property class system in 580 B.C. (pp. 280, 286, 296–7). They continued to be a major political force as supporters of Peisistratus' tyranny (pp. 281–2, 287).

Interesting and original as this line of argument is, it again suffers from a casual use of evidence: most blatant is perhaps the twisting of Herodotus' reference to Athenian pots being banned from a single sanctuary on Aegina into a widespread trade boycott (pp. 163–6). More importantly, despite S.'s attempts to distance himself from the primitivist–modernist debate (pp. 4–11), his interpretation is as modernizing as they come, yet makes virtually no effort to anticipate predictable primitivist protest about the economic (in)significance of a few dozen Athenian potters and the (un)likelihood that Solon consciously and systematically set out to transform his city's economic infrastructure.

The intertwining of the two strands with one another and with other developments, less central to the argument, such as the rise of the *polis* and the hoplite phalanx, adds further dimensions to S.'s ambitious historical scheme. It would be petty to dwell on minor errors and omissions, since this book gives every impression of having been single-handedly produced by the author down to the production of camera-ready copy: it carries no acknowledgements of any kind to anyone. As such, it is quite an achievement, and the range of S.'s intriguing ideas is impressive. But few readers will be convinced by his main arguments unless they share the sort of hard-line modernizing outlook which makes you think that well-dressed figures on Attic vases must have subliminally advertised the Athenian clothing industry, simply because you find it 'hard to imagine' anything else (p. 252).

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RELIGION AT ATHENS

A. RUBEL: *Stadt in Angst. Religion und Politik in Athen während des Peloponnesischen Krieges*. Pp. 413. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000. Paper, DM 64. ISBN: 3-534-15206-9.

Scholars sometimes assume that Greek religion was in many ways immune to political developments. Greek history can be divided up into specific periods (archaic, classical, and Hellenistic), and religious developments (such as ruler cult) could occur in response to political developments, but on the whole the apparatus of religion and people's beliefs went on. There was a clear connection between politics and religion, but religion's influence over politics was much more important and apparent than politics' influence over religion at Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

Rubel in some senses covers well-travelled ground in this book, and when one thinks of religion in the Peloponnesian War some themes and events are immediately recalled: the mutilation of the Hermai, the profanation of the mysteries, the Delphic oracle, and the Athenian desecration through profane use of the sanctuary at Delion. But Rubel casts his net wider, and in nine chapters, each divided into various subsections, covers a great swathe of material.

Chapter I (pp. 11–48) serves as a useful introduction to the topic; Chapter II concerns the impiety charges against philosophers and sophists (pp. 49–119); Chapter III deals with the plague and Perikles (pp. 120–56); Chapter IV, the impiety prosecutions of Protagoras and Diagoras (pp. 157–77); Chapter V is on the religious and political significance of the mutilation of the Hermai and profanation of the Mysteries (pp. 178–232); Chapter VI covers tradition, innovation, and new gods

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(pp. 233–61); Chapter VII, sacred buildings (pp. 262–306); Chapter VIII discusses the religious dimension of the Arginousai trial (pp. 307–41); and the ninth and final chapter deals with Socrates (pp. 342–68); four brief appendices follow (pp. 369–78).

With so much material covered, only some points can be noted. In the section on Athena Nike (pp. 286–97), *IG* I^3 35 and *IG* I^3 36, important for an understanding of the appointment and selection of the woman priest for the new temple of Athena Nike, are discussed. It is perhaps an omission not to have a detailed discussion of Myrrhine as well, chosen from out of all the Athenians to be the first woman priest of Athena Nike in 424/3 B.C., and so representing a major shift in the appointment of priesthoods. Gentilician priesthoods for traditional cults were the norm until this time; Myrrhine's appointment is an important feature of the democratization of cult, treating priests as officials to be appointed by the state. The state's desire to intervene in religious matters, first occurring probably in Peisistratos' arrangements for the Panathenaia, seems to be apparent in the case of the demos as early as the Praxiergidai decree (*IG* i^3 7), which seems to confirm the religious privileges of this *genos* apparently against some encroachment by the *demos*.

Myrrhine highlights what I thought was a flaw in the book; religion is in R.'s account a politicized dimension of the *polis*. Missing are the people themselves; there are philosophers (including Socrates), Pericles, and a host of major characters, but even the people as the generic *demos*, let alone the 'person in the street', seems to be omitted. Myrrhine herself is absent; she is also not joined by the wailing woman beating breasts for Adonis on her rooftop while the Sicilian Expedition was being organized in the Athenian ecclesia (Ar. *Lys*. 387–98), or the women carrying their images of Adonis through the streets, lamenting him and carrying out mock funeral rites (Plut. *Nic*. 13.10–11; *Alc*. 18.4–5): all the reader has is a quick reference to Adonis (p. 256) with some relevant passages cited. Also, on p. 257 for Ninos read Nino (and she was not connected with any Sabazios cult).

