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VERLAG C.H.BECK MÜNCHEN

INHALT

R. BRAGUE: P. Schäfer, Die Schlange war klug. Antike Schöpfungsmythen und die Grundlagen des westlichen Denkens ... 451

M. GEROLEMOU: J. Backman, A. Cimino (eds.), Biopolitics and Ancient Thought ... 454

N. PECHSTEIN: A.P. Antonopoulos, M.M. Christopoulos, G.W.M. Harrison (eds.), Reconstructing Satyr Drama ... 459

M. SCHRAMM: J. Billings, The Philosophical Stage. Drama and Dialectic in Classical Athens ... 474

J. WILBURN: M. Deslauriers, Aristotle on Sexual Difference. Metaphysics, Biology, Politics ... 477

V. DAMIANI: F. Verde (ed.), Epicuro. *Epistola a Pitocle* ... 483

TH.J. NELSON: G.P. Tsomis, Das hellenistische Gedicht *Megara*. Ein Kommentar ... 487

G. HAWES: J.A. Michels, Agenorid Myth in the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus. A Philological Commentary of *Bibl.* 3.1–56 and a Study into the Composition and Organization of the Handbook ... 494

M. SOLITARIO: D. Clay, J.H. Brusuelas (eds.), Lucian. *True History*. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary ... 498

P. SCHENK: F. Ginelli (ed.), Cornelius Nepos. *The Commanders of the fifth Century BC*. ... 505

L. FURBETTA: S. Condorelli, Tra Gallia e Italia sulle tracce di Catullo. Echi del Veronese nella poesia del VI secolo ... 510

T. TOMMASI: I. Velázquez Soriano, D. Espinosa Espinosa (eds.), Epigraphy in the Digital Age. Opportunities and Challenges in the Recording, Analysis and Dissemination of Inscriptions ... 514

M. HAAKE: M. Christopoulos, A. Papachrysostomou, A.A. Antonopoulos (eds.), Myth and History. Close Encounters ... 518

N. RICHTER: N. Humble, Xenophon of Athens. A Socratic on Sparta ... 522

G. WEBER: F. Pownall, S.R. Asirvatham, S. Müller (eds.): The Courts of Philip II and Alexander the Great. Monarchy and Power in Ancient Macedonia ... 526

J. MA: P. Brun, L. Capdetrey, P. Fröhlich (éds.), L'Asie Mineure occidentale au IIIe siècle A.C. ... 530

E. LANCIERS: P. Sänger, Die ptolemäische Organisationsform *politeuma*. Ein Herrschaftsinstrument zugunsten jüdischer und anderer hellenischer Gesellschaften ... 535

S. MITCHELL (†): P. Thonemann, The Lives of Ancient Villages. Rural Society in Roman Anatolia ... 543

N. ZITO: Y. Berthelet, B. Rochette, L'Astrologie et les empereurs romains 150 ans après Cumont. Textes réunis et édités ... 548

K. RUFFING: C.N. Duckworth, A. Wilson (eds.), Recycling and Reuse in the Roman Economy ... 553

J. LEIDWANGER: A. Lampinen, E. Mataix Ferrándiz (eds.), Seafaring and Mobility in the Late Antique Mediterranean ... 558

Z. NEWBY: N. Dietrich, J. Fouquet (eds.), Image, Text, Stone. Intermedial Perspectives on Graeco-Roman Sculpture ... 562

M. ZAVADIL: V. Hachtmann, Mensch und Landschaft im frühen Griechenland. Die Siedlungsdynamik der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit im Becken von Phlious (Korinthia, Nordostpeloponnes) ... 567

N.T. ARRINGTON: M. Rönnberg, Athen und Attika vom 11. bis zum frühen 6. Jh. v. Chr. Siedlungsgeschichte, politische Institutionalisierungs- und gesellschaftliche Formierungsprozesse ... 575

A.Q. CASTOR: A. Coen, *Etruscum Aurum*. Le bulle auree in etruria tra età tardo classica ed ellenistica ... 580

CHR. SMITH: F. Fulminante, The Rise of Early Rome. Transportation Networks and Domination in Central Italy ... 584

