or Levinas, I do not think you will come away enlightened. Should it really be such hard work to extract the nutritional value from this book? It seemed to me as if the genuinely interesting, thought-provoking 'big ideas' could have been communicated in a much more straightforward and accessible way, translating the insights of psychoanalysis and so on into a language that connected more directly and satisfyingly with the ancient texts being explored. Some of the connections made between ancient and modern seemed sloppy and misleading: for instance, there is a world of difference between the formalized, generic horror of the modern American horror film and the horrific breakdown of order that we find in Lucan (102) and others have explored those differences. Is it helpful to universalize the significance of cultural phenomena (such as funerals and weddings [100])? Is it fair to contrast 'our' (whose?) idea of fame as transient with Pliny's idea of it as a route to immortality (141) – surely ambition for enduring fame still endures as a phenomenon today, among the 'Plinys' of our own age? To add to the frustration (and subliminally undermining one's confidence in the content of the book as well) the book is very poorly copy-edited and proofread, full of typos, unsatisfactory translations from the Latin, and howlers such as 'chews the reigns' (110). There is some excellent material in this volume, and I wholly support its ambitions as a project, but perhaps it could have done with longer in preparation before being launched on the world. Finally, Marilyn B. Skinner's *Clodia Metelli. The Tribune's Sister* is a great way to kick off the new OUP series 'Women in Antiquity'.[28] Attractively written and produced, this is a superior discussion of this colourful but elusive figure from the dying Republic. Without diminishing Clodia's fascination, Skinner remains attuned to the difficulties of the sources and provides rich information about the political context and the complex of relations between the key players in her life. The book begins by discussing Cicero as an author and ends with detailed analysis of ways in which Clodia is represented first in the *pro Caelio* and then in Catullus' poetry. She has long been, for students at all levels, a wonderful way into manifold issues in Classics and ancient history: source criticism, the role and lives of women in the ancient world, the workings of rhetoric and invective, and issues of reality and representation. This book places all this in the reader's hand without seeking to resolve any of the productive enigmas of the ancient sources

REBECCA LANGLANDS
r.langlands@exeter.ac.uk
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Greek History

We have been very fortunate to be able to write these reviews over the past four years. This is our last review for *Greece & Rome*. It is a happy coincidence that some of the books that we received in this last batch have been among the best that we have read over this period of time. We start with single-authored books before moving to translations and finally edited volumes. Luxury objects, often made

[28] *Clodia Metelli. The Tribune's Sister*. By Marilyn B. Skinner. Women in Antiquity. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xxv + 195. 9 b/w photographs, 3 b/w line drawings. Hardback £65, ISBN: 978-0-19-537500-8; paperback £17.99, ISBN: 978-0-19-537501-5.

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from materials not available in the Aegean, have always played an important role in reconstructing the history of Mycenaean Greece. Gemstones, scarabs, and ivory and alabaster objects have traditionally been examined because they revealed patterns of trade and communication with the place of origin of these materials. Ryan Burns's new book, entitled *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*, examines such objects in order to reconstruct not so much the patterns of communication and trade as the processes of consumption of social groups in the Mycenaean world and the ways in which such objects contributed to the construction of identity.[29] In this sense, the book belongs firmly to the recent trend of looking at material evidence through the prism of consumption; indeed, consumption as an important category of economic behaviour is one of the most crucial developments in recent studies discussing the ancient economy. Through the consumption of 'foreign' objects, the Mycenaeans may have laid claims to power; such claims could be used to legitimize the existing hierarchical power but also to destabilize the status quo. It is this reciprocal relationship between objects and power, through the act of consumption, that most interests the author. After two chapters discussing methodology and terminology, the book follows largely a chronological arrangement. Burns is particularly successful in presenting us with a concise history of the existing scholarship, with its potential bias, political agendas, and shifts of emphasis over the past 150 years. This is an intelligent and easy to read book that shows well how the meaning of objects, especially foreign objects, changes depending on context and patterns of consumption. The consumption of objects is also an integral aspect of the analysis of our next book. *Ancient Crete*, by Saro Wallace, appears to be an appealing book for our modern times;[30] as the subtitle reveals, it is a close study of economic and social collapse and its aftermath, from the twelfth to the fifth century BC. It aims to adopt 'a consistently broad-ranging, contextualized approach to analyzing *all* types of cultural data, through *all* the periods addressed' (12, author's own italics). This is a very ambitious claim, as the focus of the book is the material culture of a very large island, Crete, over almost seven centuries. The main strength of the book is its detailed analysis of the developments during the period between the twelfth to tenth centuries: indeed, here the author shows an impressive ability to discuss a wide range set of data, with particular emphasis on settlement patterns. Throughout the book, Wallace highlights the relevance of settlement patterns in constructing models of interpretation for Early Iron Age Crete; this is an important point that needs to be made loud and clear. The main argument is that Crete experienced a particular form of collapse, which the author understands as 'successful' collapse, and this had important consequences for the changing nature of social structures and economic relations in Geometric and early archaic Crete. In other words, Crete followed different paths from mainland Greece in the early first millennium, and this can be linked to the ways in which the island faced collapse during the twelfth century. Wallace stresses that what characterized Crete in that

[29] *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*. By Ryan E. Burns. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xii + 246. 41 b/w illustrations, 9 maps, 2 tables. Hardback £55, ISBN: 978-0-521-11954-2.

[30] *Ancient Crete. From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, Twelfth to Fifth Centuries*. By Saro Wallace. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xxvi + 450. 203 b/w illustrations, 7 colour plates, 11 maps, 3 tables. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-521-11204-8.

