Review
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her form and pose in some important ways. But the fact of female worshippers as viewers is utterly neglected here, not least because they stand outside the artist's (likely) intentions. This seems, ultimately, to narrow the possibilities for reading as well as to preclude a sense of the relationship between female worshippers, including priestesses, donors, and celebrants, and the statue. To the extent that ex-votos and inscriptions can speak of the presence of such female worshippers, ought we not to keep an open mind and methodology to deal with the multiplicity of alternative readings and other understandings of individual and collective relationships to what remains a divine body? And might such an open methodology have implications for inventive (and potentially even useful) interpretations of other Greek monuments? The book provides opportunities for thinking creatively with as well as against the author; the clarity of his ideas and the visibility of his theories and methods encourage such creativity.

In short, Stewart has performed a fine and valuable service; not only has he given us a timely and sophisticated overview of a field in the process of developing, but he has also used contemporary theory in ways that are productive for the future. And the book is a good read—not something we say very often in these pages.

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PANDORA: WOMEN IN CLASSICAL GREECE, edited by *Ellen D. Reeder*. Pp. 431, figs. 400, color 140. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1995. $95 (cloth), $35 (paper). ISBN 0-691-01124-9.

Anyone interested in the role of women in ancient Greece should purchase this beautifully produced and reasonably priced book for its plethora of well-documented images alone. Ellen Reeder, the curator of the original exhibit at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, is to be congratulated for her extraordinary energy and diplomacy in gathering a rich group of artifacts from a remarkable range of private collections and museums. In her role as editor of the volume, however, Reeder's solid discussions of objects in the catalogue far surpass her opening essays.

Reeder's introduction and opening essay summarize, but do not seriously address, the choice of topics represented. The availability of objects naturally dictates the shape of such an exhibition, and the inclusion of wedding scenes and representations of cult, ritual, and textiles is obviously central to any examination of women in Classical Athens. Yet the choice of particular myths or female deities, and the underrepresentation of, for example, women's role in death ritual are insufficiently discussed, or are even left unexplained. These essays appropriately survey women's lives and status in Classical Athens, but the discussion is riddled with numerous small errors (e.g., uncles were only the first in line as marital prospects for Greek heiresses [23]; and Apollo, not Athena, says that the woman is only the nurse of a man's seed in Aeschylus's *Eumenides* [25]) and dubious interpretations (e.g., it is *not* generally agreed that Greek society descended from a culture that worshipped exclusively female divinities [14]). Given the difficulties involved in interpreting the problematic and fragmentary written, archaeological, and visual evidence offered for the lives of Greek women here, a sophisticated discussion of methodology would have better oriented the inexperienced reader to profit from the volume as a whole.

In a book that attempts to locate visual evidence in its larger cultural context, interpretive essays should ideally do the same, as well as offer new perspectives on the material discussed. Each should directly illuminate the book's topic and the works presented in the catalogue, and address some of the methodological problems in interpreting the material under discussion. In *Pandora*, the principle of selection for its eclectic essays is unclear. Andrew Stewart's essay "Rape?" fits the bill most closely. Representations of sexual pursuit are discussed in relation to the larger cultural context and the latest scholarly studies in a provocative fashion that leaves the reader with almost too many ideas to process. Alan Shapiro's study of the cult of Kekrops's daughters argues convincingly that the importance of these heroine cults and their popularity in vase painting in Classical Athens can be explained by its close links to the city's tutelary goddess, Athena. François Lissarrague considers with typical methodological finesse the implications of the boxes and containers that are constantly used to define the female world in Greek art; through the deliberate visual linking of open doors and chests, for example, a vase painter can play with the motifs of hiding and revealing that are elsewhere associated with the female in Greek thought. Sally Humphreys argues that "Greek culture . . . presented women with contradictory stories about female identity, and this contradictoriness surely left some room for maneuver" (106). Because three-dimensional figures have ritual functions, the viewer can construct an active relation with them. Humphreys suggests that we can view such images "against the grain of ancient Greek culture and our own" (109). This stimulating challenge might have been strengthened with a closer interpretation of images from this perspective.

Two nevertheless valuable essays by Froma Zeitlin and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood address visual representations of women only tangentially. Zeitlin's essay on the Archaic poet Hesiod's influential misogynistic myth of Pandora illuminates the title of the volume and links the famous pithos in which this first woman traps the ambivalent Hope with the ancient view of the womb as an inverted jar. Hope thus represents the unborn child, a necessary but ambivalent good in the eyes of the poet. Sourvinou-Inwood argues usefully against misusing modern Mediterranean culture to interpret the ancient world. For example, while both modern and ancient Greece define public and private worlds similarly in terms of gender, Classical Athens gave women an important public role in religion, whereas the modern Greek church does not. Her argument that women have roles complementary and equal to those of men in the religious sphere needs further qualification, however. Although women play central roles in

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religion as priestesses, their activities are generally confined to cults of goddesses and deities concerned with fertility. The symbolic place of such cults in the city, as well as women's uncertain control of cult finances, may in fact make them religious officials on different and perhaps more marginal terms.