G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI: G. Hölbl, *Aegyptiaca* nella Sicilia Greca di VIII–VI sec. a.C. Con un contributo di Elfriede Haslauer ... 587

L. BALANDAT: S. Estrin, Grief Made Marble. Funerary Sculpture in Classical Athens ... 591

VORLAGEN UND NACHRICHTEN

J. MCINERNEY: J. König, The Folds of Olympus. Mountains in Ancient Greek and Roman Culture ... 597

M. BONELLI: L. Castagnoli, P. Fait (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Logic ... 600

N.P. ROUBEKAS: G. Frigerio, A Cognitive Analysis of the Main Apolline Divinatory Practices. Decoding Divination ... 602

C.A. MACIVER: K. Thein, Ecphrastic Shields in Graeco-Roman Literature. The World's Forge. ... 604

R. SCODEL: R. Fornieles, The Concept of News in Ancient Greek Literature ... 607

K. PIEPENBRINK: A. Kapellos (ed.), The Orators and their Treatment of the Recent Past ... 608

R. HILDEBRANDT: D. Markovich, Promoting a New Kind of Education. Greek and Roman Philosophical Protreptic ... 609

A.-S. NOEL: R. Marseglia, Voir et entendre dans le théâtre d'Euripide. Communication et pragmatique ... 612

DOI: 10.17104/0017-1417-2025-3-530

S. ZERHOCH: L. Barzini. Mystery Cults, Theatre and Athenian Politics. A Reading of Euripides' *Bacchae* and Aristophanes' *Frogs* ... 613
G. MARTIN: I. Giannadaki (ed.), A Commentary on Demosthenes' *Against Androtion*. Introduction, Text, and Translation ... 616
A. SENS: A. Pelletieri, I composti nell'*Alessandra* di Licofrone. Studi filologici e linguistici ... 618
M. HAFNER: P. Thonemann (ed.), Lucian. *Alexander Or The False Prophet* ... 621
V. NUTTON: J. Devinant, Les troubles psychiques selon Galien. Étude d'un système de pensée ... 623
K. DEMOEN: B. Lorenz (Hg.), Gregor von Nazianz. *Threnos über die Leiden seiner Seele* (*Carmen* II,1,45) ... 624
A. LONGO: A. Lernould (éd.), Simplicius. *Commentaire sur la Physique d'Aristote*, Livre II, ch. 4–6. ... 626
J. NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS: Y. Minets, The Slow Fall of Babel. Language and Identities in Late Antique Christianity ... 628
G. HÄNTZSCHEL: E. Fantino, Je näher ihm, desto vortrefflicher. Eine Studie zur Übersetzungssprache und -konzeption von Johann Heinrich Voß anhand seiner frühen Werke ... 632
M. HOSE: G. Lohse, Bruno Snell (1896–1986). Geisteswissenschaft und politische Erfahrung im 20. Jahrhundert ... 634
V. FYNTIKOGLOU: S. Tzounakas, S. Alekou, S. Harrison (eds.), The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture ... 637
J. STRAUSS CLAY: V. Lütkenhaus, And with a Teian Lyre imitate Anacreon. The Reception of Anacreon and the *Carmina Anacreontea* in Horace's Lyric and Iambic Poetry ... 638
J.-E. BERNARD: E. Della Calce, *Mos vetustissimus*. Tito Livio e la percezione della clemenza ... 640
J. KER: F. Tutrone, Healing Grief. A Commentary on Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam* ... 641
C. CONNORS: S. Poletti, Teologia della Guerra Civile. Il *Bellum civile* di Petronio e la tradizione epica latina ... 642
F. RIPOLL: D. Agri, Reading Fear in Flavian Epic. Emotion, Power, and Stoicism ... 645
J. MOORHEAD: V. Zimmerl-Panagl (Hg.), Ambrosius Mediolanensis. *Orationes Funebres II*. *De Excessu Fratris Libri II* (*Liber Secundus*: *De Resurrectione*) ... 647
A. LUCERI: A. Bruzzone, A. Fo, L. Piacente (eds.), Metamorfosi del classico in età romanobarbarica ... 649
F.-H. MUTSCHLER: A. Balbo, J. Ahn, K. Kim (eds.), Empire and Politics in the Eastern and Western Civilizations. Searching for a *Respublica Romanosinica* ... 651
K. RUFFING: M. Tonisch, *Omnia Romae cum pretio*. Löhne, Preise und Werte im Römischen Reich ... 654
H. SIVAN: K.M. Klein, J. Wienand (eds.), City of Caesar, City of God. Constantinople and Jerusalem in Late Antiquity ... 656
C. URLACHER-BECHT: F. Gasti, L'Italia e Pavia ai tempi di Ennodio. Atti della Giornata di studio, Pavia, Almo Collegio Borromeo, 12 maggio 2022 ... 658
CHR. WITSCHEL: Manfred Clauss † ... 661
R. HOFFMANN: Hannah Rosén † ... 664
V. ORTOLEVA: Giovanni Salanitro † ... 667
J.-M. DAVID/TH. SPÄTH: Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg † ... 669
PERSONALIEN ... 672
MITTEILUNG IN EIGENER SACHE ... 672

