Religion

Greek Religion

If once there was a choice between seeing Greek religion mainly as a continuation of Minoan-Mycenaean cult or as a system essentially coeval with the development of the *polis*, since W. Burkert's *The Orientalizing Revolution* (whose German version goes back to 1984) it is now generally accepted, for example by Sarah Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992), that influences from the complex civilizations of the Fertile Crescent played a large part in transforming the one into the other. Now Marinatos, who is a well-known authority on Bronze Age religion, argues in [B] *The Goddess and the Warrior*[1] that the Archaic Greek Mistress of Animals derives not, as has often been thought, from Minoan antecedents but from the naked female deity with up-raised arms, who often appears on second-millennium Near-Eastern seals. Nudity denotes power. As such, the Mistress is cousin to other half-dangerous, half-beneficent female powers, such as Circe and the Gorgons, and has a special relation to young male warriors. Although the attempt to shift the Mistress away from 'fertility' and 'nurture' towards social contexts suggested by the archaeological evidence, e.g. Temple A at Prinias on Crete, is very much to be welcomed, the notion of an East Mediterranean religious *koinê* is too open-ended to provide the relatively specific meanings required; and, despite the excellent illustrations, her iconographical method is too indeterminate to inspire much confidence. A case in point is the discussion of the Gorgon mask, which she associates with Bes/Beset and the Egyptian *pataikos*-figurines (unconvincingly to my mind), simply in order to ground the (sound) claim that the mask has an amuletic/apotropaic function – one rather misses Vernant's subtle evocation of ambiguous horror in *La mort dans les yeux* (1985). In the Introduction to his collection of [B] *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*[2] Richard Buxton rightly resists Richard Hunter's complaint about some other volumes in the same series, that such collections imply an act of closure. An anthology of essays on a particular sub-discipline conveys both a judgement about recent achievement – bluntly, which names simply must be represented – and a wager about the themes and key-words that are going to be interesting in the next few years. He is also right to play down methodological issues: what the student needs are tacit models of how to generate interesting questions and satisfying answers. The essays he has chosen prove there is no simple recipe for this. Many look outside the field of classics for inspiration: Robert Parker's 'Greek States and Greek Oracles', one of the best, draws on social anthropology; W.R. Connor on Edward Muir's work on early modern civic rituals; others draw on already-mediated ideas, for example Susan Cole's essay on the location of shrines of Demeter; Jan Bremmer's on scapegoat rituals; Robert Fowler on the distinction between religion and magic. Others again simply take a critical look at current orthodoxies in the best empirical fashion (Tony Snodgrass on Archaic hero-cult; Robin Osborne on Detienne's claim that women were excluded from sacrifice). Yet others, Walter Burkert's Lemnian Fire and Fritz Graf's Locrian Maidens, are already classics, exemplifying the fusion of a historical with a structural reading of ritual-myth complexes. The pieces, which are unshortened, are grouped in three main sections: religion in society, archaeology, myth and ritual, intended to make the point that Greek religion is embedded in Greek life. This comes across very successfully in 'Archaeology', where, alongside Snodgrass and Cole, Ulrich Sinn explores the *temenos* as a place of asylum, and F. van Straten describes the variety of votive-types. 'Religion in society' is rather a mixed bag: although the essay by Jean-Pierre Vernant on lameness and tyranny

