

## Book reviews

Emily Mackil, *Creating a common polity. Religion, economy, and politics in the making of the Greek koinon* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, 55), Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, University of California Press 2013, xvii + 593 pp. ISBN 9780520272507.

Emily Mackil's (henceforth EM) book is an impressive treatment of Greek federal states, a subject of ancient history which has received increasing attention in recent years. *Creating a common polity* focuses on regional interactions and cooperative mechanisms that eventually led to the creation and expansion of federal structures, primarily in the later Classical and Hellenistic periods. The book is based on the author's original Princeton Ph.D. thesis from 2003, and focuses on three *koina* in the region of the Corinthian Gulf, composed of Boiotia, Achaia, and Aitolia (i.e. areas covering most of Central Greece and the northern Peloponnese). The decision to limit the book to a study of these federal states works well in terms of structure, and allows for an in-depth exploration of various subjects and themes, without letting data compilation get the upper hand. There is also a clear geographical logic in looking at these three *koina* as recent research has highlighted the significance of the Corinthian Gulf as a significant zone of multiple interactions that helped to shape the political and economic developments of the northern Peloponnese and Central Greece in various periods (see K. Freitag, *Der Golf von Korinth. Historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das 1. Jh. v. Chr.*, München 2000, and more recently A. Bonnier, *Coastal hinterlands. Site patterns, microregions and coast-inland interconnections by the Corinthian Gulf, c. 600–300 BC* (BAR-IS, 2614), Oxford 2014).

The first part of the book traces the political history of the three regions, providing a fairly traditional narrative of urbanization, political and territorial developments in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods (pp. 21–143). Of the three

regions, Boiotia provides the earliest indications of both urbanization and federal structures, though as EM recognizes it is highly difficult to assess the nature and function of a possible pre-446 BC *koinon* in Boiotia. Federal developments in Achaia and Aitolia can instead be traced in the 4th century BC, again being roughly simultaneous with major periods of urbanization. Here more use could have been made of the archaeological record, even if EM cites some key publications. A discussion on published archaeological data and gaps in the archaeological record would in particular have been useful in combination with the more traditional political narrative, also in regards to available survey data from both Boiotia and Aitolia. The section is nevertheless suitable in providing an overview of the historical framework of these three *koina* as well as the way in which patterns of regional and interregional interactions are portrayed by different (written) sources.

The second part of the book is, however, the most interesting as it provides an in-depth discussion on various forms of interaction processes which according to EM helped to develop, formalize and expand the different *koina*. The first chapter of the second section (Chapter 4, pp. 147–236), 'Cultic communities', looks specifically at the role of religion and sanctuaries in providing shared identities, spaces for interaction and ways of formalizing hierarchies and federal subordination, most specifically expressed in the case of Boiotia which is also the region which provides the most detailed sources. A key factor in the importance of cult sites is the ability of sanctuaries to attract visitors from different communities and geographical zones. Such patterns of mobility focused on significant sanctuary sites would, according to EM, have helped to form the regional networks that would later be developed into salient political structures most readily seen in the formalization and expansion of *koina* in the different regions.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the chapter 'Economic communities' (Chapter 5, pp. 237–325). Here

the study explores the way in which patterns of economic integration helped to shape federal institutions as well as the concern of federal politics in providing opportunities for economic mobility and the pooling of resources. Co-operative coinage, for example, seems to develop prior to formal federal institutions in these regions, suggesting that economic links between *poleis* were an important factor behind the development of more formal political ties within a *koinon*. EM also stresses the importance of ecological variability and environmental fragmentation in what stimulated economic integration and the concern of federal institutions in integrating microregions within broader federal economies. EM rightly points to the significance of property rights (*enktêsis*) within the broader territory of a *koinon* as way in which to promote economic mobility and a way to break down the potential effects of individual *polis*-boundaries. In this section EM admittedly uses many of the ideas of environmental fragmentation and connectivity discussed by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell in their influential work *The corrupting sea* (Oxford 2000), and which are interestingly explored in regards to the development of *koina* in *Creating a common polity*.

