

(or meant to write) ‘king Acestes’ rather than ‘kind Acestes’ for *regem ... Acesten* at *Aeneid* 1.558 (as at 1.570).

In conclusion, although Lewis himself acknowledged that ‘every translation ruins Virgil’ (see p. 15), this is a fascinating and valuable addition to the long and distinguished list of demolition jobs wrought on the *Aeneid* in English. Had Lewis completed his translation of the *Aeneid* in the same vein as the sections presented here, I would have no hesitation in recommending it above other currently available versions; as things stand, however, these tantalizing relics must remain — like another of Lewis’ works — an experiment in criticism.

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doi:10.1017/S007543581200086X

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III. LATE ANTIQUITY

L. S. NASRALLAH, *CHRISTIAN RESPONSES TO ROMAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE: THE SECOND-CENTURY CHURCH AMID THE SPACES OF EMPIRE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xvi + 334, illus. ISBN 9780521766524. £55.00/US \$95.00.

Nasrallah juxtaposes texts and artefacts to explore how Christian apologists responded to the Roman world and its claims of ethnic identity and religious piety. Part One begins by assessing the problems with the modern classification of ‘apology’ as an ancient genre that did not have such a characterization in antiquity. Here N. seeks to contextualize the Christian works within the broader political and cultural concerns that came out of the so-called Second Sophistic. She contends that, just as the apologists addressed emperors about issues of piety, so too did such Roman archaeological remains as the Fountain of Regilla and Herodes Atticus ‘speak’ about the value and acquisition of Greek *paideia* in high Roman society. N. does well to re-align the apologies not as works held in opposition to other religious traditions but as works involved in broader ‘cross-cultic and cross-ethnic conversations about the nature of true religion and right ritual’ (50). N. then looks at how the ‘truth-seeking’, ‘barbarian’ travellers Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Lucian (re)assessed Roman authority and the appropriation of Greek *paideia* in their movements through the Empire. The subservience (even feminization) of the natural world and nations (*ethnē*) to Rome on the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias are presented as a visual example of Roman claims to geographical, ethnical, and cultural authority over the *oikoumenē gē* (‘inhabited world’) in the second century A.D. Though N. offers an admirable discussion of how the ‘barbarian’ travellers, representing vulnerable, feminized bodies, questioned such claims of Rome as the cultural and ethnical epicentre of *paideia* in the Empire, her juxtaposition of texts and artefact feels somewhat disconnected.

Part Two moves into the cities and tackles the geographical attitude of Luke-Acts. N. proposes that Paul’s travels to Greek cities are best understood in light of political and cultural discourses about ‘being Greek under Rome’ that characterized much of the imperial actions during the so-called Second Sophistic. N. goes to lengths to draw similarities between the formation of a pan-Christian league brought about by Paul’s travels and the formation of the Panhellenion by Hadrian. But while Hadrian sought to reconfigure Greek identity and Greek *paideia* with Roman culture and ideologies, Luke’s use of Paul’s movement through the Greek landscape offered a Christian *oikoumenē* that spoke of a universal religious identity. Ch. 4 discusses Justin Martyr’s *Apologies* as a second-century text produced during a crisis of representation, in which *mimēsis* or imitation, an accusation typically directed at Christianity, was used by Justin to illuminate the gap between true representations and deceptive mimics. N. presents an interesting contrast to the claims about true piety, justice and power by the Roman imperial family as made on the Column of Trajan and Justin’s reaction that such claims of self-representation served only to propagate the confused pagan imitation of true religion (Christianity). She explores how Justin used the purest form of Greek philosophical thought (Socrates) to show that Christians were not atheists, as wrongly named by the Roman judicial system, but ‘the new height of classical Greek courage, philosophical depth and integrity’ (146).

