

Greek History and Epigraphy: Essays in Honour of P.J. Rhodes. Edited by LYNETTE MITCHELL and LENE RUBINSTEIN. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2009. Pp. xxviii + 301. Cloth, \$110.00. ISBN 978-1-905125-23-4.

This volume, an attractively produced tribute to the Greek historian P.J. Rhodes, brings together contributors from Europe and North America. Most of the papers included were first delivered at a conference in honor of Rhodes on the island of Rhodes in 2005; as is natural in a volume of this kind, some have undergone more revision since the original event than others. All 15 papers deal in some way with epigraphic evidence, though only one publishes a new inscription. Seven of the fifteen concern Athens, and five are responses or corrections to earlier scholarship by authors other than the honoree. I will offer a brief comment on each paper, beginning with the Athenian ones.

V. Gouschin, after a general discussion of the origins of ostracism, makes a modest attempt to analyze the regional distribution of the individuals named on published ostraka from the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos. He finds higher than average concentrations of candidates from the Paralia and the southern part of the Attic plain, which leads him to argue for the significance of the geographical regions of Attica (rather than deme or tribal affiliations).

A. Matthaïou's goal is to reassess the evidence for the use of pure Ionic and mixed Attic-Ionic script in Athenian public inscriptions specifically between ca. 450–420 BCE, before the official adoption of the Ionic script in 403/2 BCE. An unacknowledged problem here is that the dating of most of the documents in question is insecure; Matthaïou follows D.M. Lewis' dates, which tend to be early. In addition, a significant number of the Athenian state documents in question concern foreign (though not Ionian) individuals and polities, for whom letter cutters might have considered use of the Ionic script appropriate. Matthaïou suggests that the shift from Attic to Ionic script in Athens began in the demes and moved from there to the city; no consideration is given to the role played by private inscriptions from the city (and specifically the Acropolis), where the Ionic and mixed scripts were already common in the 5th century.

A. Scafuro offers a substantial, well-documented and fascinating close study of the honors awarded by the Athenians to the Attidographer Phanodemos in the late 330s and 320s BCE. Phanodemos' chief honors were crowns, and he in turn crowned the hero Amphiaraos. This paper represents one of the best discussions available

of the crowning of worthy individuals or corporate bodies as a mainstay of 4th-century Athenian political culture, delving into the motives behind Phanodemos' reciprocal and unusual (but not unique) crowning of a god or hero.

M.H. Hansen's subject is the Athenian grain-tax law of 374/3 BCE published by R. Stroud in 1998; the inscription is quoted in its entirety. Hansen posits an earlier law (not extant) imposing the tax, emphasizing the focus of the law we have on the transport of the grain collected to pay the tax. I. Worthington reconsiders the fragmentary Athenian inscription (recently republished by Rhodes and R. Osborne, and again quoted in full) identified as the common peace of 337 between the Athenians and Philip II. He suggests that what we have may in fact be the text of a bilateral peace treaty dating to 338, and that a second fragment listing the names of other Greek states may not be pertinent.

S. Hornblower amplifies a point made in passing in his ongoing commentary on Thucydides. As in much recent work on Thucydides, the issue is what Thucydides did not tell us. In a straightforward and convincing presentation, Hornblower shows how the near-absence of the Kleisthenic *boule* of 500 from Thucydides' history fits his literary aims, particularly in his narrative of the Sicilian expedition. D. Whitehead supplements his previous work on the virtues enumerated in Athenian honorific decrees. Specifically, he argues that *arete* began to be considered an acceptably democratic virtue at some point in the 4th century, assuming some of the meaning previously described by *andragathia*, itself a synonym preferred by the Athenians to *andreia*.

Two papers deal with the concept of "epigraphical habit." J. Sickinger's contribution concerns so-called "formulae of disclosure" in Athenian public inscriptions, e.g. "in order that all people may know that the people and the *boule* know how to offer thanks to those who always say and do what is best for the *boule* and the people." Contrary to connections previously drawn between such formulae and democratic concerns with transparency, Sickinger finds that in only a few isolated examples do they explicitly justify or rationalize publication on stone. Instead, most such formulae address the action being taken, that is, the honor being offered. R. Osborne comments on the Thasian use of inscriptions in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, in contrast mainly to the example of Athens. He draws attention to inscribed Thasian laws that regulate behavior and commerce with a general application to the public, including visitors to the island;

some almost fall under the heading “signage.” The typical early sacred laws and decrees of other poleis are arguably more restricted in scope and audience. Osborne’s essay means to be an impressionistic rather than a systematic analysis of early Thasian epigraphy, and as such it succeeds.

A. Makres publishes a very fragmentary inscribed stele (only the preamble and part of a name list survive) that she identifies as a 2nd-century BCE ephebic list from Asine in Messenia. The attribution hinges on the possibility that the cult of Apollo Maleatas—not the previously attested Apollo Pythios—alluded to in the inscription, was the principal Apollo cult of Asine. A photograph of the stele would have been helpful, and although no illustrations are given for any of the papers, only this one can be said to suffer from their absence.

C. Tuplin offers a spirited defense of the authenticity of the Gadatas letter found near Magnesia, which purports to be a letter of Darius I to a local official, despite the fact that the text was not inscribed on stone until the second half of the 2nd century CE. As Tuplin rightly notes, the concept of “authenticity” in a case such as this one is rather elastic: is the Greek text we have a translation from Old Persian or another language? Was the translator a native speaker of Greek? Could the wording of an original have been improved at one or more points before the text was inscribed on stone? The oddities that abound in the document encourage speculation, but make certainty impossible.

B. Dreyer provides an excellent summary of scholarship on local city elites in Hellenistic Asia Minor. The example of Metropolis soon before and after its transition from Attalid to Roman rule is offered, but is examined only in passing.

L. Mitchell begins with a wide-ranging survey of attitudes toward friendship and equality in the Archaic and Classical city-states, with emphasis on the literary evidence of Xenophon and Aristotle. In the final part of her essay, she shifts gears and considers the role played by friendship and equality in the world of the Macedonian court and the Successors. There, the formulaic language of honorific decrees shows Greek poleis using the language of friendship and equality to their own advantage, to undertake and manage bottom-up relationships with the kings and their friends.

In an astute analysis of grants of tax exemption (*ateleia*) by Greek cities to non-citizens, L. Rubinstein begins by asking the extent to which such grants (often awarded within the context of honorific decrees) conflicted with the legitimate interests of tax farmers. The question touches on the efficacy and thoroughness of public record-keeping, as well as the apparent expectation that written records will be consulted. As it turns out, individual cities were inconsistent in their practices, and the inscribed documents we have reveal logical gaps in the process of exempting and claiming an exemption that would have needed to be filled by supplementary, written documentation.

J.K. Davies concludes the volume with brief and refreshingly old-fashioned reflections on the state of the discipline of Greek epigraphy, and recommendations for future work. In short, he argues that we need more (and more up-to-date) epigraphic corpora. The papers included in this volume demonstrate that continual work is needed even on previously published inscriptions, and that such work can and should be a mainstay of the discipline of Greek history.

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