more detail on stylistic highlights, and perhaps to introduce questions of wider interest. As it is, he does not always appear to be alive to the true complexity of his texts. Catullus 61.6–35, for example, displays a highly sophisticated reworking of the cletic hymn form: note the reference to the place from which the god is summoned (61.27–30; Catullus knows his Sappho, see fr. 2.1 and cf. fr. 1.7–8, also Euripides *Orestes* 177) and to the god's footwear (61.9–10, see E. Fraenkel *Horace* [Oxford, 1957], p. 204 n. 4), both missed by B. in his account of this poem (pp. 120ff.).

B. has not internalized the Greek hymn tradition as thoroughly as he might, and there is plenty of room for disagreement with him over the interpretation of individual texts. Nonetheless, the sheer historical range and variety of texts he has chosen to study make this a valuable work of first reference to anyone interested in the topic. Too much helpful work on hymn form languishes in the thesis cupboards of university libraries.

Birkbeck College NICOLA DEVLIN

LITERATURE AND POWER

F. E. CONSOLINO (ed.): *Letteratura e propaganda nell'Occidente latino da Augusto ai regni romanobarbarici.* Pp. 227. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000. Cased. ISBN: 88-8265-094-4.

The papers collected in this volume come from a conference held at the University of Calabria in 1998. They take as their common theme literature and propaganda, but this subject is understood broadly to embrace various manifestations of the relationship between literature and public and civic power, whether that power resides with the emperor or with other influential circles in the state or church. Attitudes to the emperor or powerful figures in society may be implicit or explicit, and may take the form of overt laudatory statements, self-censorship, or the selective treatment of events that otherwise might cause discomfort.

The collection includes studies of both poetry and prose from the principate of Augustus to the end of antiquity and beyond. But despite the title, the chronological coverage is not exhaustive. Six of the nine papers deal with the last four decades of the fourth century and the first few years of the fifth. The collection begins with two papers on Augustus; the final paper concludes with the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus in the last decades of the sixth century. The papers are arranged chronologically, with some cross-references, but no sustained debate between contributors.

Both writers on the Augustan age express some reservations about the current tendency to privilege subversive elements in Augustan poetry. Labate ('Poesia per i grandi, poesia per la communità: il compromesso augusteo') calls for a more nuanced attitude to Augustus and Augustanism, and points to the variety of voices Augustan ideology could accommodate. Fraschetti ('Come elogiare "trasversalmente" il principe') organizes his contribution round the theme of imperial *clementia*, discussing, among other works, Tiberius' funeral eulogy for Augustus in Cassius Dio, the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, and Ovid's *Fasti*.

Two contributors address prose works relating to the fourth century. Schneider ('Littérature et propaganda au iv^{e} siècle de notre ère dans le recueil des *grandes déclamations* pseudo-quintiliennes') argues that the third of the *Declamationes maiores*, set at the time of Marius' command against the Cimbri and Teutones, reflects negatively on Theodosian policy in the aftermath of Hadrianople: the collection of the

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Declamationes was probably edited shortly before 384; denunciation of barbarians has a special point in the light of the *foedus* Theodosius struck with the Visigoths in 382; praise of Marius in the speech contrasts with Theodosius' known hostility to the republican general. While Schneider detects implicit criticism of Theodosius, Lizzi ('Ammiano e l'autocensura dello storico') sees Ammianus accommodating his account of trials for magic and adultery under Valentinian to the sensitivities of his audience, including the emperor. Building her argument in part on the parallel the historian makes with Phrynichus in fifth-century Athens, Lizzi proposes that the trials were occasioned by rivalries among aristocratic families. Ammianus suppresses this information in order not to give offence to surviving members of those families. His emphasis on the rôle played by Maximinus would appeal to the emperor Theodosius, especially if, as Lizzi believes possible, Maximinus had been involved in the downfall of the emperor's father.

Turning to the poetry of the period, Polara ('Iscrizioni e propaganda: il cippo tombale di Pretestato') analyzes the three verse inscriptions dedicated to Praetextatus and his wife Paulina on the former's gravestone and sets them in their historical context. He argues that all three were written by the same hand after the deaths of both husband and wife, and that Paulina is the true protagonist of them all. They aim to rally pagan ranks round her memory after the controversies surrounding the erection of a statue in Praetextatus' memory by the Vestal Virgins.