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is of vintage quality, it is much more about *mentalité* than about religion; and, however much one values the work of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, she has not the gift of clear and direct exposition (cf. R. Brock in *CQ* 46 [1996], 332), so that the choice of her two essays on *polis*-religion to open the volume was perhaps not inspired. Buxton explains that he did not want to include items that have already recently been collected (John Gould; M.H. Jameson), but he neglects the essays of, for example, Jean Rudhardt, for whom I have a high regard. The piece on mythology, which with Fowler on magic forms a kind of appendix on 'margins', by C. Robert Phillips, with its constant reiteration of how badly myth is studied, leaves a nasty taste in the mouth. I had rather seen a piece by the editor himself on myth; and something too perhaps on possession, erotics, music and movement (Dionysus is banned – also oriental influences, gender too except for a marginal appearance in Osborne's essay). Despite Buxton's disclaimer that there is nothing 'Oxford' about it, the collection does have a slightly subfuscian air; but overall it strikes a successful balance between map and sign-post, is well-produced, and completed by an excellent select bibliography organized by topics. The idea of looking at Mt Olympos with the eye of an anthropologist, of scanning the Greek texts for what they can tell us of the imagined society of the gods, seems at first quite a jolly one, whose possibilities in relation to Homer were explored by Jasper Griffin in an article in *CQ* 28 (1978), 1–22. And one would have thought that a team composed of Giulia Sissa and Marcel Detienne could hardly fail to produce a sparkling book. Some reviewers certainly have found *The Daily Life of the Greek Gods*,[3] which has now, after ten years, been translated into English by Janet Lloyd, excellent: Joseph Russo found that it 'forces us to rethink the nature of the Greek gods'; James Davidson in the *TLS* thought it 'some kind of masterpiece'; and, according to Amazon.co.uk, it has sold far more copies than any other of the books reviewed here. My own impression was different. Though it is by no means worthless, the volume gave me the impression of listlessly toying with mostly by now over-familiar ideas, while veering uneasily between talking down to an imagined student audience and tossing off brilliant thoughts. It seems only too symptomatic of the general carelessness – there are dozens of errors ('Cicero, in the second century A.D.'), misprints and muddles in the translation, cf. Hans van Wees's comments last year (*G&R* 47 [2000], 246f.) on the same translator's version of P. Schmitt Pantel's section of *A History of Ancient Greece* – that in a book by two authors, the writer of any given passage refers to him- or herself as 'I' without the reader having the faintest idea which sections were written by which author (though one can of course guess). The two main sections, one offering an account of the 'life' of the Homeric gods, the other some scattered observations on *polis*-religion, seem to have no conceptual relation with one another, and proceed in almost diametrically different ways. 'Daily life' turns out to be what the Germans call a Schnapsidee, one that looks good until it's put to the test. All too often, anecdote takes over from argument; 'difference' is fetishized in a parody of Dumézilian method; coat-trailing is offered as a pedagogic method; and not a picture in the book. That said, connoisseurs of the Paris School will note some apparent doubts (pp. 70–6) concerning the general validity of the Vernant-Detienne doctrine – almost by now a dogma – of the meaning of civic sacrifice, though without mention of the major difficulty, the pre-battle *sphagion* (the entry in LSJ here is notoriously inadequate; the Supplement offers no improvement); and find some words of praise for, of all people, Karl Kerényi (p. 264 n.1). There are indeed some excellent remarks, for example on the idea of 'daily life' (p. 24f.), the ambivalence of the gods' relation to time (p. 47f.) or the

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distinctive character of the Greek style of polytheism (p. 155f.), and entire passages of great brilliance (on superstition, p. 132f.; on the Dionysiac *phallophoria* (pp. 230–41). But as a whole the book seems to me too glitteringly wayward to be of much value as an introduction to Greek religion, certainly in view of the competition from Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (1992) and Jan Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (1999[2]), and the index is too wretched for the more advanced student to find the authors' discussion of a given topic. But perhaps I might have felt rather differently about it if I had read it in French: Detienne's *Apollon, le couteau à la main* (1998) shows that he at least has lost none of his restless brilliance. A wit once described Russell Meiggs' *Trees and Timber* (1982) as the history of the Athenian Empire from the point of view of a tree, and in the same spirit one might describe Eva Parisinou's [B]*The Light of the Gods*[4] as a history of Archaic and Classical Greek religion from the point of view of an oil-lamp. While she does have something to say about the sun and its light, her main interest is in sources of artificial illumination, lamps of course, fires, pyres, torches, in the context of Greek religious imagery and cult. To some extent the book overlaps with William Furley's fine *Studies in the use of Fire* (1981), and she has plenty to say on metaphor and evocation, but Parisinou's enthusiasm and special expertise is iconographic and archaeological. She deals with the evidence for ever-burning lamps, notably in the Erechtheion, the use of torches in rites of passage, notably at birth (Artemis Lochia), marriage and death, and as an image for divine power in vase paintings. If you ever wondered why Hekate is shown with torches, or what head-gear was worn in Greek torch-races, this is the book to consult. The final chapter (ch. 9) is a *tour de force* of listing, where she displays an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the evidence for votive lamps at Greek sites, much of it recent, and much of it unpublished. One interesting point here is the fact that many such votive lamps show signs of having been used only once, from which we are to infer that it was their ephemeral light that was dedicated, not the lamp itself. I confess that I began her book with some misgivings, but ended it with great admiration for her skill and enthusiasm in making a rather dry topic come to life. One cavil though: for some reason her Index locorum is precisely that, listing the passages she cites but not the pages she cites them on; and it does contain some oddities, Cassius Dio's well-known *Lives*, for example, and Isocrates *Contra Callimacho*. One of the important topics not raised by Richard Buxton's *Readings* is that of Greek views of death. This is the subject of an interesting but rather schematic book by a young Danish historian of religions, Lars Albinus, [B]*The House of Hades*.[5] Perhaps as a result of his training, he almost totally neglects the work of the Paris school (e.g.G. Gnoli and J.-P.Vernant, *La mort, les morts* . . . [1982]) and archaeological approaches (he makes no reference to Ian Morris, 'Attitudes towards death in Archaic Greece', *Cl.Ant.* 8 [1989], 296–320, or *Death-Ritual and Social Structure* [1992] for example). Evidence from grave monuments and iconography is quite uninteresting to him. Rather he conducts a debate or discussion with Walter Burkert, while older authors such as Rohde, Farnell and Kerényi are always at his elbow – indeed his citations, especially of work on Homer, often seem rather out-of-date. Viewing Greek religion as a struggle between 'competing discourses', he sets up a quasi-Hegelian scheme, according to which a basically negative Homeric view of death (Part I) is opposed to the 'inverted' view of Orphism (Part II), the two contrasting visions being to some extent mediated by the initiations at Eleusis, a key text here of course being Pindar's *threnos* frg. 137 (Part III). A rather abstract Introduction justifies the term 'discourses' with reference to

