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**A History of Greek Public Finance . By A. M. Andreades. Large 8vo. One volume. Pp. xii + 624. Athens: Raphtanis, 1918. 18 drachmas.**

M. Cary

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call it in Scotland when practised by salmon poachers.

V. 421. In this very difficult and corrupt passage the scholiast gives us the hint that we should seek some reference, not only to the abandoned husband, but to the members of the household who have lost their mistress. I don't understand Murray's rendering, 'And thou, thou, what art thou?' We are obliged to accept for the sake of the metre Hermann's *ἀτίμους ἀλοιδύρους*, and who can they be but Helen's handmaidens? They have, if we accept *ἄδιστα* for *ἄδιστος*, abandoned their sweetest tasks, and the *φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν* is more appropriate to them than to Menelaus, who at least was still lord of his house. The important corruption lies, I think, in *σιγᾶς*.

V. 566. Here, I think, we must suppose that something is missing after *κατεψέκαζον*. The words *ἐμπεδον σίνος ἐσθημάτων τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα* contain a very clear and quite Aeschylean characterisation of the two varieties of louse which infest men, the *Pediculus vestimenti* and the *Pediculus capitis*—if I may be allowed to quote my own rendering, 'the creeping plague that to its lair in the clothing clings and houses in the hair,' and they cannot in any way be connected with the words that precede them in our text. No one ever maintained that vermin are due to damp.

V. 647, *διπλῇ μάστιγι*. I cannot agree with Murray's note on this. It appears to me that the double scourge of war is bondage and death, the former of which

was in antiquity almost as terrible as the latter.

Vv. 965-1000. There is no question of jettisoning cargo, as both renderings suggest. We know what *σφενδόνη* means. It is a machine (a crane or derrick for loading or unloading). The advice is 'do not overload' not 'lighten your ship when in danger.' There is a good deal of difference.

V. 1077. I suggest *ἀνδροσφαγείον, παιδιορραντήριον*, as *πεδορρ.* does not seem to mean anything.

Vv. 1097-1098, *προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ ἐκ χερὸς ὀρεγομένα*. It is exactly the action of knitting or netting. She sees Clytaemnestra doing this before she sees the actual net, the *ἀμφίβληστρον* which played so great a part in the murder. It does not, of course, imply that the queen made the net herself.

V. 1171. Little can be made of *θερμόνους*. I suggested *θ' αἰμόπνους* which is not a violent change and gives good sense.

V. 1448. The same applies to *εὐνῆς*. In the appendix to my own rendering I suggest *συνθνής*, the only objection to which is that the word is unknown. It is, however, a perfectly possible word, and gives excellent sense. That it is not included in lexicæ would imply only that the corruption was very early.

Mr. Davis unfortunately is dead. It is to be hoped that Mr. Murray will render the whole trilogy, or at least the *Choephorae*—a very fine play.

W. R. PATON.

## A HISTORY OF GREEK PUBLIC FINANCE.

*Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώϊκων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ βασιλείου.* By A. M. ANDREADES. Large 8vo. One volume. Pp. xii + 624. Athens: Raptanis, 1918. 18 drachmas.

THE contents of this book are not quite in accord with their title. They carry us no further than the Byzantine age, and they do not provide a complete survey of the classical period. As Professor Andreades explains in his Preface, exigencies of space compelled

him to omit the less distinctive phases of Greek finance in order that he might give adequate attention to its most characteristic types; and we are told that the deficiencies will be made up in a forthcoming separate publication. Thus we may live in hopes; but meantime we cannot help regretting some of the lacunae in the volume before us. The finances of Ptolemaic Egypt and of the temples at Delphi and Delos are not mere variations of normal πόλις finance, and as our information on these topics is unusually complete, we

may wonder that not a line of space was found for them. Again, part at least of the fifty pages which are devoted to an excellent but irrelevant bibliography of Byzantine studies in general might have been given to a survey of Roman imperial finance, some knowledge of which is indispensable to a student of Byzantine finance. Therefore we draw from the present volume the same first impressions as from an ancient Greek statue: we miss a nose and two arms.

But second impressions will show that the author is a master of his craft. Professor Andreades is thoroughly at home in the special literature on Greek finance, but he never lets his erudition spoil his sense of proportion, and he understands how to show Greek economics in their proper perspective by comparing them with those of later ages. His judgment on controversial topics is studiously sane and well balanced, and his style has the characteristic lucidity of modern Greek scholarship.

A few words of comment are required on each of his principal chapters.

(1) *The Homeric Age*.—A comparison between this age and that of the Crusades is now becoming canonical, and Professor Andreades uses it to good advantage. This analogy enables him to set off the characteristic weakness of the Homeric kings' finance, viz. its 'parasitiá' or reliance on 'benevolences' and the 'fruits of victory.' But the same analogy should have saved him from describing the Homeric armies as more 'national' than those of to-day.

