

In his examination of south-west Germany, Forsén argues that it is possible to identify 'free and imperial' cities in the city-state culture that develops during the fourteenth century A.D. and continues until c. 1800.

Toffin's analysis of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal documents the division of the Malla dynasty kingdom in A.D. 1482 into three small kingdoms, each with a fortified city and associated territories.

Gat's contribution marks a departure from the case studies by asking why city-state cultures should emerge at all. He sees the reason lying in the need for defence, as small peasant communities in areas without large-scale territorial unification coalesced to seek protection against raids from similar neighbouring groups.

Together, these contributions shift the balance of some of the conclusions reached in *30 CSC*. In terms of the evolution of the city-state, for example, the evolutionary model of cultures moving from pre-state to state societies is further challenged. In other areas, these case studies confirm the findings of *30 CSC*, for instance in identifying city states as forming clusters.

Two of the six studies here represent a return to areas already covered in *30 CSC* (Sumeria and Germany). For Sumeria, the author in *30 CSC*, Glassner, sceptical of the applicability of the concept of city-state to Sumeria, concluded that the region should rather be considered one of '*petits états*'. In order to 'balance' (p. 11) this view, H. commissioned the present contribution. For Germany, Johanek cautiously argued in *30 CSC* that no clear line could be drawn between the 'free and imperial' towns (city-states), and territorial towns. In this present study, Forsén side-steps this ambiguity by concentrating exclusively on the south-west German city-state culture. Though these revisitations may seem like an attempt to 'correct' earlier dissonant voices, the inclusion of both 'versions' provides interesting (historiographical) material in itself (cf. Lorenz, op. cit.); it is to the credit of the wider collection that these comparative studies remain so pluralistic.

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TEXTS ON DEMOCRACY

E. W. ROBINSON (ed.): *Ancient Greek Democracy. Readings and Sources*. Pp. xiv + 326, maps, ill. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. Paper, £17.99/US\$34.95 (Cased, £60/US\$69.95). ISBN: 0-631-23394-6 (0-631-23393-8 hbk).

Sourcebooks for ancient Greek history have for the past 120 years made accessible to students a wide range of the ancient sources used in the reconstruction of history. Robinson's hybrid reader and sourcebook aims also to introduce to the undergraduate critical analysis of the secondary bibliography of ancient Greek democracy. The book is divided into six chapters, each dealing with one broad aspect of democracy. The chapters each consist of R.'s paragraph-long introduction to the subject, followed by a handful of translated passages from ancient Greek authors on democracy. These are followed by two or three essays on the themes by modern scholars. R. provides a short modern bibliography at the end of each chapter.

R. opens with five pages of introduction, and whets the reader's enthusiasm for this 'astonishing and compelling invention of the ancient Greeks'. He sets out his 'basic premise' of ancient democracy, which, in his opinion, shares with modern democracy

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the central concern that the ordinary citizens should hold sovereign power to administer public affairs for the common good (p. 1). He continues with a sketch of the historical development of ancient Greek democracy and briefly examines the development of 'the heritage and study of *Demokratia*' (p. 3). Chapter 1, 'Prelude to Democracy: Political Thought in Early Greek Texts', combines selections from the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, and *Works and Days* with Raaflaub's interpretation of them as contributions to political thought. This is countered by Edmunds's reply. Next comes Morris's essay on the early 'middling' ideology of archaic Greece, the controversy of which needs flagging given the intended readership. Chapter 2, 'The Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy: Who Freed Athens?', deals with the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes. Ober's essay, presenting the changes of 508/7 as springing from a spontaneous popular rising, is countered by Samons's reply, excerpted and with 'text at the end provided by the author' (p. 113 n.). Chapter 3, 'Popular Politics in Fifth-century Syracuse', is the most original of the collection, reflecting the liveliness of interest in ancient democracy outside Athens. Excerpts from Thucydides, Aristotle, and Diodorus are accompanied with readings of Syracusan politics by Asheri, Berger, and R. Chapter 4, 'Liberty Equality, and the Ideals of Greek Democracy', illustrates the paradoxical situation, whereby the ancients appear to have been reluctant to write about democratic ideology, whereas the moderns are obsessed with it. Hansen's important essay stresses the limited heuristic value of delineating a tradition of democracy, liberty and equality from the ancient to the modern world. Chapter 5, 'Power and Rhetoric at Athens: Elite Leadership versus Popular Ideology,' introduces the reader to oratory, political activity and invites us to ask with P. J. Rhodes 'Who Ran Democratic Athens?', while ushering us into the fourth century with a generous helping of Demosthenes 21. Chapter 6, 'Limiting Democracy: The Political Exclusion of Women and Slaves', provides excerpts from Thucydides, pseudo-Xenophon, Aristophanes, and Aristotle on the subject. The secondary discussion (Osborne and Jameson) stresses the reliance of ancient democracy on the exclusion of these two groups and stresses how far the ancients were from any reform of this situation.

