group (Caballos Rufino, Lefebvre, Demougin) usefully collects and presents epigraphic evidence, much of it new, for *equites* in the provinces—Spain, Africa, and Asia Minor respectively. All three are accompanied by catalogues. Caballos Rufino supplements his paper, the most purely descriptive, with thirty pages of documentation to satisfy the most demanding of investigators; a catalogue with relevant bibliography, and numerical lists arranged by province, period (Julio-Claudians to Severi) and provenance, and also chronological distribution, shown by lists, bar-graphs and distribution maps. Lefebvre analyses honorific inscriptions from Africa concerning local and imperial officials, pointing out that, though equestrian status is always apparent, the basic concern is with the community's needs and the behaviour expected of public administrators. Demougin supplements her two important monographs on Julio-Claudian *equites* with a paper on 280 from Asia Minor. This embraces a number of important topics, such as bilingualism, and the problematic relationship between the holding of local Greek offices (particularly priesthoods) and aspiration to equestrian status. The main concern, however, is with the evolution of the *ordo*, and local attitudes to attaining it, compared with Italy and elsewhere. The paper is subtitled 'Histoire d'une romanisation'.

This links up with the two concluding papers, already discussed, by Christol and Lepelley. The whole is rounded off by a masterly survey of the achievements of the conference, as shown in the papers, and pointers to further research, by Nicolet. He rightly draws attention to the important prosopographical contributions.

This, indeed, is one of the book's most valuable features. More than 200 of its pages are taken up with catalogues and lists, amply documented. In addition, there is an *index nominum*, and one of the main inscriptional references from *AE* and *CIL*.

An important omission, however, is a consolidated bibliography. A few of the papers, but by no means all, have their own, and there appears to be no editorial consistency in the way in which certain frequently cited publications are referred to in footnotes. Nevertheless, this volume, besides the value of the individual papers, is also a useful tool for future research. Of the eighteen papers none is in English—one is in Spanish, three each in Italian and German, and the rest in French. Even for the linguistically challenged, however, it is worth the effort.

University of Reading JANE F. GARDNER

POOR SHOW

R. C. Beacham: *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. Pp. 306, 28 figs. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999. Cased, £22.50. ISBN: 0-300-07382-8.

As Professor of Theatre Studies at the University of Warwick, Richard Beacham would seem ideally placed to write about theatre and spectacle in Rome. His interest in ancient and modern stage management (he has written *inter alia* on the Swiss stage designer Alphonse Appia) and his involvement in the Theatron company, which specializes in computer-generated reconstructions of ancient theatres, would seem to

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