looking at the seashore sanctuary of a *kourotrophos* at Amnisos in southern Crete, and Piérart at a double mythological tradition concerning Dionysos at Argos.

As is usually the case with such a volume, readers will find different papers appealing according to taste and preoccupation. Personally, I would be most likely to return to the contributions of Burkert, Graf, Brumfield, Bremmer, and Clinton, since they address issues which recur in my teaching, but others will no doubt find application for a different selection.

University of Leeds EMMA STAFFORD

ATHENA

S. Deacy, A. Villing (edd.): *Athena in the Classical World*. Pp. xii + 435, ills, pls. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2001. Cased, $116. ISBN: 90-04-12142-0.

The papers collected here are part of the fruits of a conference on Athena held at Lincoln College, Oxford in April 1998. The aim, as the editors explain, is to bring together papers representing a broad geographical and chronological scope, from India to Rome, prehistory to the twentieth century, and a range of methods and approaches. Indeed, the nineteen papers provide something of interest for just about everyone in the field of classics. Two papers discuss Athena's influence on Roman cult or her place in Roman literature; two others take up the question of her connections with other Indo-European deities; one paper looks ahead to her influence on the modern world. The rest are all concerned with Greece, with the inevitable predominance of Athens (despite the editors' claim to the contrary), though there are several papers reaching into other parts of the Greek world, near and far. The volume represents numerous areas of study that bear on Athena, as suggested in the headings of the volume's three sections: Cult, Ritual and Myth; Artistic Representations; Literary Accounts.

In the most adventurous of the papers on cult, Noel Robertson argues that the *aigis* was used at Athens as an instrument of weather magic to bring rain in late fall for the newly sown crops. The chain of his arguments is long and intricate, reconstructing a ceremonial combat beside the Palladion at Phaleron, and the placement of the *aigis* on the Palladion just before the combat. Before placing it on the Palladion, he suggests, someone shook it, just at the time when the crops had been planted and needed rain, in November. If the reader accepts the many steps involved in this reconstruction of ritual, he may also accept the final imaginative leap, that the goat-star, representative of the victim whose skin becomes the *aegis* and associated with rainstorms, was invoked through shaking the skin to bring the desirable rain.

A different facet of Athena appears in Serghidou's paper, which examines Athena's changing attitude to the *aulos* and her association with the *salpinx* in view of the ethical values which these instruments come to have; like the goddess, the *salpinx* has a regulatory rôle in war and in the city. Still other rôles of Athena and her Roman counterpart, Minerva, are the subject of Graf's paper examining the functions of Minerva. This goddess's place in the Capitoline triad seems to represent Athena Polias translated to Rome, to give one example of Athena's influence on the Italic deity. Graf's close analysis of Minerva's place in the state, in the transformation of girls into wives and mothers and boys into citizens, in the world of craftsmen, and in healing reveals subtle differences as well as likenesses in comparison to Athena, and enhances our understanding of both deities.

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Three papers take up the subject of dedications to Athena, in actuality (Williams and Schaus, Wagner) and in the imaginative claims of the chronicle of Lindos (Higbie). The latter paper indicates the place of such dedications in a city's bid for glory and the link between the Lindian list of dedications and Homeric narrative, or, more particularly, the gaps in Homer's narrative, which provide an opportunity to create a local connection to epic heroes. Williams and Schaus's paper on a sanctuary of Athena at Stymphalos describes the structures as well as the dedications with a wealth of comparative data from other sanctuaries, and the tantalizing suggestion that a tetragonal stone may have served as the cult statue. Wagner's paper on the plaques and plates found on the Acropolis indicates Athena's unusual prominence as subject on these as well as other vase shapes dedicated on the Acropolis.

