and Caesarea. His account seems to me, however, to prioritize the worldly at the expense of the spiritual and miraculous: perhaps a more subtle reading is possible.

The papers in the second half of the volume examine how the spiritual authority of individuals was represented in texts. Mitchell's paper (one of the strongest in the volume) epitomizes the difficulties that literary texts present. He focuses on how the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, a third-century bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, was recast in a series of works (including *Lives* in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian, and accounts incorporated in, for example, Rufinus' *Ecclesiastical History* and Basil of Caesarea's *De Sancto Spiritu*) written from the late-fourth century onwards. He contrasts these later accounts with the earlier narrative of Eusebius of Caesarea and Gregory's own surviving writings, and argues that these later accounts were constructed for a specific audience. Thus Gregory of Nyssa's panegyrical *Life* certainly addressed its subject's reputation as a wonder-worker, but it also emphasized biblical parallels to the bishop's life and made him a proponent of Trinitarian orthodoxy that suited Gregory of Nyssa's theological agenda amongst the episcopate of Asia Minor *c.* 380. Other accounts (such as the Latin *Life*, which Mitchell tentatively ascribes to Rufinus, pp. 133–5), however, were aimed at a more popular audience and so laid particular stress on Gregory's performance of miracles. Such questions loom large also in the papers by Han J. W. Drijvers, Watt, and Reinink, all of which are concerned with the presentation of authority figures in Syriac texts. All three stress the importance of locating texts in their specific cultural milieux if their contents are not to be misinterpreted. The final essay, by Hatlie, concerns the fate of the 'holy man' in early medieval Byzantium. Such figures were much less prominent in seventh and eighth century Byzantium than in late antiquity. Hatlie argues that we should not succumb to the temptation to associate this purely with the reverberations of the Iconoclast controversy; instead he posits a series of changes—social, economic, and institutional—that transformed the place of monasticism and 'the holy' in Byzantine society.

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SEXUAL ETHICS

K. L. Gaca: *The Making of Fornication. Eros, Ethics and Political Reform in Greek Philosophy and Early Christianity*. (Hellenistic Culture and Society 40.) Pp. xviii + 359. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2003. Cased, US$60, £39.95. ISBN: 0-520-23599-1.

Even if one could quarrel with its thesis that the cult of sexual abstinence was unknown to the classical world before the advent of Christianity, one could not fail to learn a great deal from this clever, ambitious and impressive book. Most readers will know that Plato depicted appetite as a ravening conglomerate of hunger, thirst, and sexual desire in his *Republic*; even those who have read his entire corpus may not recall his account in the *Timaeus* of the diseases that afflict the dormant womb, or his pronouncement in the *Laws* that elderly guardians may engage in lawful acts of sexual congress, though they expect no issue from them. Again, it is well known that the early Stoics acknowledged no natural ban on incest, but, as G. points out, it has

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sometimes been forgotten that they numbered social affection among the incentives to conjugal intercourse. It was, G. goes on to argue, the Pythagoreans (a marginal society, like their Neopythagorean representatives in the Roman age) who first ordained that parenthood should be the sole end of marriage, although Plato and the Stoics had already urged that reproduction was the duty of wedded couples to the state.

In Chapter 5 we reach the central thesis of the book: in ancient Israel, sexual delinquency is generally censured not as a deviation from the human norm, but as mutiny against God. This, as she observes, is not a Greek view, certainly not the view of any Greek philosopher; she justly goes on to conclude that only a false dissociation of the law from the legislator enabled Foucault to conclude that pagan virtue and Christian righteousness were homologous in late antiquity. She may not be so judicious in her choice of the formula 'Biblical monotheism' to describe the governing principle of Israelite and Christian morality. In the Old Testament, as in the New, it is not the worship of strange gods but idolatry which most often gives cause for scandal; again it is idolatry, together with fornication and the eating of bloody meat, that is prohibited in the commandments that were supposed by Hellenistic Jews to have been enjoined by God on Noah and hence upon the nations. (We may pause to note that for Israel, as for Foucault's pagans, diet and sexual conduct are inextricable, but only because God regulates both, not because any regimen of continence unites them.) Had she remarked that fornication is possible even for Gentiles, G. might have been able to give more force to her studious contrast between spiritual adultery and spiritual fornication. On her own account, the difference seems to be only that the first, confined to the prophets, is the more potent symbol, 'sewing a scarlet letter' on to the trespasses of God's people (p. 175). In the light of this neat allusion to the biblical notion of Israel as the bride of God, it is puzzling that adultery should be defined on p. 174, without distinction of sex, as infidelity to one's 'spouse'. Men in the ancient world commit adultery against other husbands, not against their own partners; it is therefore a proof of double magnanimity in God that he remains faithful even to an unchaste bride.

