Buried History

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Buried History

Buried History is the annual journal of the Australian Institute of Archaeology. It publishes papers and reviews based on the results of research relating to Eastern Mediterranean, Near Eastern and Classical archaeology and epigraphy, and the biblical text. Papers are refereed in accordance with Australian HERDC specifications. Opinions expressed are those of the authors concerned, and are not necessarily shared by the Australian Institute of Archaeology.

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Cover: *A reconstruction of the propylon (Arch of Augustus) at Pisidian Antioch made by F.J. Woodbridge 1924. Image: Rubin (2011: fig 3.2), courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (AAR 2447).*

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Editorial

After lamenting in last year's editorial about the arbitrary nature of the Australian journal ranking system, which was limiting the capacity of Australian academics to contribute to *Buried History,* I am pleased to report that the system has been discontinued. Although not completely as a consequence of that state of affairs, this edition of *Buried History* is the largest to date.

While it is good to recognise significant intellectuals, it is also good not to be starting this issue with a tribute to a departed scholar. However we do acknowledge the sudden death on 28 December 2011 of one of our Council members, Dr Paul Kitchen. Paul was a semi-retired surgeon who was beginning doctoral studies at La Trobe University researching medicine and surgery in first century Palestine. We offer condolences to his wife Merrill, who is a member of our Editorial Board.

During the year we were honoured to welcome two people onto the Editorial Board, namely David Gill, Professor of Archaeological Heritage and Head of the Division of Humanities at University Campus Suffolk, Ipswich, England, and Tim Harrison, Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology, University of Toronto. We were delighted to have a visit from Tim Harrison in May 2011. As many readers know he is President of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the director of the Tayinet Archaeological Project.

This edition has a distinctly Classical and New Testament tone beginning with a paper by Dr Jim Harrison on Augustan honorific arches. Dr Harrison has been Head of Theology at the Wesley Institute, Sydney, since 2002. His book, *Paul's Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context* (Paul Mohr, 2003), was the 2005 Winner of the Biblical Archaeology Society Publication Biannual Award for Best Book Relating to the New Testament, and his latest book, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome* was published by Mohr Siebeck in 2011. We acknowledge Michelle Fontenot, Registrar of the Kelsey Mueum of Archaeology, who assisted with images for this paper and the cover.

We are again privileged to have a contribution from Albrecht Geber, this time on some little known ostraca at the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney. Albrecht lives on a farm near Bendigo in central Victoria where he struggles with limited band width. This has not prevented him from completing a PhD at the University of New England involving German academic history in the early twentieth century. His book *Deissmann the Philologist*, (De Gruyter, 2010) is reviewed in this edition.

Greg Horsley has been a staunch supporter of this journal and has contributed a comprehensive piece on the first one hundred years of the Leob classical library. Since March 1995 Greg has been Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of New England, Armidale, NSW. He was the author of *Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* series, which was produced by the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University and published by Eerdmans. His most recent book *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2007) is reviewed in this issue.

Dr. Craig Keener has addressed the issue of the genre of biography in the New Testament world. He is Professor of New Testament at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, and author of fifteen books, including three commentaries that have won national awards. The book most relevant to the subject of this paper is *The Historical Jesus of the Gospels* (Eerdmans, 2009). In 2011, when Dr Keener was Professor of New Testament at Palmer Theological Seminary of Eastern University, Philadelphia, he was sponsored by the Institute to visit Australia where he lectured in Sydney and Brisbane. Craig is ordained in an African-American denomination and we pay tribute to him for the work he shares with his wife, Médine, seeking ethnic reconciliation in the U.S. and Africa.

We are pleased to include a brief contribution from Barbara Mordà reporting on her Master's thesis. She completed a Master of Arts in Archaeology and Conservation of Archaeological Heritage at University of Venice, Italy, in 2011.

We are grateful to Emma Rix who has provided a detailed review of Professor Greg Horsley's publication of inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum, Central Turkey. She is a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and works with Dr Peter Thonemann who is responsible for Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI, a project that seeks to make available some 600 unpublished inscriptions and other ancient monuments in Anatolia that were recorded by Sir William Calder and Dr Michael Ballance over sixty years ago.

Albrecht Gerber's book on Gustav Adolf Deissmann is reviewed by Professor Edwin Judge. Edwin is Emertius Professor and Honorary Professorial Fellow in History of Macquarie University, he has a Doctor of Letters from Macquarie University, is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities and he is a Member of the Order of Australia. He is also a Fellow of the Institute.

John Noack is at present engaged in research at the Australian Institute of Archaeology and is researching the enigmas in the Gospel according to St. Mark.

As always we thank our reviewers and all who have contributed to this issue of *Buried History*. The voluntary and professional work of anonymous reviewers is the oxygen of academia on which publications like *Buried History* rely.

Christopher J. Davey

‘More than conquerors’ (Rom 8:37): Paul’s Gospel and the Augustan Triumphal Arches of the Greek East and Latin West

James R. Harrison

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Abstract: This paper investigates the social and theological import of Romans against the iconography of the Augustan arches, focusing on Paul’s indebtedness to Greeks and barbarians, the reconciliation of enemies, the victory of Christ on behalf of believers, and his rule over the nations. D.C. Lopez and B. Kahl investigated the iconographic evidence of Aphrodisias and Pergamon when discussing the political implications of Paul’s gospel in the Roman province of Asia. Paul visited neither city, so arguments about the apostle’s interaction with the imperial ideology of ‘victory’ depends more on the ubiquity of the Julio-Claudian propaganda than on any contact Paul might have had with those specific monuments. The Augustan arches throughout the Empire stereotypically depict the humiliation of barbarians at the sites of Pisidian Antioch, a city visited by Paul (Acts 13:14-50), as well as at La Turbie, Glanum, Carpentras and the triple arch at the Roman Forum. However, there were other iconographic motifs on the arches that conflicted with the relentless triumphal ideology of Augustus. They articulated an alternate vision of social relations between conqueror and conquered.

Introduction

The Ubiquity of Triumphal Monuments in the Roman Empire

In New Testament studies there has been no definitive work written on the intersection of the imperial iconography with the Pauline epistles comparable to O. Kiel’s towering study of the Psalms against the backdrop of the Ancient Near Eastern iconography (Keel 1978). The closest approximation we have is L. Kreitzer’s collection of essays exploring the New Testament documents from the perspective of the numismatic and gem evidence (Kreitzer 1996). Several works have recently recognised the importance of the imperial iconography in discussing Paul’s theology and exegesis. J.L. White’s work on the Abrahamic covenant in Paul’s theology, for example, drew widely upon the Julio-Claudian iconography, as did N. Elliott’s study of the nations in Romans (White 1999; Elliott 2008). D.C. Lopez and B. Kahl have investigated the iconography of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the Great Altar at Pergamum (now in the Berlin

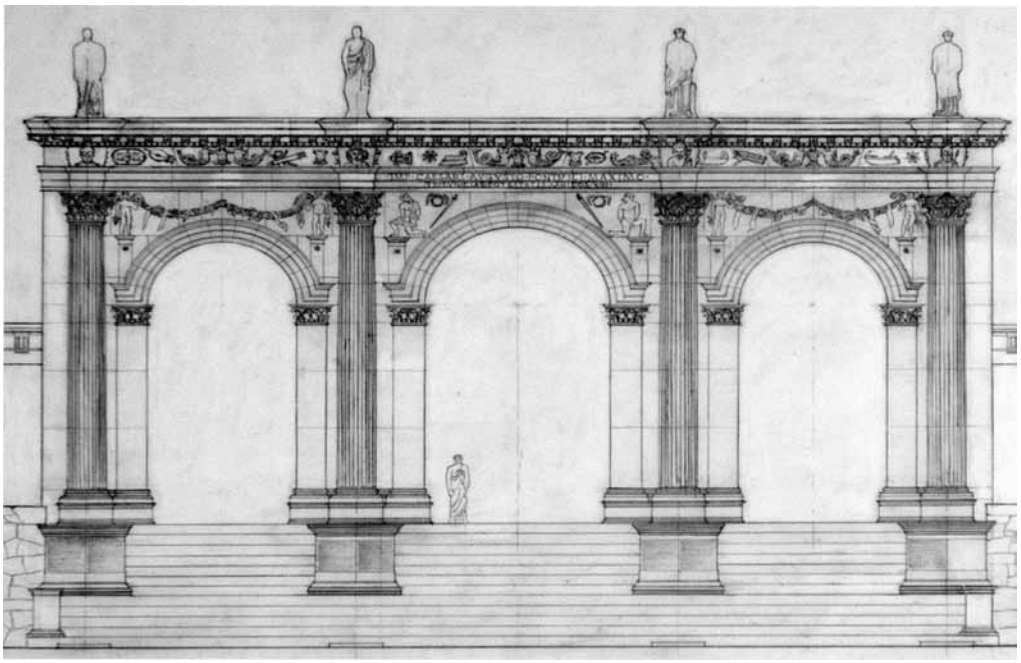

Figure 1: *A reconstruction of the propylon (Arch of Augustus) at Pisidian Antioch made by F.J. Woodbridge 1971. Image: Rubin (2011: fig 3.5) courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (AAR 2386).*

museum) in discussing the political implications of Paul's gospel in Roman Asia (Lopez 2008; Kahl 2009). In my opinion, Lopez and Kahl have methodologically advanced Pauline studies by their innovative use of the iconographic evidence. Believers living within the eastern Mediterranean poleis would have seen imperial monuments and sculptures in various public places and precincts articulating the ruler's propaganda. By concentrating discussion on a 'city-by-city, and institution by institution' approach (Judge 2008: 135), we avoid the mistake of ranging too widely across the different genres of iconography, failing thereby to discriminate between their varied historical, social and ideological contexts.

