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the epilogue that the Phoenicians were not the only makers of the Mediterranean but the first who wove it together.

Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean successfully illuminates how scholarship has systematically downplayed the significance of the Phoenicians in the history of the ancient Mediterranean, whether for ideological or disciplinary reasons. The book also presents overwhelming evidence showing that it was this Levantine group and its commercial enterprises that first interconnected the Mediterranean region and unified it under a shared material culture. While López-Ruiz does not deny the role of other groups – local populations or Greeks – in co-creating this Mediterranean culture, her model view trade as a benign process when it is not: to say that “it was up to the locals” (317) to participate or not in adopting and shaping the “orientalizing” kit might ignore the possible power hierarchies between Phoenicians and locals. Such criticism, though, does not change the impact of the book’s argument. *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* offers a powerful call for historians of the ancient Mediterranean to consider their implicit biases in writing ancient history and it provides an example of how more inclusive histories may be written.

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Do you ever wish for an end to graded papers and written tests? Consider the system of advanced education of the Roman Empire. With no written exams on canonical texts (such as were standard in the imperial Chinese system, for example), it involved frequent, perhaps daily public performance by students of practice speeches, or declamations. As Lendon points out in his rich new book (22), it was more like instruction in a music conservatory or drama school, or athletic coaching, than any modern university. Intended to equip students with eloquence and make them effective leaders in the real world, it relied on notoriously unreal scenarios of the type ridiculed, yet fully absorbed, by the satirist Juvenal (*Satire 7*, see 15). Roman education involved drastic ignorance of much of the knowledge that we would consider necessary for ruling, but what elite Romans learned, argues Lendon, they knew with visceral intensity.

Lendon suggests that several key features of the culture of the Roman Empire, both Latin West and Greek East, were encouraged and perpetuated by the elite’s shared experience of forensic, rhetorical, declamatory education. These features include: belief in the naturalness of deliberative self-government at the city level, despite autocracy at the top; commitment to using law and litigation to solve disputes, rather than force or intimidation; competitive benefactions toward and beautification of cities, rather than a more thorough system of taxation for public works. These are the broad contours of the argument, but the meat of the book is a series of fascinating case studies in how the notoriously artificial world of Roman declamation bled into the real world of building schemes, lawmaking, and even radical political action.

The first section examines Roman “higher” education itself. The role-playing

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involved in declamation, he argues, broadened the elite's perspectives, as they spoke in the *personae* of the poor, women, slaves, and prostitutes. Its function, however, was not to reinforce or to subvert hierarchy, as argued by other scholars. Declamation was a venue of competition within the elite, one of many. It was a *lingua franca* of the ruling class and had a deep effect on the minds of the young.

The showpiece of the book is the second section, a bravura re-consideration of the assassination of Julius Caesar. While traditionally scholars have been content to attribute the fervor of the assassins to their reading of Greek philosophy, Lendon points out that many specific and puzzling details of how the conspirators behaved make sense in light of the common declamatory scenario for tyrant slaying. Take their lack of a plan after the deed, their insistence on taking part individually by stabbing Caesar themselves, their decision not to kill Marc Antony, and their focus on giving public speeches after the deed rather than immediately consolidating control of the city. All these seem boneheaded in retrospect. But they line up neatly with the common plots of declamatory tyrant assassinations, which sometimes involved multiple claimants of the reward inevitably given by the grateful citizenry, and featured an immediate snap back to orderly, non-tyrannical government. "Loyally following that script, the conspirators gave their speeches, but when no end came, they could find nothing to do but to read over the last page of the declamatory script again, and give yet more speeches, in the hope that the magic would eventually work" (50).

The third section should be of great interest to students of archaeology. Lendon examines the physical elements of cities—fountains, nymphaea, baths, walls, monumental gates, colonnaded streets—as they appear in the texts of rhetorical manuals, Latin declamations, Greek *progymnasmata*, and speeches by sophists (especially Libanius). He reads these texts with great sophistication and compares them to the archaeological record of what types of structures actually got built in cities in Asia Minor, North Africa, and elsewhere in the Latin West, and what went in and out of fashion at what periods and places. *Philotimia* drove competitive civic adornment, but the formulae of rhetorical handbooks nudged it in certain directions. The expectation of discussing water in epideictic speeches in praise of cities arose after Cicero's time and was mandatory by the Flavian period. Especially in the Greek East, civic water supply became a key part of civic identity. Teaching boys to mention fountains in speeches, Lendon suggests, encouraged those same boys to build ostentatious fountains when they became men. The declamatory tradition was relatively hostile to walls, on the conservative grounds that the real protection of the city lies in its men, not its walls. Here other, more practical considerations generally overrode the imperatives of rhetoric. In this chapter the avowedly speculative argument on direct influence is less important than the virtuoso combination of literary and physical evidence. Lendon has, for example, a fascinating discussion of the symbolic value that walls and monumental gates could have to city-dwellers. It is a model of the kind of work that would give more nuance to a typical archaeological discussion of monuments as articulating "identity" and "power."

