fresh translations are provided of what are very largely literary sources. The editors explain that they have chosen to provide 'extensive annotation' as so much ancient literature 'is a baffling mystery to the student and to the general reader (and often to the classical scholar)' (vii). Indeed, the introductory and contextual matter and footnote discussion provided are exemplary – one example is the clear discussion of the difficulties posed by Tacitus' description of the persecution of Christians after the Fire of Rome, but I could give many others. This well-priced sourcebook will empower undergraduates to attain an impressively in-depth understanding of the issues raised by the reign of Nero and the sources, and it is to be strongly recommended to my fellow teachers of Roman history.

Finally, and also briefly, it is worth noting a revised issue of one of the most debated works of Roman history in recent years: Edward Luttwak's *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*.[10] It is now more than thirty years since the defence strategist delivered his provocation to the field of Roman studies, with its bold claims about the changing nature of Roman military strategy under the Empire. As Luttwak himself notes in his new preface, his book occasioned an extremely lively response. Fundamental objections were made by a number of scholars to his main arguments: most centrally, first the very existence of a 'grand strategy' and second the claim of a switch from an expansionist, aggressive foreign policy to one of 'defence in depth' in the Later Roman Empire. In this new edition, the author presents himself as fundamentally unrepentant. He has taken the opportunity to make corrections and updates, including an updated bibliography (with 'selected reviews' of the first edition), and engages with his critics at various points, but maintains strongly that overall his arguments still hold. Luttwak's new reflections on the points of contact and contrast between ancient and contemporary warfare and strategy remind us once more, as if we needed reminding, of the important interpretive ties that bind the Roman world to our own.

LUCY GRIG
lucy.grig@ed.ac.uk
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Art and Archaeology

The nineteenth-century French painter Gustave Courbet famously declared that he did not paint angels because he had never seen one. If artists of classical antiquity were ever troubled by such scruples regarding depictions of the supernatural, it is not (so far as I know) documented. This is not to say that the question of *how* an artist could represent, say, an Olympian deity, went completely unheeded: Dio Chrysostom's *Olympic Discourse* of AD 97 is one serious attempt to address that topic, with significant

Press, 2016. Pp. xxiii + 300. 11 b/w illustrations, 6 maps. Paperback £24.95, ISBN: 978-0-691-15651-4.

[10] *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire. From the First Century A.D. to the Third.* By Edward Luttwak. Third revised and updated edition. Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. Pp. xvi + 276. 10 b/w illustrations, 15 maps. Paperback $29.95, ISBN: 978-1-4214-1945-9.

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implications for the status of an artist (in this case, Pheidias) famed for 'imagining' the divine. Yet evidently the task of visualizing spiritual phenomena devolved no less to humble 'craftsmen' – as Hélène Collard shows in her monograph, *Montrer l'invisible*.[1] This gathers a catalogue of 164 Athenian vases, mostly of the fifth-century BC, as case studies of the various formulations devised to show religious experience – many of them images upon objects, such as white-ground lekythoi, that may once have been used in particular rites and observances. Graphic traditions of mythology, and an established series of personification (e.g. Nike, Eros, Hypnos), assisted the process. However, many of the scenes collected by Collard do not apparently attempt to 'show the invisible'. They seem, rather, to evoke the realities of regular practice – processions, libations, sacrifice, adornment of a stele. Such scenes only become 'paranormal' when invested with some extra knowing detail: for example, a large owl alighting upon an altar (presumably indicating the favour of Athena). And sometimes we simply have to look a little closer to apprehend the signs of divine agency. So a herm-head appears to lean forwards – as if to sip at the kantharos held up in propitiation – while the phallus of another herm seems distinctly to elongate in the presence of two ecstatic women.

