thrilling, mysterious and humorous' – may be frustrated. But in approaching early Greek history, we still need a good dose of Ogden's approach in the mix.

doi:10.1093/gromej/cxi028 THOMAS HARRISON

Roman History

Literary-historical works first, two on writers attracting renewed interest. T. Murphy, in *Pliny the Elder's* Natural History,[1] carries on work such as that of M. Beagon, fitting Pliny into the ancient intellectual world. The encyclopaedia reassembles the phenomena of the universe as a universal Latin text, patterned after the empire that has made the universe available for knowing. Some of this seems almost over-familiar, but Murphy, besides invoking insights of Nietszche and Wilde, proffers his own, as well as exploiting neglected items such as Larcius Licinus' attempt to buy Pliny's stock. 'Truth is local in the *Natural History*.' So he pursues not Pliny but the artefact, stressing the authorizing rôle of emperors and the decay of knowledge in the hands of collectors. It is on the fringes that the political dimensions are most visible, and, after an opening section on taxonomy, the centre of the book is devoted to ethnographies, Taprobane, the Essenes, and Hyperboreans, with the drifting structure and the procedures of metaphor and antithesis still on display. Short as the book is, it maps the contours of the vast work with which it is engaged, and that adds to the impression of authenticity. J. C. Yardley's *Justin and Pompeius Trogus*[2] has two writers in hand, and his purpose is to disentangle the Augustan historian from the turn-of-the-third-century follower – for that is the date that Yardley's research uncovers, though it would not exclude a later hand. His simple, even mechanical method used the PHI Latin disc, lexica, and commentaries to discover authors favouring uncommon phrases that occur in Justin; when they are post-Augustan, they look like Justin's contribution to the text. The pitfalls are obvious: the quantity of lost material (as Yardley tells us more than once, 75% of Livy, a favourite of Trogus). Again, 'Are we facing Sallustian usages in Trogus, or Tacitean (Suetonian) usages in Justin?'. The book takes the form of serial citations, with notes, and results are set out in eight chapters: on Trogus Yardley gives Sallust and Caesar; Livy; (with Justin) Cicero; and other possible usages; Justin has 'Justinisms', notably in the *praefatio*; pseudo-Quintilian, a weighty influence; poetry; and the law. The work is 'some sort of aid for the prospective orator'. Indexes and candid presentation make this is a useful work of reference; the author has given some body to a shadowy writer. A pebble to the cairn: 'maiestate numinis' is twice cited among 'Justinisms', with reference to Apuleius; epigraphic references to the imperial house were worth dating. Very different in style is H. Haynes' book on Tacitus' *Histories, The History of Make-Believe*,[3] which is full of wit (the Emperor Tiberius is 'made up') and insights and hooks the gaping reader as it casts to and fro not only about 69–70 but about more recent and distant literature and criticism, most fetchingly in the invocation of Plato's *Republic* in a comparison of *Histories* and *Annals*. Besides the titbits there is a significant

[1] *Pliny the Elder's* Natural History. The Empire in the Encyclopedia. By Trevor Murphy. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. x + 233. £50.

[2] *Justin and Pompeius Trogus*. A Study of the Language of Justin's *Epitome* of Trogus. By J. C. Yardley. *Phoenix* Suppl. 41. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2003. Pp. xviii + 284.

[3] *The History of Make-Believe*. Tacitus on Imperial Rome. By Holly Haynes. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2003. Pp. xii + 231. Hardback £55.

