Greek History

It has been thirty-seven years since Russell Meiggs published his *Athenian Empire*; this, along with the publication of the Athenian Tribute Lists, has provided the main narrative for the history of the Athenian empire. A new approach, therefore, on the way that we write the history of the empire, and consequently of the fifth-century Greek world, was desperately needed. This affordable volume not only provides new answers to old questions but, more importantly, asks new questions.[38] How did the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians approach the Athenian empire (Liddel)? Inevitably, the question of imperialism was tangled up with contemporary political perspectives; this was also true for the twentieth century (Kallet), with the added implication of the proliferation of epigraphic sources, with all their problems. One of the most useful essays in the volume is Papazarkadas' take on imperial epigraphy after the three-barred sigma debate. He convincingly argues that most (undated) imperial documents belong to the post 440s period, and more specifically the 420s (or later). This does not mean that imperialism was 'soft' in the mid-fifth century; rather, it means that we know even less than we thought we knew for the elusive fifty-year period between the Persian wars and the Peloponnesian war. Raaflaub builds upon existing work on possible Persian influences on Athenian policies, most notably on imperial administration and instruments of power. Ma looks at the way that the empire functioned on a small scale, with an insightful analysis of the island of Carpathos. Brock argues that the Athenian promotion of democracies in allied states was the ideological creation of the fourth century. Thonemann brilliantly shows how the Athenian empire affected the way that local history was written in Lycia; through his reading of the Xanthos monument, we learn that there was a Kaunian revolt in the early years of the Peloponnesian war, which resulted in two military confrontations with the Athenians. These battles were then recorded on the Xanthos stele because they were extremely important for the creation of local Lycian and Carian identity. Kroll's essay on coinage is exemplary of how to make coinage approachable to the non-expert. He argues that the massive production of Athenian silver coinage made the issuing of other silver coinage by allied cities effectively redundant. Moreno suggests that cleruchies were perhaps the most exploitative aspect of Athenian imperialism and that they primarily benefited the Athenian upper classes. We should congratulate the editors for bringing out this volume so swiftly, and in paperback; it should be read by all students and scholars of classical Greece. The title of Heckel and Tritle's *Alexander the Great. A New History* raises an important question of genre:[39] how can one compose a 'history' of a 'great' individual, and in what ways ought such a 'history' be distinct from biography? To be a 'history', it would have to engage with the broader cultural and political contexts of that individual, and would attempt to unravel the historiographical and historical legacy of its subject. This volume fulfils the expectations of its title with panache. Several papers emphasize the Macedonian background: in particular, Zahrnt brings out the significance of Alexander's father and predecessor, while Ogden concludes that Alexander's sexual

[38] *Interpreting the Athenian Empire*. Edited by John Ma, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, and Robert Parker. London, Duckworth, 2009. Pp. 256. Paperback £20, ISBN: 978-0-7156-3784-5.

[39] *Alexander the Great. A New History*. Edited by Waldemar Heckel and Lawrence A. Tritle. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Pp. xix + 366. 20 figures, 1 map. Paperback £19.99, ISBN: 978-1-4051-3082-0.

