

made use of these legends to legitimise their Greek or local status. Some inscriptions written in the Neo-Paphian syllabary mention an ἄρχος active in the hypogeum temple of Apollo Hyliaes, whose worship is linked by C. to the foundation of the city and consequently to the figure of Kinyras. They may be the first evidence of a cult dedicated to the hero and to the local dynasty – constituted by his descendants. According to C., three alphabetic inscriptions prove the relationship between the ἄρχος and the cult of Kinyras. One of them effectively presents an ἄρχος τῶν Κινυραδῶν, a chief of the ‘Kinyrads’, a Hellenistic association; but in the others the connection with the mythical hero is based on parts of the text reconstructed in a lacuna. Undoubtedly, Kinyras, along with the local deities of Adonis and Pygmalion, was venerated in Paphos at least from the Classical period onwards. However, it is difficult to link the syllabic inscriptions with this cult, and their ἄρχος with that of the alphabetic documents, since their content does not present any evidence of it and any link to the foundation of Paphos.

C.’s publication and commentary on all the Greek alphabetic inscriptions of Paphos is a significant contribution to future research. As he states in his conclusions, the collection shows a documentary consistency, but a complete outline of the administration and history of the city remains elusive. However, thanks to his meticulous work, the political and religious life of Paphos is now better known as well as the bipolar structure of its territory, organised between the centre, Nea Paphos, and the sanctuary of Aphrodite in its territory.

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A PORTRAIT OF PERICLES

SAMONS II (L.J.) *Pericles and the Conquest of History. A Political Biography*. Pp. xvi + 329, ill., maps. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Paper, £19.99, US\$24.99 (Cased, £77, US\$105). ISBN: 978-1-107-52602-0 (978-1-107-11014-4 hbk).

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Nearly a decade after editing *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles* (2007), S. was drawn once more into the Periclean ‘vortex’, to emerge with a full-length biography that considers those ‘circumstances and ideas’ that shaped the actions of Pericles and Athens in the fifth century BC (p. xi). In focusing on the development and subsequent impact of a remarkable career, S. offers an engaging review to set against recent works by, notably, G.A. Lehmann (*Perikles: Staatsmann und Stratege* [2008]) and V. Azoulay (*Périclès: La démocratie athénienne à l’épreuve du grand homme* [2010]), but presents instead a far from ‘likeable’ portrait of the Athenian statesman (p. 8). Those familiar with S.’s previous work on Classical Athens will not be surprised to find Pericles recast as a ‘disquieting figure’ (p. xiii) here too, as S. presents an unabridged consideration of how Pericles was both ‘the greatest and most dangerous leader in Athenian history’ (p. 6).

A short introduction rushes readers through the literary sources, with S. keen to establish the Thucydidean Pericles as broadly, but crucially, authentic. While Thucydides is, of course, essential for his biography, S. is too quick to dismiss comment on the style of the historian’s presentation and the problems associated with it. Judging the accuracy of

Thucydides' 'Pericles' – and the inadequacies of Plutarch – is not as straightforward as is presented in this opening. But with sure points established, Chapter 1 moves on to review the particular environment that shaped the young Pericles and considers Athenian history and culture in the new century of his youth, while Chapter 2 focuses on Pericles' 'checkered family history' and his 'complicated relations with his fellow aristocrats' (p. 32). Chapter 3 treats the beginning of the young Athenian's political career and his early contests with Cimon; a formidable figure who steals the limelight momentarily as Pericles' 'greatest rival and . . . greatest influence' (p. 55).

These chapters take readers from the reign of Pisistratus to 462/1 BC, ending with events surrounding Cimon's ostracism, appropriately enough, given that Pericles himself is absent from most of the discussion. S. does attempt to offset the lack of evidence about the young Pericles by emphasising key precedents for his subject's later actions and policies, but, inevitably, there is some speculation here, and, overall, the review is quite narrow in its focus, as S. places Pericles' 'hyper-nationalist agenda' (noted as early as p. 30) in a long history of Athenian military aggression and imperial ambition. But within that procession of power, one asks, what was so distinctive about the age of Pericles? It is an important question, the answer to which is not established clearly.

In Chapter 4 Pericles, having 'mastered democratic politics and the Athenians' complex psychology' (p. 79), is centre stage in the consideration of events in the 450–440s BC. S. reviews how Pericles, pre-eminent among the city's progressive faction, reshaped the political landscape with a raft of 'popular nationalistic policies' (his jury pay proposal, citizen legislation and building programme). This Pericles is vigorous and active at home but more circumspect abroad, as we see in Chapter 5's consideration of Athenian foreign policy down to 445 BC. Where he can detail the points of Pericles' military career, S. notes the development of a policy of aggressive action in the Greek world, but a reluctance to commit beyond that. All of which brings readers to Chapter 6 and the key argument that Pericles' 'dreams of dominance' and a policy of 'no concessions to the Peloponnesians' led to war with Sparta (p. 126).

