

city' (p. 290 n. 7). 'Big archaeology', having escaped from the grip of philology, was vital for national self-representation; being state-funded, it had to answer imperialist demands and expectations.

The pre-eminent position of classical Greek language and literature was threatened by art and by archaeology, but at least they were products of the same Hellenic source. New finds and fresh angles of approach gave rise to greater concerns. From the prehistoric direction Schliemann, whatever we make of his methods and his propensity for embellishment, having begun his search with the intention of proving the truthfulness of Homer's epics, reduced the importance of the literary tradition and started to topple philological study from its Olympian throne. From two other directions the attack was more serious. 'Germandom' (Chapter 5) saw the local archaeologists unearthing the prehistory of the German state (whether *Germania romana* or *Germania libera* eventually came to mean little difference), whilst Orientalism (Chapter 6) signalled cultural and financial investment (private, public, and royal) in the Ottoman Empire and engaged the talents of such colourful characters as Robert Koldewey and Theodor Wiegand. M. shows clearly how the opposition between the classical Deutsches-Archaologisches Institut and its oriental rival Deutsche-Orient Gesellschaft mirrored *in parvo* the clash between the old guard of the National Liberals and the new nationalists.

M. has placed her main emphasis, as the subtitle indicates, on the rôle of archaeology in the descent from Olympus, and she makes brilliant use of the archival material in Germany, Greece, and elsewhere to which she was given access. She weaves these dry (and not so dry) memoranda and minutes into her larger tapestry. And although she stresses that her main aim is to make clear the ways in which institutions developed, and this she does superbly, she does not fail to present engaging vignettes of the protagonists. There is always something new she has to tell of academics such as Ernst Curtius, Karl Humann, Alexander Conze, Werner Jaeger, etc. Not all come away squeaky-clean; high-minded scholarship was not untouched by the taint of racial élitism.

For once, the 'advance praise' with which the dust-jackets of most books now come emblazoned is not overblown. This is an extremely well-written, massively detailed, and acutely perceptive treatment of a serious subject. It shows clearly that classicists (whether philologists, aesthetes, or archaeologists) must on occasion be called to account for the effects of their indoctrination of the young. The well-chosen illustrations mix people, places, and monuments, from Winckelmann in 1768 to the bombed out Pergamum museum in the 1940s, and help to highlight the descent of philhellenism over the last two hundred years.

University of Southampton

BRIAN A. SPARKES

## ANCIENT LANDSCAPES

G. SHIPLEY, J. SALMON (edd.): *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity: Environment and Culture*. (Leicester–Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, 6.) Pp. xiv + 344, 30 figs. London and New York: Routledge, 1996. £50. ISBN: 0-415-10755-5.

This volume presents in twelve essays the results of the Leicester–Nottingham Ancient History Seminar (1991–3) on 'Nature Matters: Approaches to the Ecology

of Antiquity'. In the published form there is a shift away from nature to landscape, and from ecology to environment and culture. This new emphasis perhaps reflects the survey and excavation interest of some of the contributors, yet ecology and nature still surface explicitly in the contributions by O. Rackham on ecology and pseudo-ecology, M. Beagon on nature in Pliny the Elder, and G. Clark on nature in the thought of late antiquity.

Present environmental issues are no doubt responsible for making scholars, and for that matter the general public, interested in the environmental consciousness of Greek and Roman society (p. 4). G. Shipley is right to stress early British topographical studies by F. W. Hasluck, A. J. B. Wace, and others, in building up a picture of the Greek countryside; he could have drawn attention to the way that sherd material from such surveys found its way back to British university collections, where it was used to stimulate further study, especially in prehistoric Greece.

Following Shipley's introductory essay, the chapters are ordered by three main criteria, though there is some overlap: ancient Greece (O. Rackham, L. Foxhall, H. Forbes, J. Roy, R. Lane Fox); Italy and the Roman Empire (C. Delano Smith, N. Purcell, D. J. Mattingly, N. Christie); and literary studies (M. Beagon, G. Clark). These are not strict boundaries. Roy, for example, ably demonstrates the imaginary landscapes of Greece created through drama. One of the central issues is that these were believable, yet at the same time invented, landscapes. The setting of Menander's *Dyskolos* is presented against the location of the shrine of Pan near Phyle and this leads R. to the conclusion that Menander, like other 'Athenian dramatists reshape[d] the landscape to suite their dramatic purposes' (p. 115). The viewers and hearers of these dramatic performances would have understood.