promiscuity is less surprising given his Macedonian background. Looking forward in time, Wheatley's paper explores the evolution of the successor monarchies and ideas of kingship after Alexander's death, showing Alexander's immediate political legacy as well as the chronographic problems central to it. Other papers make a good case for the sensitivity of Alexander's propaganda and its effectiveness in cementing his popularity among his own soldiers (Heckel), in using cultural and institutional means of securing his court while incorporating Achaemenid habits (Weber), and in deploying the anti-barbarian rhetoric of freedom in his contact with Greek communities (Poddighe). Analysis of contemporary reactions towards Alexander is prominent in this collection: Tritle suggests that many politically disengaged Greeks joined his entourage for pragmatic reasons, while Briant argues for a smooth transition from Achaemenid rule to that of Alexander in the former Persian empire; in a second essay, he explores the modern historiographical origins of the idea of fourth-century Achaemenid decline. Two of the papers in particular go some way to integrating hitherto neglected evidence into the picture: Wheatley and Briant both introduce the numismatic record and Near Eastern documentary evidence. At the same time, there is room for some more traditionally biographical subjects: Carney suggests that Olympias was probably the only woman whom Alexander could ever trust, and Dreyer surveys the Alexander cults of the Greek world. As Alexander Meeus points out, 'the history of Alexander did not end with his death' (235), and the four final papers demonstrate just that. Meeus concludes that the Successors exploited Alexander's image in their own interests; Spencer shows how Roman literary authors used Alexander as a model for intellectual enquiry; while Mihalopoulos traces the circulation of portraits of Alexander. Baynham's closing essay exhibits how close consideration of modern non-scholarly accounts of Alexander might reap rich rewards, and edges towards the rehabilitation of Oliver Stone's cinematic version. This volume marks a step in an interesting direction for Alexander studies; its emphasis on cultural contextualization and matters pertaining to the reception of Alexander's image means that there is little room for formulaic servings of *Quellenforschung*; many will be grateful for this refreshing approach.

Is walking an indispensable part of golf? And do caddies matter? These questions may seem irrelevant for ancient Greece, but Golden's opening of his new book makes it obvious that they are at the heart of a debate about what sport is.[40] *Greek Sport and Social Status* is in many ways the second instalment of his valuable 1997 book, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*. Golden argues for an elite origin of most athletes; at the same time, however, athletic competition could act as a marker of social status, as, for example, in order to stress the difference between free and slave. Another myth dispelled in this book is that gladiatorial games were not popular in Greece; on the contrary, Golden shows convincingly how violence and even death were an important part of Greek athletic competition (for example, the *pankration*). But the best part of the book is the final chapter on the use of Greek sport in the modern construction of the Olympic Games. The myth of the 'amateur' athlete was exactly that: a myth. Indeed, amateurism is better explained not as an attribute of the ancient Greek Olympic games (which were not 'amateur' at all), but as a cunning policy adopted by de Coubertin in order to

[40] *Greek Sport and Social Status*. By Mark Golden. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2008. Pp. xvi + 214. Hardback £33, ISBN: 978-0-292-71869-2.

keep modern Olympics within elite circles and disqualify 'professional' athletes – those who competed for money in order to survive. This chapter should be obligatory reading for all politicians and public figures discussing modern Olympic games and advocating such bizarre things as 'the Olympic truce' (which, like amateurism or the Nazi-inspired torch relay, never existed in antiquity). This is a well-written and beautifully argued book. In addition, Golden's infectious enthusiasm about sport makes it a very entertaining read. Wickkiser's *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing* is a useful contribution to the expanding field of studies on Asclepius and ancient medicine.[41] The author assumes little prior knowledge and guides the reader through the many literary accounts and material evidence. The main question that the book addresses is why Asclepius' cult became so popular in classical Greece. The answer, Wickkiser believes, is linked with contemporary developments in medicine and lies in Asclepius' ability to heal chronic ailments. The second part of the book examines the well-documented case of Asclepius' arrival at Athens. The author argues that the import of Asclepius' cult in Athens was not so much linked with the plague but was rather the result of Athens' attempt to promote an alliance with Epidaurus in the context of the Peloponnesian war and the Athenian empire. One should not, however, underestimate the consequences of the plague for the Athenian population, even if Asclepius is not directly linked with the plague in the ancient sources. Wickkiser rightly emphasizes the public aspect of Asclepius' cult: the choice of location for his sanctuary and the inclusion of the cult during the Greater Mysteries certainly point in that direction. On the other hand, this reviewer thought that perhaps too much was made of a dichotomy between public and private. Even if we talk of a 'private' cult in relation to Asclepius, there is no doubt of the *polis*' public involvement and regulation. Despite these reservations, this is a clearly written and easy to read book, and would be a very useful addition to a reading list exploring Asclepius and medicine in fifth-century Greece. Budin's *Ancient Greeks. An Introduction* packs a lot into its 466 pages, and its strength is in its breadth.[42] Each of its seven substantive chapters draws deeply on discussions ranging from the Minoan Bronze age to the Hellenistic period, sometimes (and most explicitly in Chapter 8, 'Religion and Ideology') emphasizing continuity across the eras: the impressive sweep is most effective in the chapters on 'Economics' and 'Social Organization and Social Structure'. Occasionally, the emphasis on continuity means that historical contexts get pushed out of the picture (this is particularly noticeable in Chapter 9 on 'Material Culture'). Nevertheless, its span means that, without a doubt, everyone will learn something new from reading this book. It will mostly be used as a teaching aid in survey courses on Greek history and culture (its introductions to reading Linear B and Greek metre are impressively terse). Budin is successful in the first of her two mission statements (the ambition to present a more gender-balanced portrayal of ancient Greek society) but less so in casting off the Athenocentric view of classical Greek history that she maligns in her preface (ix). It is disappointing that more was not made of one of the most attractive

