

reason, foresight and knowledge, cogently detailed in much of the post-De Romilly Thucydidean scholarship, including L. Strauss (1964), H.P. Stahl (1966), W.R. Connor (1977), J.P. Euben (1990), C. Orwin (1994), M. Taylor (2010) and E. Foster (2010). Second, D.R.'s reductionist view of the paired speeches, which registers opposing arguments as competing causal hypotheses to be adjudicated by the narrative, evinces a naïve positivism and elides the very stuff of politics. Are speakers representing causal inferences or are they engaged in tendentious acts of persuasion, misrepresenting reality in order to change it? Third, D.R.'s rationalism conflates Thucydides and his characters, unwittingly granting normative authority to what Thucydides describes. Is Thucydides a rationalist or are rationalism and mathematical reductionism objects to reflect on, and perhaps criticise, in the text? There is much at stake in these objections for historiography and politics. The fact that D.R.'s book elicits them more than 50 years after its publication speaks to its enduring import.

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### PAPERS ON XENOPHON

HOBBDEN (F.), TUPLIN (C.) (edd.) *Xenophon: Ethical Principles and Historical Enquiry*. (Mnemosyne Supplements 348.) Pp. xii + 791. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012. Cased, €221, US\$307. ISBN: 978-90-04-22437-7.

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This collection of papers comes from a conference held in Liverpool in 2009. Among the contributors are emerging as well as established Xenophontics, and the odd unexpected guest. It adds to a growing stock of major publications on Xenophon such as Tuplin (*Xenophon and his World* [2004]), Lane Fox (*The Long March* [2004]), Narcy and Tordesillas (*Xenophon et Socrate* [2008]), Gray (*Xenophon* [2010] and *Xenophon's Mirror of Princes* [2011]) and Flower (*Xenophon's Anabasis* [2012]). The title seems to represent the division of Xenophon's works into those that are significantly informed by his Socratic philosophy, and those that are deemed historical inquiry; so we have, on the one hand, Schepens on Xenophon's account in *Hellenica* of the mission of Timocrates to Greece before the outbreak of the Corinthian War and Brennan on the missing days in the march of Cyrus in *Anabasis*, and, on the other, Dorion on how Xenophon conceived of *sophia* as an ethical principle or Hau studying words coined with *phron-* for their ethical qualities. For the papers in between, the title offers roomy accommodation.

There is new information in the first three papers, on Xenophon's reception. Stadter shows how Plutarch appropriates passages from a range of the works to produce relevant messages for his own time; an instance is his rereading of Xenophon's account of Agesilaus. Humble brings new material to her investigation of how the reception of the praise of the laws of the *Spartan Constitution* in renaissance translators is dictated by their historical and personal contexts. Rood expands horizons in another of his characteristically elegant reflections, on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reception of Xenophon's account of his 'delightful retreat' at Scillus in *Anabasis*.

The re-assessment of established problems in Xenophon's historical works is found in Schepens and Brennan above, while Gish makes a more generous assessment of Xenophon's attitude to the Athenian democracy in the trial of the generals in *Hellenica*.

Ferrario focuses on individuals in Xenophon's concept of historical agency, and brings an updated notion of the recreation of memory in *Anabasis* to the discussion, while Millender ranges widely over the question of Xenophon's attitude to Sparta and Spartans in the *Anabasis*. The re-assessment of problems in the Socratic works is represented by Stokes's examination of the relations of the three Socratic apologies and Waterfield's testing of the claim in the *Defence* that Socrates deliberately courted death once his trial began, providing a historical and social context that makes sense of it.

The volume offers valuable treatment of Xenophon's minor works, on which, in English at least, there is far less scholarship than on the major works. The three papers on *Poroi* nicely capture the main interests of that work, as well as doing justice to Xenophon as a thinker. Figueira, in a standout paper, counters Moses Finley's disregarding view of Xenophon's evidence for the ancient economy in *Poroi* and other works; he concludes that Xenophon may not have economic theory in the modern sense, but shows considerable sensitivity to economic phenomena. Schorn draws on Azoulay to show how *Poroi* reveals the theory of leadership found in Xenophon's other works: fiscal management is only one, albeit essential, function of leadership. Jansen emphasises how innovatively Xenophon pushes the boundaries between citizens and non-citizens in his treatment of slaves, foreigners and metics in the *Poroi*. This is supplemented by Baragwanath's exploration of his notion of slavish and free in the Socratic works, set within the discourse of wonder. L'Allier reads the final chapters of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* as a counter-attack to criticism of his work for its sophistic tendencies; perhaps these would benefit from a definition that takes more account of the bare technical style of the bulk of the work. Pontier explores the clash of Greek and Persian culture in episodes involving the kiss, in *Agesilaus*, Xenophon's encomium of the Spartan King, another of the minor works; the kiss was dangerously erotic in Greece, but honourably ritualistic in Persia.