These themes are further expanded upon in relation to the geographical catchment of federal states and the significance of mountain economies, particularly in regards to Achaia and Aitolia. EM is certainly right in stating that the mountainous nature of these federal territories would have stimulated a strong need for integrating upland resources with broader distribution systems. Significant upland resources would have been timber as well as stock breeding and pastoral production. In both these cases surrounding lowlands, the coastal zone of the Corinthian Gulf in particular, would have offered suitable outlets and nodes for the sale and transfer of such products and for the imports of necessary staples that could not be sufficiently produced in upland areas. Federal structures and wide spread rights of *enktêsis* within a *koinon* would have removed any obstacles presented by individual *polis* territories.

In this context the book convincingly demonstrates why *koina* successfully expanded in these regions and why individual *poleis* may have sought to become integrated within federal structures, moving away from outdated views of parasitical upland economies gaining resources only through plundering neighbours and other military means (specifically in terms of the Aitolian *koinon*). More could perhaps have been done with the available archaeological data also in this chapter, but we are certainly provided with an in-depth discussion on the significance of economic integration which will be highly important for future research on Greek *koina*.

The final chapter (Chapter 6, pp. 326–399) of the second part looks more specifically at the role of political networks and cohesion, leading to and expanding federal structures in the three regions. A central feature to the discussion on poli-

tics is again the significance of regional networks being active in developing and shaping federal political structures. In many instances military cooperation seems to have been central to how common ties between communities were established prior to the development of formal *koina*. This can for example be seen in regards to Aitolia where tribal groups forming part of the broader Aitolian *ethnos* could unite in order to face external enemies in at least the later 5th century BC. But the impact of potential external military threats seems to have been a driving force in the development of federal structures in all of the three *koina*. According to EM, interstate relationships and a common foreign policy seem to have been central factors for the political function of these *koina*. The chapter further provides an interesting discussion on the rights of citizens in the different *koina* and the degree to which citizenship was given to all members of individual *poleis* in a *koinon*. This discussion is important as it highlights some of the problems of how to understand the impact of federal politics on individuals within *polis*-communities, in particular the newly incorporated cities and regions.

The conclusion (pp. 400–407) is comparatively brief but interesting, and stresses the dynamic effects of regional mobility and processes of interaction in creating and expanding federal structures. An appendix follows which consists of a large number of selected epigraphic documents (pp. 409–504). EM states that the purpose of this epigraphic dossier is not to present an exhaustive collection of inscriptions relating to the political life of the three states but rather to provide key texts to illustrate the various themes and aspects of Greek *koina* explored by the book. This works very well and the provided texts are well edited with useful translations and commentary.

Overall the book provides highly interesting and novel perspectives on federal states and in particular the dynamic impact of mobility in shaping Greek federal states. This significantly widens our understanding beyond the more common political and administration focused histories of Greek *koina*. For these reasons *Creating a common polity* is a significant contribution to the history of central Greece and the northern Peloponnese in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as to broader research on federal politics and ancient economic history in general.

ANTON BONNIER  
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History  
Uppsala University  
Box 626  
SE-751 26 Uppsala  
anton.bonnier@antiken.uu.se

Irene Polinskaya, *A local history of Greek polytheism: Gods, people and the land of Aigina 800–400 BC* (Religions in the Ancient Greek World, 178), Leiden, Brill 2013, xxviii + 690 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-23404-8.

The subject matter of this book is the pantheon of Aigina: its local particularities, the changes it underwent over a period of 400 years, its internal logic and coherence, and finally the insights it can give us for the society and identity of the inhabitants of the island.

Chapters 1–6 are general in scope, situating the book and its approach in the broader field of Greek religion. Polinskaya argues for the need to prioritize the local and idiosyncratic in the study of the gods, as well as the need to look at local pantheons as meaningful coherent systems. Chapter 7, which is the longest of the book (225 pages) reviews the evidence for the gods whose cult can be attested on Aigina within the period studied. The gods are organized alphabetically, and the main aim of the discussion, other than establishing the validity of different pieces of evidence, is to detect the functions of each god. Chapter 8 examines the internal logic and coherence of the Aiginetan pantheon. It looks at the interconnections between the various divine figures, articulated through mythical and cultic ties or through shared functions. One of its main arguments is that the pantheon of Aigina is actually less chaotic than Panhellenic studies of Greek gods might lead one to imagine. The evidence indicates there were 16 cults, with only some insignificant overlap of functions. Chapter 9 examines how this pantheon was put together through time. It argues that there was a significant increase in the number of gods worshipped and the functions they performed. In the Geometric period there were few cults (those of Aphaia, Zeus Hellanios, and a couple of cult places with unattested divinities), which dealt with the basic needs of a small, simple and introvert society. New gods, such as Heracles, Damia and Auxesia, and Aiakos, were introduced in the course of the Archaic period, as Aigina became a trading power and its role in the Saronic Gulf and the wider Greek world changed. The pantheon was further increased in the Classical period, with gods, such as Dionysus, Demeter, and Asclepius supplying the needs of an increasingly complex society. Chapter 10 looks at how some cults of Aigina (Damia and Auxesia, and the Aiakids) articulated the relationships between the island and the other states of the Saronic Gulf. Chapter 11 returns to the broader topic of the relationship between the local/regional and the Panhellenic dimensions of Greek religion. It argues that the answer to what made Aiginetan religion Aiginetan is to be found in the answer to the question of what made one Aiginetan. Aiginetan identity, Polinskaya argues, was based on a combination of various elements, such as the topography