Despite the sections on sacred architecture (pp. 262–306), R. does not really bring the reader into contact with religious iconography. The Parthenon was constructed and its metopes carved before the war. But the enigmatic Erechtheion falls into R.'s period and he discusses it, with a specific subsection on the 'Korenhalle'. These statues of adolescent women are technically caryatids, and R. uses this term, but the inscriptions referring to them have 'korai'. They carried phialai in their hands, as is known from Roman copies, and they are not choephoroi. There was no iconographic description of the statues, and R.'s section on architecture is generally weak in this respect. R. discusses the arrephoroi in connection with these korai, but what was needed were some points about the significance of korai in the worship of Athena, and the cultic rites of girls and adolescent women in general, and the relationship (if any) between the Erechtheion korai and the girls and those of the (earlier) east frieze of the Parthenon.

The sources are mainly literary; the grasp of the epigraphic evidence was solid. References to sources for particular points seemed full (some of the footnotes are overlong), and a good range of German and English works were cited and discussed, which is reflected in the solid bibliography of both German and English scholarship. The lack of any index is surprising and a major defect of the work. This book will be an indispensable one for looking at Athenian religion in this period. Many of the topics are familiar ones, but the detailed discussion of the religious implications of Arginousai (pp. 307–41), the attempt (though more was needed here) to incorporate religious architecture into the survey, as well as the positive approach to religion in this

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period instead of seeing it as becoming bastardized under the pressure of war or infiltrated and perverted by 'exotic cults' (pp. 257–61), all make this a seminal work.

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GREEK PIETY

L. B. ZAIDMAN: *Le commerce des dieux;* eusebeia*, essai sur la piété en Grèce ancienne*. Pp. 239, pls. Paris: Éditions la Découverte, 2001. Paper, frs. 135. ISBN: 2-7071-3258-6.

In this work on Greek piety, Z. has taken two distinct approaches, looking at piety both as a concrete expression of worship and belief in the gods, but also as a more abstract concept. The book is divided into three sections. The first of these, 'Rites, pratiques, comportements' (pp. 19–84), has three chapters, the first covering actual acts and expressions of piety, the second, divination and oracles, and the third, mystery religions and initiations. The second section, 'Naissance d'une notion: histoires de mots, histoires d'hommes' (pp. 87–177), has four chapters; Chapter IV covers the piety of Homer through an exploration of the themes of *Iliad* 1, Chapter V discusses the development of *eusebeia* as a concept, Chapter VI deals with Aeschylus and piety, while Chapter VII consists of portraits: the 'antithetical' Nicias and Alcibiades, Xenophon ('ou la piété d'un parfait cavalier'), the Xenophontic and the Platonic Socrates; Chapter VIII covers piety, impiety, and superstition. A third section, 'Le discours des philosophes sur la piété' (pp. 179–209), has four small chapters; Chapter IX is on Pythagoreans and blood sacrifice; Chapter X concerns anthropology and piety (Theophrastus on the development of the Greek sacrifice); Chapter XI deals with Theophrastus and Dicaearchus on piety; while Chapter XII covers Porphyry: 'philosophical piety and civic cult'.

The material on the practical manifestations of piety is of its very nature an overview, and provides what are largely summaries on topics such as festivals, offerings, prayers, sacrifices, bloodless offerings, trapezomata, dedications, and the concrete expressions of piety in Aristophanes *Ploutos*, dealing specifically with the procedure of incubation in Asklepios' shrine. Z. does well to quote *LSS* 107, 'déposer les offrandes là où elles n'encombrent pas le passage' (p. 45), to indicate the sheer number of dedications which could come to clutter up a temple, as expressions of the *eusebeia* of 'ordinary' people. Most of the chapters in the book are along similar lines, with overviews rather than detailed arguments, and there are no in-depth discussions of evidence. For example, Theophrastus' 'Superstitious Man' receives little attention in the chapter on piety and superstition (see p. 169). This first section is in a sense the most useful, as it is the particular workings of *eusebeia*, and how individuals actually displayed them, which are of most interest in considering piety in ancient Greece.

The discussions of literature and philosophical writings in the second and third sections of the book will, however, help the reader to consider Greek concepts of piety. Several writers, as the titles of chapters indicate, are examined.

To illustrate the ordinary Greek's piety, there are hundreds of suitable images. Zaidman has chosen seventeen; some are represented as line drawings. Only one of these shows women by themselves in a pious gathering; all the other representations are of men or of family groups. All of them are immediately recognizable, except perhaps 11 and 12, each a relief of a praying man, one in silver and one in bronze. It will be difficult for the reader to find where a particular illustration is discussed in the

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