But, as far as we know, Paul did not visit Aphrodisias or Pergamon. Thus the arguments of Lopez and Kahl about Paul's interaction with the imperial ideology of 'victory' over the barbarians, while legitimate, rest more on the ubiquity of the Julio-Claudian propaganda than on any specific visual contact Paul might have had with the iconography of barbarians at a particular site. This is not meant to diminish the achievements of Kahl and Lopez, but simply to highlight the problem we face in finding extant Julio-Claudian iconographic evidence in the cities visited by Paul. Strangely overlooked in this regard, however, is the Sebasteion at Pisidian Antioch with its depiction of conquered barbarians on the central arch of the propylon (Figure 1). The likelihood is that Paul would have seen this monument during his ministry at Antioch in his first missionary journey (Acts 13:14-50). There were also reliefs of captured barbarians at Corinth, but they belong to a period later than Paul.[1] Notwithstanding, the Augustan arches throughout the Empire stereotypically depict the humiliation of barbarians, including the sites of La Turbie (Monaco), Glanum (St. Rémy), Carpentras (Provence), and the triple arch at the Roman Forum (Rome).[2] It is likely that there was iconographic evidence of humiliated barbarians, now no longer extant, in some of the eastern Mediterranean cities visited by Paul in his missionary journeys from the late forties to the beginning of the sixties.[3] The iconographic media were varied: friezes and statues on public monuments, terracotta campagna reliefs, coins, funerary stelae, lamps and gladiatorial helmets depicted barbarians in scenes of submission.[4]

In writing to the Romans about his indebtedness to Greek and barbarian (Rom 1:14), Paul could count on the familiarity of his auditors at the capital of the Empire with the motif of the Augustan triumph over the nations. This motif was heavily underscored in the Latin text of the *Res Gestae* (3.1-2; 4.3; 25-33) at Augustus' mausoleum in the city. It is also possible that Paul saw a Greek version of the text of the *Res Gestae* at Pisidian Antioch, along with the Latin text that still survives there, during his first missionary journey (Acts 13:14-50), even though there are no archaeological remains of the Greek text at Pisidian Antioch today.[5] But even if this was not the case, Paul may have had sufficient facility in Latin to appreciate the extent

Figure 2*: A bound captive, Museum of Corinth. Photo: Author*

of Augustus' boasting in the *Res Gestae* about his conquest of the nations and his diplomacy with their kings.[6] Further, we know from the literary sources of several Augustan arches at Rome.[7] Roman believers would also have been aware of reliefs on the Temple of Apollo Sosianus and the *Ara Pacis* depicting barbarians and their children.[8] Further, the iconography of the Augustan arches in Gaul is worth bringing into dialogue with the epistle to the Romans, given that Paul intended to establish Rome as a staging base for his mission to Spain in the Latin West (Rom 15:23-27). In regards to Spain, the arch of Berà, located on the Via Augusta some 20 km north of the city of Tarragona, has been recently shown to have been built in the Augustan age somewhere between 15-5 BC, and not in the reign of Trajan as previously thought.[9] However, although the arch celebrates Augustus' subjugation of Spain (*Res Gestae* 12.2), there are no reliefs of barbarians on the monument, in contrast to the rich iconography in the Gallic arches.[10]

Provincial believers in the Greek East and Latin West needed to hear that their incorporation into Christ was based on their elect status before God as the covenantal children of Abraham, the father of all nations (Rom 4:9-25; 9:6-10). They were now ruled mercifully by the root of Jesse (15:9-12, esp. v. 12) instead of just being one of the many humiliated nations defeated under the auspices of the elect ruler and the Roman gods. Gentile believers living in the capital also had to be instructed that the

Julio-Claudian presumption about Rome's superiority as the 'conqueror of the nations', including Israel, was totally misplaced (Rom 11:17-21).[11] The iconographic evidence of the Augustan arches, therefore, provides a uniform genre for understanding the perspective of western and eastern believers about the barbarian nations. But what methodological caveats are necessary if we are to handle responsibly the evidence of the Augustan arches?

Methodological Issues

New Testament scholars have been prone to emphasise the brutal subjugation of the barbarians under Rome at the expense of evidence pointing in a different direction. As we will see, there were other messages that conflicted with the triumphal ideology of the Augustan arches: specifically, the signing of a peace treaty with 14 Alpine tribes at Susa (Italy), and the gesture of reconciliation and assimilation towards a barbarian captive at Glanum (Gaul). These different understandings of Roman rule over the nations, limited as they were, expressed an alternate vision of social relations between the conqueror and the conquered.[12] How did the epistle to the Romans speak into this different configuration of race relations between Rome and the barbarian nations?

Care should be taken not to stereotype the depiction of the nations in the imperial iconography and literature. Undeniably, there were examples of racial caricature at some sites. We will argue that in the iconography of the arch at L'Orange (Provence) a barbarian is depicted in a way similar to the grotesque buffoon and *stupidus* of the comic mime productions. We will include this piece of visual evidence in our study, even though the arch is from the reign of Tiberius. But it is debatable whether there was a uniformly superior attitude towards the nations on the part of the Romans. E.S. Gruen's nuanced reading of how Roman writers depicted nations such as the Gauls and Britons points in a different direction.[13] How did this hitherto underestimated respect on the part of some Romans for the barbarian nations intersect with Paul's gospel of divine and human reconciliation? And what perspectives might the Gallic evidence throw on Paul's future plans for a mission in Spain? Ultimately, what differences exist between the 'victory' ideology of Rome and that of Paul?

Last, visual images do not necessarily interpret themselves and would have provoked complex reactions in contemporary viewers. Thus we will make use of any inscriptional or numismatic evidence relevant to the sites being discussed in the Greek East and Latin West for clarification of the ideology conveyed. Further, in confining our investigation to the Augustan arches we will have a stable deposit of evidence to analyse.[14] Thus any departure from the ideological norm will be readily apparent. We turn now to a discussion of the iconography of the Augustan Arches in the Greek East and Latin West.

The Arches in the Greek East

The Sebasteion at Pisidian Antioch

The complex history of the archaeological excavation of the site of Psidian Antioch has been already extensively discussed by scholars and is not germane to our focus (Robinson 1926, Vermeule 1963, Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, Rubin 2008 and 2011, Ossi 2010, Tuchelt 1983). Near to the two main streets of Pisidian Antioch is the Sebasteion. The imperial sanctuary is approached by the Tiberia Plateau, which culminated in twelve steps, above which stood the arch of Augustus, constructed in 2/1 BC (Ossi 2010: 21). This served as a propylon to the sanctuary proper. Since the extensive 1924 expedition of the University of Michigan, led by Francis W. Kelsey, the stairs and pavement had almost entirely disappeared by the next excavation, led by Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens in 1982. The residents of nearby Yalvaç had removed the stones for their own building projects, with the result that by 2004 the foundations of the arch of Augustus were no longer to be found.[15] Thus our discussion of the remains of the arch of Augustus will be confined to a selection of the iconography documented in Robinson's 1926 pioneering article,[16] with the pictorial evidence sourced from the Kelsey Museum archives, the original pieces now being at the Yalvaç museum. The upper section of the Augustan arch is the best preserved since the lower section had disappeared long before the Michigan excavations.

On the frieze on the western outer face of the Augustan arch and in the spandrels over the archways of the monument, there was rich and complex iconography that articulated the Augustan ideology of rule. First, there was inscribed a *sidus Iulium*, the apotheosis sign of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar (Ossi 2010: 300, fig. 131). The dedicatory inscription to Augustus on the arch bears the same message of Caesar's apotheosis and Octavian's adoption into the Julian family with the title 'son of god'.[17]

Second, the frieze contained a Capricorn, the astrological sign prophetically associated with Augustus' birth (Suetonius, *Aug.* 94.12; Dio Cassius 56.25.5; Manilius, *Astronomica* 507-509: cf. Rubin 2011: 43, fig. 3.9; Ossi 2010: 300, fig. 128). Given that his birth sign on September 23-24 was in reality Libra (Manilius, *Astronomica*, 4.548ff), Augustus must have chosen Capricorn for other reasons (Barton 1995: 33-51; Gee 2000; Rehak 2006: 71-73). Rather than it being a case, as some scholars have argued, of Augustus preferring his conception date to his birth date,[18] we should ask why Augustus' clients in Pisidian Antioch, who erected the monument, decided to emphasise the 'Capricorn' motif. It is worth remembering that the iconography of the arch of Augustus interacts ideologically with the text of the *Res Gestae* at the same site. Capricorn was associated with Western Europe — especially Spain, Gaul and Germany — the area that the (then) Octavian had controlled before

Figure 3: *Draped bound captive from the Arch of Augustus, Pisidian Antioch. Photo: G.R.Swain (Ossi 2011: Fig 5.19a) courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (neg. no. 7.1275)*

Actium (31 BC).[19] A new age had dawned with the end of the winter solstice traditionally associated with Capricorn (Barton 1994: 40).[20] Capricorn now ruled the entire world through Augustus as its Saviour, since he and his family members — as his Graeco-Phrygian and Roman clients at Pisidian Antioch gratefully acknowledged — had conquered the barbarian peoples on the edge of the empire. Thus the appearance of the Capricorn in the iconography of the arch synchronised with the motif of the 'conquest of the nations' in the *Res Gestae* (3.1-2; 4.3; 25-33; cf. the Latin Preface).

Third, over the archway of the western façade are placed two kneeling bound captives in the spandrels (Figures 3 and 4). One is nude, one is partially draped, and their precise identification has been debated by scholars (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998: 162, fig. 113; Rubin 2011: 43, fig. 3.12, 99, fig. 5.19a). B. Rose has proposed that Hadrian's arch, built as the ornamental city gate of Pisidian Antioch, had copied motifs already present on the arch of Augustus (Rose 2005; cf. Ossi 2010: 108-185; 2011: 85-108). It is possible that the two Hadrianic standard-bearing barbarians, one from Gaul and the other from Parthia, had been previously placed on the eastern façade of the Augustan arch (Ossi 2010: 302, fig. 133, 302, fig. 134). Thus, if Rose is correct, the 'conquest of the nations' motif is visually present on both the eastern and western facades of the arch.

Fourth, naval iconography (ship prows, the ram of a warship, tritons, the god Poseidon) pointed symbolically to Augustus' famous victory at Actium (Ossi 2010: 76; *id.* 2011: 97, fig. 5.15a). Winged figures of victory, of a quasi-supernatural character, feature with garlands on the spandrels of the western face (nude males) and on the eastern face (draped females) (Ossi 2010: 80-81; Rubin 2011: 43, fig. 3.10). Combining Hellenistic and sacral elements in the iconography, the divinely sanctioned nature of Augustus' rule is powerfully emphasized (Ossi 2010: 83). This is reinforced by the presence of other prominent deities on the arch, variously identified by scholars (Ossi 2010: 84-86).[21] In the sanctuary proper, the inscriptional dedication of the Sebasteion underscores the superintendence of Augustus' rule by Jupiter.[22] Last, several large statues, each 2 metres high, crowned the top of the arch, representing Augustus and his family. A headless statue most likely represents Augustus as Zeus (Rubin 2011: 58, fig. 3.23), while another statue perhaps depicts the Roman ruler pinioning a barbarian captive (Ossi 2010: 71-72).

