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poet deeply aware of his own poetry as well as the genre of epic.

This 5th and final chapter (by far the longest) continues B.'s examination of addressees in Martial, however, unlike ch. 4, focuses on encomiastic aspects of two epigrams — 7.27 and 11.69. The first half of ch. 5 analyzes 7.27 which recounts a boar which Martial's patron, Dexter, has wounded and which is offered to and refused by Martial (7.27.10). B. provides a two-fold reading of how this boar heightens the status of Dexter and, at the same time, Martial. Through specific allusion to epic models, the boar is refined, similar to B.'s analysis of Melior's tree in *Silvae* 2.3. These allusions are chiefly to Ovid's Calydonian boar, serving to heighten the status of the patron by casting him as an epic hunter on par with Meleager. B. also outlines the grandeur of the boar as a hunting prize (both within and outside of this poetry) and as a stand in for epic poetry in this poem. In the poet's refusal of the grand boar (7.27.9–10), Martial helps his own humble, penniless persona (*vilius esurio*, 7.27.10). Moreover, this refusal elicits monetary recompense from Dexter. What is more, this refusal casts the poet as one who is choosing to write epigram after establishing his familiarity with epic poetry. As with epigram 11.69, Martial's rejection of the boar is a refusal to compose epic poetry framed along with an understanding of such poetry.

The second half of ch. 5 focuses on 11.69 where we once again see Dexter in one of Martial's epitaph epigrams. This epigram is dedicated to Lydia, Dexter's hunting dog who has died while hunting a similarly impressive boar. The status of the patron is heightened by imbuing the boar with epic elements (11.69.9–10). Lydia herself also evokes epic elements; in particular, a reference to Homer's Argus (11.69.8). This allusion not only increases the status of the dog but also her owner, Dexter, casting him as a type of Odysseus. Moreover, Homer's Argus is weak and starving while Lydia has just killed a very formidable boar (11.69.10) and died young. In this regard, B. compares Lydia to both Achilles and, by expanding on Martial's use of *amphitheatrales* (11.69.1), gladiators. Such allusions suggest, as B. does elsewhere, Martial's trumping of the epigram's epic references. Moreover, Martial's own status is also increased by the very production of this epigram which is a type of memorial for the patron's continued use, owing to its epitaph-like structure, a portable, literary encapsulation of Lydia's voice.

B.'s creative approach furthers our reading of these individual poems, encouraging new attention to the various ways in which epic elements in Statius' *Silvae* and Martial's epigrams contribute to the status of poets, addressees and patrons. Viewing these epigrams with epic in mind elucidates the, often reciprocal, function of patron and poet personae within these poems. Moreover, this book is wonderfully organized throughout and provides a useful *index locorum*.

Champaign, Il. *Stephen Froedge*

Seth Bernard: *Building Mid-Republican Rome.* Labor, Architecture and the Urban Economy. New York: Oxford UP 2018. XVI, 315 S. 38 Abb. 2 Ktn. 55 £.

This interesting book aims at investigating the society and economy of Mid-Republican Rome through the analysis of the cost of building activities.

Architectural remains are the main evidence, and these are discussed with literary and epigraphic sources.

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–24) describes the methodology of the research, which started as a PhD thesis at the University of Pennsylvania. The author outlines the previous approaches to Ancient Roman architecture, briefly summarized as formalist when focused on the stylistic analysis of the buildings and topographic when aimed at identifying the ancient buildings as known from literary sources. He also introduces a third approach, which is the analysis of the economic implications of Mid-Republican Rome's physical topography (p. 11).

Chapter 2 (pp. 25–44) deals with the description of building materials used in Rome from the 4th to the early 2nd centuries BC.

Chapter 3 (pp. 45–74) focuses on the archaeology and literary sources regarding two key events of the 4th century, namely

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the conquest of Veii in 396 and the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 BC, with their potential impact on the supply of labour in the city.

Chapter 4 (pp. 75–117) analyses the cost of the Republican city walls.

Chapter 5 (pp. 118–158) examines the social changes which occurred in the 4th century BC, above all the rise of the *nobilitas,* the urban development of the second half of the century, the censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus, the rise of contracts for building activities and the introduction of coinage in the Roman economy.

Chapter 6 (pp. 159–192) discusses the labour supply for Mid-Republican Rome, which certainly comprised different sources: free citizens employed in forced labour, slaves, and paid workers, often coming from outside the city.

Chapter 7 (pp. 193–227) focuses on technological changes in Roman stone masonry between the 3rd and 2nd centuries, particularly by discussing the introduction of new systems of lifting and the possible demographic impact of the immigration of new skilled artisans.

The conclusion (pp. 228–232) gives a summary of the main issues debated in the book: 1. A possible shortage of manpower, as an effect of the expansion of Roman production following the conquest of Veii; 2. The decrease in the use of forced labour and the rise in the number of slaves employed in public works, which were increasingly carried out by private companies under the control of the public authorities (*censores*, *aediles)* by means of contracts.

The book is completed by two appendixes: a model of cost analysis of ashlar masonry in volcanic tuff (pp. 233–238), and a catalogue of 129 public building projects in Rome dating from between 396 to 168 BC (pp. 239–261).

The volume offers a good critical synthesis in English of the vast literature on the architecture of Republican Rome, which includes the debate provoked by a recent conference on the economics of building (S. Camporeale et al. [eds.], 'Arqueología de la construcción II', Madrid 2010), by a specific paper of R. Volpe ('Dalle cave della via Tiberina alle Mura repubblicane di Roma', in Arquelogía de la Construcción IV, Madrid 2014, 61–71) on the cost analysis of Rome's Mid-Republican walls, and last but not least, by the old but still valid monograph by Giuseppe Lugli ('La tecnica edilizia dei Romani', Roma 1957) about Roman building techniques. Furthermore, it offers a wide range of stimulating reflections on the social impact of public building programmes on one of the biggest cities not only in Italy but also in the whole Mediterranean Basin.

