does. The long first chapter offers a 'religious account' of the Persian wars, in which anecdotes from Plutarch or Persian war epigrams are interwoven into excerpts of the *Histories*. Then Mikalson goes systematically through the appearances of a range of divinities, before a final chapter, 'Some religious beliefs and attitudes of Herodotus', offers the bulk of his interpretation. Mikalson offers no strong, single thesis (except perhaps the omnipresence of religion in the *Histories*); indeed interpretation tends to be confined to the notes. His discussion, however, forced me for one to think again about a number of issues, not least the role of divine *phthonos* or jealousy in the *Histories* (for Mikalson a force that only apparently operates on non-Greeks). The main difficulties with Mikalson's treatment are, on the one hand, its tendency to compartmentalize religious experience, his firm distinction of literature and cult (as in his work on Greek tragedy, *Honor Thy Gods*), and, on the other, his lack of engagement with recent work on other aspects of the *Histories*: when he claims, for example, that 'Herodotus' views of the origins of Greek religion are a theory to be tried, tested, and improved', it is hard not to think that this reading could itself have been 'tried, tested, and improved' by a reading of Thomas' *Herodotus in Context*. Oh, and I still think I am right on divine retribution . . . Finally, another work on Alexander: Frank L. Holt's *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*.[11] The title is a nod to Conan Doyle: the problem at the heart of the book – how to identify the context of a series of decadrachms bearing the image of Alexander on one side, a fight involving an elephant on the other – is 'like some mystery unlocked by the relentless logic of Mr. Sherlock Holmes'. It is a mystery that involves a rather meandering history of scholarship and detours through, for example, the role of weather in ancient and modern warfare. Much of this material, not least the history of scholarship, is fascinating (and itself very scholarly). The story is well and accessibly told, and well presented. (I particularly liked the medieval representations of the elephant as a pig with an elongated snout.) My worry is whether the central 'mystery' is really enough of a mystery to sustain such a long and discursive itinerary, or whether Sherlock Holt's unveiling of the truth is anything like as conclusive or dramatic as those of his model. Pumping up the slow and shambling progress of professional ancient history into a breathless search in which numismatists and historians tumble over one another in excitement does not really disguise this central problem. 'These elephant medallions have taken us as deep as we may every get into the mind of Alexander the Great', Holt concludes. Perhaps I am becoming jaundiced from a surfeit of Alexander, but I might have been inclined to call off the search.

THOMAS HARRISON

Roman History

No personal interest in the subject but the book's merit makes me lead with T. G. Parkin's ⋆*Old Age in the Roman World*,[1] a comprehensive, enduring work (not a history:

[11] *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*. By Frank L. Holt. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2003. Pp. xv + 198, with 3 maps and 20 illustrations. Hardback £16.95.

[1] *Old Age in the Roman World*. A Cultural and Social History. By Tim G. Parkin. The Johns Hopkins U.P., Baltimore and London, 2003. Pp. xvi + 495. £40.50.