The papers dealing with artistic representations of Athena touch on vases, coins, and statuary. Ritter's discussion of the iconography of Athena in archaic Corinth, on coins and vases, compares Corinthian images to Athenian ones with careful attention to chronology; at both Corinth and Athens, the goddess dons a helmet in the course of the sixth century, but the Corinthian coins choose a Corinthian helmet that rests on top of Athena's head, while the Athenian ones use an open Attic helmet that encloses Athena's head and reveals less of her neck and hair. He provides no evidence, however, for his suggestion that the 'beautiful' Corinthian Athena is designed to accentuate peaceful aspects of the goddess. Faita takes up another coin type, of the second century B.C., a Pergamene silver tetradrachm with Athena on one side and Medusa on the other; her suggestion that the symbols associated with Athena on this coin represent the seven cities involved in an economic alliance with Pergamon at this time gains strength from the fact that seven objects appear not once, but twice on the coin.

Altripp and Mathiopoulos discuss statues of Athena. Altripp examines a series of fourth-century statues and suggests that they, like their more imposing fifth-century predecessors, embody and served to transmit Athenian values. Altripp's careful stylistic analysis cannot in itself establish the meaning of the shift to smaller, more delicate statues; for that she depends upon their resemblance to the figures in document reliefs. These connections need a fuller demonstration. Mathiopoulos's subject is the Athena Velletri, a classical Athena type which, as she shows, is transformed in Hellenistic Alexandria to become Athena Tyche, with a cornucopia symbolizing the wealth bestowed upon Egypt by the Ptolemies.

Neils makes use of representations of Athena in literature and art to demonstrate the goddess's close association with her father, in myth and in cult. Her collection of evidence for the grouping of Athena and Zeus bolsters her ingenious reconstruction of the east end of the Parthenon frieze. The gods of the east frieze should be seen as seated in a semi-circle around the peplos scene which appears at their center in the flat plane of the pediment. This arrangement has the great advantage of placing all the gods in a position to receive both north and south processions and to witness the central scene, as well as restoring Athena and her father to their expected position together.

Llewellyn-Jones focuses our attention on Athena's clothing and its significance, demonstrating its evolution in the course of fifth-century art on vases and, predominantly, sculpture. (Only once does the argument depend upon a Roman marble copy—there for his 'right' arm read 'left', p. 251.) From a heavily protected figure whose armor and peplos mask her body to a clearly feminine figure as seen on the Parthenon frieze, the body revealed under the clinging fabric of her gown, Athena leads the way in the changing depiction of female garments. Llewellyn-Jones suggests that the shift is in accord with Pericles' rhetoric exhorting Athenians to become *erastai*

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of their city, as reported in Thucydides; the 'sexy' representation of Athena celebrates Athens' patron goddess as *parthenos*.

Karentzos' subject is Franz von Stack's and Gustav Klimt's turn-of-the-century depictions of Athena, sometimes 'sexualized' by such additions as a grapevine or even the Gorgoneion. The editors suggest that this view of Athena may make us more conscious of our own preconceptions; it may also remind us of the strange results that come of imposing modern theories on ancient evidence.

In the third section, 'Literary Accounts', Karanika proposes that some of the cults honoring Athena reflect literary depictions of the goddess, especially her interactions with mortals. In conclusion, she cites a passage in Pindar which demonstrates well the way myth can illuminate and further the purpose of the ritual at hand, but the Homeric examples she has adduced do not work this way and do not provide a close connection to the cults she mentions. Her paraphrases of Homer and brief references to the rituals in question provide too vague a picture to be persuasive, in any case. Papadopoulou summarizes the spheres with which Athena is associated in tragedy, concluding that though Athena is often associated with justice and displays characteristics befitting a civic goddess, she can exemplify the capriciousness that the divine so often manifests to the human perspective. Milanezi studies the various meanings of Athena's laughter, from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to the *Batrachomyomachia*, where she finds a mockery that degrades the goddess, unlike the intimate teasing of Attic comedy. Most thoughtful and thought-provoking is her final suggestion, that the mock epic may have had an apotropaic function in a ritual honoring Athena and through her, Athens, the 'dreaming land' of post-classical Greeks.

