distinguishes three 'Troads': the 'real' or 'historic' Troad, which is situated in northern Asia Minor; the Homeric Troad and its influence over Greek and Latin authors; and, finally, the 'in-between' Troad, which she also calls 'mythological' Troad – this final Troad is another literary construction but it is different from the Homeric one. Traschel emphasizes diversity in the authors she examines but is also able to discover some underlying trends. Most notable here is the use of the Troad by the Romans for the creation of their foundation myth. This is a fascinating book, which proves without doubt that indeed 'le paysage est un effet de lecture' (8).

doi:S0017383508000739 CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU and PETER LIDDEL

Roman History

My planned ordering principle this time was accessibility, designed to draw the reader in. It did not work, and I go straight to studies of individuals and then to history in roughly chronological order, saving to the end the work that seems likely to be the most influential. Yet accessibility, just as in the current political scene, is a preoccupation of several authors represented here. A lady first. Catalogues show sourcebooks sprouting everywhere; whether Julia Dyson Hejduk has made a good choice with *Clodia*[1] is another matter: richness and complexity, even solidity, seem necessary. Here we have letters of Cicero and extracts from three speeches, all Catullus' poems about Lesbia, and a 'sampling' of others, rightly translated by the author herself and arranged in lines that attempt to reproduce the Latin rhythm. That takes 131 pages and is followed by three of 'testimonia' from Sallust, Quintilian, and Plutarch. Part II, 'Clodia's legacy', consists of seventy pages of verse from Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and Martial. Thus a broader title might more accurately represent the contents. And there is something more serious: the author has been scholarly with her material, not just offering lucid footnotes, and candidly admits in her introduction that T. P. Wiseman denies the very identity of Lesbia with Clodia Metelli; she offers a reply (4–9). For Part II, she comments briefly but prudently on the 'reality' of the liaisons immortalized. The reader is spoilt, having not only modes of loving and some core Latin concepts (for example, *pius*) explained, but a twenty-nine-page glossary. Does that really need 'Alps'? The answer may be found on xiii: Clodia is a 'flamboyant star of the AP Latin reading list'. She is certainly accessible now. A different figure is presented in W. Stroh's *Cicero*.[2] It is one of a series (containing in its various distinct categories Haydn's oratorios and the history of Baden-Württemberg). Short as it is, it is quite segmented: Cicero's life down to 55, his political philosophy, Cicero under Caesar, his rhetorical and philosophical works, and his last struggle. There is a chronological chart, bibliography, and index of persons. While it might be useful as a short introduction to the reader who does not know Cicero, it does require knowledge of German (Pauly-Wissowa is ideal for that, but cannot be carried in the pocket.) The richness, complexity, and trickiness of the man need their space: the fun is in the detail. Caesar's star is rising, and readers have a wide choice. Jeffery Tatum's

[1] *Clodia. A Sourcebook*. By Julia Dyson Hejduk. Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture 33. Norman, OK, University Press of Oklahoma, 2008. Pp. xv + 269. Paperback $21.95, ISBN: 978-0-8061-3907-4.

[2] *Cicero*: *Redner, Staatsmann, Philosoph*. By Wilfried Stroh. Munich, C. H. Beck, 2008. Pp. 128. Paperback €7.90, ISBN: 978-3-406-56240-2.

