

of the impact and the demands of war on communities, whereas R. traces the development of logistics through to the existence of a largely static but 'professional' army. R. is easier to read and use because of both the quality of the text and the presence of an index. It is irritating in the extreme, and extraordinary given even the (albeit limited) indexing capabilities of word-processors these days, that an index-less book could have been produced, which makes E.'s text 'user-hostile'. Both lack maps and plans which could have saved a lot of rifling through atlases, and some of E.'s tables need labels and clarification. Nonetheless, together these works make a major contribution to the study of Roman warfare and the development of military institutions, and both are to be warmly congratulated for producing so successfully something which many were saying only a couple of years ago could not be done.

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DEATH BEFORE BODY-BAGS

D. G. KYLE: *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. Pp. xii + 288, 5 figs, 2 maps. London and New York: Routledge, 1998. Cased, £45. ISBN: 0-415-09678-2 (0-415-24842-6 pbk).

'But what did they do with all those bodies?' From this pragmatic question, posed by an undergraduate in response to a lecture on Roman gladiatorial spectacles, D. G. Kyle embarked on the far-ranging investigation that led to the present book. Addressed to a broad readership, K.'s study is avowedly 'not theory-driven or hermeneutically adventuresome' and tries 'not to stray too far from the evidence' (p. xi), but it is generous in adducing parallels from other cultures. (Those from the new world, however, are not always pertinent: a fascinating digression on public killing among the Maya, Aztec, and Amerindians [pp. 135–40], for example, highlights the differences rather than the similarities between Roman practices and those of the new world, which featured cannibalism and formal evisceration. Ethnologists will enjoy the culinary ramifications of Texas bear hunts, rattlesnake infestations, and the production of 'prairie oysters' [p. 211 n. 98], but their historical bearing on Roman *venationes* is remote.) K.'s readable text (144 pages) is bolstered by substantial notes (127 pages), which supply ample documentation and copious (mostly uncritical) bibliography. The project is ambitious, encompassing topics as diverse as Roman festivals and penal law, food, and Christian persecutions, as well as the more narrow question of the disposal from the arena of human and animal corpses. How well does it succeed?

On the whole, well. K. focuses on the city of Rome from the early Republic to the reign of Constantine, reasoning that 'Rome was the model' for practices elsewhere and that 'ritual patterns were widespread' (p. 12). The extent to which this was true is more a matter of faith than of demonstrable fact, however, and one casualty of K.'s Romanocentric perspective is an appreciation of the significance of gladiatorial spectacles across the empire. Still, Rome was undoubtedly the greatest 'consumer' of gladiators—and, as K. rightly emphasizes, of the captives and convicts (*noxii*) whose public executions accounted for the greatest number of deaths in the Roman arena (p. 91).

Since much of the book presents synthesis rather than argument, it is a distinct virtue that K. is a well-informed and generally reliable guide. Sometimes the summary of broader historical developments is misleading (e.g. p. 98, on treason trials under

Tiberius: see B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus* [Manchester, 1954], pp. 82–108) or the interpretation of points of detail unconvincing (e.g. p. 161, on the abbreviation *lib.* in gladiators' epitaphs: see P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *RFIC* 112 [1984], 106–8). Occasionally K.'s reliance on the English translations of the Loeb Classical Library and too hasty examination of Latin texts lead to error: in consecutive sentences on p. 2, for example, Seneca's phrase *satis spectaculi* (*Ep.* 95.33) is rendered 'a satisfying spectacle' (better: 'a sufficient spectacle') and *spectacula* in *CIL* X.852 is apparently taken as feminine nominative singular rather than neuter accusative plural (similarly, 3 *ad* for *ac*, 128 *cenotaphia* for *cepotaphia*, 163 *suspendiosum* for *suspendiosi*). But K. has marshaled a wide range of information on a variety of topics, and he makes a valuable contribution in identifying the period of the middle Republic following the disaster at Cannae (216 B.C.E.) as a time crucial to the development of gladiatorial combats as 'military morality plays' (pp. 47–9) and in insisting that distinctions of status—and hence of treatment, before and after death—were as sharply observed of those in the sand as of those in the stands (pp. 91–5, 156, 160–3, 268).

In general K. reads more religion into Roman gladiatorial spectacles than many will accept. The idea that arena entertainments were 'ritualized' (e.g. pp. 40, 49, 102) is familiar, but ritual does not necessarily mean religion, and the slippage from one to the other in K.'s discussion is tendentious: the macabre arena attendants dressed as Mercury and Dis Pater, for example, are less reflective of Roman 'religious concerns' (p. 157) than of the Roman penchant for mythologizing performances—particularly, though not only (as T. P. Wiseman has repeatedly argued), punishments in the arena (K. Coleman, *JRS* 80 [1990], 44–73). There are a few typos, mostly in Latin words and proper names (e.g. pp. 64 n. 65 Frederi{c}ksen, 166 and 168 Luceri<n>a, 175 n. 43 *bustu{r}arii*, 177 n. 53 *milliar<i>um*); the map of the Roman Forum on p. 215 falls below the standards of accuracy maintained elsewhere.