What portrait of victory emerges from the Augustan triumphal arch at Pisidian Antioch? There is little doubt, as Ossi argues (Ossi 2010: 71-72), that the Augustan arch at Pidian Antioch is a 'visual *Res Gestae*'. It does not just commemorate a single victory like the other Augustan arches (Ossi 2010: 71-72). Its ideological sweep embraces Augustus' ancestry, birth, triumviral years, divinely sanctioned rule from Actium onwards, and continuing maintenance of the borders of

Figure 4: *Bound nude captive; a spandrel from the Arch of Augustus, Pisidian Antioch. Photo: Rubin (2011: fig. 3.12) courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.*

Figure 5: *The monument to Augustus at La Tubie. Photo: Ville de La Turbie.*

Rome against the unruly peoples. What is significant is that his clients in the city have erected the arch and, as its inscription demonstrates, they are conveying an honorific accolade to their imperial benefactor for bringing the city so much prosperity and prestige in Asia Minor (Ossi 2010: 58). This is certainly not a case of 'Romanisation' imposed on conquered provincials, but rather an integration of indigenous Hellenistic and Roman elements in honour of the benefactor of the world.[23]

The Arches at Rome

The Triple Arch at the Roman Forum

The single bay Actian arch of Augustus, erected in 29 BC, will not be discussed due to the continuing controversy concerning its location and its relation to the later triple arch of Augustus (Gurval 1995: 8, 36-46). The triple arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum, near the Temple of Divus Julius, commemorated the conquest of the Parthians and pointed to Augustus as a worthy successor of Augustus (Holland 1946; Wallace-Hadrill 1998; Rose 2005; Coarelli 2007: 79-81; Kleiner 2010: 64). This was erected in 19 BC in honour of the recovery of the spoils and standards from Parthia through the diplomacy of Augustus (*Res Gestae* 29.2; Dio Cassius 54.8.4; cf. 51.19; Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.3). We know about its design from the reverse side of an Augustan denarius (*RIC* I^2 'Augustus', Nos. 131-137). Augustus surmounts the triple arch in a four-horse chariot, flanked by a Parthian on the left and right, holding, respectively, a standard, and an aquila and bow. Significantly, even though Augustus' achievement was entirely diplomatic, the iconography of Augustus on the arch is presented in triumphal terms.

The Arches in Roman Gaul

La Turbie (Monaco, France)

The monument at La Tubie to Augustus' pacification of the Alpine tribes (*Res Gestae* 26.3) in 16-14 BC was erected in 7/6 BC.[24] It was originally 50 metres high and still dominates the environs today at 35 metres (Bromwich 1993: 271) (Figure 5). The west face of the monument's first podium was nearest to the entrance and the Roman road, having the most complete fragments of its iconography and inscription (Formigé 1949: 47-64) (Figure 6). The second podium, by comparison, is very incomplete, but probably had statuary (eagles) in the corners (Formigé 1949: 65). Both podiums were surmounted by a circular colonnade of 24 Doric columns — 4 of which survive — with a frieze decorated with military symbols.[25] Bromwich observes that the niches, originally 12, are still visible between the columns and posits that statues of Augustan generals filled them (Bromwich 1993: 274). On top of this, a cone roof supported a trophy, which, according to Formigé (1949: 74), was a statue of Augustus.

On either side of the inscription on the first podium are reliefs of two small winged victories presenting their crowns to Augustus (Binninger 2009: 50). Also there are two reliefs of Alpine tribe members, each depicting a male captive squatting with his hands bound behind his back, accompanied by a female seated at his side with hands crossed at the front. These are placed to the right and left of the victory inscription, with the captives squatting under a cruciform-shaped trophy 'tree', from which hang their weapons, shields and tunics (Ferris

Figure 6: *West facade of the monument to Augustus at La Tubie. Photo: Ville de La Turbie.*

2000: 40, fig. 16; Binninger 2009: 50). The fragments of the captive reliefs have been reconstructed — consisting of 98 pieces on the left, 63 on the right (Bromwich 1993: 273) — from the stereotyped renderings of bound captives found at Carpentras, Saint-Rémy and Orange.[26] It is worth remembering, if Formigé and Bromwich are correct, that the statues of Augustus and his generals dominate architecturally over the 'captive' reliefs, accentuating thereby the symbolism of Augustus' total triumph over the barbarians.[27] N.C. Hartshorn also observes that, in contrast to the female captive on the right, whose eyes are directed towards the male captive, the female captive on the left looks defiantly upwards towards the trophy tree and its spoils — a testimony to the intense struggle required by the Roman forces to overcome the Alpine tribes (Hartshorn 2006: 49-50).

Formigé reconstructed the inscription, consisting of 145 fragments, from its reproduction in Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.20.136-138). Binninger argues that Pliny did not see the original inscription but more likely had consulted the official documents in the imperial archives at Rome.[28] The inscription, listing the 44 Alpine tribes conquered by Augustus:[29]

To Imperator Caesar Augustus,
son of god,
pontifex maximus,
imperator 14 times,
in his 17th year of his tribunician power.
The senate and the Roman people [erected this monument],
in memory of the fact that under his orders,
and under his auspices, all the people of the Alps,
from the Upper Sea to the Lower,[30]
have been brought under the command of (the) Roman people.[31]
Names of Alpine peoples conquered:
Trumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, Vennonetes,
Isarci, Breuni, Genaunes, Focanates.
The four Vindelician nations:
Cosuantes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates,
Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones,
Brixentes, Leponti, Viberi, Nantuates, Seduni,
Veragri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Ucenni,
Caturiges, Brigiani, Sogionti, Brodionti,
Nemaloni, Edenates, Esubiani, Veamini, Gallitae,
Triullati, Ectini, Vergunni, Eguituri, Nemeturi,
Oratelli, Nerusi, Velauni, Suettri.

Pliny (*HN* 3.20.138) adds his personal addendum:

> *I have not included the twelve non-belligerent states of the Cottiani, nor those that were controlled by the Italian municipalities under the Lex Pompeia.*

There is little doubt from this inscription and from the *Res Gestae* that the conquest of the Alpine peoples was, in Roman perception, a 'just war' (cf. *Res Gestae* 26.3: 'without waging unjust war on any people'). Under Augustus' orders (*eius ductu*) and under his 'god-like' auspices (*auspiciis que*; cf. *Res Gestae* 30.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.26; Livy 28.12), the conquests of the barbarian tribes were carried out. There is no suggestion here of an ill-considered or arbitrary decision on the part of Augustus. He alone had the right to consult the gods through the interpretation of omens (*Res Gestae* 4.2; cf. pontifex maximus ['High Priest'], La Turbie inscription, *supra*), procuring their favour and thereby winning victories by means of his generals (Brunt and Moore 1967: 44). The same point is made about Augustus' auspices on the Gemma Augusta where he is depicted in the guise of Jupiter, lituus in hand, greeting the victorious Tiberius (Zanker 1999: 230-231, 321, fig. 182). Consequently, the Alpine peoples are placed under the providential ordering of the Roman gods and under the command of the Roman people (*sub imperium p.r.*) Thus the iconography of the La Turbie monument powerfully substantiates the message of the inscription.

Notwithstanding Augustus' imposition of Roman rule upon the Alpine tribes, the Roman ruler became a patron to the barbarian kings who had accommodated themselves to Roman rule and had become his *amici* ('friends').

Figure 7: *The arch at Carpentras. Photo: Public domain by Véronique Pagnier http://www.geolocation.ws/v/W/4e7e6b5165192916be000300/filecarpentras-arc-romain-jpg/en*

Consequently, as Pliny notes, Augustus did not declare war on them because they had demonstrated that they were not hostile to Rome. The 12 Cottianae cities were indebted to their King, Marius Julius Cottius, for their preservation. Cottius, the first-century BC ruler of the Ligurian tribes, had made peace with Julius Caesar, but for a while had maintained independence in the face of Augustus' onslaught against the Alpine tribes. However, Cottius relented, submitted, and was named Prefect of the 12 tribes — *pace*, 14 tribes in the Susa inscription *infra*[32] — in his region by Augustus for his loyalty as an *amicus* ('friend'). As we will see, Cottius, in reciprocation of this honour, honoured Augustus with a triumphal arch at his capital Segusio in 8 BC (modern Susa, Italy).

In sum, what we are witnessing in Pliny's brief addendum to the inscription is the conciliatory approach that Augustus adopted towards some barbarian tribes (cf. *Res Gestae* 26.4, 31-33) because of the establishment of *amicitia* ('friendship'). This stands in contrast to the iconography of humiliated nations on La Turbie monument and the 'just' war ideology articulated in the inscription. But caution is required lest we overstate the social significance of what is happening here. The Cottianae cities have become an exemplum of the benefits that compliance with Rome brings in contrast to those who do not submit to Roman rule. This result had propagandist value for the Roman cause in Gaul. Consequently Cottius became an honoured figure in Roman literature (Pliny [the Elder], *HN* 3.20; Pliny [the Younger], *Ep.* 3.1.10; Ammianus Marcellinus 15.10.2, 7; Ovid, *Ex Pont.* 4.7). Once again we see how critical it is to bring the inscription accompanying the monument into dialogue with its iconography, as well as its attendant historical circumstances, lest we overemphasise the brutality of Roman imperialism or naively play down its reality (*Res Gestae* 26-30).

Carpentras (Provence, France)

The arch at Carpentras probably celebrated Augustus' victories over the Germans through the agency of Drusus and Tiberius (Germany: 11 BC [Dio Cassius 54.33.5]; 8 BC [Dio Cassius 55.6.4]; cf. *Res Gesate* 4.2; 26.2) and over the Dalmatians by means of Tiberius (11 BC [Dio Cassius 54.34.3]; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.1; *Res Gesate* 4.2; 29.1) in the period spanning 11 to 8 BC (Silberberg-Peirce 1986: 306-324; Bromwich 1993: 161-162) (Figure 7). We will focus on the best-preserved side of the arch. The relief on the west side of the arch shows two barbarians chained to a pillar from which hang their weapons (Figure 8).[33] As far as their identification, one wears a Phrygian cap,[34] while the other, a German, wears a thick woollen cloak, with his curled hair blowing out behind him.[35] Scholars have observed that the German captive faces north-east, whereas the Phrygian looks to the south-east, theorising that they may be looking in the direction of their defeated homeland (Silberberg-Peirce 1986). Here we see something of the psychological dislocation for the barbarians created by Rome's conquest of their homelands. Also the wide geographical spread of Augustus' rule in the iconography — Germany, Phrygia, and Syria — underscores the fact that Rome is the undisputed conqueror of the nations.

