of many another military classic revamped for a business readership – Sun Tzu's *Art of War* for middle managers, Clausewitz for caterers, that sort of thing. Having read the text again, I think I may have spotted an even more lucrative scam. Airbags used to cushion the blows of battering rams (32.3), attackers caught with lassos cast from above and hoisted bodily up against the city walls (39.6–7), bees and wasps released into enemy tunnels to drive out sappers (37.4), not to mention the running gag about stupid dogs upsetting carefully laid plans by barking at soldiers who sneak out for night sorties (23.2), howling at secret whistle signals (24.18), and getting under the feet of defenders as they run towards the battlements (38.2–3) – all this slapstick violence suggests that Aeneas could be a big hit in what is clearly his natural medium, the animated cartoon. That's all, folks.

HANS VAN WEES

Roman History

Works on Late Antiquity ended the previous review, just as more arrived. Surely it is time for historians of the period to stop apologizing for it? (*Qui excuse son sujet . . .*) There are events, ideologies, writings, buildings, and art enough for any historian not put off by literary snobbery. (The present reviewer will contribute a mite by ending segregation, even to the head of the review.) However, G. W. Bowersock and the other editors of *Interpreting Late Antiquity*,[1] essays drawn from the reference work *Late Antiquity: a Guide to the Postclassical World*, have a particular point to make, that it is from this period that there comes much of what still runs in our blood, notably in religion and law. Further, the essays are 'meant to provoke thought'. The alphabetical first half of the authors, along with the editors, shows that this aim is likely to have been achieved: Averil Cameron, B. Caseau, H. Chadwick, G. Fowden, P. J. Geary. Few passages seem to be saying, but more elaborately, what one thought one knew, or to be sacrificing too much to a survey. Perhaps the essay that will break most new ground for classicists is H. Kennedy's on Islam, but R. Lim offers insights into Christianity's controversies after its triumph. The index is rather brief, the illustrations subdued, but richness in ideas puts that out of mind. J. Banaji, in *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*,[2] is also putting forward a defence, but it is one that is integral to the entire fine work, that is, to a polemic against the thesis, derived from M. Weber, of a regression in Late Antiquity to a localized natural economy away from such monetization as had already been achieved. The importance of this endeavour, in itself and for earlier epochs too, is obvious. In a series of demanding and admirably documented chapters, Banaji makes his case. First, surveys of the rural landscape and of the earlier views (G. Mickwitz is prominent), then the toughest chapter, on the *expanding* monetary economy based on gold. What follows, with a useful glossary, but only one map, are chapters on accounts of Byzantine large estates, the changing balance of rural power and the late antique aristocracy, estates, and wage labour (especially interesting for students of earlier

[1] *Interpreting Late Antiquity*. Essays on the Postclassical World. Edited by G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar. The Belknap Press of Harvard U.P., Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 2001. Pp. xviii + 280, with two maps, 43 plates in text.

[2] *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*. Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance. By Jairus Banaji. Oxford U.P., 2001. Pp. xviii + 286, with map in text. £50.