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period was adaptation rather than continuity. Finally, she claims that the lack of 'democratic' structures in late archaic Crete can be explained through the particular format of collapse: that is, the 'markedly well-planned and structured nature of the collapse' (51). The book is successful in stressing the importance of local diversity and micro-ecology of the Cretan landscape; there are numerous criticisms targeted against other scholars who have made grand generalizations while using material from very few sites (or sites that are untypical of developments elsewhere in Crete). At the same time, however, while such caution is absolutely crucial, the author seems to want to promote her own single model of interpretation. This is a curious paradox, which is not adequately explained in the methodological chapters nor indeed in the chapters that provide the interpretative sections of the material. Additionally, although the book does a great job in presenting in an accessible manner an impressive wealth of material evidence from a large number of sites, this type of analysis is, essentially, limited to the twelfth to tenth century. We do not get a similar level of presentation or analysis for the other five centuries, which is what the title of the book leads us to expect. Such a temporal emphasis cannot be explained simply by the lack of available published data. Rather, what we get is a very good interpretation of Early Iron Age Crete, with some added chapters on the possible impact of the developments during that period in the following centuries. It is in those final chapters that the book most clearly shows its weaknesses. Wallace is extremely critical of current scholarship, and we thought that often such criticism was misplaced. She constantly stresses the need for further complexity and the problems arising from previous scholars' tendencies for oversimplification, but, at the same time, it was unclear to us what model of interpretation she was actually putting forward: this was particularly true in Chapter 33, which is a discussion of the 'Polis as a Place and as a Concept in Crete', and Chapter 37, on 'Cretan Identities in Historical Perspective'. Finally, the emphasis on 'democracy's alternatives', which is included in the title, makes little sense in this context. Even in the fifth century, democracy was not one of the predominant models of political behaviour in the Greek world. An analysis of the *long durée* of Cretan history in order to explain the absence of democracy seems to us teleological and retrospective, which is exactly the type of approach that the author condemns in other scholars. So, while this book is an impressive synthesis of a large body of material evidence from Crete, elegantly presented for an audience of non-experts (such as ourselves), its ambitious claims are not always successful, and the title, with its large chronological span, is in fact misleading as to the true context of the book. Rune Frederiksen's *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period* provides a masterful presentation of fortified *poleis* and other settlements.[31] A catalogue of 132 sites with walls, which occupies the second half of the book, certainly proves the author's claim that, contrary to some opinions, archaic Greek *poleis* were normally fortified. Frederiksen looks at a wide range of fortifications: foremost among these are city walls, but we also get towers, forts, and regional defence structures. The list of sites dated to the archaic period is the result of a wide range of dating techniques: according to

[31] *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900–480 BC*. By Rune Frederiksen. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xxx + 238. 114 figures, 15 tables, 4 maps. Hardback £95, ISBN: 978-0-19-957812-2.

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stratified pottery, on the basis of masonry style, and, finally, literary references. The book makes an important contribution to the discussion of the emergence of the Greek *poleis*, but its most significant section is the catalogue of city walls, which, with its excellent illustrations and additional bibliography, makes the book an indispensable work of scholarship for anyone interested in fortifications. After the completion of the superb third volume of his *Commentary on Thucydides*, Simon Hornblower collects his articles on Thucydides in a book that should be used as a companion to his commentaries.[32] *Thucydidean Themes* opens with an introduction that asks 'how Thucydides is distinctive – and distinctively admirable' (1). Hornblower then proceeds to give us a wonderfully concise analysis of the relationship between Thucydides and others: Homer, tragedy, comedy (a surprising but astute inclusion), and, of course, Herodotus. Even though the relationship between Herodotus and Thucydides has been examined closely by many, and indeed forms the main topic of Chapter 14, 'Thucydides' Awareness of Herodotus, or Herodotus' Awareness of Thucydides?', in the introduction the author offers refreshing views and relatively undiscovered affinities, such as the proximity in language of Thucydides 1.23.6 (the 'truest cause' of the war) and Herodotus 4.167.2 (the murder of Arkesilaos was the pretext of Aryandes' expedition against the Libyans). After the introduction, the book includes all of Hornblower's articles on Thucydides, with the exception of his reviews and entries in works of reference. Part 1 includes articles that deal with aspects of the work of Thucydides that may apply to the whole of his work, while Part 2 consists of articles dealing with specific books. The third and final part deals with the reception of Thucydides in antiquity and beyond. Three articles are extensively rewritten: Chapter 5 on 'Thucydides on Boiotia and Boiotians', Chapter 8 on 'Thucydides, the Panionian Festival, and the Ephesia (3.104)', and Chapter 9 on 'Thucydides and "Chalkidic" Torone (4.110.1)'. Reading these articles in succession is highly rewarding; the different approaches employed in the book prove without any doubt that Hornblower is one of the sharpest and most knowledgeable students of Thucydides. His holistic approach, with attention paid to historical, literary, rhetorical, onomastic, epigraphic, religious, philosophical, textual, and archaeological matters, shows how far Thucydidean scholarship has moved in the past decades; and this is partly, if not mostly, due to Hornblower's own work. The volume exhibits his unceasing attention to detail and almost uncanny ability to engage with a massive amount of scholarship. This rewarding book is a truly appropriate culmination of Simon Hornblower's work on Thucydides. Robin Osborne has, since mid-1985, produced a stream of thought-provoking, incisive, and sometimes controversial articles on Athenian democracy, economy, law, art history, and religion. In *Athens and Athenian Democracy*,[33] he republishes eighteen of these articles, updating them with commentaries on recent scholarship, and presenting them as an exploration of the 'links between the nature of Athenian political relations and the way in which Athenian society behaved and in which it represented itself' (xii). The first chapter

[32] *Thucydidean Themes*. By Simon Hornblower. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xvii + 415. 1 figure. Hardback £75, ISBN: 978-0-19-956233-6.

[33] *Athens and Athenian Democracy*. By Robin Osborne. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xix + 462. 30 b/w illustrations, 4 maps, 4 tables. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-521-84421-5; paperback £22.99, ISBN: 978-0-521-60570-0.

