allegedly duped by the ancients into believing that Alexander's march through Gedrosia was a disaster rather than the success B. claims it to have been (p. 92)?

Who, in the end, is B.'s Alexander? B. intended in this book to offer no particular vision or judgement (p. 108), but one emerges none the less. His narrative systematically tones down the brutality of Alexander's campaigns, the disaffection of his troops, the king's claims to divinity, his corruption by wealth and power, and his heavy-handedness towards the Greeks. Readers will therefore discern a genial and politic Alexander whose like has not been imagined for quite some time by the inmates of Alexanderland. Old-timers there will shake their shaggy heads knowingly at one last irony: B. has claimed what is left of the abandoned lot once owned by Sir William Tarn.

University of Houston

FRANK L. HOLT histm@central.uh.edu

## A SEXUALITIES COMPANION

HUBBARD (T.K.) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*. Pp. xxviii+651, ills. Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014. Cased, £120, €144, US\$195. ISBN: 978-1-4051-9572-0. doi:10.1017/S0009840X15000979

Early publications like K.J. Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* (1978) and M. Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* (vols. 2 and 3, 1986 and 1988) helped launch ancient sexuality as an area of specialty. In recent decades, studies of this nature have proliferated, and H.'s volume neatly compresses numerous branches of research into one volume. Covering a wide variety of topics (e.g. 'From Ascesis to Sexual Renunciation', 'Sexuality in Greek and Roman Military Contexts', 'Sexual Themes in Greek and Latin Graffiti', 'The Early Homophile Movement in Germany'), the book is composed of 37 chapters authored by international scholars and includes two indexes (ancient authors cited and a general index). Rather than separate Greek and Roman material, authors address both cultures, arranging them chronologically within a given chapter or intermingling them under thematic headings. Since one cannot discuss everything and adhere to a review's space limitations, I will assess several contributions that pertain to my own interests.

A. Glazebrook and K. Olson concisely discuss Greek and Roman marital traditions in Chapter 5. In Graeco-Roman antiquity the institution of marriage was aligned closely with sexuality since the purpose of any nuptial union was the production of legitimate offspring. The chapter begins with the Greek world. Although principally summarising the customs of the Athenians, this section also considers marital rituals of the Spartans. This regional comparison is effective in highlighting the gross (sexual) distinction between the two cultures (e.g. Athenian women were expected to be faithful to their husbands and this virtue was highly prized; Spartan women, on the other hand, were permitted to have children with other men, with permission granted by their husbands, and may have even actively sought a second mate [p. 72]). After a brief section on the novelty of romantic love in the Hellenistic period, the authors shift focus to the Roman world. Deftly navigating the reader through complicated marital laws and numerous nuptial practices, the authors achieve a balanced prose that takes into account various socio-economic classes.

Although relevant to nearly all contributions, homosexuality is the exclusive subject of two chapters: 'Peer Homosexuality' by H. and 'Female Homoeroticism' by S. Boehringer. Emphasising the relationships between same-sex partners of similar age categories,

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H. distinguishes his material from the previous chapter on pederasty and the *erastes* and *eromenos* relationship. The chapter is divided into three parts ('Adolescent Love', 'Lesbian Love' and 'Adult Love') and utilises various ancient authors and numerous Athenian vases. As the Romans generally were opposed to same-sex relations among peers, H.'s chapter is devoted primarily to the Hellenistic evidence. Boehringer's contribution includes an excellent discussion on Rome's 'imaginary Greece' and the incorporation of numerous types of evidence (e.g. ancient authors, graffiti, medical and astrological texts, and curse tablets). According to Boehringer, the Greeks (unlike the Romans) seem to have applied 'neither taboo, satire or rejection nor moral condemnation' for women engaging in homosexual relationships (p. 154).

In Chapter 12, 'Sumposion', S. Corner takes on the Greek symposium and, as he states aptly, most of our extant documentation for sexual activity stems from our knowledge of this event. Indeed, not only do ancient sources like Plato and Athenaeus relay salacious events in their writings, but also countless Athenian vases display erotic (and sometimes graphic) representations. After describing briefly the symposiastic experience and underscoring the overall community environment, Corner contrasts the two types of sexual activity found during the *deipnon* or the drinking party following the meal: pederastic courtship and heterosexual relations with prostitutes. While the discussion at the end of this chapter revolves around these two distinct sympotic relationships, a large portion of the middle of the chapter concerns itself with a different relationship – that between the symposium and the city. Although not related to the theme of sexuality, Corner expounds upon the scholarly debate regarding the nature of the symposium and whether the affairs were public (civic) or private (aristocratic) in nature.

