

der weitgehend umfassenden bibliographischen Information, den Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Kapiteln und seinen zahlreichen Beobachtungen zur Sprache Ammians einen Fortschritt für unser Verständnis des 24. B.

Bern

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Matthew Dillon: *Girls and women in classical Greek religion*. London/ New York: Routledge 2002. x, 435 S. zahlr. Abb.

If anyone was still in doubt about the extent and importance of women's participation in classical Greek religion, Matthew Dillon's book should finally put an end to any lingering disbelief. 'Girls and women in classical Greek religion' (hence: GWCGR) offers a survey of the major aspects of the topic, thus presenting a clear view of the enormous range and variety of women's religious activities. Although written sources are included in the discussion, the emphasis is put firmly on the archaeological and iconographical evidence. The priority given to this material is very constructive. It is by far the most important set of evidence on the topic, both in quantity and in quality, but it is more laborious to collect than literary sources and needs a specialists' eye to be read with the best results. Until recently, the discussion was predicated to a high degree on the literary evidence, and women's religious participation was usually seen in the light of myth and literature rather than of actual religious practice. It is foremost due to the pathbreaking work of the past fifteen years by archaeologists, among whom Ute Kron and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood deserve special mention, that a more balanced and historically satisfactory understanding of women's religious roles has come into existence. D. consolidates this new approach. Since GWCGR combines a broad scope (the whole of classical Greece) with a fine selection (comprehensiveness is of course impossible) and an accessible discussion, the book aims at a wider readership than the specialized work of Kron or Sourvinou-Inwood and will also attract new readers.

The wealth of material presented in GWCGR is such that I can only highlight a selection. The book is organized in three main parts: I, 'Public religious roles for girls and women', II, 'Segregated and ecstatic religious rites' and III, 'Sacrificial and domestic rituals', each divided into three chapters and subdivided into distinct paragraphs. GWCGR thus ranges from the public, civic aspects of religion to the non-civic and finally to the domestic ones, an ordering which is in line with the πόλις-centred nature of Greek religion and also provides a necessary counterweight to the currently prevalent overemphasis on women's domestic concerns. Indeed, the range of women's public roles in classical religion may well be a surprise to many ancient historians, presenting a strong opening part of the book.

The first chapter of part I, 'Women as dedicators', introduces the numerous women who gave public and material expression to their piety and often did so as individuals presenting their full names. The self-confident dedication of a votive relief by Xenokrateia, mother and daughter of Xeniadēs from Cholleidai, on behalf of her son by the later fifth-century poses a telling contrast to the admonition to women not to be spoken of in Perikles' Funeral Oration as voiced by Thucydides. The next chapter, 'The public religious roles of girls and adolescent women in Athens' is more concise than would have been

desirable given the importance of the subject, but obviously some cutting down has been inevitable. D. discusses quite extensively the ἀρρηφόροι and κληφόροι, young and adolescent girls with specific cultic duties and leading the public processions respectively. He situates the Erechtheion-parthenoi (Caryatids) in this context, as figures closely associated with the adolescent girls partaking in the procession on the Parthenon frieze (p. 37–57). Besides Athens, other πόλεις figure in this section, including Lokris (and its maidens) and Corinth. The connection seems to be that in these cities girls were consecrated for some time to the cult of a goddess, like the Athenian ἀρρηφόροι. In the discussion on πόλεις-festivals for both sexes such as the Panathenaia and the Anthesteria, the Apatouria celebrated by the fratres is sadly lacking, although Pauline Schmitt-Pantel has demonstrated that in this festival citizen women who had given birth the previous year were ritually confirmed in their roles as (mothers of) citizens just like the (male) children they had borne ('Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: les aspects féminins des Apatouries à Athènes'. *Annales ESC* 32, 1977, 1059–1073). The Apatouria are foremost attested in written sources; a recent reading by O. Pelagia of a votive relief showing a family including mother and daughter sacrificing to Athena as a depiction of the Apatouria ('Akropolis Museum 581. A family at the Apatouria?' *Hesperia* 64, 1995, 493–505) is dismissed by D. without further arguments (n. 114, p. 306). The final chapter concerns women priests, necessarily limited to a selection of the numerous female priesthoods in Greece, but with an interesting overview of their various cultic duties. He underlines the strong connection between priesthood and citizenship, as distinguished from cultic activities in which citizens and non-citizens could be involved, dependent on the cult. Moreover, women, both as priestesses and as 'laypeople', played a prominent role in spreading new cults (p. 25, 97).

