

Surprisingly for a work from Oxford University Press, there are numerous typos and grammatical mistakes. These include awkward sentence structure, missing words and spelling errors (e.g. pp. 8, 36, 106, 155, 213, 220, 221, 284, 452, 482, 603, 726) and punctuation mistakes (e.g. pp. 16, 230, 244, 245, 383, 574). For example: 'Persian soldiers may also been less inclined or trained to keep in formation' (p. 155); 'It had been had been replaced by the maniple' (p. 220); 'he should chose wealthy and influential men, making them an example to the others' (p. 452). In addition, there are very few images, which at times could have been beneficial. For example, McDonough's contribution, 'Military and Society in Sasanian Iran', begins with a long and detailed description of a Sasanian relief, but no image is provided.

These are minor concerns, and the volume certainly provides a broad overview of many aspects of war in the ancient world. Nevertheless, it is difficult to pinpoint for whom exactly the volume is intended. For the scholar of ancient military history, much of the volume will be review, as the recent trend in handbooks and companions aims to be introductory. For the student interested in beginning to study these topics, however, the price tag is prohibitively expensive, and instructors could not require the purchase of the volume for coursework (although online availability through university libraries could ameliorate this concern). The volume is an extremely useful research tool, and the bibliographies are thorough and extensive. Certainly the broad range of topics and approaches provide excellent ways into the subject of ancient warfare.

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SOCIAL ROLES IN ARCHAIC LESBOS

CACIAGLI (S.) *Poeti e società. Comunicazione poetica e formazioni sociali nella lesbo del VII/VI secolo a.C. Opera vincitrice del premio Giuseppe Cevolani per il 2011.* Con prefazione di Claude Calame. (Supplementi di Lexis 64.) Pp. xii + 357, ills, maps. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 2011. Paper, €84. ISBN: 978-90-256-1272-6.

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The hypothesis of C.'s book, as stated in the introduction, is that, however different the social roles of men and women were in seventh- and sixth-century Lesbos, the deep structure of their respective social formations was similar (p. 11).

The first chapter centres on Sappho and Alcaeus' respective communities and the question whether poetry produced and performed by women reflects a plurality of audiences and contexts, in contrast to the general unity of the audience addressed by Alcaeus and more specifically the poetry performed at symposia (p. 42). C. finds that it is difficult to answer the question whether there existed a separate community for Sappho's poetry because of the lack of comparative material, which does not apply to Alcaeus, for whom Archilochus (among others) and his companions can serve as a parallel. None the less, a group can be presupposed also for Sappho's poetic activity clearly designed for a feminine audience, as well as from fragments and testimonia which include the proper names of Sappho's companions. Therefore the distance between the audiences of Alcaeus and Sappho has to be reduced since both poets seem largely to speak to a unique public, made up of their 'friends'. Three relationship terms, *ἑταιρεία*, *φιλότης* and *ἔρωσ*, appear in

Sappho's poems which are comparable to ἐταῖρος and φίλος found in Alcaeus. These remarks lead C. to assert that the distinctive element separating the two poets is the activities which the society has attributed to each of the two genders and not the mere fact that they are separate groups. The *eros* expressed by Sappho in many poems could then be interpreted in a more 'social' key (see below).

This is followed by a long digression on the concept of *compagnonnage*, covering epic (where C. sees Patroclus and Achilles as an exemplary case of a hetairic relationship) through the societies of the seventh and sixth centuries, and then down to Alcibiades' club in the fifth century. Here, as elsewhere in the book, one may object to the tendency to view phenomena such as the *hetaireia* as a diachronically consistent social phenomenon or to push comparisons too far (e.g. pp. 278–83, 292 for the use of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* to explain the segregation of sexes in Mytilene). For both the set of relations of the *hetaireia* and its function have changed, as clubs no longer consisted solely of aristocrats and they became involved in power struggles inside the *polis* (as happened, e.g., with the mutilation of the Herms).

The core of C.'s position is that Sappho's feminine community could also be called a *hetairieia* and could have had a hierarchy and paideutic functions just as Alcaeus'. However, the resemblances between the two do not imply identity, as C. notes. The actions of men and women were differentiated even when they coexisted in the same places (p. 133). It is not the first time that parallels are drawn between Sappho's circle and the *hetaireia* of Alcaeus (e.g. G.W. Most, 'Greek Lyric Poets' in *Ancient Writers* [1982], pp. 95–6; A. Pippin Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets* [1983], p. 209; B. Gentili, *Poetry and its Public in Ancient Greece* [1988], p. 81) or even that Sappho's group is described as being like the masculine *hetaireia* (J. Trump, *ZPE* 12 [1973], 139), but this is a systematic attempt at an extensively parallel discussion of the two Lesbian poets through the character of their groups.