Figure 8: *The relief on the west facade of the arch at Carpentras. Photo: http://members.virtualtourist.com/m/p/m/17ba1e/#2*

L'Orange (Provence, France)

As noted above, the magnificent arch at Orange is datable to the reign of Tiberius (AD 26-27) from the arch's fragmentary dedicatory inscription (Amy 1962 (I)) (Figure 9). Therefore the arch is, strictly speaking, outside of the purview of our study (Amy 1962; Gros 1979; Bromwich 1993). However, we will focus on an intriguing case of the racial stereotyping of the barbarian, spotted by G.-H. Picard, on the southern face of the second attic of the arch (Amy 1962 (I): 107-135). Three pedestals

Figure 9: *Triumphal arch at L'Orange.*
Photo: Public domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Arc_de_Triomphe_d%27Orange.jpg

comprise the second attic, the central one depicting a large battle relief on the southern and northern sides. The two scenes show a writhing mêlée dominated by a group of Roman horseman with barbarians interspersed (Amy 1962 (II): pls. 5, 28, 63). The barbarian nations depicted are Gauls, bare-chested and wearing breeches, and Germans, long-breeched and leather-capped. Legion II Augusta is involved in the battle, identified by the Capricorn on the shield held by a Roman foot soldier, standing to the left of centre in the northern relief.[36]

G.-H. Picard has drawn attention to a completely bald barbarian in the southern relief, positioned to the left of centre. His torso is entirely nude and his head is bald, the rest of his body being obscured by the surrounding mêlée. The barbarian rises above the horsemen prancing around him; his head is thrust backwards, his face distorted and looking upwards, grimacing with panic. According to Picard, there is no other iconographic equivalent, but the closest representation we have are the buffoons and grotesques of the world of ancient entertainment. In particular, Picard argues, one is reminded of the bald-headed *stupidus*, the slave who assumes the role of the clown in the travelling mime groups. Furthermore, by reducing this barbarian to the foolish 'slave' stereotype, the iconographer, Picard suggests (Amy, 1962 (I): 128-129), finds a sympathetic dialogue partner in Tacitus (*Ann*. 3.40-47).

There is a real force to Picard's argument when one compares the iconography of the southern attic relief with the terracotta statues of mimic fools (Welborn 2005: 37-40, figs. 2-5). We know that farting fools and Indian barbarians appear in a second century AD farce, based on Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, found in a papyrus at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* III. 413) (Welborn 2005: 41-42). One of the mimes of the mime troupes was called '(Merriments) of the Goths' (*P. Berol*. inv. 13927). Further, the stupidity of barbarians is underscored in Greek comedy (Long 1986: 133, 139, 152; Dauge 1981: Index *s.v*. 'foules (caractère barbare des)'). In sum, the iconographic belittling of the barbarian opponent at Orange, if Picard is correct, matches what we know about barbarians and fools in the world of mime and in Greek comedy more generally.

Figure 10: *Drawing of a relief of bald barbarian in battle scene, L'Orange. From Amy (1962: fig 28.1)*

Figure 11: *The Augustan arch at Susa. Photo: by Lorenzo Rossetti, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arco_di_Augusto-Susa.jpg*

Messages Conflicting with the Triumphal Ideology of the Roman Arches

Susa (south of Turin, Italy)

The Augustan arch at Susa (ancient Segusio), datable to 9/8 BC from its inscription, has no pediment or sculpture in the spandrels (Espérandieu 1965: 15-20; Prieur 1982: 442-475, esp. 451-459; Kleiner 1985: 32-33; 2010: 93-95; Ferrero 1901). Its famous sculptured frieze wraps around all four sides of the immense rectangular arch, which was erected on the road leading to the Alpine crossing to Gaul (Espérandieu, 1965: 15; Kleiner 2010: 93, fig. 7.5). It commemorates the signing of a treaty of friendship between Augustus, the ruler of Rome, and Marcus Julius Cottius, the son and successor of King Donnus, the ruler of 14 small tribes in the Cottian Alps (*Res Gestae* 26.3).

Figure 12: *The Peace treaty relief, Susa. From Espérandieu 1965*

The iconography is the best preserved of any triumphal arch in Italy. On the east side of the relief is depicted the act of submission of the Alpine tribes (Espérandieu 1965: 16 'Face est' [single pl.]), whereas on the north side we see the Roman ritual of the *souvetaurile* being performed (Espérandieu 1965: 18 'Face nord' pl. 1; 19-20 'Face nord' pls. 2-4). In this sacred ceremony, a pig, sheep and bull were sacrificed to Mars in order to bless and purify the land. In the middle of the west side of the relief is rendered the pivotal scene for our purposes, namely, the signing of the peace treaty Espérandieu 1965: 16 'Face ouest' pls. 1-2; Kleiner 2010: 93, 7.6 top). Two people are seated face to face before a table: Augustus is seated prominently to the left and is easily recognisable due to his distinctive hairstyle, whereas Cottius sits opposite the Roman ruler on the right. The third person behind the table, Espérandieu suggests (1965: 17), is a representative of the cities, with Roman lictors nearby holding their fasces. Finally, on the south side of the relief, we see the ceremony of lustration closing the ceremony of the signing of the peace treaty (Espérandieu 1965: 16, 'Face sud' pl. 1; 17-18 pls. 2-4).

The bronze inscription, originally inserted in the attic of the arch, celebrates the establishment of the *pax Augusta* as follows:

> To Imperator Caesar Augustus,
> son of god,
> pontifex maximus,
> in his 15th year of his tribunician power,
> imperator 13 times,
> Marcus Julius Cottius, son of King Donnus,
> prefect of the states which are written underneath:
> *Segovii, Segusini, Belaci, Caturiges, Medulli,*
> *Tebavii, Adanates, Savincates, Egdinii Veaminii,*
> *Venisami, Iemerii, Vesubianii, Quadiates*
> and the states which have been under that prefect.[37]

What are we to make of the dynamics of power being enacted in the iconography of the arch and its inscription? Is this just another instance of the enforced 'Romanisation' of barbarian subjects? It is clear from the inscription that the erection of the arch in honour of Augustus is an act of reciprocation to the Roman ruler for his preservation of the 14 Alpine states and for the honouring of their king who, although now a subject of Augustus, has been appointed as an imperial 'Prefect'. Ossi's conclusion (2010: 64) is apt:

> *The inscription makes it clear that the arch was built at the behest of the tribal communities in honor of their new ally, rather than as an imperially-ordered sign of military dominion. The arch commemorates a change in political status, for which the residents were indebted to Augustus, and the preserved decoration of the arch reflects this primary purpose.*

Figure 13: *Glanum Augustan triumphal arch.*
Photo: public domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Glanum-triomphal_arch-arc_de_triomphe.jpg

Glanum (St. Rémy)

Our discussion of this Augustan triumphal arch (Figure 13), linked by Rolland to one of Agrippa's visits (c. 25 BC onwards),[38] will concentrate on the distinctive iconography of the north-west relief (Rolland 1934: 79-89; 1977; Bruchet 1969; Congrès 2010). The eastern façade reliefs facing Glanum show the two versions of the stereotyped image of a bound man on the left and a woman on the right of the (fragmentary) cruciform-shaped trophy 'tree'.[39] Their clothes indicate that they are Gauls.[40] In the case of the western façade reliefs facing St Rémy, the south-west relief portrays a man naked apart from his cloak next to a woman seated on a mound of military equipment, reminiscent of the later *Judaea capta* and *Dacia capta* coins of Vespasian and Trajan respectively (Rolland 1977: 35-37, pls. 25, 48-50). Rolland argues that the woman is a personification of the Gallic nation conquered by Julius Caesar (Rolland 1977: 37).

However, as noted, the most intriguing relief is found on the north-west. There we see a bound male captive on the right, but significantly the male togate figure on the left places his hand on the captive's shoulder (Rolland 1977: 50-51, pls. 24). J. Bromwich (1993: 217) interprets this gesture as 'surely an appeal for reconciliation and assimilation'. The identity of this figure has been hotly debated. A.R. Congrès, for example, points to (in her view) the 'Gallic coat draped in the Roman fashion' over the figure. From this she concludes that 'Perhaps he is the son of a warrior, or a Romanised native, who acquired the new culture and denounced the dream of independence and the consequences of rebellion'.[41] By contrast, I.M. Ferris (2000: 45) has suggested that the togate figure is Roma with her hand on the captive 'in a proprietorial manner'.

In the view of H. Rolland, however, the figure is not a barbarian, but rather a togate Roman,[42] who is a conqueror presenting his conquered enemy (1977: 35) (Figure 14). As proof, Rolland appeals to the famous coin of the famous republican general, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus 'Macedonicus', who triumphed over the Perseus, the Macedonian king, at Pydna in 168 BC. On the denarius commemorating the victory, Lepidus places his hand on the trophy, not the captive, with Perseus standing nearby with his two sons (Sydenham 1952: §926). Rolland (1977: 35) argues that the same stance of the victor characterises the iconography of both the denarius and the Glanum relief, so the republican allusion — and therefore its symbolic meaning — would have been obvious enough. But there is no parallel in the Augustan arches for such an intimate gesture, especially since the stereotypical trophy of arms, ubiquitous in Gallic iconography and on the denarius of Lepidus, is removed from the scene at Glanum. Such a removal is unprecedented and therefore points in another interpretative direction.[43]

In sum, J. Bromwich, A.R. Congrès and P. Gros are closer to the mark than Rolland in this case. While the suggestion of Roma remains, the fragmentary nature of the relief - missing the left half of its torso, left arm and head - makes certainty impossible. Alternatively, could this enigmatic figure represent a Romanised member of the Gallic provincial elite, a togate *amicus* of the Romans, who is urging reconciliation and assimilation? We have seen that relations of *amicitia* between the Romans and

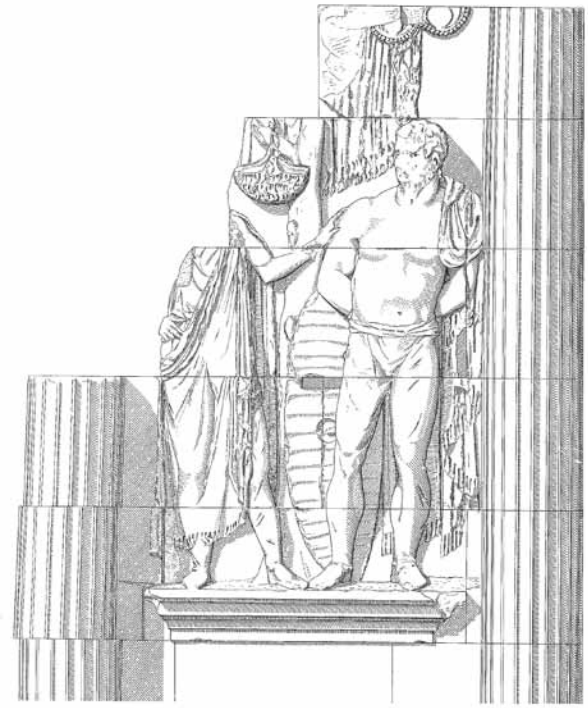

Figure 14: *Drawing of relief on the Glanum Augustan triumphal arch. From Rolland (1977: pl 24)*

Alpine tribes were highlighted in the inscriptions and iconography of the Augustan monuments (e.g. La Turbie, Susa). Is this relief urging in its iconography a different approach on the part of the conquered Gallic tribes to their Roman overlords? This, in my opinion, remains the most likely interpretative option. The north-west relief, therefore, presents a social alternative to the eastern and western façade reliefs of humiliated captives, in the same way that the La Turbie inscription highlights as an exemplum the 12 Alpine tribes, in contrast to the other 44, who had become clients of Augustus.