of the place, its myths of origins, and its reputation for justice and hospitality.

This is a long book (690 pages), and this is largely because detailed presentation of the evidence has taken precedence over narrative (this reader also found that the more general discussion in the first six chapters of the book was unnecessarily long). Thanks to its emphasis on detail, however, as well as thanks to the various appendices, the book succeeds in giving to the reader a very clear overview of the evidence and the main debates around it. Polinskaya's extensive discussion of the evidence in Chapter 7 is in many instances solid, persuasive and occasionally innovative. Too frequently, however, conclusions are arrived at in haste and betray a lack of engagement with wider scholarship on Greek religion: Hecate's cult is connected with the afterlife and Orphism (p. 292), for example. But Hecate, although connected with ghosts, has no established connections with afterlife cults.<sup>1</sup> And Orphism was connected with itinerant practitioners, not with fixed cults. Elsewhere (p. 288) Polinskaya assures us that the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros was uniform all over the Greek world, it had to do with fertility and women, and therefore there is no reason to enquire into its local character. But the votives found in Demeter's sanctuaries in the various places of the Greek world show significant differences despite some broad similarities.<sup>2</sup> Fertility and women seem to be for Polinskaya immutable concepts, and the scholarly debate about Thesmophoria and women's citizen status does not enter her agenda.<sup>3</sup> On p. 260 a dedicated anchor makes Apollo not only a patron of sea-faring, a well-attested function of the god, but also of trade, a much less certain skill of Apollo and one that certainly is not to be inferred from an anchor.<sup>4</sup> The exchange of insults between women in the cult of Damia and Auxesia has to do, according to Polinskaya (pp. 273, 284), with fertility magic, an antiquated interpretation. Nothing is said about the effect of such rituals in subverting social hierarchies, a much more modern perspective.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Hecate and ghosts see S.I. Johnston, *Restless dead: Encounters between the living and the dead in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley 1999, 203–249. For Hecate's problematic role at Eleusis see K. Clinton, *Myth and cult. The iconography of the Eleusinian mysteries* (ActaAth-8°, 11) Stockholm 1992, 116–120; A. Zografou, *Chemins d'Hécate: Portes, routes, carrefours et autres figures de l'entre-deux* (Kernos suppl., 24), Liège 2010, 71–83.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance U. Kron, 'Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümer: das Thesmophorion von Bialemei', *AA* 1992, 623 ff.

<sup>3</sup> M. Detienne, 'The violence of wellborn ladies: Women in the Thesmophoria', in *The cuisine of sacrifice among the Greeks*, eds. M. Detienne & J.-P. Vernant, transl. P. Wissing, Chicago 1989, 129–147.

<sup>4</sup> For the problem of Apollo's association with trade see M. Mili, 'Apollo Kerdoos: A conniving Apollo in Thessaly?', in *Current approaches to religion in Ancient Greece* (ActaAth-8°, 21), eds. M. Haysom & J. Wallensten, Stockholm 2011, 42–43.

<sup>5</sup> R. Parker, *Polytheism and society at Athens*, Oxford 2005, 349–350.

