

Democritean tradition is sufficient background for the development of Pyrrho's philosophy, and that there is no real evidence that the Mādhyamika philosophy as expounded by Nāgārjuna has a long lineage in India. I am not quite convinced that he proves his case; but if we are thinking of Greek primacy, it is certainly intriguing to find that the rope-mistaken-for-a-snake analogy, famously used by Śaṅkara and a standard Hindu example today, is first attested in Demetrius *On Style*—admittedly in a somewhat different context, though soon taken up in the philosophical tradition. In the following chapters, M. goes somewhat beyond his model of 'cyclicality' to explore parallels and possible influences (both ways) between other Indian and Greek philosophical schools. Each chapter can be read as a separate and stimulating essay, sometimes leaning heavily on the work of other scholars (Daniel Ingalls on Cynics and Pāsupatas, for instance), but taken together, they are eloquent testimony to the cultural interchange of the hellenistic period and onwards. M. seldom overstates his case, allowing that some coincidences may be accidental, and pointing out major limits and differences—the apparent absence of any sort of yogic system in Greece, for instance.

The case for such interchange should not really be too surprising, given what is now commonly believed about mobility in the ancient world. But M. feels constrained to discuss the implications, going beyond the academic discipline of philosophy, in an introduction, conclusion, and appendix (discussing the *Black Athena* controversy)—all of which he allows readers to omit if they so choose. My first reaction, 'how unnecessary', was soon tempered by reflexion: many who see the undoubted differences in society and general thought-patterns between cultures have been led to adopt an exclusivist attitude to specific ideas and assume that they *must* originate in Greece or in India, even that they somehow indicate the genius of a particular race. From here we move to the facile characterization of the East as mystical and the West as analytical, an enduringly powerful stereotype. Thus, for some Indian and pro-Hindu writers, enthused by the discourse of postcolonialism, the idea of any foreign influence on Indian culture, even of an Aryan invasion, is anathema. And for some Western authors, the romantic idea of the Greeks as different from (and by implication superior to) all other peoples retains its appeal. Even so great a scholar as Bernard Knox (in the cringe-makingly entitled *The Oldest Dead White European Males* [New York and London, 1993], p. 67) could speak resoundingly of 'the astonishing originality that sets [the Greeks] apart, that makes them unique . . . in startling contrast to the magnificent but static civilizations of the great Eastern river valleys'. (India, it seems, is too far east even to merit a mention.) M. does not overlook the distinctive differences in cultures, but his book should be required reading for all who have been tempted to think along such lines.

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NON SCHOLAE SED VITAE

K. PIEPENBRINK (ed.): *Philosophie und Lebenswelt in der Antike*. Pp. 271. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003. Cased, SFr 89.70/€54. ISBN: 3-534-17041-5.

This volume, containing the proceedings of a colloquium held in 2001 in Mannheim on the theme of philosophy and the practical world, is distinguished from many conference volumes both by the speed of its publication and the genuine coherence of its chapters. The papers are chronologically arranged and, though not all

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philosophers or all periods are represented, the sweep from the Presocratics to Hadrianic Epicureans is impressive, as is the range of historical issues canvassed: economics, politics, religion, rhetoric, and the civic life of the Roman empire. Above all, as the editor shows, the volume does illustrate the different approaches currently being taken to the question of how to relate philosophical doctrines to their historical context.

The editor, freed of the usual task of describing the papers with the aim of proclaiming a specious unity, has been able to write an excellent introduction addressing this central question. She points out that, whereas historians and philologists have come to largely negative conclusions when trying to relate philosophical conceptions to actual political activity, more interesting relationships can be perceived once the idea of historical reality is broadened to include not only social models, but conceptual systems, a theme developed more fully by Winterling in an analysis of Aristotle's *Politics*.

One major area of interest that lends itself to the exploration of the mental landscape of philosophers and others is religion, here represented by Trampedach's discussion of Plato's influential division of divination into natural and artificial. Wealth and its proper use are obvious ethical concerns, and Spahn shows how Plato's contempt for the sophists' acceptance of payment for teaching points us towards their more general interest in the developing monetary and commercial economy of early Greece, reflected not only in their teaching, but also in the writing of authors influenced by them, such as Thucydides and the author of the *Constitution of the Athenians* (ascribed to Xenophon).

