

G. P. KELLY, *A HISTORY OF EXILE IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 260. ISBN 0-521-84860-1. £40.00/US\$70.00.

A History of Exile in the Roman Republic is a welcome addition to the growing literature on exile in the ancient world. Gordon P. Kelly treats exile from an historical, rather than a strictly legal, perspective, and this gives his work a double advantage: first, because in Rome exile was for most of its history not a criminal penalty, and second, because the legal situation of exile is itself contradictory and confusing. K. does consider the legal material (in ch. 2), but these issues serve as background to the heart of the book — K.'s historical treatment of exile from the mid-second century B.C. to Caesar's assassination. Nonetheless, he presents the legal evidence and its complexities coherently; he is perhaps better at pointing out the weaknesses in the arguments of others than at presenting his own conclusions. He is at his best when arguing against a legalistic understanding of the practice of exile, for instance in the sections on the right to go into exile and the *ius exulare*.

K.'s chief concern, however, is not with the legal procedures which govern the decision to go into exile, but with what exiles do after they leave Rome, and on what that information can tell us about Roman politics. The degree to which the choice of a place of exile can illuminate the political situation in Rome and the intentions of individual exiles is an important insight of K.'s, and one of the great strengths of this book. In these two central chapters, he uses specific cases and problems to present important developments in the history of exile and in the political life of Rome. In ch. 3, he focuses on two major changes, the use of places of exile outside Italy and the possibility of a recall from exile; the decision of exiles such as P. Popillius Laenas and L. Opimius to settle outside Italy is a sign that, after the violent suppression of the Gracchi, they may not have felt safe in Italy, while the possibility of recall, which depends on the loss of power of one faction, is the result of the greater volatility of the political scene in Rome. K. also discusses the case of the exile and recall of Metellus Numidicus, and his use of letters to maintain his presence in the city, while himself indicating his political neutrality by settling in Rhodes; it is a useful reminder that the public actions of Roman politicians are always significant. In ch. 4, K. considers among other topics the effect of civil war and the mass recall of exiles; he also provides satisfactory hypotheses to explain the cases of Oppianicus and Q. Pompeius, both of whom remained in exile in Italy even after the resolution of the Social War should have made that impossible. As one would expect, he spends a great deal of time on the exile of Cicero (110–25), supplemented by an appendix on the *Leges Clodiae*. He concludes with Caesar's recall of Pompeians after the civil war, and notes the irony that this policy of *clementia* was implicated in Caesar's assassination: at least one of the assassins was himself a pardoned exile, and Tillius Cimber started the attack after approaching under the cover of pleading for his brother's return.

After this narrative comes a chapter composed of three loosely connected sections, one on accompaniment into exile, one on the economic activities of exiles, and one on exemplary accounts of exile. Each is interesting in its own right, but they seem to be present more for the sake of completeness than for any thematic connection to the rest of the book. The sixth chapter is a chronological list of exiles from 220 to 44 B.C.; it is the kind of material that does not often survive the transition from dissertation to monograph, and a casual reader might be tempted to skip it. In fact it is full of K.'s own arguments, and repays attention. There is necessarily a good deal of repetition between this catalogue and the cases discussed in chs 3 and 4, but in those chapters K. was more concerned with the activities of Romans after exile, and in this catalogue he provides more information about the charges which led to the decision to go into exile, as well as more general hypotheses about the identities or circumstances of the exiles he lists.

This prosopography was the centre of the dissertation on which this book is based, and its influence can still be seen in K.'s habit of dwelling on individual cases and his occasional failure to integrate those cases into any larger picture. Despite that, K. has provided here not only a history of exile, but also an analysis of many important developments in the history of Rome from the mid-second century to the death of Caesar; this is a book which will be of interest to anyone working on the history or politics of the Late Republic, and indispensable to anyone working on exile or the history of the Roman criminal law.

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