The Augustan Arches and the Message of Romans

In the previous sections, we argued that New Testament scholars have overlooked the evidence of the Augustan triumphal arches as an important ideological backdrop to Paul's gospel in the Greek East and Latin West. Not only were the barbarians the rightful object of conquest in a just war, the Roman ruler as Pontifex Maximus acted with the authority and blessing of the Roman gods in bringing them under the command of the Roman people. Furthermore, in the iconography of the arches, barbarians could be demeaned as the *stupidus* of the comic mime, or presented as a threat to the integrity of the Empire's borders, or depicted as humiliated and chained, longing for their homelands.

New Testament scholars have also overlooked the patronal dynamic occurring in the Augustan iconography and in the site inscriptions. Some barbarian tribes became the *amicus* of the Roman ruler and had experienced his beneficence towards their state. These *amici*, sympathetic to the Romans, may have urged the more contumacious tribes to seek assimilation and reconciliation with Rome. Indeed, tribes who had become his client highlighted the benefits of the *pax Augusti*. The local Greeks and Phrygians from Pisidian Antioch worked with the Roman elite in the colony to effect a fusion of indigenous and imperial ideologies, with a view to honouring the Julio-Claudian ruler as the world benefactor, and to secure his blessing as the intermediary between the Roman gods and the colony. In conclusion, the dynamics of Roman power towards the nations in imperial iconography is more complex than New Testament scholarship appreciates.

Was Paul aware of some of these ideological subtleties in writing to the Romans, incorporating motifs that would capture the attention of those who were looking for a different narrative of power and grace?

Paul's Indebtedness to Greeks and Barbarians (Romans 1:14)

Paul only uses the word βάρβαρος ('barbarian') three times in his 'genuine' epistles, once in Romans 1:14, and twice in 1 Corinthians 14:11.[44] The latter two references are conventional in their reference to speaking an unknown foreign language.[45] However, the Romans reference is unusual because Paul employs the word in a pastoral, missionary and evangelistic context (Rom 1:10-12, 13b, 15b) that transcends cultural and racial barriers (1:14a: Ἕλλησίν τε καὶ βάρβαροις; cf. 1:16b: Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι; 10:12). Paul is well aware of the social, educational and racial opprobrium that βάρβαρος carried in the first century, as the parallelism of the words σοφοί (Rom 1:14b: 'wise') and ἀνοήτοι (1:14b: 'unintelligent') with the preceding words 'Greek' (1:14a) and 'barbarian' (1:14a) shows (Jewett 2007: 130-133). Paul would have encountered popular stereotypes of barbarians similar to those on the arch of Orange, as well as presentations of barbarian captives like those on the arches of Carpentras, La Turbie and Pisidian Antioch. Undoubtedly, in considering his shift in mission from the Greek East to the Latin West (Rom 1:9-10, 13, 15b; 15:25-29), the apostle had to grapple with how to shift hardened Roman attitudes of superiority towards the barbarian nations, as much as towards the Jews (Rom 11:17-21; 14:10). The preponderance of triumphal arches in Italy and Gaul, with their iconography of humiliated barbarians, testified to the challenge he faced.

What is remarkable about Paul's strategy is that the apostle says he is indebted to each group (Rom 1:14a: ὀφειλέτης εἰμί), whether Greek or barbarian. There is no cultural fusion here of the Graeco-Phrygian elite with Roman provincial leaders, such as we saw at Pisidian Antioch, maintaining thereby imperial benefits for the city, and relegating the barbarian threat to the margins of the Empire. The self-conscious cultural superiority of Greeks towards the barbarian tribes is also relativised in Paul's mutual obligation to both groups (Hall 1989).

For Paul, the believer is indebted to no one, except for the 'debt' of love to all, articulated in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the Jesus tradition (Rom 13:8-10 [v. 8: μηδὲν ὀφείλετε]; cf. Mark 12:28-34; Matt 22:36-40). The believer is justified before God by grace (Rom 4:4: κατὰ χάριν) and not by 'works' of indebtedness (4:4: κατὰ ὀφείλημα). The dynamic of divine grace (Rom 4:1-25) — expressed in love without pretence (13:8-10; cf. 12:9a: ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκροτος) — explains why the apostle challenged the denigration and stereotyping of the 'barbarian' in mid-fifties Rome.[46] The consequences for social relations within the body of Christ were immediate: the 'strong' were obligated to put up with the failings of the 'weak' (Rom 15:1: Ὀφείλομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς), and the Gentile was obligated to the Jew in beneficence to the poor (15:27: ὀφειλέται εἰσίν αὐτῶν). But, in Romans 1:14, the apostle spells out what this obligation meant for the believer's mission to the marginalised people groups *outside of* the body of Christ. His decision would enable his house-churches not only to embrace the peoples from barbarian tribes with whom the Romans had patronal relations, but also those tribes whom the Romans had punished for their non-compliance.[47]

The Reconciliation and Forgiveness of Enemies (Romans 5:6-11; 12:17-21)

We have seen that in the Latin West at La Turbie, Susa and Glanum reconciliation, assimilation and peace with the barbarian tribes were emphasised on the arches and in their accompanying inscriptions. These had propagandist value for the Roman cause in the west of the Empire, being based on the familiar conventions of patronage and *amicitia*, with their rituals of reciprocity and the enhancement of the honour of patron and client. What is intriguing is that Paul inverts the operations of the benefaction system in Romans 5:6-11. The apostle presents a dishonoured benefactor (Gal 3:13; 1 Cor 1:18-25; 2 Cor 8:9) who had died for his ungrateful and hostile enemies (Rom 5:6-8; 1:21; 5:10a). Notwithstanding, Christ's dependents have been ushered into a new age of peace (Rom 5:1), reconciliation (5:9-11) and overflowing grace (5:12-21; 8:32).

Paul's understanding of reconciliation, however, differs to the 'Romanisation' offered at Glanum, or the fusion of Graeco-Phrygian and Roman culture at Pisidian Antioch that relegated the barbarians to the margins of Empire. Because of the reconciliation of enemies to God through Christ's atoning work (Rom 5:9-11; cf. 3:25; 8:3), there is now unity for Jew and Gentile in the 'one God' (3:29-30). In Christ diversely gifted members of Christ 'form one body' (Rom 12:5). Paul's prayer-wish is that God would give Jews and Gentiles 'a spirit of unity' as they followed Christ and accepted each other in him (Rom 15:5-7). Consequently, Paul argues that personal revenge was to be left to God's wrath, peace was to characterise all relations, and the enemy was to be shown beneficence (Rom 12:17-21, esp. v. 20a).

What is remarkable in this new social construct is that cultural, ethnic and social distinctions do not become grounds for communal exclusion or for enforced communal change, as was the case in Roman 'reconciliation'. The reason is that such distinctions were totally irrelevant as far as God's justification of the ungodly (Rom 1:14, 16b; 4:11-12, 16-18; 10:11-12; 14:1-8). This stood in contrast to the Pliny the Elder's vision of *humanitas* that would be imposed upon the barbarian tribes. Italy, the 'parent of all lands', was chosen by the gods:

> *... to gather together the scattered realms and to soften their customs and unite the discordant wild tongues of so many peoples into a common speech so that they might understand each other, and to give civilisation to mankind (humanitatem homini), in short to become the homeland of every people in the entire world* (NH 3.39, cited in Woolf (1998: 57)).[48]

The Victory of Christ on Behalf of Believers (Romans 8:37-39)

Unexpectedly for Romans familiar with the iconography of the triumphal arches, Paul portrays the love of Christ (Rom 8:35a, 37b, 39b) as the only power able to preserve believers through tribulation (v.35). It provides them eschatological victory over cosmic enemies imperilling the soul and body (Rom 8:37b-39; cf. 5:9). As R. Jewett observes (2007: 549; cf. Morris 1988: 340), the aorist participle ἀγαπήσαντος in Romans 8:37b, refers to a 'single act of love' (8:30). It denotes Christ's timely death for the ungodly enemy (5:6, 8, 10a). The submissiveness of the defeated barbarians and their rough treatment at the hands of their captors portrayed on triumphal arches contrasts markedly with the way that believers participated in their benefactor's unsurpassed victory on their behalf.

However, why does Paul use the ὑπερ-compound in verse 37 (ὑπερνικῶμεν) and what would it have signified for Roman auditors familiar with the imperial propaganda of victory?[49] R. Jewett (2007: 548-549) and C.E.B. Cranfield (1975: 441) point to a variant of a famous maxim of Menander for the clarification of the word's meaning: 'to be victorious (νικᾶν) is good (καλόν), but to be super-victorious (ὑπερνικᾶν) is bad (κακόν)'. The idea conveyed by ὑπερνικᾶν is that the victory achieved is excessive in its scope: consequently the victor is marked as a 'super victor' among vastly inferior victors (Jewett 2007: 549; Bruce 1963: 181). In using the ὑπερ-compound, Paul pivots the total superiority of Christ's soteriological victory over against all other victors in history, whether human or cosmic. In Paul's view, therefore, the triumph of the Julian house over its political opponents at Rome and its victories over the barbarian threat to the Empire, articulated on the arches, was in reality a passing sideshow (cf. 1 Cor 2:7-8; 7:31b).

The Rule of the Root of Jesse over the Nations (Romans 15:7-13)

Paul's typological use of LXX texts in Romans 15:3 (LXX Ps 68:10a; ET 69:9a), 15:9 (LXX Ps. 17:50; ET 18:49; cf. 2 Sam 22:50), 15:10 (LXX/ET Deut 32:43) and 15:11 (LXX Ps 116:1; ET 117:1) is a pivotal part of his rhetorical strategy in persuading his Roman auditors regarding God's messianic grace towards the Gentile nations, including the βάρβαροι living at the fringes of the Empire. It is clear from the link between Romans 15:3a and 15:3b that the Messiah is the speaker in the LXX text cited in v. 3b. The messianic leitmotiv is also present in the LXX texts cited in vv. 9, 10 and 11. The Messiah, as Paul depicts him, addresses the Gentile nations in vv. 9-11 in a winsome and celebratory manner: the Son of David praises God before the Gentiles for his salvation and Davidic descendants (v. 9), invites the Gentiles to rejoice in God's salvation from their enemies (v. 10), and summons them to praise God for his steadfast love and faithfulness (v. 11). A messianic proof-text from Isaiah (LXX Isa 11:10) brings Paul's typological use of the LXX to a resounding conclusion in v. 12. There the risen and reigning Messiah brings the nations under his personal rule and affirms their present incorporation into the body of Christ through the summons of divine grace.

