appeared.[8] This is another welcome example of Loeb's policy of publishing fresh editions of works first published in their early years. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to or to subtract from my earlier review[9] except to confirm that the *Octavia* has indeed been transferred to the second volume. Students of Martial will welcome Fabio Stok's study on the *Cornu Copiae*,[10] the fifteenth-century commentary on Martial by the humanist scholar, Niccolò Perotti. It would be quite beyond the scope of this review to attempt a proper critique of Charles Martindale's *Latin Poetry and the Judgement of Taste*.[11] His own opening sentence, however, gives a clear picture of his preoccupations:

> This essay issues from my long-standing concern about the apparently inexorable growth, in Classics as generally in the humanities, of what I shall here call 'culturism' or 'identity critique'. Characteristic of such work is a hostility to talk about beauty and to aesthetic criticism, usually coupled with an almost complete ignorance of the modern tradition of philosophical aesthetics.

That these are important issues will be denied by no serious critic. This particular study is very densely written and ranges widely and unpredictably from Latin poetry, especially that of Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, and Lucan, to a whole panoply of artists (defined in the broadest possible way), critics, and philosophers from the earliest times to the present day. This book was not written in a hurry as the *Acknowledgements* alone make plain, and it cannot be read in a hurry either.

doi:10.1093/gromej/cxi027 D. E. HILL

[8] *Seneca, Oedipus, Agamemnon, Thyestes, Hercules on Oeta, Octavia*. Edited and translated by John G. Fitch. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard UP, 2004. Pp. viii + 654. £14.50.

[9] *G&R* 50 (2003) 248–9.

[10] *Studi sul Cornu Copiae di Niccolò Perotti*. Joseph Addison's Ovid. By Fabio Stok. Testi e studi di cultura classica proposti da Giorgio Brugnoli e Guido Paduano 25. Edizioni ETS, 2002. Pp. 237. Paperback €21.

[11] *Latin Poetry and the Judgement of Taste*. An Essay in Aesthetics. By Charles Martindale. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. x + 265. Hardback £50.

Greek History

Simon Hornblower's friends and colleagues, he is frank in telling us, reacted to the news that he was writing a book on Thucydides and Pindar with open 'surprise and scepticism'.[1] 'Thucydides and *who*?', one American Pindarist replied. It was not always so, Hornblower replies: ancient critics were more open to the possibility of comparing poets and historians, bracketing his pairing as the supreme examples of the 'austere style'. Hornblower has now dedicated a major book to the relationship of the two fifth-century 'fascists' (George Forrest's description), arguing not only that 'the men Pindar wrote for are ... some of the men Thucydides talked to' (this on the basis of a breathless prosopographical gazetteer of the fifth-century Greek world), but that 'two hearts beat in Thucydides' breast and that the prose chronicler of warfare had something of the poet in him.' *Thucydides and Pindar* is a dizzying read. The long years of commentary-writing, it seems, have resulted in the footnotes leaking onto the main text: rogue

[1] *Thucydides and Pindar*. Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry. By Simon Hornblower. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. xv + 454, with 4 illustrations. Hardback £60.