DOI: 10.17104/0017-1417-2025-3-530

Patrice Brun, Laurent Capdetrey, Pierre Fröhlich (éds.): L'Asie Mineure occidentale au IIIe siècle A.C. Pessac: Ausonius 2021. 434 pp. (Mémoires 60).

The volume gathers twenty generally high-quality papers, derived from contributions to a conference (held in 2018, as the volume does not mention) on Asia Minor in the «long third century», 334–188 BCE (in Patrice Hamon's expression, p. 397). Its individual contributions are learned, exciting and valuable, yielding a coherent picture.

After a coruscating preliminary paper by Laurent Capdetrey (making the important point that Asia Minor acts as a laboratory for many of the features of the Hellenistic world), Part I is introductory and general, grouping a short piece by Christian Marek on the Greek city in Hellenistic Asia Minor (a surprisingly thin offering in view of Marek's masterful contributions to the history of Asia Minor),[1] and a long paper by Andrew Meadows on the numismatic landscape of third-century Asia Minor, arguing that the Attic-standard coinage, including Alexander's, in the region is almost entirely royal in origin, displacing civic coinage; civic coinage proper is a rare, entirely localized phenomenon. In Part II, Andrzej Chankowski provides a well-informed, up-to-date survey of ruler cult and its historiography; this substantial paper notably includes an excellent close analysis of the recently found document from Aigai (*SEG* 59.1406). Aigai also figures in Alice Bencivenni's well-documented analysis of the use of the word εὔνοια (declared or requested) in relations between ruler and ruled. Ptolemaic rule in Asia Minor is the theme of the next four papers. Laurence Cavalier and Jacques des Courtils examine possible examples of Ptolemaic-inspired buildings in Lykia and Karia; the evidence for royal patronage is in fact scarce, and the arguments mainly based on likelihood and formal parallels. Michael Wörrle's important essay on the century of Ptolemaic control over Lykia draws a picture of harsh control, but also of *polis* institutions developping. Klaus Zimmermann provides a survey of the evidence for the harbor city of Patara (increasingly well documented in recent years) between the Hekatomnid period and Rhodian domination, with striking snapshots of Ptolemaic garrisoning. Alain Bresson, Raymond Descat, and Erin Varinlioğlu publish a decree passed in 274 BCE by the Μογωρεῖς for a Ptolemaic official, Moschiôn son of Moirichos, of Thera (already known in Karia). Moschiôn recovered «Xystis, the fort [χωρίον]» (lines 10-11) for the Ptolemies, which implies that the Seleukids had launched an offensive in Eastern Karia and the Harpasos valley under Antiochos I already. The editors argue that Xystis is not yet a *polis* (but other solutions might be considered).