Part II, on women-only religious activities, would probably be closer to readers' expectations, as it includes the famous women's festivals such as the Thesmophoria, the Haloa and the Skira. But here too some surprises are in store, such as special attention to the Corinthian 'Frauenfest'-vases and a synopsis of D.'s earlier work (including 'Did parthenoi attend the Olympic Games? Girls and women competing, spectating, and carrying out cult roles at Greek religious festivals', *Hermes* 128, 2000, 457–480) on the participation of girls and women in the Panhellenic festivals.

One of the most important issues concerns the sacrifice at these women-festivals. No doubt the general norm in classical Greece entailed that women should not wear or use weapons, and hence many historians took it for granted that the same applied to the wielding of sacrificial knives. When a slayer was needed at a women's festival, a μάγειρος would be hired for the task. However, in fact women often did their own sacrifices, including the animal sacrifices, as Robin Osborne pointed out in 1993 ('Women and sacrifice in classical Greece', *ClQu* 43, 392–405), and D. argues the same for several major women's festivals. He rightly emphasizes that these are not exceptions to the rule, but that the rule is different from what historians have assumed for so long (p. 114–116).

The final chapter of part III, 'Women at the margins of Greek religion' portrays a wide variety of people and practices, ranging from maenads to sorcery and prostitutes. The discussion of the Adonia is particularly interesting, the festival where citizen women, metics and ἐταῖραι assembled on the rooftops and wailed for the death of Adonis. D. argues that current historical explanations of women's motives for embracing the cult of Adonis are too ingenious, too much focused on subtleties in the meaning of Adonis; instead, «the Adonia's appeal lay in its establishment, as with other women-only festivals, of temporary communities of women set apart from men, who engage in activities that only they can understand; (...) the Adonia allowed a freedom to *choose* with whom they would celebrate, to bond further with women they knew and liked, as did the citizen woman and hetaira in the *Samia*.» (p. 167). In his discussion of prostitutes' religious activities, D. presents confirmative evidence that prostitution entailed no stigma of immorality and did not in any way prevent women who professionally had sexual intercourse with many men from participation in cult and rites.

The crucial topic of sacrifice returns in the third and final part, 'Sacrificial and domestic rituals'. D. discusses distinct regulations such as who was (or was not) allowed to be present at a sacrifice and who was (or was not) to partake in the meat after animal sacrifice. He rightly argues that the exclusion of women or non-citizens from certain rites or sanctuaries implies that in other cases women and non-citizens would normally attend, and that the exclusions of women parallel the permanent or temporary exclusion of men at other rites (p. 238; I do not know of cults from which Greek citizens were formally debarred, but in Rome it was not uncommon). Just as in the case of the alleged prohibition on women's killing animals at sacrifice, the assumption that women were debarred from partaking in the sacrificial meat is unfounded. The other paragraphs in this section deal with the rituals concerned with the life cycle: the participation of girls in various cults according to age classes (e.g. the Arkteia), the rituals for marriage and childbirth and the special religious care of pollution connected with the life cycle, including menarche, sexual intercourse in connection with religious duties, and childbirth. The concluding paragraph on the transition from girl to married woman and mother is particularly fine. A special chapter is devoted to women's taking care of corpses, their role as mourners, their responsibility for the burial rites and the care of tombs after burial. Here, as elsewhere in the book, it is the prominence of iconographical material which sheds new light on well-known topics or even presents evidence not always familiar to text-oriented historians.

