will require none with anything else in the passage except perhaps *paene alius lurore*. The problem is not restricted to the first sentence.

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Greek History

Hornblower's commentary on Thucydides is the eagerly awaited third and final volume of the whole project, with the first volume published in 1991 (Books 1–3) and the second one in 1996 (Books 4–5.24).[1] The book follows the familiar format of the previous two volumes: passages under discussion are quoted in Greek and then translated into English. The introduction addresses issues relating to Books 5, 6, 7, and 8, but serves also, alongside the introduction in volume II, as a general introduction to the whole of Thucydides. It is extremely difficult to do justice in a short review to Hornblower's achievement. The commentary combines excellent scholarship with accessibility and will be an extremely useful tool for scholars and undergraduates alike. Hornblower engages in many places with Dover's and Andrewes' approach, providing useful summaries of existing scholarship, but this volume does not simply complement the relevant volumes of *HCT*. Indeed, Hornblower's commentary is not merely a 'historical' one: he has many insightful comments on textual emendations and uses narratological theory to enhance his argument about the unity of the text. For example, the catalogue of allies in 7.57–9 combines the historical and literary approach to commentary: it is a 'sustained pause, which builds up suspense before the final encounter', but also a space in which to discuss colonial relationships. Hornblower sees the second half of Thucydides' work as a unity, written relatively late. Such an approach is substantiated on many occasions with careful analysis of the text and its allusions backwards and forwards (which he calls 'seeds'). He revisits, with a fresh look, questions not addressed in Thucydidean scholarship in the last twenty years or so, such as the problem of authorship (particularly with reference to the second preface in 5.26). Hornblower sees, rightly, the Melian dialogue as a treatise as much about Athenian imperialism as about the Spartans and the Melians' colonial relationship with them. In fact, the colonial undertone of the text is a theme that proves the unity of the text and provides many opportunities for him to explore the problems of authorial self-reference. Hornblower puts the Sicilian expedition in the context not just of Athenian ambition in the west but also of similar Spartan attempts from the late sixth century (Dorieus' ill-fated campaign) onwards. The appeal of Sicily is explained, among other things, because of its theatricality – a term borrowed from Chaniotis' analysis of war in the Hellenistic period and applied here ingeniously to the western Greeks' obsession with theatre and performance. The section on the Sicilian 'archaeology' includes a discussion of the usefulness of 'colonization' when discussing Greek settlements in the west. Hornblower accepts the 418 dating for the Segesta decree, but this should not affect our appreciation of Thucydides, who just got it wrong in 6.6.2; as Hornblower states, Thucydides was not infallible, after all. A thorough examination of epigraphic evidence enriches the discussion. Hornblower insists that Books 6 and 7 are not a closed whole but look forwards and backwards to the rest of Thucydides' work. He follows the 'pentad' view

[1] *A Commentary on Thucydides. Volume III. Books 5.25–8.109*. By Simon Hornblower. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xix + 1107. 6 figures, 8 maps. Hardback £170, ISBN: 978-0-19-927648-6.

