

To put it briefly, I found the book pleasant and delightful reading, partly for personal reasons, because Langlands deals with many of my Roman favourites, but also because the book gives a lively and nuanced treatment of its topic. It brings together a large amount of known and less known exemplary stories and does not neglect texts that humorously challenged moral traditions and conventions. The book can be recommended to anyone interested in the interconnections between Roman customs and morals. It illuminates how customs, social relations and public restraint shaped individuals' sexual agency and how sexuality permeated several aspects of Roman society.

*Sari Kivistö*

TERESA MORGAN: *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-87553-0 (hb). XIV, 380 pp. GBP 58, USD 112.

Ethical issues have never been restricted to philosophy. Several ancient literary genres dealt with complex ethical questions, such as guilt (Greek tragedy) or national morality (Roman historiography). Satires presented warning examples of vices and the wrong actions of human beings. Some of these genres, such as tragedies, were accessible to mass audiences. In her present work, Teresa Morgan has decided to concentrate on miscellaneous wisdom literature – fables, proverbs, gnōmai and exemplary stories – that explicitly dealt with moral issues. The concept "popular" here refers to literary wisdom, which may have been written by members of the social elite, but which had a wide popularity among the Roman people in general, travelling "widely both up and down the social scale, and across place and time" (p. 160). Popular thinking also had its impact on philosophers and other intellectuals. Instead of speculating about the role of morality in the lives of ordinary Romans, Morgan mainly concentrates on exploring the moral themes of her sources. She is aware that some of the sources, such as Valerius Maximus on whose learned anecdotes Morgan largely bases her discussion of exemplary stories, cannot be considered popular in the same sense as fables or proverbs, which may often also have been of lowly social origin.

The first part (Chapters 2–5) is devoted to describing the ethical themes – in Morgan's words, the ethical landscape – of the above-mentioned four genres. Quotations are given in English only in order to avoid extending the book beyond readable limits. Morgan shows us that all the four genres addressed several fundamental questions about morality, including the authority of gods or of nature, social relations such as friendship, the virtues of good behaviour, and wealth. Sexual ethics is not discussed in this book; this visible absence might have deserved a brief comment.

Morgan's research raises several important questions about the themes and the uses of popular wisdom collections, and she has covered an admirably wide variety of primary sources. She approaches morality from different angles, dealing with the language of morality (Ch. 7), moral authorities (Ch. 8), time and morality (Ch. 9) and the structuring of the wisdom collections (Ch. 10). The large quantity of source texts also has the slight disadvantage that sometimes Morgan's analysis is somewhat hasty and rushes through large themes in a few

pages. Likewise, she does not give any longer quotations of the texts studied, but short excerpts or summaries only. Another minor difficulty that I had while reading the book was that certain themes recur throughout it, treated from different viewpoints in different chapters. This pattern creates structural repetition in Morgan's work, and I could not help thinking that it would have been interesting to see this book structured thematically around some key words, instead of treating the same moral themes separately in every genre. However, this would also have forced Morgan to condense the richness of the issues that she now covers in her work.

In any case, Morgan has given a lot of thought to the arrangement of the book. For example, she postpones her comparison between popular morality and high philosophy to the latter part of her work (Ch. 11 and Appendix 3). This is done in order to assess popular morality on its own terms, without any ready-made notions derived from philosophy. Popular morality was not so much concerned with abstract ethical issues familiar from high philosophy (such as the internal qualities of human beings or the virtues of the soul). Rather than concentrating on the internal life, popular morality emphasised words and deeds, good behaviour as a means of survival. Morgan examines how philosophers such as Seneca or Plutarch sometimes strongly relied on popular examples, proverbs and maxims, not only to illustrate some point they wished to make, but also to build their arguments. This point is perhaps rather obvious, considering the overtly literary and rhetorical qualities of their writings, but nevertheless Morgan's comparison between the moral instruction given in philosophical and in popular texts is interesting. Exemplary stories, rhetoric and history were already closely allied with philosophy prior to the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, namely in Cicero's philosophical oeuvre, which Morgan briefly notes by emphasising Cicero's special fondness for moralising examples and genres. Morgan also challenges some widespread assumptions, such as the common association of exempla with oratory, claiming that, apart from Cicero, the use of examples in oratory was not particularly common.

The conclusion of the volume is very brief, and could be stronger. It is followed by three appendices (Babrius; definition of a miscellany; popular morality and philosophical doctrine). The index is not entirely impeccable: for example, Cicero is discussed on p. 123 but not indexed; "trade" lacks a page number, and Thales is wrongly numbered.

In sum, a great merit of this volume is that it is the first concentrated attempt to discuss ancient popular morality based on literary sources. In this sense, the book is invaluable. It also raises several methodological questions about how to study popular thinking. It identifies a rich variety of moral topics in the texts studied and although this richness is sometimes overwhelming and less attention is given to exploring the actual uses of this literature, Morgan's research provides a generous and solid basis for further studies on ancient popular morality.

Sari Kivistö

ALAIN M. GOWING: *Empire and Memory. The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-83622-7 (hb), 978-0-521-54480-1 (pb). XIV, 178 pp. GBP 48, USD 85 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 28.99 (pb).

As historical memory – as opposed to formal historiography and other learned literature dedicated to recording and discussing past events and conditions – is establishing itself as an ever