The size and range of this volume may encourage readers to select and cherish particular chapters, but reading it from beginning to end reveals internal comments and connections. For example, Rutherford's chapter benefits from the evidence adduced by B. in his introduction; similarly, E.'s comments on ruler-cult take issue with Henrichs' three characteristics of Greek gods, and in particular his remarks on the nature of deification and immortality (p. 509). The detailed but well-structured index provides a useful alternative approach to the diverse interests in this volume; a comprehensive bibliography would have been equally welcome.

As one of the Editors, B., concludes his chapter: 'Thinking about the gods still can teach us many things about mortals', and, as the chapters in this volume demonstrate, vice versa. In some ways, the nature of this collection mirrors both the subject it studies and those who study it. Like the multiple and dynamic identities of the gods themselves, this book offers a fascinating assembly of individual voices, topics and insights which can be conceptually arranged and rearranged to offer different and differently compelling visions of the ancient Greek gods and of the mortals who worshipped them.

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A HISTORY

PRICE (S.), THONEMANN (P.) *The Birth of Classical Europe. A History from Troy to Augustine*. Pp. xviii + 398, ills, maps, colour pls. London: Allen Lane, 2010. Cased, £30. ISBN: 978-0-7139-9242-7.
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This is the Ur- and apparently foundational volume of a projected eight-volume series described as 'The Penguin History of Europe'. Three of the remaining volumes have already appeared in print, and, as will become clear, the commissioning of Richard J. Evans and Ian Kershaw, two experts on Nazi Germany, to compose, respectively, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century volumes, seems particularly auspicious. Rather than offering yet another dry, bare-bones summary of classical history for the general reader, P. and T. here perform a miracle akin to Ezekiel's, knitting these bones together with meaty skeletal muscle. The particular framing device is memory, both in antiquity and in more modern periods, and they place this 'first and overarching theme' front and centre early in the Introduction. In an elegant, sophisticated and ultimately convincing analysis, they contend that all history is 'an act of remembering', promoting 'the self-understandings of particular peoples', regardless of whether these memories are strictly '"true"' or '"false"' in any objective sense. Accordingly, 'The development of Greek society between the seventh and fourth centuries BC was driven not by what *we* know about their early history, but by what *they* thought they knew' (pp. 6–7).

The book fully validates this claim, and it leads to several further, though closely related, postulates. Historical memory did not end with the Greeks and Romans, but rather continued to be 'used' by later scholars, artists and intellectuals of all types, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This theme is illustrated in a series of trenchant shaded box-panels on modern interpretations of the past, scattered throughout the chapters (though these are remarkably concentrated in the central chapters, 3–7). Memory forms the basis of two other 'major themes', the

construction of 'communal identity', for example *as* 'Romans' or *as* 'Greeks' (or even *as* 'Jews' and 'Christians', for that matter), and the various spatial conceptualisations of 'Europe' and its borders throughout the period.

As one might expect, the tendency to resurrect, reconstruct and re-enact a myth is best illustrated by the repeated resonances of the Trojan War, in all phases of classical antiquity. An investigation of early Greek script on 'Nestor's Cup', found at Pithecoussae, widens out, by means of the figure of Nestor, to the construction of Homeric epic and its achieving 'a [why not 'the'?] canonical position in Greek culture' (pp. 100–5). At several points in the narrative, both individuals and communities graft themselves on the Trojan trunk, co-opting and transforming myth to suit their own purposes. Thus, Agesilaus sacrifices at Aulis (p. 133), Alexander (he and Philip are described as 'the first self-conscious Europeans') emulates Protesilaus' leap into Asia (p. 144), Naevius and Ennius trace the Roman conflict with Carthage to Trojan refugees (pp. 210–14), and the Aedui (probably) claim common 'Trojan' kinship with the Romans in consolidating an alliance (p. 236). Even more connections could be made along these lines, perhaps most intriguingly in the person of Scipio Aemilianus, weeping and quoting Homer over the ruins of Carthage/Troy yet also tossing off a spectacularly inappropriate Homeric tag after the murder of his cousin Tiberius Gracchus.

Moreover, one could offer a creditable history of antiquity simply through the figures of Cadmus, who typifies the intersection of Phoenician and Greek cultures as well as the mythical origins of Thebes (p. 134), Europa herself, who appears repeatedly in text and illustrations (including the cover image) or, best of all, Heracles, whose example dared Alexander to climb the rock of Aornos (p. 149) and whose wandering calf provided a 'nice "Just So" story' for the naming of Italy (pp. 180 and 221–2).