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(which is published for the first time in this volume) explores the contribution of A. H. M. Jones to the study of Athenian democracy: Jones grounded the history of Athenian democracy in the context of its practical working, political debates, and the material conditions of Athens; in other words, he aimed to present Athenian democracy as 'joined-up writing'. Osborne sets out with the intention of intensifying the degree to which the study of democracy is 'joined up', while extending into those areas that Jones neglected: the question of Athenian legal self-regulation, the role of religious ritual (and the ritualistic nature of institutional arrangements), and private life in the Athenian democracy. The rest of the volume is divided into five parts: the first explores the relationship between political institutions and political behaviour, noting the paradoxical combination of political openness and social exploitation, as well as the significance of sub-*polis* organizations, and draws out the performative implications of the laconic nature of inscribed decrees of the assembly. The second part concentrates upon Athenian economy and society, making a case for democracy's ideological and practical reliance upon slave labour, the role of cash in the economy of the wealthy, the nature of rural settlement, and the significance of mobility. Part three concerns the relationship between democracy and the legal system, ranging from discussions of dispute settlement to explorations of the implications of particular events (Perikles' law on citizenship for the growing prominence of women in privately commissioned iconography and the impact of the oligarchic revolutions for the discourse of Athenian politics). The fourth part explores the relationship between Athenian values and iconography, reprinting the controversial papers offering interpretations of the viewing of the Parthenon sculptures. The final section leaves the reader in little doubt about the significance of specific aspects of religion to Athenian democracy, exploring the relationships between democracy and competitive festivals, religious monuments, and religious experience. Consideration of political theory is conspicuous by its absence, but no one book can do everything. The breadth of Osborne's approach is peerless: he is able to deploy archaeology, epigraphy, and ceramic evidence, and draws upon social theory and comparative historical data to produce extremely insightful results. His contribution is also highly critical, and he continues to challenge the efficacy of widely held labels: the notion of the 'face-to-face society' is made superfluous by Osborne's insistence on the significance of shared experience; the blunt categories of 'mass', 'elite', and 'middling' are shown to be problematic because they deflect attention away from the varieties and richness of individual experience. Osborne shows how institutions are inseparable from social or ritualistic forces, while at the same time being polyvalent and (in the case of the *demes*) variegated entities. Yet even while Athenian democracy was 'remarkably successful' (417), reassuringly, there is no attempt to whitewash it: even the fourth-century Athenian democracy rested upon exploitation of slaves, the poor, and other communities. In the light of Osborne's work, it is no longer enough – at any level – to consider Athenian democracy as a set of procedures or constitutional arrangements, or through the activities of its foremost politicians, but its study must be informed by the lives, labour, beliefs, and ritualistic and participatory experiences of all kinds of people. The current breadth and vibrancy of the study of Athenian democracy is, to a considerable degree, a tribute in itself to the work of Osborne. But it should be added that, as this collection of papers shows, his work continues to enrich the

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wider study of Greek socio-economic and religious history too. Julia Shear's *Polis and Revolution. Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens* is a meticulous study of how the democratic Athenians at the end of the fifth century BC refounded their political system and asserted a strongly democratic identity in the aftermath of the oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404/3 BC.[34] Drawing closely on archaeological, literary, and documentary evidence and building upon social memory theory (which emphasizes the fluidity of public memory), Shear offers a portrayal of a democratic community that was able 'for the first time to write its own history and to display it in the city's spaces and monuments' (321). Chapter 2 demonstrates how the oligarchs in the late fifth century attempted to legitimize their regime by the manipulation of public spaces; the democratic response to this was to set up laws and decrees in the *agora* that portrayed Athenian history as one of devotion to democratic values; they wiped the memory of the oligarchs from public view. At the same time, the Athenians began the process of converting the *agora* into a centre of political activity (Chapter 3). The *demos* also used rituals as a way of developing the democratic image of the city: the swearing of Demophantos' oath just before, and the announcement of gold crowns at, the Dionysia of 409 asserted strongly democratic sentiment and the unity of the city upon a significant ritual occasion (Chapter 5). The Athenians faced another oligarchic interlude in 404/3 BC: Shear shows how this regime not only used violence in their imposition of power but also developed a rhetoric in advocating a return to a putative *patrios politeia* ('ancestral constitution'; Chapter 6). The reconciliation campaign of the restored democracy of 403 was founded on similar strategies to those of 410: the people used public documents and oaths to assert the criminality of the rule of the Thirty (Chapters 7 and 8). The democrats continued the earlier project of making the *agora* a democratic space through documentary publication and construction work; Shear takes a view of even the Mint as a specifically democratic space because it was producing standards that were important to the functioning of the city. The Athenians asserted their newfound unity by remembering the events of 404/3 as a crisis imposed by outsiders rather than as internal strife (and rather than suppressing the memory of them, as they did in 410). The Athenian democrats were therefore able to control the commemoration of recent events. The line of argument is more convincing if one accepts, with Shear and this reviewer, that the Athenians expected or hoped that their citizens would read their inscriptions; it should be said that Shear's acceptance of the controversial text of the decree of Demophantos of 409 BC as it appears in Andocides 1.96–8 is crucial to her argument. Regardless, as well as making a convincing case for the significance of this period (and specifically the reaction to the oligarchic recrudescence) in the construction of Athenian democratic identity and the purposefulness and the success of the Athenians in doing so, the book also elucidates many of the problems in writing the history of a community torn apart by civil upheaval. Between 1838 and 1959, thirty-three fragments of inscriptions recording dedications of silver cups (*phialai*) by residents of Athenian demes were published. They repeat the formula 'X, living in [deme], [profession],

[34] *Polis and Revolution. Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens*. By Julia L. Shear. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pp. xv + 368. 19 b/w figures, 11 tables. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-521-76044-7.