As D. rightly observes in the Epilogue: «Religious practice and male ideas about women (at least as expressed in the literary sources) were in some sense in opposition to each other.» (296). With some necessary qualification, it is still obvious that «when it came to the number of cults, and opportunities to leaving their tasks for the purposes of worshipping the gods, women spent more time involved in rites than men did. (...) [I]n choosing the political assembly, lawcourts and finance as spheres from which they excluded women, these men (...) abrogated to them the bulk of the task of worshipping the gods.» (299).

GWCGR is a rich and exceptionally useful book, which will be a starting point for many students of the topic and a 'Fundgrube' for all scholars in the field. It is against the background of this profound appreciation of D.'s work that I raise two points of critique, one on the organization of the book and one on its position in the historical debate on women in classical Greece.

Due to the scope and variety of its material, GWCGR at times resembles a 'catalogue raisonné', a feature that in itself is not a disqualification at all but makes finding specific topics not always easy. The book has an extensive index but this is still insufficient to help a reader find her/his way. The book would have gained greatly in accessibility if the titles of the numerous paragraphs would have been included in the table of contents. Beside the general index, a glossary is included on Greek terms for Greekless readers, but the number of words is rather small and the selection is unclear to me: why include *ἐπιθυμία* and leave out *πελαγός*? Furthermore, a text so rich in references as GWCGR invites frequent consultation of notes, but instead of footnotes we are faced with endnotes at the very end of the book, leading to a cumbersome going back and forth, failing attempts to keep track of numbers and other nuisances. This struggle with pages is particularly infuriating with literary references in the main text; for instance, the introduction features quotes from Euripides' 'Melanippe', Aristophanes' 'Lysistrata', Plato and Dionysios of Halikarnassos, but we are not informed here which lines of the plays we are reading or even that we are dealing with Plato's 'Laws' (this may be found on p. 301). These shortcomings are doubtlessly due to the publisher's policy, and Routledge has not served D. and his readers well in this respect (a point in favour: I found very few printing errors). As soon as a second edition comes up, these are features to be repaired.

A very peculiar aspect of GWCGR is D.'s wrestling with the prevalent paradigm, which holds that women, in particular married citizen women, were expected to remain indoors and to be invisible and unnoticed in the public area of the πόλις. Although modesty and domesticity are often voiced as desirable attitudes of women in our literary sources, clearly not just the facts but also the rules of life were far more complicated and varied than the current interpretations would have it. Several ancient historians have tried to qualify and mitigate these views in the past few years, among whom David Cohen, using comparative material to show the flexibilities of cultural systems based on gender separation (Law, sexuality, and society. The enforcement of morals in classical Athens. Cambridge/ New York etc. 1991) and Edward Cohen (The Athenian nation. Princeton 2000), criticizing the rigid parameters applied to the analysis of Athens as a political society, represent two different approaches in this critique. The most profound arguments have been voiced (again) by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, who has pointed out that within the οἶκος women were subordinated to men, but that in the public domain of the πόλις men and women operated as individuals on a more symmetrical footing and that here women's indispensable religious tasks, including their roles as priestesses, in sacrifices and in festivals, were essential ('Male and female, public and private, ancient and modern', in E. D. Reeder, [ed.], Pandora. Women in classical Greece, Princeton 1995, 111–20; not in D.'s extensive bibliography). In spite of such efforts, however, the paradigm of women's exclusion and invisibility proves to be very tenacious. D.'s own collection of material would give substantial support to this critique, adding more fuel to the funeral pyre of the paradigm, but apparently he shirks back from doing so. Even if he frequently asserts that women were valued in their religious activities, that their husbands supported them in exercising these duties and that women clearly derived a sense of personal satisfaction in performing such religious tasks, on the whole he does not really challenge the prevalent views and even repeats its basic tenets as if they were unshakable historical truth.

This paradoxical position which D. thus adopts (unawares, I think) has striking consequences. Inevitably, his comments often contradict his own evidence. I mention just a few examples.