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Always I am Caesar[3] certainly aims at it. The work began in lectures given at Otago and, although he has removed jokes and New Zealand references (12), an over-familiar tone remains, and unhappy turns of phrase: 'types' is favoured for 'men', and someone's death 'naturally put an end to his career' (29). As to substance, Tatum claims a new approach. Instead of taking his subject chronologically, he deals in themes: after a brief narrative he goes to the politician, the ideology of imperialism, manipulation of religion, the sociology of public building, Caesar's women, the Civil War (great men and groundswells), the assassination, and Caesar and Augustus. This entails digging into background material and the issues on which political life centred. Tatum does this with zest, and often interestingly, as with the high place that he assigns to philosophy in the planning of the assassins. He also grapples with familiar problems. The best use of this book, then, might be in the classroom as a base for discussion: great men in politics, gods as troublemakers, Romans becoming gods (not the strongest section); the *stemmata*, maps, figures, and suggestions for further enquiry are helpful. We are on the edge of classical studies with Colleen Conway's *Behold the Man. Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity*.[4] The author holds that New Testament writers engaged the predominant gender ideology of the Roman Empire, which the emergence of the Principate concentrated on the emperor. (Did the Principate create a crisis of *masculine* identity?) Rival authorities had to satisfy the same criteria, but Jesus suffered a humiliating and feminizing death. Accordingly, she rehearses 'How to be a Man' (familiar) and 'The Lives of Divine Men' – Augustus, Moses in Philo, and Apollonius of Tyana (with interesting points). In the following chapters, she deals with the Pauline tradition, the Gospels, and Revelation. She concludes (175) that 'gender-critical analysis' provides insight into how crucified Jesus became the imperial Jesus who guided Constantine, for she has shown 'The multiple masculinities of Jesus'. The ascetic aspect is one place where imperial masculinity does not guide the appearance of Jesus (179), but the stress on the imperial background seems rough-hewn and does not do justice to cultural diversity in the empire. Jesus and his first interpreters were Jews, whatever their audiences;[5] now he is reinterpreted to meet the anxieties of post-feminist sociologists. Brief Greek quotations are used, many with typographical mistakes – a sad comment on contemporary publishing. There are admirable, and by no means inaccessible, works on Nero to be had, but D. Shotter's *Nero Caesar Augustus*[6] is 'a balanced introduction' for the general reader. 'Paranoia' appearing twice on the dust jacket causes alarm, but let us look inside. The proper apparatus of references, appendices on dates and legionary distribution, glossary, bibliography (including a page of the author's own works), and indexes: all are present. 'References' is a better word than 'notes' because, apart from discussions within the text, the author does not give much space to rival theories. There are also attractive colour plates, many from the author's own

[3] *Always I am Caesar*. By W. Jeffery Tatum. Malden, MA and Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. xiv + 198. Paperback £14.99, ISBN: 978-1-4051-7525-8.

[4] *Behold the Man. Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity*. By Colleen M. Conway. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xii + 254. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-19-532532-4.

[5] For the early date of the Synoptic Gospels, see now M. Mosse, *The Three Gospels. New Testament History Introduced by the Synoptic Problem*. Milton Keynes, Paternoster, 2007.

[6] *Nero Caesar Augustus. Emperor of Rome*. By David Shotter. London, Pearson Education Limited, Pearson-Longman, 2008. Pp. xiv + 257. 26 plates (including 19 coins), 7 figures. Hardback £21.99, ISBN: 978-1-4058-2457-6.

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photographs, and including nineteen coins. The material is sensibly divided, mostly chronologically but also thematically: Chapters 6 and 7 are on 'Nero and the Empire' and 'The Imperial Builder'. Sometimes the author is too content with worn words such as 'centralization' and 'Romanization'; we still find Claudius constructing his bureaucratic apparatus, and it is an implausible view that Nero removed taxes in order to free up trade. Shotter does his best for Nero and does indeed offer a balanced introduction, though he does not keep 'megalomania' at bay after 62. He might have been more adventurous with a real act of madness: Vindex's revolt. A scenario involving Nero's procurators is easy to construct. Another writer who engages, even embraces, her audience in familiar style is Mary Beard, who, in the *Roman Triumph*,[7] has a magnificent subject. She begins head on with Pompey's performance, with beguiling asides and dark hints. For this is expressly no antiquarian study (origins are at the end) but one of the triumph in Roman eyes and as a (changing) place where core issues found expression. Beard relentlessly exposes over-confident theories about, for example, the route of the procession and the site of the *porta triumphalis*, and uses the problem for the start of her enquiry into the triumph in Roman imagination. Indeed, behind the sumptuous Tiepolo on the dust jacket (monochrome as frontispiece) lies a thoroughgoing deconstruction, with modern interpretations and Roman conservatism in ritual both implicated, and there is exquisite irony in the comparison between understanding the Roman triumph and the fate of Mantegna's much-restored representations of it at Hampton Court. Beard spares no pains to demonstrate mutual and self-contradiction in the sources, though some implausibilities are obvious to the most avid seeker after wonders. This makes a stimulating read, as well as being adroitly stuffed with 'facts', so that it will prove useful on the shelf as well; scholars afraid of swimming without life jackets must take it down and jump. There is an index and ample notation but no *index locorum*. One tiny puzzle (222) may be soluble if the chariot were kept in the *aedes tensarum*. The theme of Arthur Eckstein's *Rome Enters the Greek East*[8] is familiar; indeed, it is the subject of a classic, though one now nearly a quarter of a century old. The book starts briskly, without softening introductions. It is for grown-ups – at least for undergraduate students – and also for political theorists, though Eckstein admits that they may find the detailed search for 'facts' intimidating. For this book is 'Realist' and applies 'unipolarity theory' to a view of this disputed period that is closer to those of Maurice Holleaux than to those of more recent writers. What that is will be found in another work of the same author, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2006, reviewed in *G&R* 55 [2008], 138). Readers had better look there, as the concept of unipolarity, related to hegemony and empire, but not quite that (as the U.S. has found), is assumed in this work (but see its implications, 343–61). The book has a tripartite structure: Rome in contact, the 'power-transition crisis', and from hegemonic war to hierarchy; within those divisions there are three chapters each, reassuringly chronological. It is a pity that the author flogs a theory that those who

[7] *The Roman Triumph*. By Mary Beard. Cambridge, MA, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. 434. 42 figures, 1 plan. Hardback £19.95, ISBN: 978-0-674-02613-1.