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arguments are meticulously hunted down before a return to the main trail. At the end of it, I cannot claim to be quite a full convert to a Pindaric Thucydides: not all the intertexts that Hornblower presents are equally convincing (he is careful not to push the evidence further than it allows). I am not even sure if this was quite the way to cut the cake: given how far he ranges, the Thucydides-Pindar frame sometimes appears restrictive (when we are told, for example, that Pindar 'has a sense of humour as Thucydides does not…', it feels like a kind of historical blind date). But the best test of Hornblower's approach is to look at the results that it generates. Whatever one thinks of its central thesis, *Thucydides and Pindar* has some quite brilliant passages. If I single out a few – Hornblower's exploration of the traditions surrounding the exploits of the Spartan Dorieus, his discussion of Herodotus' emphasis on contingency, or the thesis that 'the impetus to extravagant praise poetry' came from the colonial fringes of the Greek world, where 'outsize individuals demanded outsize celebration' – this gives only a partial impression of the range and force of this remarkable book. Pindar is notably absent from the list of intellectual influences ascribed to Thucydides by Lawrence Tritle, in the course of his very accessible account of the Peloponnesian war.[2] The 'Greenwood Guides' series is targeted straightforwardly at the (North American) student market - accordingly, the volume includes every possible student-friendly resource: glossaries, maps, illustrations, biographical sketches, as well as a selection of nineteen ancient 'documents' (all excerpts from literary sources). After an initial overview, it focuses on a succession of themes (women and war, democracy and imperialism, art), narrowing in on certain key episodes and sources (the Mytilenean revolt etc.). Tritle's key theme, however – familiar from his earlier *From Melos to My Lai* - is simply the horror of war, and the effect that it has on its survivors: hence an emphasis, for example, on the escapism of contemporary Athenian art and literature. On other issues with contemporary resonance, however – how democracies exercise their superior power, or how that power may itself corrupt - Tritle diplomatically holds back, preferring neutral formulae such as 'This remains a valuable lesson today'. The thesis of J. H. Schreiner's *Two Battles and two Bills*[3] is that the oarsmen and light-armed troops have been robbed of their part in the victorious Marathon campaign. Schreiner, an 'indignant lifelong oarsman' as he styles himself, manages this first by creating an extra battle of Marathon (attested in late sources such as the Suda and Nepos, and then by hypothesizing a first Themistoclean naval bill; he also reconstructs an additional battle at Phaleron. The basis for any reconstruction of the events of the Persian wars is hardly secure, and Schreiner certainly identifies areas where the Herodotean account is not beyond question, but Schreiner's own reconstruction ultimately raises as many questions – and is mercilessly anachronistic in its approach to both Herodotus and Thucydides. Angelos Chaniotis' *War in the Hellenistic period*[4] could not present a more striking contrast. For a start, it concerns war, not just wars. Like Hans van Wees' excellent recent book on Greek warfare, moreover, and in keeping with the aims of the new Blackwells series 'The Ancient World at War' in which it is published,

[2] *The Peloponnesian War.* By Lawrence Tritle. Greenwood Press, Westport CT, 2004. Pp. xiii + 206. Hardback.

[3] *Two Battles and Two Bills.* Marathon and the Athenian Fleet. By Johan Henrik Schreiner. Oslo, Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens vol. 3, 2004. Pp. 159, with 1 map. Paperback.

[4] *War in the Hellenistic Period.* A Social and Cultural History. By Angelos Chaniotis. Blackwell, Oxford, 2004. Pp. xxiv + 308, with 12 figures and 5 maps. Hardback £55; Paperback £16.99.

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it is informed throughout by an understanding of war's 'complexity as a social and cultural force' – this is not, in other words, a book just for war nuts. The topics covered are correspondingly broad: not only the economics of warfare, women and war, or the social contexts that gave rise to ubiquitous warfare (and that explain why war was such a young man's game), but also its role in collective memory or in civic ideology, the contemporary 'discourse of war', or war's aesthetics (how 'blood is beautiful' in Chaniotis' neat phrase). Chaniotis' treatment is enormously dense in detail – one senses that Blackwells might have got more than they bargained for – but it is the detailed evidence, much of it new to me, that makes this book so worthwhile and so useful. Chaniotis also has a deft eye for anecdote. He opens, for example, with a stream of war injuries, recorded at the Asclepeion at Epidauros: the case of Gorgias of Herakleia, for example, whose wound in the lung 'fester[ed] so badly that he filled sixty-seven bowls with pus', or of Antikrates of Knidos who carried around a spearhead still embedded in his face; 'if we are to believe the healing miracles of Epidauros', Asclepius' pilgrims were an extremely battered lot. *War in the Hellenistic World*, in short, is a richly rewarding, splendid, intellectually supple book – which sets a high standard for further books in the series. *The Long March*[5] continues the remarkable renaissance of the study of Xenophon with a collection of excellent studies (based on a series of Oxford seminars) of different aspects of the *Anabasis*. Some of the chapters answer a fairly clear brief neatly: so, for example, authoritative accounts of religion and of 'Persian décor' by, respectively, Robert Parker and Christopher Tuplin; a hard-core slice of source-criticism from P. J. Stylianou on the relationship between the *Anabasis* and Diodorus' account, Jim Roy on the pattern of mercenary employment, or Michael Whitby on the Ten Thousand's military achievement. Other contributions are more surprising or diffuse in their focus. Nothing politically correct except the title about Lane Fox's own contribution on 'sex, gender and the other' (he claims to discover the first female cheerleaders in history); his introduction to the volume has a characteristic emphasis on horses and plant life (the rhododendron luteum, the source of the intoxicating 'mad honey'). Though the ostensible focus of Thomas Braun's piece is on Clearchus and Cyrus (highly 'dangerous liaisons' of Xenophon's, as he argues), his piece takes one back to his schoolboy perspective on the *Anabasis*, to his memories of university days (memorably of Tony Andrewes' undergraduate lectures: 'his high courtesy prevented him from assuming any ignorance on the part of his audience'), or indeed to his father's reminiscences (of Ribbentrop's kindness to his cook). There are fewer chuckles but perhaps more stimulation in some of the concluding pieces: V. Azoulay on Xenophon's self-presentation as anything but a mercenary; Hornblower's compelling argument that the Ten Thousand's decision-making on the hoof is only an extreme manifestation of a general characteristic of Greek armies; Rood's treatment of Panhellenism (and of the relationship of speech within the narrative); and finally John Ma's stimulating if mannered piece suggesting that the *Anabasis* is 'not a text about "rootless individuals", but the relation between migration and the desire for identity.' The Xenophon that emerges is, alternately, an intensely familiar, rather bluff figure (so Lane Fox or Cawkwell, who charmingly admits to having 'almost ... the arrogant feeling [of being a] reincarnation of Xenophon'; even Xenophon's gods are 'reasonable ... figures with

