Roman History

It is good to start with fundamentals, Myles McDonnell's *Roman Manliness*[1] – *virtus* without Victorian connotations. This is a thorough and scholarly work, the thesis at first seemingly relentless. *Virtus* was originally military, not moral; anyone who already believed this will find their belief strengthened, page after page. But the Greek intervention is the more marked: 'Semantic borrowing' goes on to 'Human excellence'. Rightly, McConnell deplores inattention to physical representations, and remedies it, including inscriptions and coins in a vital 34-page *index locorum* (citations are translated). Interesting sections are devoted to the limits of *virtus* and to institutional constraints; the author is not content with conventional explanations. The last third of the book escapes any charge of dryness: in come illuminating studies of prime specimens: M. Claudius Marcellus of the temple of Honos and Virtus; then Marius, repudiating Greek conceptions. '*Virtus* contested' takes us into the age of *imperatores*, Pompey and Caesar – even Cicero is accommodated; the Principate gets an epilogue. Here is a lesson for those who deny the flexibility of Roman thinking. *Virtus* ('from experience and exercise') is also discussed in Andrew M. Riggsby's subtly argued and persuasive study *Caesar in Gaul and Rome*.[2] The linchpins are considering the *Gallic War* (for that is the true subject) not just the Gallic War, as event, dividing the book into Roman identity versus 'others'; and Caesar's self-fashioning. Readers should not be put off by introductory theory; the rest is plain sailing, although the author avoids well-worn topics (Caesar's trustworthiness). Indeed he begins with an illuminating examination of the 'spaces' (geographic, strategic, tactical) within which the *bellum* occurs. Naturally, he asks about composition, *commentarii*, and the like, and comes to the sensible conclusion that they are 'Notes' written up *seriatim*. One fruitful chapter is on relations between Caesar as author, narrator, and character, and the advantages of the separation become clear. Caesar comes out advantageously, too, for Riggsby, repudiating 'propaganda' as a critical tool, but not 'propagandistic', examines Roman notions (as opposed to modern standards) of the 'just war' and accommodates 'Caesar' in them. 'Caesar' is a normal politician, the example of traditional virtue. The whole book is a series of blasts against received notions, unconvincing only when it suggests that allowing Gauls to acquire disciplined *virtus* in obedience hints that Caesar's peers might acquire the same. Caesar's career is studied in Luciano Canfora's *Julius Caesar. The People's Dictator.*[3] The author's technique is to provide forty-two brief chapters, each on a separate topic ('Clodius', 'Amicitia'), with the whole divided into four chronological sections. The author applies careful analysis of the sources to each topic, so he is always worth reading. The book is also enlivened by quotations from modern literature. Sometimes Canfora goes for topics that are interesting in themselves, but not central, such as that of the future Augustus in Spain, 45 BC. This technique makes the book difficult to put into the hands of inexperienced students, although an eighteen-page chronology helps. Caesar is opposed to a group often referred to as the *factio*, and a *popularis* party also

[1] *Roman Manliness.* Virtus *and the Roman Republic*. By Myles McDonnell. Cambridge and New York, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. xxii + 481. 11 plates. Hardback £53.

[2] *Caesar in Gaul and Rome. War in Words.* By Andrew M. Riggsby. Austin, TX, University of Texas Press, 2006. Pp. xii + 271. 12 unlisted figures. Hardback £29.

[3] *Julius Caesar. The People's Dictator.* By Luciano Canfora. Translated by Marian Hill and Kevin Windle (from *Giulio Cesare. Il Dittatore democratico*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999). Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007. Pp. xvi + 392. Unlisted maps. Hardback £24.99.

