

Jacek Rzepka, *Greek Federal Terminology*. Foundation for Development of University of Gdańsk, Gdańsk, 2017. ISBN: 978-83-7531-237-9.

Studies in Greek federal states are currently much in vogue. Emily Mackil, Hans Beck and Peter Funke have all made important recent contributions. To this body of work can now be added this slim volume by Rzepka [hereafter R.] on the terminology of federalism. In painstaking detail, R. delivers a fine-grained analysis of the terminology used about federal states and their machinery as described by others and by the states themselves in their public records. The results are fascinating, and there are a number of interesting extra details along the way.

There are seven main chapters, and an introduction and epilogue. The Introduction sets out the rationale for studying the terminology as a route to understand how Greek federal states worked, but also how they thought about themselves as political organisms, their political philosophy. Throughout the volume the detailed analysis of the language of Greek federalism delivers the first of these aims in abundance, although the second is generally left more implicit. One of the few criticisms of this book is that the question of the political philosophy could have been addressed more directly (there is no chapter which sets this out clearly, as perhaps might have been done in a concluding chapter, drawing together the various findings of the volume).

Chapter I is concerned with the names for Greek federal states: what did they call themselves? It provides an overview of the various terms that have been used, especially by modern scholars, as generic labels for federal states: namely *koinon*, *sympoliteia* and *ethnos* (although *sympoliteia* is quietly rejected as a word which is both too general and has other more obvious meanings). On the other hand, *koinon* is never used in the plural (to designate ‘federal states’ in general), but is used to mean ‘the state’ and can be contrasted with other bodies of state (such as the assembly) and also with the *ethnos*. However, an important point that R. makes (and does become a theme that he returns to) is the variety of political language that is used in different parts of the Greek world, and the degree to which political language developed and changed over time. He makes the important claim that there was greater consistency, precision and nuance in the language of decrees of states that were federal states, than when *polis*-states made reference to federal states or the parts of their political machinery.

Chapter II concerns itself with the Council and political machinery of federal states, and starts with Polybius’ account of the Achaean Confederacy. R. makes the point that Polybius describes the Achaean Confederacy as essentially a ‘council-based’ regime, and that this was a feature of federal states that made them distinctive, particularly in contrast with Hellenistic monarchies. This council could be called a *boulē* or a *synhedrion*, and could be an executive body, or one which prepared items for discussion in an assembly. An analysis of Aetolian inscriptions also reveals that

there could be local councils, each with its own chairman, in addition to the federal council, which also had its own chairman.

Chapter III begins with a discussion of the uniformity of federal language. However, perhaps what is more striking is some of the variety: most federal assemblies were called the *koinon*, but in the reconstituted Boeotian federal state of the fourth century, the primary assembly was the *damos*. Likewise, the titles for officials show great variety, and also change over time in different states. However, the fact that changes in one state could follow changes in others, suggests that states took notice of what others were doing. One example is the *aitolarchoi* of the Aetolians, who look like an imitation of the Boeotian *boiotarchoi*, although the Aetolians eventually abandoned their *aitolarchoi* for a sole *strategos*, a development seen elsewhere at an earlier date.

Chapter IV returns to Polybius and his interest in co-operative language, especially his interest in inventing political words using *sun-*. While Polybius' use of this kind of language is distinctive, R. persuasively suggests, by drawing a contrast with Xenophon, that Polybius is also reflecting the beginnings of a new kind of political language and political thinking which relates to the federal states, and R. concludes that the Hellenistic period was a boom time for the development of collaborative political language.

Chapter V looks in detail at three political terms of the Hellenistic era (*isopolitei*, *sympoliteia* and *synteleia*) relating to shared citizenship. They were often applied to situations arising out of imperialist expansion by the federal states, but which (unlike the more brutal subjugatory strategies of the unitary *poleis*) ended in some kind of treaty. Nevertheless, the language of co-operation was variable and depended very much on context, with little real consistency.

Chapter VI looks at how the terminology is applied when new members acquire federal citizenship, especially through the use of federal ethnics. R. returns to the issue of the co-operative nature of federal states and how this is reflected in their political language and naming processes.

Chapter VII takes the idea of ethnics in a slightly different direction, and explores the use of double ethnics, or 'expanded' ethnics, by federal citizens when they interact with others as a feature of federal political language. While R. recognises that states other than federal states used such multiple ethnics, and that federal states did not always use them consistently, nevertheless the use of such ethnics was an important element in federal language, even if there was also regional variation, and usage was often contextual depending on whether they provided purely local information about an individual or about their legal status.

Finally, the Epilogue looks forward to the Roman period to show that the world of Greek federalism is by this stage at an end, and that, despite the antiquated use of

some federalist vocabulary, the Roman period was one reflecting a completely different political reality.

This is an interesting little volume, and its arguments are often complex and based on a complex evidence base. The chapters address different questions, but do build on each other to form a more complete picture. The volume as a whole feels as if it needs a conclusion to draw out some of the individual points more clearly and show how they hang together. Nevertheless, there is a sense that this volume does in each of its chapters, and as the sum of its parts, make an important contribution to the study of Greek federalism. It is generally well written, even if sometimes more signposting would have made the arguments clearer. There were some issues with typesetting and copy-editing (a number of instances where words were run together), but this is a stimulating book which was well worth the effort of reading, and the reviewer feels that she has come away stimulated and enriched.

LYNETTE MITCHELL
UNIVERSITY OF EXETER