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having escaped [=escaping conviction by] Y, *phiale* by weight 100'. They lacked any extant headings that would allow certainty about their significance. Many prominent scholars worked on these documents and the reconstruction of their original *stelai*. The view taken by Carl Buck and M. N. Tod, on the basis of testimonia from the second-century AD lexicographer Harpokration, was that these inscriptions recorded the dedication of *phialai* by freedmen and freedwomen who had been acquitted of accusations brought by their patrons of failing to perform their duties towards them. On this basis, the inscriptions have been used as a source of information about the extent of manumission, the occupations of freed slaves, their names, and their places of residence, at least for the short period of time (the 330s or 320s BC) during which they were produced. In her new book, *Metics and the Athenian* Phialai-*Inscriptions*,[35] Elizabeth Meyer takes a different view, and instead argues that these inscriptions record dedications that represent the tithe from 1000-drachma fines imposed upon those unsuccessful prosecutors who accused a metic of failing to have a *prostates* or to pay his or her *metoikion*. She associates this process with Lycurgus the Athenian's reforms, his attempt to collect *phialai* on the Acropolis and to record them in inventories, and legislation that aimed at encouraging metics to remain in Athens at this time by enhancing their legal protection. This is a radical reinterpretation, which will provoke opposition, but it should be said that Meyer's exemplary corpus, in the second half of the book, of improved texts of the inscriptions (on the basis of autopsy), with excellent drawings and photographs, offers those interested a closer and more accurate view of the documents than ever before. Students and scholars of Greek religion finally have a book that is both approachable to the non-expert and one that maintains a level of scholarship that is to be admired.[36] Robert Parker is perhaps the foremost expert in the field of Greek religion and his latest book can be read as an excellent introduction to the topic, as well as a summary of his methodological approach. The Introduction and Chapter 1, entitled 'Why Believe Without Revelation? The Evidences of Greek Religion', succeed in functioning as an introduction to the main debates, while also discussing the history of scholarship and the previous theoretical models used in the study of ancient religions. The section on the role of myth (22 ff.) conveys wonderfully the complex relationship between myth, ritual, and cult. The following chapters on religious authority, the gods, the heroes, sacrifice, and festivals will become, we suspect, the principal work of consultation on these topics. We particularly enjoyed the section on structuralism (85 ff.): here the author produced a superb summary of Detienne's thesis (not the easiest of tasks), in order to gently deconstruct it and reveal its incompatibility with the ancient evidence, while acknowledging its significance to the history of scholarship of the twentieth century. The final chapter, entitled 'The varieties of Greek religious experience', brings together the previous themes and creates a vivid analytical narrative of how the Greeks (men and women, free and slaves) may have experienced religion. Parker emphasizes uncertainties, argues

[35] *Metics and the Athenian* Phialai-*Inscriptions. A Study in Athenian Epigraphy and Law*. By Elizabeth A. Meyer. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010. Pp. 167. 47 photographs. Hardback €56, ISBN: 978-3-515-09331-6.

[36] *On Greek Religion*. By Robert Parker. Ithaca, NY and London, Cornell University Press, 2011. Pp. xv + 309. 13 b/w photographs, tables. Hardback $75, ISBN: 978-0-8014-4948-2; paperback £18.50, ISBN: 978-0-8014-7735-5.

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against generalizations and the need to create a single meaning, and stresses the importance of locality and diversity. The book also succeeds in bringing into the picture what others in the last twenty years or so have largely omitted: that is, the importance of belief, alongside ritual and cult. Parker does all this while maintaining his impeccable attention to detail and wealth of knowledge of the evidence from all over the Greek world. This is probably the best book on Greek religion to have come out for some time. A real treat indeed. The inner workings of Greek religion are also at the heart of our next book.[37] *Religion and Reconciliation* examines closely two peculiar texts: the mid-fifth-century sacred law from Selinous (which occupies the bulk of the analysis) and the late fourth-century sacred law from Cyrene. Sacred laws are particularly important for the understanding of Greek religious practices: they publicly display regulations for the cult of gods (but also heroes), their festivals, their sacrifices, and the associated priesthoods; and they therefore provide some of the most detailed information that we have for Greek religious practices. The two texts examined here are probably among the most extraordinary examples of such laws: both of them are exceptionally obscure, but they allow us glimpses of local variations *and* universal practices. The Selinous law was inscribed on a lead tablet, which was then displayed on a vertical surface. One of the peculiar features of this tablet was that it was inscribed in two columns that were upside-down relative to each other; this meant that if displayed vertically, only one column could be read at one time. Robertson argues that this was the result of thinking of the tablet 'as possessing its own magical power' (35); in other words, one followed the instructions of one column, and when the tablet was reversed, these actions were magically undone. The instructions on the tablet are not, the author argues, to be interpreted as the result of internal strife (which was the focus of previous interpretations); rather, what we have here are rituals associated with the passing of seasons. The first column refers to a deadline, within which all ensuing sacrifices need to take place (lines 7–8). Robertson believes this to be the summer solstice. He further interprets the various sacrifices as appealing to rich and poor alike, in the sense that some are relatively extravagant while other could easily be performed by even the poorest members of the community. In his understanding, the community embraces all classes in its rituals. This is an ingenious interpretation indeed. Much of it depends upon the identification of the various deities mentioned in the text with cults relating to the changing of seasons and agricultural activity. Chapter 11, for example, understands the elusive Tritopatreis as essentially wind-gods. There are certainly links between the Attic Tritopateres and the winds in Athenian cult, as shown by a reference in Demon (*FGrH* 327 F2). It is less certain, however, how far we can use such a local Athenian context for interpreting another local cult in Sicily. Additionally, an interpretation emphasizing the passing of seasons seems to us to be very close to approaches in Greek religion that construe religious cult as cult obsessed with fertility (Parker, in our previous review, is particularly successful in cautioning us against such interpretations). The sacred law of Cyrene is interpreted as another act of reconciliation between rich and poor in the

[37] *Religion and Reconciliation in Greek Cities. The Sacred Laws of Selinus and Cyrene*. By Noel Robertson. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xii + 414. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-19-539400-9.

