

hosted larger cities such as Lepreon in Triphylia and Mantinea and Tegea in Arcadia, or important sanctuaries, such as the one in honour of Zeus *Lykaios* in Arcadia, it is not possible to identify federal activities related to any of the shrines of the two areas. According to Nielsen, this fact might be due to the relatively short span of time during which the two federations functioned, which might not have favoured the choice of common federal sanctuaries.

*Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries* is an important contribution to the subject of the relation between Greek federal entities and their common religious shrines. The book offers numerous examples from a wide range of locations, and the papers successfully exploit both archaeological and literary sources, enabling a better understanding of the enhancement or even the creation of national identities in association with religious cults and their sanctuaries. In addition, this work produced an extensive amount of material for *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, the comprehensive work on Greek federalism, edited by Hans Beck and Peter Funke and published by Cambridge University Press in 2015.

Gianluca De Martino

*The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean*. Edited by NINO LURAGHI. Studies in Ancient Monarchies 1. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10259-9. 284 pp. 4 b/w photos. EUR 51.

This book contains nine articles regarding the sociological and ideological aspects of monarchic regimes in ancient Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. Ancient monarchy has become an increasingly popular research subject during the last decade, especially among German scholars, who are also strongly represented in this volume, the first volume of the new series "Studies in Ancient Monarchies". Four of the articles are revised translations, among which there is Hans-Joachim Gehrke's "The Victorious King: Reflections on the Hellenistic Monarchy" (a translation of "Der siegreiche König. Überlegungen zur Hellenistischen Monarchie", *AKG* 64 [1982] 53–68). Gehrke's essay offers a basis for the discussion and other articles in the book refer to it. Even though it is the fourth contribution of the book – for the articles are ordered chronologically – I start by presenting it first.

As Gehrke writes, his article of 1982 had a certain influence on the later discussion of Hellenistic monarchy, and therefore he has not made any substantial changes to the text apart from adding additional evidence and updating the bibliography. In this insightful essay, illustrated with well-chosen examples from ancient sources, the author aims to give a "conceptual definition of the Hellenistic monarchy within its social context" (p. 90) based on Max Weber's concepts of the legitimacy of government. According to Gehrke, the legitimacy of a monarch's rule is mostly, but not exclusively, based on charisma that is for its part based on situations that demonstrate the ruler's personal abilities and the favor of the gods. The most efficient way to prove one's competence to rule was military victory. Therefore, military victories or other demonstrations of personal virtues lead to the legitimacy of rule, which leads to the political and regal authority of the ruler. "Natural" legitimation, i.e., inheritance of rule, was alone not sufficient in the context of Hellenistic monarchy – it often allowed a king to assume the rule, but the king still had to prove his abilities in order to legitimize the continuation of his rule. Gehrke discusses in detail different aspects of this kind of

charismatic-natural legitimization with the conclusion that "royal legitimacy, therefore, is founded to an especially high degree, albeit not exclusively, on the individual ruler's conduct and ability, on the power that is objectively and subjectively available to him, and on the exercise of that power in achievements that enhanced the ruler's reputation in the eyes of the ruled" (p. 85).

The greatest merit of this essay is that Gehrke brings the ideas of Max Weber together with those of Claire Préaux and Elias Bickerman and other ancient historians with commendable clarity, and in spite of the article being over 30 years old it is still a great starting point for anyone approaching the subject of Hellenistic monarchy.

In the actual first chapter, "Ruling alone: Monarchy in Greek politics and thought", Nino Luraghi presents as the common motif of the book the aim to demonstrate that it can be profitable to examine Archaic Greek tyrants, Spartan *basileis*, and Hellenistic kings at the same time, even though these political regimes have usually been seen as having little in common. Luraghi succinctly but lucidly explains in this introductory essay the differences and similarities between a tyrant and a *basileus* in Greek thought and also how the discussion in Greek literature about the different styles and the legitimization of sole rulership evolved from the Archaic to the Hellenistic era.

In chapter 2, "The Victorious Tyrant: Hieron of Syracuse in the *Epinicia* of Pindar and Bacchylides", Christian Mann analyzes in detail the panegyric representation of Hieron I of Syracuse in the victory poems of Pindar and Bacchylides. In this essay too, the question of legitimization is central and Mann examines Hieron's representation from the Weberian viewpoint of the "charismatic" ruler.

In chapter 3, "To Die like a Tyrant" (a revised translation of "Il carnevale macabro, ovvero, morire da tiranno" in *Annali di archeologia antica* 4 [1997] 53–68), Nino Luraghi examines "death as a component of social identity" and what the Greek descriptions of tyrants' deaths, often described as violent and spontaneous, tell us about the role of tyranny in Greek social ideology (p. 49). In conclusion, Luraghi observes that the killing of a tyrant was described as a positive event for the society, like some kind of violent but necessary purification, "in order that the community can regain its own identity" (p. 65).