thesis: Tacitus 'unifies the style and content of his historiography in order to produce in the reader the experience of believing and understanding as the actors in the text do': *fingere/credere*. After a vital Introduction, Chapter 3 on Vitellius, 'Power and *simulacra*', is naturally the core – he even enters Rome clad in a *praetexta* -, while Vespasian sets the distortions right, carrying ideology into a new phase, *superstitio* (in place of *religio*) legitimating the military dictator as the holder of godlike powers. This is a virtuoso piece, a splendid specimen of criticism in the newer style; the parts seem even more valuable than the whole, which leaves one wondering if Tacitus believed what he made up (for him 'ideology is history'), and, a problem confronted in principle, what historians are to believe ('the *CAH* may give information, but Tacitus makes sense'). Hence, besides a feeling of being in waters that are after all not so unfamiliar, I have only small criticisms such as the spelling of Harold Nicolson's name; the possibility of accruing credibility; whether the Elder Drusus acquired no territory in Germany (a fading view); whether Tacitus himself has not been had by Tiberius' theatrical letter to the Senate of *Ann.* 6. 6); the translation of *Hist.* 2. 8; how seriously Romans in Italy took Alexandrian miracles; and whether these really imposed a new ideology. By careful reading of the text likewise, A. Kaldellis makes an impassioned defence, in *Procopius of Caesarea*,[4] of the historian's derided 'classicism'. His main point is that Procopius exploits Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato for a serious purpose, that of writing history under a tyrant (and, in Kaldellis' view, one of an ideological modern type). After the chapter on classicism, Kaldellis tackles the anecdotal opening to the *Persian War*, to show it forming an integral part of the work. Then comes Plato and the sequence of constitutions: Procopius' outlook was identical with that of the most important Platonic philosopher of the age, Simplicius. In the wide-ranging chapter 4 imperial ceremony is one target and the *Secret History* 1–5 is interpreted as an attack on female rule. Inevitably, Kaldellis not only lambasts Justinian and Theodora but takes earlier scholars to task, the 'historicists' receiving regular thumpings. Finally comes the problem about God and *tyche*, with a nuanced argument allowing Belisarius' virtue some place but firmly equating the two deities in Procopius' thinking. This is a lively and engaging book. Scholars will no doubt reply to Kaldellis' criticisms (my own question is whether Justinian and his courties were so ill-read that they could not 'read' Procopius' subtle discourse), but at the very least he has made it possible for students new to Procopius to come to him without damning preconceptions. P. M. Swan's commentary on Cassius Dio, another admirer of Thucydides and Plato, *The Augustan Succession*,[5] is his contribution to a series of which he is general editor, and it is a book for the 'daily use' shelf. It does full justice to its subject, though not to itself with a title that neglects the author's work on Rome's German and Balkan enterprises, notably events in AD 9. For each substantial lemma he offers the other sources and rich bibliography, with summaries of prevalent views. He has also performed a valuable service by indicating where possible how Dio has arranged his material – annalistically, with urban affairs, external affairs, and a helpfully punctuating 'end chapter'. When Swan challenges views he is clear and full, as on the question of Augustus' will, in one of the fifteen appendices,

[4] *Procopius of Caesarea*. Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity. By Anthony Kaldellis. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2004. Pp. x + 305.

[5] *The Augustan Succcession*. An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's *Roman History* Books 55–56 (9 B.C.–A.D. 14). By Peter Michael Swan. American Philological Assoc., American Class. Stud. 47. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. xx (including 6 maps) + 428. Hardback £65.

