concede that it is easier to pontificate on what should not have been done than to declare what should. John Henderson's B★*Telling Tales on Caesar*[7] offers a text, translation and very extensive commentary on that much neglected writer, Gaius Julius Phaedrus. Henderson's inimitable and indescribable style (perhaps a little toned down in this book) will entertain or exasperate according to taste. However, if there is an ancient writer suited to Henderson's style it may well be Phaedrus. Certainly, this book leaves the reader in no doubt about its author's enthusiasm for his subject nor, of course, about his learning. I am left with a particular worry; in Henderson's translation, Phaedrus' style seems to be little different from Henderson's. Do all translators render their authors in their own style, and is it more obvious with Henderson only because his style is so very idiosyncratic?

D. E. HILL

[7] *Telling Tales on Caesar*. Roman stories from Phaedrus. By John Henderson. Oxford U.P., 2001. £40.00.

Greek History

Pick up a copy of B★★*Spartan Reflections*[1] and you will find yourself gazing at a cover illustration of a bronze mirror so badly tarnished that its surface reflects nothing at all. A metaphor, surely, to remind us that our sources will never yield a clear picture of Sparta, that a mirage has no reflection, and that, even if we were to polish the bronze to a high shine, we would not discover Sparta, but only a mirror image of ourselves. As if to counteract this subliminal message, however, Paul Cartledge introduces his collection of essays by stressing the limitations of a 'po-mo perspective' and confessing to 'an ineradicable if sneaking desire' to uncover the real Sparta as well as 'the unquenchable hope that I will persuade others to share my point of view' (5). He has of course had more success than most on that score: his interpretation of Spartan history has over the last 25 years established itself as the closest thing we have to an orthodoxy. In publishing ten of his most influential papers in revised and updated form, accompanied by new prefaces and two previously unpublished lectures, Cartledge, with undiminished enthusiasm and accustomed fluency defends many of his views, above all the contention that Spartan society was shaped by the helot threat from the seventh century onwards. Criticism of this position is implicitly answered by reprints of 'The peculiar position of Sparta' (1980), 'A Spartan education' (1992, previously only available in a privately printed *Festschrift*), 'Comparatively equal' (1996), and 'Rebels and sambos' (1985); it is also explicitly addressed in the introduction to the latter, the longest of the prefaces (127–30). A new paper concludes that Spartan-helot relations further deteriorated *c.*500 B.C. as a result of shrinking Spartiate manpower (182–4), leading to increased militarization, as reflected in the decline of artistic production. The role of the hoplite reform in all this is reaffirmed with a defiant 'if I seem merely reactionary . . ., then so it must be' (153) in a paper previously published only in Italian which supersedes Cartledge's better-known article on the subject in *JHS* 97 (1977), not reprinted here. Three other famous early papers, on Spartan literacy (1978), pederasty (1981) and women (1981) do feature, alongside a recent piece on Sparta's demarcation of territory by religious means and a new piece on the 'doubly odd' kingship, which interestingly

[1] *Spartan Reflections*. By Paul Cartledge. Duckworth, London, 2001. Pp. xii + 276, with 10 plates. Paper £14.99.

