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subalterns is only briefly mentioned in relation to Carandini's slave society interpretation of the Roman villa at Settefinestre and dismissed as "less methodologically innovative" (p. 9) and not truly fitting the aims of the book because of its entrenchment in power relationships, it could be reviewed in a potential follow-up of this research project. Gramsci's Notebook 25, which aims to recover the traces of subaltern activities aimed towards maintaining their (horizontal) relationships or fixing them after their breakage caused by the elites' intrusion (vertical power relationships), could be particularly helpful in reconstructing horizontal relationships between peasants.

The notes, apparatus, images, diagrams, and bibliography are all very rich and conducive to the fulfilment of the volume's stated aims. The bibliographic references are up-to-date, including relevant works published within a year's time of the book's publication. Older references are not neglected either but engaged with critically and coherently.

The Roman Peasant Project is a must-read for both senior scholars, who might be interested in and have the opportunity to create similar multi-year research projects, as well as for early career researchers and advanced students of the Roman world who want to move beyond the classificatory approaches still so frequent in archaeology, and towards fully embracing interpretive stands.

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Shadi Bartsch, translator. *The Aeneid*. New York: Penguin Random House, 2021. Pp. 464. Hardcover (ISBN 9781984854100) \$35.00.

Ambitious in scope and diligently researched, Shadi Bartsch's new translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* cleverly captures the ancient poem's style and imbues it with a critical sensibility for a modern Anglophone audience. This edition comes with the stated aim to provide a valuable resource to students and teachers of Classics who do not read Latin (LV). Opportunities for ancient language learning are increasingly rare outside of private education. Nevertheless, an eager audience for the stories of the ancient world has long existed and never truly diminished. To make this epic accessible, Bartsch renders the Latin into digestible, idiomatic English while simultaneously evoking Virgil's intricate wordplay. Using deceptively simple literary devices, like alliteration, anaphora, and anacoluthon (LIV), Bartsch stays true to the story's original poetic format. Though her intentions are to capture the spirit of Virgil's epic to non-Latin readers Bartsch still emphasizes that this is her version of this story (LV). Bartsch thus sets herself the challenge faced by every translator before her: to strike a balance between the scholar and the poet.

Bartsch's *Aeneid* is an accessible and enjoyable read, and it boasts many scholarly merits as well. This new edition draws out the complexities of Virgil's poem through four main themes. First, the complex relationship between the colonizer and colonized as understood through Bartsch's modern and sympathetic perspective; then a discussion of Bartsch's treatment of Aeneas's perplexing epithet: *pius*; then how she deals with gender and gender expression, and femininity in particular; finally, a brief note on the meta-narratives within the *Aeneid* and Virgil's use of ekphrasis.

FATO PROFUGUS: Colonizers and Refugees

This translation's first innovation is in its initial line: "My song is of war and a man: a refugee by fate," (1.1). Parsing the Latin participle *profugus* as "refugee" invokes contemporary issues while situating us in the ancient world. Bartsch draws clever parallels between Aeneas's world and ours, which she describes as, "an age of refugees seeking to escape their war-torn homelands," (XV). The figure of the refugee in the *Aeneid* is incredibly multifaceted and morally grey: from Sinon whose "fugitive's false claims" (XIX) lead to the invitation of the Trojan Horse within the city walls, to later Dido's hosting of a shipwrecked Aeneas leads to her own demise. Bartsch describes Aeneas as "a refugee smiled on (eventually) by fate," (XIX); the unseen force dictates Aeneas's fugitive status and strips him of agency. Despite his happy ending, Aeneas' time as a refugee is still frantic and out-of-control. In her translator's note, Bartsch describes her own life as a state of near-constant migration as she, "grew up as a foreigner in other peoples' countries [...] not as a refugee but as an outsider to the dominant culture." (XLVII). Bartsch's personal identification as an "outsider" means she has a great deal of sympathy and nuance for the chaos of constant migration.

However, Virgil's *nostos* is far more about "founding" a home rather than returning to one. Bartsch does not fail to report that many scholars like Ronald Syme (1939) and the Harvard School have interpreted the *Aeneid* as a "national" myth commissioned by the emperor Augustus. Much work has been devoted to uncovering the extent to which modern imperial and fascist vernacular has been engendered by Virgil's poem, with authoritarian dictators like Benito Mussolini using it as a tool to promote Italian national unity (XVIII; Harrison 1990; Martindale, 1997; Nelis 2007). British imperial discourse made use of Jupiter's promise to the future Romans of *imperium sine fine*, an empire without end (Vance, 2011), and Juno's insistence on total cultural erasure for the Trojans and forced assimilation with the Latin tribes. Conversely, many scholars have argued for the *Aeneid* as a covert critique of Augustan rule. Undermining the much-advertised idea of Augustus' clemency (XXVIII), the poem ends with Aeneas executing Turnus at the sight of a war spoil from the young Pallas. This moment has been read as a warning about the psychological toll of war (Parry, 1963) and a critique of Augustus' imperial expansion. Like many before her (e.g. Barchiesi, 1997 and Conte 1986) Bartsch takes the modern tack of resisting the simplicity of this pro-Augustan/anti-Augustan binary. Ultimately, she is successful in treating this complex discourse with nuance by focalizing these themes through the narrative of a refugee.