where his interpretation is preferable to E. Champlin's; I am less happy with the ideas that Tiberius was offended in 6 BC because he had not been adopted (too late, and it would have made his marriage with Julia incestuous) and that he gave up his *imperium*; tribunician power was not available for him to use to bully the Parians into parting with their Hestia statue, for it expired outside the first milestone. But this book will be taken from its shelf with comfort and confidence. Next, a progress that moves from general to social and economic history. The spruce Franco-American collaboration by M. Le Glay and others, **A History of Rome*,[6] was reviewed in its second edition; all that needs saying is that there are new sections on spectacles, Romanization, and sources; that on the Republic has been expanded and that on the early city revised from archaeological evidence (in an extra twenty-nine pages). 'Another Roman World' remains, rather tidily, the title of the last part (third to fifth century), as does some baggage previously noticed. R. Rees has done new students of the later Empire a fine service, and in manageable compass, with **Diocletian and the Tetrarchy.*[7] He offers eight sections of 'Debates' as Part I, including History and Narrative, the Military, Economics, Religion, and enunciates the problems very clearly and judiciously (Rees' adherence to 'senatorial' provinces leads him to assert that other governors were *equites;* nor is *CONSERVATOR IVPITER* a 'fellow-saviour'); but Part 2, 'Documents', is longer, and provides useful, not always elegant, translations (the documents are not that, but 'administrate' is untoward), cross-referenced in Part 1, of selections from literary sources and such documents as the Price Edict, the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the Panopolis papyri, as well as plans of Tetrarchic structures and photographs of art works. This, with Rees' consideration for his readers, makes the book very attractive: he includes maps, chronology, further reading, glossary, websites, even essay questions. Further volumes in the series will be eagerly awaited. The weighty but compact volume of S. Swain and M. Edwards' *Approaching Late Antiquity*[8] naturally covers a much wider span and digs much deeper: the editors, besides contributing their own papers on the Church and Rome, on monotheism, and on Libanius, have enlisted the knowledge and enthusiasm of eleven other distinguished contributors. So two features make this book particularly attractive besides the fine colour illustrations, unusual in a work not intended for the coffee table. Firstly, the varied way in which it treats the material, for this is no systematic survey: R. Duncan-Jones begins with one, of economic changes, very lucid, with charts, and P. Garnsey on the value of citizenship before and after Caracalla is similarly wide in scope; other writers tunnel through the heap and allow the reader further speculations, as with N. McLynn, entertaining on the transformation of imperial church-going. Art and poetry fare particularly well: J. Elsner's interpretation of the use of *spolia* and of the miniature is highly illuminating. Secondly, there is the varied style of the contributors. The book originated in seminars, and voices are audible, as with J. Dillon's sprightly paper on Philosophy as a profession. Overall and in its diversity the volume is testimony to the wealth and interest of history after

[6] *A History of Rome*. By Marcel Le Glay, Jean-Louis Voisin, Yann Le Bohec, trans. by Antonia Nevill, with new material by David Cherry and Donald G. Kyle. Ed. 3, Blackwell, Malden, MA., Oxford, and Carlton, Victoria, 2005. Pp. xxvi + 592, including 55 plates, 32 figs., and 7 genealogical tables. Hardback £65. Second edition reviewed *G&R* 48 (2001), 242.

[7] *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*. By Roger Rees. Debates and Documents in Ancient History. Edinburgh UP, 2004. Pp. xvi + 219, including 3 maps and 13 plates.

[8] *Approaching Late Antiquity*. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire. Edited by Simon Swain and Mark Edwards. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. xiv + 487, with 6 colour plates, 29 figs. Hardback £75.