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figures. This chimes well with the Italian title of the work, and it is not surprising that R. Syme is sharply criticized. The translation, by professionals, is fluent and lively, but, as often, the final version could have done with a classicist's scrutiny, which could have prevented mishaps with names, the Italian flavour of the bibliography, and the intrusion of superannuated translations. Complementary medicine, then, not to supersede standard prescriptions. From *virtus* we move to Harriet I. Flower's *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*,[4] an elegant book with a gentle main title from Anita Brookner that conflicts with some brutal realities and the subtitle. Flower delicately distinguishes phenomena that were once, sometimes still are, clumped together as '*damnatio memoriae*' (the index and copious notes make up for the lack of mechanical case listing). She envisages 'memory sanctions' floating between extremes, oblivion and disgrace, and rightly takes a chronological approach, beginning with the Republic and Greek precedent. Consensus broke down, and Sulla's Republic wins a chapter of its own. The author convincingly goes beyond Mark Antony to Greek influence, while recognizing the impact of post-Gracchan perceptions on accounts of fifth- and fourth-century traitors; then, it was families that were charged with a man's memory; abdication might have had a mention. The pivotal Gracchan coups are well analysed. Part II, much longer, is devoted to the Principate down to Antoninus Pius' fight for Hadrian. The author takes the fashionably emollient view of Augustus' Principate, but women, Nero, and Domitian satisfyingly have their own sections, and Caligula a sub-section, well nuanced. Flower strikingly rescues Livia, Drusus' widow, the *olvidada*. Exile was a way of escaping punishment, as Gordon P. Kelly rightly insists in *A History of Exile in the Roman Republic*.[5] This is a welcome book, covering 220–44 BC. Kelly may overstate the novelty of his subject (look at his footnotes and bibliography), but his exposition is clear and systematic, marred only by abuse of 'based on' and 'due to'. 'Legal and historical issues' is valuably subdivided into technical topics such as *aquae et ignis interdictio* and *ius exulare*, which he treats with sense. Exile changed character with the Gracchan crisis. Short journeys mark the first period (Kelly provides a Baedeker, and it is food for thought that some ex-governors chose their old provinces). The second has more in it: the recall of exiles in the eighties, Cicero, Milo, the Civil War, Caesar's *clementia*; Kelly offers persuasive analyses. His next chapter, 'Topics of Exile', covers the exile's companions and economic aspects. Finally comes a prosopography of sixty-five exiles, and appendices: Clodius' laws and some legendary restorations. I should have liked to have Kelly on the Principate, though he touches on it incidentally. Next, Mark Antony is recalled by *Studi sull'età di Marco Antonio*, edited by Giusto Traina.[6] The two parts tackle 'tradition' and historical problems; each paper has its bibliography; there is no index. Returning to basics, L. Fezzi deals judiciously with Antony's handling of Caesar's papers, and Octavian's of Antony's will, S. Delle Donne with the Antonian

[4] *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. By Harriet I. Flower. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome. Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Pp. xxiv + 400. 1 map, 75 illustrations. Hardback $59.95.

[5] *A History of Exile in the Roman Republic*. By Gordon P. Kelly. New York, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 260. Hardback £43.

[6] *Studi dell'età di Marco Antonio*. Edited by Giusto Traina with Bernadette Tisé and Pierangelo Buongiorno. Università degli Studi di Lecce, Dipartimento di Flilologia classica e di Scienze filisofiche. Rudiae, Ricerche sul mondo classico 18. Galatina, Congedo Editore, 2006. Pp. xii + 379. Paperback €40.

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grammata that Octavian claimed to have destroyed. This probing study takes seventy-seven pages; surely we are focused on Antony's rival? R. Scuderi examines the portrait of Antony in Plutarch, and B. Tisé his relations with Hellenism (new Alexander or Dionysus). In Part 2, G. Rizzelli studies Antony's relations with Fadia; could he have married this woman of no importance? A. A. de Siena presents Antony as a follower of Clodius, but one with the ability to think big (this is hard on Clodius, never even praetor). The same writer, starting with correspondence between Antony and Cicero in 44 BC, continues with the affair of Sextus Cloelius and the younger Tigranes of Armenia. Next comes the name of Cicero's colleague Hybrida, and how he came by it, by P. Buongiorno. Then we go east: studies of Tarsus, Parthia and Armenia, and Crete. Readers will take their pick. Some plums are smallish, others could go into another pie. Susan Treggiari's ⋆*Terentia, Tullia and Publilia*[7] belongs to a series (the reviewer has also contributed) and must be about Roman 'womanliness', given notorious problems facing the authors: gappy evidence mostly produced by men, here a nervous egoist. We do not know whom, or even if, Terentia married again after her divorce. The author has done splendidly with this material in two ways: she has skilfully married detail to generalizing background, and she shows delicacy in examining the relations between three women, one harshly treated by scholars, and the *paterfamilias*. So she begins with epoch and rank, and Cicero's rise, before passing to 'The young wife' and 'The life of mother and daughter'. Then public affairs, 'Living through disaster' and 'Restoration'; Treggiari treats property with great clarity. Cicero away, the two women failed to find 'the right man' for Tullia, and the last chapters convey the anxieties and grief that were to come, partly from that mistake. Filling a gap in the field, the first century BC, the author succeeds in her aim of allowing readers to use their own imagination; and her sympathetic treatment makes the book useful to anyone beginning to read Cicero, besides being refreshing to his familiars. For beginners, with many illustrations in colour, comes Eve D'Ambra's ⋆*Roman Women*.[8] The audience justifies yet another book on this subject. The series it belongs to is linked to readings and topics in the Cambridge Latin Course, and the 'jargon-free' texts 'will integrate…primary texts into a synthetics that reflects the most up-to-date research'. The author is an art historian, which helps to give the book distinctiveness; she is interested in how objects 'take part in *shaping* realities' and acknowledges a preference for the plebeian and the anticlassical throughout: she notes the sanitized kitchen in the Museum of London and presents the prodigiously endowed wet-nurse Severina. There are four sections: Gender and Status, Marriage and the Family, Women's Work (true to her avowal, D'Ambra give this the largest share of illustrations), and Public Life. Fine photographs, such as those of Severina, duly touch the spectator; Julia Victorina as she was when she died at ten, and as she might have become. But only the reference to *CIL* 6.20727 tells that she lived at Rome; abbreviations needed listing; and she should have put 'Turia' into her scholarly quotation marks. But tiros will learn from this volume. Back to beginnings and to a straightforward book for students and general readers. Klaus

