A somewhat different viewpoint features in C. Grey's 'Salvian, the Ideal Christian Community and the Fate of the Poor in Fifth-Century Gaul' (Chapter 10). Grey focuses on Salvian, a presbyter in Marseilles, who wrote a reproachful account against the Christian community. Versed in Roman law, this late Antique author attempted to reconstruct an idealistic socialistic community in which all individuals were responsible for one another. Grey warns that these ideals do not necessarily reflect realities of the poor, but they are suggestive '… that some of the "poor", at least, were still able to choose the types of relationships in which they became involved at this period' (182).

The last contribution 'Poverty and Roman Law' (Chapter 11) by C. Humfress draws parallels between the so-called visibility of 'the poor' and their legal position within Roman society. In particular Humfress nuances and contextualizes Marcian's *Novel* 4 to illustrate that the goal of legislators in late antiquity was not to conceptualize poverty. From the standpoint of Roman law, her article underscores the necessity of treating poverty or the poor on a case-by-case basis.

My closing remarks are not meant to detract from the overall presentation of this thought-provoking and well-conceived work. Rather, they are meant as food for thought and hopefully will spur further and much needed work in this area. A common theme prevalent in this entire work is the role that Christianity has played in formulating our ideas of poverty. While the authors have effectively demonstrated how we need to move away from this notion, one wonders how other external cultural and religious phenomena have contributed to our overall understanding of poverty in the ancient world. One might be interested in, for example, how Judaism and Islam have helped to formulate certain conceptual ideals — a point briefly touched upon by Woolf (84). The tenets of Christianity, after all, did not develop in a vacuum (see M.R. Cohen, *Poverty and Charity in the Jewish Community of Medieval Europe*, Princeton 2005). The evidence presented in Atkins and Osborne (e.g. the last five chapters) is heavily weighted towards late antique Christian rhetorical treatises. The disparate nature of the first four papers definitively shows the need for further exploration of poverty in the early empire. One also wonders how the material record would help to corroborate or dispel some of the stimulating and challenging hypotheses presented in the work.

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Duane W. Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006. xxi + 163 pp. ISBN-10: 0-415-37287-9; ISBN-13: 9-78-0-415-37287-9.

For more than fifty years, no other book has treated comprehensively the exploration of the Atlantic by classical civilisations. This fact alone makes this book rewarding and guarantees that it deserves a welcome. The book is also readable. Duane W. Roller (hence R.) is refreshingly open-minded. A Professor of Greek and Latin at the Ohio State University, he has previously published books about different client kings of Augustus. These include: *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene* (London: Routledge, 2003); and *Scholarly Kings: The Fragments of Juba II of Mauretania, Archelaos of Kappadokia, Herod the Great and the Emperor Claudius* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 2004).

R. explains that the book under review here evolved from his previous research on Juba II of Mauretania and his wife, Cleopatra Selene (the only surviving child of Antonius and Cleopatra VII). While R. briefly discusses Juba II (25, 112-114), who made an important, albeit mostly lost contribution to geography, the principal focus of this book is on Greek, Roman, Carthaginian and Numidian understanding of the outskirts of the known world. As an essential

part of the composition of the book, R. took the trouble to travel to the places he describes (xiii) and the book is illustrated with black and white photographs, mostly taken by him.

The book opens with a list of bibliographical acronyms (viii-x), which is followed by a 'Preface' (xi-xiii) that concisely states the theme of the book. In the 'Preface', R. refers to Pytheas, the Massalian navigator from the fourth century BCE. According to R.'s argument in the 'Preface', Pytheas actually reached Iceland and theorized about the physical characteristics of Iceland's sea. In the rest of the book, R. is more cautious about Pytheas. Nevertheless, R. is willing to consider Pytheas seriously and to examine in detail the extent to which the identification of Iceland as Thule is valid. By contrast, Strabo besmirched Pytheas, and so did most other classical authorities who mentioned him.

The 'Introduction' (xv-xxi) is subdivided and has useful maps. Seven numbered sections follow. These have 20 landscape photographs. Section 1 is titled 'Greek Exploration before 500 BC' (1-21). The subjects of this section include: Homer's geographical notions of the far West; Herodotus' account of Kolaios of Samos, and Tartessus; the travels of the Phocaeans, and especially their colony of Massalia (Marseille); Scylax's sailing in the Indian Ocean; evidence from the Ora maritima by Avienus (4th c. CE) for Phocaean periploi of the Atlantic; Midacritus' voyage to the Cassiterides; voyages south of the Pillars (in the Pseudo-Skylax periplus); Euthymenes of Massalia; the Persian Sataspes.

