

souvent dans le cadre tout simple mais combien efficace du petit marché quotidien dont les tablettes de *Vindolanda* constituent un témoignage exceptionnel.

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Olivier HEKSTER & Ted KAIZER (Ed.), *Frontiers in the Roman World*. Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Durham, 16-19 April 2009). Leyde, Brill, 2011. 1 vol. 16,5 x 24,5 cm, XI-378 p., 7 fig. (IMPACT OF EMPIRE, 13). Prix : 130 €. ISBN 978-90-04-20119-4.

The latest "Impact of Empire" Workshop to be published took place at Durham four months before the 21st Congress of Roman Frontier Studies some 25 kilometres further north in Newcastle upon Tyne. Some co-ordination might have been expected, not least as the Frontier Studies or *Limes* Congresses were launched from Durham University in 1949. But that was clearly not the case. The first Frontiers Congress, at King's College, Newcastle, then still part of Durham University, was a small-scale affair, with fewer participants than the Impact Workshops, and had a principally archaeological approach, as has been the case with subsequent Frontiers Congresses. They also have ever larger numbers attending: the 21st Congress in August had over 300 participants, with four parallel sessions of papers, several excursions during the Congress and pre- and post-Congress tours. Its Proceedings have not yet appeared, although they may be ready before the 22nd Congress in Bulgaria (September 2012). This by way of preamble, to obviate any confusion. In the Preface to the volume under review the editors explain that "the vast and heterogeneous Roman world knew many different types of frontiers", their licence to include some papers which hardly refer to any kind of frontiers; still, others could well have been on the programme in Newcastle. J. Richardson, "*Fines provinciae*", p. 1-11, summarises his own earlier contributions on the Republican and early Augustan period. J.W. Drijvers, "The limits of empire in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus", p. 13-29, is a welcome corrective by an Ammianus specialist to the still widely believed claim by B. Isaac, *JRS* 78, 1988, p. 125-147 and elsewhere, that *limes* meant an administrative district, not an actual fortified line. But Drijvers ignores earlier papers that corrected Isaac, e.g. two by E.L. Wheeler and one by C. Zuckerman, *Historia* 47, 1998, p. 108-128. St. Benoist, "Penser la limite: de la cité au territoire imperial", p. 31-47, ranges from the late Republic to the fifth and even sixth centuries in a largely philological discussion, with an appendix of quite lengthy (untranslated) Latin texts, from Augustine, Livy, A. Gellius and Cicero. His concluding remarks, without references, suggest that he was not much impressed by Drijvers' dismissal of the Isaac doctrine: "du pomérium au *limes*, la figure des limites correspond beaucoup plus à une zone, un entre-deux, qu'à une ligne." The next two papers, K. da Costa, "Drawing the line: an archaeological methodology for detecting Roman provincial borders", p. 49-60, and D. Nappo and A. Zerbini, "On the fringe: trade and taxation in the Egyptian eastern desert", p. 61-77, analysing respectively differences in pottery finds between the provinces of Arabia and Palaestina Secunda (with a map and four charts), and ostraka from Berenike, would fit admirably in a Limes Congress. So too, no doubt, would the next three: R. Hingley and R. Hartis, "Contextualizing Hadrian's Wall: the Wall as

‘debatable lands’”, p. 79-95; A. Hilali, “Recherche sur les frontières de l’Afrique romaine: espaces mobiles et representations”, p. 97-111; and G. Schörner, “Rom jenseits der Grenze: Klientelkönigreiche und der *Impact of Empire*”, p. 113-131 (with two figures). Hingley and Hartis, after outlining standard literature on the Wall, seek new approaches with comparative material, and conclude that the Wall was a confession of Rome’s failure to incorporate the inhabitants of the northern part of their province. They go astray at p. 85: “The Roman governor Agricola’s construction of a line of forts between the Forth and Clyde in the late 70s and early 80 (*sic*) AD created a new boundary to this island territory”, citing Tacitus, *Agricola* 20 (*sic*: it should be ch. 23). But they have misunderstood the Latin: *ac si virtus exercitus et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus*, means “if the spirit of the army and the glory of the Roman name had permitted it, a frontier could have been found within Britain itself”. Hilali gives a conventional account of Roman frontier policy in Africa, with copious, largely francophone bibliography, concluding that for the Romans “nulle frontière formelle” limited their access to the “territoire barbare”. Regarding “barbarians” she writes at p. 110: “Dans la mesure où des écrivains, comme Gallien, pouvaient écrire des propos comme: ‘Je n’apprécie pas plus les Germains que les loups et les ours...’.” No reference is given, but “Gallien” must refer to Galen, in French “Galien”: this is a half-remembered quotation from his *De sanitate tuenda* 1,10 (6.51 Kuhn): “I write neither for the Germans, nor for other wild and barbarian peoples, nor for bears, lions or other wild animals, but for Greeks and for those who may have been born barbarians but who strive to attain the qualities of Greeks”. (By further mishap, “Galien” here is indexed under the emperor Gallienus). Schörner argues that so-called “client-kingdoms” (surely now regarded as misleading term), on which he provides copious bibliography old and new, are best seen as “contact-zones”. At p. 115 n. 9, he attributes to “M. Rosenbaum-Alföldi” an article in *NZ* 106-107, 1979. Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum was a classical archaeologist, who died in 1992. The real author is the distinguished numismatist Maria R(adnoti)-Alföldi, Professor Emerita at Frankfurt, happily still going strong. At p. 117, it is odd to refer to an “englischen Klientelkönig” in pre-Roman Britain, half a millennium before the Anglo-Saxons reached the island. Two further papers, although separated from the preceding ones by the editors, also discuss geographical frontiers: K. Strobel, “Zwischen Italien und den ‘Barbaren’: Das Werden neuer politischer und administrativer Grenzen in caesarisch-augusteischer Zeit”, p. 199-231, and A.S. Lewin, “The new frontiers of late antiquity in the Near East. From Diocletian to Justinian”, p. 233-263. Strobel, in his final section, “Die Schaffung der Provinzen *Raetia et Vindelicia* und *In Regno Norico*”, convincingly dates the creation of these provinces much earlier than most have done. This paper is rather too long and stuffed with place-names, many not very well-known: the editors should have demanded a map. Lewin provides an authoritative guide to recent work in his chosen area, stressing Diocletian’s reorganisation and the real threat from Arab tribes in the later period. He cites the paper by Zuckerman, mentioned above, which Drijvers should have known. Lewin writes clearly, but here too a map would have been helpful. Four papers deal with religious affairs: E. Muñiz Grijalvo, “The frontiers of Graeco-Roman religions: Greeks and non-Greeks from a religious point of view”, p. 133-148; F. Lozano, “*Arx aeternae dominationis*: emperor worship rituals in the construction of