[8] *Rome Enters the Greek East. From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230–170 BC*. By Arthur M. Eckstein. Malden, MA and Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. xii (including maps) + 439. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-1-4051-6072-8.

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have read Thucydides take for granted and that he does not carry the story to its culmination, the sack of Corinth, but he is concerned only with the first stage of 'unipolarity'. It is a question whether the theory illuminates the material, or the material is made to fit the theory. And how significant is this particular take on Romano-Hellenistic history in a contemporary American scholar? Accessibility is the aim of the series to which Olivier Hekster's *Rome and its Empire, AD 193–284* belongs.[9] It is particularly welcome in spotlighting a murky and controversial period of history. The author's proceedings are exemplary. Part I is devoted (as is normal in this series) to debate – history and narrative: the capital (evidently a preoccupation), economy, law and citizenship, emperorship, and Christianity and religious change (philosophy has had to be excluded). Part II, almost as long, contains the documents, which certainly make this a period of crisis for scholars (Hekster sensibly stresses continuity and diversity and keeps the 'crisis' to less than three pages). Familiar figures such as Cassius Dio lead to the more exotic *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, the Augsburg inscription and those relating to Odaenathus, and some bloodcurdling martyrdoms. After a ban on magical consultation, we move to illustrated architecture, (mainly portrait) art, and coin types. Given the poverty, Hekster has not resisted Pliny the Younger, Aelius Aristides, and the sorely tried engineer working in Africa (AD 152). Next the author provides a list of emperors and usurpers, up-to-date recommendations for further reading, essay questions, internet resources (very helpful), bibliography, and glossary. A student alone with this book could go a long way; together with an inquiring teacher he or she will go still further. Later editions, besides making a few stylistic changes, might focus minds by stating where some epigraphic documents originate (the heading of no. 20, p. 123, is confusing), and how to find the *Feriale Duranum* in its original language. Alexander Demandt's *Geschichte der Spätantike*[10] has a double root. It is the second edition of a work published ten years ago, which, though the present volume comes garlanded with praise from *Helvetia Archaeologica*, was curtly received by A. Chauvat[11] because it was the stripped-down version, without notes, of the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* that had appeared in 1989, which was by then out of print. The second edition of the handbook that Chauvat looked forward to was indeed published in 2007,[12] and the present volume is a stripped-down version of that; it does, however, offer a list of rulers, family trees, a schematic representation of society, chronology, bibliography, and index. The contents are sensibly divided into sources, political history, internal relations (including state, court, administration, army), society, economy, cities, culture, and religions; the fourth and last section is devoted to interpretations of the period. Clearly, the German-speaking, non-specialist student of history and general reader are the target audience, for any serious student of late Antiquity will wish to

[9] *Rome and its Empire, AD 193–284*. By Olivier Hekster with Nicholas Zair. Debates and Documents in Ancient History. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2008. Pp. xx (including 4 maps) + 183. 14 figures. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-7486-2303-7; paperback £19.99, ISBN: 978-0-7486-2304-4.

[10] *Geschichte der Spätantike. Das römische Reich von Diocletian bis Justinian 284–565 n. Chr.* By Alexander Demandt. Beck's historische Bibliothek. Zweite, vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Munich, C. H. Beck, 2008. Pp. xx + 640. 3 pull-out maps. Hardback €39.90, ISBN: 978-3-406-57241-8.

[11] A. Chauvat, *Ant. Class.* 70 (2001), 492.

[12] *Die Spätantik*. By Alexander Demandt. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III.6. Second edition. Munich, C. H. Beck, 2007.