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community. Robertson is successful in showing that the tithing rules of the law, which occupy such a large section of the text, are in fact regulations aimed at a part of the population that is of mixed heritage – in other words, the offspring of Greek fathers and Libyan mothers. Similarly, the section on the rites of Artemis deals with the women of mixed heritage. Both these regulations aim to assimilate newcomers. These interpretations for the sacred laws of both Cyrene and Selinus are based on solid scholarship, careful argumentation, and the creation of occasionally ingenious associations between existing pieces of evidence. While the overall emphasis on reconciliation and inclusion of both rich and poor in the cult of a community creates a new interpretative context for these two fascinating texts, perhaps sometimes it is not erroneous to admit defeat and accept that a full understanding of these texts evades us. School pupils will enjoy *Salamis 480 BC*.[38] This is a short, beautifully illustrated book that aims to show the important position that the battle of Salamis holds for Greek history. The account of the events is straightforward; the author never strays away from Herodotus' narrative, while enough references are kept in the text to show how this narrative is based on the ancient texts. The real strength of the book is its excellent illustrations, including the maps and the reconstructions of the battle. It seems that the Persian wars, and Salamis in particular, still hold audiences captivated. Sviatoslav Dmitriev's *The Greek Slogan of Freedom and Early Roman Politics in Greece*,[39] is an important contribution to the modern understanding of the development of *eleutheria* and related ideas: the scope of its interest (from the Peloponnesian War to the destruction of Corinth in 146) is unmatched. Part I concentrates on classical and Hellenistic Greece. Dmitriev shows how the Athenians and Spartans deployed the notions of *autonomia* and *eleutheria* as political slogans in the Peloponnesian War, how they became the stated objectives of fourth-century BC peace treaties, how Philip II of Macedon and Alexander the Great deployed the slogan to represent themselves as defenders of the Greeks, and how Hellenistic rulers used the terms. This is the point at which the book gets interesting, and Dmitriev identifies three uses of the slogan by the second century BC: to maintain the political status quo, to establish a principle of the relationship between ruler and community, and to act as a pretext for aggression (141). But much of Dmitriev's book focuses on the place of the slogan in Roman diplomacy, showing how the Romans employed the idea as a way of furthering their own interests. Part II maintains that the Roman use of the slogan of freedom was transmitted directly from the Greek world, perhaps as late as the negotiations of 197 BC; from that point, they used it as a pretext for meddling in Greek affairs and to secure Roman control over Asia Minor. Part III examines the development of the slogan and idea of freedom in the second century BC: the Romans developed a nuanced understanding, recognizing its constituent phenomena (freedom to have one's possessions, freedom from taxes, freedom from being garrisoned, and the freedom to maintain one's own political constitution), though in practice the slogan

[38] *Salamis 480 BC. The Naval Campaign that Saved Greece*. By William Shepherd, illustrated by Peter Dennis. Oxford, Osprey Publishing, 2010. Pp. 96. 6 maps, 72 illustrations. Paperback £14.99, ISBN: 978-1-84603-684-2.

[39] *The Greek Slogan of Freedom and Early Roman Politics in Greece*. By Sviatoslav Dmitriev. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xv + 524. 2 maps. Hardback £60, ISBN: 978-0-19-537518-3.

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did not always have much to do with these privileges and the Romans tended to expect that communities granted 'freedom' would be faithful to the Roman cause without question. Indeed, the Roman advocacy of freedom had its limits: when the Rhodians in the Roman Senate in 168 took the stance of defending Greek freedom from the Romans, the Romans were troubled and punished the Rhodians for their arrogance. By the first century BC, therefore, freedom meant nothing more than peaceful acquiescence to Roman power: *plus ça change…* Polybius' interest in the Roman deployment of the slogan of freedom (for example, at 18.46) means that it is no surprise that Sviatoslav Dmitriev's heavyweight tome draws heavily on his *Histories*. Early on in his Polybius' *Histories*,[40] Brian McGing sets out the factors that create the impression that Polybius' *Histories* is a problematic work: its fragmentary nature, the length and variedness of the extant text, the challenging style of his Greek, and the absence of a satisfactory translation into English. Two publications under review challenge this impression (the second edition of the Loeb translation, revised by Christian Habicht should also be mentioned in this context). McGing's book is aimed at readers who are relatively unfamiliar with Polybius and the scholarship on him, and it succeeds in introducing them to its subject, narrative style, methodology, relevant modern scholarship, controversies surrounding his interpretation, and the reception of the text. McGing bases his interpretations of the *Histories* upon a plethora of examples and integrates modern scholarship and literary theory seamlessly. He treats his subject judiciously by demonstrating the richness of his work, while not losing sight of Polybius' main aim: to explain the rise of Roman power. He shows how Polybius' combination of two modes of writing – narrative and narrative pause – create a moralistic, rational, didactic view of history that is explicit about its methodology. Chapter 2 shows how Polybius' work resembles that of previous Greek historians, but stresses that what makes it stand out is Polybius' frequent enunciation of his purposes, principles, and working methods. McGing challenges current positions to make a case for significant resemblances between Polybius and Herodotus, and he clarifies Polybius' position on dramatic historiography, causation, geography, personal experience, and speeches. Chapter 3 demonstrates the carefully contrived design of Polybius' work, and uses the notion of 'focalization' (according to which a narrator presents a situation through the views of his subjects; this is also known as 'gaze'), with particular reference to the episodes concerning Philip V of Macedon, to bring to the surface Polybius' view of the significance of perceptions in historical causation. Chapter 4 considers the presence of Polybius himself in his *Histories*, and suggests that his decision to extend his work down to 146 was driven by his desire to give himself an Odyssean place in the history, set in contrast to the decline of the world around him. Chapter 5 discusses the theoretical Book 6, offering an insightful reconciliation of the cyclical and biological views of history (176–7), and maintains that Polybius resisted the temptation to impose his theoretical view of historical change upon his account of events (194). The Epilogue briefly surveys the ancient and modern reception of Polybius, paying particular attention to his significance for republican theorists

[40] *Polybius' Histories*. By Brian McGing. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xvi + 270. 2 maps. Hardback £45, ISBN: 978-0-19-531032-0; paperback £11.99, ISBN: 978-0-19-531033-7.