In the world of the *Aeneid*, it is ultimately fate that determines who is a refugee and who is a colonizer and when they occupy either position. Bartsch's translation highlights the tensions surrounding exile and expansion in the discourses of the epic's own characters. For instance, in book two, Priam laments the destruction of his homeland at the hands of the Greeks (2.159), and though a member of Aeneas's party is explicit in their intent not "to plunder Libyan homes," (1.527) when they seek refuge from Dido, in the end (though under different circumstances) both the Carthaginians and the Latins suffer violence in their homeland and the murder of their leaders, all the destruction now led by the Trojans. The Latins are largely framed as justified for defending their homeland-- at some points they even remind the Trojans that they suffered the same trauma of siege at the hands of the Greeks (9.144). Nevertheless, they still use "Eastern" stereotypes about the Trojans. Bartsch's interpretation of the many forms of cultural contact in the *Aeneid* are informed by Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which posits that many European nations forge their identities as a "Western" self which is defined in opposition to an "Eastern," or "Oriental" other (Said, 1978). Numanus Remulus, Turnus's brother-in-law, taunts the Trojans with orientalist and gendered language. He says, "...Your clothes / have violet and saffron stitching, your hobby's laziness, you love to dance, your tunics / have long sleeves and your hats are bonnets! / O Phrygian ladies (no men here)..." (9.613-17). Effeminacy is a trope conjured as an insult by the African king Iarbas as well, who calls Aeneas "that Paris" and berates "his half-men" (4.215). Thus, the main thrust of "orientalist" tension in the *Aeneid* comes from the Trojans' dual role as both refugees and colonizers. Though we cannot know if Virgil's

Roman audience thought critically about this fundamental hypocrisy in the narrative, Bartsch's careful attention to these themes enables the reader to reflect upon just that.

PIUS AENEAS: An Ambivalent Hero?

In her translator's note, Bartsch discusses the difficulties of translating Aeneas's epithet *pious*, noting that "the Latin [term] has a broader compass than the English word "pious" and refers to at least three simultaneous kinds of piety," (XXXI). These include worship of Gods, both Olympian and household, of male progenitors, and finally, a life-giving devotion to one's "country." Past translators have approached *pious* by glossing it differently each time it appears, and in doing so they give a sense of which of the many Latin meanings it is evoking in the context of the line in which it appears. John Dryden's 1697 translation, for example, has "good Aeneas," when the hero introduces himself to Dido, as does Christopher Pitt in 1778, and "pious Aeneas," when he awards gifts at Priam's funeral games. In more modern translations like Robert Fagles' 2006 edition, when Aeneas introduces himself to his godly mother, the epithet is the incisive yet wordy "duty-bound," (1.380) and Edward McCrorie's 1995 version chooses to omit every instance of the epithet altogether. To his own unique effect, McCrorie opts to use different adverbs which capture just one of the many nuances in the Latin idea of *pietas*, describing Aeneas "reverently" performing sacrifice (8.84-5) and "wisely" assessing the wind for sailing (5.26).

Though each of these choices has its own merits, this translation's strength is in its simplicity: choosing to consistently use "pious." In her introductory material, Bartsch outlines her particular interest in the competing mythological traditions of Aeneas—specifically certain pre-Virgilian stories of Aeneas ultimately betraying Troy to facilitate his escape (XXX-XXXI). Bartsch's decision to keep the translation consistently "pious," empowers her readers to decide which nuance the word takes on within the context of its appearance. As in the beginning of book six, "Pious Aeneas," heads to the temple of Apollo to begin his *katabasis* at the behest of the Gods (6.9), and then in book ten after the gruesome killing of a Latin soldier named Lucagus, "Pious Aeneas," critiques the "hot-headed," fighting tactics of the enemy soldiers (10.591). Bartsch allows the reader to appreciate the nuances of this epithet by introducing these many semantic possibilities and then leaving it up to the reader to appreciate the myriad ways it appears in the poem.