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Foucault and Ricoeur. Given these premises, I found his discussions even-handed – on occasion, so much so that one is no longer sure quite what position he is arguing for – and intelligent, with many fine observations and *prises de position*, and would recommend for teaching purposes especially the accounts of Orphism and of the Eleusinian mysteries, which are by no means limited to the theme of death. But the account of the 'Homeric discourse' is less satisfactory, and sometimes, for example in relation to the recently much-discussed issue of heroes, downright weak; and the whole enterprise weakened by the reluctance to engage with archaeology: there is plenty of convergence here with Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's thesis in "*Reading" Greek Death* (1995) of a growth of anxiety about death in the Archaic period and concern with a personal afterlife – contentious though her views may be. I have read nothing as interesting and illuminating on Herodotus as Tom Harrison's B*Divinity and History*[6] since François Hartog's *Le miroir d'Hérodote* (1980). It is not so much the basic thesis that is new, namely that Herodotus' 'religion' is so much part of a *Weltanschauung* that it can only partly be separated out for study, and that its influence on the *Histories* is all-pervasive, embedded as it is both in the architecture of the whole and in the very conception of sub-narratives and minor details – this is very much the line taken by Charles Fornara in *Herodotus* (1971). But the manner in which the case is made is exemplary, and does credit not only to the author but also to Robert Parker, who supervised of the original thesis. Indeed in a sense the presiding genius is another Oxford man, the anthropologist Edward Evans-Pritchard, who – perhaps not entirely unaided by his own Roman Catholicism – demonstrated in his analyses of Azande and Nuer religion the subtlety and resourcefulness of 'primitive' African religious thought. Harrison has a number of *bêtes noires*, most especially the view that Herodotus was really a secular rationalist whose views are somehow clouded by 'traditional' considerations. We need to allow a certain complexity and depth to Herodotus' religion, and not try to turn him into a rationalist we too can be proud of. Harrison rightly puts belief in the centre of the picture, and delivers an effective criticism of the modern trope that insists on the supposed difference between 'their' ritualism and 'our' belief. He also rightly insists on the range of thinkable thoughts in the fifth century BC, some of them fully articulate, others merely implicit in narratives and institutions; and on how the immanence of the divine is deduced not so much from any specific feature of an event as signalled by context, frame, and implied expectations about the normal. The book as a whole is tightly planned, proceeding from the most explicit Herodotean model, the 'Solonian' conception of god's jealousy, through the various modes – mainly tacit – of divine intervention, the untroubled co-existence of polytheistic and 'thei-istic' discourses (the use of ὁ θεός or τὸ θεῖον as abstract agents), the limits of human understanding of the divine to the fatalistic acceptance of divine arbitrariness. But for me the finest chapter is his account (ch. 5) of the strategies – typical of his time – by means of which Herodotus sustains and protects a view of the necessity and meaningfulness of oracles, while fully aware of the existence of post-eventum oracles, fraudulent *manteis* and deceptive dreams. Here Harrison has followed Robert Parker's example ('Greek States and Greek Oracles', reprinted in Buxton's *Readings*) in making use of the work of anthropologists, but also succeeds in extending it in an interesting manner. A splendid, sinewy book which deserves a wide readership. Quite different in style and scope is Richard Hamilton's ⋆⋆*Treasure Map*,[7] which presents a careful translation and partial analysis of about 100 of the best-preserved major and minor temple inventories from the island of Delos, assembled in