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since Machiavelli. The survey extends to Hardt and Negri's use of Polybius' tripartite analysis of the 'Mixed Constitution' as a way of explaining their view of current world political structures: McGing offers the conclusion that Polybius' universal vision of history offers possibilities for understanding the modern world (221). One hopes that McGing's work will inspire its readers to turn to Polybius' text itself: this brings us to a new translation of *The Histories*.[41] McGing's concise introduction, appropriately enough, raises many of the themes considered in his own publication. Waterfield's translation consists of all of the fully preserved narrative of Books 1–5 and the fragmentary totality of Books 6 (on the Roman constitution) and 12 (on historiographical methodology). This is an improvement on Scott-Kilvert's Penguin, which is much more selective of even the extant books. Waterfield's selection, however, means that the historical narrative covers nothing after the Roman defeat at Cannae in 216 BC. The translation therefore offers close engagement with the most substantial literary remains, but nothing of the remains of Polybius' detailed account of the development of Roman power (which includes dramatic episodes such as Flamininus' proclamation of Greek freedom at Isthmia in 196 at 18.46). Waterfield's translation prioritizes readability and sense over literalness: at 12.13, Polybius' *ὅτι Τίμαιός φησι Δημοχάρην ἡταιρηκέναι μὲν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ εἶναι δ' ἄξιον τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ φυσᾶν* is rendered as 'Timaeus says that Demochares was a fellationist who should not have been allowed to blow on the sacred flame' (this is less stuffy and in fact closer to the Greek than the Loeb's 'Timaeus tells us that Demochares had been guilty of such impurity that he was not a fit person to blow the sacrificial flame' or the Penguin's 'Elsewhere Timaeus alleges that Demochares was guilty of unnatural lust, that he was thus unworthy to blow the sacred flame'). Waterfield marks textual problems with obeli, which refer the reader to Textual Notes (separate from the Explanatory Notes), and at points his translation is based upon *ad sensum* textual criticism: at 6.23.3, in the passage on the dimensions of the Roman shield, he amends Büttner-Wobst's text to read *ὁ δὲ μήνισκός ἐστι καὶ παλαιστιαῖος*, so that it is the curvature of the shield, not the thickness of its rim, that equals the breadth of a palm. Kaldellis has produced a wonderful translation and edition of Prokopios' fascinating text, *Secret History*.[42] This is a truly exceptional text, and one of the few texts from any historical period that include such detailed criticism against the establishment (in this case the sixth-century Byzantine emperor Justinian and his wife, Theodora). As the editor states, 'no previous author had yet exposed the crimes of a regime by combining institutional, legal, and military analysis with personal attacks and salacious rumor quite as Prokopios does here' (viii). This detailed knowledge of the inside workings of the regime, presented alongside many pornographic accusations directed against the empress Theodora makes it a truly engrossing read. The editor has given us an excellent introduction, which discusses the historical context, the literary allusions and borrowings, and Prokopios' other works. The translation stays

[41] *Polybius. The Histories. A New Translation*. By Robin Waterfield, with an Introduction and Notes by Brian McGing. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xliii + 501. 3 maps. Paperback £11.99, ISBN: 978-0-19-953470-8.

[42] *Prokopios. The Secret History. With Related Texts.* Edited and translated, with an introduction, by Anthony Kaldellis. Indianapolis, IN, Hackett Publishing, 2010. Pp. lxxix + 195. 3 maps. Hardback £28.45, ISBN: 978-1-60384-181-8; paperback £9.95, ISBN: 978-1-60384-180-1.

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close to the original style but is easy to read. The notes explain events and details to the complete novice, while also discussing issues important to a scholarly audience. This is a superb translation indeed. Herodotus, after describing late sixth-century Athenian military success against the Boiotians and Chalcidians, suggests that what inspired Athenian military strength was the *isegoria* that they achieved after overthrowing the Pisistratid tyranny (5.78). Although the recent discovery of an inscribed *kioniskos* offers a contradictory Boiotian view of the same event (*AR* 51 [2004/5], 46), the broader subject of the impact of democratic institutions and military activity continues to be of interest and is addressed by Pritchard's edited volume, *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*.[43] In his introductory essay, Pritchard takes the view that the Athenian democracy was culturally militaristic, that the Athenian people saw their past as an unbroken chain of victories, and that democratic organization (alongside Attica's exceptionally large human resources and the imperial income) intensified and transformed classical Athenian military organization. At the same time, he suggests, increased military activity intensified democratic activity in Athens. Part I of the collection explores the impact of democracy on war: Ober maintains that Athenian military talents were refined through democratic interaction while heeding Thucydides' warnings about the over-optimistic Athenian view of their military strengths; Balot shows how the Athenians appropriated the Greek idea of *andreia* as a democratic ideal and suggests, in a persuasive inversion of an old orthodoxy, that the democratic Athenians, by making their *andreia* more reflective and independent, succeeded in making themselves 'more courageous than the Spartans' (101). Part II looks at actual military innovations, with Spence associating the establishment of a regular cohort of cavalrymen with the strategic sophistication of its democratic administration; Trundle shows how, despite the tensions between the image of light-infantry fighters and *polis* ideology, the Athenians deployed light infantrymen innovatively. Part III explores dramatic portrayals of warfare: Mills argues that Athenian military success was idealized in tragedy; contrastingly, Konstan shows how Old Comedy demonstrates an Athenian willingness to tolerate criticism of military operations. Part IV approaches the subject in oratory: Blanshard shows how, in contrast to the vision of warfare in the *epitaphioi logoi*, the agonistic context of forensic oratory gives rise to contextually informed discourses on warfare and illustrates the dynamism and malleability of democratic ideas about warfare; Hunt, meanwhile, argues that militarism made the Athenians excessively optimistic about their military capabilities. Part V turns to artistic representations: Osborne argues that the showy iconography of the Dexileos monument, by flouting the convention that the war dead should be commemorated as a group, opened the way for private gravestones in the fourth century to represent acts of individual military prowess; Hannah explores the funerary 'battle *loutrophoroi*', presenting their depictions as, on the one hand, realistic and culturally meaningful (in particular with respect to the lighter hoplite equipment that appears towards the end of the fifth century), and, on the other hand, idealizing (battle scenes are glorifying rather than horrific); Miller's chapter revisits the

[43] *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*. Edited by David M. Pritchard. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xviii + 460. 34 b/w illustrations, 1 table. Hardback £65, ISBN: 978-0-521-19033-6.