[7] *Terentia, Tullia and Publilia. The Women of Cicero's Family*. By Susan Treggiari. Women of the Ancient World. London and New York, NY, Routledge, 2007. Pp. xxii + 228. 8 plates, 3 maps. Hardback £65; paperback £18.99.

[8] *Roman Women*. By Eve D'Ambra. Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization. Cambridge and New York, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xxii (including 2 maps) + 215. 42 halftones, 57 colour illustrations. Hardback £35, Paperback £12.99.

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Bringmann's **A History of the Roman Republic*[9] does its work very confidently, and well. It is clearly organized and sensibly argued, with telling quotations, appropriate illustrations and neat maps, a chronological table, and 'Notes on the Sources and Bibliography'. The cover notes describe it as 'thoroughly referenced', but there are neither notes nor alphabetic bibliography. There is no lack of analysis: 'imperialism' and Polybius' interpretation of it are nicely gone over. 'The crisis of the Republic and its causes' is an entire chapter, with tribute paid to Montesquieu but cultural factors and money at the fore. Readers should not be put off by a translation that on one occasion quotes Mommsen at length where he should be summarized. This is a good read. W. J. Smyth has been idiomatic and scrupulous, stating where a quotation comes from Bringmann's German, and jibbing at 'Weltmacht'. The 'Notes' are designed for English-speakers (there are slips here, a higher rate than in the text). The substance of this book is valuable, one for the 'handy' shelf of any teacher, though one might dispute individual items and nuances; the technique of reaching the audience is not yet quite perfected. Two hefty volumes tackle Rome in another way. N. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx's **Companion to the Roman Republic*[10] competes with Harriet Flower's shorter, less expensive *Cambridge Companion*, already reviewed,[11] to which they courteously allude. Neither had an easy task but the editors' aims are clear: to present new evidence (notably archaeological) and new approaches (for example, to the literature and to politics: away with prosopography, in with 'political culture'!). Yet they keep the narrative that some readers require in a hold-all. Hence, they divide the volume into seven parts: evidence (why does geography come last?); narrative (ninety pages); civic structures ('Communicating with the Gods' gets one chapter); society, including women; political culture, with a chapter on the 'Republican Body'; the creation of a Roman identity; and controversies, which is where economy has its single chapter (second-century agrarian change). There is tension between subjects and methodology that might be resolved otherwise. But individual contributions have much for anyone keen to catch up; I mention only K. Welch on Palatine mansions and the origins of verism (well illustrated; pictures are sparse elsewhere). Each chapter offers further reading. Students cannot fail to benefit from the eminent collaborators, including E. Gruen. Those from the US are just outnumbered by those from the EU and wider afield, and that may help to explain the balance of the volume. The task of P. Erdkamp in his **Companion to the Roman Army*[12] was simpler, the subject homogeneous (it includes the navy!), the approach chronological: early Rome; mid- and late Republic; Empire, subdivided into internal and external themes – structure and organization and relations with the Emperor and Empire – and soldiers in society; late Empire to Justinian. The editor's advertised scope is clear and correct: the army must be viewed

[9] *A History of the Roman Republic*. By Klaus Bringmann. Translated by W. J. Smyth (from *Geschichte der römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis Augustus*. Munich, C. H. Beck Verlag, 2002). Cambridge and Malden, MA, Polity Press, 2006 UK, 2007 USA. Pp. x + 358; unlisted illustrations and maps. Hardback £60, $69.95; paperback £18.99, $26.95.

[10] *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. By N. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Malden, MA, and Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2006. Pp. xxx (including 8 maps) + 737. 53 plates. Hardback £95.

[11] See *G&R* 52 (2005), 115 f.

[12] *A Companion to the Roman Army*. By Paul Erdkamp. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Malden, MA, and Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Pp. xxvi + 574. 25 plates and figures, 4 maps, 3 tables. Hardback £95.