a Roman religious frontier", p. 149-156; L. Dirven, "Religious frontiers in the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert", p. 157-173; A. Evers, "A fine line? Catholics and Donatists in Roman North Africa", p. 175-198. Muñiz Grijalvo discusses first Herodotus on Greeks and others, then concentrates on Strabo, concluding that his *Geography* was "devised to explain the world to the Romans... a perfect chance to build a religious frontier for the empire, which placed their Greek subjects at the center of the Roman universe." At p. 143, on definitions of "Greekness", she could usefully have cited the passage from Galen referred to above. Lozano's attempt to make his brief discussion of emperor-worship relevant to a "religious frontier" is rather forced, and his revival of the notion that it was important in persecution of the Christians does not convince the reviewer. Dirven's fine study of two frontier cities and their cults may be thoroughly recommended, as may, likewise, Evers' detailed account of the Donatist schism, although in his case the term "frontier" is stretched rather far. Of the remaining papers, that by T. Naco del Hoyo, B. Antela-Bernárdez, I. Arrayás-Morales, S. Busquets-Artigas, "The 'ultimate frontier': war, terror and the Greek *poleis* between Mithridates and Rome", p. 291-304, in spite of their title, is not really a frontiers study. The same applies to K. Verboven, "Resident aliens and translocal merchant *collegia* in the Roman Empire", p. 335-348 and L. Foubert, "The impact of women's travels on military imagery in the Julio-Claudian period", p. 349-361, both interesting enough. Verboven in particular discusses a mass of not very well-known epigraphic evidence (at p. 339, "Diodoros' proposal..." should read "The proposal by Philokles, son of Diodoros..."). F.J. Vervaeke, "Reducing senatorial control over provincial commanders: a forgotten Gabinian law of 67 B.C.E.", p. 265-290, with massively detailed annotation, surely belongs in a standard journal, where those interested in the late Republic would be more likely to find it. P. Cosme, "Les Bataves au centre et à la périphérie de l'Empire: quelques hypothèses sur les origines de la révolte de 69-70", p. 305-320, suggests that Civilis' contact with the Batavian former *corpore custodes* dismissed by Galba may have led him to mount his revolt. However this may be, the reviewer is not convinced by Cosme's rejection of the idea, mistakenly attributed, at 318, to Brunt and Strobel – it comes from G. Alföldy's classic monograph on the *auxilia* of Germania inferior, *Epigr. Stud.* 5, 1968 – that there was a further cohort of Batavians, commanded by Civilis, as well as the eight referred to by Tacitus, *Hist.* 1,59, a total of 4,500 men. Alföldy thus explained the numbering and total strength of the reconstituted cohorts after the revolt: four milliary, I-III and IX, and one quingenary. Finally, J. Nicols, "The practice of *hospitium* on the Roman frontier", p. 321-333, is a useful discussion of this phenomenon, with an appendix of six *tesserae hospitales*. There is a brief index, p. 363-378. Misprints or misspellings are rather frequent but none seem seriously misleading: "metal defectors" (p. 321) is an amusing one. All told, the volume contains much of great interest and any archaeologists who mistake it for a *Limes* Congress publication would benefit from consulting it.

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Francesco DE ANGELIS (Ed.), *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World*. Leyde, Brill, 2010. 1 vol. 16,5 x 24,5 cm, XII-434 p., ill. (COLUMBIA STUDIES IN THE CLASSICAL TRADITION, 35). Prix : 140 €. ISBN 978-90-04-18925-6.