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inevitably there is little forward movement, despite changes under Augustus). Starting with definitions (the puzzling conflict between precise age-rules and a cavalier attitude to precision about age), demography (Romans of 50–60 surprisingly had about ten or fifteen more years), and attitudes, Parkin goes on to old age in public life; rules of age in the Empire generally are balanced by those of Roman Egypt (technical), and the practical application of those rules. Private life follows, with marriage, sexuality, and the family coming under scrutiny. Finally, older people are put in their unenviably marginal place; pious notions that women over sixty were honoured by being allowed at funerals evaporate: they were simply discounted. Two hundred pages of tables and figures follow, with an appendix on stages of old age, abbreviations, ample notes, bibliography, and index. Refined learning and clarity of thought, notably on methodological difficulties, lead to fresh conclusions (the old were not privileged but expected to go on doing what they did as best they could); what makes the book a pleasure to read is its humanity and its easy style. More conservative in approach, but equally humane and packed with information, and invaluable and up-to-date references (do not lend it out!) is B. Rawson's **Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*.[2] It has been long in the gestation; this helps account for the richness of its learning. The book divides unequally into two: 'representations of children' (up to 92) and 'the life course', which embodies 'welcoming', 'rearing', 'ages', 'education', 'relationships' (multifaceted and non-exclusive parenthood is a useful concept), 'public life', and 'death, burial, and commemoration'. It is hard to separate the two interdependent parts (12 f.), but there is little repetition of material; 'public life' is over-generous with what children are likely to have witnessed in Rome. The illustrations are excellent and there is a chronological guide, brief glossary, bibliography, index of sources, including epigraphic and numismatic (but it is not invariably easy to find the text of the monument depicted (359)). There are few slips, eliminable in what would be a welcome paperback. Rawson's study puts Romans from the first century BC to the beginning of the third AD in a good light: they did have the idea of childhood long before the sixteenth century, and children could be valued and visible: they might represent upward mobility; in the minds of legislators they represented survival; as time went on Marcus' column shows that even their significance for alien peoples could be appreciated (58). As a pendant to this section, *Byzantine Women and their World*[3] offers a contrast. The catalogue of an exhibition held in 2002–3 at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard, it is edited by the Professor of Byzantine Art History at the University. The exhibition aimed to bring unexceptional women within reach by showing common objects. The catalogue is divided into eight sections, such as Public Devotion, Work, Adornment, and Health, and is preceded by two essays, on women in the visual record and in history. Its scope is said to be fourth- to fifteenth-century, but one striking item is the portrait of a woman with earrings from second-century Antinoöpolis (133), another the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Virgin of Vladimir (51). The material came from North American collections, although additional items are shown. Rich as the treasures are, and stunningly portrayed, that

[2] *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. By Beryl Rawson. Oxford U.P., 2003. Pp. xiv + 419, with 30 figs.

[3] *Byzantine Women and their World*. By Ioli Kalavrezou, with contributions by A. E. Laiou, A. Walker, E. A. Gittings, M. F. Heintz, B. V. Pentcheva. Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.; Yale U.P., Newhaven and London, 2003. Pp. 335, with 124 colour and 154 black and white plates; end-maps. Paperback £30.

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imposes constraints on introductory texts, but, come upon in library or shop, this book can win students for Byzantium, leading them on to further investigations. Back to basics. Nicholas Horsfall's *The Culture of the Roman Plebs*[4] is especially welcome as its precursor may not have found many readers in this country.[5] *Speaking* (one feels) with refreshing candour and directness, he prods the reader into new attitudes – ones that harmonize with recent ideas of the *plebs* in politics. Horsfall's learning (ancient writers and modern scholarship alike – he has a particular taste for Caesarius of Arles) entitles him to his quirky, jerky progress, the fresh ideas haunting his parentheses. We start with rhythmic chanting, then pass to 'rules of evidence' (very necessary); then back to musicality: Romans loved a song. Chapter 4 tackles getting culture without schooling, through immigration, commerce, the theatre, buskers, to 'fun for all', a world where *Quaestiones Conviviales* are not far from *Trimalchio's Feast;* Horsfall's appendix is rightly cautious on literacy. Then come other parts of the 'common fund', dicing and board games. Cicero is too big to be kept out, for facts as well as attitudes. In 'Implications', Horsfall allows a growl from the controversy about oral transmission and more interestingly reminds us of what Trevelyan said about French aristocracy and their fatal failure to play cricket with their peasants. He has appendices, the first, on legionaries, a free-standing paper, the second bits of evidence. Horsfall has put much Roman social glue on display; not to be missed, this book, but hard going for the young; would the author consider something for them? A curious pendant comes here: *De Spectaculis ayer y hoy deportivo*,[6] the work of three authors, on games, the body, and attitudes towards them, with a preface by the President of the International Olympic Committee. Chapter 1 offers an historical introduction, from Greek games to Christian asceticism, Chapter 2 moves to sporting events, beginning with 'En torno al mundo medieval' and passing through 'Del robot al *cyborg*' to 'La reconfiguración del cuerpo en un contexto imaginativo'. Finally, texts of Tertullian and Novatian, *De spectaculis*, with translations into Castilian, bibliography, and list of ancient sources consulted. Topic and language should win readers amongst Spanish speakers, notably in the U.S. The more familiar format of I. Mäckel's *Das Zeitbewußtsein und der Bürgerkrieg*[7] reveals it as a version of the author's Göttingen dissertation. Little in the rigorous presentation is ingratiating as she studies contemporary reactions, innocent of hindsight: after an introduction comes Cicero: '2.1 . . . und der Pompeianische Bürgerkrieg'; '2.2. . . . und die Iden des März', etc.; then the poets: '3.2.1. Vergil und das Erlebnis des Bürgerkrieges'; '3.3.1. Horaz (etc.) . . .'. Section 4 concerns 'Vergil (etc.) und die mächtigen Männer', Section 5 'die Dichter (Vergil, etc.) und der Bürgerkrieg'. A substantial two-part summing up comes in Section 6: 'Ein Paradigmenwechsel?', a changed conception of peace, with Tibullus and Propertius to witness, and 'Die Bewusstseinslage der Zeitgenossen'; it is followed by a bibliography (used to effect),

