subjects. Although this terminology can be documented in the 440s, it probably developed much earlier, as the Athenians reacted ferociously to allied revolts, restricted open dialogue about league decisions, exacted *phoros*, and seized the league treasury. The empire also led to a distinct concept of *autonomia*, which identified the desirable internal freedoms of certain allies within the ostensibly oppressive *archê*. R.'s discussion of the Athenian Empire makes for worthwhile reading, but is perhaps less exciting twenty years on, because R. has since pursued many of these ideas further (e.g. 'Democracy, Power, and Imperialism in fifth-Century Athens', in Euben, Wallach, and Ober [edd.], *Athenian Political Thought and the Reconstruction of American Democracy* [Ithaca and London, 1994],).

Finally, R. argues that the Athenians forged an inextricable link between freedom and democracy, so as to demonstrate Athenian superiority to Sparta, to create a powerful ideological opposition to tyranny, and to score points in the polarized debates between democrats and oligarchs from the 440s onward. Freedom superseded equality as the definitional democratic value—a development confirmed by the new centrality of *parrhêsia* as opposed to *isêgoria* in Athenian ideology. By the last third of the century, at the latest, *parrhêsia* 'clearly and simply expressed everything that mattered' (p. 225). This argument clarifies the growth and maturity of democratic ideals during the fifth century; there is still no other synoptic treatment of the fifth century that offers as much. Democracy, which guaranteed its citizens both political participation and a free choice of lifestyle, became the only constitution suitable for free men; oligarchy failed to develop its own ideology of freedom analogous to 'proportional equality'. Partly in response to oligarchic attacks, democrats worked to resolve the inherent tensions between freedom and the communal need for respect, law, and tradition. This is but one further case, among many, in which R. has identified a topic deserving detailed further investigation—which will inevitably build on the solid foundation he provides here.

This brief review cannot adequately convey the subtlety and intelligence of this volume. Its publication in a revised and translated form is a major event.

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GREEK WOMEN

P. BRULÉ: *Women of Ancient Greece*. Translated by A. Nevill. Pp. viii + 240, ills. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003 (first published as *Les femmes grecques à l'époque classique*, 2001). Cased, £49.99. ISBN: 0-7486-1643-8.

There are already a number of recent general books on women in ancient Greece available in English. Why translate a French version to add to the group? From the purely informational perspective, this book adds little to those already available, but it organizes its material differently and, because it emphasizes historical and prose sources over literary or visual sources, it offers a particularly pessimistic view of Greek women's lives and of male attitudes to Greek women. Yet even adopting this approach, as Brulé admits, we can have little access to the ordinary lives of women and must look to the stories of a few women, from Penelope to Neaira, in order to

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bring ancient Greek women to life. Overall, B.'s study puts a special stress on matters of religion, on the body and sexuality, and on court cases and philosophical works that illuminate, often very prescriptively or tendentiously, domestic life. The book is unfortunately marred by typographical and other small technical errors.

Chapter 1 is somewhat misleadingly entitled 'The Feminine and the Sacred', because it offers, along with a survey of 'the feminine in the divine' and a brief discussion of cultic rôles for women, a lengthy exploration of archaic misogynistic poetry. Despite the numerous, diverse, and powerful female divinities in the Greek pantheon, goddesses remain in B.'s view largely circumscribed by traditional feminine rôles: virgin daughter, bride, and mother. And despite female participation in religious rituals, festivals, and religious offices, female access to the divine was always controlled by men. B.'s survey of religious offices held by women stresses virgins and old women over other priestesses, about which we know considerably more than one might guess from this discussion, and emphasizes the problem of giving religious authority to women, given their irrational, vulnerable, and unreliable natures. Mythical sources for Dionysiac cult are privileged over conflicting inscriptional evidence from the Hellenistic period. While the closing discussions in this chapter are perhaps meant to horrify the modern reader with details of early Greek misogyny, the relentless focus on this material appeared to this reader almost perverse.

