aesthetic principle of representing facial features by exaggeration was anticipated by the Greeks.

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Religion

Reference

This year stands out for three works of reference, all of which can be recommended in their very different ways. The most wide-ranging and ambitious is *Religions of the Ancient World – A Guide*, edited by Sarah Johnston (Ohio State), which is the History of Religions complement to Bowersock-Brown-Grabar's outstanding *Late Antiquity – A Guide to the Post-Classical World* (1999), also published by Harvard UP.[1] The earlier work combined eleven thematic chapters with 500 pages of alphabetically-arranged lemmata. This volume, having a wider historical and geographical spread, attempts to square the circle between history and structure by offering eleven short high-level thematic chapters, such as 'Ritual', 'Myth', 'Cosmology', 'Law and ethics', 'Magic', followed by eleven brief historical surveys of the religions of the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean: Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria/Canaan, Israel, Anatolia (Hittites), Iran, Minoan Crete/Mycenaean, Greece, Etruria, Rome, and Early Christianity, which altogether take up about 240 pages. The remaining 300 pages, double columns in 10 pt type-face, treat twenty lower-level themes, such as Religious organization, Sacrifice, Deities, Rites of passage, Illness, Death, Sacred texts, Iconography, Esoterism and mysticism, systematically over the eleven chosen cultures. The aim is thus to revive an older, more catholic, conception of ancient history that one associates with Eduard Meyer; its presiding spirit (though he had nothing directly to do with the planning) is surely Walter Burkert. As one would expect from the members of the editorial committee, both sets of themes are intelligently chosen; among the 140 contributors are many well-known names. The most successful section seems to me the two-thirds of the book devoted to lower-level themes (Key Topics). These offered their authors a relatively precise focus, and many of the essays here are brilliant compressions of complex issues, which do indeed invite the reader to engage in 'culture-hopping' and cross-cultural comparison. They are also full of excellent aperçus, such as John Baines' remark that it is far easier now to be familiar with a wide range of Egyptian religious imagery than it ever was in antiquity; or Norman Gottwald's point that it was the colonial circumstances in which the Hebrew Bible was edited into its final form that enabled religion to dominate there over politics. For the average reader of this Journal, almost all the entries covering Greek, Etruscan and Roman religion, and early Christianity, can be recommended as first-rate *mises au point*. On the other hand, with the exception of stimulating essays by Jan Assmann (Monotheism and polytheism) and Mary Beard (Writing), the high-level thematic pieces failed to engage me much; the generality of the topics discouraged crisp writing – the contrast with the thematic essays in the *Late Antiquity* volume is striking. The pieces in the historical section, furthermore, are too short to work up much steam, especially in complex cases such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Israel, Greece,

[1] *Religions of the Ancient World*. A Guide. Edited by Sarah Johnston. Belknap Press, Harvard UP, 2004. Pp. xvii + 697, with 21 colour plates, 92 b/w figures in text, 2 maps. Hardback £32.95. (The author of this section contributed a short item to this collective work, but disregards it here.)