Part III groups five papers devoted to the *poleis* and their agency, at various scales of analysis. Anna Magnetto surveys civic diplomacy (the word πρεσβευτής appears in the epigraphical documentation of the third century). Roberta Fabiani studies the networks of the *polis* of Iasos, focussing on the years 300-230 BCE (the late third century requires a separate study) and the *polis'* multifactorial, multiscalar relations – with the Ptolemies, with Macedonians, and with other *poleis*, such as Kos and Samos. Ptolemaic control and civic relations could mesh: Fabiani

[1] Such as his recent 'Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike', 2010 (translated as 'The land of A Thousand Gods', 2016).

DOI: 10.17104/0017-1417-2025-3-530

argues that the dispatch of a ship by Samos to Iasos ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν *ca*. 250 BCE (*IG* 12.6.462) took part within the context of Ptolemaic naval service. Jean-Mathieu Carbon, Signe Isager, and Poul Pedersen very carefully publish a decree from Halikarnassos (a forestaste of the full epigraphical corpus), in honor of two local men who served at the court of Antiochos I. The last word of the decree, ΕΦΕΡΓΕΙΑ, remains puzzling. Mustafa Adak provides a substantial survey of the history of Teos and its relationship with the kings between Alexander III and Antiochos III, based on the epigraphical sources. These are of course extraordinarily rich, and have been increased with many important documents. Teos appears as strikingly dynamic and expansionary in the early Hellenistic period, where Adak places the annexion of Airai and of Kyrbissos, notwithstanding the ransoming of the city by pirates.[2] The city's experiences with Seleukid rule (under Antiochos I and especially Antiochos III), Ptolemaic control (atestd by a fragment) and Attalid rule are illuminatingly discussed.

On matters of detail, the reader should correct in p. 232 n. 8 *CIG* 1103 to *CIG* 3103 (with Boeckh on the topography). Sensationally, Adak publishes a new text for difficult late Hellenistic cultic list of Seleukid rulers, *OGIS* 246. The usual text runs as follows:

Θεοῦ Σελε[ύ]κου
καὶ Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλο[υ]
καὶ Ἀντιόχου Σωτῆρος καὶ
Σελεύκου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Ἀν]τιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ
Σελεύκου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Ἀ]ντιόχου Μεγάλου καὶ
[Ἀ]ντιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Σ]ελεύκου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Ἀ]ντιόχου Θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς
Κτλ

Seleukos I, Antiochos III, Antiochos I, an interpolated or mistaken Seleukos, Antiochos II, Seleukos II (Seleukos III is omitted), Antiochos III, Antiochos the son, Seleukos IV, Antiochos IV, *etc*.

Adak provides an unpublished copy by Gustav Hirschfeld. The facsimile clearly reads:

Θεοῦ Σελε[ύ]κου
καὶ Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλο[υ]
καὶ Σελεύκου Θεοῦ καὶ [Ἀν]-
τιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ
Σελεύκου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Ἀ]ντιόχου Μεγάλου καὶ
[Ἀ]ντιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Σ]ελεύκου Θεοῦ καὶ
[Ἀ]ντιόχου Θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς
κτλ

Line 3 of *OGIS* 246, καὶ Ἀντιόχου Σωτῆρος καί, vanishes. Adak emends Hirschfeld's line 2 to read καὶ Ἀντιόχου Σωτῆρος, but this seems excessive, since Hirschfeld clearly indicates the damage in the last letter of Μεγάλο[υ]. I prefer Hirschfeld, to produce the following list: Seleukos I, Antiochos III, then, starting anew, Seleukos I, (Antiochos I omitted by haplography with the next name), Antiochos II, Seleukos II, (Seleukos III omitted by haplography with the previous name), Antiochos III, Antiochos the son, Seleukos IV, Antiochos IV;

[2] Adak identifies Airai as the nameless city in the decree found at Ulamış, SEG 2.579.

the list would seem to combine earlier elements (*e.g.*, a cult grouping the founder of the dynasty and Antiochos III who played a prominent role at Teos, and a mangled list of the dynasty from a different context).

