

In ch. 4, 'Roman Trading Society: Merchants, Sailors, and the Maritime Mob', R. depicts the maritime commercial world of the Mediterranean in terms of a socio-economic élite, dominated by 'the members of the Roman merchant class' who were largely urban landlubbers, directing the efforts of 'ordinary seamen' who endured the risks and hardships of life at sea. This is the most imaginative chapter in its use of literary sources and cross-cultural comparisons. R. draws heavily upon the depiction of a maritime underclass in Marcus Rediker's seminal work, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea; Merchants, Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World 1700–1750* (1987), to provide a model for the emergence of a displaced and desperate 'maritime mob' who provided a recruitment pool for the 'pirates' of his final chapter. While there are many texts and documents which relate to ancient maritime history in general, as R. rightly says: 'Far less is known about the experiences of common seamen during Antiquity than about those of their merchant superiors' (146). Rediker was able to base his work on extensive primary sources, especially Admiralty records, but a problem for R. is the extent to which Rediker's model becomes a substitute source, treated almost on a par with the likes of Caesar, Cicero, and Petronius. R. is certainly not trying to mislead here, rather he is using Rediker's insights, along with such ancient sources as are available, to flesh out a plausible scenario.

Ch. 5, 'Cilician Piracy and Mediterranean Maritime Discontent', examines how Roman power was challenged, ultimately unsuccessfully, by local communities and the incoming 'pirates', who based themselves in Cilicia, particularly around the Bay of Pamphylia. Here R. brings important new evidence into play, drawing on the results of his Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project. The latest findings of this innovative and important project indicate that the local population successfully maintained and asserted their Luwian cultural identity in the face of all external attempts to dominate them. The local aristocracy acquired a veneer of Graeco-Roman culture, demonstrated by such things as classicizing architecture, bath complexes, and honorific decrees, but their social, economic, and cultural fabric remained largely intact. (For updates see the website R. maintains at Purdue University: <http://pasture.ecn.purdue/~rauhn/>). R. argues that the Romans were gradually eliminating economic and political foci of resistance to their expansion, but he is reluctant to embrace what seems to this reviewer to be a logical further conclusion, namely that the Cilicians were much like the Carthaginians, the Corinthians, the Rhodians, and the Alexandrians. They were demonized as pirates, as our mostly non-contemporary sources show, because the Romans needed to cloak their self-interested aggression in moral terms (cf. P. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (1999), chs 4–5).

R.'s first book featured numerous black and white illustrations by the artist Peter Butler. As well as avoiding the problems of obtaining slides and permissions to publish, they allow the artist to clarify images and focus on details, to the reader's benefit. This time R. has called upon his own father, Herbert D. Rauh, a celebrated watercolour artist, whose renderings of ancient sculptures, mosaics, and archaeological artefacts elegantly supplement the extensive range of colour plates, maps, and monochrome photographs.

Anyone interested in the development of Roman imperialism, the ancient Mediterranean economy, and the use of archaeological evidence for ancient social history should read this book. They may not agree with all that R. says, but they will find his ideas stimulating and worthy of serious discussion.

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T. GRÜNEWALD, *BANDITS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE: MYTH AND REALITY*.

London/New York: Routledge, 2004. Pp. x + 230. ISBN 0-415-32744-X. £65.00.

This book is a translation by Professor John Drinkwater of Thomas Grünwald's Duisburg *Habilitationsschrift*, published by Steiner Verlag of Stuttgart in 1999 under the title *Räuber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Rächer: Studien zu latrones im römischen Reich*, as volume 31 in the *Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei* series. The translator has done an excellent job and deserves warm praise, along with the publisher, for enabling this important study to reach a wider audience. Latin texts are frequently quoted at length, but, unlike the original German version, the quotation of Greek is limited to a few lines in transliterated form. The German version had an index of ancient sources, one of modern authors, one of *latrones*, and a general index of names, places and things. For the translation the first two are omitted and the latter two combined. G.'s original dissertation was pretty thorough in surveying modern scholarship on his specific subject, but it is unfortunate that it does not seem to have been possible for the translated version to be

updated in any way. Not even in the extensive notes does he take account of items passed over in the original, or published after 1997. Hence there is no engagement with, or reference to, some highly relevant recent work such as Wilfried Nippel's *Aufbruch und 'Polizei' in der römischen Republik* (1988) and *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (1995), or the current reviewer's study of *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (1999).