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as an essential component of Roman society, economy, and politics. That being so, I should have welcomed more on advancement within the legions. Again, the list of contributors is impressive; not surprisingly, Germany and the Netherlands figure largely. Forced to choose a single paper for a particular purpose (pupils' reading lists), I would take K. Galliver's lucid pages on the Augustan reform, or A. Birley's succinct essay on making Emperors. C. Ando's 'The Army and the Roman Elite: A Competition for Power' provides a thought-provoking excursion, but in the main this book is a valuable work for the reference shelf and a bible for military buffs. Back to the beginning again with Jennifer A. Rea's *Legendary Rome. Myth, Monuments, and Memory on the Palatine and Capitoline,*[13] Sounding at first like a picture-book (Chapter 3 is indeed devoted to visual reading and 'seeing socially') but offering one drawing and two plans, it deals in fact with the reinvention of Rome's origins in Augustan poets, Virgil, Tibullus, Propertius, 29–16 BC, and the effect on that of Augustus' building programme. Rea provides a synopsis: Palatine, Capitoline, *urbs aeterna*, and *Maxima Roma*, Rome restored; hence the difficult task of capturing an age of change in two aspects. Rea sensibly, given the quantity of recent writing, limits the scope to three poets and two hills. She aims to avoid the poles of 'propaganda' and 'pessimism', but is herself engrossed by her theme, although she mentions Augustus' 'advantage'. Her Augustus had the option of 'dismissing' the Republic; there were signs of stability and accordingly, by 23, he could step down from the consulship. Propertius' dark view seems best tuned to reality; as Rea says, Augustan Rome develops from a flawed city. Werner Eck has produced a second edition of ⋆*The Age of Augustus*;[14] good news, especially as this is not just the same lucid book of 2003 with additional bibliography, but has a new chapter (legislation), a section on the German wars, and new illustrative material, growing by more than forty pages. The legislation concerns society ('Shaping the Lives of Men'), with Eck favouring a demographic purpose, though Augustus may indeed have been trying to control the influx of ex-slaves. Particularly welcome are the additions on Germany, notably Waldgirmes; Roman intentions are often misunderstood. The new edition is even more desirable a work for students. Modern theory (that is, 'Realism', little known to classical historians) is applied to ancient history in Arthur M. Eckstein's *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome*.[15] The Mediterranean was a 'multipolar anarchy' (dog ate dog), Rome no more belligerent than others. Hobbes appears, then Thucydides; that is why the theory seems familiar: a way of thinking taken for granted comes to the foreground, a powerful (not mono-causal) tool. The author deals with Classical Greece, the Hellenistic east, Italy, and the western Mediterranean, concluding with the 'Mediterranean anarchic state system' (*sic*). Roman 'exceptionalism' and Rome's rise are explicable in other ways than by internal characteristics, contrary to 'unit-attribute theory'. The answer lies first in Rome's ability to absorb, then in a 'power transition crisis', the decline of the Ptolemies. More

[13] *Legendary Rome: Myth, Monuments, and Memory on the Palatine and Capitoline*. By Jennifer A. Rea. London, Duckworth, 2007. Pp. xii (including 3 illustrations) + 180. Hardback £45.

[14] *The Age of Augustus*. By Werner Eck. Second edition. Blackwell Ancient Lives. Oxford and Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Pp. xii + 209. 14 plates, stemma, 4 maps. Paperback £16.99. (First edition reviewed in *G&R* 50 [2003], 259.)

[15] *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome*. By Arthur M. Eckstein. Hellenistic Culture and Society 48. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, University of California Press, 2006. Pp. xxii (including 4 maps) + 372. Hardback £29.95.