Chapter 2 focuses on the places and the occasions for action especially for the female Sapphic community and discusses a number of fragments in connection to sacred, internal and external spaces demonstrating that the Sapphic community acts in a variety of contexts, from the domestic to the 'public' to the sacred (i.e. ritual occasions). The *eros* and a certain type of ritual would not be the only activities of internal spaces because musical performances could also be internally performed for a restricted audience (fr. 22). This context has affinities with the male symposium, including a strong paideutic dimension. For Alcaeus C. notes the absence of sympotic context for the song in connection to the *temenos* of Messa (fr. 129), which he considers an exception for Alcaeus, and he parallels this to Solon's *Salamis* elegy (1 W.). Yet his *hetaireia* would not find an external context of the poems only in political activities but also in various other occasions, such as wedding ceremonies, one phase of which took place in the streets of the city. The external context therefore brings the *hetaireia* in connection with groups with whom it is not always connected with the bonds of *philotes*. C. could have mentioned in this context fr. 448 in which Alcaeus seems to have celebrated Thales of Miletus during a *panyegyris* in Lesbos. Still such poems, like Solon's *Salamis*, could have been designed for the symposium as well as having been composed for another occasion (cf. also Alcaeus' non-political hymns, e.g. frs. 307–10). Wedding ceremonies take the Sapphic community to outside spaces too. One can suppose that some choral performances took place indoors and thus did not call for a vast audience. Other fragments referring to dance do not allude to a vast public nor to an occasion indicating such a public. The settings of other fragments are unclear, so that it is necessary to avoid immediate linking of dance or choral song to a public performance. Besides the wedding ceremony, another public, external context, can be shown for fr. 140 (the celebration of the Adonia); other frs. could point to other nocturnal festive occasions.

In general, C.'s analysis regarding the way and the context in which the songs could have been performed does not entertain at all the roles that the poetic 'I' may play that are distinct from Sappho or Alcaeus, or that their songs were (re)performed on different occasions. On the contrary, C. seems inclined to believe that their poetry was differentiated, from for example Pindar's, admitting a pragmatic use of the first person singular and plural (p. 298).

Chapter 3 sheds light on *philotes*, the condition of friendship created by being a member of a faction. According to C. blood/family ties are the foundations for this type of relationship (p. 232).

Chapter 4 discusses the ideology of Alcaeus and Sappho. Alcaeus' is the *patria* (p. 242) whereas for Sappho it is *philotes* with Aphrodite with S 16 exemplifying the specificity of Sappho's attitude towards Aphrodite in comparison with male poets. Moreover, the house of Cleanactids to which the members of Sappho's community belong may have a particular connection with the goddess which distinguishes Sappho's community from others. That Aphrodite would be present in Sappho not only because she was a female god of love (and thus provide a divine background for the feminine gender scheme of her songs) is suggested also by the central role Aphrodite has in the erotic story of a male member of Sappho's family, her brother Charaxos, in her function as protector of navigation and protector of love (p. 270). But these features are traditional characteristics of Aphrodite and are no more established in Sappho's poetry than other conventional elements connected to the goddess: Aphrodite is also for Sappho the Olympic daughter of Zeus (fr. 1) and the mistress of vegetation (Ἀνθεῖα) (cf. also the tiny fr. 140a on Adonis, lover of Aphrodite and a vegetarian deity himself).

Chapter 5 re-examines the criteria for belonging to the same group, revisits the composition of the groups in age classes, and summarises the conclusions of the study. C. sees the differences between Sappho's and Alcaeus' groups in two specific contexts, the private and the public space, a diversity which originates in their different sexes (p. 292).

C. succeeds, through a combined use of social and anthropological data, to promote awareness of the historically specific and disparate feminine/masculine cultures on archaic Lesbos. He is less successful in showing whether there were simultaneously also two lyric traditions.

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GREEK TYRANTS 2 AND 3

CANALI DE ROSSI (F.) *Tiranni, legislatori e giudici nella Grecia arcaica*. (Fare Storia 2.) Pp. xiv + 146. Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2012. Paper, €40. ISBN: 978-88-6687-020-3.

CANALI DE ROSSI (F.) *La fine della tirannide*. (Fare Storia 3.) Pp. xiv + 154. Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2013. Paper, €40. ISBN: 978-88-6687-027-2.

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These two books, together with the first in the series (F. Canali de Rossi, *La tirannide in Grecia antica* [2012]), may be considered in every respect to be a single work physically divided into three volumes, of which we shall look at the second and third.