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Eurymedon vase, arguing that the strange physical appearance of the Greek is purposefully non-aristocratic and that the vase is a metaphorical representation of Athenian naval victory, though one that ridicules both the Greek and the Persian figures. Part VI turns to the commemoration of the dead: Low develops a multivalent view of Athenian commemorative practice, stressing its honorific, consolatory, and military aspects; she convincingly demonstrates a significant difference between ancient Athenian and some modern attitudes towards commemoration: in Athens, the most important war memorials were those that commemorated military success, not those that marked the dead. Yoshitake explores the attribution of *arête* to the war dead in funeral speeches: every citizen who died in battle was qualified to receive it. The final contribution, by the political scientist John Keane, addresses the broader relationship of democracy to violence and concludes that democracies are naturally neither peaceful nor bellicose; his final proposal, that militaristic democratic societies trigger their own demise, lowers the curtain with rather a blunt 'message'. The social and political implications of warfare have a high profile in many classical undergraduate degree programmes in the UK, and this well-rounded and rich volume deserves to be added to their reading lists. *Law and Drama in Ancient Greece* brings together contributions of scholars based in the UK, US, and Portugal.[44] The first four papers focus on Aeschylus' and Euripides' Orestes plays (a central aspect of which is the trial of Orestes): Alan Sommerstein argues that the homicide court in which Aeschylus set Orestes' trial resembles a regular law court rather than that of the Areopagus, and this leads to a reading of the scene as an aetiology of the whole Athenian judicial system; Leão offers a different perspective, maintaining that Aeschylus' objective was to link the stories about Orestes with the foundation of the Areopagus, while at the same time confronting questions about the nature of justice on both the human and divine level. The collection then turns to Euripides' version of the trail of Orestes at Argos: Naiden compares that account with the Athenian practice (abolished in the 360s) of trying, at the assembly, those who wrong the community as a whole; he argues that, just like Xenophon's account of the trial of the generals after Arginusae, Euripides' play can be seen as a critique of this procedure; Naiden's interpretation therefore offers a new angle on the question of the 'separation of powers' in classical Athens. De Fátima Silva also discusses Euripides' version in order to emphasize the unsettling and ultimately insecure nature of the verdict (the death sentence against Orestes) meted out in the assembly of the Argives compared with that of Aeschylus' enlightened Athenian Areopagus, suggesting that Euripides' re-examination of the old myth reflects the turmoil of the Greek world in 408. Other papers address broader questions: Brock maintains that, with the exception of Euripides' *Ion*, the Athenian citizen body is portrayed as relatively unaccommodating to outsiders in tragedy. Do Céu Fialho emphasizes the dramatization of another societal norm in tragedy: that of *gerotrophia* (care for aged parents), and shows how subversions of family relations bore potentially catastrophic implications. Harris explores the question of the guilt of Sophocles' Oedipus in the light of Athenian homicide law: he challenges Vernant's view that there was conflict between divine and *polis* law in fifth-century Athens and argues that the guilty

[44] *Law and Drama in Ancient Greece*. Edited by Edward M. Harris, Delfim F. Leão, and P. J. Rhodes. London, Duckworth, 2010. Pp. vii + 200. Hardback £45, ISBN: 978-0-7156-3892-7.

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Oedipus of the *OT* is rehabilitated in the *OC* to provide the Athenians with an innocent protector. †Douglas MacDowell's paper demonstrates the close connection between Athenian comedy and law in terms of popular engagement and organization; it shows how Aristophanes can be used to contribute to our understanding of the procedural aspects of Athenian laws about debt: audiences of Athenian comedy were familiar with points of law, and so they were ready to hear jokes about them. P. J. Rhodes's paper demonstrates how Aristophanes' parody of an assembly meeting in the *Knights* alludes to legal practice but implies criticism of the behaviour of politicians. Carey's contribution provides a fascinating closing perspective, exploring the third-century BC poet Herodas' second mime, in which a pimp speaks before a Coan court: significant aspects of his argumentation resemble the strategies of fourth-century Athenian forensic orators, and suggest that this author assumed that his audience would be familiar with their works. Overall, this volume challenges the assumption that drama is not good evidence for social practice, and makes a significant contribution to the political interpretation of Athenian drama. It demonstrates not only ways in which critically informed reading of drama can heighten an understanding of both the practices and ancient perceptions of the Athenian legal system, but also the literary implications of reading drama with a jurisprudentially sensitive eye. A splendid new edited volume addresses the question that is at the heart of scholarship on Greek tragedy: why Athens?[45] The inevitable and complicated relationship between the Athenian *polis* (with its religious festivals, its democratic constitution, its dominant ideology, its imperial power, and everything else that made Athens what it was in the fifth century) and the genre of tragedy is explored in fourteen chapters, arranged in six parts, with each part examining a different aspect of this relationship. Six further scholars provide responses to the arguments put forward in each part. The volume broadly follows recent trends that examine tragedy through a historicist lens, in the sense that it is interested in contexts, structures, and the question of audience. While the consensus seems to be that politics (in the broad sense of 'matters of the *polis*') are relevant to tragedy, there is also enough criticism against excessive Athenocentricism. The tone of the volume is set in a brilliant section of the Introduction by Griffith, who achieves the nigh-impossible task of summarizing the twelve key principles of Greek tragedy in two pages (pp. 2–3). These principles are presented in contradictory statements; it is perhaps worth quoting one of these in full, Principle 10, as an example: 'Fifth-century tragedy was BOTH a) a specifically Attic art-form, designed for a very Athenocentric performance context AND b) a conspicuously (and increasingly) panhellenic phenomenon, appreciated by audiences (and readers) all over the classical and Hellenistic Greek world.' Rarely have recent trends in scholarship been so expertly and succinctly summarized. The chapters and the responses deal with a wide range of topics, within the overarching subject of the relationship between Athens and tragedy. It is impossible in a short review to do justice to so many excellent contributions, but we shall try to provide enough examples of the main themes covered in the volume. Part 1 deals with context; there is a chapter on the economic practicalities of performance, which are then linked

[45] *Why Athens? A Reappraisal of Tragic Politics*. Edited by D. M. Carter. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xii + 472. Hardback £80, ISBN: 978-0-19-956232-9.