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enquire and test, using the notes of the handbook, not relying on a bland text. English speakers also have Stephen Mitchell's book, too recent for Demandt to have taken account of it.[13] A. D. Lee's *War in Late Antiquity*[14] is part of a series on war in the ancient world but is no technical treatise. It has very broad aims indeed: it is about the ways in which warfare impinged on non-military aspects of life; and it encompasses a long period – the late third to the early seventh century. There could be a danger of a soupy texture, but the way the material is divided and an engaging style and adroitly chosen quotations have obviated that. So the four sections of 'The Experience of War' end with 'Women', and the three of 'Soldiers and Society' begin neatly with 'Soldiers and their Families'. Besides delivering its material so effectively, the book provides tyros with additional help: lists of rulers, a chronology, glossary, and bibliographies ancient and modern (when it comes to such frequently cited writers as Ammianus and Libanius the entries are too compactly printed for clarity). There are helpful notes, but many references to ancient and modern works are scattered in parentheses throughout the text; the eye learns to jump over them. It is good to possess this excellent and up-to-date resource. A work welcome to students of the later Roman Empire at a time of weakening Eurocentrism in scholarship, indeed to all interested in the relations of Iran with the West, is Beate Dignas and Engelbert Winter's *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*.[15] It is a translation, revised in the light of comments and reviews, of a German work (authors' names in reverse order) published in 2001, whose subtitle brings out the mutual mirroring and interaction of the two empires.[16] Additional chapters include one on Sasanian warfare and one on the relationship between rulers; aspects of diplomacy and religion have received more attention. The book is neither a comprehensive source book nor an analytical study of Iran. The first part, only fifty-two pages, is narrative, the second thematic: political goals, warfare, military confrontations, and diplomatic solutions; Arabia; shared interests; religion; Emperor and King of Kings; finally, the exchange of information. The translated sources amount to just above ninety, so clearly the texture of this source book is unusual; the conventional arrangement still has its advantages. Readers have a right to the clear maps, the list of rulers, chronological table, bibliography, and glossary (along with the three excellent indexes, items here might have been explained when they first occurred in the text), but there is also a list of sources. It is another merit of the book that it explains the use of diacritics on Persian words (the Ghassanids are not always aspirated). Students and general readers would indeed find this an accessible and engaging volume. Things

[13] Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284–564. The Transformation of the Ancient World*. Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2007; reviewed *G&R* 55 (2008), 140.

[14] *War in Late Antiquity. A Social History*. By A. D. Lee. Malden MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Pp. xxvi (including one map) + 282. 8 figures, 3 other maps. Hardback £55, ISBN: 978-0-631229254; paperback £19.99, ISBN: 978-0-631229261.

[15] *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity. Neighbours and Rivals*. By Beate Dignas and Engelbert Winter. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xvi + 347. 18 figures, 14 maps. Hardback £48, ISBN: 978-0-521-84925-8; paperback £19.99, ISBN: 978-0-521-61407-8.

[16] E. Winter and B. Dignas, *Rom und das Perserreich. Zwei Weltmächte zwischen Konfrontation und Koexistenz*. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2001; reviewed, e.g., by G. Greatrex, *CR* NS 54 (2004), 188 f.

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intersect in Hagith Sivan's *Palestine in Late Antiquity*,[17] a sophisticated work focused on conflict. Sivan sorts the rich and diverse material (viii), of which she is a master, into seven thematic chapters between Prologue and Epilogue. Many readers, then, could have done with a chronological chart to orient themselves among gripping topics. For Sivan starts with 'The Periphery of Dreams and Deserts', then passes from a discussion that transcends the Golan and Sinai to 'Recalcitrance, Riots, and Rebellion', in which we learn of the Samaritans and their aspirations. 'Forms of Ritualized Violence', starting from *Purim* and ending with the displacing of Pan from Caesarea Paneas, follows from this, but the contagious 'madness' of Jerusalem (188) is at the centre of the book, 'a chief advocate of the very claim of Christianity to the Holy Land' (229), the construction of the Dome of the Rock a turning point. Before the chapter on 'Urban Stories', which passes to lesser cities, there are contests over 'Liturgical Dates and Seasonal Dieting', and 'Women in Palestinian Societies' (much blood, and perhaps over-interpreting its opening anecdote, but valuable to all students of gender). The resonances are obvious, and Sivan, gripped by her subject, is inclined to the view that 'faith is the driving force behind monumental clashes of civilizations' (360[18]). Hope ends there, unless faith is a just a trump card played in a game with material, achievable, and reconcilable ends. A return to the imperial core, but to a neglected topic, comes with Caroline Humfress' *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity*.[19] At the centre of the work, as the title suggests, lies heresy, but there is useful groundwork before that can be reached, including discussion of conventional views about the decline of the bar (rather, Humfress concludes, we should recognize the creativity and ingenuity in the practitioners, who exploited normative rules in the interest of their cause) and the ancient controversy about the relative status of orators and jurisconsults. The body of the work starts with a discussion of forensic practitioners and the development of law; at the halfway mark comes the section on practitioners in the service of the Church; then, after discussion of definitions, heresy enters the courts. Here Humfress develops her thesis that the initiative came not from imperial legislation but from a body of law developed by practitioners, whose activity could provoke fresh legislation.[20] Finally, the author provides, as well as an *index locorum*, a list of practitioners, east and west. Both these catalogues attest the scope and care of a significant work, of which the text rests on a firm bed of scholarly notes. It is good that Max Weber's *Die roemische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung fuer das Staats– und Privatrecht* (Stuttgart, 1891) should at last have been translated into English (by Richard Frank)[21] and so made something more for monoglot students than a monument on the landscape of economic history. Frank provides a preface on Weber's life, his aims, methods and conclusions (insistence on particularities and their contexts), and his stress on the