The work focuses on the city of Rome, but from a historical point of view we should remember that the late 4th century BC Roman economic system embraced the whole of Latium (after 338 BC), many areas of Southern Etruria (included Caere) and many cities in Campania (see now: F. M. Cifarelli et al. [eds.], 'Oltre ‹Roma medio repubblicana›: Il Lazio fra i Galli e la battaglia di Zama', Roma 2017). For this reason, the archaeological evidence of the city of Rome (and more specifically the architectural remains) should be considered as only partially representative of the whole economic system. Furthermore, even if focusing only on architectural remains we should also consider, just as an example, the Mid-Republican fortifications of the Latin colonies of Sutri and Nepi, or Norba (L. Quilici, 'Sutri: Porta Furba e ricerche sull'urbanistica delle città', in Atlante tematico di topografia antica 17, 2008, 21–72; A. Guzzetti, 'Le mura repubblicane di Nepi', in Atlante tematico di topografia antica 9, 2000, 81–90; and L. Quilici, S. Quilici Gigli, 'Sulle mura di Norba, in Atlante tematico di topografia antica 9, 2001, 181–244).

It should also have been more clearly stated that the Mid-Republican walls were not the first walls of Rome. In fact, they replaced a previous unitary line of fortification from the sixth century BC, which was made up of a combination of walls of granular grey tufa blocks, ditches, and vertical cuts on the slopes of the tufa hills, and which enclosed the area of the Seven Hills (G. Cifani, 'The Fortifications of Archaic Rome', in R. Frederiksen et al. [eds], 'Focus on Fortifications', Oxford 2016, 82–93). The importance of this aspect should be not underestimated, since the cost of constructing the city walls also includes the expropriation of land and the

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building of complementary infrastructure such as roads and drainageways.

Even the idea of a shortage of manpower after 396 BC can be challenged, since the conquest of Veii drove a huge number of slaves to Rome and they may have contributed to the building activities of the city or to the rural exploitation of the ager Veientanus. Last but not least, the economic resources of the Roman state were not simply based on direct taxation of citizens (also in the form of forced labour) or on war booty. In fact, a complex system of indirect taxation and revenues was also provided for, as exemplified by the literary sources regarding *portoria* and *vectigalia*, including the *vectigal* on the *ager publicus,* the taxation of salt, which was presumably one of Mid-Republican Rome's main sources of income (see: A. Giovannini, 'Le sel et la fortune de Rome', in Athenaeum 63, 1985, 373–387; G. Cifani, 'L'economia di Roma nella prima età repubblicana', in M. Aberson et al. [eds.], 'L'Italia centrale e la creazione di una koiné culturale?', Bern 2016, 151–181; G. Cifani, 'The Origins of the Roman economy', Cambridge 2021).

The real historical question may be to what extent the diversification of Roman Mid-Republican revenues, the rise of the *nobilitas* and the further development of trade activities during the course of the 4th century could really have changed the economy of central Italy, and eventually led to the progressive reduction in the imposition of forced labour on private citizens in Rome.

As a matter of fact, the perception of Rome in the second Treaty with Carthage in 348 BC (Polyb. III, 24, 3–13) is that of a sea power able to trade as far as the coast of Spain, while by the end of the 4th century BC, Rome was already directly involved in politics and presumably trade activities in the eastern Mediterranean area, as known from the sources regarding a treaty with Rhodes (Polyb. III, 5, 6–8; Liv. XLV, 25).

There are other statements in the book which should be emended; for example, regarding the complexity of archaic buildings, we should note that the use of lime-based plaster was not introduced in Rome in the Mid-Republican period (as stated by the author on pp. 32–33), but was already present by the 6th century BC at the latest (G. Cifani, 'Architettura romana arcaica' 2008, 139, 246 with bibl.).

However, despite these aspects, the book remains an important attempt to use building remains as a source of evidence to analyse the complexity of ancient economies and it will certainly enrich the historical debate on the social changes which occurred in Mid-Republican Rome.

Paris *Gabriele Cifani*

Harriet Fertik: *The Ruler's House.* Contesting Power and Privacy in Julio-Claudian Rome. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP 2019. X, 241 S. zahlr. Abb.

Harriet Fertik's important new book explores the impact of one-man rule on Roman conceptions of 'public' and 'private' and the different means by which the ruler's own (limited) privacy, especially in the context of his own household, was mobilized by writers in a range of literary genres in order to examine wider issues of social order. By approaching the problem from these different literary perspectives, and by fleshing out her interpretations with a selection of relevant archaeological evidence, Fertik provides us with a valuable new way to think about the early imperial period beyond the domain of politics, narrowly defined.

An Introduction, which defines key terms (especially 'public' and 'private') and which sets out the book's theoretical framework, and a short Conclusion frame the substantive core of the book, which contains six chapters. The first two chapters examine various discourses of the (elite) Roman family, the first focused on Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and the second exploring the different ways in which the imperial family was configured and imagined. Chapter three considers the emperor's house in the city of Rome (with separate treatments of the Palatine complex and the Domus Aurea), while chapter four turns to direct and indirect representation of the emperor, especially in domestic contexts, in the works of Seneca the Younger (*De clementia*, *Agamemnon*, and *Thyestes*). The fifth chapter returns to the archaeological record, in this case that of

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