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Inscriptions de Délos, and compared with the fifth- and fourth-century inventories from the Athenian Acropolis. The focus is not archaeological, on the objects in the temple treasuries, but epigraphic, upon the organization of the lists, and the book is intended to be used alongside the Greek texts available in the Packard Humanities Institute disk. Hamilton is an enthusiast, and there is no aspect of these inventories he has not carefully considered. The book, which is in many ways comparable to Sara Aleshire's *The Athenian Asklepieion* (1989), could be used for an advanced course in Greek epigraphy, since it raises many questions both of editorial method and of interpretation of recalcitrant material. It also helpfully complements van Straten's discussion of Greek votives in Buxton's collection.

Roman Religion

The year 1998 saw the publication of no less than four general accounts of Roman religion, one of them of course Beard-North-Price, *Religions of Rome*, which in the English-speaking world has already attained the status of a standard work for its generation; and three student primers in French: Jacqueline Champeaux' rather conventional *La religion romaine*, John Scheid's engaging *Les religions des Romains* (which is to appear in due course in English translation from the Edinburgh University Press), and Robert Turcan's *Vie quotidienne de Rome et ses dieux*. This last has now been issued in translation under the title ⋆B*The Gods of Ancient Rome*.[8] Turcan, once a pupil of Pierre Boyancé at the École Normale, the author of a grand book on Roman Bacchic sarcophagi, and now himself a Membre de l'Institut, is one of the most intelligent and learned representatives of a traditional view of Roman religion, 'old Roman' contrasted with 'new foreign', material practice with belief or theology. The book's organization embodies this conception: it begins with the private cult practice of the family, through the year, through the life-cycle, carries on to the calendar of Republican public cults, and ends with the new cults whose development accompanied the expansion of Rome. Where Scheid's pedagogic method is to emphasize key religious concepts, Turcan relies on detail, but he controls it well, and the first two sections especially, on the family and the city, give a bustling overview of religious practice, combined with thumb-nail explanations, in a fashion no other introductory book attempts. The introduction sets all this within the frame of the utilitarian nature of Roman *pietas*. The strategy is predictably less successful when it comes to setting 'religion' in a wider context, to pointing up problems of actors' meanings, the possible implications of archaeological finds. And the third section tends to deteriorate into a mere résumé of Turcan's earlier *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (1992[2]: translated as *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, 1996). Again on the debit side, the translation is uneven, and I have filled several sheets with obvious errors and blemishes – 'epigraphy' for 'épigraphe', 'big colleges' for 'grands collèges', 'old Cato' for 'Caton l'ancien', 'whose name is hammered on a base' for 'dont le nom est martelé sur une base'; the dedication reads 'Filiabus carissimus', etc. But Turcan is hardly to blame for all that, and the book conveys a vivid sense of the otherness of Roman religion. Another book from Edinburgh could hardly be more different. Edward Bispham and Christopher Smith's B*Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy*[9] presents the proceedings of a small conference held in 1997. If Turcan suggests that we understand a great deal about Roman religion, this volume sets out to raise doubts and questions, and bring home to students the need to

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deploy several different approaches, and to learn how to deal with different types of evidence. The book is inevitably, given its origins, rather bitty, and Bispham's introduction a trifle over-enthusiastic, but I found several of the essays suggestive. Nicole Bourque, an ethnographer, observes that we tend to take the integrative function of ritual for granted, but that in practice rituals are often the focus of contested meanings, a point borne out by Peter Wiseman's account of the ill-fated late-Republican Ludi Herculiani. Emmanuele Curti suggests a parallel between changes in mid-Republican religion and the emergence of a patrician-plebeian state. John North argues that prophecies with political implications played a larger role in the late Republic than our sources allow. I had more difficulty with Andreas Bendlin's critique of the Beard-North-Price line on the role of the elite in public religion, being unable to follow many of his arguments, while his proposed 'market model' seems little different from North's a decade ago. I would like to see a more developed account of the value to the historian of the notion of elite choice of votive addressee, if that is taken to mean more than the traditional wrinkles of elite family cult, such as the magical $\frac{1}{3}$ *as* of the Servilii (Pliny *HN* 34, 137). Why favour the evidence of votives – where they survive – over that of the calendar of public festivals? Why elide the issue of power? And I am very sceptical of the value for the historian of taking over the notion of intertextuality from Julia Kristeva (cf. Monica Gale's comments last year, *G&R* 47 [2000], 242f.), as Christopher Smith suggests. It may be true that one can 'never have the same religious experience twice', but that is not a level at which the historian can operate. The spread of healing cults in the ancient world has recently been a focus of interest, in Asia Minor, Gaul, Egypt, and Italy, because they offer one type of non-civic, usually regional cult. In **Asclepius, the God of Medicine*[10] Gerald Hart, formerly an eminent Canadian haematologist, has written for a general audience a cheerful, well-informed, well-illustrated account of the Greek and Roman cults of Asklepios/Aesculapius. The best chapters concern the practice of temple medicine and votive offerings, but it is also interesting to find humoral theory, based on the idea of balance, being defended in modern terms (p. 142). The Royal Society of Medicine is to be congratulated for having undertaken to publish this effort at serious popularization.