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bells ring: Claudius, Aelius Aristides. Eckstein is testing 'Realism' against 'Neoliberal international institutionalism' and 'radical Constructivism'. It stands up, but 'unit attributes' must be allowed their place. Is such terminology justified? Yes, if it is not too loose, for it legitimizes comparison of ancient and modern. Why 'Realism' has come into vogue is grimly obvious; its success could make it self-fulfilling. Ancient literature is applied to modern theory in Nancy Shumate's **Nation, Empire, Decline*.[16] Are these notions modern, the product of capitalism and the other suspects ('the modern orthodoxy'), or do they go back to ancient times? Shumate argues that templates for modern discourses were forged in the Roman Empire, examining the rhetorical language of Juvenal (twice: 'Them and us', and '"Crazy Egypt"'), Horace ('Augustan nation-building', which appeared in an earlier form in *Helios* 32.1 (2005)), and Tacitus ('Tacitus and the Rhetoric of Empire', with good remarks on Civilis). All are familiar to classicists, less so to modern theorists (and students). Here is the subject of a large work, as the author admits. The fit-all notions of the title make her task easier; a closer definition of 'nation' might derail it. Who qualifies in the ancient world but the Jews? What links Roman and modern conceptions are the experiences of groups and individuals and how they have reacted to them. The author presents reactions well, but further analysis of experience and inquiry into the impact of texts (notably *Germania*) on theorists would have been useful. Arthur Keaveney is concerned with a key player in Roman history: **The Army in the Roman Revolution*,[17] and with overturning received ideas. Sulla, not Marius, created the revolutionary army, its motivation was political as much as economic, and the sources have not been correctly read. Keaveney is systematic: an introduction is followed by discussion of leaders and led (Keaveney rejects 'patronage'), politics and profit, land hunger, obedience and disobedience (with a good discussion of the oath), and a summarizing chapter. But the main division comes between two periods of time: Sulla–Marius and Caesar–Triumvirs; only in this later period is the familiar picture of the mercenary army acceptable. Soldiers had always looked for profit and, under the Triumvirate, booty had dried up; the landless were no more troublesome than the landed. Keaveney is right to suspect N. Rosenstein's analysis of manpower resources in the second century,[18] nor does he alone doubt whether Marius' 'reform' was more than a crisis measure, but he may oversimplify, and his divisions seem too sharp for the sources to guarantee. One must share Keaveney's problem with the way to handle the mixed bag; he sometimes seems over-trusting. Piso Caesoninus' troops tried to burn him alive; the testimony is Cicero's. Octavian's 'sacrifice' of opponents at Perusia is accepted because it fits a pattern – real or literary? All the same he has the measure of Octavian: 'reptilian'. Nothing could be more salutary than a scrutiny of this fresh kind. With Paul Erdkamp's *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire*[19] we are into scholarly bread and

[16] *Nation, Empire, Decline. Studies in Rhetorical Continuity from the Romans to the Modern Era*. By Nancy Shumate. Classical Inter/Faces. London, Duckworth, 2006. Pp. 191. Paperback £12.99.

[17] *The Army in the Roman Revolution*. By Arthur Keaveney. London and New York, Routledge, 2007. Pp. ix + 150. Hardback £60; paperback £17.99.

[18] See N. Rosenstein, *Rome at War. Farms, Families and Death in the Middle Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, 2004), reviewed in *G&R* 52 (2005), 114 f.

[19] *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire. A Social, Political and Economic Study*. By Paul Erdkamp. Cambridge and New York, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. xiv (including 5 maps) + 364. Hardback £59.

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butter too. 'Market' will raise cries in minimalist quarters, but the author means forces of supply and demand and the geographical area in which the commercial exchange of goods operates. Erdkamp is conscious of the deficiencies of our sources, especially in the quantitative and statistical departments. (His *Index Locorum* covers two sides.) So consideration of the market is largely based on models from later, better attested, periods; the wide geographical range is another factor that Erdkamp has to bear in mind. His conclusions are based on six chapters, each subdivided: production and productivity, the smallholder, farmers and their market relations, market integration, Rome and the corn provinces, and urban food supply. The subdivisions may themselves be divided, making progress easier. It is cheering that production minus input on a wealthy estate might yield a gross surplus of seventy to eighty-five per cent, but Erdcamp reminds us of consumption by the work force; the smaller the scale, the more volatile the net surplus. Smallholders' strategies are well brought out, with the help of Dio's Euboean discourse; it was the weakness of 'imperfect markets' that prompted other means of interaction. Despite help from Pliny the Younger, the complexity of market relations defeats the construction of clear patterns. The question of market integration, compensating for harvest shocks, leads in a substantial chapter to that of an integrated Mediterranean market. As to corn provinces and the urban supply ('command economy' or profitable exporters?), Erdkamp opts for state activity. Altogether, the scope and depth of this work destine it for every economic historian's shelf. Stephen Mitchell has produced an extremely useful book in his **History of the Later Roman Empire*.[20] He deals with a period important for the metamorphosis it brought to the Roman Empire in power and religion yet still, partly because of varieties of approach, not easily accessible to non-specialists. This is bound to be one of the most successful of its series. Elegant structure is one reason, and conforming to an older pattern of Roman history ('decadence' is avoided: external pressures presented the challenges). Twelve chapters pair off: the nature of late Roman history and the sources; the Empire from Diocletian to Alaric and in the fifth and sixth centuries; Roman state and barbarian kingdoms; conversion and the politics of religious identity; political economy and society and economy in the Mediterranean and Near East; challenges of the later sixth century and the final reckoning. Mitchell strikes the right balance between narrative and analysis, generality and detail; the index enables readers to track developments, the bibliography and notes the history of controversies ancient or modern. He states his own views and others' with equal clarity. One of four admirable principles is to let contemporaries witness for themselves and, despite some barbarously named *dramatis personae* (no worse than those of fantasy novels), the book is a page-turner, as well as a resource for students of all ages. Only rarely, as in religious dispute, are there hard places. The author is skilful with modern comparisons: Procopius, with his double history, is compared with Shostakovich, the 'most important' twentieth-century composer (*Hélas!* But such judgments fall). In closer focus is R. Malcolm Errington's *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*.[21] Tightly knit and lucidly