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notes the charismatic element in Spartan royal authority (62–4). The sum total is an attractive compilation of an impressive body of work, in equal measure worthy rival and useful complement to Stephen Hodkinson's recent book on classical Sparta, reviewed in the previous issue of *G&R*. Cartledge reveals himself as a collector of modern references to Sparta, from 'the Spartan brand of chocolate – hard-centre, of course' (170) to Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray, whose first name is the subject of a witty investigation (185–91). He might like to know of the sportsclub Leonidas, where I enjoyed a brief and inglorious career as a schoolboy: as three hundred Spartans will testify, I was lucky to get away with just a broken arm. Always searching for heroes of one kind or another, Heinrich Schliemann speed-excavated Thermopylae, but found 'not even a rubbish-dump' at Sparta itself, which was 'presumably a mercy', as Cartledge points out (9). In fact he moved on so briskly that his visit does not rate a mention in the story of B★*The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*,[2] as well-told by Lesley Fitton in 1995, and now available in glossy illustrated paperback at a very reasonable price. Fitton treats the much-debunked figures of Schliemann and Arthur Evans with notable care and restraint, giving them more credit than some scholars think they deserve, although still not nearly as much as the great men – one 'a braggart and a bluffer' by his own account (58), the other 'fantastically conceited' according to his half-sister (119) – claimed for themselves. Their less flamboyant contemporaries and immediate successors also receive a good deal of space and sympathetic treatment, while more recent developments are briefly but effectively traced up until a few years before the original publication of this book. The only link between the Bronze Age and B★★*The Piraeus*[3] is a single Late Helladic IIIB burial (10), but that is good enough for me. If you buy the second edition of Robert Garland's short monograph on Athens' famous port for the sake of the added 'up-to-date bibliography' promised in the publisher's blurb, you will be disappointed. Unless perhaps you are an estate agent and think that this is a perfectly fair description of the two books and three notices from *Archaeological Reports* mentioned in the new preface. Apart from offering a quick update, Garland also seizes the 'welcome opportunity to own up to what he has long realised is suppositious' but nevertheless still features in the body of the book, which is unchanged from the first edition. Most dramatically, he renounces what in 1987 was not only a 'firm belief', but one of three avowed reasons for writing the book: the notion that the Piraeus was 'the democratic heartland of the Athenian state' (x, 3, 72). The new preface thus takes away more than it adds, but that still leaves the thorough, accessible and useful original. You will not be disappointed if you are looking for a compendium of information on the history, population, trade, cults and topographical features of the Piraeus from Themistocles to Sulla. Unless perhaps, like Sir Moses Finley, provocatively quoted at length on the very first page, you believe that local histories ought to ask questions more ambitious than 'How big? How many? What monuments?'. No one could accuse the editors of ★★*War and Democracy*[4] of being unambitious: not only do they raise a

[2] *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*. By J. Lesley Fitton. British Museum Press, London, 2001. Pp. 212, with 8 colour and 75 black and white illustrations. Paper £12.99.

[3] *The Piraeus from the fifth to the first century BC*. Second edition. By Robert Garland. Bristol Classical Press, London, 2001. Pp. xi + 280, with 33 figures. Paper £15.99.

[4] *War and Democracy*. A comparative study of the Korean War and the Peloponnesian War. Edited by David R. McCann and Barry S. Strauss. M. E. Sharpe, Armonk and London, 2001. Pp. xxviii + 385. Paper $29.95.

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series of nine major questions concerning the behaviour of democratic states in international relations and war, and concerning the impact of war and empire on democratic political systems (xix), but they seek answers in a comparative study of the Peloponnesian and Korean Wars. These conflicts may at first sight seem to have little in common apart from the curious fact that in each case the battle lines were drawn roughly at the 38th parallel, but David McCann and Barry Strauss make a strong case for the viability of the comparison, and one suspects that they might have put it to spectacular use if between them they had written the whole book, rather than just the introduction. Most of their fifteen contributors, on the other hand, draw sketchy comparisons at best, and betray some uncertainty over the terms of their equations: are Sparta and Athens best compared to North and South Korea or to the Soviet Union and the United States? If the latter, what is Korea? 'A Pacific Megara', a modern Melos (xvii), or a latter-day Plataea (129)? Only Jennifer Tolbert Roberts manages a sharp and sustained comparison, in an amusing and instructive chapter which points up a range of striking similarities between the personality cults of Alcibiades, jostled by crowds pressing garlands upon him, and General MacArthur, who had 2,852 tons of 'litter thrown in his honour' in the course of a single ticker-tape parade (247). The other ancient historians who contribute all offer original and stimulating perspectives on ancient Greece, from the relation between democracy and empire in Athens (Victor Hanson) and the impact of the Peloponnesian War on Athens and Sparta (Paul Cartledge, again), via the nature of Greek international relations (Gregory Cane) and the way in which Thucydides' theoretical 'realism' is modified by 'the complexity of history' in his narrative (Josiah Ober), to the omnipresence of warfare in all aspects of classical Athenian culture (Kurt Raaflaub). Some even conclude with a message of hope or advice to contemporary politicians: 'South Korea, to the degree that it creates a free society and an open economy, will wage war more effectively than its northern neighbour' (26). On the modern front, the volume presents an even wider range of topics, including a debate about whether the power of the United States is more like the early Delian League or the later Athenian Empire, analyses of North and South Korean internal politics, and an impassioned account of the witch-hunts led by that 'guttersnipe' Senator Joe McCarthy (219). Even the best of these studies tend to be more concerned with particulars than with the editors' general questions about war and democracy, but they make fascinating reading nonetheless. It turns out that Stalin gave his blessing to Kim Il Sung's invasion of the south in exchange for 'a yearly minimum of 25,000 tonnes of lead' from Korea (91): how that compares with the annual tribute of upwards of 10 tonnes of silver raked in by Athens, I am not sure, but it is certainly an improvement on the cartload of raisins which Sparta managed to extract from one of its allies. The high cost of war dominates Loren J. Samons II's study of classical Athens' treasuries and the mysterious workings of Athenian public finance. Samons demonstrates that [B]★★*The Empire of the Owl*,[5] rather than fund its military campaigns from reserves of stockpiled tribute, often preferred to borrow money from the treasuries of Athena and other gods, only to repay the debt later, plus interest at 7% (246 n. 127), from the very tribute reserves initially left untouched. Indeed, when the Peloponnesian War was imminent, the Athenians decided to liquidate the entire imperial treasury by making a gift of 3,000 talents to Athena,