and Rome. Indeed, in relation to the latter, one is disconcerted to find virtually no mention of the western Mediterranean and North-Western Europe – we seem almost to be back with Romantic 'national religions'. Nevertheless the volume as a whole represents a very welcome attempt (and at a very reasonable price) to escape from the confines of conventional disciplines and language-boundaries without surrendering academic rigour; and everyone, scholar, student, and general reader alike, will find among the Key Topics much to instruct and delight. The task of organizing the contributions to the Harvard *Guide* must have been daunting. Simon Price and Emily Kearns had the advantage that their *Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion*[2] is based on the files of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ingeniously extracted for them by Tom Weber. I must say I was surprised to find that the *OCD* contains some 1, 650 lemmata on these and related topics. The editors have spread their net wide to include 'fantastic literature', 'Josephus', 'paradoxographers', and 'wrestling', simplified some entries a little, dropped the authors' names, struck out the bibliographies, added some references to easily-accessible ancient texts, and assembled the result into a volume that is much handier to consult and read than the original. Useful too are the Thematic Index on pp. xxxii–xl of all the lemmata, under sensible headings such as Gods and Heroes, Ideas, Local and Regional Religions, Organization, Places, and the cross-references in the text, which are indicated by an asterisk against the relevant name or term, or appended to each entry, in capital letters. Especially welcome is the space allotted to Christian authors (even Fabius Planciades Fulgentius) and texts (though *Physiologus*, which enjoys an entry, has fallen through the net, being found in the Thematic Index neither under Authors, Christian, nor Texts, Christian, nor Christianity). On the other hand, there was no lemma 'Sacred Laws' in *OCD*, or for 'Confession Texts', and there are none here; some articles in *OCD* needed revision already when they first appeared, for example 'Cybele', 'fire' or '*indigites*', but they remain unaltered here. To judge from the brief introduction, and the number of entries in the Thematic Index, the coverage of myth has been of particular concern to the editors. In this case too the *OCD*-base has not served them very well, since that work limited itself (though there are some exceptions, such as 'Leda' and 'Meleager') to the briefest description of the narrative, which will hardly satisfy a student wanting a quick run-down on, say, Daedalus, Hippothoon, or Lycaon. Although the editors rightly observe that the idea of a complete account of even a single myth (or rather perhaps myth-complex) is a chimera, the volume does not really amount to a dictionary of mythology in the usual sense. Moreover, the laudable aim of promoting local myths into the centre of concern can hardly be fulfilled by a lexicon. All the same, their Dictionary is a useful source of generally reliable and accessible information on a very wide range of topics in the general field of Greek and Roman religion and myth, encourages browsing, and deserves to be widely used by students and general readers. At a series of meetings of the LIMC International Committee during the 1990s, while Lily Kahil was still alive, it was decided to make further use of the immense archives of photographic material accumulated for that work, by creating a *Thesaurus* of religious cults and rituals, of which the first volume, beautifully produced by Getty Publications, has now appeared.[3] The overall plan, largely due to Fritz Graf

[2] *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion*. Edited by Simon Price and Emily Kearns. Oxford UP, 2003. Pp. xl + 599. Hardback £25.

(Ohio State), foresees five volumes in all, three devoted to 'dynamic elements', two to 'static' ones. Since an alphabetic ordering as in LIMC would make no sense, the volumes are arranged thematically: in this volume, Processions, Sacrifices, Libation, Fumigation, and Votives; in the succeeding volumes, topics such as Purification, Initiation, Banquet, Dance, and Music; Divination, Prayer, Supplication. Cult-sites and representations of them, cult personnel, and cult instruments will be dealt in the two final volumes. When it is complete, therefore, the *Thesaurus* will have provided for the iconography of Greek and Roman cult-practice (Etruscan cult is included only as background to Italic-Roman cult; peripheral cultures are largely excluded) assistance of the same order as LIMC furnishes in relation to individual divinities. Just as it is now difficult to remember life before LIMC, so ThesCRA, thanks to its scale, its intelligent selections, and its bibliographies, opens a new era for anyone concerned with the Realien of ancient cult. The general format is similar to that of LIMC, with the notable difference that the half-tones are now integrated into each volume instead of being issued separately. This does have the disadvantage that one can no longer lay the half-tones volume open before one for consultation while reading the relevant entry, but is in all other respects preferable. Again as with LIMC, the work is thoroughly European: this volume is mainly in French, Italian, and German; the running heads are in all four main European scholarly languages (excluding Spanish, however, there being no Spanish contributors so far as I can see), and in reading a single complex entry, such as 'Sacrifice, romain', one has to hop regularly between them. This is not the place for detailed discussion of the entries. I will just note that, in relation to processions and sacrifice, there are few surprises, thanks to the well-known work of van Straten for the Greek evidence, and Scott Ryberg and Turcan for Rome; the coverage of votive dedications however, especially of Rome and the Empire (organized by Erika Simon) is revelatory. We await the succeeding volumes with impatience.

Greece

Blackwell Publishing, in the person of Alfred Bertrand, has recently shown evidence of a determination to make its mark in the field of Classics. Part of this project is its Ancient Religions series, of which Jon Mikalson's (U. Virginia) *Greek Religion* is the first volume.[4] It is based on his introductory courses to the subject, and, Mikalson being perhaps the foremost expert on Greek religion in the USA, we may assume that he has evolved several of the pedagogic strategies used in the book over the years. As is now generally the case, his approach is action-based, transactional; the category 'religion', however, is not itself problematized. Given the diversity of Greek religious practice, Mikalson has tried to simplify and dramatize. This often works: the first chapter, for example, imagines the stages in the creation of a sanctuary to Poseidon at Sounion, from choice of the site, to the altar itself, to the temenos (introducing the theme of boundaries and purity), personnel, calendar, votives, and the erection of a temple, sacrifice and eating, *eusebeia*. The basic themes are thus worked agreeably into a quasi-narrative scheme. The

[3] *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA), I: Processions, sacrifices, libations, fumigations, dedications*. Edited by J. Ch. Balty and many others. Getty Publications, Los Angeles, 2004 [2005]. Pp. xix + 450, with 33 drawings in text, 529 half-tones hors-texte, followed by indexes of illustrations, pp. 595–610. Hardback £125.