Chapter 2 offers a limited view of women in the Homeric epics. It deals exclusively with female captives in the *Iliad*, who are named as possessions of their fathers, virgins like Nausicaa, who are on the verge of being possessed by a man along with valuable goods, and Penelope, who has no real autonomy. Andromache, Arete, Hecuba, Helen, and others make virtually no appearance. The chapter avoids confronting the substantial controversies over the nature of Homeric marriage in the scholarly literature as well as numerous valuable discussions of the narrative complexity and ambiguity of the *Odyssey*. Surprisingly, there is no attempt to draw seriously on anthropological studies of comparable cultures, as do most other studies of the topic.

Chapter 3, on the body and sexuality, again skews our view of female anatomy by emphasizing Aristotle's highly misogynistic biological texts. A version of Aristotle's views on conception did become the dominant view. Yet the chapter barely touches on the different views represented in the Hippocratic corpus of both conception and, later in the chapter, female orgasm. B. leaves us with the impression that pollution from female blood is major and established factor in cultural attitudes to females. In fact, there is very little evidence on this question before the Hellenistic period; the Hippocratic texts can even recommend intercourse during menstruation. No one would argue that Greek *hetairai* had a happy lot. At the same time, the work of Leslie Kurke and others have offered a more complex view of attitudes to *hetairai* than Brulé allows.[1]

Chapters 4 and 5, which rely largely on court cases, prose sources, and some visual evidence, offer a more balanced analysis of B.'s chosen texts. The discussion in Chapter 4 opens with a detailed look at marriage among the powerful Alcmaeonids, followed by a useful description of the legal and economic aspects of Greek marriage and an interesting contention that pederasty and sex with teenage brides reflect one 'erotic form' (p. 135). Oddly, however, B. seems to accept Xenophon's view in the highly

[1]See especially L. Kurke, 'Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Ancient Greece', *CA* 16 (1997), 106–50 and revised in *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton, 1999), pp. 175–219. Others articles by Kurke on this topic are cited in her book.

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prescriptive *Oeconomicus* that girls arrived at marriage totally ignorant (see, by contrast, Lysias 1.7). The remainder of the chapter touches on Sparta's different marriage practices and the wedding ceremony (again controversies about the nature of the ritual are not addressed). This chapter, entitled 'The Joys and Miseries of Married Life', once again puts the major emphasis on the miseries. By contrast, David Cohen's *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1991) usefully draws on anthropology to suggest a more complex interpretation of the same material. The final chapter explores domestic life, with an emphasis on the highly limited rôles offered to women in the middle and upper classes. As this book shows, our evidence for the lives of ancient Greek women and male attitudes to them does not offer an attractive picture to the modern reader. But studies that stress the complexity of and contradictions in Greek views and attempt to interpret them in a larger historical and cultural context make the topic a more valuable area to investigate.

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CHILDHOOD IN GREECE

J. NEILS, J. H. OAKLEY: *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece. Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*. Pp. xviii + 333, b/w and colour ills. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003. Paper, £27.50 (Cased, £45). ISBN: 0-300-09960-6 (0-300-09959-2 hbk).

Coming of Age in Ancient Greece combines a series of articles on childhood with the catalogue of an exhibit of 127 ancient Greek objects and images all relating in some way to the world of children and adolescents. The editors provide up to date bibliography, and the authors supply generous annotation to their well-illustrated articles. The articles themselves, by Jill Korbin (contemporary childhood studies), Mark Golden (a pungent survey of childhood as presented in Greek texts), Jeremy Rutter (childhood in Aegean prehistory), Lesley Beaumont (changes through time), Alan Shapiro (fathers and sons), Helene Foley (mothers and daughters), Jenifer Neils (ritual), and John Oakley (death), make a substantial contribution to a field almost invisible in English before Mark Golden's *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore, 1990).

Books like this are like a feast. Richly illustrated and carefully written, this catalogue puts the exhibit on permanent display for study at our leisure. The first thing we notice is that childhood itself is an unstable concept. Lesley Beaumont argues that because black-figure scenes represent children as miniature adults, childhood was not a specially marked category in archaic Athens. She correlates the degree of accuracy in painted and sculptural depictions of children with political change and argues that children increased in social value after Kleisthenes. 'Accuracy' is a loaded term, however, and fluctuations in style and subject matter are not always that simple to explain. Oakley includes a wider variety of objects from a broader geographical area, and his survey of child burials indicates that concern for the individual child is evident already in the Geometric period and endures up to the late fifth century. He recognizes that a parent's disregard for gender when placing objects in a young child's grave is not

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