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with the democratic procedures of Athens (Wilson); another highlights the panhellenic appeal of tragedy, including plays produced for tyrants at Sicily and Macedon (Duncan, and reply by Seaford). The second part, on discourse, deals with the complex relationship between tragedy and democratic discourse, through an examination of *euboulia* (Hesk) and dissent (Barker). The third part focuses on one of the main topics of conflict in tragedy: that of family conflicts. Part four looks at tragic choruses, while part five examines the peculiar position of tragic Athens as a recipient of suppliants. Finally, part six discusses how the rest of Greece is reflected in tragedy. In the last two parts, the issue of Athenian imperialism and its possible representation in tragedy is tackled head on, with quite differing conclusions. Tzanetou and Rosenbloom read some tragedies as essentially presentations (and possibly defences) of Athenian imperialism, while Podlecki, in his response to Part 6, argues against an Athenocentric interpretation. The editor has done a wonderful job in producing a volume where all these diverse opinions come together so eloquently. There may be disagreements but the chapters in the volume work excellently as a whole. This collection of essays should become a key work of consultation for years to come. The 42nd *Yearbook of the Research Centre for the Study of Greek Law*,[46] published by the Academy of Athens, contains five articles of direct relevance to antiquity. Two articles emphasize legal protections asserted by Greek laws. Aikaterini Mandalaki's study of the fifth-century inscription from the Cretan city of Eltynia (which deals, uniquely, with personal injuries mainly to minors) maintains that the regulations represent an ad hoc regulation of problems faced by that community rather than a fragment of a comprehensive law code. R. V. Dudjoe and S. Adam-Magnissali study the law cited in Dem. 43.75, concluding that the law's purpose is to provide protection, under the jurisdiction of the *archon*, for orphans, heiresses, and families on the verge of extinction. Photeini Dekazou-Stephanopoulou collects evidence on the labour of women in classical Athens, focusing in particular on the financial activities of women; this is a useful article that complements Roger Brock's article in *CQ* 44 (1994), 336–46. Eleni Karabatsou's article concerns *I. Knidos* 34, an inscribed letter in which Augustus reversed a verdict on a killing pronounced by the Cnidians: he proclaimed innocent a couple who had appealed to him, accusing the Cnidians of cruelty and prejudice and a disregard for security. Dimitris Karabellas' article makes a good case for the idea that imaginary laws and court cases discussed in Hermogenes' *Peri ton staseon* can tell us a lot about the legal reality of the Greek world under Roman rule. The Academy of Athens has also published, as a Supplement to the Yearbook, *A New Working Bibliography of Ancient Greek Law (7th–4th centuries* BC*)*.[47] This is a thematic bibliography divided into twelve sections: 'sources' for Greek law, 'auxiliaries of the discipline', 'fundamental principles', 'the *polis*', 'individuals, status and law', 'family and inheritance', 'contractual and property relations', 'trade and finance', 'crime and punishment', 'legal redress', 'law and religion', 'inter-*poleis* relations'. As the editors observe, the division of notions and categories was inspired by the Roman

[46] *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου* 42. Edited by Lydia Paparrega-Artemiadi. Athens, Academy of Athens, 2010. Pp. 268. Paperback, ISSN: 1105-0055.

[47] *A New Working Bibliography of Ancient Greek Law (7th–4th centuries* BC*)*. By Mark Sundahl, David Mirhady, and Ilias Arnaoutoglou. Athens, Academy of Athens, 2011. Pp. 657. Paperback, ISBN: 978-9604041985.

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legal tradition (the book's organization is uncompromised by recent comparative and anthropological approaches to Greek law, though note the bibliography on 'Greek legal history through different lenses' on 107–9). The second half consists of an alphabetical bibliography of modern authors. This is an extremely useful and well-produced book and is a valuable asset for anyone navigating the massive scholarship of an important subject. Users can find the summer 2011 supplement to the volume on the NOMOI website (http://www.sfu.ca/nomoi/), and one hopes that the editors will maintain their biannual update of the bibliography and that they will realize their intention of extending it to cover the period to AD 212.

CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU
c.constantakopoulou@bbk.ac.uk

PETER LIDDEL
peter.liddel@manchester.ac.uk
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Roman History

Central Roman historical subjects make the backbone of this review, but it must begin with R. J. A. Talbert's examination of *Rome's World. The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*.[48] A master cartographer, with able assistance, has set out in methodical and lucid style all we could ask about that delightful object, which he concludes to be not an early AA route map, as most scholars have believed, but a display piece celebrating the restoration of peace and order by Diocletian's tetrarchy. In the Introduction, he explains one main object of the work: to present the map in digital form. Associated with this display, with routes and rivers traced on a mosaic of the *Barrington Atlas*, is a database with entries and commentary for more than 3,500 items. Talbert goes on to a chapter on the history, publication, and scholarship of the surviving copy; an examination of the material object – early thirteenth century, uncertain provenance; its design; its relation to the original map; and the nature and date of the original. The author is not K. Miller's 'Castorius' but remains an unknown artist; Talbert imagines his work in an apse behind an imperial throne. A concluding chapter places the map in a cartographical context, but there are nine appendices, including 'User's Guides'. Oddly, the illustrations of this elegant book are rather dim, but Talbert and his aides have made the Peutinger Table spring off the page. Saskia Roselaar's *Public Land in the Roman Republic*[49] treats a phenomenon that had profound effects on political, economic, and social life. It has a worthy exponent. By chronology and geography, Roselaar systematically and lucidly examines knotty problems that

[48] *Rome's World. The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*. By R. J. A. Talbert in association with Tom Elliott, assisted by Nora Harris, Gannon Hubbard, David O'Brien, and Graham Shepherd, with a contribution by Martin Steinmann. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xviii + 357. Frontispiece, 26 plates, 7 figures, 1 table. Hardback £50, ISBN: 978-0-521-76480-3.

[49] *Public Land in the Roman Republic. A Social and Economic History of Ager Publicus in Italy, 396–89 BC*. By Saskia T. Roselaar. Oxford Studies in Roman Society and Law. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. x + 360. 22 figures, 1 table. Hardback, £75, ISBN: 978-0-19-957723-1.

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