[20] *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641. The Transformation of the Ancient World.* By Stephen Mitchell. Blackwell History of the Ancient World. Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Pp. xvi + 469. 23 illustrations, 7 maps, 7 diagrams. Hardback £65, paperback £20.99.

[21] *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius.* By R. Malcolm Errington. Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Pp. xiv + 336. Hardback $45.

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written, the book offers new interpretations of the period. Errington's subject is the changing role of the state, its structure and mechanisms, and reaction to crisis and to tensions between tradition and renewal, and he divides the book into three parts: 'Actors and Events', 'East and West', 'Religion and the State'. Errington's underlying theme, the stimulus for action coming from below, or outside, with 'foreign policy', is an idea familiar from the earlier Empire; once applied, it slightly diminishes the impact of a work that is austere and lacks props of popular history. It has a chronology and notes, but no map, illustrations, or stemmata, surprisingly, given the author's preoccupation with the role of emperors as dynasty builders. Nonetheless the idea provides a fresh perspective on religious policy – distinctly pragmatic – and to the interpretation of legal sources – regional in scope. Perhaps the most vividly realized sections are those on Rome ('a costly irrelevance') and Constantinople, but Errington has woven his material into a successful and convincing unity. A great achievement of late Antiquity was the codification of law. George Mousourakis' attractive *A Legal History of Rome*[22] moves towards that in rhythmic style. After an introduction, Chapters 1–3 are devoted to monarchy and early Republic: background, sources, administration. Likewise chapters 4–6 on the late Republic, 7–9 on the Principate, and 10–12 on the Dominate. Rhythm need not lack *rubato*, but that is not what the history demands: the pace slows into the Principate, for we have another lawgiver, whose *mandata*, it might have been worth saying, governed proconsuls as well as legates, and it speeds up for the Dominate; Mousourakis gives codification and epilogue fourteen pages. The tripartite arrangement enables a reader familiar, say, with the history to pass directly to core subject-matter (thus avoiding the 'new class of merchants and entrepreneurs, … known as the equestrian class', the two factions of *populares* and *optimates*, and the '"adoptive emperorship"'). Sixty-five pages of valuable notes come at the end. One is resigned to that, but not to the absence of indications at the top of each page of where that *tranche* belongs. Let that not deter impatient students: this book is clearly written and puts a wealth of information readily at their disposal. A long-term problem in the West continues to trouble scholars. John F. Drinkwater's *The Alamanni and Rome 32–496*,[23] confronts it head on and provides a permanent resource. When did they appear? Who or what were they, tribe or warrior band, whatever those are? How did Alemannia develop? They are 'All men', in a sociological rather than a demographic sense (cf. the 'Youthungi'). Drinkwater is inclined to accept the claim in what we have of Cassius Dio's history that they clashed with Roman forces as early as the reign of Caracalla. 'Ethnogenesis' in the fourth century gave rise to people who saw themselves as Alamanni in the south-western corner of an equilateral 'Elbgermanic' triangle. Such synopses do no justice to the meticulous work on archaeological and literary evidence and the conclusions that other scholars have drawn from it that Drinkwater has put into the three chapters on conflict between 285 and 394 (excellent maps illuminate all but the most complex campaigns), nor to the first three chapters ('Prelude', controversially postulating a Roman 'politics of fear', 'Arrival', and 'Settlement'), and they take no account of spin-offs such as the discussion of Ammianus. Six different modes of 'Service' are also lucidly analysed. Finally, Drinkwater examines Alamannic failure

[22] *A Legal History of Rome*. By George Mousourakis. London and New York, NY, Routledge, 2007. Pp. xii + 282. Hardback £60; paperback £21.99.

[23] *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496 (Caracalla to Clovis)*. By John F. Drinkwater. Oxford and New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. xii + 408. 27 figures. Hardback £68.