of composition, that the whole work was planned in two matching halves of five books each, of which Books 9 and 10 were never written. Such a view, for Hornblower, explains a lot: for example, there are numerous correspondences between Books 1 and 6, the opening books of each pentad, of which the double discussion of the tyrannicides could be one. Indeed, the tyrannicides episode is an opportunity to explore the complex relationship between Thucydides and Herodotus. As Hornblower argues, one of Thucydides' motives was the desire to show that he 'could "do a Herodotus" when he felt like it, and tell a good story – and do social history – even better than The Master, and while wearing some of the Master's stylistic clothes' (439). Hornblower introduces the idea of sympotic recitation as a context where Thucydides' work may have been performed. The tyrannicides episode, and the catalogue of allies in 7.57–9, are likely candidates for this. Hornblower also pays close attention to language: in 7.6.3–4, a difficult sentence describing the conclusion of the walling activities of the Athenians and the Syracusans, Hornblower notes that this sentence 'is notable for rich, polysyllabic vocabulary', and argues that it is an enactment of the very act of wall-building: 'Thucydides presents the wall as snaking across the landscape, with long compound verbs and participles, which are made up of the verbal equivalent of the headers and stretchers of the physical wall' (553). In 8.66, Hornblower stresses the narrative achievement of conveying the atmosphere of terror in the events of 411. Many sections in Book 8 show Thucydides' awareness of events after 411, with Theramenes' portrayal being one of the most important. In Hornblower's view, Book 8 shows a different engagement with narrative themes and this should not be seen as an indication of incompleteness. This third volume is in many ways better than the first two volumes of the series in its exploration of composition of the whole of Thucydides and its employment of narrative analysis. The attention to detail and breadth of knowledge makes this a unique scholarly work and a magnificent achievement. The price makes the purchase prohibitive for most, but this volume is of the utmost importance for all students of Thucydides, historiography, and Greek history. This is a book against which all future Thucydidean works will be judged.

A very welcome addition to the Aris and Phillips commentaries series is the new commentary on Pseudo-Xenophon's *Constitution of the Athenians*, otherwise known in Anglophone literature as the Old Oligarch.[2] This is a very important text for late fifth-century Athenian democracy and empire; it is surprising, therefore, that the last full commentary was in 1942 by Frisch. Marr and Rhodes follow the scholarly consensus of a date between 431 and 424, and particularly after the Athenian capture of Pylos in 425 (alluded to in 2.13) but before Brasidas' march to Thrace in the summer of 424 (which would disprove 2.5). If this dating is correct, it would make this the earliest surviving literary text in Attic prose. The author is a (young) Athenian and his intended audience is anti-democratic and non-Athenian, possibly Spartan. The translation is easy to read, while close to the original, and the commentary detailed and useful. The appendices are particularly helpful in that they explain the varied use of terms that the author employs in talking about class divisions in Athenian society. This is an extremely valuable commentary, which will make the teaching of this exceptional text a much easier task.

Adriaan Lanni's detailed

[2] *The 'Old Oligarch'. The* Constitution of the Athenians *Attributed to Xenophon*. With introduction, translation, and commentary by J. L. Marr and P. J. Rhodes. Oxford, Aris and Phillips, 2008. Pp. 178. Hardback £40, ISBN: 978-0-85668-776-1; paperback £18, ISBN: 978-0-85668-781-5.

study[3] of the notion of relevance in the Athenian law-courts of the classical era takes a stance against the evolutionist view of the rule of law. She emphasizes the influential role played by extra-legal argumentation (information regarding the context of the dispute, appeals to pity, and character evidence) in the popular courts. Extra-legal arguments were viewed as vital in reaching resolutions that were just in the eyes of the popular juries; courts (unlike their modern counterparts) did not envisage that their verdicts would provide precedents for future disputes. Lanni argues that the Athenians were aware of the drawbacks of this system. In the mid-fourth century, therefore, they created a procedure for maritime suits that demanded focus on the terms of written contract and excluded arguments from extra-legal fairness: this procedure was designed to appear less disadvantageous to non-Athenian litigants, in an attempt to facilitate trade and attract foreign merchants, and the close attention paid to contracts precluded the necessity for detailed legislation regulating maritime trade. Furthermore, in their homicide courts (which emerged at an earlier date than the popular courts), the Athenians maintained stricter rules about the introduction of irrelevant statements and were guided by more regulations with more substantive context. This led some homicide courts, such as the Areopagus, to be widely admired; this admiration, however, did not lead the Athenians to reform their popular courts, and Lanni argues that the informality of legal procedure was a democratic element of Athenian litigation. Not all will agree with Lanni's analysis: some argue (as she acknowledges at 43, n. 13) that extra-legal information accounts for only a small proportion of litigants' arguments, and indeed there is often a fine line between relevance and irrelevance; Phillips (see below, 57, n. 97 and 238) believes in a broader concept of precedent than does Lanni. This is a closely argued book, informed by comparative legal examples, which usefully encourages the reader to consider the profound gulfs between ancient and modern legal systems, while reminding them of the fruitfulness of thinking about the kind of case concerned when reading any law-court speech. A yet more closely focussed work is Phillips' study of the relationship between Athenian customs of revenge and homicide law.[4] Phillips argues against the widely held view that Draco's laws addressed conflict between aristocratic clans and proposes instead that they attempted to arrest 'vertical' strife between the aristocracy and the masses; while they failed to resolve the grievances of the *demos* (that was left up to Solon), Draco's homicide law was a success because it deterred revenge-killings and persuaded kinsmen of the deceased to play out a ritualized form of enmity (*echthra*) in the law-courts (where it retained certain key features such as reciprocity, escalation, transivity to *philoi*, and heritability). Half of the book looks closely at the aftermath of the oligarchic revolutions at the end of the fifth century. Once again, 'vertical' strife led the Athenians to revise their laws and, to a degree, their homicide laws: the amnesty awarded immunity to those who did not kill with their own hands. Otherwise, Draco's laws continued to be deeply revered in the fourth century, when the Athenians maintained a doctrine of continuity of homicide law. The two closing chapters look closely at Lysias, speeches 12 and 13; Phillips