An important methodological problem for the particular questions this book asks has to do with the evaluation of the evidence available, its interpretive potential and its limitations. It is striking, but nowhere emphasized in the book, that the evidence available is very little in comparison with other parts of the Greek world. Leaving aside the testimonies of Pindar and Herodotus, there are only four excavated sanctuaries, nine dedicatory inscriptions, two inventories and a few *horoi*. It is not only the quantity of the evidence that should give pause. One has to enquire into the formation processes of the various bodies of evidence. Polinskaya does not engage with these issues and consistently undervalues the limitations of the bodies of evidence for the particular arguments she puts forward. As a result the question is not even raised, in Chapter 8, why certain gods and certain functions that we would expect in a society of the time are not present in the record, as for instance Hestia, Hermes, or any god relevant to politics, trade, pastoralism, conviviality, and merriment (Dionysus becomes for Polinskaya a god of fertility). It is thus that she can argue that the pantheon of Aigina was manageable and coherent, with little overlap of functions and argue for an evolutionary development of Greek polytheism though time.

The book certainly stands out from other regional studies of religion in its attempt to pinpoint more precisely the local character of Aiginetan religion. This attempt, however, is compromised by an exclusive emphasis on the gods. Polinskaya's confident dismissal, in a single sentence (p. 46), of the importance of looking at the worshippers in a study of religion in a particular society as a "simplification of Durkheim" is rather unfortunate. The book ends up continuing a long tradition of scholarship that thinks, as Polinskaya puts it (p. 71), that no religion can exist without gods, but it can apparently exist, so the implication seems to be, without the worshippers. As a result, and rather frustratingly, the answer to the question of what it was like to be an Aiginetan in the 5th century is only searched for in the imaginary universe of the gods, and not in the realities of what it was like to live and grow up in this small island in these turbulent times.

MARIA MILI  
British School at Athens  
Villa Ariadni  
Knossos  
GR-71409 Herakleio, Crete  
milimaria3@gmail.com

Paola Ceccarelli, *Ancient Greek letter writing: A cultural history (600 BC–150 BC)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2013, xviii + 435 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-967559-3.

Ancient epistolography has been a focus of intense scholarly interest during the last decades, and Ceccarelli's study is a fine and solid contribution to the discussion. The project began in Ceccarelli's desire to understand the letter as a medium of communication in the correspondence of the Seleucid kings, as stated in the very first sentences of the preface (p. v); this particular issue is focused also in the epilogue, where Ceccarelli states that her goal has been to "explore both the development of letter writing until it became the instrument of royal communication and the connotations acquired by official correspondence" (p. 331). The study is thus framed by questions concerning the letter as a means of official communication. Between the prologue and the epilogue, however, a huge amount of ground is covered and many contexts for letter writing are explored in detail. Thus, not only official letters but also letters between individuals and on private matters are brought into the picture. There are real letters and fictional letters, letters embedded in literary and historical works, letters preserved in inscriptions, on lead, and on papyrus, as well as myths and aetiologies concerning the invention of epistolary writing and of writing in general. A wide range of material is thus covered and discussed from a variety of angles. The over-arching question is never lost, however, and in spite of its richness and chronological leaps the book is lucid and well organized.

The preface begins by lucidly sketching out the positions in epistolary scholarship as well as the purpose and structure of the book, which is divided into an introduction followed by two parts: the first part concerns the background and beginnings of letter writing, while the second part deals with letter writing in the context of the polis.

In the Introduction (Chapter 1) Ceccarelli presents a survey of different kinds of letters together with a terminology for referring to them. She also discusses the practicalities involved in writing and sending letters. Ceccarelli accounts for the sometimes contradictory ways in which the Greek letter manuals categorized letters and for their modern scholarly counterparts. Her own conclusion, however, is that categories based on textual criteria (rather than function) can be more problematic than useful. In her own definition of what a "letter" is, though not neglecting formal elements, she underlines the importance of a spatiotemporal distance as the conceptual foundation for a letter. This distance is textually carried out by deictic markers, but its presuppositions are specifically historical circumstances.

After the Introduction the first part of the book begins, comprising Chapters 2–4. In this part Ceccarelli sets out to