Many modern readers find that Xenophon's texts invite the reader to challenge their own surface meaning by introducing dissonance. Johnson, for instance, returns to the allegation of dissonance within *Memorabilia* 4.4 on Socrates' support for the law, which was first detected by Strauss, the father of such interpretations. Harman finds dissonance within *Agesilaus*, an apparent eulogy of that Spartan king, on the grounds that Xenophon's praise of Agesilaus for his wars against other Greeks is irreconcilable with the praise of his panhellenism. This opens up readings in which his invitations to the reader to visualise what he is describing for apparent praise can invite the opposite reaction. Xenophon's own view that Agesilaus was patriotically obeying the orders of his city to defend them against other Greeks is not considered here; nor are the values Xenophon praises and the reader response strategies he employs in his other works. The editors note my criticism of such approaches in their introduction, commenting for instance that Danzig's paper will please me because it denies the problematising of Cyrus' philanthropy in *Cyropaedia*. This disarms me somewhat, but I certainly did find Danzig convincing. Another reading of *Cyropaedia*, which credits Xenophon with the character of the scholar writing about him, is found in the energetic piece by Henderson on *Cyropaedia*, in which he reveals, as the editor says, 'Xenophon at play, a masterly narrator stimulating audience inquisition through spoudaiogelastical dissonance'.

The introduction champions subtle approaches also by reading Xenophon's works as 'Socratic historiography', which it defines as creating 'a bounded historical space to be contemplated, for the lessons it has to teach, in some detachment from reality'. Xenophon creates this space to defend the ultimate failure of Socrates in the Socratic works, but the desire for a 'perpetuated paradigm' leads to a species of history writing

that recognises and defends the failure of the paradigm in other works as well – often in subtle ways (p. 23) – though there are major exceptions to this (p. 28). There are echoes here of how Higgins read Xenophon (*Xenophon the Athenian* [1977]), a tradition which also influences Tamiolaki's paper on the image of the imperfect leader. The claim is that we should read Xenophon for the same unspoken implications as in a tragic text (p. 33); but the rhetorical nature of many of Xenophon's texts, with prefaces stating their intention to praise, makes them very different from tragedy. And though the introduction makes an issue of my views, its promotion of open readings of specific passages does not take account of my discussions of them, such as why the 'palinodes' to *Cyropaedia* and the *Spartan Constitution* should be read as rhetorical strategies designed to reinforce the praise in the body of the text rather than to question it (Gray, *Mirror*, Chapter 8), or how the trial of Sphodrias is one of a group of patterned trial narratives within Xenophon's works, which prevent us from reading it as condemnation of Agesilaus' part in it (Gray, *Mirror*, Chapter 4). Still, the volume overall gives a good impression of how Xenophon is read these days, adding to the growing stock of recent publications on Xenophon mentioned above. It could have been shorter, though, without real loss of substance: I counted 166 footnotes in one paper.

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## THE PRESOCRATICS

STAMATELLOS (G.) *Introduction to Presocratics. A Thematic Approach to Early Greek Philosophy with Key Readings*. Pp. xiv + 162, map. Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2012. Paper, £19.99, €24, US\$84.95 (Cased, £50, €60, US\$29.95). ISBN: 978-0-470-65503-0 (978-0-470-65502-3 hbk).

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Why did philosophy originate in Greece? What does the term *philosophia* mean and who coined it? What defines *kosmos* as opposed to *chaos*? This practical volume contains a succinct and intelligently organised propaedeutic to the compelling inquiries of the Presocratic thinkers. S.'s theme-based approach to early Greek philosophy is targeted at non-experienced readers; it is a very good introductory guide for the general public and an invaluable resource for philosophy lecturers struggling to enthuse their undergraduate students.

Nothing in this volume is taken for granted, a factor which becomes immediately apparent upon a quick glance at the opening sections. After the preface there is a chronological table connecting each thinker to his birthplace, followed by a reference guide to the fragments in which the DK numbering system is explained. A map of the Eastern Mediterranean in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. provides a useful visual aid at the start of the book. Further helpful tools can be found at the end of the volume: Appendix A contains Wright's translation of the main fragments for immediate reference, whereas Appendix B and C focus on the sources and the reception of the Presocratics respectively. Two glossaries, one of Greek terms, the other of philosophical terms, are also included. Throughout, philosophical terminology is extrapolated from the text and explained within squared boxes in the margin.