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before the Franks. But he has succeeded. Now two works, second and third of a new series, in different ways demonstrating the importance of epigraphy. Maureen Carroll's **Spirits of the Dead*,[24] a distant descendant of Richard Lattimore's *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, is fairly traditional in its presentation of the material, which comes from Italy, the Gauls, the German and Spanish provinces, and Britain. This, with plentiful photographs and the list of abbreviations, makes it suited for use as a teaching resource and for young historians on their own. Five chapters deal with what is expressed in the monument; the next four are 'objective': causes of death, family and household, mapping population movement, social mobility. The last belongs to the very different Christian monuments. Carroll contributes much by drawing out all she can about human relations and by stressing comparison between her regions. She amusingly complains of the neglect of monuments that have 'only' an inscription and no figurative sculpture (I have read the reverse complaint against epigraphists) and rightly berates exclusivity. There is a slip or two, and one may miss reference to the definitive publication of the *SC de Pisone patre*, and to a few old friends (Paquius Scaeva with his snakes and ladders career, and the imperial slave cashier at Lugdunum, *ILS* 915 and 1514), but this is an informative and helpful volume, which will be much consulted. Melissa M. Terras and others' **Image to Interpretation*[25] arouses twofold wonder: first, it analyses how papyrologists read texts, and so the *stylus* tablets from Vindolanda (the proper subject of this book), revealing papyrologists' patience and skill; second, it describes the ingenious creation of a computing system, which, by passing the material through various stages and methodically transforming it, is able not only to offer plausible readings, but also to add to its store of data and so its versatility and usefulness. Modestly, Terras notes that the system is still developing and, with much time and hard work (which, on this showing, we can confidently expect), will add to its capabilities. Obviously, the system would be applicable to other texts. The development of the system and its principles are described very clearly (though in a rather nerdy style with misuse of 'due to' and accidents to infinitives), and should attract interest outside epigraphic circles; one chapter is devoted to a technical exposition. There is even an entertaining game when the techniques of three experts are anonymously expounded; are they identifiable? An extra gift of this fetching handbook is its corpus of Vindolanda letter forms. The authors head chapters with epigraphs; they have earned the luxury. Fergus Millar, in *Rome, the Greek World, and the East. Volume 3. The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*,[26] warmly thanks the editors who have carried this series of essays to completion (but his work is ongoing), and we should add our thanks for putting so many enriching works at our disposal. The present volume divides into the three

[24] *The Spirits of the Dead. Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*. By Maureen Carroll. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents. New York, NY, Oxford University Press Inc., 2006. Pp. xx + 331. 80 figures, 3 maps, 5 tables. Hardback £74.

[25] *Image to Interpretation. An intelligent System to Aid Historians in Reading the Vindolanda Texts*. By Melissa M. Terras, with a foreword by Alan K. Bowman and Michael Brady; Chapters 4, 5, and Appendix A co-authored with Paul Robertson. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents. Oxford and New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. xii + 282. 8 tables, unlisted figures. Hardback £53.

[26] *Rome, the Greek World, and the East. Volume 3. The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*. By Fergus Millar. Edited by Hannah M. Cotton and Guy M. Rogers. Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Pp. xxxii + 516. 3 maps, 4 figures. Hardback £48.95; paperback £19.50. For a review of volume 2, see *G&R* 53 (2006), 269.

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(overlapping) sections that the subtitle indicates: 'Hellenistic World and Rome', 'Rome and the East', 'Jews and others', each containing six papers. Hard as it is to single out titles, my guess is that the acid test of a book's use, finger-marking on the base, may become particularly noticeable for 'Polybius between Greece and Rome', the gripping 'Reflections on the Trials of Jesus', and 'The Jews of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora between Paganism and Christianity, AD 312–348'. Millar ends the book with proposals for Graeco-Roman History. His trajectories have led him to urge its transformation by material available for a new lexicon of Greek and Latin from papyri, inscriptions, coins, and other media directly preserved. Other cultures and languages should not be neglected, and the result would be ancient history focused on the Levant, a 'Greek and Hebrew' approach (alas for Alamannia). The vision needs discussion; a brief review can only draw attention to it. A final pair, with appeal beyond the scholarly. Caroline Vout, in the last chapter of *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*,[27] considers the latest royal marriage and cabining of a royal mistress, suggesting that the family might re-engage public interest with its own Antinous. A *potent*-ate's amours (if reviewers may join in) were a means of bringing subjects into a relationship with their master, and their description provides a template for us to examine that relationship and those of East and West, centre and periphery. Vout's specimens are well documented, as excellent illustrations show. An introductory chapter features parallel exploits of Augustus and Gaius and methodological discussion. Then follow Hadrian and Antinous (problems of identification are not soluble by mechanical means), Nero and Sporus, Domitian and Earinus ('a sterile Cupid'), L. Verus and the fragmented Panthea ('Greece to Verus' Rome'). On the basis of honours to Antinous, Vout argues for reconsideration of the 'imperial cult' as one of *divi*. Is that what it ever was? But the book widens the scope of our understanding of what it seemed to be to be an emperor (or a royal), and is worth reading for incidental points, inelegantly written as it is. Catharine Edwards' **Death in Ancient Rome*[28] has only its title to thank for coming as the end (it, too, involves *virtus*). Subject headings reveal the scope and approach: dying for Rome, death in the arena, fighting fear of death, the politics of death, Stoicism and the death scene, feasting and death, feminine ends, Christian martyrdom. Edwards in her primarily literary study (although, in 'Politics', game theory peeps out), does justice to what the material implies: authentication of his/her life for the participant (Petronius becomes 'Petronius') and anxiety about the position of the observer (for example, male observers of women's deaths). For there is always an observer, reader of the texts presented, or of this book; pervasive sado-masochism needs no separate chapter in the triad sex–death–spectacle. This reader could be anybody: the chapter on the arena carries descriptive baggage found in most 'gladiator' books. But those who know it can skip to perceptive evaluations offered throughout. Edwards notes that it is death in civil war that exerts particular fascination on Roman writers: suicide takes civil war to its logical conclusion; consider, too, her linking of Cremutius Cordus, the silent Thrasea, and the significantly named Tacitus. The price suggests that the publishers

