

the basis of the transmission began to be developed. Plasberg, in 1908, was the first to base his text on a comprehensive list of MSS known to him, and on a study of their relations. Terence Hunt has now completed the work with his meticulous and comprehensive study, where intellectual history emerges from the results of proper, minute and exact scholarship. His book, beside P.L. Schmidt's earlier work on *De Legibus*, should serve as a model and set the standard for future work in this field.

A final note, bringing us back to the sublunary world of our contemporary scholarship. Most of H.'s collations of MSS and printed editions were carried out in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The book was virtually ready about ten years ago. For reasons which have nothing to do with scholarship, some previous attempts to have it published fell through. We should be very grateful to the editors of the excellent series of Supplements to *Mnemosyne* for acting swiftly, and in the spirit of true scholarship. The typescript of this book was presented to them in 1997, and they published it so beautifully in 1998. At a time when so many academic and para-academic presses are producing more and more half-baked dissertations and half-finished monographs by academics anxious for their own promotion and for their department's RAE points, here is a work of real and exact philological and historical scholarship by a private scholar who took his time to let the work mature and has given us results which are there to stay.

In his preface (X), Hunt writes: 'The present work should serve as a starting-point for the scholar who takes it upon himself to study the textual tradition of the *De Finibus*; were I granted another life-time, I would consider it my duty to undertake this work'. No mortal — with the possible exception of Hesiod — has been granted more than one life. But Terence Hunt is not an old man; and some basic work on the transmission of *De Finibus* has already been carried out by him, and by the late Leighton Reynolds before his untimely death. Would it be too much to hope that some research institution, unhampered by the constraints of 'publish or perish', RAE and other monsters of the same water, would grant Hunt a good few years of full-time, undisturbed research, to help him fulfill his next duty?

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Rudolf Haensch, *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Kölner Forschungen, Band 7, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1997. 863 pp. + 2 maps. ISBN 3 8053 1803 0.

This major work addresses the intriguing question whether the Roman Empire had provincial capitals. Since there is no straightforward answer to this problem, it focuses on a more specific problem which can be answered, namely what is known about the governors' residences and administrative centres in the provinces from 27 BC till AD 284. Thus, it is the subtitle more than the title which accurately describes the contents of the book. Having said this, it can only be admitted that the author never loses sight of his theme and has produced the fullest possible treatment of the subject, covering an astonishing amount of material, mostly epigraphical. The

importance of the work lies in the fact that so much material is conveniently brought together in one volume. Haensch has fully documented the material from all relevant areas of the empire, both in the literature and in inscriptions. He has discussed in much detail local and regional problems without ever losing track of the main subject at hand. His historical judgement is lucid and his method sound.

The work consists of four parts: (A) a methodological analysis of the problem which is caused partly by vague ancient terminology — what does Tacitus mean by *caput provinciae*? Presumably the presence there, for much of the time, of the governor. What is a *metropolis*? It is then concluded that there were governor's residences in many provinces. Next follows a discussion of the method of investigation, given the nature of the evidence (pp. 37-64). (B) In the following part, the method described in the previous part is applied to select provinces. (C) The longest section of the discussion treats the evidence available for other provinces (pp. 120-360) and formulates conclusions (pp. 361-89). (D) An overview or repertoire of the documentation — twenty-eight categories of texts — and detailed appendices on related questions 393ff.). There are extensive indexes as necessary in a work of this kind (pp. 837ff.).

A question which must be raised is whether it was necessary to publish a book this size on this particular topic. The conclusions, while convincing, do not drastically alter our insights into the workings of Roman provincial administration. A recent review of another revised German doctoral dissertation speaks of 'this monstrous volume', even though it has only pp. xiv + 504.¹ Haensch has written almost nine hundred pages, and it should be noted that each page has many more words than regular books because of the lavish format of the work. Yet the author claims to have restricted the size as much as possible (p. 16). It might have been possible to distribute the documentary section — which in its present shape and organization is not easy to use — in electronic form, thus saving more than four hundred printed pages. This would also have made it possible to cite full texts rather than fragments. However, when the book was prepared for the press, this may not yet have been possible. Furthermore it would have been better to refrain from discussing so many local and secondary issues which do not immediately touch upon the matter at hand or which may be too controversial to be solved satisfactorily. Here one encounters sometimes overconfidence and sometimes excessive caution in the treatment. Let me take a number of examples from a region with which I am rather familiar. On p. 233, n.17 a futile attempt is made to show that Caesarea Maritima became a veteran colony under Vespasian, because Haensch believes that Roman legionaries were discharged locally at the end of a military campaign. This, surely, was not the case in the period discussed. On another matter: there has been frequent discussion of the question whether Bostra or Petra was the first governor's residence following the annexation of the province of Arabia after 106. In the light of all that has been said and written there should have been no reason for Haensch to believe that he could produce decisive arguments in favour of Petra (pp. 238-41). The documents from the Judaeen