In chapter 5, "Agathocles and Hiero II: Two Sole Rulers in the Hellenistic Age and the Question of Succession" (a revised translation of "Agathokles und Hieron II. Zwei basileis in hellenistischer Zeit und die Frage ihrer Nachfolge" in V. Alonso Troncoso (ed.), *ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. La figura del sucesor en la realeza helenística* (= Gerión-Anejos 9), Madrid [2005] 153–175), Matthias Haake discusses how and why these two tyrants of Syracuse failed in securing a successor and founding a dynasty. The author compares Agathocles and Hiero II to earlier Sicilian tyrants and to the Hellenistic kings that these tyrants were trying to imitate, e.g., by adopting the title of *basileus*. Haake demonstrates with these two examples that the *polis* Syracuse was not a suitable basis for a Hellenistic monarchy. Haake's thorough article has been provided with a commendable bibliography on the subject.

In chapter 6, "Becoming Kings: Spartan Basileia in the Hellenistic Period", D. Alexander Walthall analyzes how the institution of Spartan dual kingship transformed from a constitutionally bound office to autocratic rule during the Early Hellenistic period. Walthall examines this subject focusing on three Spartan kings who tried to imitate Hellenistic kings' behavior: Areus I, Cleomenes III, and Nabis. In his detailed analysis, which uses various sources from ancient literature and inscriptions to coins and roof tiles, Walthall gives a clear picture of these kings' behavior and its con-

temporary reception. In conclusion, Sparta is seen as an unsuitable basis for a Hellenistic monarchy – like Syracuse in the previous article.

In chapter 7, "Writing Down the King: The Communicative Function of Treatises *On Kingship* in the Hellenistic Period" (an abridged and revised translation of "Warum und zu welchem Ende schreibt man *peri basileias*? Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext einer literarischen Gattung im Hellenismus", in K. Pipenbrink (ed.), *Philosophie und Lebenswelt in der Antike*, Darmstadt 2003, 83–138), which is his second contribution to this book, Matthias Haake examines various Hellenistic treatises on kingship as a genre and their social meaning and communicative function between Hellenistic kings and Greek cities. He demonstrates, once again backed by a vast and up-to-date bibliography, that these treatises were always written by philosophers and, even though targeted for a larger Greek audience, addressed to kings, for "the relationship between ruler and philosopher embodies the symbiosis of intellect and power" (p. 184).

In chapter 8, "The Castrated King, or: The Everyday Monstrosity of Late Hellenistic Kingship", Ulrich Gotter argues that what happened in 168 BCE, when the Seleucid king Antiochus IV agreed to withdraw from Egypt on the verge of a successful conquest as the result of the strict negotiation methods of C. Popilius Laeneas, marked a crucial change in the idea of Hellenistic kingship, which until that time had been based upon charisma generated from military victories. After 168 BCE for the next two hundred years, Hellenistic kings had ever fewer opportunities to wage wars due to Rome's expansion and authority. Gotter examines how the Hellenistic kings could still rule their kingdoms and retain their authority while forced to remain unbellicose. He uses the Attalids of Pergamum, Antiochus I of Commagene, and Mithradates VI of Pontus as examples of different behavioral strategies. Gotter's elegantly written essay underlines an interesting and important viewpoint on the change of Hellenistic kingship during the Roman expansion – a viewpoint which has not been much noted before.

In the ninth and last chapter, "Between Hellenistic Monarchy and Jewish Theocracy: The Contested Legitimacy of Hasmonean Rule", Kai Trampedach examines how the Hasmonean rulers legitimized their wars and wealth in the late Hellenistic period, when Hellenistic kings were struggling to find new ways to gain authority, as explained by Gotter in the previous article. Trampedach argues that the Hasmoneans exhibited many elements of Hellenistic monarchy, but the concept of "charismatic ruler" in the Weberian sense is too broad since the Hasmoneans interpreted these charismatic accomplishments theocratically and "presented themselves as champions of Torah and the *Eretz Israel*" (p. 255).

In conclusion, this volume does what it promises: it provides a unified scholarly framework for research on ancient monarchy. Four of the essays are translations of sometimes much older essays, but it is only positive that these, and especially the fundamental article of Gehrke, together with the new essays that relate to these older essays from new viewpoints now become available to the English-reading audience. This book is highly recommended to anyone interested in the transformations and different forms of ancient monarchies in a more detailed manner and especially in the Hellenistic period.