What of the central question? Rejecting the idea that corpses from the arena were disposed of in pits (like the *puticuli* on the Esquiline that received the bodies of the indigent during the Republic: pp. 164–8) or in mass crematoria—impractical, it is claimed, despite explicit literary testimony (e.g. Mart. 8.75.9–10, Plut. *Mor.* 651B) that this fate awaited the poor of imperial Rome (pp. 169–71), K. argues that meat from the animals killed in *venationes* was distributed and sold to the poor (pp. 189–94) and that the corpses of *noxii* were thrown in the Tiber, which washed away the pollution of death along with the mortal remains (pp. 224, 227, 271). He demonstrates convincingly the purificatory character of disposal by water (pp. 214–16; cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2.57) and assembles anecdotal evidence of corpses being thrown in the Tiber (pp. 219–23), but virtually all the known instances belong to the times of massive bloodshed during the collapse of the Republic or to executions (usually of notable figures) in the Carcer under the Empire. Whether the corpses of thousands of *noxii* routinely killed in the arena would have been subjected to the special insult of disposal in the Tiber (dragged from the Colosseum? By what route?) is less certain. That meat from the beast fights was consumed is plausible (cf. Petr. 66.5–6), but, apart from occasional scrambles from the stands (pp. 190–4), one would like to know more about the mechanisms of distribution.

There are perhaps few subjects on which K. will have the last word, but that is less a criticism of his treatment than an indication of the timeliness of the topic (see recently, e.g., D. Noy, *G&R* 47 [2000], 186–96, on Roman cremations gone awry; V. Hope, in A. Cooley [ed.], *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy* [London, 2000], pp. 93–113, on gladiators' tombstones; and various contributors in V. Hope, E. Marshall [edd.], *Death and Disease in the Ancient City* [London, 2000], on corpse abuse, potter's fields,

and death pollution in ancient Rome). Indeed, K. deserves thanks for providing an up-to-date and accessible account of a neglected aspect of a well worn subject.

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ORGANIZED CRIME

K. HOPWOOD (ed.): *Organised Crime in Antiquity*. Pp. xvi + 278. London: Duckworth/The Classical Press of Wales, 1999. Cased, £40. ISBN: 0-7156-2905-0.

This volume collects papers presented at the 1996 Lampeter conference on organized crime in the ancient world. Its scope is broad, ranging not only from Homeric Greece to early Byzantium, but also traversing the Atlantic to consider criminality among the Aztecs. After the editor's introduction (on which more anon) comes 'The Mafia of Early Greece' (pp. 1–51), in which Hans van Wees examines the use of force against poor farmers and debtors by ruling élites in archaic Greece. Some intriguing parallels are drawn between their behaviour and that of Mafiosi in nineteenth-century Sicily. Such analogies prompt van Wees to take a different perspective on the outcome of the phenomenon in the Greek world: the rise of tyrants, who emerge as Mafiosi of a populist bent. Nick Fisher follows with 'Workshops of Villains' (pp. 53–96), the subtitle of which explicitly asks 'was there much organised crime in classical Athens?' Fisher exploits a rich seam of forensic oratory to give a comprehensive overview of such activities as theft, criminal violence, and rural banditry, as well as corruption in the law courts. He concludes that classical Athens was a relatively peaceful society, and that if there was a fear of crime, this had less to do with the scale of criminal activity than with low rates of detection. After this, the focus of the volume turns Roman. Louis Rawlings's fine 'Condottieri and Clansmen' (pp. 97–127) follows a similar path to that trodden by van Wees. By comparing wars waged between archaic Rome and its neighbours with those conducted by the military adventurers of late medieval Italy, Rawlings suggests that much early Italian warfare was conducted on behalf of the state by noble clans. Such privatized wars, it is argued, became increasingly incompatible with the spirit of the emerging structures of the nascent Roman state. In the face of continuing aristocratic raiding, Roman authorities were forced to take stringent measures to control the practice of war, and it is in this context that Rawlings locates the emergence of fetial procedure in Roman diplomacy. From archaic Italy we move without stopping to Egypt in the second century A.D. with Richard Alston's study of 'The Revolt of the Boukoloï' (pp. 129–53). Dio's colourful account of these rebels as transvestite cannibals is rejected as mythologizing characterization. Excavating beneath these surface features, Alston uncovers a Nile Delta which, thanks to the insensitive demands of Roman taxation, was inhabited by oppressed and disaffected farmers and pastoralists. Their violent reactions against imperial demands were then stigmatized by the state as banditry, an association which, Alston suggests, may even have been welcomed by the insurgents themselves. There follow two papers on banditry in late antique Asia Minor: Stephen Mitchell's 'Native Rebellion in the Pisidian Taurus' (pp. 155–75) and Keith Hopwood's 'Bandits between Grandees and the State' (pp. 177–206). In Mitchell's paper, an outbreak of banditry in the late third century is seen not as symptomatic of the stock rivalry between the populations of mountain and plain, but as reflecting the pro-Roman spin put on a native rebellion provoked by an