Empire and Late Antiquity

The collection of twenty-two essays and reviews by Georg Luck, *Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits*,[11] fits rather ill with my division, since it contains a number of reprinted pieces dealing with the interface between literature and religion in the late Republic, and even a review of Dodds' *Greeks and the Irrational* from 1953. But the main emphasis lies on religious themes from the later period; the author himself suggests that these essays should be read in the context of his widely-used anthology on magic and the occult, *Arcana Mundi* (1985). It is particularly useful to have his pieces on theurgy (1989), the Hermetic Corpus (1991), and a translation of his *RfAC* article on pagan and Christian humour (1992). Luck is a one-time student of Father Festugière, and possesses some of that fine scholar's Olympian even-handedness and wide-ranging interest in the literature of the occult. We come finally to two good anthologies or source-books on the religious developments of late antiquity, both based on extensive teaching experience, but very different in conception. Doug Lee's [B]*Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*[12] is envisaged as a competitor to MacMullen and Lane's *Paganism and Christianity, 100–*

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425 (1992), starting with the Severans and continuing into the sixth century. About half of the book's translated passages deal with pagan-Christian relations; there follow short sections on other groups (Jews, Mazdeans and Manichees); the last hundred pages are devoted to themes in late antique Christianity, ascetics, bishops, wealth and property, ritual and sacred space, the roles of women, pilgrimage. The selection of Christian texts and documents seems to me more successful than of pagan ones, and Constantine is allocated too few readings, but all are deftly introduced, well translated and supported by references to further literature (the bibliography is excellent). One rather misses the notes that contribute so much to Beard-North-Price vol. 2, but Lee has a good eye for what students need to think about and the collection as a whole would make an excellent textbook for a class or course of lectures lasting a term or semester. Though it lacks illustrations, Richard Valantasis' *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*,[13] is planned on a larger scale: the basic conception is that the 35 or so contributors write a short introduction to a substantial but usually heavily excerpted text (by contrast with Lee's, virtually all of them literary) and provide a short relevant bibliography. The 70 texts or excerpts are grouped by theme: biography; asceticism; organization; religion in society; law and canons; ritual and hymns; martyrs; beliefs (a mixed bag this). The selection is resolutely thematic not historical: in the first section, Pachomius rubs shoulders with Apollonius of Tyana and Plotinus; 'Martyrology' offers SS. Perpetua and Felicitas; Lyons in 177 AD; the Syriac version of 'Theophilos' ' account of Habbib of Edessa; and IV Maccabees – in that order. Only one reading, the Isis-aretalogy from Kyme, offers a short commentary; my general impression is that rather too little guidance and information are offered, and that the differences between pagans and Christians and others have been deliberately down-played. But almost all the texts are inherently interesting, and the emphasis on pragmatics gives the book a Peter-Brownish flair. Complemented by class discussion, and a fair amount of background work by the teacher, it would make a good basis for a challenging year's course. But it has so far sold far fewer copies than Lee's more obviously attractive offer.

RICHARD GORDON

NOTES

1. *The Goddess and the Warrior*. The Naked Goddess and Mistress of Animals in Early Greek Religion. By Nannó Marinatos. Routledge, London and New York, 2000. Pp. xiii + 162, with figures. £40.00.

2. *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*. Edited by Richard Buxton. Oxford U.P., 2000. Pp. x + 372, with 18 illustrations. Hardback £55.00, paperback £16.99.

3. *The Daily Life of the Greek Gods*. Mestizo Spaces. By Giulia Sissa and Marcel Detienne. Stanford U.P., 2000. Pp. xiii + 287 with 1 map and 1 genealogy. Hardback £30.00, paperback £10.95.

