

vaguest idea of the Roman garrison's size and composition. Similarly, the general lack of recorded provenance for much of the assemblage invalidates any attempts to analyse patterns of distribution, and J. can only conclude that 'the probability is that most [items] were deposited around the time of the siege [given elsewhere as 'say 255–7'] ... [and] most of the remains will have belonged to the defeated Roman defenders' (238–9). The cultural meaning of military equipment is a topic which clearly fascinates him, but the lengthy excursus which follows (242–54) might have found a more appropriate home in, for example, the *Doura Études* series. Many readers, wishing only to learn what was discovered at Dura, will disagree with J. when he writes that 'it would be strange, for example, to study the swords ... without considering all the evidence for soldiers' dress which was inextricably bound up with the bearing of arms' (6).

There is space to mention only one or two peculiarities. The conical shape of the 'arming cap of woollen cloth and felt' (no. 378) is judged to be 'consistent with a protective liner for wearing under a helmet' (109), but an item designed for this purpose would perhaps have been more rounded on top. The fragmentary Greek sword (no. 523) is presumed to predate the Roman occupation because 'there is no evidence that such weapons were still current in the third century AD' (149); but there is an element of circularity in this reasoning, and J. elsewhere notes a 'renewed interest in Greek culture' (247) in the later second and early third centuries A.D. The foot-long socketed spike (no. 643) interpreted as an 'iron *falx muralis*' (188) only vaguely resembles the 'reaping hook' from Gamala, cited as a parallel here; in fact, the projection running out perpendicularly to the spike immediately recalls the tread epigraphically depicted on standards, to facilitate their grounding and subsequent extraction. Even the famous horse armours (nos 449 and 450) remain an enigma: were they a truly Eastern phenomenon, or have they simply failed to turn up on European sites? And are we to assume that the garrison's part-mounted cohort included (or comprised) heavily-armoured cataphracts? J. offers the observation that, 'since both sides used armoured horses, it is feasible that the trapper [i.e., horse armour no. 451] was captured from the Persians' (115).

Students of Roman military equipment will certainly find much of interest here, and firm foundations have now been laid for a study of material from the current Franco-Syrian work at Dura.

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N. K. RAUH, *MERCHANTS, SAILORS AND PIRATES IN THE ROMAN WORLD*. Stroud: Tempus, 2003. Pp. 224, 33 pls, 70 figs. ISBN 0-7524-2542-0. £17.99.

Nicholas K. Rauh is well known for his excellent study of Delian business communities, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy, and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos 166–87 B.C.* (1993), reviewed in *JRS* 75 (1995), 278–9. His second book examines the wider Mediterranean economic and political world in the second and first centuries B.C. The first of five chapters briskly surveys Hellenistic and Roman political history from Alexander to Sulla and outlines the physical and commercial context of Mediterranean maritime trade. Ch. 2, 'Cities in the Path of Roman Economic Expansion', describes how 'Roman trade expanded across the Mediterranean in the wake of Roman arms, in essence expelling competing goods and maritime communities from its midst' (33). The cities in question are Carthage, Corinth, Athens and Piraeus, Delos, Rhodes, and Alexandria. Ch. 3, 'The Material Remains of Roman Maritime Commerce', is an ambitious attempt to document the conclusion that, 'The history of Roman conquest of the Mediterranean world was to no small degree a history of Roman domination of foreign trade' (133). R. synthesizes and re-interprets an impressive range of archaeological evidence, especially shipwrecks and amphora distribution patterns. He occasionally stretches his interpretations too far, for example when he uses Parker's observations on the relative numbers of republican and late Roman shipwrecks off the southern coast of France to substantiate his claim that, 'By every indication the Late Hellenistic/Republican era was the greatest era of ancient Mediterranean maritime commerce' (107; cf. A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean & the Roman Provinces*, BAR S580 (1992), 7–15). Nevertheless, the case for commercially-driven expansion is persuasively argued and lays the groundwork for R.'s thesis that the expansion of Roman influence in the period 167–48 B.C. caused huge social and economic dislocation among the merchants, slave-traders, sailors, and labourers who operated the maritime economy of the Mediterranean.