The picture of Pericles throughout these chapters remains very Thucydidean with, appropriately, few opportunities missed to rebuke the Athenian democracy. However, S.'s determination to keep Pericles aloof from the political fray does prompt questions on the nature of the relationship between leader and demos. For S., 'Pericles, at least by the 430s BC, was no mere demagogue' (p. 5), although early on he did manage to create 'a kind of clientele for himself among the common Athenians' (p. 99). But at what point, if at all, did this leader give up those practices? Is it the case that Pericles regretted 'that he had created a monster where the hunger and will of the demos were concerned' (p. 100)? Should we follow Thucydides and distinguish between Pericles' methods and those of his successors? If we accept that Pericles faced no serious political rival across the final decade of his career, then the issue of whether his power shaped, or was subject to, the demands of 'typical Athenians' (for whom he had little sympathy, p. 88) becomes crucial. While we are left wanting more on that, S. does offer a full review of Pericles' part in provoking the Peloponnesian War. Here leader and city do cohere, as the individual's belligerence reflects ideals 'of Athenian power and predominance that stretched back at least 30 years' (p. 152). It is an argument S. has offered previously (e.g. in *What's Wrong with Democracy* [2007], pp. 124–31), though here we lack an antagonist for Pericles, who campaigns against a Spartan enemy that fails to feature in the discussion.

Chapter 7 considers an embattled Athens, soon struggling to implement Pericles' strategy for the war and to cope with the outbreak of plague. Those horrors contrast with the confidence felt at the start of fighting, an optimism reflected in Thucydides'

funeral oration, which S. presents as an ‘idealization of Athens by Pericles’ (p. 162). The speech is presented in full, as is Pericles’ last delivery in the *History*. Thoughts on Thucydides’ final epitaph prompt S. to consider if the dying Pericles questioned whether ‘the price of Athens’ glory had in fact been too high?’ (p. 181). Chapter 8 reviews Pericles’ posthumous reputation as a champion of culture; for S., Pericles was too much of a populist to indulge such highbrow interests fully. Indeed, the chapter moves on from that topic to offer further reflections on Pericles’ ‘deep connection with the people of Athens’ (p. 206). An epilogue offers notes on Pericles’ political afterlife and one final chance to contest modern presentations of the Athenian system as an ‘idealized example of democracy *per se*’ (p. 217).

Something of the pace and vigour of earlier parts of the volume is lost in this final section, which is less satisfactory. Thoughts on Thucydides’ presentation of the Athenian leader, for example, are a little cumbersome and somewhat circular in the repeated attempts to place the real Pericles in the pages of the *History*. No mere ‘mouth-piece for the historian’ (p. 172), S. identifies a distinctive nationalist and combative rhetoric in the text that chimes with the actions of previous decades, but some of those early initiatives were identified as Periclean through comparison with events in Thucydides (p. 124). In addition, there is much that is speculative in these last chapters too: see the reactions of an imagined visitor to the ancient city, dismayed by its ‘garish’ opulence, or thoughts on the leader’s supposed relationship with the leading intellectuals of his day. That closing consideration of Athens as a great centre of culture is particularly disappointing, as S. – like most ancient Athenians, apparently (pp. 189–90) – has little time for intellectual or aesthetic matters. Practical concerns and the issue of Athens’ political and military power remain central even through the review of the cultural achievements of the Periclean Age.

While few of the key insights offered here are original, S. presents a well-written and thought-provoking study that will challenge ideas and opinions on more than just the remarkable career of the great Pericles. Perhaps eager readers might balance this sharp portrait with that in Azoulay’s biography; certainly, debate over the individual merits of each volume will be at the centre of the discussion of Classical Athens for years to come.

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ASPECTS OF ANCIENT GREEK ATHLETICS

NIELSEN (T.H.) *Two Studies in the History of Ancient Greek Athletics. 1. A Survey of the Proliferation of Athletic and Equestrian Competitions in Late Archaic and Classical Greece. 2. The Prestige of a Nemean Victory.* (Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistica, 8, vol. 16.) Pp. 299, maps. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2018. Paper, DKK200. ISBN: 978-87-7304-412-4.
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N. is perhaps best known to readers of this journal for the monumental *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* that he edited with M.H. Hansen (2004). In addition to his