In similar vein, Marjorie Venit explores the eschatological imagery recovered from a number of monumental graves in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*[2] recruits evidence not only from Alexandria and the Delta (including the remarkable Saqiya tomb, with scenes that recall the great Nilotic mosaic at Palestrina) but also from sites along the Nile, such as Leontopolis and Hermopolis Magna, and in the oases of the western desert. A principal interest in reading the iconography is how Greek and Egyptian concepts of 'the next world' interact; but the study takes account of the Jewish presence too, especially at Leontopolis, where a community of Diaspora Jews settled – and, though reluctant to use images on their gravestones, demonstrably found certain Greek concepts (e.g. Hades) 'good to think with'. Similarities of practice between respective mystery cults provide more or less obvious clues for interpretation, while some elements of the Greco-Egyptian 'visual bricolage' here, such as the generic deployment of sphinxes as tomb guardians and soul-carriers, hardly need explaining. Other elements may perplex precisely because they lack any generic application. One two-storied tomb in the cemetery at Tuna el-Gebel shows scenes from the *Oresteia* and the Theban saga, including an image of Oedipus stabbing his father. By what logic were these themes suitable for a funerary space? We must suppose that, as in the repertoire of Roman sarcophagi, evocations of tragedy were sufficient to serve as modes of *consolatio*. I am not sure that it is necessary to entertain the Sophistic theory (outlined with due caution by Venit) whereby Oedipus stands for the initiate who attains a blessed afterlife by the conquest of 'Ignorance' (*Agnoia*).

The images and material remains of domestic cult practice appear, on the face of it, easier to interpret. The approach taken by Alexandra Sofroniew in her monograph

[1] *Montrer l'invisible. Rituel et présentification du divin dans l'imagerie attique*. By Hélène Collard. *Kernos* Supplement 30. Liège, Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2016. Pp. 362. Paperback €40, ISBN: 978-2-87562-096-5.

[2] *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*. By Marjorie Susan Venit. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xvii + 268. 159 b/w illustrations, 34 colour illustrations. Hardback £64.99, ISBN: 978-1-107-04808-9.

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Household Gods[3] is professedly 'intimate', 'focusing on the spiritual beliefs and practices of the individuals who venerated them' (back cover). But of course statuettes of deities, and other objects of personal devotion, are often found without firm archaeological context, and lacking any verbal testimony of associated belief. So how do we know about individual faith? Quoting a few epigrammatic prayers from *The Greek Anthology* does not quite answer that question – nor does reproducing Victorian paintings by J. W. Waterhouse, one showing two Roman maidens bringing garlands and libations before a trio of bronze figurines above a brazier (45), the other a languid girl putting flowers in a niche (132). The psychology of interaction between householders and their 'familiar' possessions is not, after all, a simple matter. Nonetheless, our author is empathetic to the ancient motives of regular observance, and assured in her presentation of likely historical setting (all the more necessary since the particular objects discussed, including pieces of Roman wall-painting, come mostly from the holdings of the Getty Museum, and have no provenance). The result is a concise, useful, and attractive book.

Thanks to Vesuvius, we know that Roman houses were furnished, sometimes even cluttered, with what we might call 'works of art' (including the Lares and Penates). We also know that Romans drew no distinction between 'art' and 'craft'; and a passage of Cicero (*Off.* 1.150–1) is often cited to prove a paradox about Roman society – that while Romans treasured the fruits of skilful handiwork, they also despised their makers ('artists' or 'craftsmen' as may be). But is the elite disdain for banausic labour merely a literary *topos*? Reappraisal of that problem comes with the essays collected in *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World.*[4] The first part of the collection offers critical reviews of the history of scholarship – an important preamble, when one thinks of the disparity of views regarding the Roman economy, between 'modernists', 'primitivists', *et al.* Subsequent sections address evidence for 'strategies' on the part of craftsmen and traders, with case studies of leather-working and bread-baking; structures in the organization of artisanal activity, such as apprenticeships and professional associations; and the urban topography of various crafts, partly as revealed by literary references (e.g. Rome's *vicus sandaliarius*, the cobblers' quarter, just north of the Colosseum), but more substantially as shown by excavations at Silchester, Aquincum, Sagalassos, and elsewhere. In all, there is a rich mass of information in this volume, and plenty to interest the student of Roman art and architecture. That Roman craftsmen could become highly specialized is amply demonstrated; so too the fact that the market for their goods could extend far beyond the local. What remains unclear is whether the elite patrons of these goods perceived the economic potential of investing in production. So were the consumers, as Cicero implies, just too snobbish to get involved?

