

to that of the Athenian Academy under Carneades. The 19th century idea of Polybios as a stoic has already been rejected; now Scholz reopens the question to see how far or close Polybios was to that school of thought.

Wolfgang Spickermann looks into “Kultisches und Religiöses bei Polybios”. Ritual and religion make another so far little discussed area in Polybios research. The topic is not as obvious as we find it in Livy. Nevertheless, Spickermann discusses *deisidaimonia*, for which there are examples in Polybios for the fear of gods and superstitious acts alike. Also, *asebeia*, impiety, is discussed with many examples: for instance, the unnecessary destruction of colonnades, statues and votive offerings by Philip of which Polybios disapproves. Polybios sees the Roman religion as the basis for the superiority of the Roman state in the way in which the performance of the state religion is used to discipline the unenlightened masses. Finally, Polybios’ involvement in the rebuilding of the abovementioned Zeus-Homarios sanctuary actually makes him a participant in a religious act.

This collection of articles provides many new and interesting insights. It is followed by a bibliography and an index of names and *loci*.

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MATTHIAS GELZER: *Cicero. Ein biographischer Versuch*. 2., erweiterte Auflage mit einer forschungsgeschichtlichen Einleitung und einer Ergänzungsbibliographie von WERNER RIESS. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014. ISBN 978-3-515-09903-5. 405 pp. EUR 39.

I cannot say I have read all modern biographies of Cicero, but I have seen a number of them, and Gelzer’s biography has always struck me as being one of the most useful, and it is thus very good to have now a second edition of the book originally published in 1969, itself based on the author’s *Realencyclopädie* article of 1939, “Cicero als Politiker”. But before I get to Gelzer, let me start with the material added to this edition by W. Riess, at places with the help of assistants (cf. below). The subtitle of the book, mentioning the presence of an “introduction to the history of the research” (I hope this might be an adequate rendering of the apparently untranslatable expression “forschungsgeschichtlich”) and of an additional bibliography, does not seem to tell the whole story, for from the preface to the second edition (p. VII) one learns that this edition was augmented by an overview of the research since 1969 (“Forschungsüberblick ab 1969”; this is perhaps an error, as this particular overview – for which see below – is only part II of the “forschungsgeschichtliche Einleitung” not mentioned as a whole at this point); a list of the literature used by Gelzer; a supplementary bibliography of works which could not “any more” be used by Gelzer or which appeared after 1969 (p. 387); a chronological table (cf. below). But there is even more, for we read further below on the same page VII that a number of assistants compiled the two indexes of persons and places and the bibliography, collected from the book’s footnotes, of the works cited by Gelzer (missing in the first edition).

As for the “forschungsgeschichtliche Einleitung” (pp. IX–XXVII), it consists of four parts: I Matthias Gelzer and his *Cicero*; II Research tendencies since 1969 (this must be the (“Forschungsüberblick ab 1969” mentioned above); III Gelzer in context and desiderata regarding his research

("Forschungsdesiderata"); IV Conclusion. The first section (pp. IX–XV) is on Gelzer himself, on his oeuvre and on its influence. In an early phase, Gelzer was a pupil of (among others) the famous prosopographer Friedrich Münzer, and this may have influenced Gelzer's choice of a subject for his *Habilitation* of 1912 on the nobility of the Roman Republic, although one cannot really call this book a prosopographical study. This is a groundbreaking book, but Riess seems to go a bit too far when he says (p. X) that "the study of the social history of the ancient world after 1968 would not be conceivable without this work" ("die althistorische Sozialgeschichte nach 1968 wäre ohne diese Schrift nicht denkbar"; I am not sure about the exact point of the mention of the year 1968). In any case, apparently at about the time of Gelzer's *Habilitation*, Münzer offered him the opportunity to write some entries on some mainly late Republican persons for the *Realencyclopädie* (p. XI; cited as "RE" in what follows); clearly Gelzer accepted taking over only a few persons of especial interest, for according to https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Paulys_Realencyclopädie_der_classischen_Altertumswissenschaft/Register/Autorenübersicht, the *RE* contains 11 biographies written by Gelzer, whereas Münzer wrote no less than 4,655 of them. On the other hand, the biographies written by Gelzer do include some important ones, e.g., on Cato the Elder and M. Brutus, apparently the earliest biography by Gelzer in the *RE*, published in 1918 (for a sample of Gelzer's biographical articles in the *RE*, see p. 375); and this occupation may well have given Gelzer the idea of writing a monograph-length biography of Caesar. Section I, although also dealing with Gelzer's other publications, in fact contains information especially on the book on Caesar (originally published in 1921) and on Gelzer's interpretation of the man (with interesting observations on the contrasting views of H. Strasburger, a pupil of Gelzer).