We have here a conquest of the barbarian nations vastly different to that which we find in the *Res Gestae* or on the Augustan arches at Pisidian Antioch and La Turbie. The wars waged against the unruly barbarians by Augustus' legates under his auspices were 'just'. The hostilities were an expression of Augustus' mediator role as the Pontifex Maximus of Rome. He brought the nations under the command of the Roman people and their gods, and protected the Roman colonia from barbarian incursion. Paul provides a different narrative of beneficence for his Roman auditors. The Gentiles, who formerly were neither God's people nor his loved one (Rom 9:25-26; cf. Hos 2:23; 1:10), had now become God's beloved people, by divine invitation, through Christ. The Benefactor of the universe had eclipsed the benefits offered by the Caesars (Rom 5:12-21).

Conclusion

This article has quarried a vein of iconographic evidence ignored by New Testament scholarship (*pace*, Knowles 2000), though classical scholarship has subjected the Augustan triumphal arches to intense study. We have seen that New Testament scholars have sometimes over emphasised Rome's ruthless conquest of the nations and their 'Romanisation' at the expense of other iconographic and inscriptional evidence that pointed to more positive patronal relations, the reconciliation of enemies, and the willing assimilation of subjects in the Empire. When this countervailing evidence is taken seriously, we have seen that some of Paul's distinctive theological emphases in Romans — given his missionary focus on the Latin West — acquired pastoral, ecclesial and social potency for believers at Rome and for his mission in Spain.

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Endnotes

1 See Vermeule (1963: 83, 87, figs. 27-30) for captive barbarians on Corinthian sculptures and panel reliefs, but they postdate Paul (AD 160-170). In the Corinthian museum I recently saw another small (undated) captive barbarian statue on exhibition: could this be a first-century example? A Roman arch, hurriedly built and of poor workmanship, was erected for Nero's visit to the Isthmian games and his proclamation of freedom from taxation for the province Achaia (AD 67: *SIG*[3] 814). However, the triumphal arch at Isthmia, symbolic of the greatness of the Roman Empire, did not possess any sculpture, let alone barbarian reliefs (Mills 1984). It is important to realise that indigenous motifs still appeared on the local triumphal arches. Pausanias 2.3.2 refers to an arch over the Lechaion Road at Corinth, with sculptures of the gods of Acrocorinth on its top (Edwards 1994). At Philippi there was an arch marking the limit of the forum. Additionally, in the east, outside the theatre, there was a large arch in extension of the wall of the *parados* (Collart 1937: 334, 379). Also, two kilometers west of Philippi, there was an arch spanning the Via Egnatia, erected to commemorate the foundation of the *colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis* after the battle of Actium (31 BC), as well as marking the line of the city's sacred boundary (*pomerium*: Collart 1937: 320-323). This confirms the reference to Paul going outside the city gate by the river in search of a place of prayer (Acts 16:13: ἔξω τῆς πύλης). See Kleiner (1985: pl.. I.2) for an artistic reconstruction of the arch

from its marble block remains. There is little doubt that Paul would have encountered imperial triumphal arches in the cities he visited, even if their remains are no longer extant.

2 For studies of Roman arches, see Frothinghan (1904) and (1915), Curtis (1908), Gros (1979), Güven (1983) (unavailable to me), Kleiner (1985), Wallace-Hadrill (1990). Specific studies on individual Augustan arches in the Greek East and Latin West will be referred to throughout the study. On the Augustan arches generally, see Richmond (1933) and Kleiner (1985).

3 Frotheringham (1904) lists 466 memorial and triumphal arches throughout the Roman Empire.

4 Throughout Italy there is widespread diffusion of campagna reliefs — i.e. terracotta revetments moulded in bulk for house walls — showing, among other motifs, bound Gallic prisoners (*Res Gestae* 26.2; 28.1). See Tortorella (1981: 69, figs. 9-11). An Augustan denarius, showing the *submissio* of a barbarian (*BMC* I 'Augustus', No. 127), depicts the long-haired and bearded captive as entirely naked apart from a cloak over the shoulders. An aureus from Lugdunum shows a bearded and cloaked barbarian holding up a small child who stretches out its arms to Augustus. For the numismatic references, see Kuttner (1995: 187). For funerary stelae, see Walter (1993: pls. 41-52). For lamps and gladiatorial helmets, see Levi (1952: 8 n. 9).

5 On the possibility of a Greek version of the *Res Gestae* being present at Pisidian Antioch, see Harrison (2011: 24-25).

6 See Porter (2008). It is a matter of debate from the fragments of the *Res Gestae* found at Pisidian Antioch where its rendering was actually located: was the text inscribed on the faces of the pedestal blocks punctuating the stairway to the arch or on a monument nearby? The *Res Gestae*, published after Augustus' death, would have been inscribed 15 years after the construction of the arch. For discussion, see Ossi (2010: 37-40).

7 Literary sources mention four arches at Rome that commemorate (a) Augustus' victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus (Dio Cassius 49.15.1), (b) Augustus' victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium (51.19.1), (c) the return of captives and the legionary standards from Parthia (54.8.3), and (d) Augustus' biological father on the Palatine (Pliny, *HN* 36.36). For discussion, see Kleiner (1985: 22-28).

8 On a frieze from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome, two captives — part of Augustus' 29 BC triple triumph (*Res Gestae* 4.1; 30.1) — are displayed. Each sits on a parade float, hands bound behind his back, ready to be hoisted mid-air for exhibition in Augustus' triumphal procession. See Bradley (2004: pl. 1) and Zanker (1999: 70 fig. 55). In regard to the Ara Pacis, Rose (1990) has argued that the two male children in foreign dress on the north and south friezes are respectively Gallic and (royal) Bosporan captives. Evidence elsewhere confirms this portrait. Contra, see Rossini (2010: 48-79), who posits imperial family members. Gergel (1994: 196) proposes that the two female figures, which flank the gods Caelus and Sol on the cuirassed breastplate of Augustus' statue at Prima Porta, are Spain and Gaul. Finally, for depictions of barbarians (Gaul, Spain, Africa and Asia) under the rule of Augustus on the Borcoreale cups, see Kuttner (1995: pls. BRI.1.3; BRI.2.4-5). Last, a silver cup, found in a royal tomb at Meroe in the Sudan, provides an important perspective on Augustus' annexation of Egypt and his conquest of ancient Ethiopia (modern northern Sudan). On the cup we see depicted a king with the features of Augustus, an executioner with his axe, a distressed woman with two children clasping her knees, and behind her, a man leaning forward and pleading in front of a chopping block (Vermeule 1963: pls. 53-56). Vermeule (1963: 128) suggests that the woman symbolises Egypt, with her two children representing Upper and Lower Egypt. The conquest being alluded to was the invasion of Upper Egypt and ancient Ethiopia by Augustus' general, Petronius (23 BC: *Res Gestae* 26.5; 27.1).

9 See the book of Raventós (1994: 247-78), written in Catalan. For numismatic evidence of four Augustan arches on Spanish coins of 17/16 BC, see Kleiner (1985: 31). A double arch and a square arch show an elephant biga carrying Augustus and Victory (*RIC* I2, 'Augustus', Nos. 315-316), whereas other arches show Augustus and Victory riding in a chariot pulled by four horses (*BMCRR* II Nos. 4463-4464). Frotherington (1904) argues that the following arches in Spain are also Augustan: the bridge arch in Martorel (date unknown); (b), the Janus Quadrifrons (a four-faced arch) in Caparra (date unknown); (c), the triumphal arch in Merida (date unknown); (d) the triumphal arch (before 20 BC) in modern Cabanes, called Augusta Emerita in the first century. There are no extant remains for (a), (c) and (d). The Quadrifrons at Caparra still stands, but there is no iconography on the arch. There is, however, an Augustan denarius from Augusta Emerita showing the city gate on the reverse (*RIC* I 'Augustus', §§288-292).

10 The iconography of the Iberian Peninsula (Spain) differs to the imagery of victory and defeat found on the Augustan arches of Southern France. The Augustan propaganda adopts a subtler and less imperialistic approach in Iberia. Mierse (1999: 124) notes that the militaristic relief decoration of the theatre at Augusta Emerita alludes to Augustus' victory at Actium and not to his conquests on the Iberian peninsula. However, some Spanish coins, struck in 18/17 BC (*BMC* I, 'Augustus', Nos. 427-429, pl. 10, Nos. 2 and 3), did not baulk at showing the subjugation of the barbarians depicted on the triple arch located near the temple of Divus Julius at Rome (Cassius Dio 54.8.3). See Levi (1952: 6-7).

11 Augustus built the Portico of Nations in an unknown location in Rome (Pliny, *HN* 36.39; Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2; Servius, *Aen.* 8.721). It contained statues representing all the nations of the Roman world. A few hundred metres away from the site of the *Res Gestae* at Augustus' mausoleum, which highlighted the ruler's domination of the nations (3.1-2; 4.3; 13; 25-33), was Agrippa's monumental map displaying the extent of the Roman Empire and its peoples (Hingley 2005: 79).

12 I am not meaning to imply that the social position of the barbarian was somehow ameliorated in the official Roman propaganda. Rather the conception of the barbarian became increasingly abased in the numismatic and sculptural evidence from the second century AD onwards. See Levi (1952: 3-4, 25-40).

13 On Roman attitudes to the 'other', see Gruen (2011: 115-196). On enlightened Greek attitudes on the nobility of barbarians, see Hall (1989: 211-223). Some of the Roman love poets showed little interest in the Julio-Claudian military 'jingoism' against the barbarian nations, preferring the delights of love to the imperial propaganda

(e.g. Propertius, 3.4.13-18). See Merriam (2004: 50-70). However, see the venomous stereotyping of barbarians in Cicero's *pro Fonteio* (Woolf 1998: 61-62).

14 This means that other important Augustan triumphal monuments will be bypassed. For example, the *tropaeum* of Augustus' sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis shows a (fragmentary) marble relief of the triumph of the victorious Octavian, with two children beside him in his chariot. These are probably the children of the defeated Antony and Cleopatra, alluded to in *Res Gestae* 4.3. See Zachos (2003: 65-92, esp. 90-92).

15 Ossi (2011: 15). For the dramatic contrast between the archaeological remains present at the site in 1924 and 2004, see Rubin (2011: 40, fig. 3.7 and 48, fig. 3.17).

16 See Robinson (1926). For Robinson's two pictorial reconstructions of the arch, see Rubin (2011: 36, fig. 3.2, 38 fig. 3.5).

17 The inscription, datable to 2/1 BC, is as follows (Ossi 2010: 21):

Imp. Caes[ari. di]vi.[f. a]ugusto. ponti[f]ici. m[axim]o
cos. x[iii. trib]un[iciae] potestatis. xxii. [im]p. xiiii. p[. p.]
For the imperator Caesar Augustus, son of a god,
pontifex maximus, consul for the
13th time, with tribunician power for the 22nd time,
imperator for the 14th time,
father of the country.

18 Barton (1995: 34, 36, 39, 42, 47) argues that ancients were more flexible about birth signs than moderns, choosing what was the most appealing sign personally.