[3] *Law and Injustice in the Courts of Classical Athens*. By Adriaan Lanni. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 210. Hardback £45, ISBN: 978-0-521-85759-8; paperback £14.99, ISBN: 978-0-521-73301-4.

[4] *Avengers of Blood. Homicide in Athenian Law and Custom from Draco to Demosthenes*. By David D. Phillips. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008. Pp. 279. Hardback €59, ISBN: 978-3-515-90213-7.

highlights the way in which the speakers urge the *demos* to vengeance against the oligarchs, while negotiating the terms of the amnesty. Even if we do not accept Phillips' seventh-century reality, the book offers much on the resolution of homicide cases in Athens, and an additional perspective (compare the views of G. Herman, W. Harris, and D. Cohen[5]) on the Athenian management of violence and revenge. Buckler and Beck's *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC*[6] consists mostly of Buckler's reworked papers (previously published in scattered journals and collections) on subjects related to the rise and fall of the fourth-century Theban hegemony. Battles are located, and their outcomes and tactics scrutinized. The history of Greek *poleis* is represented as chaotic: Buckler singles out the 'myopia' of both Athenian politicians (43) and other Greek states (231) and the miscalculations of Spartan kings (70, 84). Theban power was based on dominance of the Boiotians, good leadership, and military success. However, it was short-lived owing to Thebes's failure to integrate her alliances systematically or to develop clearly formulated goals: her naval ambitions are dismissed as strategically inconsequential but ostentatious (compare the Boiotian proxeny decree with relief of a ship published by Mackil in *Chiron* 38 [2008]) and Buckler compares them to German naval ambition of the period before 1914 (on which see J. Rüger, *The Great Naval Game* [Cambridge, 2007]). Philip's takeover of the Greek world took place not as the result of a preconceived plan but of his opportunism and the exhaustion of the Greek states. The picture that emerges from Buckler's essays is the incoherence of the *polis* system and the failure of fourth-century attempts at multilateral politics; this line is amplified as an unsustainable addiction to fragmentation, and formulated as a crisis-paradigm by Beck's prologue. The most substantial historiographical contribution is chapter 10, which argues that Xenophon used speeches to elucidate the motives of individuals, rather than deploying them (as Thucydides did) to explore different aspects of a subject. *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires* is an engaging attempt to provide an interdisciplinary examination of ancient European and Near Eastern empires.[7] There is an introductory chapter on empires, imperial ideology, and the processes of exploitation (Goldstone and Haldon), followed by chapters on the Neo-Assyrian (Bedford), Achaemenid (Wiesehöfer), Athenian (Morris), Roman (Hopkins), and Byzantine (Haldon) empires. The volume ends with a chapter by Scheidel providing an evolutionary approach to the problem of imperialism. Chapters on individual empires include useful presentations of the sources and the problems of their interpretation, as well as an introductory narrative of the history of the empires; the one exception to this is Hopkins' chapter on the Roman empire, which was unrevised by the time of his death in 2004. The editors have done an excellent job in bringing this into line with recent bibliographical developments. The main contribution of this volume is that it places the development of ancient empires within the discussion of state formation. Emphasis is placed on the relationship between the

[5] G. Herman, *Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens* (Cambridge, 2006); W. Harris, *Restraining Rage* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); D. Cohen, *Law, Violence, and Community in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1995).