AD 200. C. Gabrielli's *Contributi alla Storia economica di Roma repubblicana*[9] treats Roman history with scholarly rigour and caution – it is symptomatic that Chapter 1 has the same title as its only subsection. Gabrielli homes in on the subject of financial crisis, debt (knotty *nexum* is carefully examined), with a rewarding section that juxtaposes the plight of contemporary Syracuse, and the all-important manning of the army in the first three centuries of the Republic, which receives the most extended and articulated treatment. Sources are problematical and that makes the fourth chapter, a chronological survey, with sources quoted, comment and bibliography, particularly useful. In addition there is a list of other sources cited, and the footnotes are full. The success story of Spain, especially in oleiculture comes as a contrast. E. W. Haley's *Baetica Felix*[10] (still a 'senatorial' province) has ever so many 'well-preserved kilns' with ovens that 'conserve their *praefurnium*, and consist of circular structures 2.5 meters in diameter' to attest the labour that has gone into it. Where are *these* kilns? In Cuevas del Becerro, Málaga Province. We could do with more maps and photographs. That does not affect the main thesis of the work. Haley aims to show the depth and spread of prosperity in a subsidized market economy - in which state demands play a part - and divides both sites and population into three. There is nothing controversial in the first allocation, which allows comparative intensity of occupation to be estimated. In the second, modifying earlier distinctions, Haley stresses the importance and numbers of persons of property outside the *ordo* - *honesti* or *idonei*, those fit for jury service. In a prosopographical chapter he treads treacherous stones and Testaccio sherds to sort names out and makes all that anyone could of them (The 'L. HER' found on *tesserae* associated with the transport of honey and hives in the Guadalquivir valley might be completed 'Herennius' rather than 'Herrenius'; the *popularis* tribune of 80, C. Herennius, ended his life with Sertorius.) But as his favoured group includes women and those exempted from *munera* because of their service to the state, he might be less concerned with exact definitions; the quantity of kilns and the like make his case for widely extended prosperity, leaping on under the Flavians, weakening in the last quarter of the second century. As to the 'doldrums' he postulates for Nero's reign, loss of confidence in northern expansion after the British invasion stalled (Claudius' reign represents a 'watershed' in Baetican economic history) might be invoked; the author mentions the cessation of military activity in Mauretania. This worthwhile book has a serviceable glossary and a bibliography. Next, on the ground in Etruria. Anyone who reads R. Leighton's *Tarquinia*[11] will learn a lot. This 'history of a site' is able to put worn problems of origins and language on the shelf, without neglecting questions of development. It starts easily with depredation, excavation, and literature (D. H. Lawrence is treated with proper respect); then the author turns to the early period, the rise of the city-state, the 'urbs florentissima', and the impact of Rome (Livy gets less respect). The chapters are sub-divided, which makes for clarity, and there are chronology and notes. However, this is no tourist guide, and something is expected of the reader, who is not told, for

[9] *Contributi alla Storia economica di Roma repubblicana*. Difficoltà politico-sociali, crisi finanziarie e debiti fra V e III sec. a. C. By Chantal Gabrielli. Biblioteca di *Athenaeum* 50. Edizioni New Press, Como, 2003. Pp. 196.

[10] *Baetica Felix*. People and Prosperity in southern Spain from Caesar to Septimius Severus. By Evan W. Haley. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2003. Pp. xviii + 277.

[11] *Tarquinia*. An Etruscan City. By Robert Leighton. Duckworth Archaeological Histories. London, 2004. Pp. xii + 218, with 25 plates, 71 figs. Paperback £16. 99.

example, why the term 'Villanovan' is used. There is a wealth of plans and drawings, many from earlier drawings, some, quaintly, from photos. A slim volume with the rugged figure of Kirk Douglas horsing it on the front cover, T. Urbainczyk's **Spartacus*,[12] coming after a number of middling gladiator books, was in danger of falling into a filmic 'Reception' box, but it is more than that. The author knows the accessible analyses of the film, and was spared offering another. In any case she has a serious educational purpose: she presents Spartacus at the same time as one of a series of slave rebels (did he have successors too?) and as the product of ancient writers; two chapters are devoted to novels and the making of the film, and there are suggestions for further reading. Urbainczyk gives her own interpretation of the sources, which makes an enquiry more than a story, and so is that much more interesting for readers of all ages who want to know what doing ancient history means. Urbainczyk's writing too is clear, lively, and appealing. The discussion relates her subject to more recent figures such as Liebknecht and Luxemburg; it is forgivable for her to close with an unscholarly dig at men she considers modern equivalents of Crassus and his like. With heavy heart I picked up B. W. Frier and T. A. J. McGinn's stoutly bound **A Casebook on Roman Family Law*,[13] but they are inviting students to think about legal rules that are unlike anything they have ever seen before, and about how these rules affected the lives of Romans – indeed, their most intimate relationships. There are 235 cases, mostly from jurists (biographies appended, along with glossary and bibliography). First comes the text, then a translation (occasionally with unnecessarily pedantic parentheses), perhaps a restatement of the main hypothetical problem, lastly discussion of legal matters and questions intended to encourage deeper reflection. Still forbidding? After 'Basic Concepts' the subjects 'Marriage', 'Patria Potestas', 'Succession', and 'Tutelage', are subdivided into such cases as 'A divorced wife takes vengeance' and 'Evil stepmothers', arranged to lead students 'progressively deeper'. The book is prescriptive and practical (that stout binding!) and has been tested in class; other works worth purchasing are recommended, and the authors offer additional teaching notes. The length of the quotations makes them manageable, the questions are salutary for anyone, would-be lawyer, social historian alike, to attempt. B. W. Winter, known for writings on St. Paul and his audiences, now offers *Roman Wives, Roman Widows.*[14] The long, punning full title mirrors the contents. It aims to show that Roman poets, Augustan legislation, mid-first century philosophers, and letters to Pauline communities were all dealing with the 'new woman' of modern scholars. Part I examines this concept to show New Testament texts through a first century lens; Part II deals with Pauline women and their dress codes, notably in Corinth, though Cretans are the subject of one section. Part III is on the role of women in public life. As to the Pauline texts, Winter offers useful interpretations of vexed expressions, with bibliography (*e.g.*, 155–9). Overall, there are flaws. The reader has to be trundled through yet another exposition of the Augustan legislation, one with small slips: *Lex Julia theatricalis*, the consularship, *princeps ira*, Lalleius

