

driven by the financial problems of the cities, but by a striving for political capital through patronage of sports. Antiopi Argyriou-Casmeridis adds that the athletics-related honorific decrees were indeed issued to such benefactors for their contributions in the education of the young in Hellenistic ideals.

As a positive surprise, the concrete technical side of athletics receives not insignificant attention: in addition to a few sporadic references to the nature of wrestling, Barbara Dimde's paper discusses not only the relevant architecture, but also the innovations in starting devices used in foot races, and Stephen Sanson expounds upon papyri that give testimony regarding clothing worn by the competitors. Dimde even takes into account the bodily position assumed by runners at the start of a race. The general tendency towards silence regarding the technique employed by the athletes and their interaction with material objects may be attributed to the scarcity of source material on one hand (one source group, namely grave monuments of athletes, is discussed by Scharff, but from a different point of view), and to the lack of scholarly interest in such particularities on the other, as the social importance and cultural impact of sports undoubtedly offer the potential for results with more obviously far-reaching implications. It is, however, in exactly such details where an even greater understanding of the primary sources may be gained, as has been exemplified by Michael B. Poliakoff's work on the ancient combat sports and the Greek terminology thereof (M. B. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, Frankfurt am Main, 1982; idem, *Competition, Violence, and Culture: Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, New Haven & London, 1987).

To conclude, the volume achieves what it sets out to do, offering an intriguing overview of a neglected aspect of ancient athletic history, which should also provide a good vantage point for anyone interested in pursuing further results on the topic. In addition, it is worth mentioning that Mannheim University hosts a Database of Hellenistic Athletes, covering all known participants of hippic and gymnastic competitions during the Hellenistic period, available at <http://mafag.geschichte.uni-mannheim.de/athletes/> (accessed 31 Oct 2019). The free availability of such databases deserves unconditional praise and will surely contribute to future progress.

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The Polis in the Hellenistic World. Edited by HENNING BÖRM – NINO LURAGHI. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018. ISBN 978-3-515-12020-3. 264 pp. EUR 54.

It can be difficult to think about the Greek city state outside the Classical era. There is still a tendency to view the city states that come after as lesser forms of civic identity. The traditional image is one that emphasises above all else conflict between the rich and poor, mitigated partly by euergetism and public spending. Various battles and wars have been used at endpoints (such as Chaironeia in 338, Crannon in 321 or Corinth in 146) to mark the decline of the classical *polis* and its replacement with something inferior. This perspective has been challenged, with recent scholarship recognising both continuity with the classical model, and development of the *polis* in light of new challenges and changes. It is an important emergent field, and this book edited by Henning Börm and Nino Luraghi is not just most welcome, but a necessary endeavour.

It is worth beginning with what this book is not seeking to do. It is not a textbook on the topic, or an introduction to the Hellenistic *polis*. The editors admit to this in the foreword, itself not an extensive introduction as might be expected, but instead a short rationale and defence before they let the chapters speak for themselves. This is a refreshing opening, and one that signals the confidence the editors have in the quality of each contribution, and the prospective development in each area under discussion. It is a subtle and understated route into the topic; and all the stronger for it. This book is best interpreted as a highly complex and nuanced exploration of various attitudes and approaches, and one that when read together allows for a much deeper level of understanding regarding the Hellenistic period and the place of the *polis*.

The chapters in the main body are thought-provoking and well-written, and while greater engagement with archaeological remains would have added value at certain moments (the *polis* as a lived and experiential city space), each and every one of them forces us to reconsider the image we have of the post-Classical *polis*. The question over political realities is particularly well discussed, and this encourages a reassessment of democracy, oligarchy and political identity (as well as the discourse that shapes it). Clifford Ando tackles the question of wealth and power in relation to democracy ('The Political Economy of the Hellenistic Polis: Comparative and Modern Perspectives', 9–26). He writes that 'polis-talk was the principal means employed by Hellenistic democratic elites to rule the Hellenistic city' (24), recognising that specific language, and the actions resulting from it, could be used by those aristocrats in charge of these cities. This is an important observation. Christel Müller's chapter works very well alongside this, in once sense building upon Ando's perspective, but taking it in a rather different direction ('Oligarchy and the Hellenistic City', 27–52). Müller begins with definitions of *oligarchia* and *demokratia*, looking first to Aristotle (e.g. *penia* and *ploutos*), Polybius (e.g. *pleonexia* and *philargyria*) and epigraphy. When read together, the chapters paint a compelling picture of elite interaction and behaviour.