[4] *Ancient Greek Religion*. By John D. Mikalson. Blackwell, Oxford, 2004. Pp. xiv + 225, with 58 b/w figures, 6 maps. Hardback £55; paperback £16.99.

following three chapters, on divinities and sites, really form a bloc: a general discussion of gods and heroes is followed by a brief account of seven cult-myths (six from Athens; then, somewhat surprisingly, Hesiod on Zeus and Prometheus), and longer descriptions of five cults, two of them, if not three, panhellenic, and therefore untypical: Athena Polias, Eleusis, Dionysos at Thebes, Apollo at Delphi, Zeus at Olympia. Here Mikalson introduces the reader to much more detail; where he can rely on the help of numerous illustrations, this works quite well; but elsewhere, for example where the aim is to explain the significance of epithets, his pedagogical flair evaporates, and all we find is a meaningless list (the contents of the sacred law of the deme Erchia are set out on p. 51, and then again in a box on p. 52). The chapter on religious obligations as a function of social role and life-cycle is more successful, being focussed on an imaginary family, including slaves, in a village; it is complemented 'upwards' by an account of state-cult from the same perspective, and finally 'downwards' by a chapter on individual morality and defunctive beliefs. A rather poorly-illustrated and breathless coda pushes the story into the Hellenistic world, focussing on kings and Artemidoros' sanctuary on Thera (*IG* XII.3, 1347f.). It would have been better to use the space for suggesting areas and topics for further exploration. In the market for introductions to Greek religion, Mikalson's book thus competes directly with Jan Bremmer, Simon Price, and Louise Bruit Zaidman/Pauline Schmitt Pantel. All have their merits; Mikalson is much better illustrated, and more closely based on archaeological and epigraphic Realien than Bremmer and BZ/SP; Bremmer and Price offer a wider range of topics and problems. Of the four my vote still goes to BZ/SP as the most intellectually wide-ranging, not to say conceptual. Mikalson's strength, and weakness, is that you have to take what he says or leave it; despite the good bibliographies at the end of each chapter, he leaves one with a sense of closure. Mikalson hardly has space to discuss the notion of mystery-cult, so it is the more welcome that Michael Cosmopoulos (U. Missouri-St. Louis) has edited a volume dedicated to the archaeology and ritual of a wide range of secret or initiatory cults in the Greek world, ranging in time from the Mycenaean world to cult associations focussed upon 'mysteries' in western Asia Minor during the second and third centuries AD.[5] Four main points arise from the collection. First, 'mystery cults' denote not so much a phenomenological type directly contrastable with 'civic cult' as a variety of cultic options loosely related in family resemblance; many, but by no means all (this applies particularly to Orphic-Bacchic rituals), well-integrated into civic cult. Second, cults named mysteries, as Albert Schachter makes clear in relation to the Kabiroi at Thebes, often had no connection with Demeter and Kore. The status of Eleusis is thus diminished, although there can be no question that in the Hellenistic and Roman periods it served as a powerful model for adaptations and invented traditions. Third, the diversity of types and forms probably has its origins in the creative diversity of Archaic private/familial cults, later assimilated in whole or part by the polis. Fourth, though this is not an overt theme except in Graf's paper, and indeed is passed over by the editor in silence, what these cults loosely shared was a focus upon adoration or 'inner reception' of a divinity, thus confirming the identity of familial/pseudo-familial and elective groups, and subjectively helped guarantee the offer of 'salvation' in the wide sense, that is the bundle of blessings,

[5] *Greek Mysteries*. The archaeology and ritual of ancient Greek secret cults. Edited by Michael B. Cosmopoulos. Routledge (Taylor & Francis), London and New York, 2003. Pp. xv + 272, with 42 b/w figures and 2 tables. Paperback £18.99.