Of the three articles dedicated to Claudian, Perrelli's ('La *praefatio* al terzo libro del *de consulatu Stilichonis*') is the slightest, centering on the analogy Claudian draws in his preface to *3Stil.* with Scipio, Ennius, Hannibal, and the Second Punic War. Cameron ('Claudian Revisited') reconsiders his influential Claudian book in the light of the criticisms of Christian Gnilka and Siegmar Döpp. Despite some minor regrets for overstatements, Cameron maintains his position and addresses some specific points made by his critics. His general take on Claudian, that his poetry adopts a committed pro-Stilicho line, has certainly won the day. Gualandri ('Claudiano e Prudenzio: polemiche a distanza') surveys the representation of Theodosius in the literature of 384–404 and makes the persuasive claim that the image of the emperor was central to debates between those at court and in society who would strike a compromise with traditional, including pagan, Roman values and those who would emphasize above all Theodosius' religious loyalties. Although Gualandri discusses a variety of different authors, including Ambrose, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Paulinus of Nola, she especially emphasizes the give and take between Claudian and Prudentius as representatives of the two positions.

The book concludes with a valuable overview of fifth- and sixth-century poetry by the editor, Consolino, 'Poesia e propaganda da Valentiniano III ai regni romano-barbarici (secc. V–VI)'. Her contribution not only analyzes the relationship between poetry and structures of power and authority in poets such as Merobaudes, Sidonius, Dracontius, Corippus, and Venantius Fortunatus, but also discusses the contribution of verse inscriptions, epigrams, and other epideictic poetic genres. Consolino's discussion of Corippus' Johannis, where she gives persuasive reasons for the poet's choice of a large-scale epic format rather than the shorter panegyrical epic of Claudian and Sidonius, is particularly useful.

Despite some disparities of quality and approach between the various papers, inevitable in a work of this kind, the volume as a whole productively focuses on the rôle of literature in shaping, reflecting, reacting to, and resisting structures of social power and order. Whether the term 'propaganda' is useful in this context is an open question; most contributors tend to avoid the word. It is also a pity that no articles were included

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on the relation between poetry and power in the Neronian and Flavian periods, given Cameron's insistence on the importance of the poetry of the first century A.D. for Claudian. But this book contains much of interest, especially for students of late antique history and literature.

Wesleyan University MICHAEL ROBERTS

CHRISTIAN SCRIBES

K. HAINES-EITZEN: *Guardians of Letters. Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*. Pp. x + 212. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Cased, £49.95. ISBN: 0-19-513564-4.

Guardians of Letters is a further contribution to the cultivation of the rich soil (already broached by Roger Chartier and others) lying between cultural history, literary history, and textual transmission. Using a range of interdisciplinary approaches, H.-E. tracks the figure of the scribe in second- and third-century Christian (and, for comparative purposes, pagan) culture, and the story she tells is compelling and thought-provoking. What emerges most tellingly from this book is a sense of the fudging and myopic complicity that has made this elusive figure both a central prop in conventional scholarly edifices and an unexamined *donné* of received wisdom. It is the clearest mark of an important contribution to learning that one does not realize the need for it until it appears.

'The scribe', as traditionally constructed by scholarship, is formed of an amalgam of classical Roman and early medieval evidence: male, of servile status, 'professionally' trained primarily to write, and institutionally tied to a 'scriptorium'. Examining a range of literary and papyrological sources, H.-E. shows that the evidence suggests that early Christian texts were transmitted by a more diverse group: sometimes free, sometimes female, and not necessarily tied to any institution encouraging (what we anachronistically term) 'mechanical' reproduction. It is this very diversity that forms the bedrock of H.-E.'s argument: in the absence of institutional control, and in the absence of any sociocultural homogeneity on the part of the scribes, 'copying' becomes an actively empowered process. Scribal activity is not merely reduplication but subtle intervention, correction, insinuation. Chapter V offers the fascinating proposition of textual variance not simply as 'error', but as an ideologically guided attempt to control and renuance the sacred texts in the midst of the contemporary wars over (amongst other things) heresy and orthodoxy. In this context, the sociocultural identity of the scribe becomes paramount: the guiding principles of her or his existence become the beacons that direct the meaning of the text.

As will be clear, this is a bold and provocative thesis; and, indeed, one that (as its author avers) cannot be substantiated definitively in such a brief compass (the main text is only 132 pages long). Notwithstanding these limitations, there are, however, several areas in which the argument might have been better shored up, not least in connection with the use of literary evidence. The primary exhibit in this area is Hermas' *The Shepherd*, where the author is said to have copied a text offered him by a divine visitant letter by letter, 'for I could not find the syllables' (2.1.4). Hermas appears to be a slave or a freedman, but not a traditional Greco-Roman 'professional' scribe: he thus offers (we are told) testimony to the non-traditional means of circulation of early Christian literature. But how do we interpret this story? H.-E. comments that she is not interested in the question of whether the story is 'entirely fictional' or 'contains a

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