[27] *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*. By Caroline Vout. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xiv + 285. 52 illustrations. Hardback £50.

[28] *Death in Ancient Rome*. By Catharine Edwards. New Haven, CT and London, Yale University Press, 2007. Pp. xii + 287. Six illustrations. Hardback £25.

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believe that this moving, even disturbing book will sell, and so it should; but not for Christmas.

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Art and Archaeology

The editors of *Classical Archaeology*[1] report that a Google enquiry into 'classical archaeology' will yield something like six million links: an indication, they say, of 'an unquestionable level of general interest in and awareness of classical archaeology'. Some of this general interest, as they proceed to point out, must be due to the popularization of Classical history through novels, films, and television documentaries: at least, there are ways in which the material culture of ancient Greece and Rome engages public curiosity beyond university lecture rooms and crowded school curricula. But part of the vitality of the subject must lie in its capacity to evolve: to adapt and change to such an extent that the very canonical implications of the term 'Classical' are jettisoned, in the face of dogmatic relativism. So, in a series of scholarly surveys encompassing the archaeologies of Mesoamerica, Oceania, the Middle East, and Asia, no absolute claims may be made for the value of studying the monuments of Periklean Athens or the aqueducts of the Roman Empire. The front cover of this volume accordingly features a stumpy terracotta figurine that could have been made almost anywhere in the world during the last ten thousand years. (In fact, it comes from Boeotia, an area sometimes put in the category of 'the third Greece': that is, populous but underdeveloped, and generally marginal to the eventful narratives of the ancient historians). This is Classical archaeology self-consciously on its best behaviour: although some of its contributors are not primarily field archaeologists, all duly subscribe to the editorial ethos of polite dissociation from any kinship with the past practice of the discipline – flawed as it was by dilettantism, connoisseurship, treasure-hunting, obsession with texts, and faith in the ennobling glories of 'Classsical civilization'. No names of Classical painters, therefore, must appear in the index; if the Parthenon must be mentioned, let it be as anything but a 'work of art'; and the scholar best qualified to discuss the image of Alexander should be a specialist in the Aegean Bronze Age. An *imprimatur* from Ian Morris judiciously recommends the book as 'an excellent introduction to how Greek and Roman archaeology has changed in the last twenty years'. But one cannot help feeling that something of the enchantment of the subject has been lost in this revisionist project. After all, when J. D. Beazley expressed his 'connoisseur'-like admiration for the vase-painter Exekias, he was not trying to mislead us into thinking that Exekias was some celebrity artist of sixth-century Athens; rather, he was sharing an instinctive admiration for what survives to us of the work of this otherwise obscure individual ('You cannot draw better; you can only draw differently'). Likewise we adore the horse-heads from the Parthenon because they are marvels of the sculptor's art, incomparably capturing a quintessence of horsiness. All such aesthetic regard has been purged here: this is a handbook that delivers first-rate accounts of the agricultural landscape in Greek and Roman territory (by Sue Alcock and Nicola Terrenato respectively) – but has nothing

[1] *Classical Archaeology*. Edited by Susan E. Alcock and Robin Osborne. Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology. Oxford, 2007. Pp. xiii + 447. Hardback £60; paperback £19.99.

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