Outside of the symposium, the athletic arena displays sexuality prominently, and this theme is explored by N. Fisher in Chapter 15 ('Athletics and Sexuality'). From very early on, nudity and pederasty were important components of sport and, according to Fisher, our best evidence for the origins of eroticism and athletics can be found on Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian and Athenian decorated pottery. Of course, since the nude male body attracted numerous admirers (e.g. men of all ages and unmarried women), legislation and regulations were instituted to protect athletes from 'improperly motivated relationships' (p. 255). While a majority of the chapter centres on the Greek gymnasium, Fisher also incorporates the phenomenon of athletic eroticism in both the Etruscan and Roman contexts. Although a discussion of the sexual appeal of Roman gladiators would have been welcomed, Fisher includes more marginalised subjects, like women and athletics and the role of sexual health and abstinence in sport.

J.R. Clarke, 'Sexuality and Visual Representation', aims to contextualise ancient depictions of sexuality. Arranging the visual evidence chronologically, Clarke begins with sections on Greek and Hellenistic material and discusses the types of sexualised bodies in the Archaic and Classical periods (e.g. satyrs, centaurs, pygmies), the shifting locales for erotic activity and how Hellenistic imagery could reflect the content of lost sex manuals. During the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, Clarke notes a growth in sexual imagery, and he emphasises the appearance of erotica across social classes and objects that display several types of relationships (i.e. pederastic, heterosexual, bisexual). Despite heavy moral legislation early in the empire, sexual representations were pervasive and displayed consistent visual vocabulary (i.e. lavish linens and sumptuous surroundings). According to Clarke, these scenes were 'trophies of the owners' good taste' (p. 516). Clarke concludes with several pointed discussions on the humorous depictions of taboo sex acts, the apotropaic function of the phallus and the embodied phallus. Overall, while little Greek evidence is addressed, Clarke achieves his goal in contextualising the evidence, and this chapter

would be an excellent addition to any class on the visual manifestation of ancient Roman sexuality.

Though H. states clearly in his foreword that the contributions are not 'to provide definitive answers' (p. x), numerous discussions terminate abruptly and lack simple conclusions or concluding remarks. For example, the chapter 'Dream Interpretation, Physiognomy, Body Divination', while fascinating and successful in its treatment of these topics, ends suddenly with the appearance of warts or moles on Roman portraits. A 'guide to further reading' follows the content of each chapter and this is an invaluable aid to academics tackling new material or designing a syllabus. With the exception of several chapters (e.g. 'Feminist Theory', 'Sexuality in Jewish Writings from 200 BCE to 200 CE' and 'Early Christian Sexuality'), the aim of each contribution is to engage both Greek and Roman cultures. While certainly some are very successful, like M.D. Stansbury-O'Donnell's chapter 'Desirability and the Body', some appear unbalanced in their treatment of the evidence (e.g. 'Biography').

In general, H.'s Companion is a useful and informative resource for the study of ancient sexuality. While reviewers have already commented upon the errors within the book and the (sometimes poor) quality of the black-and-white photographs, they do not detract from the book's overall value as a compendium and an excellent starting place. Alongside M.B. Skinner's *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2014) (a book designed specifically for the classroom), one can utilise specific chapters within the Companion for upper-level lectures and seminars.

The George Washington University

RENEE M. GONDEK gondek@email.gwu.edu

## HISTORICAL HINDSIGHT

Powell (A.) (ed.) *Hindsight in Greek and Roman History*. Pp. xvi+228. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2013. Cased, £50. ISBN: 978-1-905125-58-6.

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In my own monograph on the Second Punic War, I used counterfactual scenarios to explore whether or not Hannibal could have won the war had he chosen different paths at key junctures. One eminent scholar took exception to this, writing, 'I do not believe such exercises have a place in our discipline' (*AHR* 116 [2011], 1551–2). It is with some self-satisfaction, then, that I review the present edited volume. Its major theme is hindsight – how knowledge of the past and of the outcomes of events and processes influences the way historians, both ancient and modern, interpret and write about the past – yet a range of narrative techniques related to hindsight are discussed, especially the use of virtual or counterfactual history.

In Chapter 1, C. Pelling invokes the 'what-if-Hitler-had-won' genre to demonstrate that counterfactual history can effectively highlight the contingent nature of history. Pelling cites ways that ancient authors indicate historical contingency to differentiate between contingent processes and inevitable ones. Most famously Livy (9.17–19) employs counterfactual history, imagining what would have happened if Alexander had invaded Italy, to argue the inevitability of Rome's rise, while Herodotus (7.139) speculates on what would have happened had the Athenians not stood up to Xerxes to emphasise just how close the Greeks

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