[4] *The Culture of the Roman* Plebs. By Nicholas Horsfall. Duckworth, London, 2003. Pp. 176. Paperback £12.99.

[5] *La Cultura della* plebs *romana*. Barcelona, 1996.

[6] *De Spectaculis ayer y hoy deportivo*. By Miguel Ángel Betancor León, Germán Santana Henríquez, and Conrado Vilanou Torrano. Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2001. Pp. 214, with unlisted figs.

[7] *Das Zeitbewußtsein und der Bürgerkrieg*. Eine Untersuchung zur geistigen und politischen Situation im Umbruch zwischen Republik und Prinzipat. By Iris Mäckel. Diss. zur Erlangung des phil. Doktorgrades an der philosoph. Fak. der Georg August Univ. zu Göttingen. Göttinger Forum für Altertumswiss.: Beih. 11. Duehrkohp and Radicke, Göttingen, 2002. Pp. 334.

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but no index. Other aspects of intellectual life are presented by M. Citroni in *Memoria e Identità*,[8] from a congress at Florence held in 2000. Twelve papers range from the myth of Romulus (A. Carandini) to 'Identità e metamorfosi nella romanza di Apuleio' (G. Rosati). It is a wonder that they are so restrained, given the boundlessness of the enterprise of constructing identity, and the topics chosen, and their authors, will whet a variety of appetites. Among other writers treated are Varro, Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, and the elder Pliny; the core of the work, passing from individual figures *via* W. D. Lebek's study of deceased young Caesars, is given to the age in which, as the editor says (ix), Romans sensed a risk of losing the relation between present and past on which their community was founded. All but two papers (T. P. Wiseman's persuasive account of the build-up of the Lucius Brutus legend, and C. Moatti's thought-provoking 'La construction du patrimoine culturel') are in Italian. Each has its own bibliography; there is a welcome list of passages cited, an index of ancient names and modern writers. From culture to institutions. To those of us discomfited by the words, Vici *et* Pagi *dans l'Occident romain*, by M. Tarpin,[9] brings information about all we knew it would take too long to investigate satisfactorily. He opens with the words, *vicus* presenting no trouble, *pagus* awkward in connoting fixedness, given its use of Gallic communities. Part 2 discusses *vici* in countryside and city, and the *vicus* as instrument of government comes out strongly, in a section which for Rome is also usefully divided between Republic and Empire. Part 3 moves to '*Pagus, Paganus*', their invention, connexion with the census of the countryside, then with the development of territory. Tarpin concludes that the *vicus,* originally an urban building, imposed a civic character on groups of citizens in the countryside. In Rome the *compitalia*, originally an aristocratic prerogative, came to link the people to the *domus Augusta*. *Pagi,* by contrast, are in the country, their denizens outsiders; the link between the two terms is shared involvement in census-taking. Neither implies the survival of pre-Roman structures (but if there were 'natives' present, what would the unit mean to them?). The author offers ample opportunity of monitoring his arguments: at 247 he begins five *Annexes*, bibliography, catalogue of inscriptions, geographically arranged, with concordance and index; figures, maps, and plates are graphic and, except for smaller-scale maps, clear; the general index includes a section of texts cited. M. Tarpin's labours have put us in his debt for a great comforter. Knotty and long-standing intellectual problems familiar from the later Empire are the subject of P. Rosafio's *Studi sul Colonato*,[10] specifically 'renting and other modes of land tenure during the end of the Republic and the Principate; the role of free tenants in the countryside; the emergence of a new type of *colonus* in late antiquity; the formation and development of the *ius colonatus* in the light of the legislation of the Theodosian Code'. The book arises from a Cambridge doctorate (1991). Some chapters of part one (the tenant in relation to other forms of management) have already appeared in French and English: the first, on the structure of the agrarian work-force of late Republican Italy, the changes accelerating