Part Three delves into the blurred boundaries between representations and their referents. N. begins with Athenagoras’ concern in his *Embassy* with the potential for images to be

usurped, thus opening the door for *mimēsis* or mis-representation. Though her juxtaposition of *Embassy* with a roughly contemporaneous work of art representing the emperor to whom Athenagoras addressed his treatise, the well-known Capitoline portrait of Commodus as Herakles, offers what seems to be the most direct discourse between text and image so far, this is a missed opportunity, with N.'s attention focused predominately on Athenagoras. She presents a comprehensive discussion of Athenagoras' use of Middle Platonic philosophy to highlight the gap between a name and its essence, and his assurance that unlike pagan élites, who rendered themselves as gods in stone, Christians would not be deluded into believing that material matter could embrace a divine essence. The last chapters are concerned with re-forming the eye towards a Christian vision. First, Tatian's *To the Greeks*, in which he blamed the misleading pedagogical lessons being offered to the public through the Roman acquisition of a Greek artistic heritage on 'the connoisseurs of culture' (247). Christian eyes must be wary of claims to a pure 'Greekness' and righteous *paideia* being made by what were essentially portrayals of the spoils of Greek culture. N. turns finally to Clement of Alexandria's *Exhortation* and its opposition to the prolific Aphrodite of Knidos. N. does a fine job of fleshing out Clement's desire to trace the social life of 'divine' objects so as not to induce confusion between true divinity and material matter, for mankind, being fashioned in God's image, and not insensate stone, is the true representation of God.

N. admits that there was no direct discourse between the images and texts under discussion, and one wonders throughout the extent of any actual dialogue between these literary and archaeological spheres in antiquity. Her interdisciplinary engagement of image and text is commendable but her obvious familiarity with the literary texts is unmatched in her treatment of the archaeological material. These criticisms are not to detract from the fresh and insightful contribution to early Christian studies N. offers, but serve to remind us of the inherent dilemmas when juxtaposing textual and visual 'texts'.

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doi:10.1017/S0075435812000871

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R. MACMULLEN, *THE SECOND CHURCH. POPULAR CHRISTIANITY A.D. 200–400* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplements 1). Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009. Pp. xii + 210, illus. ISBN 9781589834033. US\$24.95.

In a world of 'occupy' movements and escalating attention to the extreme gap between the richest and the rest, Ramsay MacMullen's *The Second Church. Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400* is bound to strike a chord. Championing archaeological evidence as a corrective to the picture presented by lettered Church Fathers, the recent book from this learned and prolific scholar aims to evoke the experience of 'the great mass of Christians, the commonality' (xi) and presents its findings in an accessible and compact package (the book's five chapters comprise 114 pages of prose, plus endnotes and a 24-page appendix of churches). The result is a wide-ranging, if somewhat speculative, re-examination of many current assumptions about the nature and extent of the Christian church in the generations surrounding the conversion of Constantine.

The book is primarily concerned with demographics and proposes a trio of theses. First is that the world of the third and fourth centuries was far less Christianized than is generally thought: M. contends that the church-going populace amounted to as little as 1–8 per cent (shorthand to '5 per cent' throughout the book) of the total population in cities such as Constantinople, Antioch, Rome, Carthage and elsewhere (101, *passim*). The book also asserts, however, that this figure represents only the official church ('the Establishment'), with its ecclesiastical structures inside cities serving the urban, educated élite. As a corollary, M. argues that the remaining 95 per cent, the 'have nots', were drawn primarily to traditional, 'pagan holdover' forms of devotion — the feasting and celebration accompanying funerary and martyr cult — which were topographically located outside cities proper, in suburban cemeteries.

To make his case, M. draws primarily on archaeological evidence of early churches and Christian tombs. He usefully reminds readers that ecclesiastical authors do not present a full or unbiased picture of the early Christian world. For archaeologists this will come as little surprise, but the book's primary intended audience seems to be historians and students of the early Church whose frame of reference tends to be more heavily informed by texts than by material remains. M. also constructively frames the more thoroughly studied material evidence of Rome and Italy with