explore the historical circumstances governing the production, form and preservation of letters: the ideological backgrounds, the technological conditions and the functions of letters in ancient Greek society. Chapter 2 begins with a discussion about the origins of letter writing which is quickly expanded to a discussion about the origins of alphabetic writing. Ceccarelli analyses early evidence for letter writing from the 6th and 5th centuries and contrasts it with other forms of written communication in a broad sense, such as epigrams and curses (especially the recently published Orphic *lamellae*). One of her conclusions is that epistolary writing in its familiar form (with formulaic greetings and conclusions, shifts between the first and third person, etc.) stabilized as a genre only in the mid-4th century BC. The material underlying this chapter is presented in greater detail in Appendix 1 and 2. Chapter 3 moves on to the question of how traditions on the invention of writing, and in particular letter writing, were represented from Homer via tragedy to early historiography, but also later representations are discussed (e.g. Lucian's account of epistolary formulae in his *A slip of the tongue in greeting*). These representations are then contextualized within a 5th-century debate on the uses of writing. A recurring conclusion is that letter writing was negatively viewed as untrustworthy and bound up with (Eastern) monarchical power. Chapter 4 is a study of letters in historical writing from Herodotus, via Thucydides and Xenophon to Polybius, but also including some lesser-known historians. In Herodotus letter writing is characterized as oriental, deceptive and connected with tyranny. This is not the case in Thucydides or Xenophon, even if letters are still seen as a problematic mode of communication, especially in the context of the polis. Changes in communicative practices eventually led to new views on letter writing, as can be seen in e.g. Polybius and epigraphical records.

Part II is concerned with letter writing within the polis, both in Athens and in the Hellenistic world. Chapter 5 analyses letters in Athenian tragedy and comedy, beginning a comparison between public speech and letter writing. There is a fine discussion on Euripides, in whose work letters are not only specifically mentioned but their used as dramatic devices to drive the plot forward (*Hippolytus*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*). The analysis of letters in public speech taken further in Chapter 6 through a discussion of letters in legal and political speeches of the Attic orators and their modes of quoting letters for purposes of persuasion. The chapter also contains some discussion on the first epistolary treatises. Chapter 7 turns to the Hellenistic period and the various views on letter writing found in various cities, not least inscribed official letters, which are provided in Appendix 3. Here, Ceccarelli suggests that letters were more acceptable in cities accustomed to "an oligarchic, personal way of power". The chapter also continues the typological questions from

previous chapters by addressing the formal contrast between decrees and official letters.

In sum, Ceccarelli's book is an impressive scholarly achievement and highly rewarding. The many seeming digressions and detailed analyses are occasionally demanding but the reader is always taken back to the main track, equipped with a fuller understanding than before and ready to embark on the next journey through other materials and perspectives. An important strength of the study is the awareness of geographical and socio-cultural variety when contexts are explored. In spite of the vast material covered and the broad perspective on letter writing no problems are overlooked and the author admits of no simplification. This book will be an obvious reference point for any further investigations into the ancient letter.

DAVID WESTBERG  
Department of Linguistics and Philology  
Uppsala University  
Box 635  
SE-751 26 UPPSALA  
david.westberg@lingfil.uu.se

Edwin Carawan, *The Athenian amnesty and reconstructing the law*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 2013, 310 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-967276-9.

Edwin Carawan's book *The Athenian amnesty and reconstructing the law* is a study of the reconciliation that ended civil strife among the Athenians at the close of the 5th century BC, a few years after their loss in the Peloponnesian War against Sparta. This agreement has traditionally been interpreted as an amnesty relating to all past misdeeds of the conflicting oligarchic and democratic parties. An outline of the Athenian settlement in its connection with the most important historical events surrounding it can be rendered as follows:

An "original settlement" probably came about in 403 BC, following the abandonment of the momentary post-war oligarchic regime of "the Thirty", and the consequent restoration of democracy in the city of Athens itself. During the civil strife, succeeding the war against Sparta, the democratic faction had its seat in Piraeus while the oligarchs were in command in the city of Athens, but after the democrats regained control of the city the members of the oligarchic party were relinquished to Eleusis. Here they were allowed to continue their alternative regime, until resuming hostilities presumably concluded with the "final settlement" of 401 BC and the resultant redemocratization of the whole Athenian city-state.

The three main theses set forth by Carawan regarding this Athenian reconciliation are 1) that the original settlement of 403 was in fact not a blanket pledge of forgiveness, i.e. not an unconditional amnesty, 2) that the accommodations of the

final settlement of 401 BC gave the impetus to the conception of the “Athenian Amnesty” acclaimed by the later tradition and 3) that the ultimate success of the reconciliation had much to do with the more rigorous legislation, i.e. the new sense of contractual obligation, reinforcing the agreement between the parties previously at war with one another. In the Chapters 2–8 of his book Carawan aims to substantialize and defend his theses by a detailed study of the relevant evidence relating to the reconciliation.