this- and other-worldly, considered to lie within the remit of the divinity in question. I can here only refer selectively to a few of the ten essays. Three are devoted to Eleusis. The editor shows, on the basis of unpublished excavation reports, that Megaron B was the site of rituals, and possibly also a dwelling-house, in Mycenaean times. Wanting to insist on the early establishment of civic cult at Eleusis, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood is inclined to approve of this argument. She therefore dates the development of the mystery proper to the period of increased anxiety concerning fate after death in the late Archaic period. As she has done elsewhere, she argues that the cult was inherently dual, public and private; a sacred drama representing the advent of Demeter and Kore integrated these public (fertility of crops) and private (blessed afterlife) motifs. Kevin Clinton tries to establish phenomenological and structural parallels between Eleusis and Samothrace, in particular the tripartite initiation scheme and the 'search for the goddess'. Madeleine Jost and Fritz Graf survey the evidence for mysteries in Arcadia/the Peloponnese, and western Asia Minor respectively; the latter in particular presents much curious detail about rather unfamiliar Hellenistic and Roman-period cults at Ephesus, Stratonikeia, and Panamara, which give a hint of the constant creativity, and instant traditions, within cult associations attached to particular temples. Pierre Bonnechere presents a brief version of his recent book on the oracle of Trophonios; despite much interesting analysis, both are flawed by his use of the category shamanism. Finally Susan G. Cole provides a very useful analytical table of the Bacchic-Orphic gold *lamellae* (pp. 202–5) as part of her survey of these *teletai*, which she views as a form of private empowerment of the deceased in the face of the unknown. Fragments, then, of varying ambition; one cannot of course expect from this type of publication a synthetic overview, but shifts and new orientations are certainly to be descried on the horizon.

Christianity

We have received several new translations of pre-Constantinian texts. The earliest in date of those to be noticed here is *The Apostolic Fathers*, translated by Bart Ehrman (U. North Carolina) in the Loeb series.[6] The original edition, by Kirsopp Lake, despite its number (24–5), was among the first twenty Loebs issued in September 1912, and, in keeping with the early conventions of the series, furnished with almost none of the additional matter that has become usual since Dick Whittaker's *Herodian*, and now been institutionalized by the editorial policy of commissioning completely revised editions of the earliest volumes. In his introduction, Lake indeed alludes vaguely to the fact that the title 'is not altogether ... satisfactory', but left the reader to pick up what he could about the nature of the manuscript evidence for the collection, for example the Bryennios Codex of AD 1056 (whose authenticity was hotly disputed after its discovery in 1873), from his prefaces to the individual texts. Ehrman, the well-known New Testament scholar who has recently exposed the fraudulent 'learning' of *The Da Vinci Code*, though respectful of his predecessor's work, has succeeded admirably in his aim of providing a readable modern version buttressed by the conclusions of modern scholarship. The elegant introduction, while defending the traditional collection against the radical scepticism of Jouassard, as representing proto-orthodox Christianity in the first half of the second century, thoroughly rehearses the problems involved. The *Shepherd*,

[6] *The Apostolic Fathers*. Edited and translated by B. D. Ehrman. Harvard UP, 2003. 2 vols., pp. x + 443; 481. £14.50 each.

for example, was taken to be canonical by Clement of Alexandria, and is far more often cited than several of the Epistles that did find their way into the New Testament. On the other hand, as a collection, the *Apostolic Fathers* is no more (but also no less) heterogeneous than the canonical New Testament. All in all 'not an authoritative collection ... but a convenient one'. On more technical matters, the text is Bihlmeyer's (except for Molly Whittaker's *Shepherd*), but in fact scarcely differs, where I have checked, from Lake's. The translation, while smooth and workmanlike, is unexpectedly faithful to Lake's turns of phrase. I have noted just a handful of misprints, e.g. vol. 2 p. 169 'Terullian'; p. 331, false running-head; p. 460, false iota subscript at *Shepherd* Sim. §108.5 = IX.31.5. Each text is prefaced by a succinct, clearly-written, introduction and a carefully-selected bibliography. Lake's index of citations from Scripture has been revised and expanded but, perhaps regrettably, his General Index, which I have occasionally found useful, has been dropped. In all, a most welcome re-edition of a collection of the greatest interest for the study of ethical language in the High Empire.

