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War and Democracy (D.M.) Pritchard (ed.) *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*. Pp. xviii + 460, ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Cased, £65, US\$110. ISBN: 978-0-521-19033-6.

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fully his decision to abandon the state as a useful concept (pp. 34–6) and not to explore its implications with greater sensitivity. He rushes on too quickly without having established sufficiently what will remain a challenging, if not insupportable, proposition for many scholars. It is a pity that I. even passes over examining the structural qualities of these associations as organisations (cf. pp. 31–2), and thus despite the abundant data that he adduces concerning them provides little sense of how a typical *genos*, for example, might have run its affairs in the fourth century. Lacking such analysis, not only does the social character of the groups, and thus their degree or character of solidarity, remain obscure, but the mechanics by which their leading members co-ordinated with elements of the state like demes can hardly be invoked to test I.'s principal thesis. We are left also to wonder at how these associations operated with regard to the principal legislative bodies of the *polis*, the Boule and Ecclesia, much less the courts (for which some entities appointed members to serve as advocates, *synégoroi*; cf. pp. 113–14, 149), where relations might not always have been so co-operative or cordial.

Consequently, on the matter of property and finance, I.'s treatment is perhaps least rewarding, and reveals all the more tellingly why it is necessary to distinguish clearly institutions of the state from private parties. Students of Attic law and the ancient economy, for one, will have much to ponder in I.'s claims that members of associations had collective legal responsibility, say, before *euthynai* conducted by the *polis* just as with regard to the disposition of property (pp. 152–79). But, again, I.'s mixing of state institutions with private ones bedevils his discussion of the properties in question: he struggles with the concept of that property which the Athenians labelled *dēmosion* and assumes that the private associations acted as managers of what can only have been land and money owned by the state properly speaking (pp. 179–83). Not only does I. disregard the clear fact that the state appointed numerous magistrates to manage the property and allocate funds or other resources accordingly, usually for particular cults or major festivals, but goes so far as to claim that the *dēmosion* was nothing more than an ensemble of the property held by various associations (pp. 183–5) – that is, private groups like *genē* and *phratries*.

What I.'s generally impressive study so well illuminates is how extensively the multitude of private and state entities overlapped and paralleled each other's efforts to fund and perform a welter of religious rituals across Attica. As to how the Athenians utilised such complex and many-layered forms of community for so long, I.'s stimulating contribution will no doubt shape serious inquiry for much time to come.

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WAR AND DEMOCRACY

PRITCHARD (D.M.) (ed.) *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*. Pp. xviii + 460, ill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Cased, £65, US\$110. ISBN: 978-0-521-19033-6.
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This collection of essays, which builds on papers delivered at a conference at the University of Sydney in 2006, explores the ways in which democratic ideas

and institutions shaped when and how Athenians went to war, and how Athenians personally and collectively processed and conceptualised their experience of war. Although previous scholars have addressed these issues, this collection offers an up-to-date survey that offers plenty of interesting observations and some important insights.

D. Pritchard, 'The Symbiosis between Democracy and War: the Case of Ancient Athens', introduces the topic and gives an overview of the essays that follow. Although this introduction is unwieldy, with over 60 pages and some 300 footnotes, Pritchard knows his material well and comments intelligently on a range of matters, including the very limited nature of Athenian war-making before the democracy; the transformation of war in fifth-century Athens through its role in the Persian Wars and under its ensuing naval empire; and the city's openness to military innovation. He reasonably asks whether 'the military hyperactivity of fifth-century Athens may be another product of popular government and hence the dark side of its cultural revolution' (p. 27). Some of Pritchard's views, however, are controversial, for example when he speaks of the 'unflagging willingness [of citizens] to fight and risk their lives for the city' (p. 21), or when he generalises 'there is simply no evidence that non-elite Athenians ever believed their legal and political equality were a result of their ability to contribute militarily to the city', and 'our sources put it beyond doubt that his [i.e. Cleisthenes'] reforms were only enacted because of the unprecedented collective actions of the Athenian people' (p. 57).