[8] *Memoria e Identità*. La Cultura romana costruisce la sua Immagine. Ed. Mario Citroni. Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dipart. Di Scienze dell' Ant. 'Giorgio Pasquali'. Studi e Testi 21. Florence, 2003. Pp. xii + 323. Paperback.

[9] Vici *et* Pagi *dans l'Occident romain*. By Michel Tarpin. Coll. de l'École française de Rome 299. Rome, 2002. Pp. xvi + 485, with 8 figs., 14 maps, 8 plates. Paperback.

[10] *Studi sul Colonato*. By Pasquale Rosafio. Documenti e Studi. Collana del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università di Bari. Sezione storica 32. Edipuglia, Bari, 2002. Pp. 236.

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during the second Punic war, rather than created by it; the second, examining the emergence of tenancy and the *precarium*; the third, on slaves and *coloni* complementary in the villa system; the fourth, of more general interest, on labour organization in the younger Pliny;[11] the fifth, on *coloni* and 'clients'. Some of the second part of the book, on the development of *ius colonatus*, has also been published: the first chapter, on imperial estate management, starts from Fustel de Coulanges. The remaining three chapters are new, and deal respectively with *ius colonatus*, *capitatio*, and *nexus tributaries* and *ius originarium*. There is a bibliography – it is a great service of the author to deal so fully with the work of his predecessors – a list of sources, but no index; readers need Latin for lengthy citations. The title of David Shotter's handsome ⋆*Rome and her Empire*[12] makes readers expect a book about the interaction between centre and periphery, exploration of provinces in three continents, how acquired, how run, and how happy under Roman rule. It begins as a straightforward political history of Rome, with lucid setting out of early problems (but what did Tarquin have to do with the rape of the Sabines?) and proper emphasis on the decline of the corporate ethic ('populares' are given an awkward English equivalent). Certainly events outside Italy figure largely, but the book is very much centred on Rome, even after the establishment of the Principate (chapter 5); the narrative continues until 410, with good descriptions of crises. Shotter seems more interested in outpost Britannia than in the cultured province of Asia (four times as many index references). The decline of Italy figures, but more explanation is needed, while internal political developments occupy space that could have gone to provincials, as with Tiberius' transfer of elections to the Senate (two passages of Tacitus' *Annals* 1, 15 and 81, have been unhappily yoked). Good bibliographies, illustrations, and indexes are helpful; notes lacking. Readers may be put off by a distracting, even damaging, stylistic quirk: a love of quotation marks round words. The wider public will, broadly speaking, not go far wrong with this book, but they may not be excited by it. Craige B. Champion's ⋆*Roman Imperialism*[13] has already been tested in graduate seminars. There is no narrative; the editor has taken chunks from deservedly well-known, even classic works (1971–2000) and followed them with translated passages from ancient writers and documents; the whole is preceded by a lucid and valuable sociological essay by the editor and A. Eckstein, distinguishing methods of analysis. The subjects, each introduced by Champion, are the growth of Roman power and imperial motivation; consequences of Empire; ideology and government; 'Romanization'; the frontier. As a specimen of Champion's selection, the central chapter offers parts of an essay by P. A. Brunt and a section of S. Mattern's *Rome and the Enemy*.[14] This latter deals with the Principate and one 'source' belongs to the end of the third century AD, but the book's focus is on the Republic, and even so, only two chapters can allow more than two extracts. There is a slender glossary ('Quirites' has 'An ancient god', etc.), an index, but no list of passages chosen. 'Romanization', also with the later