Some of the comments made about the environment perhaps needed closer scrutiny. O. Rackham's essay was enlightening when it came to address the question of factoids which have entered modern discussion of the ancient environment, landscape, and ecology. Perhaps N. Christie could have been more cautious when quoting the charts published by K. Randsborg (*The First Millennium AD in Europe and the Mediterranean* [Cambridge, 1991]). Histograms showing 'fluctuating levels of complaints about rain, drought/heat, and storms/cold recorded in contemporary documentary sources' are fairly meaningless when it is realized that each block covers 200 years (p. 273, fig. 10.4). As I write this review, there are major floods on the Polish/German border and, within the last few months, the railway line in Scotland between Aberdeen and Inverness was cut by floodwater. Would such unusual, and newsworthy, natural disasters condemn the last 200 years of European history as being particularly disaster prone? I suspect that Randsborg's tables may have become the factoids about which we have been warned!

R. Lane Fox's essay on ancient hunting is perhaps weakened by his use of archaeological evidence. For example, he does not appear to be persuaded by A. Schnapp's interpretation of corporate hunting scenes (pp. 130–1). It is perhaps a pity that he did not provide his own exposition of a scene from a specific pot. L.F. has perhaps concentrated on the traditional question of artistic creation: in his terms, could an 'inferior' artist provide a sound 'base for theories about significant changes in social practice'? Instead, he could have concentrated on the more difficult, and I believe more relevant, question of the original viewer. For example, why was an East Greek *dinos* decorated with a hunt scene, found at Naucratis, perhaps dedicated in one of the Greek sanctuaries there? Or why do many of these hunting scenes appear on figure-decorated pottery—L.F. prefers the term 'vase'—which are found in Etruscan cemeteries? What is the evidence that such imagery was viewed at an élite symposium

at Athens? One piece for discussion could be the Attic red-figured column-krater in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which has a standard departure scene of a young man as the main panel and on the rim a line of wild animals, in a black-figured technique, which the hunter might presumably encounter. Discussions about such material are not straightforward and deserve a chapter in their own right.

In H. Forbes's careful study of the use of uncultivated landscapes, one can detect the problems faced by those wishing to draw on modern anthropological studies to understand the landscape and settlement of antiquity. F. understands O. Rackham's warnings that the environment and ecology of today are likely to be very different from what they were in antiquity, and it is perhaps understandable why his conclusion is quaintly subtitled, 'in which we leave the issue of the waste in antiquity unresolved'. His chapter also forms a useful supplement to his essay on 'Turkish and Modern Methana', which has appeared elsewhere (C. Mee and H. Forbes [edd.], *A Rough and Rocky Place: the Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece* [Liverpool, 1997]).

It is clear that the modern romantic view of the Greek landscape is not necessarily in keeping with the ancient one. Osbert Lancaster (*Classical Landscape with Figures* [London, 1947], p. 9) observed, 'in Greece the inhabitants are part of the landscape and were they omitted the picture would take on an unreal lunar bareness carrying no conviction to those acquainted with the reality'. *Human Landscapes* has shown how human use of and intervention in the natural environment had major social and even cultural implications for the world of classical antiquity.

University of Wales Swansea

DAVID W. GILL

## THE IMAGE OF THE INTELLECTUAL

P. ZANKER: *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*. (Sather Classical Lectures, 59.) Pp. x + 426, 178 figs. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995. Cased, \$45/£35. ISBN: 0-520-20105-1.

Socrates was notoriously ugly: his bulging eyes, bald head and protruding lips were the very antithesis of that idealized male beauty depicted so ubiquitously in the art of Classical Athens. But for Socrates' admirers his physical ugliness was immaterial in comparison with the beauty and wisdom of his soul; what mattered was the interior rather than the exterior, the reality rather than the appearance, a view which is encapsulated in the memorable image of Socrates as Silenus which Alcibiades offers at the end of Plato's *Symposium* (215). The earliest portrait of Socrates (dating from c. 380 B.C., but known to us only from Roman copies) also shows him in this guise, as if to challenge the traditional standards of *kalokagathia*. Socrates' ugliness belies his inner wisdom, and just as Socratic discourse challenges the very assumptions on which the value system of Athenian society is based, so too this portrait can be seen as 'a kind of extension of Socratic discourse into another medium', as Z. puts it. The long-enduring image of the intellectual as a challenger of society's orthodoxies, indifferent to worldly cares, is inaugurated in paradigmatic form in this portrait of Socrates with the ugly face of Silenus.

The theme of Z.'s immensely readable, learned, and wide-ranging book is the portrayal of the intellectual in classical culture from the fifth century B.C. to the fourth