Only girls and adolescent women were *κατηφόροι* and the like, because «once married, public roles such as these, particularly in a city such as Athens, were presumably thought inappropriate for them as wives of Athenian citizens.» (37, repeated p. 43). But in the following pages we meet with numerous adult citizen women, most of them married as was normal for women (see e.g. p. 103, the *γεραραι*), as priestesses and in other significant public religious roles and even publicly dedicating using their own names. Which exactly, then, were the religious public roles «thought inappropriate for them»? Discussing a beautiful a.r.f. cup by Makron of a woman pouring a libation, D. adds: «that she pours a libation herself is unusual: this was normally a task reserved for men.» (39). But in the following pages we meet with numerous women carrying phialai (as D. explains, «these phialai and oinochoai were for pouring libations of wine onto altars, or onto the ground», p. 43) and indeed, on the procession of the Parthenon frieze «soon the women will play their role in pouring libations» (49). The latter statement is correct, and there are countless representations of women pouring libations onto altars, onto graves and onto the ground. How, then, was libation «reserved for men»? The many instances of this kind throughout the book (e.g. p. 43, 47, 71, 93, 103, 137, 197, 212, 248 etc.) highlight the fact that all these comments («women were not expected...»; «married women were probably not allowed...»; «these girls are aristocrats .. representing the polis [but] are not representative of it»; «it was probably unusual for citizen wives ...»; «whether girls were permitted... we do not know», and so on and so forth) are not supported by the evidence and are just modern additions repeated over and over again.

Yet in some cases D. does vindicate the conclusion that ancient practice was quite different from what many modern historians take it to have been. An important case in point is the issue of sacrifice and, as I mentioned above, D. rightly

argues that women did sacrifice animals not only during the Thesmophoria but at other occasions as well. In this section (114–117) D. comes to blows with the prevalent paradigm in a remarkable way. He has omitted to inform the reader of the fact that women were not allowed to «wield the sacrificial implements» according to current historiography. This only turns up on the very spot (116) where he quotes M. Detienne, who more than any other historian has put his seal on the 'prohibition'-rule, in order to show that this view is unfounded. In other words, D.'s attack is well under way before the reader knows what exactly is being attacked. Moreover, in the endnotes to this section Osborne's 1993 article on this matter is not mentioned, although it is included in the bibliography. In a book that on the whole is clearly argued and well organized, this muddle is a sign of something unusual. Apparently, here D. had to conclude that the 'prohibition'-view is based on no evidence at all, that it is amply contradicted by both written and visual sources which have been bluntly disregarded. It seems to me that he could hardly believe his own eyes and hence found it difficult to render the issue in a way that would be both just and respectful.

In many respects, then, GWCGR is a highly instructive and valuable book. This applies to the wealth of the collected material and to the useful references, as well as to the interesting questions it provokes on the current historiography on women in classical Greece.

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Eckhard Stephan: *Honoratioren, Griechen, Polisbürger*. Kollektive Identitäten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2002. 368 S. (Hypomnemata 143.).

It is often said that each generation writes its own history of the past in accordance with its own interests and concerns. The best representatives of such a generation admit that in doing so they stand on the shoulders of their predecessors. S. definitely depends heavily on what predecessors have collected and interpreted (Greek inscriptions and representatives of the second Sophistic) but tries to bring their results under the blanket of the popular concept of '(self)-identity'. 'Identity' and 'otherness' are trendy concepts heavily indebted to growing concerns about globalization and Europeanization. Increasing migration-flows stimulate research-projects focusing on such concepts; they are doing very well in the fierce competition for funds provided by government-sponsored research-organizations and private institutions alike.

S.'s study is a nice illustration of the above trend. His project was part of a Sonderforschungsbereich in which 'Alterität' and 'Identität(en)' were the keywords. In a substantial introduction (ch. 2) in which he perceptively draws upon modern sociological analyses of the identity-concept, S. points out that a 'collective identity' is a matter of «being aware of belonging to a given collective identity». He distinguishes this awareness from what the Egyptologist J. Assmann has called «das Bild, das eine Gruppe von sich aufbaut». This seems to me somewhat over-sophisticated.

Assmann's definition seems to me to take S.'s awareness for granted; being aware of one's identity nearly always leads to filling that awareness with content. In the end S.