Henning Börm's discussion of *stasis* is one of the strongest chapters in the volume ('*Stasis* in Post-Classical Greece: The Discourse of Civil Strife in the Hellenistic World', 53–84). The traditional view (based on Lycurgus and Pausanias) is exposed immediately, and this allows Börm to look at the 'discursive construction of discord within the citizen community' (58). The discussion shines an important light on the permanence of this fear in the Hellenistic *polis*, and through the greater epigraphic record, the ways in which it could be avoided. Anna Magonetto's consideration of law and arbitration follows well, in looking to an important aspect of *polis* life and identity ('Interstate Arbitrations as a Feature of the Hellenistic Polis: Between Ideology, International Law and Civic Memory', 85–108). The thoughts on civic memory are excellent (100–103) and demonstrate how useful the ancient sources can be to scholars, but also how they were interpreted by contemporaries: '[t]he documents resulting from an arbitration, both the verdicts and decrees that celebrate success of one party or praise the advocates, became veritable monuments of civic memory' (100). Peter Funke writes with a sharp analytical focus, providing an excellent and nuanced exploration of *symmachiiai*, *poleis* and *koina*. By using the Aitolian League as a case study, Funke is able to demonstrate the growing strength of federal councils ('*Poleis* and *Koina*: Reshaping the World of the Greek States in Hellenistic Times', 109–130). Each of these chapters provide close analysis of the ancient evidence and ask important, and in one sense, new questions of familiar material.

In contrast to the preceding chapters, Frank Daubner presents a more localised approach ('Peer Polity Interaction in Hellenistic Northern Greece: *Theoroi* going to Epirus and Macedonia', 131–158). The analysis offered of Northern Greece is useful in highlighting how there exist different ways of looking at, and thinking about, the Hellenistic *polis*, and localised studies have great merit in testing wider structural patterns and individual differences. Northern Greece can appear separate, and there still exists the enduring image of it as somehow incompletely Hellenised (and thus distinctive from the south). Daubner shows however that when looking at the north '[t]he central element [...] is the peer polity interaction, the functioning of a network of equals, which counterbalanced and complemented the power of the big states' (149). This is explored through the *theorodokoi* lists, which in themselves can carry interpretative issues, but are highly important sources. Graham Oliver's chapter is fiscal in nature, drawing upon numismatic and shipwreck evidence to think about economic relationships ('People and Cities: Economic Horizons beyond the Hellenistic Polis', 159–180). Although the historiographical sketch on the opening pages could have been developed a little further, the discussion of the evidence is particularly strong, and paints a compelling perspective, forcing us to look beyond the 'institutions of the polis to explain the polis economies' (176).