[5] *The Long March*. Xenophon and the Ten Thousand. Edited by Robin Lane Fox. Yale UP, New Haven, 2004. Pp. xi + 351, with 2 maps and 14 plates. Hardback £25.

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whom one can do business'), and at the same time (largely from the younger contributors) a more hesitant and a more complex one. So, for Rood, the *Anabasis* is arguably 'an escape story that subverts itself, a celebration of Greek achievement that becomes an analysis of Greek weakness' – or, as Tuplin puts it more baldly, 'Xenophon found much to be uncertain about'. 'How do you like your Alexander?', Ian Worthington asks in the concluding words to his new biography.[6] With so many Alexanders on the market, and with many of them emphasizing the value of the myth as much as the man, we can all now cheerfully mix and match. (If there is no consensus on Alexander, Worthington asks again, 'does it even really matter?') His 'own' Alexander (part-Badian, part-Bosworth) is markedly unattractive: haunted by the ghost of his father ('he had a lot of baggage to carry'), he became – as his conquests proceeded – increasingly megalomaniac, increasingly convinced of his own divinity, and increasingly stressed as 'he tried to reconcile Alexander the man and the god in his own mind'. To cap it all, 'he was not a movie star' in the looks department either. Worthington's Alexander 'has many virtues' (as Paul Cartledge's accompanying blurb says). I sympathize strongly with its unheroic emphasis. It provides a clear and accessibly written narrative grounded in the sources. But after its opening fanfare on the difficulty of distinguishing between the real and the legendary Alexander, and its promise of provocation, I found myself provoked only by the odd ethnographic cliché embedded in the narrative ('Egypt is an exotic country today and it was in antiquity' – for the Egyptians?) and by its concluding post-modern smudge (*now* you tell me it doesn't matter?). Those who prefer their Alexander less raw might balk at Alexander's victory at Issus being ascribed to luck, or at passing comments on 'another murderous rampage', but Worthington's confidence in ascribing psychological motives to Alexander has a lot in common with more positive treatments (with Lane Fox's swashbuckling new Achilles, for example) – only the motives are darker. *A Brief History of Ancient Greece*[7] is an abridged and substantially revised version of the same four authors' *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. The chronological range – from the stone age (in a page) to the battle of Actium – remains unchanged, and the volume has lost nothing in glossaries or timelines (though the further reading sections have been slimmed down) or in accessibility ('Greece is about the size of England . . . or the state of Alabama'). The main change, a laudable one, is towards a greater integration of social and cultural history (so, for example, more material on classical drama). The price of such broad coverage – notwithstanding the embedded excerpts from sources, and the introductory section on the nature of our evidence – is that the messy business of historical interpretation is necessarily erased in favour of an authoritative narrative, but *A Brief History* would serve excellently as a single textbook for a broad historical survey course. I am puzzled, though, by the authors' apparent agreement with the claim that the 'purpose of studying Greek history is to understand Greek art and literature', 'to better appreciate the remarkable legacy of the ancient Greeks'. Not the least rich of this rich crop of books is Barbara Goff's *Citizen Bacchae*,[8] a powerful, theoretically informed exploration of women's participation in ritual. Goff does not simply bash through the evidence