No less welcome – and not only to the Latinless – is the new translation of Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* by Anthony Bowen, with introduction and notes by Peter Garnsey (both Cambridge), in the excellent Translated Texts for Historians series issued by Liverpool UP.[7] The *Institutes* has not been translated into English since Sister Mary McDonald's version in the Catholic University of America's Fathers of the Church series (1964), itself a considerable improvement on William Fletcher's rendering in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 7 (1886). Antony Bowen however acknowledges neither, thereby symbolically marking his resolution of starting again from scratch. As one would expect from his other translations, this too is fluent, vigorous, and inventive, so that one comes away with a good sense of Lactantius' rhetorical urgency and flair. It is also fairly informal – syncope (don't, can't) is common, as are colloquialisms (e.g. 'sell their own souls to be wiped out in public', of gladiators, at 5.9.17) – which helps to keep up the pace even as one grinds one teeth over Lactantius' arguments. (The translation is of the 'second edition', usually, though not here, dated c. 324, and no typographic distinction is made between the original edition and the added sections.) Already in the time of Migne, the mass of explicatory material on the *Institutes* was immense – Lactantius' text in the *Patrologia* is almost choked by the footnotes clambering up the page. Peter Garnsey's are by contrast few and unobtrusive. In the Introduction, after a brief biography and book-by-book summary of the argument (pp. 7–12), he undertakes to defend Lactantius against his numerous critics, arguing that, having chosen to defend Christianity to educated pagans at the time of the Great Persecution, he had, like Minucius Felix before him, to play down any appeal to Christ's passion and indeed to Scripture as a whole, inasmuch as it would have meant nothing to his intended audience. Rhetorically, this decision implied a twofold strategy: negatively, using the familiar Academic arguments against the 'inherited conglomerate', and, positively, showing that a Christian system of ethics, while superior to the injustice of the Roman state, is yet perfectly compatible with central Roman institutions such as the *paterfamilias*. Although he acknowledges both the poverty of Lactantius' political thought and his opportunism, Garnsey stresses the originality and creativity of his attempt to offer a Christianity that appealed not only to the intelligence and learning of his audience but

[7] Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*. Translated with an introduction and notes by A. Bowen and P. Garnsey. Translated texts for Historians 40. Liverpool UP, 2003. Pp. xiv + 472. Paperback £20.

also to their latent fear of tyrannical rule. And he rightly stresses Augustine's debts in *Civ. Dei* to the *Institutes*. Even if one fails, as I do, to warm to Lactantius' style of argument; this is a well-argued, balanced, defence of the 'new' apologetic. In about 314, Lactantius moved to Trier, at Constantine's invitation, to act as tutor to Crispus, his ill-fated son by Minervina. This would have been around a year after the date assigned to Constantine's *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum* by Mark Edwards (Oxford) in his new translation in the same series.[8] The *Oratio*, originally in Latin (*pace* Robin Lane Fox) but preserved in a poor Greek translation as Book V of Eusebius' *Life*, is markedly different in style from either of the versions of Constantine's speech delivered at the opening of the Council of Nicaea (*vit. Const.* 3.12; Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccl.* 2.7.1-41). Although almost all Anglo-American commentators since T. C. Skeat's famous Appendix of 1954 have considered it genuine, its date and location have continued to arouse controversy: well after 325; Serdica in 317, Thessalonike between 312–24, Byzantium or Antioch in 325, all have been proposed. Partly following Howard Drake, Edwards argues in the Introduction, as he has elsewhere, for Rome at Easter 313. The aim of the speech is to emphasize on the one hand the elective affinity between God's Providence and his earthly viceroy, and on the other God's desire that the Empire should be governed from an undivided throne. This case is argued with Edwards' characteristic mixture of force and wit; I am persuaded by him that it must have been written/delivered in Latin and that the Sibyl is the Erythraean (though his argument for the date is more ingenious than convincing, and I find no irrefutable evidence for the location). The translation itself I found a trifle heavy - albeit of course a great improvement on Richardson's in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series - but then no one could call fourth-century chancellory style elegant. The explanatory footnotes are numerous, helpful, and to the point. It does, however, seem to me odd that Edwards makes no reference to the continuing scepticism of much German scholarship about the authenticity and/or historical value of the *Oration* (H. Kraft's *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung* [1955] is not even mentioned in the bibliography). The rendering of the *Oration* is bound with Edwards' translation of two late-fifth- or sixth-century versions of the legend of Helena's discovery of the True Cross (a translation of the Syriac version by Drijvers *pater et filius* appeared in 1997). Earlier accounts are known in the West from Ambrose, Rufinus, and Paulinus of Nola. Edwards argues, following Borghammer, that all these versions originated in an account by Gelasius of Caesarea (mid-fourth century, transmitted only in Gelasius of Cyzicus); of our two composite versions, the Greek is somewhat earlier than the Latin. Both are fascinating examples of the complex interplay of interests that gave rise to such apparently naive 'folk' legends, and we are greatly in Edwards' debt for making them more widely available. It is assuredly my own fault that I had to read this section of the introduction three times before his account of the construction of these texts became more or less clear to me; but I think most students will have similar difficulty in following it. Finally, as a Zugabe, we have a translation of Migne's edition of the *Edict to Pope Silvester*, which contains the notorious 'Donations of Constantine' – Migne's version was chosen because it is the one that has been most familiar. The interests served by this 'essay in the creation