Section 2, 'The Carthaginians North and South of the Pillars' (22-43), treats at length attempted circumnavigations and the voyages of Himilco, and especially of Hanno. The latter's Periplus is reproduced in the book's appendix. R. has no doubt that Hanno saw Mt. Cameroon — an important addition to the controversy about how to interpret Hanno's toponyms. Section 3, 'The Atlantic Islands and Beyond' (44-56), starts with the reflections of myths in Homer and Hesiod. R. then suggests that the Carthaginians' wooded island beyond the Pillars may be Madeira (46). Eventually, according to R., the Romans learned about Madeira through Sertorius, and Horace may have referred to it (46). The Canaries, by contrast, became well known (47), and R. dwells on the expedition of Juba II. Whether there was Graeco-Roman contact with Cape Verdes and Azores is controversial (49). R. discusses the finding of Carthaginian coins on the Azores during the 18th-century and the inconclusive 1983 archaeological survey there (49-50). To conclude the discussion of 'The Atlantic Islands and Beyond', R. turns to the question of whether the Atlantic was crossed in its entirety, even though — if that was ever done — nobody returned (50-56).

Section 4, 'Pytheas of Massalia' (57-91) rehabilitates and extols Pytheas. Disbelief in what he claimed about the sea near the Arctic harmed his reputation. 'The tradition about Pytheas, as collected mostly by Strabo, is almost universally hostile' (66). And yet (91), Marianus Capella (6.609) believed Pytheas. Also "[m]odern opinion, more knowledgeable about the Arctic, is more charitable. Pytheas' journey remains one of the most significant of ancient exploration" (67). R. discusses the Thule which Pytheas reached, and tends to agree that it was Iceland, dwelling on that country's features (81-87). In contrast, the Roman Agricola's Thule apparently was Mainland, the principal island in the Shetlands (123). Another important facet of this section is R.'s suggestion for identifying Tanais, which Pytheas reached.

Section 5, 'Hellenistic Exploration of the Coasts of Africa' (92-104), is about the nearly two centuries following Pytheas, when Greek exploration of the Atlantic declined, and interest had turned east. R. (99) addresses the issue of Roman access to Carthaginian libraries after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE. The focus is on Polybius (99-104), who had the task of perusing the material. Section 6, 'Late Hellenistic Exploration' (105-114), deals with a time when Roman policy encouraged exploration expeditions. This section also discusses Polybius' access to the Carthaginian library and the voyager Eudoxus of Cyzicus.

Section 7, 'Roman Exploration' (115-124), explains how Roman ships travelled along Europe's Atlantic coasts. Attitudes towards the Ocean evolved. With the campaigns of Julius

Caesar in Gaul, the Romans became better acquainted with the northern Atlantic coast (116), much more so than as a result of the expedition which took place half a century earlier. The disaster of Germanicus' navy, which followed two other maritime incidents that took place during the thirty years before that disaster, discouraged further Atlantic exploration (Tacitus, Germania 34). Later on, C. Julius Agricola's fleet established that Britain was an island and reached the Orkneys.

In the 'Epilogue' (125-127), R. shows how pessimism grew, and by the second half of the first century CE, with the Elder Seneca and L. Cestius Pius, a reluctance to explore far-away places replaced an earlier confidence in setting forth into the Ocean. An 'Appendix' (129-132) contains Hanno's Periplus in Greek, translated into English. It is followed by the bibliography (133-147) and a 'List of Passages Cited' from Greek and Latin sources (149-153) and very few biblical, Indian, Irish, and Nordic sources (153). There is also a thorough index (155-162).

R.'s footnotes abound and are invaluable. He usefully marshals information other than on the Atlantic, when it can clarify his discussion. For instance, metal resources as a possible motive for Carthaginian exploration are considered in footnotes on page 42, which discusses the question how ancient the exploitation of West African metal resources is, and the controversy about whether the trans-Saharan gold trade occurred before the late third century CE. There are almost no typos or misspellings: all of those I spotted, except one, are in bibliographic entries. R. does not mention the Roman Tabula Peutingeriana, but this is rather unsurprising because the westernmost of its twelve segments was missing when the map was discovered. The missing part is the one corresponding to Britain and Spain. Therefore, the Tabula Peutingeriana is rather unhelpful for the Atlantic. Moreover, its focus on land routes is reflected in the seas being drawn as narrow lines.

In conclusion, R. is to be congratulated for his important contribution to our understanding of Graeco-Roman maritime explorations.

Ephraim Nissan London

Philip Sabin, Hans Van Wees and Michael Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, Vol. 1: *Greece, the Hellenistic World and the Rise of Rome*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 694 pp. 10 maps. ISBN-13: 9780521782739.

Philip Sabin, Hans Van Wees and Michael Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, Vol. 2: *Rome from the Late Republic to the Late Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 663 pp. ISBN-13: 9780521782746.

The origins of war are mysterious. Archeological and anthropological studies suggest that war emerged with the formation of human societies: there is evidence of fortifications from the Neolithic age (c. 8500 BCE) and archeological digs in various sites reveal tombs of warriors, suggesting that mass battles had taken place. These findings show that mankind was engaged in warfare long before turning to agriculture, founding permanent settlements or inventing the first systems of writing.

Human society and warfare developed side by side and mutually influenced each other. Shortage in natural resources caused by the growth of population was one of the main causes for war in pre-agricultural and agricultural societies.[1] Once social structures became more sophisticated, more complex military systems developed because advanced social systems, urban and literate, which were based on economical, political, and social hierarchies, required an

1 L.H. Keeley, *War before Civilization* (Oxford, 1996), 117-121.