(2) *Sparta*.—Professor Andreades follows Aristotle and others in fastening upon φιλοχρηματία as the predominant feature in Spartan character, and exposes ruthlessly the Spartans' lack of financial patriotism. In one instance the charge is pressed too far. Though Sparta was ill-disposed to finance long wars, she was not 'always unready': more than once she half won a campaign by superior rapidity in mobilisation. The statement that the contributions required of the individual Spartans to their συσσιτία were unduly heavy also needs qualification. No doubt absen-

teism, especially in war-time, had the effect of reducing the output of the Spartan κλήροι to an inadequate amount, but the κλήροι were probably quite large enough to provide ample subsistence for a family under any rational system of cultivation. On the Spartan pacts with Persia Professor Andreades speaks with wholesome emphasis; as he rightly observes, of all the Greeks who cadged for Persian gold the Spartans were the most guilty, for they set the example to the rest.

(3) *City-State Finance in General*.—Some of the statements in this chapter invite criticism. All Englishmen, and some students of Athenian and Roman history, will quarrel with the assertion that the 'liberty of the individual' was discovered by the French Revolution. And present-day taxpayers will scarcely admit that the modern state is burdened with fewer services than the Greek πόλις. Our expenses on the score of education, health, and the maintenance of regular fighting forces would hardly figure at all in a normal Greek budget, and the outlay of ancient states on 'panis et circenses' is roughly balanced by our Poor Law expenses. But the author is eminently successful in characterising city-state finance as a whole. He shows convincingly that the economic conditions of Greek life necessitated certain fiscal virtues, and that the Greeks accordingly steered clear of mercantilist and protectionist fallacies, and refrained from cheap and easy depreciations of currency. On the other hand, they lost large sums by relying on private tax-collectors; they fought shy of direct taxation; they seldom laid up reserves; in the absence of public credit they could not meet sudden calls for money by borrowing, but had recourse to expedients which often were no better than barefaced robbery.

(4) *Athens*.—This section contains a number of valuable new points. In fixing the date of the first appearance of εἰσφορά Professor Andreades draws an apt comparison with the history of the British Income Tax. He throws fresh light on the building policy of Pericles by suggesting that the glut of labour for which this policy was a remedy was

due to demobilisation after the Persian wars. The dates of Pericles' public works, and also of his cleruchies, show that this glut did not set in till about 450 B.C. The author also withholds the conventional admiration from Demosthenes' reform of the trierarchic liturgy, pointing out that his was but a half-measure: he might have added that the reform bore very heavily on the Three Hundred, who were also liable to *προεισφορά*.

Though Professor Andreades admits that Athenian finance was superior to that of other Greek states, he quotes with approval a saying of Gladstone's that Athens was ruined by bad finance. Here he overshoots the mark, for Athens was never ruined except in the sense that she failed to set up any permanent empire, and the primary cause of this failure certainly lay in faulty policy rather than in bad finance. He also appears to overrate the magnitude of the evil wrought by the *θεωρικόν* and

*μισθός*. No doubt the *θεωρικόν* was sheer waste, and the recipients of *μισθός* were far too numerous; but Professor Andreades' own figures show that the swollen military budgets which Athens drew up even in times of peace required retrenchment even more urgently. Conversely the author hardly gives the Athenians enough credit for their exemplary methods of accounting, or for the success of their general financial administration in the third and second centuries, as revealed by the researches of the American scholars, Professors Ferguson and Johnson.

But carping criticisms like these cannot detract perceptibly from the value of Professor Andreades' work. His book is not only informing—most treatises on finance suffer from an excess of this virtue—but stimulating and thought-compelling; and in spite of its deficiencies it gives one of the best general descriptions of ancient Greek finance. M. CARY.

### LES CULTES PAIENS DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN.

*Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain.*

Première Partie, les Provinces Latines. Tome III.—Les Cultes Indigènes Nationaux et Locaux: Afrique du Nord, Péninsule Ibérique, Gaule. By J. TOUTAIN. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1920.

THE present volume of 470 pages advances a stage the great work which Dr. Toutain has in hand of surveying the pagan religions of the Roman Empire. It will be remembered that the first volume, published in 1907, dealt with the official cults and the Roman and Greco-Roman cults in the Latin provinces, while in the second, published in 1911, the author treated of the Oriental cults and their diffusion within the same limits. In this third volume Dr. Toutain, still confining himself to the Latin provinces, has begun the treatment of the indigenous cults—the native cults, that is, which existed before the period of Roman domination and lasted on into it. The first half of this volume, containing North Africa and Iberia, was published

separately in 1917. Now with the addition of Gaul it is completed, but it will require at least one more volume to finish the indigenous cults of the Latin provinces, and so, presumably, to bring to an end the first part of the work.

Dr. Toutain's is a stupendous task, and he is much to be congratulated that, in spite of all the difficulties of the war-period, he has been able to issue this substantial contribution towards its completion. The range of his inquiry is vast and the detailed investigation involved enormous. Few scholars would be competent to criticise the work in detail, and I cannot attempt to do more than indicate its plan and the kind of interest which will be found in it as a book of reference or—for it is far more than a book of reference—in a continuous reading.

The same methodical treatment of the subject is pursued to which we have become accustomed in the earlier volumes. Taking each province in turn, Dr. Toutain treats successively of the various divinities worshipped, the character of the sanctuaries, the nature