VARIUM ET MUTABILE: Women and Gender

The *Aeneid* is remarkable for its many complex female characters, but none stand out more than the tragic figure of Dido, queen of Carthage. Dido's great misfortune is that she can only ever be a brief stop on Aeneas's journey. When divine influence makes her fall in love with Aeneas, it is yet another god—Mercury—who urges Aeneas to leave her, uttering the famous line: *varium et mutabile semper femina*, or "fickle and changeable always (is) woman," (4.560-570). Over the many years of the *Aeneid*'s translation history in English, this line has continued to prove symptomatic of how each translator has dealt with women in this epic.

One of the earliest translations of this line by Richard Stanyhurst in 1582 reads, "a wind fane changabil huf puffe / Always is a wooman." Stanyhurst compares Dido to a weather vane, casting her fickleness in imagery commonplace and concrete for his 16th century audience. Throughout the English translations from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries we see Mercury's misogyny reflect the mores of the translator's society. Then, in 1956, W.F. Jackson Knight's translation ("Women were ever things of many changing moods") marks a subtle semantic shift: "changeability" is attributed to a woman's moods rather than ascribing them, more immutably, to the female gender itself. Other 20th and 21st century innovations of note include McCrorie's "the woman's a constant swing of change" (1995), which shifts the blame on Dido specifically, thus dodging generalizations about all women. Fagles' 2006 translation, "woman's a thing that's always changing, shifting like the wind," actually evokes Stanyhurst once again—Dido started as a weather vane and now she is the wind itself.

The complex history of this line can be traced within Bartsch's edition as well. Her translation, "females are a fickle thing / always prone to change," (4.569-70), is particularly well suited to a twenty-first century audience. By translating "femina," as "females," Bartsch evokes the often-bigoted arguments of misogynists online. Substantivizing the adjective "female," lends a particularly dehumanizing quality when it is used to describe a group of women, and is commonplace in internet fora, which have increasingly been relying on the aesthetic of Ancient Greece and Rome to further many of their bigoted views (on this, see Zuckerberg 2018). With this reference Bartsch's innovation is to emphasize the purposefulness of Mercury's misogyny. The God is making a desperate plea to drive Aeneas back to his mission. arguing that women are incapable of reason, Mercury reframes Aeneas as the only logical actor, and his colonizing mission as the only rational choice.

ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO: Virgil and the Meta-Narrative

In her introductory notes, Bartsch asserts that "...the *Aeneid* is in many ways a story about stories," (Bartsch XXIV). In this respect, it is useful to remember Jean-François Lyotard's concept of "meta-narrative," which looks critically at the purpose of a story and the dynamics of power lurking beneath the surface (Lyotard 1979). Lyotard argued that modern society had fallen victim to an overreliance on grand narratives, such as the promise of progress or enlightenment. He promoted approaching these narratives with "incredulity," which is not unlike the fundamental skepticism towards grand narratives prominent in the *Aeneid* and much recent scholarship on it (Barchiesi 2001, Zanker 1988, Kyriakidis 1998, Gasti 2010). In Bartsch's translation, incredulity towards the narrative of "national" myths is exemplified by her treatment of the many instances of ekphrasis.

Ekphrasis was itself a remarkably avant-garde ancient literary practice which came out of the efflorescence of scholarship in Alexandria during Ptolemaic rule. Evoking the idea of stories within stories, ekphrasis in Virgil's *Aeneid* often force the protagonists to confront stories about their own exploits. In book one, Virgil depicts Aeneas and his men glued to detailed scenes of the destruction of Troy painted on the walls of Dido's nascent kingdom: "This fame will bring some safety / He spoke and fed his soul on empty images, / sighing heavily, Tears streamed down his face," (1.463-5). Observing a depiction of the very recent story of Troy's defeat has a heavy emotional impact on Aeneas, but he also recognizes that these depictions are vital for keeping at least the memory of Troy alive. In experiencing a piece of art (wall painting) by way of another piece of art (epic poem) creates a fractal effect. Overlapping layers of interpretation evoke the postmodern by reminding the reader of the underlying constructs of the story. Bartsch's rich descriptions make this complex storytelling come to life on the page, and still leaves room for deeper thinking.

Conclusion

Bartsch's *Aeneid* is strongest in its self-professed ambition to be a text which is good to "think with," (XV). Bartsch's interpretation is appropriately shaped by modern sympathies and global awareness, yet she still elucidated the many ways the messaging of the *Aeneid* could espouse and perpetuate the valorization of violent imperial expansion. Evaluated as an English poem, it is fast-paced and stylish and accessible to a modern reader with any level of background knowledge in Classics.

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