[41] *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-century Greece. Between Craft and Cult*. By Bronwen L. Wickkiser. Baltimore, MD, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. Pp. xiii + 178. 10 figures. Hardback £29, ISBN: 978-0-8018-8978-3.

[42] *The Ancient Greeks. An Introduction*. By Stephanie Lynn Budin. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xi + 469. 2 maps, numerous illustrations. Paperback £15.99, ISBN: 978-0-19-537984-6.

remedies to this tendency: the historical riches of the communities of archaic, classical, and Hellenistic Asia Minor: Miletus and Ephesos are not even mentioned once in an index that offers forty-six references to Athens. British readers familiar with the UK university system might question Budin's assurance that 'there are very few universities in the world that do not offer some aspect of classical studies (Greeks or Romans), either as its own major or offered under the rubric of (ancient) history' (7), but this minor inaccuracy will not worry its undergraduate audience. Budin's second book to be reviewed here does exactly what it says in the title: it argues that sacred prostitution did not exist in the ancient world but rather was a myth, born of our misunderstanding of the ancient sources.[43] Budin focuses on the exchange of money as an essential element of prostitution; sacred prostitution, then, is the allocation of part (or all) of the money used in the transaction to a deity. She then proceeds to show that no Near Eastern source actually refers to such a custom; rather, it is our own contemporary understanding of sacred prostitution, influenced by the reading of 'classical texts' such as Herodotus and Strabo, that produced such an interpretation through the mistranslation of a series of terms referring to cult officials. More problematic, however, is the chapter on Herodotus' explicit reference to sacred prostitution among the Babylonians at 1.199. Budin argues that this was Herodotus' own creation, a 'poetic description of the current, conquered state of Babylon' (87), who gets raped by the *xenoi* (who, in Budin's understanding, are not strangers but foreigners). This is certainly an interesting interpretation; it rests, however, on contentious ground, such as the interpretation of *xenoi* as foreigners and *gynaikes* as wives (not women). Budin then shows how Herodotus' testimony influenced other classical authors. Similarly dismissed are Pindar's (F 122) and Strabo's (8.6.20) testimonies of prostitutes in Corinth: Budin argues that Pindar in fact referred to a form of sacral manumission. The author then examines the Roman and early Christian authors, as well as the archaeological 'evidence' from Italy; this chapter was perhaps the most convincing. This is a polemic book, and as such it is highly argumentative. Nevertheless, it has some convincing power, especially in its plea for revisiting the ancient sources and carefully examining our own preconceptions when approaching ancient terms and attempting to translate them in a modern context. Steven V. Tracy's *Pericles. A Sourcebook and Reader* is a unique teaching resource:[44] a sourcebook dedicated to bringing together translations of passages pertaining to Pericles and assessments of him. But it resists the lure of the standard sourcebook format, which tends to present isolated gobbets of material, translated with minimal commentary. Instead, the sources are arranged by genre: Pericles own' writings (the scanty remains thereof), archaeological evidence, Thucydides, Old Comedy, the biographical tradition, and others. Fragmentary passages are weaved into a continuous commentary (see, for instance, the discussion of jokes about the shape of his head on p. 106); more extensive quotations (such as those from Thucydides, Tracy's translations of whom are lucid but not simplistic) are framed with recapitulations and discussions that raise points of