Pierre Fröhlich, in the final contribution of this section, offers a comparative conspectus of two cities in their multiple worlds – local territorial structuration, relations with Hellenistic kings, relations with other cities – namely Aigai in its mountain context, and Kolophon, in a complex relationship with its neighbouring *polis* Notion. In dialogue with earlier work of Pierre Debord and Philippe Gauthier, Fröhlich carefully charts out the complex history of the political union between the two cities, within a *tourmente* of dramatic high politics that even included an episode of extinction for the city of Kolophon at the hand of Lysimachos in 294 BCE. Fröhlich believes that Kolophon and Notion were already united at that moment, and perhaps even earlier (pp. 268–270), though the evidence is faint (references to «the whole δῆμος» or «this city» in Kolophonian documents which might imply another city which is part of the political community). I might add that the title of Phoinix of Kolophon's lament on the city's destruction, ἁλώσις Κολοφωνίων, «The capture of the Kolophonians», insisting on the community rather than the placename, might also allude to the union of Old Kolophon and Notion.

In Part IV the focus is monumental architecture and urbanism. A technical paper by Zeliha Gider-Büyüközer examines Doric architecture, insisting on the distinctiveness of building work and style in third-century BCE Asia Minor (mostly civic rather than religious, eclectic in influences). Jeanne Capelle traces the development of monumental stone theater buildings in western Asia Minor: she entertainingly debunks attempts to place the genre in the late fourth century BCE and paints of picture of an enthusiastic but geographically limited wave of theater building in the third century, followed by a generalization of the form in the second century. Baptiste Vergnaud examines fortifications at Labraunda and Mylasa, with considerations on historical context. The reinforcement of the powerful citadel above Labraunda (the Petra of the epigraphical record) and the forts on the road leading from Mylasa to Labraunda must be connected to the dispute between the dynast Olympichos and the city of Mylasa over control of the shrine, just as their abandonment marks its final annexion by the city. The city walls of Eurômos might be linked to the refounding of the city as Philippoi by Philip V (but note the recently published decrees of Eurômos, dating to the period of Antigonos Dosôn, and mentioning successively the city's enfeebled state and the presence of an Antigonid phrourarch).[3] Julie Bernini and Joy Rivault reconstruct the spaces on the south side of the agora of Iasos in the Hellenistic period – mostly from epigraphical mentions and reused blocks, since there are few direct archaeological remains. The space was structured by a temple (distyle *in antis*), probably Hekatomnid in date, in honor of a deity whose identity remains unclear; it also included a whole suite of civic buildings, probably set up *ca.* 300. The details of this space are not always clearly elucidated (pp. 362–363, exedras bearing statue groups are mentioned abruptly without being clearly located, and in any case these bore private honorific statues which have nothing to do with euergetism, and which could be associated

[3] Koray Konuk: New Antigonid Inscriptions from Euromos. In: Philia 9, 2023, pp. 135–155.

with the dedicated statue of a god: p. 363, n. 41, is confused on categories of private dedications and public honours, and should be corrected in light of my 'Statues and Cities').[4] Oliver Hülden reexamines the site of Herakleia under Latmos and its predecessor, the city of Latmos; he proposes a new historical scheme: the settlement of Latmos, a dynastic seat (I would compare the structure of fortified centre and peripheral manors with patterns in the pre-*polis* Yavu plateau studied by F. Kolb),[5] was taken over by the Hekatomnids, then fell under the control of the satrap Asandros, before being refounded by Demetrios Poliorketes as Herakleia after 312 BCE (and serving briefly as the seat of the dynast Pleistarchos). The mention of the name Herakleia in ps.-Skylax (usually dated *ca*. 338 BCE) remains problematic; the emergence of the *polis* of Herakleia, among all these vicissitudes, is also remarkable (and can be compared to the emergence of the *polis* of Sardeis alongside that site's functioning as a Seleukid center).