As G. observes, it is Philo's devotion to God, and to the integrity of God's covenant with his people, that leads him to restrict the function of marriage to procreation, denying his coreligionists even the liberties allowed to Plato's guardians. As Greeks supplant the seven forbidden tribes in Paul's proscription of mixed marriages, so in the demonology of his earliest readers cultic gods become patrons of iniquity. Tatian could appeal to ancient sources, which described the capricious work of Aphrodite in the cosmos, as a pretext for his own attempt to oust her altogether from Christian life. His rejection of sexuality is thus grounded in an erudite theology of the Fall, and not in that pathological hatred of women or matter which is commonly imputed to ancient figures who do not share our own distaste for celibacy. Clement of Alexandria is more harshly judged by G. A mere eclectic, forging a 'leaden coverlet' for Christians from the scraps of other men's bedding (p. 269), he endorses Philo's theocratic axioms and borrows from him the Pythagorean doctrine that sexual intercourse has no end but procreation; he adds his own disparagement of connubial pleasures, even at the instant of conception, and recommends that lovers should deprive themselves of the charms that would render intercourse desirable. We find here a welcome antidote to those studies in which Clement is presented as an urbane purveyor of Hellenistic platitudes; but since G. herself admits the rigorous logic of his position, the charge of eclecticism seems to indicate nothing more culpable than a readiness to employ his own judgement without recourse to any established system outside scripture. Certainly even critical independence may fall short of originality, and if this is her criterion, G. is right to

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award the laurel to Clement's adversary Epiphanes, whose case for free love is grounded on the premiss that, were it not for the Fall, no human would have thought of taking another as his chattel. G. again deserves our thanks for rescuing this innovative thinker from eighteen centuries of invective; but does not Clement too demand recognition as the one Christian of the three who writes for humans in their fallen, wedded state?

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WOMEN AND CULT PRACTICES

L. Larsson Lovén, A. Strömberg (edd.): *Gender, Cult, and Culture in the Ancient World from Mycenae to Byzantium. Proceedings of the Second Nordic Symposium on Gender and Women's History in Antiquity, Helsinki 20–22 October 2000*. (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 166.) Pp. 168, ill, pls. Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2003. Cased, US$29.80. ISBN: 91-7018-127-X .

This small book with a big title and subject range publishes ten papers (all in English) of the twenty or so given at an interdisciplinary symposium which looked at gender structures in ancient world, focusing particularly on cult practices and on women and Christianity.

The first of the book's four chronological sections is on 'Evidence on Women's Work in the Late Bronze Age' and consists solely of single essay by Marie-Louise Nosch on 'The Women at Work in the Linear B Tablets', concluding that their status was menial and dependent compared with that of women involved in cult, and that crucial social differences in Mycenean society seem based on privilege rather than gender. The second section, on 'Gender and Pre-Christian Iconography', contains three essays on rather disparate topics. Agneta Strömberg explains how Athenian women, 'private in life', were made 'public in death' not because of any gender equality but because their images on funerary monuments commemorated their rôle within the *oikos* and thereby the rôle of the *oikos* within the *polis*. Marjatta Nielsen discusses images of couples fighting that appear on toilet objects destined for brides and on funerary monuments over a wide span of time and place. She concludes that although this apparently 'tactless' subject can be explained by many different factors, it is a reminder for women 'to develop their bodies and tame their characters' and for men of the ideal of parity between spouses. Lena Larsson Lovén reviews the various ways in which social status was represented in funerary art from Roman Gaul, showing in particular how work-related imagery stressed the different ideals for men (as producers of income) and women (as housewives comfortably supported by their husbands). The third section of the book contains two 'Views on Women in Roman Literature', of which the first, by Minna Skafte Jensen, is a feminist reading of Terence's *Hecyra*, revealing its men as ignorant and prejudiced, and women (including a mother-in-law and prostitute) as more sympathetic and supportive. Katariina Mustakallio shows how the literary topos of women mourning in public is used more frequently in Roman narratives to do with early and Republican times, where it was connected with ideas to do with the protection of the community, than in the empire (and that this related

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