[6] *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC*. By John Buckler and Hans Beck. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xix + 309. 9 maps. Hardback £55, ISBN: 978-0-521-83705-7.

[7] *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires. State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*. Edited by Ian Morris and Walter Scheidel. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xii + 381. 7 maps. Hardback £47, ISBN: 978-0-19-537158-1.

imperial centre and the elites and how this relationship affected networks of exploitation, redistribution, and exchange. Additionally, the ideological implications of imperialism and the ideological appropriations of the imperial centres provide fruitful discussion for the questions of maintaining the empire or explaining (partly) its failure (particularly Bedford and Wiesehöfer). Morris sees the Athenian empire as not really an empire at all, but rather as a stage in the Greek processes of state formation of the classical period. Hopkins examines coin production and circulation in the Roman empire in order to argue that Roman money cannot be used as an index of economic growth. Haldon focuses on the forms of exploitation and the ideological practices of the Byzantine empire. Scheidel argues that an evolutionary perspective would enhance our understanding of imperialism: because the appropriation of resources could be seen as facilitating reproductive success, empires in some ways facilitated sexual exploitation. This is a thought-provoking volume that provides a much-needed multi-disciplinary and theoretical approach to the question of imperialism.

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CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU
and PETER LIDDEL

Roman History

We are going east – in a way. For readers of Grant Parker's *The Making of Roman India*[1] will not expect a political history and an account of artefacts. It is not a study of 'contacts' or 'influences' but intellectual history: a study of representations in a social context (curiously part of a series on 'Greek culture in the Roman world'), which traces conceptions of the subcontinent (or parts of it) and how information was acquired and digested, from the earlier Greeks to the mid-sixth-century Cosmas Indicopleustes and beyond. This 'India' is a notional part of the Achaemenid empire and Alexander is cut to size, his expedition a performance of Achaemenid kingship. Nuggets of information are embedded in fantasy, the material being more difficult to handle because it comes as 'fragments'; the author does well in making sense of it. 'Periods', however, are moulded into themes. There are three parts, delphically named ('Creation', 'Features', 'Contexts of a Discourse') but intelligibly subdivided into the six sections 'Achaemenid India and Alexander'; 'India Described'; 'India Depicted'; 'Commodities'; 'Empire'; and 'Wisdom', a late arrival. (What an uninviting phrase 'writing wisdom' is!) This book is instructive at a high level about ways of thought, rich in inquiry and insights, and demands an *index locorum* for the sporadic reader, not just a bibliography and exiguous index. Further east we encounter F.-H. Mutschler and A. Mittag's timely collection *Conceiving the Empire. China and Rome Compared*.[2] 'Juxtaposed' is preferable: the editors, working from the end of the third century BC into the sixth AD, have assembled from their 2005 Essen conference eight pairs (one triplet) of papers divided between three periods: the birth of the imperial order, the firmly established Empire, and the waning of the imperial order. One misses discussion, for comparison comes only at the end in a methodical

[1] *The Making of Roman India*. By Grant Parker. Greek Culture in the Roman World. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xvi + 357. 3 maps, 11 figures. Hardback £55, ISBN: 978-0-521-85834-2.

[2] *Conceiving the Empire. China and Rome Compared*. Ed. by F.-H. Mutschler and A. Mittag. New York, Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xx + 481. 35 figures, 2 maps. Hardback £85, ISBN: 978-0-119-921464-8.