The volume under review is a collection of essays, and hence it would be unfair to demand of it the completeness of a synthetic treatment (such as Laurent Capdetrey offers for Asia Minor under the Diadochs).[6] The final paper by Patrice Hamon heroically sets out to draw the threads together and look for broader patterns. Asia Minor in the long third century BCE emerges as a paradigmatically Hellenistic phenomenon, a laboratory for the making of the period in its essential traits, namely the construction and exercise of royal power; at another level, the struggle by the cities to establish their freedom, the cities' capacity for agency and networking, the spread of democratic institutions and discourses among the network of cities, the creation of institutions such as euergetism; the uneasy interaction and negotation between royal power and civic liberty; and finally, the prevalence of mobility and connectivity. Hamon's summary, as a framing device, also makes clear that study of third-century BCE Asia Minor is a work in progress, and that much still remains to be done in the future. Firstly, in view of recent work, historical time and space can now be redefined for Asia Minor in the long third century. The high-political narrative of the third century needs clarifying and enriching in multiple ways. In the earlier part of the century, the Seleukid offensive against the Ptolemaic province start much earlier than we thought[7] – before or after the Ptolemaic successes during the Third Syrian War? In the latter part of the century, the evidence for local freedom (as suggested by decrees of Athens for Ephesos and Kymê in which no mention is made of a royal dominion *ca*. 210 BCE: *IG* II.^{3} 1.5, 1215–1216) has to be combined with our awareness of Rhodian regional imperialism, and by the counteroffensive under Antiochos III. The question of whether southern Ionia constituted an *angle mort* in Seleukid control, and enjoyed

[4] John Ma: Statues and Cities. Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World. Oxford ^{2}2015, esp. p. 189.

[5] Burg, Polis, Bischofssitz. Geschichte der Siedlungskammer von Kyaneai in der Südwesttürkei. Mainz 2008.

[6] L'Asie Mineure après Alexandre (vers 323-vers 270 av. J.-C.). L'invention du monde hellénistique, Rennes, 2022.

[7] As shown by the Mogôreis decree in the volume under review, and Riet van Bremen: Mylasa in 261 BC. In: Epigraphica Anatolica 53, 2020, pp. 1–20; another Seleukid offensive in south-west Asia Minor is probably attested in a decree of Limyra dated paleographically *ca.* 240 BCE (*SEG* 65.1469).

considerable freedom as suggested by the (re)dating of a whole cluster of diplomatic and military events to the 190s BCE (arbitration between Samos and Priene, war between Miletos and Magnesia) remains unclear.[8]

The place of Asia Minor as a turbulent frontier zone frontier within wider horizons needs to be defined – within the Anatolian peninsula, but also within the Hellenistic world in general and the constructions of space and control by the various regional powers and superpowers involved. The narrative in Polybius 5, with its seesawing vicissitudes according to the stragegic investments and opportunies of the great kings (Antiochos III, Ptolemy IV) and the regional actors (Achaios, Attalos I), makes clear the embeddedness of (western) Asia Minor in the broader geopolitical context, and also the general confusion and constant reshuffling of the cards.[9]

Secondly, the important theme of the relations between city and king deserves continuous thought: the evidence suggests the close imbrication of city and empire[10] – with some indications of the disproportionate power and intrusiveness the empire brought to the interaction. The somber assessment given by Michael Wörrle for the case of Ptolemaic Lykia over a century can be read with the startling glimpses provided in the Zenon archive of deep interference by the Ptolemaic state in the administration and also the civic life of Karian cities such as Halikarnassos, Kaunos or Kalynda: the phenomenon was driven both by pressure from above in the form of fiscal demands and regulatory power by the Ptolemaic state, and from below in the form of appeals by constituencies and factions for patronage and intervention.[11] Even at the level of civic institutions and peer polity, royal influence could be felt: Hamon emphasizes the role played by royal initiative in the practice of resorting to foreign judges to solve civic disputes (pp. 407–408), as seen for instance in the case of Aigai, which asked Kolophon for foreign judges at the suggestion of Attalos I. When Antiocheia-Alabanda requested judges from Erythrai, Magnesia on Maeander and Ilion in the 190s BCE (as shown by Hamon in *BE* 20, 401), did the impulse come from the Seleukid state (Antiochos III or perhaps his minister Zeuxis)?