Markets might be geographically extensive – but specialized practitioners, such as mosaic-makers, are likely to have been peripatetic too. Either way, this situation creates a problem for those scholars who insist upon recognizing 'provincial' art in the Roman

[3] *Household Gods. Private Devotion in Ancient Greece and Rome*. By Alexandra Sofroniew. Los Angeles, CA, Getty Publications, 2015. Pp. ix + 142. Hardback £16.99, ISBN: 978-1-60606-456-6.

[4] *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World*. Edited by Andrew Wilson and Miko Flohr. Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xvi + 408. 75 b/w illustrations. Hardback £80, ISBN: 978-0-19-874848-9.

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Empire by reason of technical ineptitude or departure from classical canons. An alternative trend, allowing for 'synoecism' of style and the virtues of regional stylistic expression, is borne out by another collection of essays, *Beyond Boundaries*.[5] This constitutes a sort of memorial volume to Natalie Kampen, who died in 2012. She was a genial presence, and her legacy to Classical archaeology is considerable – not least as manifest in the Getty Foundation's 'Connecting Art Histories' programme. 'Impatient of boundaries but respectful of difference' (1): Sue Alcock's encapsulation of the Kampen attitude could serve as the motto of this book, which begins by scrutinizing the category of the 'province'. Immediately we are forced to acknowledge that our own habit of thinking in terms of 'centre' and 'periphery' has compounded any prejudice in antiquity about 'provincialism' – in the sense of 'wanting the culture or polish of the capital'. It may be significant that I have resorted to an OED definition for such a sense of the provincial: is it ever articulated as such by an ancient author? In any case, as Kampen herself pointed out, there simply *is* a large quantity of art from the Roman provinces, and explaining the quantity is more important than assessing its quality. The contributors here take us across continents, beyond the Roman Empire to Kushan Gandhara, and range in media from coins to monuments. Artists may have been footloose, but 'low mileage art' was on show just about everywhere.

NIGEL SPIVEY
njs11@cam.ac.uk
doi:10.1017/S0017383516000280

General

If you have ever had a premonition, or if ever some inner voice has dissuaded you from a certain action, you might have noticed that this experience involves a different kind of knowledge than that preceded by an inference. We call it a 'hunch', an 'intuition', or a 'gut feeling'; in the nineteenth century this particular subvolitional form of thinking was called 'unconscious cerebration', and modern cognitive science recognizes it as a specific type of cognition characterized by quick, pre-attentive, and preconscious processing – Daniel Kahneman's famous 'thinking fast'.[1] The most fascinating aspect of Peter Struck's book on divination[2] is an attempt to distinguish the type of cognition it entailed. The book offers an insightful analysis of Plato's, Aristotle's, the Stoics', and the Neoplatonists' views on divination, concluding that they saw divination as 'surplus insight', a specific kind of cognition. Since 'our ability to know exceeds our capacity to understand that ability', 'our cognitive selves are to some. . .degree mysterious to us. . .The messages that we receive from the world around us add up, sometimes in

[5] *Beyond Boundaries. Connecting Visual Cultures in the Provinces of Ancient Rome*. Edited by Susan E. Alcock, Mariana Egri, and James F. D. Frakes. Los Angeles, CA, Getty Publications, 2016. Pp. xvi + 386. 115 illustrations, 8 maps. Hardback £45, ISBN: 978-1-60606-471-9.

[1] D. Kahneman, *Thinking Fast and Slow* (New York, 2011).

[2] *Divination and Human Nature. A Cognitive History of Intuition in Classical Antiquity*. By P. T. Struck. Princeton, NJ, and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. x + 288. Hardback 34.95, ISBN: 978-0-691-16939-2.

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