[6] *Alexander the Great*. Man and God. By Ian Worthington. Pearson Longman, Harlow, 2004. Pp. xxiii + 363, with 11 maps and 5 illustrations. Paperback £9.99.

[7] *A Brief History of Ancient Greece*. Politics, Society and Culture. By Sarah B. Pomeroy, Stanley M. Burstein, Walter Donlan, and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts. Oxford UP, New York, 2004. Pp. xxiii + 360, with 16 maps and 94 illustrations. Paperback.

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festival by festival – though the book is replete with close readings of particular rituals – nor does she get distracted for long by a concern with the narrowly historical reality of the rites she examines, reading them instead as 'very good indices of cultural attitudes'. Instead she proceeds by examining a number of themes – the management of desire, for example, or the way in which ritual can be said to construct a 'quasi-political identity' for women, before turning finally to the representation of women's ritual in a single genre, classical drama. Only very rarely does Goff fall prey to over-interpreting her, inevitably scanty, evidence (I am a little sceptical, for example, of her reading of women's 'sublinguistic performance' of the *ololuge*, as '[enacting and explaining] their status as partial members of the human community'). On the contrary, the theoretical perspectives that she brings to bear upon the evidence – her emphasis, for example, on the construction (and internalizing) of women's subjectivities, or on the multiple meanings of ritual and the ways in which the discourse of ritual allows for the possibility of a dissenting interpretation – are nothing but enlightening; and in her nuanced questioning of the idea of the seclusion of the Greek woman, she treads the difficult line between underestimating women's agency on the one hand, and wishful thinking on the other, with immaculate assurance. In short, this is an important contribution both to the study of gender and ritual in the Greek world – and one that deserves a readership beyond Classics.

Finally, a step back in time. One effect, arguably, of the recognition of the complexity of oral tradition has been that archaic history has become increasingly (in many ways, refreshingly) the domain of archaeologists. The kind of operation that used to be performed on archaic tyranny, say – filleting a late account of all marvels and anachronisms, and then presenting it as an apparently straightforward narrative – has become impossible; few people have the heart for sorting through the web of oral traditions, assigning each strand to its context, and working through to a historical reconstruction. Daniel Ogden's *Crooked Kings*, with its memorably extreme opening denunciation of archaeological approaches to the period, stands out against the tide – and now Ogden has devoted similar attention to a single figure from the archaic past, Aristomenes of Messene.[9] 'Strange to tell, Aristomenes is virtually unknown even among professional classicists today'. Aristomenes turns out indeed almost to be an unknowable figure: warrior, trickster, and buffoon (he is memorably struck by a javelin in his buttock), he is also the vehicle both for religious revelation and for a latent Messenian identity. Yet again Ogden marks out his topic defiantly (praising Janick Auberger, for example, for a 'valuable service in demonstrating the limitations of [her] approach'), and again he mucks into the traditions surrounding Aristomenes with indomitable optimism: is Aristomenes' hairy heart (the mysterious source of his abilities) the result of an association with lion, fox or (were)wolf, or has Aristomenes' legend become 'aligned with the motifs of the Aesopic monkey-fox story-complex'? Not everyone will, as Ogden himself acknowledges, follow him in all his 'specific contentions and connections'. Even his desire just to promote Aristomenes' story – 'at turns

[8] *Citizen Bacchae*. Women's Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece. By Barbara Goff. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004. Pp. xii + 400, with 1 map and 11 figures. Hardback: £ 38.95.

[9] *Aristomenes of Messene*. Legends of Sparta's Nemesis. By Daniel Ogden. Swansea, Classical Press of Wales, 2004. Pp. xxiv + 244, with 1 map. Hardback.

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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.

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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.

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