Chapter 2 introduces the most important ancient documents dealing with the reconciliation and acquaints the reader with the main lines of the scholarly history surrounding the settlement. Here a definite dividing line is drawn between the 1891 discovery of the London papyrus containing the *Athenaion Politeia* and the scholarship before that, which mainly had to rely on the somewhat conflicting accounts of the second book of Xenophon’s *Hellenica* and the defence of Andocides from 399 BC. It was after the revealing of the pseudo-Aristotelian account that the necessity was made clear of breaking down the reconciliation into the two phases of a flawed original settlement of 403 BC and a final agreement ending the conflict in 401 BC.

In the next two chapters (3–4) Carawan takes on the challenge of examining the evidence provided by the *Athenaion Politeia*, as well as some relevant comparanda, to gain knowledge of the nature of the original settlement of 403 BC. The overview throws clear light on the partitive nature of the first agreement regarding the different jurisdictions, pertaining, on the one hand, to the oligarchic rebel community henceforth located at Eleusis, on the other hand, to that of the restored democracy in the city. It also aims to show why this original agreement had to miss its mark: arguably it was unsuccessful in establishing limits to the possibilities of prosecution against old liabilities in the new situation, as well as inadequate for acknowledging the need for new legislation over and against the principle of restoration.

Chapters 5–7 contain a presentation of court procedures from the transitional phase between the two settlements of 403 and 401 BC, cases showing the consequences of the flaws of the original agreement as well as hinting at the legislative development leading up to the final settlement. Chapter 5 offers an example taken from Isocrates’ *Against Kallimachos*, pinpointing the measures which had to be taken during this time to limit predatory lawsuits related to private property rights. Through a pair of orations ascribed to Lysias chapters 6 (*Against Agoratos*) and 7 (*Against Eratosthenes*) then focus specifically on cases displaying evidence of barring of the public remedies against wrongs conceived of as affecting the whole polis (i.e. public offences on the basis of which the delinquents could be judged as *atimoi*). The development of

the legal system referred to in this connection is the evolving criminalization (also) of complicity in cases of e.g. bloodshed.

Finally Chapter 8 analyses the important evidence contained within Andocides’ defence against the charges of ungodliness (*asebeia*), directed against him in 399 BC for trespassing the sacred precincts of the Mysteries as an infidel. It is here that Carawan attempts to definitely establish the first of his main theses. He does this by showing that Andocides is not arguing with a view to a general amnesty for all past offences committed before 403 BC, but is in fact urging on something quite opposite: rather than forget the jury should remember the reprieves resulting from the recent crisis (i.e. from the civil strife and its aftermath). Carawan then assumes that the rationale behind this strategy employed by Andocides was that a “scrutiny of the laws”, taking the form of a cancellation of old liabilities (i.e. of criminal acts for which a sentence had already been given) for public offences going back to the time before 404 BC, had followed upon the final settlement of 401 BC, as a means of preventing a flood of litigation based on old offences. According to Carawan’s interpretation then, as his third main thesis states, the “Athenian Amnesty” would not involve as much of forgiveness as a new sense of contractual obligation, pertaining to the writing and upholding of laws.

It may be surmised that the Athenian settlement (or settlements) does not strike very many people as one of the more noteworthy events in Graeco-Roman history. Though commented upon with admiration by later authors of antiquity, such as Cicero (*Phil.* 1.1.), in modern scholarly literature the reconciliation would probably have been relegated to the status of a historical peculiarity, would it not be for the fact that the “Athenian Amnesty” has bearing on the question of why Socrates died. As we know Socrates, like a few months earlier in the same year Andocides, faced trial for a charge of *asebeia* in 399 BC. Unlike Andocides, however, Socrates was sentenced to death, and as long as it was assumed that a time limit (post 403 BC) for the application of all laws against criminal offences had been applied with the reconciliation, i.e. that a blanket amnesty had been introduced, a problem was posed for the otherwise most plausible explanation for the causes of the indictment and trial against Socrates: that they were motivated by and fronted with his alleged connection with the oligarchic fraction (most notably with Kritias).

Chapter 9, which because of its relevance beyond scholarly minutia clearly forms the climax of Carawan’s book, draws out the consequences with regard to the trial and death of Socrates of the account of the reconciliation presented in the preceding chapters. Carawan maintains that the law under which Socrates was prosecuted, and its application in his case, may very well have been unaffected by the scrutiny of the laws taking place as a consequence of the final settlement, since the

law was still valid, and Socrates as yet unpunished for his alleged offences.