Philosophy can also be shown to reflect and contribute to widespread styles of analysis and argument. Thus Martin sees in the search by the Presocratic philosophers for a unifying principle behind the contradictions of the observable world not just a reaction to polytheistic religion, with its reflection of that disharmony, but a parallel to the struggle to achieve political unity within the *polis* and between *poleis* that we see in Solon's poetry and in Thales' advice on the eve of the Ionian revolt (Hdt. 1.170). In the later period of the late Republic, Gotter tries to show how the subtleties of Greek argument by definition are brought into Roman political discourse, whereas the Roman difficulty with accepting theoretical reflection as a sphere of activity independent of politics remains. Unfortunately, the discussion of the first idea omits Schofield's 'Cicero's definition of *res publica*' in Powell's *Cicero the Philosopher* (Oxford, 1995), a collection of papers that should have featured in the bibliography to this volume, while the treatment of the second features a solemn interpretation of Gellius' remark which Cicero marks as a joke with 'but *I really* want to arbitrate between the Old Academy and Zeno' (*Leg.* 1.53).

Another theme is the figure of the philosopher himself: how he and others represent his rôle in society at different periods. Horn shows how the attacks on the demagogue Athenion by Posidonius exploited his readers' knowledge of Peripatetic teaching by criticizing his target for betraying the tenets of the school to which he claims adherence. Bringmann puts the complex Roman attitudes to Greek philosophy in the late Republic into perspective, by pointing to the Greek antecedents. Complete absorption in philosophy was seen as useless, even dangerous, leading to expulsions of philosophers in the Hellenistic period, while philosophy could be defended as a preparation for rhetoric by Callicles in the *Gorgias* and later as a form of education valuable to statesmen (though Rome would not extend the special privileges for teachers to philosophers until well into the imperial period). Greece gave Rome not only philosophical doctrines but the habit of travelling to philosophical centres like

Athens and Rhodes and quarrelling about the territory of philosophers and rhetoricians. At the end, Greek dialectic affects writing on Roman law, and Cicero accompanies his return to politics after Caesar's murder by writing philosophical works defending Roman traditions of glory, liberality, friendship, and social duty. Moles argues that Dio of Prusa's four orations on kingship do not, as has recently been argued, show a purely Greek perspective, being concerned primarily to advertise to the Greek world an idealized picture of Dio's relation with Trajan. He points to similarities they exhibit with Trajan's preferences: the implicit polemic against Domitian, the similarities with Pliny's *Panegyricus*. Trajan would demonstrate his *civilitas* by listening to the criticism of his self-appointed Greek adviser even if he took no steps to heed his frank advice. Scholz switches the focus to Greek city life in the Antonine period, showing how Diogenes of Oenoanda finds a substitute for political activity, denied him by his sect, in putting up a high inscription in the agora. He thus presents himself as a public benefactor conferring on his fellow-citizens the benefits of Epicurean teaching against charlatanry and credulity.

The centrepiece of the volume and the longest contribution (with the text occupying barely a quarter of the space allocated to footnotes) is the learned and comprehensive account of the genre *peri basileias* practised by all philosophical schools in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Seeking to mark it off from other related genres (to which its contribution is noted), Haake invokes five criteria: a philosopher as author; a king or his equivalent, the Roman emperor, as addressee; in form, a letter or speech; in content, an account of the qualities that distinguish the good ruler from the tyrant; the implied reader the panhellenic *polis* public. The function of the genre, Haake argues, is to keep the ruler committed to the *polis* ideas of political freedom, freedom of speech and civic liberality, by showing him that he can gain approval and security by eschewing tyrannical behaviour, which includes listening to such advice.

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BIOS THEORETIKOS

A. GRILLI: *Vita contemplativa. Il problema della vita contemplativa nel mondo greco-romano*. (Philosophica, Testi e Studi 6.) Pp. 292. Brescia: Paideia, 2002. Cased, €29.50. ISBN: 88-394-0642-5.

This volume is a second edition of a book published in 1953. Much of the material has been reworked or restructured and there are some additions and omissions. The major thesis remains more or less the same. Grilli offers a tour of much of ancient philosophical history with glances here and there to related literary works. His interest is in the ethical ideal of the tranquil and happy life, often characterized by terms such as *εὐθυμία*, *ἀταραξία*, *tranquillitas*, and so on: the 'theoretical' and contemplative life, contrasted with the political and engaged life. As such, he is less interested in contemplation in terms of *θεωρία*, the intellectual contemplative ideal promoted by Plato and Aristotle in certain moods, although there is some brief mention of this early on.

Unsurprisingly, much of his attention is turned to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and he has two heroes who appear and reappear throughout the story: Democritus and Panaetius. Democritus is taken to be the first serious promoter of this ethical ideal, an ideal also championed in their various ways by the Stoics and

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