19 Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.791-796: 'You, Capricorn, rule all that lies beneath the setting sun and all that stretches thence to touch the frozen north, together with the peoples of Spain and of wealthy Gaul; and you, Germany, fit only to breed wild beasts, are claimed by an uncertain sign ...'. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, 2.17.19-20.

20 Rubin (2010: 38-39) states: 'While not a symbol of victory in itself, this Capricorn is probably intended to signify that Augustus' rise to power was preordained in the stars'.

21 For the local god, Mên Askaênos, who is represented alongside the imperial iconography - pointing thereby to a fusion of Roman and Anatolian motifs on the arch - see Rubin (2011: 43, fig. 3.13).

22 Rubin (2010: 63) renders the incomplete inscription thus:

IOVI • OPT • MAX
AUG • ET • GEN • COL
[*vacat*] EVEI
To Jupiter Optimus Maximus
Augustus and the Genius of the Colony
[ ] the son of Eueius

Rubin (2010: 55-71) argues that the Latin dedication was a collaborative effort on the part of Italian colonists with the local Graeco-Phrygian elite, one of whom is mentioned on the inscription ('Eueius'). He observes that Augustus functions as an intermediary — having the same 'godlike' status as the Olympian deities — between Jupiter and the Genius of the Colony, Pisidian Antioch.

23 Note the insightful comment of Ossi (2010: 56): the arch 'stands as an attempt to integrate the multicultural population, not by turning Greeks and Phrygians into Romans, but by melding aspects of each cultural tradition into a new provincial culture'.

24 For discussion of the monument, see Formigé 1949; Casimir 1932; Hartshorn 2006; Binninger 2009. Although it is not an arch, I have included the La Turbie monument in my discussion due to its iconographic and epigraphic importance. On the history of restoration of the monument, with photographs, see Binninger (2009: 18-37). See, too, Formigé's reconstruction of the monument (1949: pl. 51; cf. Casimir 1932: 46). For a general discussion of the arches of early imperial Gaul, see Kleiner (1985: 40-50).

25 Formigé (1949: 68-69) lists the following: a cuirass, a wild boar, a bull, horns, a skull, and a ship's prow (alluding to Augustus' naval battle on Lake Constance: 15 BC). For a picture of the frieze, on the entablature above the columns, as well as one of the niches between the columns, see Formigé (1949: fig. 7).

26 See the helpful picture in Binninger (2009: 50) contrasting the existing fragments on the left with the reconstituted relief in marble on the right. Additionally, see Formigé (1949: 52-54, pl. 47).

27 As evidence for the possibility of a statue of Augustus crowning the monument, Formigé (1949, pl. 51) notes that a fragment of a bronze statue has been discovered. However, Formigé's assertion that two captives also adorned the cone roof - argued on the basis of an analogy with Trajan's trophy - is possible but unprovable (*ibid.*).

28 Binninger (2009: 51). On the inscription, see Formigé (1949: 54-64). For pictures of Mommsen's and Formigé's rendering of the inscription, see Casimir (1932: 56, 61).

29 Casimir (1932: 63-114) provides an excellent historical exposition of each of the tribes. On the geographical spread of the tribes, see Formigé (1949: 60-61). Strabo (4.32) mentions an Augustan altar, location unknown, which is inscribed with the names of 60 Gallic tribes.

30 Respectively, the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas.

31 Casimir (1932: 57) translates loosely: 'submit to Roman laws' ('se sont soumis aux lois romaines').

32 On the differences between Pliny's rendering of the La Turbie inscription and the Susa inscription, see Prieur (1982: 454-455).

33 Bromwich (1993: 162) describes the eastern side relief thus: 'The prisoners, one tall and long-haired, the other squatter, almost dumpy, both wear Greek costume and are from the east, perhaps Syria'.

34 Bromwich (1993: 162) says of the captive: 'The easterner, head bowed in defeat, wears the Phrygian hat of Asia Minor, an Iranian tunic, baggy trousers and fringed cloak'.

35 For the relief, see Ferris (2000: 47, fig. 21); Bromwich (1993, pl. 22). Bromwich (1993:161-162) observes regarding the German captive: 'His wide chest and firm look emphasise the need to control such a powerful, barbaric force'.

36 Amy (1962 (I): 126, fig. 53) 'Face Sud', figure 5 in diagram. Amy (1962 (II): pl. 28 (top diagram)).

37 *CIL* V 7231.

38 H. Rolland (1977: 46). Gros (1979) agues that the Glanum arch, as part of a wider explosion in arch building, belongs to the late Augustan or early Tiberian era (AD 10-20).

39 Rolland (1977: 33-35). For the iconography, see Rolland (*ibid.*): south east relief: pls. 22, 43-44; north east relief: pls. 23, 44-47.

40 Bruchet (1969: 29 n. 29) argues that the chained barbarians on the arch of Glanum are more likely Germans or other prisoners as opposed to Gauls.

41 Congrès (2010: 27). Similarly, P. Gros (1981: 162) argues that the north-west relief presents an image of an acculturated, urbanised Gaul on the left, deliberately placed alongside the image of a 'traditional, bearish and proud Gaul' on the right, who has not yet been

Romanised. However, in Bruchet's view (1969: 29), the indigenous figure on the left, clothed in Gallic dress, has compromised with the Roman occupiers, agreeing to hand over to them a hostage in an obvious sign of goodwill.

42 On the elite status of the Roman toga in provincial power-politics, see Hingley (2005: 76).

43 Walter (1993) presents 70 plates of barbarian reliefs, statues and funerary monuments that almost exclusively depict Gauls and Germans either with their hands bound behind their backs or being crushed under the Roman cavalry.

44 If Colossians is an authentic epistle of Paul as opposed to the pseudonymous product of a later generation, then Colossians 3:11 (βάρβαρος) would have to be considered. We will, however, focus on the evidence of Romans.

45 Ferris (2000: 3) makes a perceptive comment regarding the onomatopoeic nature of the word βάρβαρος, mimicking the unintelligible speech ('bar, bar, bar') of the barbarian to the Greeks: 'This initial drive to define difference purely in linguistic terms later came to encompass both real and perceived visual, cultural and psychological differences … Vocabulary and grammar were both used by the Greek to define and subtly define others, while *the vocabulary and grammar of Roman art* could also be used in the same way' (my emphasis). The relevance of studying the iconographic evidence of the Augustan arches for Roman attitudes to the βάρβαροι could not be clearer.

46 This contrasted with the Roman understanding of 'obligation' (*officium*) to the gods, one's family, state and patrons (Jewett 2007: 132). Indissoluble ties of honour, piety and reciprocity defined each of these relationships, but the βάρβαροι were excluded in each instance. For Roman auditors hearing Romans 1:14 for the first time, the social implications of what Paul was saying would have been confronting.

47 Paul's enlightened stance towards barbarians had no impact in shifting hardened official attitudes within the Christian bureaucracy of the later Empire. Note the comment of Levi (1952: 4): 'Neither in coins nor in official sculpture did the advent of Christianity cause any change in the conception of the barbarian. He appears until the end as a sign of the victory or of the victorious power of the emperor over his military enemies'.

48 On the Roman assimilation of the Carthaginians, see Statius, *Silvae* 4.5.45-48. Pace, note the remarkable papyrus fragment of Antiphon's *On Truth* (*P. Oxy.* LII. 3647, cited in Hall (1989: 218-220). The fragment speaks of the physical homogeneity of the human race based on nature as opposed to distinctions originating from social class and law, even though the latter divisions remain entrenched in the world: 'The laws of our neighbours we know and revere: the laws of those afar we neither know nor revere. Thus in this we have been made barbarians with regard to one another. For by nature we are in all respects similarly endowed to be barbarian or Greek. One may consider those natural facts which are necessary in all men and provided for all in virtue of the same facilities — in these very matters none of us is separated off as a barbarian or a Greek. For we may all breathe into the air by way of our mouths and noses, we laugh when we are happy in our minds and we cry when we are in pain, we receive sounds by our hearing and we see with our eyes by light, we work with our hands and we walk on our feet …'. Paul, however, speaks of his obligation of 'love' to Greek and barbarian (Rom 1:14; cf. 13:8-10), thereby rendering unimportant differences of social class (12:16b) and law (3:29-30; 10:12; 11:18-20; 12:14-21; 14:1-15:7) in the body of Christ.

49 Jewett's concise discussion (2007: 549-550) of the imperial background pertaining to Romans 8:37 is outstanding.

The Deissmann Ostraca after 75 Years in Sydney

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Abstract: This paper has two main parts. It begins with the first detailed account of how a collection of 87 Greek ostraca (i.e. inscribed pottery fragments), once belonging to the German theologian Gustav Adolf Deissmann, a leading Greek philologist, came to Sydney. The collection was destined to go elsewhere – were it not for the serendipitous convergence of Deissmann's forced retirement under the Nazis, a much travelled German Egyptologist, an ailing Scottish theology professor, and the staunchly Presbyterian director of the Bank of New South Wales. The second part introduces the collection as a whole, before focusing more specifically on four selected exemplars. Two, whose writings have faded away almost completely since coming to Sydney, and two (representing the majority) which remain in good condition. Remarkably, most of the Deissmann ostraca have not yet been analysed comprehensively from a socio-historical perspective. Despite Paul Meyer's philological publication of the collection in 1916, many questions remain either unasked or unanswered, leaving the potential for further research and study.

1. Introduction

Seventy-five years ago, this October (2011), Professor William John Woodhouse (1866-1937), then curator of Sydney University's Nicholson Museum, opened three wooden boxes, containing a valuable collection of 87 Greek ostraca, destined for their new home at 'his' museum. Later that day, he wrote with obvious enthusiasm to the University Registrar, W.A. Selle:

> *The collection is of great intrinsic value as being one of choice specimens, and also of considerable historical and sentimental value. ... American Universities would have given much to secure it.* (Lawler 1997: 160)

In the summer of 2005, when I was first given an opportunity to see the full extent of this collection in Sydney, I couldn't help being moved by the experience. Some may view these fragments as fairly dull, antique objects, with esoteric writings and oddly mysterious symbols; whereas others, like Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866-1937), could hold them in their hands and allow their often very personal communications to touch – even enthral – them through an almost sentimental time-travelling experience into a bygone reality. For these once discarded sherds do have the latent power, by means of their written inscriptions, to connect us sympathetically with common individuals who lived some 2000 years ago – and by extension, may perhaps even cause us to think a little more about our own brief existence.

The intent of this article, therefore, is mainly twofold: in the first place, I want to address the question of how and why Deissmann's private collection in Germany came to *Sydney*. It is, indeed, a serendipitous story, and one that has thus far not been fully told anywhere.