The clever use of myth places this book in the vanguard of recent evaluations of antiquity, perhaps best exemplified in Edward Champlin's astute dissection of myth-making in the courts of Nero and (forthcoming) of Tiberius. P. and T. go even further, embedding little gems into the narrative bedrock, including especially witty analyses of Herodotus and Joseph-François Lafitau's 1724 'ethnography' of the Iroquois (pp. 118–19), Flaubert's *Salammbô* as a legacy of both Orientalism and the author's prodigious labours (pp. 210–11) and Macaulay's *Lays* in the light of the British Raj (pp. 196 and 268). Where else, indeed, would one find such a cogent – and humorous – commentary on the curious acronym FYROM, whose ambassadors to the UN must be seated alphabetically by 'The' to avoid controversy (pp. 141–2)? Even these asides could be improved, however, especially with explicit reference to the many recent publications in 'classical reception' that seem to have inspired them, for example at pp. 102–3, a reference to the articles of Lorna Hardwick in the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* on Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (and judicious allusions to Cavafy, Joyce and Mandelstam would help to contextualise the Homeric references) and at pp. 131–2, a citation of Stefan Rebenich's brilliant commentary on German comparisons of Stalingrad to Thermopylae (Powell/Hodkinson 2002).

The less satisfactory parts of the book are those that wander away from the themes of historical memory, especially in the first two chapters and the final two, as archaeological detail replaces this sort of mythical refashioning. Nevertheless, the theme of myth-making as a key element in the construction of group identity is struck so effectively and so often that one might miss its more negative and less savoury aspects. The authors make a strong case for the Athenians' use of

mythical migrations to 'assert present-day territorial claims' (p. 121), and for the alarming frequency with which the slogan of 'liberating the Greeks' changed hands from Macedonians to Romans to Mithradates. The tendency of certain non-Greek peoples to attach themselves to the 'Hellenic' experience, and of many non-Roman peoples to 'Romanize', seems to reflect clear messages: 'Greek ancestry meant favourable treatment' (p. 154) and 'self-Romanization' was advantageous to western provincial elites (p. 270). But what of the casualty figures, cavalierly estimated at one million dead and perhaps another million captured, inflicted by Caesar on the Gauls? And what should we make of the resurrection of a certain kind of mythical past to justify the massacre of the 'Branchidae' by Alexander's army?

In fact, one can derive enormously disturbing conclusions from the 'ethnogenesis' detected in the new Messenian *polis* of the fourth century B.C.E., a composite community that was 'actively creating its own common memory and history' (pp. 134–6). Among the many definitions of 'Fascism' crafted by modern scholars, a compelling one (by Roger Griffin) refers, among other characteristics, to 'a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism'. In addition to a rather unfortunate overlap of two syllables with a hapless Vice-Presidential candidate, the word points up the Nietzschean uses and abuses to which a strictly mythical identity can be put. As the authors comment, so far as the Romans were concerned, 'the Greeks' obsessive nostalgia for a safely distant past was something to be encouraged' (p. 281), rendering the famous Spartan *agôgê*, among other institutions, a mere tourist attraction. But can one ever be certain about the 'safety' of a historical memory?

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NEW HEROES IN ANTIQUITY

JONES (C.P.) *New Heroes in Antiquity. From Achilles to Antinoos*. (Revealing Antiquity 18.) Pp. xii + 123, ills. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2010. Cased, £22.95, €27, US$29.95. ISBN: 978-0-674-03586-7.

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In her hit song of 1985, singer Tina Turner crooned the moving refrain, 'We don't need another hero'. After reading *New Heroes in Antiquity*, however, I am reminded how much the ancient Greeks would have disagreed. In elegant and lucid prose, J. demonstrates that on numerous occasions throughout antiquity the ancient Greeks (and Hellenising Romans, most notably the emperor Hadrian) created 'new heroes' of the recently deceased for various social, political and even personal motives.

His study begins by tracing two significant precursors to the appearance of the new hero: the developing concept of the hero in early Greek poetry and the rise of localised hero cult. In poetry J. follows the semantics of Greek *hêrôs* from early Homeric epic through the epinician of Pindar. While in Homer it is primarily, but not exclusively, applied to warriors and is essentially a term of respect like English 'lord', for Pindar it can denote the recipients of cult and is applied to a wider array of figures for whom 'excellence or virtue (*aretê*) becomes a passport to heroic status' (p. 9). J. characterises the local heroes of cult by quoting A.D. Nock's words, 'little local deities who never rose to wide or universal greatness'