G.'s declared aim is to answer the questions, 'Whom did the Romans see as *latrones*, and what did they understand by *latrocinium*?' (3). He chooses to do this principally by establishing a typology, classifying *latrones* (or *leistai*, the principal word used in the Greek sources) according to what he sees as the two main conceptual categories. The first category is derived from the way the sources describe the activities of those referred to as bandits, and G. subdivides it into four types: 'real' bandits, or common criminals; 'bandit rebels', e.g. Viriathus the second-century B.C. Lusitanian 'guerrilla' commander; 'bandit rivals', those who are portrayed as usurpers of power, e.g. Catiline or Maxentius, the rival emperor whom Constantine defeated in A.D. 312; and 'bandit avengers', e.g. Clemens, the self-styled avenger of his master Agrippa Postumus. G.'s second category comprises 'ideal types' of bandits and is sub-divided into the 'common bandit' and the 'noble bandit'. The two sets overlap, so that Viriathus is classified as both a rebel and a noble bandit. G. makes it very clear that he does not see these as historical categories which can be used to classify social realities. For him the *latro* is 'an artefact of the literary imagination' (13). Ch. 1 surveys information about 'Real Bandits' to fill in the background to the use of the literary *topoi*, but the bulk of his main text (chs 2–7) is a series of philological analyses of examples of bandits in historical accounts of Roman history from the late Republic to the fourth century A.D. Precise definition and classification of terms based on an individual author's usage is an essential element of this kind of philological work, but it does sometimes lead G. to draw rather one-dimensional conclusions. To take one example, in ch. 4, 'Politicians and Pretenders as *latrones*', G. notes that Mark Antony is called a *latro* nearly forty times in Cicero's *Philippics*, and that the orator ascribes to Antony many of the usual attributes of a tyrant. This, according to G. 'allows us to see that "bandit", as used in this context, is a synonym for "tyrant"' (75). Yet there is surely more to it than that. Cicero chooses to label Antony as a bandit because it conjures up a range of meanings and associations that will encourage his readers to put Antony on a level with robbers and criminals and other *latrones*, like some of the leaders of slave revolts G. has just discussed in the preceding chapter. In this context 'bandit' is clearly not synonymous with 'tyrant', because use of the latter term might elevate Antony to a higher status than Cicero would wish.

G. is at his best when teasing out the different strands of bandit associations that are implicit in the ancient historians' depictions of political figures. In ch. 5, '*Leistai* in Judaea: Ancient Social Bandits?', he succinctly demonstrates how Josephus uses conventional bandit terminology to undermine the image of his Jewish rivals John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora. He also exposes the inadequacies of those modern scholars who have taken Josephus too literally and seen the frequent references to *leistai* in his works as early manifestations of Eric Hobsbawm's phenomenon of social banditry. His general rejection of the model of the social bandit in favour of 'the purely literary figure' (164) is less than entirely persuasive, but all future work on the subject will need to take careful account of his analysis.

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C. WOLFF, *LES BRIGANDS EN ORIENT SOUS LE HAUT-EMPIRE ROMAIN* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 308). Rome: École française de Rome, 2003. Pp. viii + 294, 4 maps. ISBN 2-7283-0650-8. €32.00.

This new attack on the ancient problem of bandits and banditry is confined, as its title indicates, to a regional perspective: the circuit of the Eastern provinces of the Empire between Thrace in the north-west and Egypt in the south-east. The author rather grandly states that for the ancients to be a bandit was above all 'un état d'esprit'. She concludes that there were two basic types of person who shared this 'esprit': local highwaymen who were smaller operators, and bandits who operated on a grander scale and over longer periods of time, controlling whole regions as 'bandit peoples' (227). Her study comes armed with four useful 'annexes' that list references to attested *eirenarchs*, *diogmitae*, *paraphylakes*, *orophylakes*, and other police officials charged with the repression of brigands (235–9). But the book itself does not rise above being a fairly pedantic collection of evidence. The first three chapters are an uninspired run through the Greek and Latin vocabulary used to designate bandits and banditry, a sketch of the assumed modes of life and