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because of the often opposing meanings imposed on the performances by prisoners and guards: “theatre as tyranny” and “theatre as torture” on the one hand, “theatre of reawakening (*théatro ananíspeos*)” and “theatre of absolution (*théatro apolymánseos*)” on the other” (p. 18). There was ideological disagreement among the prisoner population as well: the more committed Marxists wanted nothing to do with a Classical past at all, while even among prisoners more sympathetic to the project, many felt that the actors had become pawns of the camp administration.

In the middle section, Van Steen analyzes the performance history of the plays themselves. In a world in which prisoners of conscience and jailers upholding the law struggled to claim the cultural capital of antiquity, it is not surprising that Sophocles’ *Antigone* would loom so large. Hegel understood the play to be about the conflict between two equally valid moral claims: the right of an individual to follow her conscience and the right of the state to enact laws and enforce them. To the prisoners of conscience and their jailers, each side, then, could see the play as offering mythological exempla justifying their own particular ideological positions and relation to state power: a “theatre of ideological complicity” (p. 66). In 1948 on Makronisos, the most notorious of the prison islands (and today a protected Civil War monument), for example, the guards permitted the staging of *Antigone*, in which “The prisoners’ political reading of the tragedy brought out the ‘democratic’ elements of a common, popular interpretation hostile to the tyrant Creon. Conservative onlookers, however, found their own measure of ideological satisfaction in a firm, consistent Creon, devoted to the state and to law and order” (p. 66). Van Steen rightly notes, however, that unlike the two other great dissident heroes in tragedy, Prometheus and Philoctetes, who could take some solace in “the promise of a future victory that they live to enjoy, complete with the rewards of exoneration, recognition, and restored memory,” the severity of Antigone’s death offered a harsher possible future. As one of the interviewed detainees is quoted in the book, “Yes, and Antigone dies and Creon counts his losses. But he goes on living. That seemed to me to be the moral of the story” (p. 66).

The heart and soul of the book is not its analysis, however, but her bilingual edition of the Leftist dissident Aris Alexandrou’s adaptation of *Antigone*, written in response to the state-sponsored performance of *Antigone* on Makronisos. Van Steen demonstrates how this “eternal *persona non grata*” came to his own perspective on the *Antigone*. As a Leftist, he was hated by the Right; as a Leftist critic of the Left, however, he was equally hated by them. His *Antigone*, therefore, emphasizes the appalling levels of internecine strife, beginning with the double fratricide with which the play opens and ending with the double deaths of Antigone and Haemon at the hands of their father/father-in-law/uncle. Then, wisely,

Van Steen lets Alexandrou’s play and its characters speak for themselves, in Greek and in her own English translation. In the larger context Van Steen has provided in the rest of the book, Alexandrou’s play stands out for the way in which it engages with the larger theme of the political authority bestowed by the appropriation of Classical symbols. In the interchange between characters with Byzantine and Classical names speaking in the ancient and modern Greek language about contemporary events (the play is set during World War II), Alexandrou’s characters seem to exist in a Greece for all times.

For Alexandrou, a critic of Right and Left, of past and present, the Classical heritage is the common inheritance of all Greeks of all periods, regardless of political persuasion. *Theatre of the Condemned* shows us how the appropriation of Classical literature was a site of nationalist contestation in post-war Greece. It should also remind us, however, that it has become the common currency of world civilization, a notion which Alexandrou identifies in his prologue: “Any similarity with persons who have lived, are living, or will live is entirely coincidental. ... Therefore, any theatre company, professional or amateur, has the right to produce the entire play or scenes of it, without asking permission of the author” (p. 239). The same can be said of the Classical tradition writ large, and Van Steen has provided a valuable service to Classicists, historians and those in the theatre by illuminating this interesting aspect of the reception of tragedy.

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N. Papazarkadas, *Sacred and public land in ancient Athens* (Oxford Classical Monographs), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011. xii + 395 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-969400-6.

This volume is extremely ambitious, and is based on the author’s Oxford dissertation in 2004. Nikolaos Papazarkadas (henceforth, NP), examines the presence of non-private land in Athens, i.e. sacred and public land, as the title suggests. The structure of the work resembles that of a systematic catalogue (or dissertation), which makes reading the volume from cover to cover difficult, in spite of the seven appendices which include hard facts. On the other hand, this outline allows the reader to find specific areas of interest, which may be preferable. A larger issue is that, generally, the text is too loaded with concentrated facts discussed in detail according to conventional scholarly manner and at the same time too colloquial. For the interested, but non-specialist scholar of the field, it is sometimes hard to

make out the gist of the individual studies. The timescale is not explicitly stated, but the study focuses on the Classical period, especially the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period.