[8] *Constantine and Christendom*. The Oration to the Saints; the Greek and Latin Accounts of the Discovery of the Cross; The edict of Constantine to Pope Silvester. Translated with an introduction and notes by Mark Edwards. Translated Texts for Historians 39. Liverpool UP, 2003. Pp. xlvii + 143. Paperback £15.

of false memory' in the early Carolingian Empire are briefly, but well, laid out. The book is well-produced, with plans even of Byzantine Jerusalem and mediaeval Rome, and indices to all three texts; one or two blips in the German titles in the bibliography. Although its title suggests that it should have a wider scope, Ross S. Kraemer's (Pennsylvania) Reader on women's religions fits in this section because it is primarily devoted to a range of translated texts referring to Judaism and early Christianity.[9] It is in fact the revised version of her earlier reader with the numbing title: *Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics* (1988). The new edition contains around forty new texts, including sections of Plutarch's *Quaest. Rom.*, texts from the Babatha Archive, an extract from Heliodorus, *Aith.*, and three or four improving late-antique *Lives* of Syriac holy women. Although the basic divisions and topics remain unaltered, this edition is better planned than the earlier version, since the editorial material, which is often quite extensive, as well as instructive, has now been placed before each selection. Short pieces and epigraphic items are generally grouped under a single rubric; there are still just over 130 lemmata, but these include around 170 separate items of greatly varying length. The advantages of such a Reader are that it offers access to a wide – an exotic – range of texts already selected by theme and under-theme; the obvious problem, that period, genre, and context – and thus meaning – tend to sink out of the reader's ken. Kraemer has done her best to minimize this difficulty, leaving the precise solutions naturally to course-teachers and their students; and everyone will find here texts hitherto unfamiliar. She herself, however, stresses the main difficulty. The original volume was compiled in the heroic days of feminist detective-work in a drive to recover a silenced experience, to 'reconstruct a reasonable portrait' of women's lives and self-understandings. Twenty years later, such optimism appears quaint. The explosion of work on gender means that we must seriously doubt how much, if anything, mediated representations of women can tell us about actual lives and lived relations. Yet, as the unwillingness to ditch more of the older book suggests, Kraemer remains nevertheless committed to her original project; the reference to gender-studies seems not much more than lip-service. Her heart is not in it; she still yearns for actual lives and lived relations. This leads to a sense of unreality. There still is a reassuringly lengthy section (nos. 48–79) entitled 'Researching Real Women'; but the only substantial text there, Jerome's sketch of Marcella, belongs in 'Holy, Pious and Exemplary Women' – otherwise it contains virtually no texts relating specifically to 'religion'; *dafür* for example a funerary for a woman from Lambaesis killed by witchcraft. The decision to omit passages from Scripture, though understandable, means that important gender-issues, such as the construction of the female body in those texts, cannot be tackled through the Reader. Useful and practical then, but lurking, perhaps even crippling, tensions. Ever since the publication by Reynolds and Tannenbaum in 1987 of the list of donors to the Jewish community soup-kitchen in Aphrodisias (*SEG* 36: 970), the role of Jewish, and Christian, communities in (western) Asia Minor has become a major topic of investigation. Philip Harland, a pupil of J. S. Kloppenborg's at Toronto, argues in his *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations*, that literary sources – especially those relating to Alexandria - are a poor guide for the historian here and that epigraphy and archaeology have more to offer.[10] In particular he seeks

[9] *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World.* A sourcebook. Edited by Ross Shepard Kraemer. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. xxviii + 487. Paperback £16.99.