Thirdly, while the political and institutional life of the democratic *poleis* is now

[8] For a restatement of the view that these events should be downdated to the 180s (as argued for by Robert Malcolm Errington: The peace treaty between Miletus and Magnesia [I. Milet 148]. In: Chiron 19, 1989, pp 279–288), see Thibaut Castelli: La chronologie des éponymes rhodiens de la fin du IIIe s. et du premier tiers du IIe s. Nouvelles hypotheses. In: Revue des Études Anciennes 119, 2017, pp. 3–24, or Aurélie Carrara: Prevention or Cure? Tax Exemptions in a Warfare Context. Miletus and the Low Valley of the Maeander (Early Second Century BCE). In: Center for Hellenic Studies Research Bulletin 2/2, 2014 (https://research-bulletin.chs.harvard.edu/2014/08/08/tax-exemptions-in-a-warfare-context/).

[9] A lesson also to be drawn from Boris Chrubasik: Kings and Usurpers in the Seleukid Empire. The Men Who Would be King. Oxford 2016.

[10] As emphasized in Rolf Strootman: 'To be magnanimous and grateful'. The Entanglement of Cities and Empires in the Hellenistic Aegean. In: Marco Domingo Gygax, Arjan Zuiderhoek (eds.): Benefactors and the Polis. The Public Gift in the Greek Cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity. Cambridge 2021, pp. 137–178.

[11] Claude Orrieux: Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec. Paris 1985, pp. 116–118, on *PCZ* 59036–59037, 59341.

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well studied (notably by Fröhlich and Hamon),[12] their social life still needs elucidation. Aigai was clearly a democratic city (chosing officials ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν – Hamon, p. 398 n. 13), connected with other *poleis*; but it existed cheek by jowl with smaller cities such as the Olympênoi, private estates owned by a magnate such as Philetairos, and royal land with its mountain population busy with agriculture, beekeeping, pastoralism and hunting (Fröhlich, pp. 260–267). What were the relations of all these diverse entities within the same ecology, the highlands of the Yünt Dağ? How were these relations negotiated once Aigai expanded across the Yünt Dağ? Similar questions (notably the old questions of royal land and of the λαοί but also the neglected theme of the small, barely *polis*-like communities of the hinterland) arise for Teos, whose expansion is charted by Adak in the present volume. It may be that most of this history is irrecoverable; but this *allongement du questionnaire* will require drawing on a broader register of evidence and methods than the traditional quadrivium of epigraphy, numismatics, historical geography, monumental architecture, which structures the volume under review. For instance, the continuous work on Hellenistic ceramics or figurines, or Turkish rescue excavations in urban sites, needs integrating in our understanding of the social, economic and cultural history of Hellenistic Asia Minor. The potential of material culture for this project is adumbrated in recent scholarship.[13] The question is whether such a history is best written through collective enterprises like the present volume, synthetic works, or thematic monographs; at least, those engaging in such conversations have to be aware of the challenge and the opportunities.

New York, NY *John Ma*

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Patrick Sänger: Die ptolemäische Organisationsform *politeuma*. Ein Herrschaftsinstrument zugunsten jüdischer und anderer hellenischer Gesellschaften. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2019. XV, 344 S. 1 Kt. (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 178).

Since 2014, Patrick Sänger has published a large body of research regarding the Ptolemaic organisational form *politeuma*. This preliminary research led to a Habilitationsschrift submitted to the University of Vienna in 2017, entitled 'Das *politeuma*. Ursprung, Funktion und Definition einer ptolemäischen Organisationsform zur Integration von Minderheiten'. The study reviewed here is an abridged and reworked version of this Habilitationsschrift.[1]

[12] Pierre Fröhlich: Les cités grecques et le contrôle des magistrats. IVe-Ier siècle avant J.-C. Geneva 2004; Patrice Hamon: Démocraties grecques après Alexandre. À propos de trois ouvrages récents. In: Topoi 16, 2009, pp. 347–82.

[13] As illustrated by Andrea M. Berlin, Paul J. Kosmin (eds.): Spear-Won Land. Sardis from the King's Peace to the Peace of Apamea. Madison (WI) 2019; Noah Kaye: The Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia. Money, Culture, and State Power. Cambridge 2021.

[1] After 2019, Sänger also presented the results of his research in a number of articles: Contextualizing a Ptolemaic Solution. The Institution of the Ethnic *politeuma*. In: Christelle Fischer-Bovet, Sitta von Reden (eds.): Comparing the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires.

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