Chapter 1 deals with modern scholarly opinions of ancient forms of proprietorship, and the economy related to proprietorship. NP considers many of these modern opinions anachronistic. NP deals with the terms “land”, “real property” and “realty” interchangeably, as the ancient Greeks themselves did not distinguish between the categories of tillable lands, pasture and buildings. The investigation is based upon literary and foremost epigraphic evidence and, to a smaller extent, the archaeological evidence—all of which are scrutinized in every detail. Where possible, NP combines different kind of sources in order to strengthen the interpretation. The aim of the study is to “provide an exhaustive presentation of ancient testimonies of realty controlled by collectivities” (p. 14). NP has divided the presentation of his investigation according to the corporate groups that controlled sacred and public land: sacred realty administered by the *polis* of Athens (Ch. 2); lands managed by the tribes and demes of Athens (Ch. 3); real property managed by semi-public groups, i.e. *phratries*, *gene*, *orgeones* (Ch. 4); the absence of publicly owned sacred property in Athens (Ch. 5). A concluding summary is contained in Chapter 6. Appendices 1 and 2, dealing with the sacred *Orgas* and *moriai* respectively, constitute a direct continuation of the first chapter, while appendices 3–7 stand alone, more-or-less.

NP traces the existence of the terms *temene* and *basileus* back to Linear B documents, in which they are associated with land units allocated to a sequence of palatial functions. They also occur in the Homeric epic. However, as NP himself admits, there is no evidence of continuity for these terms—neither in terms of usage or meaning.

One of the points which NP pursues is that, in contrast to what is usually taken for granted, he perceives sacred property as both economically and conceptually essential. As a consequence, sacred landholdings and thereby sacred administrations were more autonomous, vis-à-vis the *polis*, than conventional scholarship maintains. Moreover, NP identifies a link between sacred rentals and cultic activity; he posits that income from sacred property was meant to cover expenditure for cultic activity.

Although NP focuses on the identification and investigation of public and sacred real property, he concludes that the majority of land in Athens was private; at the end of the Classical period, public land was even increasingly transferred into private ownership. This is especially important to bear in mind when analyzing the Athenian economy altogether. NP also points out that there are certain issues with the ancient terminology and the modern understanding of these terms. This is essential when identifying an ancient property as public or private. Leasing properties were common and a

not un-substantial source of incomes. The administration of leasing and purchasing, whether of public or private realty, is accounted for by NP. He includes prosopographical studies, which demonstrate that a limited amount of individuals were involved in leases as well as sale transactions, both for financial benefits and social prestige.

The *demes* and other sub-*polis* associations were allowed to keep landed property in their domain from the Archaic period onwards. According to NP this explains why the *polis* of Athens does not appear to receive any income from arable lands. During the 5th century BC, confiscated territories, especially those of the rebellious members of the Delian League, were founded as sacred realty of the *temene*. In the first half of the 4th century, the absence of relevant documents indicates that the leasing system disappeared or at least decreased considerably. However, the Social War constituted a turning point, and Athenian public finances experienced a recovery which, in the 340s, implied a renewed interest in land exploitation, including the sacred leasing system.

From the Hellenistic period, in general, there is a decline in the number of documents preserved, i.e. inscriptions recording land administration. It is significant that *deme* documents, describing themselves as self-governing units, become rare in the Early Hellenistic period and disappear towards the end of the 3rd century BC. By ca 200 BC there is a disappearance of documents which record sacred realty or rentals. This is a pattern which is also noticeable in relation to the *polis*, and probably a reflection of the political crisis in Attica (and mainland Greece as a whole) at the time: the Macedonian occupation, the administration of Demetrios Poliorketes, the Chremonidean War etc., which all brought about a shift in political power. This, together with the depopulation of the Attic countryside entailed a transformation of cultic activity, according to NP. Regarding the decline and disappearance of epigraphic testimony, the existing amount of inscriptions and their contents are not necessarily representative of their frequency in antiquity. That is, there may have been inscriptions that are now lost and, moreover, a certain phenomenon may have existed even if the habit of documenting it through inscriptions did no longer exist.

In conclusion, well into the Roman Imperial period, the existence of sacred realty controlled by the *polis* of Athens has a recovery. NP stresses that the ownership of sacred land was divine and lay beyond the public sphere, but divine ownership and the gods' rights to receive services was crucial for the prosperity of Athens and, thus, of public concern.

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