mores. It is, in stark contrast to the disturbing, subversive violence of Medea, thoroughly conformist.

Marcus Wilson
University of Auckland

---

N.R.E. FISHER, Slavery in Classical Greece (Bristol Classical Press, 1993), vi+120, and ANDREW WALLACE-HADRILL, Augustan Rome (Bristol Classical Press, 1993), xi+105, each £6.95.

These two contributions to the Classical World Series edited by Michael Gunningham seem mainly designed for the university undergraduate reader. This is particularly evident in their Suggestions for Further Study, which take the form of essay topics. Yet the general reader will also find them interesting. Both have glossaries and sufficient background information to make their specific discussions comprehensible.

Neither contribution is much over 100 pages, but these are densely packed. However, Fisher’s study is more or less complete within its chronological limits, while Wallace-Hadrill, because of the vast scope of the topic, limited space and his own special interests, focuses only on Augustus and Rome, not on the empire, administration or armies. Fisher also tends to preface his own opinion about the controversial areas of his topic with a full analysis of other opinion, and his Suggestions for Further Reading briefly describe the views of some of the authorities, whereas
Wallace-Hadrill sees the impossibility of covering all aspects of controversy and has decided to write an interpretative essay. His Preface warns: 'Innocent readers should beware: my text picks its way through minefields of scholarly controversy'. He then presents his own opinion without much qualification, merely encouraging the reader to explore other opinions in the Suggestions for Further Study, and then in the limited way of putting the reader’s interpretation of original sources against the author’s. He stresses original sources again in his Suggestions for Further Reading, though there is also a summary of the literature. Perhaps there is too much controversy to allow an overview of other opinions in the main text, and it is of course desirable that the original sources be read, but the invitation to the undergraduate or general reader to assess the ancient evidence as a counterbalance to the author’s reading makes an uneven match and narrows the debate too much, useful though it may be for the student to criticise the teacher.


He makes the point early that the study of slavery suffers from the same basic problem as the study of women. The authentic slave’s voice is not heard in the ancient evidence, only the free man’s idea of that voice, for instance in comedy. He considers the different Greek words for slaves and distinguishes between different types of slavery (slave society, serfdom, debt-bondage, chattel slavery), drawing on the League of Nations Slavery
Convention of 1926, and usefully relating the ancient to the modern; he makes frequent and apt reference elsewhere to parallels from American slavery.

The author's approach is marked by respect for the problems in the evidence—for example that individual views expressed in speeches are to be viewed in their specific rather than any universal setting, as Eumaios' comment on slaves at *Odyssey* 17.320-3. There is an awareness of multiple interpretations, for instance of the phenomenon of the contemporaneous advance of both freedom and slavery in the period before and after Solon. The increasing liberation of those classes in pre-Solonian Athens that might be called serf slaves may have encouraged or even necessitated the importation of chattel slaves to take up their burden. The richer land-owners may have tolerated his reforms precisely because they saw the possibilities in chattel slaves. Such evidence as is available from outside Athens, from Chios in this case, seems to support the idea that foreign chattel slaves replaced indigenous serf slaves in this era, releasing the latter for the exercise of freedom in politics. The controversy over whether there was widespread agricultural slavery is presented as 'the most intractable problem concerning Athenian slavery'. The discussion of the various views and their implications is concise and clear; the author inclines to the view that the use of slaves was at times widespread in agriculture. Slave activity in other areas of the economy is also well covered.

The section on Spartan degrees of slavery perhaps cannot do justice to the controversy about land tenure in the space available, but there is useful parallel reference to other less well known groups of slaves, such as the Penestai in Thessaly, and in the Peloponnese the 'dusty feet' at Epidaurus, and the 'naked ones' at Argos.

The treatment of slaves in law includes an interesting discussion on the Athenian practice of offering or demanding slaves as witnesses under torture, and those who find this modernly abhorrent will take heart from the evidence that the theory proceeded to action only very rarely, because both sides in
the case needed to be confident that the slave would bear witness in their favour before they consented to it. There is also discussion of the rights of slaves at law (they had one or two), manumission, and the evidence of the treatise and drama. Slaves' reaction to their condition is seen in the mass flight of slaves to Decelea during the Peloponnesian War. The evidence suggests that isolated runaways were not uncommon, but mass slave movements were generally discouraged by the lack of ethnic identity among slaves.

The book ends with consideration of the justification of slavery and the ideologies of slavishness.

Wallace-Hadrill has chapters on: 1. The Myth of Actium; 2. Metamorphosis; 3. Palace and Court; 4. Golden Rome; 5. Love and War; 6. God and Man. He is writing an interpretative essay rather than an introductory or comprehensive outline, and particularly seeks to set political changes associated with Augustus in the context of their impact on Roman values, the imaginative world of poetry, the visual world of art and the fabric of the city of Rome. He is therefore interested in the language of edifices, honours and rituals that sought to chart these developments—which he sees as the language not of mere flattery but of a genuine attempt to describe a new phenomenon unattested in the previous Republic.