to downplay the implications of apocalyptic anti-Roman texts such as *2 (4) Esdras* and *Revelation* by confronting them with the evidence for assimilation, the rows in the theatre at Miletus reserved for Jews and *theosebeis*, Jewish membership in the *synodoi* of the purple-dyers and carpet-weavers at Hierapolis, or the well-known synagogue in the bath/gymnasium complex at Sardeis. Indeed, *Revelation*'s allusions to 'Balaam' or the Nicolaitans, and the attack on merchants in chap. 18, suggest that the text, however it was later received, was at least partly intended to head off 'assimilationism' of this kind. His main target are those who use a sectarian model taken from modern sociological typologies to describe Jewish and Christian groups in the first three centuries; he thus aligns himself with Paul Trebilco, Erich Gruen, David Balch, and others. Harland regards Jewish (and by implication, Christian) membership in associations as amounting to a cautious claim to membership in the civic community; it was in that context that many Jews and Christians hoped, with 1 *Clement* 60.4, to be allowed to practise obedience both to God and to the rulers and governors on earth. Although there is not a great deal of evidence for specifically Jewish membership of *synodoi* (let alone Christian), Harland's model of selective assimilation to the host community is generally plausible if we take it as a horizon of expectation among most members of these two communities; less so if we choose to pay attention to the tacit assumption of texts such as *Trall.* 8.2, or *Diognet.* 5.11–17, that seem to take it for granted that anti-Christian/anti-Jewish feeling was omnipresent, albeit latent. Nor does he confront the obvious issue of Jewish exploitation of this hostility to Christians. Indeed, for want of epigraphic and archaeological evidence, he is normally forced to carry the Christians on the backs of Jewish communities. Harland writes in a rather flat, uninflected manner, and the whole still has the dutiful air of a dissertation; one may well raise one's eyebrows at the canonization of Horsley & Lee's often uninspired abbreviations for epigraphic texts (e.g. *LAphrodSpect* = C. Roueché, *Peformers and Partisans at Aphrodisias*) and the solemn listing of Loebs and translations as 'ancient literary sources'. But he makes two claims of more general interest. One in fact merely follows recent trends, such as Onno van Nijf's *Civic World of Professional Associations* (1997), in arguing that professional and private associations in Asia Minor were not generally repressed, but on the contrary fundamental elements of the civic social order. The second is that we ought not to overplay the role specifically of the imperial cult in marginalizing and exposing Christians; as he points out, when Pliny wanted to test accused persons in Bithynia-Pontus, Trajan's statue was only one among many divine images that he had had brought into court (*Ep.* 10.96.5; 6). One might of course point to a text such as *Mart. Polycarp.* 9.2, which implies, on the contrary, that the cult of the emperor *was* the test. But Harland is surely right for the period prior to around the mid-third century: the symbolic confrontation between martyr and Emperor is dramaturgically all too convincing. *Christian Identity* by Judith Lieu (King's, London) is written in a completely different, allusive and suggestive, mode which well accords with the elusiveness of her topic.[11] The starting point of this wonderfully reflective and engaging book, to some extent prepared by her recent collection *Neither Jew nor Greek?* (2002) is the question, How, in the context of the Roman Empire, did Jews and Christians cease to

[10] *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations.* Claiming a place in ancient Mediterranean society. By Philip A. Harland. Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2003. Pp. xv + 399. Paperback $22.

[11] *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World.* By Judith M. Lieu. Oxford UP, 2004. Pp. x + 370. Hardback £55.

think of themselves as 'the same'? Though she begins with Polycarp's famous declaration 'Christianos eimi', she sees it not as a statement of allegiance but as a form of self-identification. From the start, she dismisses the traditional notion that identity equates with theology; ideas are important not for their supposed content but for the work they do. There can be no uncontested identity, any more than there can be one that fails to change over time; binary oppositions are eschewed; her watchwords are negotiation, transaction, transition. Christians behaved and thought as if they shared a common culture with Jews but claimed at the same time that the two modes of being were mutually exclusive. Making a virtue of what for Harland is a vice, she argues that Christians constructed their identities, individually, as groups, and as a Church, through texts, textually; it is precisely discourse that provided the flexibility required to frame hierarchies of cross-threading allegiances, littered with debts to and tracings of the past. Her strategy for building up a sense of how such Christian identities were formed is to refract 'identity' successively through seven prisms, which constitute the seven central chapters: memory and pseudo-memory; boundaries and demarcations, praxis and the manipulation of symbols, gender, body, privation, and pollution, space (in and out of the world), *genos tôn Christianôn*, construction of cultural otherness. Each of these inter-locking themes, pursued where necessary across all three communities, provides hints and suggestions, sometimes more, of how initial continuity shifted into discontinuity, and ultimately into the construction of a new world. Such a book could not have been written without openness to ideas from outside: apart from Bourdieu and Benedict Anderson, who of course are central, I was impressed to find her quoting Elizabeth Tonkins' excellent *Narrating Our Pasts*, and Brian Stocks' notion of mediaeval 'textual communities'. Perhaps even more impressive is her lightness of touch: one never catches her changing gear to Discuss a Topic; she never indulges in knowledge-display for its own sake but scatters ideas and phrases with inspired prodigality. At the same time, she is always self-reflective, deprecating the trendiness of her own subject-matter while defending its high seriousness and timeliness; and selecting her strategies so as to disarm objections through her very praxis. In a word, this is a book that makes one wish that one had been born with a different, a better, kind of mind.