The final three chapters provide rather different styles. Angelos Chaniotis discusses the night, and thus at first it appears rather out of place alongside the other chapters ('The Polis after Sunset: What is Hellenistic in Hellenistic Nights?', 181–208). However, the points made are useful, and the chapter begins with the famous speech by Lysias *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*. The questions asked of this source are persuasive because the focus shifts from adultery to the rhythm of the Athenian night. This forms a rather compelling cultural exploration. The night can mean different things depending who we are looking at across society (183), and across the Greek world (e.g. the *nykstostrategos* in Ptolemaic Alexandria). Nino Luraghi provides a detailed and careful study of political ideology that reflects the shifts in wider scholarship ('Documentary Evidence and Political Ideology in Early Hellenistic Athens, 209–228). The focus rests on Kallias, and on what is said and not said: 'the biography of Kallias posed a challenge to the inner logic of Athenian political ideology' (215). He importantly recognises how Athenian political discourse struggled to reflect the political transformations of the Hellenistic age (e.g. Macedonian dominance). The final chapter by Hans-Ulrich Wiemer looks to Panaitos' *Peri tou kathekontos*, reinterpreting this famous Hellenistic stoic writer and placing him and his work in different context ('A Stoic Ethic for Roman Aristocrats? Panaitios' Doctrine of Behavior, its Context and its Addressees', 229–258). This work served as an important source for Cicero's *De officiis*, and Cicero writes favourably of Panaitos, drawing upon his work with a few amendments: '*quem [...] correptione quadam adhibita potissimum secuti sumus*' (235; Cicero, *De officiis*, 3.7). This chapter forces us to reconsider Panaitos as a Hellenistic figure, more than someone that found himself in the Roman world of the elites.

In conclusion, the editors should be commended for producing what is a valuable and informative contribution to the scholarly field. In drawing together such an excellent array of different perspectives, they shine a light not only on the political realities of the *polis* in the Hellenistic age, but provide an excellent and articulate defence of the *polis* in this later age. No longer can we, or should we, view these as inferior city states. Different they may be, but they are just as complex, and

as compelling, as their classical forebears. Henning Börm and Nino Luraghi have done scholarship a service.

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ALICE BORGNA: *Ripensare la storia universale. Giustino e l'Epitome delle Storie Filippiche di Pompeo Trogo*. Spudasmata 176. Olms, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2018. ISBN: 978-3-487-15660-6. 294 pp. EUR 54.

Sometime in the Roman imperial era, a certain Justin wrote his work *Epitoma historiarum Pompei Trogi*, and his source was the now lost work, probably named *Historiae Philippicae*, of an Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus. For most of the last two centuries scholars have not had a high regard for Justin's *Epitoma*. Justin was accused of having mutilated the original work, which had been praised by the ancients, and his text was deemed to have no historical value. In the last two decades, however, Justin's epitome has finally become a subject of numerous systematic studies from new viewpoints. To mention only the newest publications that are not included in the reviewed volume, we also have a new translation and commentary in Italian (L. Santi Amantini, *Giustino. Storie Filippiche. Epitome da Pompeo Trogo*, 2 volumi, Tivoli 2017), two volumes and one upcoming volume of the new edition with translation and commentary in French (B. Mineo – G. Zecchini, *Justin. Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée*. Tome I. Livres I–X, Paris 2016; idem, Tome II. Livres XI–XXIII, Paris 2018), and a monograph by D. Hofmann (*Griechische Weltgeschichte auf Latein. Iustins "Epitoma historiarum Pompei Trogi" und die Geschichtskonzeption des Pompeius Trogus*, Stuttgart 2018).

Despite the sudden profusion of new studies, Borgna's book is a long-awaited and necessary contribution to our understanding of Pompeius Trogus and Justin. Together with Hofmann's book, which was published at the same time, it is the first full-length monograph dedicated to the question of what the purpose and methodology of Justin's *Epitoma* and, respectively, Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae* were.

In the introductory chapters Borgna summarizes the earlier studies on the subject and meticulously provides every piece of information we have on Justin or Trogus. Justin's *Epitoma* has often been studied as a historiographical work because of the assumption that Justin was merely abbreviating Trogus' vast text. For this reason, modern scholars have often accused Justin of enormous carelessness and a complete lack of historiographical skills. Borgna justly suggests that we should not make such assumptions but start by considering the only certain information we have about Justin's goals, that is, his *praefatio* in which he wrote about his methodology and the circumstances of his work. Only on these terms may we judge if *Epitoma* is a "successful" work and how it was supposed to be read. Furthermore, the only way to reach even partial understanding about Trogus' original lost work is to first understand Justin's work.

Borgna proceeds to analyse the relationship between Justin's *Epitoma* and the surviving prologues of Trogus' text in order to reveal what kind of material Justin selected from Trogus' work