for a dubious sense of 'authenticity' and essentialism that is strangely at odds with a consciousness of the complex processes of making and remaking of identities.

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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni113

GREEK FREEDOM

K. RAAFLAUB: *The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece*. First English edition, revised and updated from the German. Translation by R. Franciscono, revised by the author. Pp. xii + 420. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004 (first published as *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit. Zur historischen Semantik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte eines politischen Grundbegriffes der Griechen*, 1985). Cased, US$55, £38.50. ISBN: 0-226-70101-8.

This is a revised and translated edition of Raaflaub's path-breaking *Entdeckung der Freiheit* (1985). In the present version, R. has strengthened his arguments (p. xii), updated the bibliography, responded to critics, and located arguments within current debates. The major questions confronted by such an edition are whether the ideas have stood the test of time, whether they usefully contribute to current discussions, and whether the effort to reach a wider audience is justified. The answer to all three questions is resoundingly affirmative.

R. focuses on freedom, not as a philosophical concept, but as a genuine part of social and political history. Building on Koselleck's theory of *Begriffsgeschichte*, he shows that the word *eleutheria* fossilized a diverse history of events, behavior, attitudes, and ideology. Beyond this single term, R. also examines the conceptual field of freedom, which, he argues, was defined by complementary ideas such as power and contrasting concepts such as slavery. He takes the textual record, including its gaps, seriously: without tangible signs of particular concepts, he infers that the concepts in question were unavailable or unimportant at the time. This approach is more plausible than the rather elaborate recent Marxist interpretations of literary silence (e.g. Rose, *Sons of the Gods, Children of Earth* [Ithaca, 1992]). R. tends, however, to represent ideas chiefly as responsive to events and circumstances, rather than as enabling or motivating political behavior (e.g. 143–4). Other intellectual historians, by contrast, have viewed ideas as action-inspiring—for example, in arguments that French revolutionaries put Enlightenment ideas into action (cf. Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* [Cambridge, 1990]). Sophistic ideas of freedom and justice may similarly have motivated Athens's oligarchic revolutionaries.

Since the concept of political freedom was foreign to the Bronze Age palace cultures (pp. 19–22), R. begins with Homeric society. Homeric society valued freedom and abhorred slavery without originating an independent concept of political freedom, because the 'crucial dividing line' (p. 31) within communities was between nobles and the masses, whether free or unfree. Advancement came not through winning political freedom but through attaining proximity to the master of the *oikos*; thus the master/servant opposition had more weight than the free/slave opposition. Until those with power, i.e. the élite, began to view freedom as a central concern, freedom remained a 'low-priority value' (p. 43). This insight enables R. to raise substantial doubts about Orlando Patterson's thesis that the concept of freedom as an independent value

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni114 Published online by Cambridge University Press

originated in the experiences of slaves and women, i.e. the weaker members of society (pp. 42–4, cf. pp. 260–1). In external conflicts, similarly, warriors fought for their community's 'survival' (*sôtêria*) rather than freedom. Although this history could be re-described in terms of freedom, R. commendably understands ancient culture on its own terms and does not overvalue the presumed logical relations among ideas. Social experience often made such logical relations either less visible or less important than we might think (e.g. pp. 54, 93). R.'s arguments have been strengthened by recent re-evaluations of Homeric society, including his own. Other archaic poets, such as Hesiod and Solon, primarily valued *eunomia*, responsibility, and justice rather than freedom. Solon's liberation of Athenians from debt-bondage instituted personal, not political, freedom; paradoxically, Solon's legislation made freedom less urgent politically because post-Solonian Athenian citizens came to take their freedom for granted.

If political freedom was latent in archaic concepts of *eunomia* and *dikê*, then, argues R., it was 'emancipated' because of three experiences—the Persian Wars, Athens's empire, and Athenian democracy. R. again explores the relationship between external and internal freedom. Before the Persian Wars, neither mainland nor Sicilian Greeks formulated a distinct concept of freedom in response to warfare or to unequal alliances. (An interesting feature of R.'s revision is his convincing demonstration, *contra* Badian, *From Plataea to Potidaea* [Baltimore, 1993], that the late sixth-century alliance between Athens and Plataea did not amount to 'enslavement' but was, rather, a voluntary and mutually beneficial relationship of unequal partners [pp. 74–9].) Though utilized by some Greeks during the wars, and perhaps earlier by Ionians, the concept of political freedom became predominant only in the late 470s, as the Delian League continued the Hellenic war effort, and as the Athenian funeral oration underwent rhetorical development.

Within the *polis* similar developments can be seen. In the Cleisthenic period, R. suggests, the Athenians' key political watchword was *isonomia*, which captured the aristocracy's rejection of tyranny and its traditional desire for an equal share in governing the *polis* (*contra* Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* [Oxford, 1991], pp. 82–4). In the scheme of early fifth-century Athenian values, therefore, *isonomia* far overshadowed freedom (96). The internal political freedom of the *polis* was fully appreciated only when the Greeks (especially Athenians) recognized the unbridgeable gap between their 'isonomic' *poleis* and the tyrannical 'constitution' characteristic of Achaemenid Persia. The foundation of cults to Zeus Eleutherios just after the Persian Wars confirms the status of these wars as a watershed in the creation of a fully independent concept of external political freedom and, secondarily, of internal freedom from tyranny (pp. 102–17). Even after twenty years, R.'s arguments are plausible, stimulating, and suggestive of further avenues of research (e.g. into the relationship between domestic political rivalry and the cultivation of ties with Persia, pp. 83–4). R.'s treatment of archaic and early classical Athens provides a valuable overview of themes (such as the 'isonomic' character of Cleisthenic Athens) which R. has now developed in separate publications (e.g. 'Power in the Hands of the People: Foundations of Athenian Democracy' and 'The Thetes and Democracy', both in Morris and Raaflaub, *Democracy 2500? Questions and Challenges* [Dubuque, 1997]).

As a novel experiment in political power, the Athenian Empire significantly contributed to the conceptual evolution of freedom. The Peloponnesian League had not witnessed a comparable exercise of power; the nearest precedent was Persian rule over the Ionians. The empire led, above all, to an increasingly differentiated terminology of *douleia* and domination to describe the Athenians' relation to their

https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni114 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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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doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni114

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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