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periods), and they are a comparatively easy read. Municipal élites were displaced by middle-ranking bureaucrats, such as Abinnaeus, and the imperial aristocracy took over; estates were largely directly managed, the *abundant* waged labour force working on various terms and resembling more recent systems in Egypt (control was anyhow more significant than recruitment). Necessarily, the bulk of the evidence comes from there, but the rest of the Eastern Empire and Africa chimes in. This work is indispensable, but although it will be interesting to see how minimalists react, Banaji is not fighting a lone battle. Wealth is there in S. Kingsley and M. Decker's *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity (330–640)*,[3] well-produced conference proceedings laying claim to be 'chapters', although the eight essays can only make disparate soundings, excellent though they are. There is, excusably in a slim essay-volume, no index. The editors introduce the area as one neglected by economic historians, partly because excavation has been less effective than in the west. Egypt, and the marble trade, are conspicuous by their absence, but reports on Cyrenaica, Palestine, North Syria, Cyprus, and the Danubian border may encourage further syntheses, if material becomes available. Perhaps the most striking papers are O. Karagiorgou's, with its bold hypothesis on the rôle of LR2 *amphorae* in supplying the Danubian forces, Decker's on the importance of wine in the export trade of North Syria (the olive has been allowed a monopoly) and M. Mango's productive attempt to go beyond the indispensable amphora in search of evidence; in the opening up of new areas of research new methods have a vital place. Summed up by B. Ward-Perkins, the view is various and more cheerful than that painted by A. H. M. Jones. A. Wilson notes a growing convergence of urban and village life, and Kingsley rebuts 'primitivist' views of the economy, providing a link with Liebeschuetz' work on the city in Late Antiquity (see previous review). Another aspect of the period is tackled by J. Harries in *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity*.[4] This book, focusing on the period Diocletian-Theodosius, is a paperback version of one published in 1999, and comes with a well-earned recommendation from A. Arjava on the back cover. The author, using a wealth of examples, embeds law and its workings in society, and, by refusing to accept accepted interpretations, draws a fresh picture and a more favourable one than before, especially from the point of view of fairness and effectiveness. Three chapters deal with the making of law, and authority; then come four on its workings, including torture and punishment, one on corruption, and two on other forms of dispute settlement, ending with the rôles of bishops. It is on the reenactment of law (it added strength), on accountability, on 'the problem of pain', on the undermining of status privilege through the persecution of Christians, on the vocal criticisms that exposed abuse, and on the rôle of the emperor, that Harries particularly forces rethinking, so modifying our ideas about Late Antiquity overall. With its rich documentation, the book is also one to keep for reference and detailed consultation. The sub-title of J. De Felice's *Roman Hospitality*[5] reveals a

[3] *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*. Proceedings of a Conference at Somerville College, Oxford, 29th May, 1999. Edited by Sean A. Kingsley and Michael Decker. Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2001. Pp. vi + 178, with unlisted maps and figs.

[4] *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity*. By Jill Harries. Cambridge U.P., 2001. Pp. x + 235. Paper £15.95.

[5] *Roman Hospitality*. The Professional Women of Pompeii. By John De Felice. Marco Polo Monographs 6. Shangri-La Publications, Warren Center, Pa., 2001. Pp. 306, with 2 Colour Plates, 17 figs. Hardback $39.50, p/b £31.

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book with a thesis: that the professional women of Pompeii were not all prostitutes, as (he supposes) scholars have generally assumed. M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier and D. Gourevitch make the same complaint briefly in *La Femme dans la Rome Antique* (Paris, 2001), 191, but Felice treats the question at length, arguing that the number of brothels alleged is too high for the population of the city, and that the form of many shops does not suggest that they were brothels. An introduction leads to a survey of inns and taverns, then to a chapter on law called 'From *ius matrimonium* (*sic*) to *contubernium*'. Next comes 'From amicae to Puella//as' (*sic*), on informal sexual relations. Chapter 6 is called 'Exploring the moral georgraphy (*sic*) of Places and People'. After a 'Conclusion', there is a long appendix, a 'Master list of hospitality businesses'. Probing one entry showed it accurate, but for a claim that a certain publication offered a plan, not to be found. Enthusiasm is fetching but does not make a good book. Publisher and editor have not done their professional duty by the author, and he should have shown his MS to professionals.

Women figure largely in S. E. Phang's *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.–A.D. 235)*,[6] a subject for which it is hard at first sight to understand how 471 pages are necessary, even allowing for Brill's generous arrangement of the pages, translation of texts, and ten statistical appendices. It turns out, though, that, give or take a few repetitions conceded to theses, the ramifications of the subject justify the length. Phang offers a mine of information on them all and has come to sensible conclusions (though she draws too sharp a line between first- and second-century recruiting areas). First, the ban on marriage has been doubted. Looking at the sources, Phang examines the scope and form of the ban (it is surprising that the interpretation of C. Wells is left so late in the discussion). Then she considers the relationships that were open to soldiers, hetero- and homosexual, and the fate of their children. She is rightly dissatisfied with the evidence of the official attitude to homosexual relations in the army, and points out that association with women also invited charges of effeminacy. (In support she might have mentioned the fuss that Roman writers made of the presence of northern women at battles.) Finally, some polemic on 'policy', on which she is rightly sceptical, rejecting in particular the rooted notions that the ban and the change made in AD 140, denying citizenship to the children of discharged auxiliaries, were both intended to promote recruitment, and maintaining that the ban was part of the ideological baggage of the Augustan Principate. The author's promised study of *disciplina* will be worth looking out for.