Section II (pp. XV–XXII) deals with scholarly tendencies after 1969 (a more suitable collocation for this section could perhaps have been at the end of the introduction). Having mentioned some books worthy of especial attention (e.g., A. Lintott on *Cicero as Evidence* of 2008), Riess goes on to identify five partly overlapping subject areas ("Themenbereiche") which have in the last years been in the focus of scholars dealing with Cicero, these being Cicero's perception of crisis ("Krisenwahrnehmung"), Cicero's "Memorialkultur" (i.e., his way of referring to historical *exempla* and to the past in general), the political aspects of Cicero's philosophical works, Cicero's activities as attorney, and, finally, the role of rhetoric both in Cicero's literary and his political activities. An interesting discussion, illustrated by references to some important works, of these subject areas follows.

In section III (pp. XXIII–XXVII), Riess returns to Gelzer and provides us with an interesting list of passages where he criticizes Cicero, but also with remarks on Cicero's relevance in the late phase of the Republic and the suggestion that a network analysis ("Netzwerkanalyse") of Cicero's connections using digital methods could produce significant results. The final section IV also contains some ideas of what could still be done about Cicero and a general evaluation of Gelzer's biography, where Riess stresses Gelzer's "masterly penetration of the enormous wealth of material at the same time keeping close to the sources"; of course one could argue about a detail or two (cf., e.g., p. XIIIf. on Gelzer's views of Caesar).

Indeed, the fact that Gelzer not only uses all possible sources but also cites them, is one of the virtues of the book, for there must be many persons interested in knowing not only that something happened at some point, but also on which sources our knowledge of that particular fact is based, and Gelzer, by always citing all the sources, gives us the possibility of checking the evidence.

This, and the fact that the book covers all aspects of Cicero's life, renders it a rich source of knowledge for those who need to be informed about a particular phase of Cicero's activities, say the background of a certain trial. That is not saying that the book could not be read as a whole, for it is written in a pleasant German style and is in fact eminently readable.

Transforming a *RE* article published in 1939 on Cicero as a politician into a biography of Cicero in 1969 is not an easy task, and this is reflected in Gelzer's Preface (p. 3), where he says he is worried about Cicero the *author*, especially the author of philosophical works, possibly not coming into his own as the result of the transformation. Interestingly, the only book which he mentions there is W. Süss, *Cicero. Eine Einführung in seine philosophischen Schriften* (1966), which he clearly likes and which he says has been of "help" ("eine willkommene Hilfe"). In any case, in my view Gelzer's references to Cicero's philosophical oeuvre seem very much to the point (cf., e.g., p. 320ff. on *Laelius*).

In the same preface, Gelzer suggests that he may have missed some books and articles which could have been "worth reading and instructive" ("Lesenswertes und Lehrreiches") and asks to be pardoned on account of his age. However, a look at the interesting list of almost 14 pages of the literature used by Gelzer (for its compilation see above) does not leave the impression that Gelzer has missed a lot, for the list is full of works, covering all aspects of Cicero, published in 1939 or later up till (as far as I can see) 1968 (thus at least the book on Caesar by H. Gesche, p. 376); e.g., on the first page of the list there are 14 works published after the *RE* article and 10 books and articles, mainly those in earlier *RE* volumes, which Gelzer could have used in 1939. The list also includes items mentioned, but not used by Gelzer (cf. p. 321 n. 57 and the list on p. 384).

The book is concluded by the two bibliographies; the chronological table with some important dates (but not, e.g., those of Cicero's speeches); indexes of persons and places (an index of Cicero's works would also have been nice); and two maps. The indexes and the maps are identical with those in the first edition except for the page numbers in the indexes and for the fact that the one-page introduction to the index of persons, with notes on Roman names, on the patrician or plebeian status of some nobles, and some abbreviations used in the index, has for some reason been omitted. But I think we can manage without this introduction and I can thus conclude by once again pointing out that it is very good to have a second edition of this useful book.

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NICHOLAS HORSFALL, *The Epic Distilled. Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*. Oxford University Press, 2016. ISBN-978-0-19-875887-7. 160 pp. GBP 55.

Horsfall ("H.") is a well-known authority on Virgil and the author of several splendid commentaries on individual books of the *Aeneid* and of other publications on Virgil, notably of *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (1995), one of the few "companions" that I have found useful and, coming close to the genre of the German-type *Handbuch* (with observations, e.g., on work still to be done), worthy of being called a "companion", unlike many books masquerading as "companions" but in fact just col-