

attention to the repetition of imperatives 'to see', explaining that these words indicate common Roman consciousness about conquered peoples through their products, such as frankincense; these deductions in turn lead him to convincing conclusions about the gradual provincialising of Rome through economic imperialism.

Additionally, Kerrigan uses the first lines of *Georgics* 1 in tandem with *Res Gestae* very effectively to argue that Octavian/Augustus portrayed himself as the heir to Alexander the Great, a truly global ruler, and that Romans in Virgil's time saw their civil war in global terms. On the other hand, Kerrigan is less convincing when he says that Virgil used 'proto-racist' language about the Indians to justify Roman control of Eastern lands, lacking precise references and critical analysis of the *Georgics* in this section; he also does not engage with the arguments of scholars such as David Olusoga or Mary Beard, who argue that the Romans did not discriminate on the basis of skin colour.

Building on these points, Kerrigan raises questions about Roman-Italian relations. He argues that the description of pests around Lucania in the poem alludes to possible resistance in the Social War against Roman rule, suppressed by violence and road-building. Unfortunately, he does not analyse the Latin passages in much depth here, leaving the reader possibly baffled about the links between poetic flies and Roman roads. When he focuses on the precise wording of the phrase *vacuis...Acerris* and links this to the destruction of the city, his argument is much more convincing about a poetic memory of the Social War. Kerrigan also examines the portrayal of the Volsci and Ligurians, in comparison to Livy and Dionysius; he suggests that the similar portrayals of the hardy bellicose people could represent their absorption into Roman history or continuing resistance.

In Part 2, Kerrigan discusses the reception of the *Georgics*. Firstly, he argues that there has been an 'aesthetic trend' in scholarship, so that the political aspects of the *Georgics* have been downplayed compared to an appreciation of Virgil's rural imagery in the poem. Kerrigan convincingly illustrates this point, particularly with reference to the writings of Joseph Addison. He also refers briefly to the appropriation of a quotation in *Georgics* 1 by William Pitt in a slave-trade debate, which would be fascinating to discuss further. For, moving onto descriptions of Italy and Africa in the 19th century, Kerrigan shows how the *Georgics* (most notably the African farmer in *Georgics* 3) were widely used to depoliticise contemporary perceptions of both Italy and newly-encountered lands and to justify their colonisation as a 'civilising mission', just as Romans had 'civilised' their conquered territories.

Following these points, Kerrigan discusses references to Virgil's words from *Georgics* 2, *o fortunatas nimum...agricolas!* The corollary is that these words were used to portray colonies as too simple for autonomy, thus necessitating British rule. However, he follows J A Froude's description of Australia to J R Seeley's without fully interrogating Froude's use or demonstrating his link to Seeley. Furthermore, his contention that Virgil's words were used to dismiss Irish claims about British imperial misrule lacks an examination of the full context, as he himself admits when he says 'without entering into a detailed analysis'.

Finally, the author discusses the reception of the *Georgics* during and immediately after the First World War in Britain. Using reports from the *Gloucestershire Chronicle* and *North Devon Journal*, he offers compelling evidence of academics and even middle-class campaigners using the *Georgics* to advocate more arable farming and self-sufficiency. However, less

convincingly, he argues that the *Georgics* justified the resettlement of British soldiers and portrayed the First World War as an East versus West war, like the Augustan portrayal of Octavian versus Mark Antony.

His only direct evidence is one (Classical scholar) writer, namely Herbert Warren.

As the *Georgics* are not on the prescribed list for forthcoming exams in A level or IB Latin, this book may not become required reading for a sixth form course in the near future. However, chapter 3 on the Civil War could be useful for high-achieving students studying the 'Imperial Image' or 'Politics of the Late Republic' modules within OCR A Level Classical Civilisation, were a teacher to preface it with an introduction to the *Georgics*; furthermore, Kerrigan's argument about the political dimension to Virgil's love of the Italian countryside could be applied and debated when reading *Aeneid* 7-8 for the 'World of the Hero' module on the same course. On the other hand, for school teachers of Classics, especially those very familiar with the *Georgics*, the book includes some original interpretations of Virgil, encouraging them to review their use of Virgil in the classroom as a source on Roman attitudes to empire.

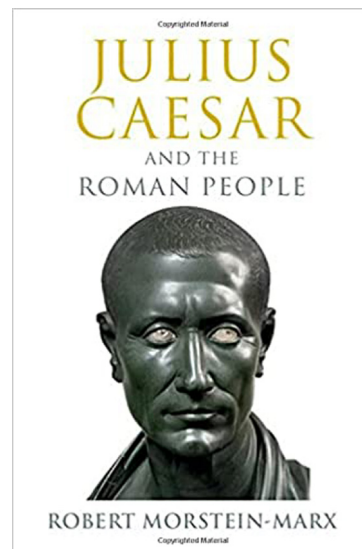
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Julius Caesar and the Roman People

Morstein-Marx (R). Cambridge University Press, (26 Aug. 2021), Hardcover: 700 pages, £36.99. ISBN-13: 978-1108837842.

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At the outset of his excellent new book, Robert Morstein-Marx reminds his readers what a crowded field the study of Caesar's life and career has become in the last decade. His intention in adding to it is twofold: to demonstrate that the Late Republic was still 'alive and kicking': a fully participative democracy wherein the Roman People played a much more significant role than is often assumed; and to challenge the teleological perspective on Caesar's career, demolishing the

idea that he aspired to autocracy from the beginning of his career and that he was a radical *popularis*.