The language of God sounds just the sort of introspective topic no self-respecting Research Committee would dream of giving a grant for. But Dieter Lau's (Uni Essen) ambitious *Wie sprach Gott: "Es werde Licht"?* turns out to be a fascinating account of explicit and implicit theories of language in antiquity and their deployment in the early-Christian debates over the implications of John 1.1-3 for *Genesis* 1.3-31.[12] It could therefore be described as the crucial missing Chapter 11/2 of Umberto Eco's *La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europea* (1993) – a book however that Lau fails to mention. In early Greek epic, divine speech is problematized only insofar as the gods dispose of a special lexis – yet there seems to be no problem for humans to translate, or know the human equivalents of, words (names) such as Xanthos, Sema Myrines, Abantis, or moly. Pherekydes knew that the divine word for a 'sacrificial altar' is *thyôros*. But once Plato and Aristotle had distinguished between thinking and speech, it became possible for the Stoa to develop a theory of non-phonetic pneumatic telekinesis operated by the World Soul, which in various guises enabled the Neo-

[12] *Wie sprach Gott: "Es werde Licht"?: Antike Vorstellungen von der Gottessprache*. By Dieter Lau. Lateres (Texte und Studien zu Antike, Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit), 1. Peter Lang, Frankfurt a.M., 2003. Pp. 331.

Platonists to move between language and cause. Elements of this discussion, appropriated by Philo, strongly influenced the Hellenistic Jewish and Early-Christian (Apologetic) discussions of Genesis, and hence the various strands of *gnosis*, the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Graeco-Egyptian learned magic. The final section explores aspects of the interpretation of Logos in John's Gospel up to Athanasius, showing how the tension between the idea of a creative Word and rational explanation sparked off both 'heretical' ideas and 'orthodox' rejoinders. This is a learned, well-argued book, confident in its ability to trace origins and influences, summarize the essence of claims, move between theology, philosophy, and linguistics, and chart a sure track through tangled skeins of discourse. Given that its span is so wide, it is hardly surprising that one sometimes, especially in relation to *gnosis* and magic, wishes more depth of knowledge; but even here what Lau has to offer is never lacking in value. Since the death of Polycarp has been something of a *leit-motiv* in this section, let me finally notice an interesting book on the construction of Early-Christian martyrdom by Lucy Grig (Edinburgh), a former pupil of Keith Hopkins and Peter Garnsey.[13] Just as Judith Lieu stresses the role of narrative in constructing Christian identity between the mid-first and mid-second centuries, so Grig singles out martyr-narratives as central to Church construction in the mid-fourth to the mid-fifth centuries. This focus enables her to evade the prickly historical problems presented by earlier accounts, such as Polycarp, or Perpetua and Felicitas, and problematize the role of martyr-narratives in the post-Nicaean world. She thus highlights a fact whose implications have not hitherto been appreciated: that the heyday of the martyr-narrative actually falls well after the end of the Great Persecution. Her method is to read selected highly expressive ('performed') texts, and some extremely reticent images, through the themes of authority, representation, and conflict, for the light they cast on the shifting issues of Church order and power. The central problem for the Church (as in the cases of asceticism or mysticism, for example) was that the more it heroized the martyr as the paradigmatic type of Christian, the more it created disciplinary problems for the hierarchy, of controlling how martyrs are to be imitated, how relics are to be handled and venerated, how sites of martyrdom are to be memorialized. She explores the growth of the 'martyr business' in North Africa and its popular excesses, and use of the 'qualities' of martyrdom in assaying between Donatists and Christians. The sadistic concentration on judicial violence, revelatory blood, subjective agony, is viewed as the outcome of a culture of spectacle where the need to turn the victim into the victor demands, as in the modern cinema, ever more extravagant effects. By the end, martyr and bishop stand together in an alliance of opposites, individual hero versus controlling hierarchy, *imitator Christi* versus pastoral shepherd. Plenty of suggestion here, and fascinating material, from a promising historian, though one sometimes has the feeling that the stuff refuses to go into the boxes provided.

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General

This issue's selection once again offers a forceful reminder of quite what a vast and varied world the Classicist has to explore. We start with two beautifully illustrated coffee-table books on the magnificence of the material culture of the Greek and Roman worlds