

excluded; but the fact that international diplomacy so closely reproduces the forms of interpersonal interaction calls for a more systematic analysis of the relation between the two categories. As it is, K. more or less excludes interpersonal applications from some chapters (e.g. Chapter 1 on the handshake) while relying heavily on such evidence in others (e.g. Chapter 4, on nodding, where the evidence for the use of the gesture in international relations is extremely slight).

K. notes throughout that the various *rechtsymbolische Akte* may stand metonymously for the whole process of which they form part, and she recognizes that in many cases reference to a symbolic gesture or action may be purely figurative (so that it becomes a *Sprachgebärde*), but this is a phenomenon in which she might have shown greater interest. For, if many of the symbolic actions studied are universal features of interpersonal and international relations, a more fundamental universal is the habit of representing abstract concepts (e.g. 'alliance') in terms of concrete physical actions (e.g. 'extend the hand of friendship'). The mechanisms at work here are well illustrated by artefacts such as the reliefs and coins depicted in K.'s Pls 7–9, 12, and 13, in which the existence of an agreement between communities is represented in the depiction of personifications (e.g. Roma, Italia) or tutelary deities (e.g. Athena, Artemis) shaking hands. Equally interesting are the tokens in the form of a handshake illustrated in Pls 4 and 5: here the concrete action, having become a metonymy for the relationship it symbolizes, achieves concrete embodiment as a physical token of that relationship. Exploration of these fundamental features of the human imagination, both linguistic and visual, should surely feature in an account of the application of features of interpersonal interaction in the context of international relations.

The crucial omission here is the work of George Lakoff and his collaborators, especially Lakoff and Johnson's seminal *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980). Otherwise, K.'s secondary reading is impressively wide-ranging, though some recent and relevant works on non-verbal communication in the classical world (especially D. Lateiner, *Sardonic Smile* [Ann Arbor, 1995] and M. Lobe, *Die Gebärden in Vergils Aeneis* [Frankfurt, 1999]; also G. Davies, 'The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art', *AJA* 89 [1985], 627–40) are not noticed. The work of Walter Donlan is a notable omission from the account of gift-exchange in early Greece; and the argument that elements of human symbolic behaviour are rooted in the species' biological inheritance might have received support from Walter Burkert's *Creation of the Sacred* (Cambridge MA, 1996).

University of Edinburgh

DOUGLAS L. CAIRNS

## POLITICS AND THE MILITARY

A. CHANIOTIS, P. DUCREY (edd.): *Army and Power in the Ancient World*. (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 37.) Pp. viii + 204. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. Paper, €44. ISBN: 3-515-08197-6.

As the editors explain in the introduction, the idea of holding a conference on this theme arose at a meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (CISH) in 1997. The rôle played by the army in seizing, and exercising, power in

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different societies at different periods in antiquity would be analysed. For the classicist, it is indeed valuable to have light thrown on peoples outside the sphere of Greece and Rome. There is a list of abbreviations, an introduction by the editors, twelve papers (three of them responses to others), and an index. There are several misprints, but I noticed only three that might disturb: p.11 n. 30: 'liberarius' should surely be librarius; p.48: 'ekontes' should be akontes; p. 185: 'trashing' should be thrashing.

W. Mayer writes on 'Armee und Macht in Assyrien' (pp. 2–23). For those whose knowledge of the Assyrians is confined to the Old Testament and the reliefs in the British Museum, there is much of interest. The king was the supreme commander. Importance was attached to the charismatic and divine aspects of his power; the support of Assur and of the priests was vital. However, highly developed as Assyrian militarism became, it contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Its demands for manpower and resources, which led to unrealistic foreign wars, were greater than the country could sustain: 'wherever the Assyrian went no grass grew'.

R. Thapar, 'The Role of the Army in the Exercise of Power in Early India' (pp. 25–38), concentrates on the period of Alexander the Great and his successors in North India. The rôle of the elephant in warfare is fully analysed. An interesting development occurred in the third century B.C. under Ashoka Maurya, the grandson of Chandragupta. He tried to replace control by force and violence by substituting *dharma*, i.e. principles of social ethics. But even if curtailed, the rôle of the army and warfare continued.

P. Briant, 'Guerre et succession dynastique chez les Achéménides: entre "coutume perse" et violence armée' (pp. 39–49), discusses the extent to which the Great King of Persia owed his position to the army. Military realities conflicted with due deference to Persian custom, and the laws of the Medes and Persians. But Briant shows that the *nomoi* of the Persians were largely a construct of Greek ethnography (which, however, did not prevent Alexander from using them in his propaganda against Darius III).