Before the conclusion of the book the highly interesting Chapter 9 is followed by two further chapters (10–11), dealing with the emerging effects of the original settlement and the fulfillment of these with the final settlement of 401 BC. Both chapters build on speeches preserved in the Lysianic corpus and are clearly meant for drawing out the consequences of the third of the book's main theses regarding the reconciliation: that it brought with it a new sense of contractual obligation pertaining to the law. Chapter 10 deals with the speech against the law-inscriber Nicomachus and is intended to offer a glance of "the emerging regime of the laws", while Chapter 11 is working through Lysias's epitaphic oratory to establish the awakening of the awareness of laws understood as a "binding agreement".

All in all, Edwin Carawan's book stands as a sincere effort to resolve the problems connected with the "Athenian Amnesty". As already mentioned, however, in most chapters scholarly detail clearly outweighs questions of more general interest. Another way of approaching the same topic would have been, for example, to focus more clearly throughout the book on the developments in "legal thinking" merely hinted at in the majority of the chapters. Chapter 9, however, can be highlighted as an outstanding example of scholarship pertaining to the ever-relevant question of why the Athenians put Socrates to death.

OTTO LINDERBORG  
Department of Linguistics and Philology  
Uppsala university  
Box 635  
751 26 UPPSALA  
otto.linderborg@lingfil.uu.se

*Daughters of Hecate: Women and magic in the ancient world*, ed. Kimberly B. Stratton with Dayna S. Kalleres, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014. 552 pp. ISBN 0-19-534271-2.

*Daughters of Hecate* is a collection of 15 chapters examining the social, political, literary, and cultural forces that inform the construction of gender and the practice of magic in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean. The contributions range from ancient Greek and Roman examples to Biblical Jewish and Early Christian ones. In her introduction, Stratton writes that she began exploring the subject with "the expectation that women were more often represented and accused of magic than men were in ancient writings, and [she] sought an explanation for this bias" (p. 1). But as the work developed, she found that the evidence did not support this at all. The notion that when men do it, it is medicine and religion and is to be

lauded, but when women do, it is witchcraft and magic and should be punished, turned out not to hold. What emerges over the course of the 15 chapters is a relationship between women and magic that defies easy categorization, stereotypes, or binary power relationships; the value of the collection, then, lies not only in its insights for those interested in the historical, literary, and social construction of women and magic, but also as a case study for how to reappraise source material when it no longer lends itself to outdated ideas.

The principal evidentiary source for ancient culture in the Eastern Mediterranean is the written record, a record composed, preserved, and, until recently, analysed exclusively by men. The application of feminist theory to these texts has rightly shown how the ingrained misogyny of ancient writers (and, if to a lesser degree, modern scholars) warps their perceptions of both women as represented in the texts and also of their actual lived experience. Consequently, previous scholars have made the mistake, in Stratton's words, of "accept[ing] the representation of women's magic at face value and us[ing] it to reconstruct women's actual ritual practices" (p. 5) while ignoring the inherent unreliability of such sources in speaking about women's lives. Rather than offering an actual picture of women's practice of magic, then, scholarship after feminism reveals that what such texts actually offer is a picture of how male writers imagined women's practice of magic. Each of the three sections in this volume provide a different methodological corrective to this practice.

Part I, 'Fiction and fantasy: Gendering magic in ancient literature', examines how, because of their own ideological biases, ancient authors distorted the picture of actual magical practices. In the opening chapter of the section, 'From goddess to hag: The Greek and Roman witch in classical literature', Barbette Stanley Spaeth makes clear the limits of the literary sources: "It is important to recognize that these representations do not necessarily reflect reality; they probably do not tell us much about actual witches ... we should not read these literary portraits naively, as pointing towards the reality of the practice of magic" (p. 43). Rather, she argues that they "can reveal much about how the societies of classical antiquity thought about the cognitive category of 'witch'" (p. 43). A feminist perspective sheds light on the patriarchal ideologies which define the term and the position of those to whom it is applied. The witch can help us understand how the categories of "woman" and "magic" operate in the male imaginary. A similar subject is addressed in the second chapter, Rebecca Lesses's "'The most worthy of women is a mistress of magic': Women as witches in *I Enoch* and Rabbinic sources". Though dealing with the Biblical Jewish tradition, Lesses asks similar questions: "What do we learn about these sources' discourses of women from the way they refer to them as witches? Do these discourses bear any relation to women's actual use

of amulets, spells, and healing practices?” (p. 71). Indeed, though the four chapters in this section deal with works from different periods and places, their conclusions are remarkably similar: the depiction of witches reflects male sexual fears and fantasies about women, about gender boundaries and their transgression, about power and who wields it, and about the dangers presented by women and the natural world.