Between the introduction and conclusion, the book is divided into eight chapters, each focusing on a period or specific point in Caesar's political career. In chapters two and three, 'The Early Caesar' and 'Caesar's "Entry into History": the Catilinarian Debate and its Aftermath', Morstein-Marx examines Caesar's career before his consulship, which he argues was entirely in keeping with republican tradition: Caesar sought military glory and popularity in the style of Scipionic hero of the past. He revels in dismissing anecdotes which have become embedded in Caesar's story, such as his brief suspension from his praetorship, which Morstein-Marx argues would not have been in the Senate's power (or interests) to enforce, since it would encroach on the right of the People to elect magistrates. As for Caesar's proposal in the Catilinarian debate, Morstein-Marx argues that he was offering the senate a lifeline, anticipating a significant backlash against the condemnation of the conspirators. Chapter four examines Caesar's first consulship, arguing that the optimates' opposition to Caesar's legislation was both short-sighted and far more out of keeping with republican precedent than anything Caesar himself did. Chapter five, 'Caesar in Gaul', discusses the widespread support for and popularity in Rome of Caesar's campaigns, and begins to tackle the thorny subject of the political events leading to the (importantly, not inevitable) outbreak of war in 49, which is continued in the next chapter, 'No Return'. Morstein-Marx's definition of *dignitas* as the prestige and honours given by the People fuels his argument that Caesar was determined not to be cheated of his triumph and upon his return from Gaul by a small clique of indefatigable enemies – in fact, he was upholding the will of the People by defending their 'ancient rights' to bestow upon him his just reward for his outstanding military achievements. Morstein-Marx lays the blame for the outbreak of war squarely at the feet of Marcellus and the small clique of optimates who declared Caesar an enemy of the state in early 49. In the seventh chapter, 'Taking Sides', Morstein-Marx explains that negotiations continued until Pompey left for Greece, undermining the traditional idea that Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon was a decisive moment. He then examines the motives of the men who joined Caesar, concluding that 'Boni aplenty made their way back to Caesar's Rome rather than flocking to Pompey's camp or making their way to the nearest port', demonstrating that Caesar was certainly not seen by many as a rebellious outsider, but as a war hero, who would further their political careers. The title of chapter eight, 'Caesar's Leniency', challenges the typical view of Caesar's *clementia* as an expression of his dominance and tyranny. Morstein-Marx argues that the purpose of Caesar's consistent policy of sparing his captured enemies was to 'win the peace'; he also points out that 'Not a single case is known of a Pompeian rejecting Caesar's offer of leniency when it was given' and that mercy had generally positive connotations. However, most interestingly, Morstein-Marx also explains that this policy created serious problems for Caesar: in sparing and even rewarding his enemies, he left himself fewer ways and means to reward his friends, creating the sort of resentment that contributed to his assassination. The last chapter, 'En-route to the Parthian War', deals with the implosion of the Caesarian party and Caesar's preoccupation with his long-planned Parthian campaign. As works on Caesar's career must eventually do, Morstein-Marx finally turns to the causes of Caesar's assassination, which are explored in satisfying detail. One of the most important, he argues, is that many of the conspirators resented the offices Caesar allowed them as much as those who missed out, because '*honores* obtained as a personal

favour rather than by a judgment of the People were in fact no "*honor*" at all.'

Almost every page of *Julius Caesar and the Roman People* is stuffed full of stimulating arguments, which, when considered together, encourage a thorough rethink of politics in the Late Republic and are likely to spark energetic discussion in the classroom; it is difficult to do its richness justice in a short review. It is a challenging book in many respects, not least its assumption that the reader is intimately familiar with the period. However, Morstein-Marx's thesis is clear from the outset, repeated throughout, and summed up thoroughly in the conclusion, making his arguments accessible to keen sixth formers.

Overall, I would recommend *Julius Caesar and the Roman People* as essential reading for anyone teaching or studying the Late Republic.

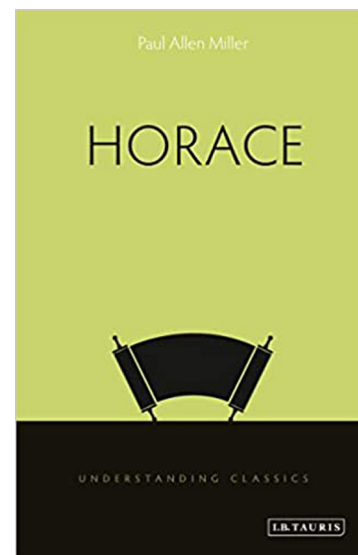
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Horace

Miller (P.A.) Pp. xii + 202. London: I.B. Bloomsbury, 2019. Paper £17.99, Hard £50.00. ISBN: 978-1784533304

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Published as part of the 'Understanding Classics' series, this relatively slim volume at first looks like an introductory work. Indeed, it serves this purpose well, offering a chapter each on the *Satires*, *Epodes*, *Odes* and *Epistles*, but it also seeks to offer 'a fresh reading of these texts' (p. 3).

This fresh reading is evident from the very first page and gives shape to the whole book. Miller sees Horace as having a profound influence on 'our tradition of moral reflection' (p. 3), and a consciousness of what poetry can offer in that moral reflection. Horace is 'the supreme ironist' (p. 1) who, like Socrates, directs our attention to the matters of our lives. Miller takes as a starting point the thesis of Anderson's 1982 essay, 'The Roman Socrates: Horace and his *Satires*', tracing Horace's irony through the different genres in which he writes and considering the possibilities which are opened up by that irony. In particular, we are invited to see Horace as an ethical poet, whose irony and its attendant dualities create a