The rest of the book is devoted to Greece and Rome (it is unfortunate that other areas, such as ancient Israel or Egypt, are not included). P. Ducrey handles the theme of 'Army and Power from Agamemnon to Alexander' (pp. 51–60). He shows that in Greece there was always considerable political control over the army: even in Macedon, under Philip and Alexander, the army assembly could not be ignored. H. van Wees (pp. 61–82) concentrates on the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. He rejects the view that different types of weaponry were associated with particular social classes (especially the hoplite/democracy theory), a misconception which he traces back to Aristotle. In his response to van Wees, V. Gabrielsen (pp. 83–98) accepts his basic position but challenges various points of detail. A. Chaniotis (pp. 99–113) analyses a little-discussed effect of the stationing of garrisons in Greek cities by the kings of the Hellenistic period, the interaction of the occupying soldiers with the local population. In his response, J. Ma (pp. 115–22) pointed to the difference between billeting during an actual campaign and semi-permanent garrisoning.

G. Alföldy (pp. 123–50) has a comprehensive discussion of the ways in which upward social mobility occurred in the early imperial Roman army. He gives a clear picture of the patterns of promotion, especially from the rank of *primipilus* or leading centurion to administrative positions. It would have been interesting to have had more discussion of the opposite end of the scale—the effect on distant 'tribal' communities of the drafting of their young men into auxiliary regiments. Y. Le Bohec (pp. 151–65) writes on the maintenance of order in the province of Gaul during the Civil War and the Batavian Revolt of A.D. 68–70. He is perhaps too critical of Tacitus' account of the

period: much of the evidence he uses as a corrective comes from Tacitus himself. B. Campbell's paper (pp. 167–80) ranges over the whole of Roman history, showing how the Romans exploited the terror of war to maintain control in their empire. Sometimes the picture is a little too neat: *stationarii*, for example, were not stationed uniformly over the empire. B. Isaac (pp. 181–92) made the response to Campbell. He underlines the use of troops to quell large-scale violence in big cities and concludes that the main purpose of the Roman army was to keep the local population in the provinces under control.

The actual theme of Army and Power seems to have become somewhat lost in the different papers. And much remains to be done. A close analysis of the rôle of groups of soldiers and their comparatively junior officers in forcing changes of policy on the Triumvirs in the late Roman Republic could be made from Appian and other writers. Rome's soldiers aroused dislike and fear among the propertied and the upper classes. Sinister detail is available in such writers as Tacitus, Suetonius, and even Juvenal on how, for example, small numbers of the Praetorian Guard under centurions and tribunes intimidated senators or carried out assassinations.

But a useful and instructive colloquium.

*University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg*

D. B. SADDINGTON

## SLAVES

P. DUBOIS: *Slaves and Other Objects*. Pp. xviii + 290, ills. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003. Cased, US\$45/£31.50. ISBN: 0-226-16787-9.

'I should say that there was no action or belief or institution in Graeco-Roman antiquity that was not one way or other affected by the possibility that someone involved might be a slave.' duBois takes this statement of Finley, which she quotes on p. 6, and illustrates its truth with regard to the Greek world by examining the way scholars treat both ancient material objects in Part I and texts in Part II. She argues that slaves are both invisible and ubiquitous, and that a greater awareness of this is necessary not simply because it produces a more rounded and accurate picture of antiquity, but because we should no longer avoid the past and our responsibilities.

Some may be alienated by her moral urgency and by her rather broad condemnation of all aspects of classical scholarship. 'The discipline of classics has often taken for granted a transparent, unmediated access and relationship to antiquity. Many classicists operate with a positivist, scientific model of truth seeking' (p. 7). However, the book is entertaining, polemical, and thought-provoking and should not be thrown down in exasperation. Quite apart from her insights into the ancient world, there is a mine of startling information about modern slavery and scholarship.

As duB. admits, the book does not offer a continuous argument, and the ungenerous might interpret it as disparate talks reworked as chapters with the general theme of slavery, but there is much of value here. The first chapter laments the dismissive attitude shown by many who should know better towards ancient everyday objects which can often shed light on the lives of slaves. She then proceeds to demonstrate the under-representation of slaves in museums and, perhaps unfortunately for the