The final section of the book, on law, is the most technical. The laws that serve as premises of Roman declamation were different, sometimes very different, from actual Roman laws, though there was some overlap. Lendon sets out to examine the influence of declamatory law and declamatory legal concepts on actual Roman jurisprudence. The surviving corpus of Latin declamation knows of some 160 laws; of those, perhaps half were amenable to being included in real Roman law. Approximately twenty, or one quarter, can plausibly be suggested to have made their way into Roman law or had some effect on it. For the most part the law of the jurists resisted the law of the declaimers. In cases such as the laws of governing rape and adultery (fascinating discussion, 119–125), and the late antique law against "ingratitude," Lendon makes a plausible case that such influence prevailed in late antiquity. He does admit in an endnote that declamatory law may reflect more of a sense of folk justice, as against the legal tradition, and that the wider folk tradition is what prevailed in the end.

The style of the book is witty and frank without being breezy, and the endnotes are a storehouse of helpful information. The arguments are often polemical, but Lendon always gives a sense of his level of confidence in his assertions and the precise character of the evidence on which he bases them, and he gives time to alternate views. He cheerfully admits to speculating on numerous occasions, but the informed speculations of a Lendon are worth the confident certainties of many another scholar. The topic seems ripe for comparative treatment, a road Lendon steadfastly refuses to travel. There is no reference to the Chinese system. Lendon's approach has much in common with Caroline Winterer's work on classicism in early American education (2002). There, too, ideals imbibed in the schoolroom had substantial real impacts on public spaces, political action, and lawmaking.

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Aeneid 7 is dynamic and filled with memorable scenes: sailing past Circe, the oracles given to Latinus, Amata spinning like a top, and Camilla's wondrous speed. Its episodic nature allows an instructor to divide the book into smaller units with natural sense breaks. It is, as Vergil himself admits, the beginning of a new, greater work. Despite these appealing qualities, few commentaries in English treat Book 7. C.J. Fordyce's commentary (1977) gives half of its attention to Book 8, does not provide a glossary, and places its notes after the text of the poem. Nicholas Horsfall's commentary (1999) is magisterial, but not appropriate as a textbook for a high school or undergraduate course. Therefore, Randall T. Ganiban's commentary on Book 7 is a welcome addition to the recent proliferation of commentaries on the second half of the *Aeneid*—both in the *Focus Aeneid Commentaries* series and elsewhere—that has thus far left out this enjoyable and important book. Ganiban himself is a general editor of the series and has already produced commentaries on Books 1 and 2. Like other entries in the series, his commentary on Book 7 is adapted from the 1900 commentary of T.E. Page.

Ganiban opens his commentary with both a general introduction and an introduction to Book 7. The general introduction is almost identical to those published in other volumes in the series and covers Vergil's life and poetic career. It is informative and overall successful in its attempts to orient a new reader to Vergil and the major scholarship that surrounds his poetry. A small point of criticism: on a few occasions, Ganiban makes superlative claims that feel unnecessary. For example, he refers to Ennius as "the most important" predecessor of Vergil in Latin literature (8). Such statements may be true, but the language rings too authoritative for what is fundamentally a subjective assertion. The introduction to Book 7 nicely situates the book in the context of the *Aeneid*; it is both the culmination of the Trojan efforts in Books 1-6 and the beginning of something new. Both introductions seem slight at first, but at three moments throughout his commentary Ganiban pauses to introduce and outline sections of the book. His divisions are sensible, and his overview of the content is thoughtful. For example, in the introduction to his second division of Book 7, Ganiban tackles the question of Allecto's nature and defines double motivation with enviable brevity and clarity. Ganiban's third section of Book 7 is the panoramic catalogue of Italian forces marshaled against Aeneas. For this section, Ganiban provides a map of Italy that displays the origins of the combatants named in the catalogue. The map is printed clearly, easy to read, and helps readers to understand the scale of the coming conflict.

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