If the chapters in Part I are concerned with the ways literary depictions of witches were distorted by patriarchal discourse, those in Part II, ‘Gender and magic discourse in practice’, seek to analyse such texts from a more critically aware perspective to see just what can be known about the practice of witchcraft. Elizabeth Ann Pollard’s ‘Magic accusations against women in Tacitus’ *Annals*’, for instance, looks through Tacitus’s rhetorical depiction of trials (“Tacitus achieves more than merely the completion of his overall negative portrait of women in positions of power” [p. 184]) and finds a sociological purpose for witchcraft allegations: “to help negotiate competitive and unregulated relationships between women of power”, “to allow contemporary observers to deal with a group of people who are suddenly in an unexpected position of power”, and “to allow for the realignment of factional hierarchy amongst noble families” (pp. 184–185). Dayna Kalleres’s ‘Drunken hags with amulets and prostitutes with erotic spells: The re-feminization of magic in Late Antique Christian homilies’ is also sociological, seeing in “images of female magical practice ... discursive objects marking an Other, which measured the inverse construction of proper Christian identity both ritually and socially” (p. 220). Magic, she argues, was a way for the Church to exert control over the many new adherents of their faith, each with their own preceding religious traditions. By calling something magic and thus criminal and proscribed, the church eliminated previous (pagan, often polytheistic) ritual practices and diminished the role of women in the sacred sphere. Ayşe Tuzlak’s ‘The bishop, the pope, and the prophetess: Rival ritual experts in third-century Cappadocia’ offers a similarly feminist sociology. As in the previous chapter, Tuzlak argues that witchcraft is a constantly shifting social paradigm, evoked and constructed to address how “contemporary anxieties about possession, agency, gender, and sexuality could play into debates regarding ritual expertise and sacramental efficacy” (p. 253). Again, witchcraft appears only to be censured, and the whats, wheres, whens, and hows of its censure reveal the patriarchal ideologies of anxiety and control about women and nature. Nowhere is this theme made clearer than in Kirsti Barrett Copeland’s ‘Sorceresses and sorcerers in Early Christian tours of hell’: when surveying Dante’s sorceresses in hell, “the pilgrim is instructed to look at these women who did not practice the appropriate feminine arts of sewing, weaving, and spinning yarn” (p. 299). This is magic as a means of social control: when women behave in ways sanctioned by patriar-

chy (such as, for instance, the devout humility of Beatrice), they go to heaven; when they behave in ways of which Dante and the (male) Catholic authorities disapprove, they go to hell.

How, then, can we actually know about women’s magical practice given the attendant problems of literature under patriarchy and given that much (perhaps most) magic was never accounted for in the literary record at all? Part III, ‘Gender, magic, and the material record’ solves both of these problems. The material record, it turns out, is one of very few places where we can actually hear female magicians speaking in their own voice. David Frankfurter’s ‘The social context of women’s erotic magic in antiquity’, for instance, reproduces the texts of spells found on binding tablets, funerary inscriptions, and other magical objects. What these objects show is the diversity of female experiences, sexual desires, and the expression of both public and private identities and the social constraints which helped shape them. Pauline Ripat’s ‘Cheating women: Curse tablets and Roman wives’ and Fritz Graf’s ‘Victimology or: How to deal with untimely death’, both examine how women behaved in family circumstances, as wives, mothers, and daughters, or, as in AnneMarie Luijendijk’s chapter ‘A gospel amulet for Joannia (P.Oxy. VIII 1151)’, simply as any other member of society attempting to find release from physical ailments.

In the end, this volume showcases the strengths of interdisciplinary approaches to the ancient world: equal parts literary studies, art history, archaeology, and cultural studies. Each contribution demonstrates the strengths and limitations of one of these fields for understanding life in antiquity. Taken together, they provide as detailed a glimpse into the ancient world as we, two millennia removed, could hope to find.

ADAM J. GOLDWYN  
Department of English  
North Dakota State University  
NDSU, Dept. 2320  
P.O. Box 6050  
Fargo, ND 58108  
USA  
adam.goldwyn@ndsu.edu