[11] Previously published as 'Rural labour Organization in Pliny the Younger', *ARID* 22 (1993), 67 ff.

[12] *Rome and her Empire*. By David Shotter. Pearson Education, London, 2003. Pp.+ 453, with unlisted plates and maps. £19.99.

[13] *Roman Imperialism*. Readings and Sources. Edited by Craige B. Champion. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2004. Pp. xii + 324, with 6 figs. and 6 maps. Hardback £55, Paperback £17.99.

[14] Reviewed in *G&R* 47 (2000), 251.

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focus, has 62 passages, 'Consequences' 117. Ample though that sounds, I should have welcomed a two-volume work, the sources, which cry out for tutorial guidance (who is this Livy?), separated from modern writers, leaving more room for each. Despite such disadvantages and a slightly confusing proliferation of notes, the book should serve its purpose of provoking discussion very well. I end with works on particular areas. Volume 6–7 of the series *Seia*[15] offers eight papers by Italian scholars who conferred at Agrigento in 2001 on 'Tradizione ellenistica nella Sicilia Romana: continuità e discontinuità'. After an introduction and survey paper by F. P. Rizzo himself, on Sicily's place between monarchs and Republic, including 'Prospettive di recerca', E. C. Portale and E. Vitale write respectively on figurative art in the province and on early Christian churches (useful plans); both place their material in a wider context and offer plentiful references (but no bibliography). A pair of epigraphic studies follows: A. Pagliara deals with a controversial document of the history of the Sicilian Church, while D. Fusi, on electronic reproduction and dissemination, offers many images of the same document. To close, R. Cicatello studies Lactantius, *de mort. pers.* 7, and R. Pollina, in connexion with grain in the early fourth-century economic history of Sicily, *Exp. mundi* 65. 5 – aptly for a *'Seia'* volume. We are in the same century with R. Teja's collection *La Hispania del Siglo IV*.[16] The editor's introduction offers apologia and a panorama of present knowledge on the basis of results achieved in the past twenty years. Starting from large-scale administration ('De la Provincia a la Diócesis', including finance), the Spanish contributors proceed to cities: J. Arce, differing from J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz[17] on decline; so to the countryside, its flourishing villas and their disappearance. G. Bravo, tackling 'Prosopografía civil', has a slippery task, dealing with 140 persons unevenly distributed, many of uncertain origin, and with changes of titulature; he rebuts the notion of a 'clan hispano'. A lengthy 'Panorama prosopográfico' of the Church follows, and three other papers, on hierarchy, Priscillian, and monasticism, but the last paper is on the garrison of the peninsula. Each author provides a bibliography; there is no index, and one or two slips (M. T. Griffin is 'un estudioso', M. I. Rostovtzeff 'soviético') invoke a parallel universe, but the range of the volume makes it of interest to all students of the area and the period. M. J. Versluys' *Aegyptiaca Romana*[18] is more than its topographically arranged catalogue of under-utilized Nilotic scenes (which the author allows not to be exhaustive), although that occupies nearly 200 pages. After that and an introduction on relations between Egypt and Rome, especially in connexion with the Isis cult, and a history of research (Part 1), he seeks to infer Roman attitudes to Egypt from the material, once surveyed, defined, and placed in context; it is more than 'chinoiserie' (Part 3). This useful, scholarly work comes with the full range of indexes and bibliography. The author might

[15] *Seia*. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze archeologiche e storiche dell'Antichità. NS 6–7. Edited by F. P. Rizzo. Università degli Studi di Macerata, 2001–2. Pp. 239, with 2 plates and unlisted figs. Paperback.