¹ H. Prinzen, *Ennius im Urteil der Antike*, reviewed in *JRS* 90 (2000), 217f. by H.D. Jocelyn.

desert that he relies upon are not helpful in this respect, for they deal with a village within the city territory of Petra. Yet the documents make it abundantly clear that the governor spent only part of his time in Petra while he is also attested in the town of Rabbath-Moab. Again, there was no need for a full page of ruminations on the question why the city of Caesarea Maritima in Judaea was chosen for the governor's residence (p. 232-4). There is no problem here. Before 70 Jerusalem was the more important city, but for Roman governors it was uncongenial, socially and politically, and very difficult to reach. Caesarea was the finest coastal town with the best harbour of the region and it already was a royal residence. After 70, Jerusalem was destroyed as a city and legionary headquarters were located there for military reasons only. Caesarea remained what it had been before the war, a large, cultured and prosperous city, loyal to the empire, and it was now linked by good roads to Antioch and the Decapolis. After 135, Jerusalem had the status of a Roman colony and the road-system was better organised, but as a city it developed very slowly. More need hardly be said about the matter. Again, for Arabia Haensch acknowledges that the seat of the financial procurator was at Gerasa and not in Bostra, where the legate and legionary headquarters were situated. The reason for this might seem obvious to anyone who has enjoyed reading Rostovtzeff's *Caravan Cities* on Gerasa: the main task of the procurator was to collect taxes and Gerasa and the Decapolis were where the taxes came from, not the modest town of Bostra. Yet Haensch, p. 371, argues that the procurator was based at Gerasa because of events during the First Jewish Revolt which took place in Judaea, some forty years before the annexation of Arabia, and which affected the Decapolis only slightly. This is therefore an unprofitable speculation. Finally, Haensch's book was published before a wealth of material from Caesarea Maritima became available through excavations and pp. 230-1 therefore are already out-of-date through no fault of his. This may illustrate that the most decisive further impact on the issues discussed in the book will probably be made not so much by extensive discussion and re-discussion of the available evidence as by the appearance of new evidence.

However, one should not quibble about what the author has done or omitted, for he has given us generous measure. His general conclusions are convincing. He is undoubtedly right in concluding that we know far less than many of us thought we knew. In this respect, the book follows current thinking about many aspects of the ancient world, which emphasise dissimilarity between ancient patterns and modern ones. It is now clear that at least part of the Roman provinces had governor's residences, and that we cannot know for many where they actually were. The author shows clearly why evidence is often not as decisive as one might have expected it to be. Where the evidence is unambiguous and the governor's seat can be located, the characteristics are clear: the residences were often on or near the sea for ease of communications and, perhaps, convenience of climate. Their location was often separate from major military bases in the provinces and they were sometimes, but by no means always, in or near the old, pre-Roman rulers' residences. The book shows what else might be expected in or around the governor's residences: in some cities the provincial council met, in many, but not all, the residence of the provincial procurator is also attested. Whatever is known about the actual buildings concerned is

conveniently summarised. The book discusses the effect of the governor's presence on the city. He was involved in building and is mentioned as such in inscriptions. He was honoured on public and private monuments; the details and statistics are extensively analysed. It is clear that governors were responsible for the erection of more buildings in the cities where they resided than elsewhere in their provinces, although they are not attested as being responsible for over-all city-planning anywhere. Such buildings as they initiated or supported are fairly often temples or structures connected with the water supply, but other constructions are also attested. Other advantages to the cities which had governor's residences are evaluated.

This book should be read together with the author's eminently useful study of the governors' archives.² While the latter, perhaps more than the book under review, gives an impression of what the governor actually did, the former is an indispensable work of reference and analysis for anyone interested in Roman provincial administration.

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Richard Wallace and Wynne Williams, *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998. xiii + 239 pp. ISBN 0 41 513592 3.

The intended readership of this book is likely to be students of early Christianity, wishing to grasp the colourful and diverse world from which that religion sprang. While very basic and general in the way it introduces topics and concepts, the book is highly readable, and though condensed, it is well-informed as well as inviting. It is meant by its authors to be seen 'in part as background, and in part as a protest' (p. 3). The background consists of the historical, social, political and cultural contexts in which Paul and other early Christians lived and acted. The protest is directed against oversimplification of these contexts, in particular the cultural one.

In the complex picture this book presents, there were three main ways in which people identified themselves and were identified by others — through their native culture, through Hellenistic civilization, and through Roman civilization, termed by the authors three cultural 'layers' or 'worlds'. As a Jew, a Greek-speaker and a Roman citizen, Paul of Tarsus moved through all of these layers. Due to this fact, he is chosen as the pivot-figure for the whole book. The title, however, should not mislead; this is not a study of the life and work of Paul, but an exposition of his environment and surroundings.

This presentation is given in four parts, each one delving deeper into the issue of cultural identity. The first part (pp. 3-29) sets the scene, and draws a short outline of

² R. Haensch, 'Das Statthalterarchiv', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 109/222 (1992), 209-317.