Two strong essays, which directly address the impact of democracy on war, open the volume. J. Ober, 'Thucydides on Athens' Democratic Advantage in the Archidamian War', argues cogently that Thucydides links Athens' success in the first phase of the Peloponnesian War to its ability to overcome problems of collective action and 'knowledge management' through democratic institutions and ideologies. Ober makes his case through analysis of the Corinthian assessment of Athenian exceptionalism, the Periclean Funeral Oration and the historian's narrative of the city's military campaigns at Mytilene and Pylos. R.K. Balot, 'Democratizing Courage in Classical Athens', explores how Athenians understood courage within a democratic framework to entail reflection and deliberation in advance of martial action (see, e.g., Thuc. 2.40 and Dem. 60.17–18). While Athenian conceptions of manliness might encourage aggressive and rash action, the democratic construction of courage as thoughtful and reflective helped moderate bellicosity and 'had practical consequences in the city's decision-making and imperialism' (pp. 96–7).

The next two essays highlight the democracy's receptiveness to military innovation. I. Spence, 'Cavalry, Democracy and Military Thinking in Classical Athens', examines the decision of the Athenian *dēmos* to establish a large cavalry force, which was unusual outside Thessaly in this period, and partially to subsidise costs for cavalry members in the third quarter of the fifth century. He takes this as evidence of the collective strategic wisdom of the *dēmos*, which was able to think beyond hoplite and naval warfare to gain an advantage over the city's adversaries. M. Trundle, 'Light Troops in Classical Athens', likewise emphasises how ready Athenians were to innovate to improve their fighting capacity. 'Unlike many states ... the democracy of classical Athens programmatically identified the usefulness of light-armed troops and employed archers from amongst the citizen body and peltasts from outside Attica' (p. 139).

Two essays examine the fifth-century drama of war. S. Mills, 'Affirming Athenian Action: Euripides' Portrayal of Military Activity and the Limits of Tragic Instruction', effectively challenges much recent scholarship in arguing that

tragedy does relatively little to make a general Athenian audience question the city's military enterprises. She makes a good case that 'plays which dramatise Athenian campaigns actively validate Athenian military action in sharp contrast to the campaigns of other cities, especially those of Athens' contemporary enemies'; and that nothing compelled Athenians to view excesses of war portrayed on stage in connection with the Trojan War or Thebes as an indictment of Athenian actions or policies (p. 165). She concludes provocatively, 'Tragedy may indeed question ideology, but the ambiguity at its centre always offers an escape route, and questioning is not synonymous with advocating, much less effecting, change' (p. 183). D. Konstan, 'Ridiculing a Popular War: Old Comedy and Militarism in Classical Athens', examines how Old Comedy, through its freedom to criticise popular policy, contributed to open debate of the city's military operations; of particular interest are Aristophanes' ongoing criticisms of Athens' involvement in the Peloponnesian War. Konstan aptly observes, 'the comic poets had the delicate task of promoting a peaceful accord with the enemy without undercutting the fighting spirit on which Athens' empire – and even the chance to secure a reasonable peace – ultimately depended' (p. 199).

The collection next focusses on war in fourth-century oratory. A.J.L. Blanshard, 'War in the Law-court: Some Athenian Discussions', interestingly proposes that forensic orations – unlike state funeral orations – allowed for criticism of 'underlying ideological structures' (p. 205) and 'a place to play and think' (p. 207), and seeks to demonstrate this through analysis of three speeches that attest to tensions concerning the city's various military institutions (Lys. 9 and 16; [Dem.] 50). While this sort of discussion in the law courts may have contributed to military reforms in Athens as Blanshard suggests, it is not clear that fundamental matters of ideology were at issue in these speeches; they seem to centre rather on how best to implement shared democratic principles of fairness and equity. P. Hunt turns to deliberative oratory in his 'Athenian Militarism and the Recourse to War'. He argues persuasively that, while Athenian militarism was 'neither all-encompassing nor exceptional for its time and place' (p. 231), it did make recourse to war more frequent. In particular, Hunt suggests that a distorted patriotic history of the city's military successes over time that was promulgated conspicuously through the Attic funeral orations made Athenians more optimistic than they should have been concerning military endeavours and more likely to undertake these without fully assessing the risks involved.