[43] *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*. By Stephanie Budin. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xi + 366. Hardback £52, ISBN: 978-0-521-88090-9; paperback £18.99, ISBN: 978-0-521-17804-4).

[44] *Pericles. A Sourcebook and Reader*. By Stephen V. Tracy. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2009. Pp. xxiii + 219. 8 figures, 5 maps. Hardback £32.95, ISBN: 978-0-520-25603-3; paperback £12.50, ISBN: 978-0-520-25604-0.

interest and discussion. Tracy does a useful service by dedicating a short chapter to Herodotus, as it impresses upon the reader both the significance of the Alcmaionid background and also Herodotus' cyclical view of history; later, he opens up another avenue of thought by offering the view that Sophocles' Oedipus 'may well recall the real Pericles' (125). The stomachs of historians will turn on reading phrases such as 'Athens' greatest leader', 'giant among giants', 'greatest of all ancient statesmen' (xxi, 14, 24), though there are remedial hints in the closing chapters about the mid-fourth-century origins of the adulation. Overall, this is a useful and thought-provoking sourcebook; it is produced with North American undergraduates in mind, but it may be useful for Ancient History A-level (the latest specifications for which emphasize the role of individuals in Greek history). The 41st *Annual of the Academy of Athens Research Centre for the History of Greek Law* contains two contributions of particular interest to readers of these reviews:[45] Photeine Dekazou-Stephanopoulou gathers the evidence for the magistracy of *horistai* (boundary setters) in the Greek world, drawing heavily on the epigraphy of Herakleia in south Italy. Chosen by, and accountable to assemblies, they nevertheless appear to have had a high level of authority in delimiting boundaries and imposing penalties upon those who ignored them. Meanwhile, Ilias Arnaoutoglou argues that, in spring 318 BC, Phocion was tried on the charges of treason and abolishing the democratic constitution in 322/1, and that his execution was less the consequence of mob rule (which is the impression that Plut. *Phoc.* 34 gives) and more related to an *eisangelia* submitted in the assembly on the basis of the fact that he was a magistrate at the time of prosecution.

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Roman History

This and the batch of books reviewed in the previous issue illustrate current preoccupation with relations between the ancient and modern worlds. Fear for the Classics and their value in the twenty-first century is one root of this; so is fear for our own roots in a barren political landscape. Dean Hammer's *Roman Political Thought and the Modern Theoretical Imagination*[46] has the admirable aim of establishing the Romans' claims to be political thinkers. He attempts this, after a chapter on the Romans in political thought, by bringing four modern writers into conversation with four ancient. The pairs are sharp: Arendt/Cicero (notably in the *Tusculan Disputations*, with care for beautiful things a remedy); Machiavelli/Livy, with the maintenance of 'felt meanings' accessible to all a leading issue; Montesquieu/Tacitus, for whom something more enduring than mere tyranny had penetrated into political life, bringing on apathy or *furor*; and Foucault/Seneca (a solution). The bibliography is wide, the reading scrupulous, with copious notes; for particular inquirers there is an

[45] *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου* 41. Athens, Academy of Athens, 2008. Pp. 253. ISSN: 1105-0055.

[46] *Roman Political Thought and the Modern Theoretical Imagination*. By Dean Hammer. Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture 34. Norman, OK, University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. Pp. xiv + 358. Hardback $39.95, ISBN: 978-0-8061-3927-2.