4. *The Light of the Gods*. The Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek Cult. By Eva Parisinou. Duckworth, London, 2000. Pp. xvi + 256 with 42 plates and 31 figures. £45.00.

5. *The House of Hades*. Studies in Ancient Greek Eschatology. Studies in Religion 2. By Lars Albinus. Aarhus U.P., 2000. Pp. 247, with 12 plates. Paper £19.95.

6. *Divinity and History*. The Religion of Herodotus. Oxford Classical Monographs. By Thomas Harrison. Oxford U.P., 2000. Pp. xii + 320. £45.00.

7. *Treasure Map*. A Guide to the Delian Inventories. By Richard Hamilton. University of Michigan Press, 2000. Pp. xiii + 479. £31.00.

8. *The Gods of Ancient Rome*. Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times. By

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Robert Turcan. Edinburgh U.P., 2000. Pp. vii + 180 with 18 illustrations. Hardback £45.00, paperback £14.99.

9. *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy*. Evidence and Experience. New Perspectives on the Ancient World 2. Edited by Edward Bispham and Christopher Smith. Edinburgh U.P., 2000. Pp. xiv + 199, with 9 figures. Hardback £45.00, paperback £16.95.

10. *Asclepius, the God of Medicine*. By Gerald D. Hart. The Royal Society of Medicine Press Ltd., London and Lake Forest, Illinois, 2000. Pp. xx + 262, with 81 figures and 2 maps. Paper £17.50.

11. *Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits*. Religion, Morals, and Magic in the Ancient World. By Georg Luck. University of Michigan Press, 2000. Pp. xii + 314. £34.00.

12. *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*. A Sourcebook. By A.D. Lee. Routledge, London and New York, 2000. Pp. xxiii + 328, with 14 plates, 7 figures and 1 map. Paper £15.99.

13. *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*. Princeton Readings in Religions. Edited by Richard Valantasis. Princeton U.P., 2000. Pp. xvi + 511. Cloth £40; paper £13.95.

General

Tsagarakis believes the *Nekyia* to be ' of central importance to the hero personally and to the *Odyssey* as a whole' (13), a proposition he is hard pressed to defend in [B]*Studies in Odyssey 11*,[1] however valid an opinion this may well be. The more than 500 notes, some of them of an inordinate length, tend to swamp the actual text and quite a few dated (and unnecessary?) authorities are cited, Tom Webster's *From Mycenae to Homer*, now nearly forty years old, being especially popular. Not enough account is taken of purely literary factors: the Catalogue of Heroines, for example, is surely part of a more extensive emphasis on the theme of unhappy love (compare Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Hephaestus and their respective wives but contrast Odysseus and Penelope). The case for the authenticity of *Odyssey* 11 remains to be made. Although less work was undertaken at Troy in 1998, the ninth volume in the ★★*Studia Troica*[2] series is even more formidable than its predecessors. Accounts of the 1998 excavations (in both German and English and solely in English) are followed by five studies in hellenistic Ilion (73–252); likely to be of greater interest are examinations of Mycenaean pottery in the Troia VIh destruction deposits (caused by an earthquake and not human action and occurring at the end of the LH IIIA2 phase) and associated with the different phases of Troia VII. In so painstaking an investigation it comes as a shock to read that Mt. Vesuvius erupted at Pompeii 'after the earthquake fifteen years previously' (300). Economics is a subject much in vogue today and Finley's minimalist approach continues to receive some hard but not conclusive knocks. Compromise, however, may offer the best way forward. Certainly this is suggested by the seminar papers making up [B]★★*Economics Beyond Agriculture in the Classical World*,[3] a collection covering 'modelling', silver mining at Laurium and stone extraction in Egypt, the construction of Greek temples and building techniques at Rome and Ostia, and textile production at Timgad and in Roman Gaul. Is it significant that the two editors 'could not agree on the order, and thus the emphasis, of the final two paragraphs' (11) of their opening essay? Another volume, from the same publisher, also claims to be breaking 'new ground' with its thirteen contributions examining [B]★★*Hellenistic Economies*.[4] On the whole narrow in scope though such a description does not apply to John Davies who claims that what we are about is model-building (11–62), his Liverpool colleague David Gibbins on shipwrecks and hellenistic trade (273–312), and, again from Liverpool, Zofia Archibald reappraising Rostovtzeff (and Finley), 279–88. Much more general in considering Greece, the hellenistic kingdoms, and the Roman republic

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