[16] *La Hispania del Siglo IV*. Administración, economía, sociedad, cristianización. Ed. Ramón Teja. Munera. Studi storici sulla Tarda Antichità 19. Edipuglia, Bari, 2002. Pp. 285, with unlisted figs.

[17] J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001); reviewed in *G&R* 49 (2002), 257 f.

[18] *Aegyptiaca Romana*. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt. By M. J. Versluys. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 144. Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2002. Pp. xvi + 509, with 171 figs.

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have had it read by a native speaker to avoid awkwardnesses in the title and elsewhere ('pooping and peeing', indeed!); but there is no mistaking his meaning. Finally, why has B. W. Winter already produced a second edition of his *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*?[19] He cites works published in 1998 by M. Alexandre and T. Morgan;[20] he adds sections, revises, and translates Greek. The book importantly plunges us into the Second Sophistic before its accepted opening by analysing two Jewish thinkers, opposed to its methods and ethos, conversant with its techniques. Its back-cover garlands come from journals of religion; I cite an historical periodical:[21] '[Winter] illustrates masterfully how these authors accommodate . . . both their native traditions and literary influences as well as those of the Hellenistic and hellenizing world' . . . 'a superb application of detailed philological analysis to the significant Greek texts'. A few blemishes (the confusing presentation of *P.Oxy.* 2190) purchasers deserved to avoid; they might regret losing 'agnostic activity, that is, athletics and boxing' (210).

BARBARA LEVICK

[19] *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*. Alexandrian and Corinthian Responses to a Julio-Claudian Movement. (Ed. 1, SNTS Monographs, University Press, Cambridge, 1997) ed. 2, W. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2002 (adding the subtitle). Pp. xx + 302. Paperback.

[20] M. Alexandre Jnr., *Rhetorical Argumentation in Philo of Alexandria* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1998); T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998).

[21] R. A. Hawley in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 101 (2001), 121.

Art and Archaeology

He wrote execrable Latin. Though his work has been a precious resource for scholars down the centuries, no one praises his style. This is one reason why the author of the encyclopaedic *Natural History* may be considered as no more than a compiler of facts and curiosities. And though he is said to have met his death while on a scientific mission – fatally investigating the pyroclastic motions of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79 – his nephew has left us with the memorable image of Pliny the Elder as something of a couch potato, insatiable for any quantity of information, even while taking a bath (Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 3.5). We consult but do not read him. Is that fair? Sorcha Carey's fresh study of the Elder Pliny, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture*[1] does not set out to apologize on his behalf; but she soon convinces us that the capacious project of the *Natural History* is worth trying to understand for its own sake. Pliny is arguably the founding father of Western art history – his pervasive influence upon European Renaissance writers on art, not only Vasari, still awaits proper assessment – and certainly our principal ancient guide to the personalities and accomplishments of Greek painters and sculptors. True, his knowledge of the 'great masters' of Classical art seems (by contrast to Pausanias, travelling around Greece *c.* AD 150) largely gleaned from secondary sources, not direct observation. But Pliny was not just a sponge for whatever might amuse a Roman art-connoisseur in the mid-first century AD. His writings on art reflect *his* views: in other words, Pliny the *scriptor* is not to be ignored. Carey's careful exposition of passages from the author reveals a medley of rhetorical topics embedded within, and of course she can supply a ready complement of illustrations and case-studies by which Pliny's remarks might be interpreted or judged. It is a complex exercise: nonetheless, Carey locates for

[1] *Pliny's Catalogue of Sculpture*. Art and Empire in the *Natural History*. By Sorcha Carey. Oxford U.P., 2003. Pp. xiii + 208, with 9 colour and 60 monochrome illustrations.

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