There is a useful glossary on the Greek terms. Given the anticipated readership (undergraduates without a knowledge of Greek), a glossary of modern terms (oligarchy, hegemony, sovereignty) might also have been useful.

Surprising is the lack of any consideration of archaeological or epigraphical evidence as primary sources: only one-quarter of one epigraphical text is included (p. 93: ML 6 fragment c), and the only items of material evidence depicted are the 'Roman-era copies' of the tyrannicides (p. 94). Lacking any discussion of democracy in the *poleis* of the Hellenistic period, the book threatens to feed the misconception that democracy disappeared for good after the Lamian War. The selection lacks any discussion of the institutional basis and the machinery of democracy, or the 'associations' of Attica or any other place. While an institutional approach to the Athenian democracy might be less superficially attractive, it certainly contributes to an understanding of ideologies and social structure, as Mogens Hansen has argued (*C&M* 40 [1989], 108–13).

The book is indeed an 'up-to-date' survey of issues of 'continuing interest' (p. viii). The oldest article in the collection dates from 1988. The inclusion of some older articles would have made the work more cosmopolitan. One thinks of Finley's 'The Athenian Demagogues', *Past and Present* 21 (1962), 3–24, or Lewis' 'Cleisthenes and Attica', *Historia* 12 (1963), 22–40. (The latter is one example of the huge number of scholarly articles with great relevance for the student of Greek history which are

largely inaccessible to the Greekless undergraduate: republication of such articles in revised form, with Greek translated, might be a useful exercise.) Of the sixteen articles reprinted, three are drawn from J. Ober and C. Hedrick (edd.), *Demokratia* (Princeton, 1996), and two further from the co-editor of that book, Josiah Ober. However, the modern study of Athenian democracy owes a good deal to the schools of thought surrounding Ober, so it is perhaps fitting that such a 'reader' should reflect this.

As a sourcebook and reader, this book works well: it is clearly signposted and is a sound introduction to ancient democracy. It will introduce students to a wide range of ancient sources, and to scholarly argumentation and evaluation of the ancient sources as performed by some anglophone scholars in the last thirteen years of the twentieth century. However, it provides little by way of historical perspective on the secondary material. Perhaps teachers might direct their students to P. J. Rhodes's *Ancient Democracy and Modern Ideology* (London, 2003) as a commentary on the scholarship included in and excluded from this reader.

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DEMOCRACY AND US

P. J. RHODES: *Ancient Democracy and Modern Ideology*. Pp. 142. London: Duckworth, 2003. Paper, £10.99. ISBN: 0-7156-3220-5.

This book is part of a new Duckworth series of 'polemical, revisionist or exploratory' essays which aim to 'provoke debate and controversy both within and beyond Classics'. R.'s volume fulfills this mandate, for he identifies and criticizes a number of trends in ancient historical scholarship, especially in the study of Athenian democracy, in ways that will likely incite the ire of some (not least one or two scholars targeted in the book) and the approval of others. R. is not usually a bomb-thrower; he is known rather for his erudite work in such important volumes as *The Athenian Boule*, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* and *The Decrees of the Greek States*. He succeeds here as well, however, for in this short book (really an extended essay, with less than ninety pages of text) he presents a credible argument about how one should—and should not—study ancient Athenian history, doing so without the bluster or excessive rancor that sometimes plagues efforts of this kind.

In his preface, R. summarizes the theses of the book, that 'In recent decades studies of ancient history overtly linked to an agenda in today's world have become respectable, as in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they were not' (p. 7), and that 'although total objectivity and disengagement are not and never have been possible, scholars who aspire to objectivity and disengagement are likely to do better history, and also to be more useful to our own world, than those who rejoice in their subjectivity and in their engagement with our world' (p. 8). The first chapter ('History') briefly considers the nature of history, discussing such issues as 'facts', objectivity, subjectivity, and metahistory. The issues are dealt with generally, with references to particular historians or approaches mostly left to the footnotes. R. insists that, within the great variety of worthwhile perspectives and approaches that one can bring to history, one must acknowledge that history is about real people and actual events from the past which cannot be altered by the historian. The next chapter ('Democracy') provides a few pages on the history of ancient (primarily Athenian) democracy; while one might quibble over this or that detail within the presentation (e.g. on the date of *demokratia*'s appearance in Greece or Athens), it is fundamentally sound and succeeds