[12] *Spartacus*. By Theresa Urbainczyk. Ancients in Action. Bristol Classical Press, 2004. Pp. 144, with one map. Paperback £10.99.

[13] *A Casebook of Roman Family Law*. By Bruce W. Frier and Thomas A. J. McGinn. American Philological Association, Classical Resources Series 5. Oxford UP, New York, 2004. Pp. xxii + 506. Hardback £60.

[14] *Roman Wives, Roman Widows*. The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities. By Bruce W. Winter. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge UK, 2003. Pp. xviii + 236.

Paterculus; on one page (41) only women could be charged with adultery, on the next the adulterer could be relegated. Crucial is the assumption that the poets' urban women and the targets of legislation have to do with women of the Greek East, even if these latter were homogeneous and Roman citizens. There is a seven-page attempt to demonstrate the connection. Then Cretan boys reach the age of eighteen and take the *toga virilis* - only to become the partners of errant wives; and the hairstyles of Roman empresses on coins present all with an image of the modest wife. But the publishers have selected for the cover a bust of 'Viva Matidia' fit to rival the Pompadour. An article on the Pauline women, potentially satisfactory, has grown into a repetitive book. Women feature too in T. A. J. McGinn's *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World.*[15] The author knows about more than the Roman world and enriches his study with comparisons with medieval Germany and twentieth century Nevada, with references. He is up with sociological theory too. This does not always make for clarity (as in the introduction to Chapter 7), and in spite of considerable humour, this might be a lighter book. Naturally, McGinn pays much attention to Pompeii (Chapter 8 goes abroad), offering catalogues of possible prostitutes, 'cribs' and brothels there, and a list of addresses among his 'sources', and he is willing to estimate annual revenue, with effective arguments against the notion of an excessive supply of sex in a small city. He takes inordinately long to rebut the idea that Romans kept red-light districts, but that brings out the difficulty of identifying brothels and even of defining them; his guide to works on Pompeii that bypass bordellos, however, seems gratuitous. Given the difficulties of evidence and definition, it is venial in a useful book that title, subtitle, and content are not a perfect match. Looking outwards we find T. S. Burns' *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 B.C.–A.D. 400*,[16] a serious and solid reassessment of relations, on the basis of literary evidence and archaeological work, focused on 'ordinary neighborhoods' with patronage a chief tool of understanding. Burns reiterates health warnings against writers' standard migration theory but does Dio an injustice in accusing him of forgetting the peaceful barbarians of 56.18.2 – the barbarians who made away with Varus. The scope is not as wide as it seems: we are on the Rhine and Danube, with Gauls in a halfway house and Britain over the horizon. After an introductory chapter comes 'Recognition, Confrontation, and Co-existence', then Caesar, the early Empire, a Pannonian perspective, the 'Crisis' of the Empire, and the Late Roman Empire. The author's goal is to write so that students and their teachers should not just learn what scholars think happened and why but experience the thrill of exploration, and go away with keener understanding of the minds of authors. There are gripping passages in the book, especially on the late Empire, and interesting comparisons with the American experience, but for the greater part it is quite heavy going, and would have been helped by more illustrations, more and larger-scale maps, and more dextrous writing (there are slips in Latin phrases and technical terms, too). To end with a *bonne bouche*: the British Museum Press has issued the third edition of R. Loverance's ⋆*Byzantium*,[17] including recent acquisitions, in which beautiful objects and landscapes are beautifully illustrated. Nor are all of the objects familiar: perhaps