[5] *The Empire of the Owl.* Athenian Imperial Finance. Historia Einzelschriften 142. By Loren J. Samons II. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2000. Pp. 358.

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repaying all sacral debts, and spending the loose change on fortifications and shipsheds (Samons' interpretation of Callias Decree A, pp. 113–33). This inevitably meant that they had to start borrowing back almost immediately, and by 428 they had nearly exhausted all the temple treasuries and incurred another huge debt to the gods. Despite raising extraordinary property taxes and tribute, the shortage of funds was a major factor in forcing the Athenians to conclude the Peace of Nicias (209–11). Then, at last, they created a system of gradual, capped repayments of sacral debts (Samons' interpretation of Callias Decree B, pp. 212–29) and began to rely primarily on non-sacral funding. This worked insofar as in a matter of years the accumulated surplus was large enough to finance the Sicilian expedition, but the war continued to drain more money than the city could raise, and by 404 Athens was 'an exhausted country, still assiduously maintaining and dutifully inscribing the [financial] records of its own downfall' (290). This is no more than a broad outline of a meticulously reconstructed financial history of fifth-century Athens. The argument is not always easy to follow, partly because of the constant references forward to material to be discussed and conclusions to be drawn later, partly because Samons needs to engage in a series of highly involved and technical debates, and partly because he insists on considering every single possibility, however remote. Some of the earlier parts of the book end up with largely negative conclusions which may seem something of a let-down. A discussion of the Delian League treasury begins encouragingly: 'if . . . we can determine the . . . sum transferred from Delos to Athens, we shall have an excellent starting point for our subsequent work' (83). After a sentence like that, one is surely not supposed to conclude that we actually do not have a clue what that sum might have been (107). Some might also feel that the book would have been better without its closing comments to the effect that fourth-century Athenians might have stood up to the Macedonians, just as their ancestors stood up to the Persians, if they had not been such a bunch of dole-drawing scroungers – I paraphrase – led by 'less than scrupulous demagogues' (292–3, 297). But overall this is an important book which convincingly shows that Athens' management of its public funds was long characterized by piety more than by strict economic rationality. Not long ago, we might have seen this as evidence for the 'primitive' nature of the Athenian economy. Now, of course, in our age of mismanaged privatized services demanding to be bailed out with government money and shareholders expecting compensation when they fail to make a profit, we know that the sphere of public finance is the last place to look for rational behaviour.

HANS VAN WEES

Roman History

Cambridge has rolled out another big gun, and there is no comparing [B]★*Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors A.D. 425–600*[1] with an earlier edition. But no apology is needed, given advances in the study of late Antiquity in English made on the institutional side by A. H. M. Jones and in intellectual and social matters by P. Brown, who contributes 'Holy Men', and the emerging material evidence. About a third of the last section is devoted to visual art and architecture; by no means excessive. The layout is

[1] *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume XIV. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600. Edited by Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby. Cambridge U.P., 2000. Pp. xx + 1166, with 23 maps and 63 text-figures. £110.00.

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