[17] *Palestine in Late Antiquity*. By Hagith Sivan. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xx (including 4 maps) + 429. Hardback £65, ISBN: 098-0-19-928417-7.

[18] Citing S. P. Huntingdon, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996).

[19] *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity*. By Caroline Humfress. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. xiv + 344. Hardback £65, ISBN: 978-0-19-820841-9.

[20] The role of the emperor is similarly played down by J. Harries in her *Law and Crime in the Roman World* (Cambridge, 2007), reviewed *G&R* 54 (2007), 295.

[21] *Roman Agrarian History in its Relation to Roman Public and Civil Law.* By Max Weber, translated by Richard I. Frank. Claremont, CA, Regina Books, 2008. Pp. xiv + 244. Paperback $24.95, ISBN: 978-1-930053-55-7.

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prime role of a capitalism, liberated by centuriation, which ultimately changed the social and political system – the main focus of interest in Weber's work. There is a bibliographical note and a selective current bibliography. Weber's notes are retained and his 'Literatur' section simply reproduced, but Frank has added brief indexes (names and subjects). Where the German word is intractable (as with 'Hufenrecht'), he has retained it alongside his English version. This book is clearly a labour of love and useful as far as it goes; for more scholarly study there is J. Deininger's ('Deininer's', as the translator has it) scientific (*sic*) edition of 1986. So to the great historian of the fourth century. There are major works, but Gavin Kelly's *Ammianus Marcellinus. The Allusive Historian*[22] has a different focus, as he explains: concentration on biographical factors and the dismissal of Ammianus' numerous references to earlier writers (see the *index locorum*) give way precisely to stress on those allusions, which Kelly takes as seriously as students of earlier historians have taken those in Tacitus. Indeed, the first section of the book is entitled 'The Elusive Historian'. But Kelly discovers a relation between autopsy and allusion (which has to be disentangled from intertextuality). In short, we pass from 'naïve self-revelation' to a 'carefully crafted literary persona' (108). Readers will be keen to see how Kelly interprets Ammianus' attitude towards Christianity (he nods with 'Christiani legis': 305): he is inclined to see a pagan affecting to know little of it; that seems plausible, and fits his overall interpretation of Ammianus as a classical writer. This second section is divided into three chapters, besides that on intertextuality, and still entwined with it: 'Sources' (asserting Ammianus' control), 'The Exemplary Historian', and 'Julian's Monument' – which the *Res Gestae* turns out not to be. This refreshing, forward-looking work will provoke responses overall and in detail from scholars who approach the historian from different points; but all will benefit from reading it.

doi:S0017383508000740 BARBARA LEVICK

[22] *Ammianus Marcellinus. The Allusive Historian*. By Gavin Kelly. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xii + 378. Hardback £55, ISBN: 978-0-5218-4299-0.

Art and Archaeology

The British Museum has a notorious problem when it comes to staging so-called 'blockbuster' exhibitions: namely, the lack of grandiose exhibition space. So it was with the Persians in 2005, and so it showed again for Hadrian this year, with the hyperbole of display titles ('His Rule Changed History') somewhat mocked by the pinched circuit of Hadrianic memorabilia arranged inside the 'historic' old Reading Room. But, as if to compensate visitors either vexed by claustrophobia or else underwhelmed by the range of the exhibits (for example, a water pipe from Tivoli: admittedly well-formed, but a water pipe all the same), the attendant catalogue is ample, handsome, and readable. In fact *Hadrian. Empire and Conflict*[1] is hardly a catalogue at all, rather a thematic historical and archaeological reassessment of

[1] *Hadrian. Empire and Conflict*. By Thorsten Opper. London, British Museum Press, 2008. Pp. 256. 215 figures. Hardback £40, ISBN: 978-0-7141-5074-1; paperback £25, ISBN: 978-0-7141-5069-0.

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