[15] *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World.* A Study of Social History and the Brothel. By Thomas A. J. McGinn. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2004. Pp. xvi + 359, with 19 figs. and 5 maps. £40.50.

[16] *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 B.C.–A.D. 400*. By Thomas S. Burns. Johns Hopkins UP, Baltimore and London, 2003. Pp. xvi + 460, with 12 plates, 6 maps. Hardback £37.

the most enchanting is the last: the 1537 view of Istanbul in the University Library there. A clear, themed, account of the Empire (Ch. 4: 'Islam and Iconoclasm'; Ch. 8: 'The last Flowering') accompanies the photographs, with list of further reading and index. It is worth asking for the fourth edition that readers should be told how big objects are and that 'Mitytene' (fig. 83) should be corrected; only classical pedantry hopes for Istanbul's Aya Sofya to appear as Constantinople's *Hagia* Sophia.

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Art and Archaeology

Socrates had reached the age of 'three score years and ten' when he was condemned to death. Socrates was – and still is – venerated partly on account of his fortitude in the face of that punishment. But perhaps his nobility in accepting death is tempered when we recall that the philosopher had already gone several decades beyond the average life expectancy of a citizen in Classical Athens. With certain other well-known individuals (Sophocles and Euripides among them), Socrates defied a normal male expiry date of around 45 years. This is an historical reality overlooked by those who dream of Periclean Athens as a Golden Age. It is less easily overlooked by students of Classical art, however – because so much of the imagery that survives once served to visualize or commemorate the inevitable event of death. Psychologists today might interpret this art as a mode of 'terror-management': by imagining the end, or what might happen beyond the end, we mortals attempt to inoculate ourselves to that ultimate horror – the junction of stark certainty (end of life) with the unknown (the 'afterlife'). One humble, local yet highly significant category of such imagery is the so-called 'Athenian white-ground lekythos', whose period of production, c. 470–400 BC, is almost exactly coincident with the lifespan of Socrates. A major new monograph on these vases by J. H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*,[1] offers new insights on how these images serve to console men and women haunted by a prospect of death much closer to them than it is to us. Oakley's thematic approach makes it clear that some of the iconography of these oil-flasks, as we might anticipate, relates directly to the 'drama of deposition' that was the funerary rite in Athens. Albeit limited first by Solonic decree, then democratic legislation, the Athenian funeral was nevertheless by our standards an ostentatious affair, whose most emotional phase came with the *prothesis* or 'laying out' of the deceased. Depicting this event had been a prominent feature of Athenian 'Geometric' vases in the eighth century BC; its appearance on the lekythoi is more understated, evoking perhaps a less public occasion. There are plenty of scenes of attendance at the grave – women adorning the shaft of a tombstone with ribbons and wreaths, or bringing tribute (including oil in the lekythoi, if deceptively generous: some of the flasks had inner containers limiting the quantity). Certain symbolic visualizations of 'the world to come' are also encountered: these vases, for instance, offer primary witness to the Classical character of Charon, the unsmiling ferryman of Hades. But, as Oakley shows, a considerable number of the lekythoi, especially in the early period of their production, do not feature direct

[17] *Byzantium*. By Rowena Loverance. Ed. 3, The British Museum Press, London, 2004. Pp. 96, with 103 illustrations, 63 in colour. Paperback.

[1] *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*. The Evidence of the White Lekythoi. By John H. Oakley. Cambridge UP, 2004. Pp. xxvi + 268, with 175 figs. and 8 colour plates.