The next three essays look at the portrayal of soldiers in privately purchased art. R. Osborne, 'Democratic Ideology, the Events of War and the Iconography of Attic Funerary Sculpture', argues that the monument of Dexileus (394/3 B.C.) played a pivotal role in shaping the norms of representing dead soldiers. 'By taking up the iconography familiarised on public monuments and repackaging it in a spectacular way to individual glory, Dexileus' monument opened the way to celebrate other individual soldiers in like manner' (p. 263). While some will view this as speculative, it is an interesting possibility. P. Hannah, 'The Warrior *loutrophoroi* of Fifth-century Athens', provides a thorough survey of the evidence, and posits that these 'reveal, when related to the rituals of public burial and private remembrance, the widespread, ennobling conception of the citizen soldier in the Athenian democracy' (p. 290). M.C. Miller, 'I Am Eurymedon: Tensions and Ambiguities in Athenian War Imagery', engagingly proposes that the famous Hamburg *oinochoê* shows 'a metaphorical representation of a naval victory against the Persians, as viewed from the perspective of the social superior of the sub-hoplite. The stance

of the Greek parodies that of divine pursuit of mortals; the lack of self-control he shows makes him worthy of scorn' (p. 327).

The final section focusses on honouring the war dead. P. Low, 'Commemoration of the War Dead in Classical Athens: Remembering Defeat and Victory', productively considers Athenian perceptions and memories of military victory and defeat, and proposes 'the most important war memorials of classical Athens – unlike those of many contemporary societies – were not ... the tombs of the war dead, but rather those monuments which commemorated and celebrated military success and military victory' (p. 358). S. Yoshitake, '*Aretē* and the Achievements of the War Dead: the Logic of Praise in the Athenian Funeral Oration', asks the somewhat unusual question 'to what extent the eulogies were believable' (p. 363), but offers some good observations concerning what exactly the war dead are praised for and the relationship of this praise to that of their surviving comrades.

J. Keane's 'Epilogue: Does Democracy Have a Violent Heart?', rejects the notion that democracy is inherently bellicose, but observes how in the case of ancient Athens, post-revolutionary France and the current United States democratic institutions and ideals have figured prominently in the pursuit and justification of war. In the case of Athens, Keane goes too far in stating 'citizenship and military service grew to be indistinguishable' (p. 382) and 'democracy was joined in a long-term devil's pact with empire and war' (p. 383). One may hope, however, that Keane is right that 'most of today's democracies have a declining appetite for bellicosity' (p. 399).

As this summary survey suggests, there is much of interest in this volume, and it will no doubt encourage further debate of the important issues addressed.

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HONOUR AND PROFIT

ENGEN (D.T.) *Honor and Profit. Athenian Trade Policy and the Economy and Society of Greece, 415–307 B.C.E.* Pp. x + 400. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010. Cased, US\$85. ISBN: 978-0-472-11634-8.

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In this scholarly and perceptive work, analysing a sequence of twenty-five decrees and nine literary passages describing honours for traders and trade facilitators, E. argues that honorific occasions became more frequent, the language more extravagant and the honours more significant as Athens' diplomatic and military influence declined and it sought new ways to secure critical imports. This is an important observation in its own right, and it highlights an essential aspect of Athenian political and diplomatic life that often lies obscured, though E. is careful to set his findings in the context of the scholarly debate about social determination or 'embeddedness'. He goes to great lengths to reconcile his findings with Finley's paradigm, only occasionally suggesting that they are 'not wholly consistent' with that model.

Part 1 provides historical and historiographical context, and E. manages to elucidate both these overworked fields with freshness and insight. His summary of the economic-sociological controversy is as good as anything that has been written on the subject in recent years. Part 2 analyses the selected evidence from several