In ch. 4, 'Roman Trading Society: Merchants, Sailors, and the Maritime Mob', R. depicts the maritime commercial world of the Mediterranean in terms of a socio-economic élite, dominated by 'the members of the Roman merchant class' who were largely urban landlubbers, directing the efforts of 'ordinary seamen' who endured the risks and hardships of life at sea. This is the most imaginative chapter in its use of literary sources and cross-cultural comparisons. R. draws heavily upon the depiction of a maritime underclass in Marcus Rediker's seminal work, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea; Merchants, Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World 1700–1750* (1987), to provide a model for the emergence of a displaced and desperate 'maritime mob' who provided a recruitment pool for the 'pirates' of his final chapter. While there are many texts and documents which relate to ancient maritime history in general, as R. rightly says: 'Far less is known about the experiences of common seamen during Antiquity than about those of their merchant superiors' (146). Rediker was able to base his work on extensive primary sources, especially Admiralty records, but a problem for R. is the extent to which Rediker's model becomes a substitute source, treated almost on a par with the likes of Caesar, Cicero, and Petronius. R. is certainly not trying to mislead here, rather he is using Rediker's insights, along with such ancient sources as are available, to flesh out a plausible scenario.

Ch. 5, 'Cilician Piracy and Mediterranean Maritime Discontent', examines how Roman power was challenged, ultimately unsuccessfully, by local communities and the incoming 'pirates', who based themselves in Cilicia, particularly around the Bay of Pamphylia. Here R. brings important new evidence into play, drawing on the results of his Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project. The latest findings of this innovative and important project indicate that the local population successfully maintained and asserted their Luwian cultural identity in the face of all external attempts to dominate them. The local aristocracy acquired a veneer of Graeco-Roman culture, demonstrated by such things as classicizing architecture, bath complexes, and honorific decrees, but their social, economic, and cultural fabric remained largely intact. (For updates see the website R. maintains at Purdue University: <http://pasture.ecn.purdue/~rauhn/>). R. argues that the Romans were gradually eliminating economic and political foci of resistance to their expansion, but he is reluctant to embrace what seems to this reviewer to be a logical further conclusion, namely that the Cilicians were much like the Carthaginians, the Corinthians, the Rhodians, and the Alexandrians. They were demonized as pirates, as our mostly non-contemporary sources show, because the Romans needed to cloak their self-interested aggression in moral terms (cf. P. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (1999), chs 4–5).

R.'s first book featured numerous black and white illustrations by the artist Peter Butler. As well as avoiding the problems of obtaining slides and permissions to publish, they allow the artist to clarify images and focus on details, to the reader's benefit. This time R. has called upon his own father, Herbert D. Rauh, a celebrated watercolour artist, whose renderings of ancient sculptures, mosaics, and archaeological artefacts elegantly supplement the extensive range of colour plates, maps, and monochrome photographs.

Anyone interested in the development of Roman imperialism, the ancient Mediterranean economy, and the use of archaeological evidence for ancient social history should read this book. They may not agree with all that R. says, but they will find his ideas stimulating and worthy of serious discussion.

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PHILIP DE SOUZA

T. GRÜNEWALD, *BANDITS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE: MYTH AND REALITY*.

London/New York: Routledge, 2004. Pp. x + 230. ISBN 0-415-32744-X. £65.00.

This book is a translation by Professor John Drinkwater of Thomas Grünwald's Duisburg *Habilitationschrift*, published by Steiner Verlag of Stuttgart in 1999 under the title *Räuber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Rächer: Studien zu latrones im römischen Reich*, as volume 31 in the *Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei* series. The translator has done an excellent job and deserves warm praise, along with the publisher, for enabling this important study to reach a wider audience. Latin texts are frequently quoted at length, but, unlike the original German version, the quotation of Greek is limited to a few lines in transliterated form. The German version had an index of ancient sources, one of modern authors, one of *latrones*, and a general index of names, places and things. For the translation the first two are omitted and the latter two combined. G.'s original dissertation was pretty thorough in surveying modern scholarship on his specific subject, but it is unfortunate that it does not seem to have been possible for the translated version to be