The author uses various vivid images for the metamorphosis of Republic into Empire, among them Ovid's story of the metamorphosis of Arachne from girl into spider, but still spinning, and Peter Brookes' cartoon of the Statue of Liberty becoming a Police Officer. He also compares the process of change to the replacement of the parts of a car piece by piece until there is nothing left of the original—pointing out in effect that a Volkswagen will in time become a BMW in this way. He emphasises the long duration of the process of transformation of Republic into Empire, which he sees as the result of a process of experiment rather than a blueprint, pointing out that the 'restoration' of the 'Republic', which could be seen as a manipulative political sham, could also be a false start that had
to be later modified. Both could explain the paradox whereby Augustus created a new system while claiming to restore the old.

The metamorphosis is presented as a complex matter. Augustus could only save the Republic by stepping down from extraordinary power. *Res Gestae* indicates that he did precisely that, but he subsequently took back a substantial part of his power, reluctantly and under pressure. Do the two phases represent a genuine change of policy or an elaborate fraud? The author inclines to the former view, against the ancient historians. Under pressure to retain his role as guardian and protector of the state, Augustus eventually chose to restore the republic by putting himself outside it. His extraordinary name and his honours are evidence of a community attempting to come to grips with this novelty. The question of genuine experiment or fraud remains important in tracing other aspects of the metamorphosis. The author holds for example that the people rather than the senate held the traditional sovereignty at Rome, and that they were the main losers of the civil wars. Augustus restores the power of the people in their assemblies, but bans the politics of triumph and competition that fed them. The author says that this reflects the deep ambiguity of his role as restorer of the republic but also as saviour of order, and suggests that in this case too Augustus changed his mind, 'gradually and inexorably' choking off challenges to his own monopoly of glory. He further demolished the power of the citizen by completing the professionalism of the army.

The tension and the metamorphosis are reflected in palace and court. The poet's view serves as introduction. Ovid's comparison of the abode of the gods and the Palatine is said to tell us a lot about Augustus' relationship with the traditional ruling class of Rome. His house was modestly 'republican', but it was marked out from others by special position and location on the summit of the Palatine next to the temple of Apollo, and by the unusual visible honours of laurels and oak wreath. He transformed the nobility from independent agents competing for popular support into his own courtiers looking to his enormous patronage for advancement. They never formed an organised opposition. The family of Augustus, instead of the nobility, became the focus of political
intrigue. The story is again one of gradual evolution of policy. The dynastic crisis of 23 BC (Augustus’ illness, his handing of his signet ring to Agrippa rather than Marcellus, the death of Marcellus) taught him that he had to defuse tension in his own house (he married Marcellus’ widow to Agrippa) and find some surer way of transmitting supreme power (tribunician power was now invented as the supreme imperial distinction), and taught him also how the depth of popular emotion surrounding his family could be put to good use (‘You will be Marcellus. Come scatter lilies from full hands....’). The tentative dynasticism of the early years then becomes explicit in the promotion of Tiberius and Drusus as substitutes for Marcellus. The author emphasises Augustus’ own claims for the laurels they won in their military campaigns nevertheless—Tiberius figures on the Prima Porta statue, but only in small print. The promotion of Gaius and Lucius is of a different and less subordinate order, elevated by novel honours of their own. Julia’s disgrace is set in the context of palace intrigue as well as Augustus’ moral reforms. The deaths of Gaius and Lucius led to more intrigue, which Augustus could in the end not contain.

The author sees a similar experimentation and movement from an early ‘hands-off’ approach to later intervention in Augustus’ assumption of responsibility for control of famine, fire and riot in Rome, and his urban organisation. His rebuilding of Rome on the other hand is the best expression of the ambiguity of his role, combining his restoration of the ancient past and his promotion of his own interests. Thus the revival of the ‘forgotten’ ritual of closing the doors of the temple of Janus when at peace, and the Parthian triumphal arch which listed the winners of triumphs and consuls since the foundation of the city. Thus the transformation of the old forum into a dynastic monument, the design of the new forum of Augustus to surround his own glory with the glory of the heroic past, and the dominant position of the Mausoleum, the *Res Gestae* monument and the Ara Pacis in the Campus Martius.

‘Love and War’ turns to Augustus’ moral reforms, their seriousness and their role in the restoration of social order, their
celebration in literature and art, the exemplary role of his family and himself, and the attitudes of poets like Propertius and Ovid (thus the mysterious title). ‘God and Man’ is more obviously a study of the ruler cult associated with Augustus and considers Augustus as priest, as godlike man and as saviour.

I recommend both books very highly. But I would want Wallace-Hadrill to support his challenge to innocent readers to exercise their minds on the source material with an equal challenge to command the minefield of scholarship.

V. J. Gray
University of Auckland

- o -


This book is derived from the author’s very concise text Essentials of Statistical Methods, in 41 Pages, with some additional examples taken from history or archaeology for the benefit of students whose main interest lies in study of the past. The author explains that ‘this Version is perfectly usable with a general-purpose statistics course, and may stimulate some students to get interested in the past who would not otherwise have done so’.

Part 1 (pages 1-39) is devoted to Data Description. The concepts of summarising data, sampling, mean, median, root mean square, geometric mean, harmonic mean, range, quartiles, mean absolute deviation, standard deviation, variance, box-and-