Next, revenants, only one a second edition in the true sense. It is good that R. Seager's **Pompey*, originally published in 1979, has now been made available for a new generation.[7] The original review here described it as 'authoritative' and, prophetically, as 'likely to remain essential reading'. It has indeed remained the standard treatment. Seager's approach was judicious; favourable to Pompey, but in the chapter on Strabo revealing where Pompey learned his tricks. The new version reproduces a corrected text, supplemented by an introduction on the period from the Gracchi to Sulla, an afterword dealing with advances in scholarship, a chronological table and

[6] *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.–A.D. 235).* Law and Family in the Imperial Army. By Sara E. Phang. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 24. Brill, Leiden, Boston and Köln, 2001. Pp. x + 471, with diagrams in text. $112/Euros 96.

[7] *Pompey the Great.* A Political Biography. By Robin Seager. Second edition of *Pompey. A Political Biography*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1979, 2001. Pp. xviii + 269. 5 maps. £50 h/b; £15.99 p/b. Ed. 1 reviewed by D. C. A. Shotter, *G&R* 27 (1980), 193.

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glossary, and five maps. As the change in title shows, the author has sought to make the book more accessible, and it deserves continued success. Reader-friendliness is an object of T. Honoré's new edition of his twenty year-old *Ulpian: Pioneer of Human Rights*,[8] which has lost one chapter and gained three new ones. Honoré confesses with candour its mixed reception and the fact that some criticisms needed to be taken seriously. Honoré has adjusted the balance between Ulpian as writer and as lawyer in government. He has not altered his view on authenticity, and holds strongly to his hypothesis of a survey composed 213–17 after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, a chapter (*liber*) a week, Trollopian style. The move towards 'friendliness', besides involving translation of Latin, consists in stressing Ulpian's egalitarian philosophy, cosmopolitanism, empiricism, his shifting from Latin to Greek and use (throughout) of dictation. In concentrating on Ulpian as a pioneer of human rights, Honoré necessarily also stresses another theme currently emerging in writing on the later Empire (see above, on Harries' book): the Emperor's duty to guarantee his subjects their rights. No review would be complete, it seems, without something on Suetonius. We now have B. Jones and R. Milns's work on **Suetonius, the Flavian Emperors*.[9] But we already had Jones' *Domitian* (1996) and his *Vespasian* (2000). No explanation is offered, but of course *Titus* is added, and we have the translation that reviewers of *Vespasian* and *Domitian* missed.[10] What has gone now is the text, for this version is intended for those with 'little or no' Latin; those with little thus getting no chance to practise it. The introduction and commentary have been shortened (*Vespasian* from 120 to 48 pages) and simplified (some passages remain *verbatim*, including slips noticed before). But it will be useful to students of the period. Recognition of merit is satisfying. Meyer Reinhold, born 1909, has made great and varied contributions notwithstanding anti-semitism met in early life and McCarthyism in the fifties. Now, eight essays, correspondingly diverse, have been brought together in *Studies in Classical History and Society:*[11] 'The Generation Gap', 'Usurpation of Status', 'Human Nature as Cause', 'The Declaration of War against Cleopatra', 'Augustus's Conception of himself', two pieces on the value of Cassius Dio, and 'A Critique of Rostovtzeff.' Additions have been made to the bibliographical notes and all the essays but two come from the eighties, but perhaps the most interesting is the 1946 essay on Rostovtzeff, where the man of the left took up arms against the emigré from Soviet Russia, exposing inconsistencies and jargon, and raising issues of economic development mentioned above. Specialists in each area will wish to consult the papers, but the main interest of the volume lies in what it tells about the author, a scholar of an older school, and a man of letters, such as should be cherished.

BARBARA LEVICK

[8] *Ulpian: Pioneer of Human Rights*. By Tony Honoré. Second edition. Oxford U.P., 2002. Pp. xlv + 301. £55.

[9] *Suetonius, The Flavian Emperors*. A Historical Commentary, with translation and introduction. By Brian Jones and Robert Milns. Bristol Classical Press, London, 2002. Pp. viii + 187. Paper £12.99.

[10] A. Keaveney, *G&R* 44 (1997), 238 (price £10.95); B. Levick, *G&R* 48 (2001), 241 (price £11.99).

[11] *Studies in Classical History and Society*. By Meyer Reinhold. American Philological Association. American Classical Studies 45. Oxford, 2002. Pp. xvi + 151. £35.

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