Spence argues that Pallas Athena, Pallas in the *Aeneid*, exemplifies the necessary inclusion of *furor* in the *pietas* of Augustan Rome. Drawing from the *Aeneid* and a parallel she sees between Pallas' just killing of Ajax in the epic's first book and Aeneas' of Hector at the end, she suggests that both exemplify a just *furor*. We may accept her general statement of the need for irrational forces in a just world, but her claim that Athena is connected with these forces rests on shaky ground. It should be noted, for example, that the Latin text she cites associates Ajax, not Athena, with *furor* (*Aen*. 1.41). Spence also examines a marble krater depicting Athena and Apollo in two parallel scenes of worship; she identifies Aeneas in the scene of Athena and posits Augustus as the missing figure in the Apollo scene, and here her supporting references to the *Aeneid* are apt.

The last two papers draw connections between Athena and other Indo-European traditions. Teffeteller sees a parallel between Athena and a Hittite guardian deity, the Sungoddess of Arinna, and argues that Athena's name as well as her persona may represent a borrowing, via Luwian in the case of the name. Allen suggests a different parallel, the Sanskrit warrior goddess Durgā, who appears in a myth which resembles the *Odyssey* in several points. The comparison is more effective in linking the epic heroes than the goddesses, however, since Durgā appears only briefly.

There is a fairly extensive bibliography and an index. Most of the articles discussing artistic representations of Athena make use of figures and/or plates to illustrate their points (not so many as to justify the volume's price, however); the reader should be alert to the fact that some of the plates are not in the sequence of the articles.

The editors' introduction provides a useful survey of the more productive of the paths taken in scholarship on Athena, suggesting the place of each of the papers in this range of approaches. They have chosen to run the risk of incoherence in assembling such deliberately disparate papers; I suspect that most readers will pick and choose from the group in accordance with their interests. Nonetheless, the collection succeeds

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in representing the diversity of evidence that contributes to our understanding of Greek religion. While most of these papers focus on a particular kind of evidence, perhaps this collection will persuade readers of the utility of combining different kinds of evidence and approaches in order to understand as fully as possible any facet of Greek religion.

Amherst College REBECCA H. SINOS

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE

V. HINZ: *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia*. (Palilia 4.) Pp. 252, pls. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichard Verlag, 1998. Paper. ISBN: 3-89500-052-3.

Sicily and Magna Graecia were two areas of the Greek world which were particularly closely associated with the cults of Demeter and Kore. Sicily was said by ancient authors to be the site of the abduction of Kore, and the cults are attested archaeologically by a substantial number of sanctuaries. This volume collects the archaeological evidence for these sanctuaries, including both the votive deposits and evidence of buildings. The geographical coverage is comprehensive, including not only the major temples such as that of Demeter Malephoros at Selinus and the sanctuary of Persephone at Locri, but also smaller sanctuaries, and those which have been found in the non-Greek hinterland of the Greek colonies. Chronologically, however, the study is more restricted and does not cover any material later than the third century B.C., thus precluding any discussion of these cults in the Roman period.

As well as providing a valuable collection of evidence, Hinz undertakes an analysis of the chronological development of these cults and their geographical distribution. This reveals some striking patterns. The cults were relatively small-scale in their distribution until the middle of the sixth century B.C., when both the number of sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore and the quantity of terracotta votive statuettes increased considerably, and a distinctive local style of votive developed. Further major changes occurred in the fifth century, when sanctuaries were transformed by the construction of monumental temples, new forms of votives were introduced, and the festivals of Demeter and Kore became more closely embedded in the life of the city rather than of the *chora*. H. sees these cults as highly politicized, linking the expansion of the late archaic period to the political domination of the Deinomenid dynasty, and the subsequent establishment of the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros as an important urban cult to the establishment of democratic government in the later fifth century. She also links changes in the distribution of the cults in the fourth and third centuries, notably an expansion in the non-Greek areas of Sicily and a greater frequency of Demeter cults in Italy, to migrations and demographic changes initiated by Dionysius I and his successors, and thus links their history closely to the political history of Syracuse. This model works well for Sicily, although it is less convincing for southern Italy, where there are a number of Demeter cults in areas which were not notably dominated by Syracuse. Nevertheless, this is a useful collection of the evidence for these two important cults, and a stimulating discussion of their social, political, and economic significance.

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