John Oakley's article argues that the use of wedding iconography in nonwedding scenes on Greek vases deepens "the meaning of a scene beyond its immediate action" (72). Consideration of the broader (and much discussed) cultural and linguistic context, which also repeatedly blurs the boundary between brides, wives, rape victims, concubines, and so forth, would have substantially enriched the argument, however. The same is true of Margot Schmidt's narrow and unfocused essay on sorceresses. Mary Lefkowitz's essay on the Greek *parthenos* aims at a reader with no knowledge of Greek culture and does not attempt an original argument.

The catalogue generally brings Reeder's substantial talents as curator to the fore. Since each object receives a full discussion, however, constant repetition is required to contextualize it sufficiently. If she had offered a general introduction to each section, she might have highlighted more effectively the special aspects of each object, and made the whole more interesting. As it is, the catalogue is much more accessible and interesting to readers examining objects in isolation from each other.

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THE PNYX IN THE HISTORY OF ATHENS: PROCEEDINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ORGANIZED BY THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS, 7–9 OCTOBER 1994, edited by *Björn Forsén* and *Greg Stanton*. (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 2.) Pp. vi + 142, figs. 68, foldout plans 2. Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Helsinki 1996. FIM 200; $45. ISBN 951-95295-3-5; ISSN 1237-2684.

This volume includes 11 essays (and a brief introductory letter from Homer Thompson) presented at an international colloquium on the Pnyx, the meeting place of the Athenian democratic assembly. Although the Pnyx was extensively excavated in the 1930s, many questions have been raised in the last two decades concerning its reconstruction, organization, and historical phases. The papers in this collection focus on specific problems of form and date but also relate this important archaeological site to more general issues of political and religious institutions in the ancient world.

P. Calligas offers an excellent overview of research on the Pnyx and neighboring areas that introduces many of the issues addressed in the volume and highlights several key problems that could be resolved through further excavation. A few of the contributors offer new comments on their earlier studies of topics such as the number of citizens accommodated in the assembly place (Stanton, Hansen), the role of the Pnyx in the Panathenaic festival (Romano), and the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos (Forsén). Others discuss the nearby fortification walls and how they fit into the history of Hellenistic defensive architecture (Karlsson, Conwell), and one scholar relates several enigmatic inscriptions found in the area to the general religious character of the Pnyx and Mouseion hills (Peppas Delmousou).

At times, it is clear that the scholarly exchange of the colloquium has forced the authors to reevaluate or modify earlier opinions, while at other times they openly disagree. For example, G. Stanton's new reconstruction of the second architectural phase of the Pnyx significantly increases the available seating area, which he argues provided space for about 10,400 citizens in the late fifth century B.C. M. Hansen, on the other hand, accepts Stanton's restoration, but rightly disagrees with his method of calculation and prefers a substantially smaller number of ca. 8,500 citizens who could sit in the assembly. The distinction is historically significant since the capacity of the auditorium may be directly related to the number of male Athenian citizens at the time, the quorum required for certain measures, and the introduction of the *ekklesiastikon*, or pay for attendance.

The date and form of the third phase of the Pnyx is the subject of important essays by S. Rotroff and J. Camp (a more detailed article has since appeared in *Hesperia* 65 [1996] 263–94). Rotroff addresses two major problems associated with the construction date of Pnyx III: the large amount of Roman pottery found in several deposits, and the precise chronology of the fourth century B.C. material. Advances in the chronology of Roman lamps and ceramics since the 1930s now make it possible to date the latest material in the fill to the third century A.D., thereby ruling out the possibility of a Hadrianic building phase. Refinements in the study of Greek ceramics, lamps, amphora handles, and coins suggest a terminus post quem of ca. 335 B.C., clearly favoring a Lycurgan date for the construction of Pnyx III. (Readers should note that this presumably supersedes the date of "c. 340 B.C." suggested in the *Hesperia* article, where it is argued that Pnyx III was constructed before the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C.) While the excavators of the Pnyx had originally restored a theater-like seating area on a huge earthen embankment sloping down toward the speaker's platform (*bema*), Camp presents several compelling reasons against such a restoration and argues that the seating area of Pnyx III was level and that the bema was raised above the crowd—a solution first proposed by W.B. Dinsmoor in his review of the Pnyx publication (*AJA* 37 [1933] 180–82). Camp also raises the

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