In the second part, I aim to raise awareness of, and rekindle scholarly interest in the Deissmann ostraca, by lifting their 'potentiality-profile'. There are, of course, thousands of such ostraca in museums scattered around the globe, but very few people in Australia – and who are interested in the ancient world – seem even aware that this particular collection exists within our own country. Consequently, it is nowadays either largely being overlooked, or, if known at all, erroneously thought of as having been academically 'mined out' long ago. Nonetheless, I hope to demonstrate to the reader that the latter is far from being the case, by centring on just one or two particular points of interest in each of the four representative exemplars I have chosen, and by raising some pertinent questions for consideration.

It is, of course, well beyond the scope and intent of this article to focus more explicitly on each item in this collection. Yet many of its archaic messages are full of real-life drama that have either not at all been explored yet, or are still only partly understood. In fact, it might come as somewhat of a surprise to learn how little is actually known about them with any certainty, be it as individual objects or as a collection overall. This is true despite the fact that Deissmann's colleague in classical philology at Berlin, Prof. Paul Martin Meyer (1866-1935), has published most of them in April 1916.[1] His work appeared only in German; but the introduction may give a clue as to why it makes for such 'dry' (and often bewildering) reading today, for he made it a point at the outset to explain that he saw the publication of this book as his contribution to Germany's war effort.

> *Though the war that will lead us to victory rages on, our duty is to continue the work of peace; each one within the particular sphere of his post or profession. My book came about during the war; may it be seen as a modest product of this peace activity* (Meyer 1916: iii).

Renewed serious studies, ideally with the use of modern imaging technology, are therefore bound to make some contributions to our socio-historical and philological understanding of these particular texts. For ostraca in general are not just lifeless voices from the past, virtually

drowned out by the din of today's noisy and hectic pace of life, but rather they are poignant mirrors in which we can, in many ways, see reflected ourselves – if we but care to look.

2. Background to Deissmann's ostraca collection

Adolf Deissmann was born on 7 November 1866, in the small Hessian village of Langenscheid. He was the third of five children of a Lutheran pastor, himself the son of a Lutheran pastor.

While still at high school in Wiesbaden (1879-85), Deissmann became so deeply impressed by one of his teachers' lively way of reading Horace and Sophocles that he made up his mind to study Greek philology – against his father's express wishes. This was not an acceptable option to the elder Deissmann since his firstborn son, Wilhelm, had already failed to follow in his footsteps by choosing a civil service career, eventually becoming a prison inspector. Despite Adolf's personal ambition, the paternal authority prevailed, and in spring of 1885 he was enrolled as a student of theology at the Tübingen University. After further studies in Berlin and Herborn – where he later also took on a brief dual role as *Pfarrer* (pastor) and seminary lecturer (1895-7) – he was appointed Professor of New Testament exegesis at the University of Heidelberg (1897-1908). It was here that his groundbreaking work on postclassical Greek launched him onto the international stage, particularly through his research on the language used in the New Testament texts. His first two books were misleadingly entitled *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897), but tended to be rather foreign territory for New Testament specialists, since they presented unexplored philological material from ancient texts which were unrelated to the biblical narrative.

At this point, it needs to be made clear that Deissmann, throughout his life, remained far more interested in the language and cultural history of the New Testament and early Christianity than in biblical exegesis – despite his professional tenure – or religious idealism *per se*.[2]

In Deissmann's time, Greek philology was a highly prestigious field, globally competitive, and certainly not easy to break into as an 'untrained' outsider. This applied particularly to theologians; and that despite their exhaustive linguistic training in at least the three Western-culture's cardinal languages: Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Needless to say, Deissmann didn't particularly endear himself to some of Germany's philological *echelon* (Gerber 2010: 31, 86-7, 120-2), especially after he had publicly stated in a guest lecture at Cambridge, England:

> *Greek philologists, enslaved to the prejudice that only the so-called classical Greek is beautiful, have long treated the texts of the later period with the greatest contempt. A good deal of their false judgments about late Greek is the simple consequence of their complete ignorance of it* (Deissmann 1908: 56).

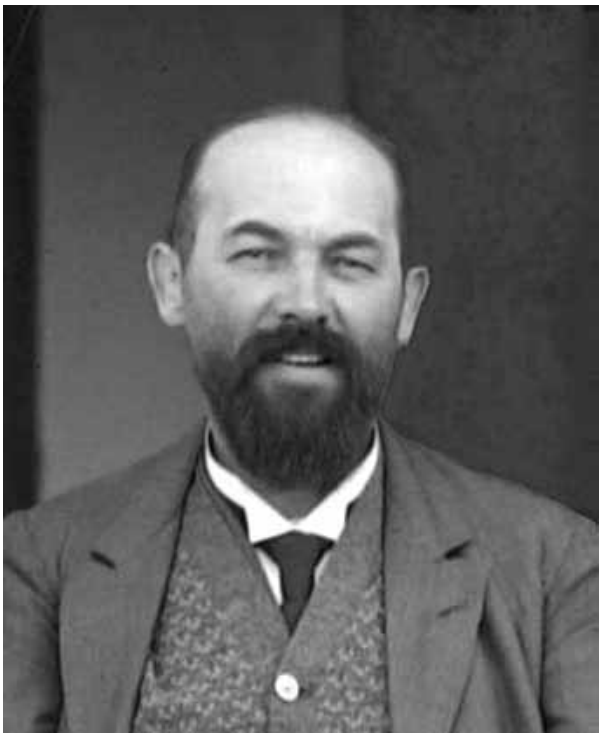

***Figure 1**: Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1926). Photo: from Gerber (2010: 125)*

Although a theologian by profession, in 1908 Deissmann had long enjoyed the necessary *gravitas* to make such provocative charges, as he was one of the world's foremost authorities in postclassical Greek since the mid-1890s. He had achieved this status by pioneering the innovative approach of analysing non-literary Greek writings – such as are found on inscriptions, ostraca and papyri – and comparing them critically with post-classical texts, particularly those of the Septuagint and New Testament. For prior to that, the Greek of the New Testament was commonly believed to be linguistically isolated from other languages – a kind of special 'biblical', 'corrupt' or even 'Holy Ghost' language (Gerber 2010: 7, 66, 363, 544).

By far the best known, most influential and enduring book Deissmann has produced is *Licht vom Osten* (1908), particularly its much-revised and expanded 4th edition of 1923. The English version, *Light from the Ancient East*, is a translation of the 2nd edition, and was reprinted as recently as 2004. To further consolidate the international philological pre-eminence he had gained from his earlier two *Bibelstudien*, he purchased between 1904 and 1912 a number of unpublished ostraca (Meyer 1916: iv), and – according to his private diary – some papyri and at least three codices.[3]

However, for his first edition of 1908, Deissmann made use of only five of his ostraca (*O. Deiss.* 31, 36, 56, 57, 64). But in the 1923 edition, where he included a total of 48 such pottery fragments, 22 are from his own collection

(*O. Deiss.* 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 36, 36a, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 56, 57, 59, 64, 76, 77). All but four of this group (i.e. 17, 18, 31, 36a)[4] are now held at the Sydney University's Nicholson Museum – the southern hemisphere's largest repository of ancient artefacts. It owns a total of 122 Greek ostraca, 87 of which belong to the Deissmann collection.[5]

How did Deissmann obtain all this archaeological material? Genuinely ancient and unpublished textual *realia* was not readily available for private sale within Germany. However, it was possible to make such acquisitions through experienced 'field agents' – private brokers, so to speak. In other words, much-travelled individuals who were conversant with the relevant languages and idiosyncratic machinations of antiquities markets in countries such as Egypt or the Middle East. One such agent was Deissmann's good colleague, the Egyptologist Carl Schmidt (1868-1938), whom he had known since at least 1899, although likely some time before that.

Early during Deissmann's tenure at Heidelberg University, he was commissioned by the State of Baden to publish the University's newly acquired Septuagint Papyri – this was the first philological publication of the Heidelberg collection.[6] Schmidt had already earned the good-natured nickname 'Koptenschmidt', not only because he was a rare expert in Coptic, but also because he had travelled widely and understood the Egyptian antiquities markets (Rohde1985: 541). Schmidt and Deissmann worked closely together on several of these texts, and in 1909 Deissmann invited Schmidt to accompany him on his two-and-a-half months academic study tour to Anatolia, Greece, Crete and Egypt (Gerber 2005: 32-5).

In 1904, when Schmidt had obtained a set of 43 ostraca, originating from Thebes and Hermonthis (Meyer 1916: iv), Deissmann bought them *en bloc* (i.e. *O. Deiss.* 1-4, 7, 11, 15-19, 21-27, 30a-32, 35-40, 44, 47, 49-50, 56-58, 64-65, 67, 70, 76-79, 83). It is this impressive 'lot' which formed the first part of his private collection. This transaction was made while Deissmann and Schmidt were actively collaborating on the publication of the Heidelberg Papyri.

During the next eight years Deissmann added various other ostraca to his collection, as opportunities arose, mostly from Egypt – Edfu, Elephantine and the Faijum. But although Meyer writes that these purchases had all been made through Carl Schmidt, no records remain to indicate precisely where the latter had sourced them, nor how much they cost. We know from Meyer (iii) that Deissmann's complete collection eventually totalled 117 pieces, of which he gifted six to various colleagues, although Meyer is somewhat ambiguous about this (Meyer 1916: iv). Thus, *O. Deiss*. 15 and 35 went to Professor Allan Menzies (St. Andrews), *O. Deiss*. 17 to Professor Hans Windisch (Leiden), *O. Deiss*. 18 to *Pfarrer* Heinrich Schlosser (Wiesbaden), *O. Deiss*. 36a to *Pfarrer* Georg Lasson (Berlin), and *O. Deiss*. 60 to Professor Martin Dibelius (Heidelberg). Since the Nicholson Museum received only 87 pieces, this leaves 24 of Deissmann's original collection unaccounted for – their whereabouts remains undetermined. However, a peculiar entry exists in Deissmann's diary, dated 15 July 1927, where he reminds himself to telephone his colleague, Ulrich Wilcken, a papyrologist, to see whether he 'wished to have ostraca'; but with the absence of a definite article it is far from certain as to what he actually meant by this, and nothing further should perhaps be made of it.

3. But why Sydney?

To answer the question as to why Deissmann's collection ended up in Sydney, it is necessary to digress briefly and focus on the already mentioned Samuel Angus. Born 1881 in Ulster, he graduated at the age of 21 with an MA from the Royal University of Ireland, Dublin, after which he enrolled for a PhD program at Princeton University, New Jersey. There he gained his doctorate in 1906 with an investigation of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, but shortly thereafter suffered a 'nervous breakdown from overwork' (Emilsen 1991: 54-61). Two years later, an opportunity arose for him and his American wife Katharine (married in 1907), to travel from the USA to Germany to study advanced Greek for a semester at the Marburg University, under the eminent philologist Albert Thumb (1865-1915). Thumb's lectures introduced Angus to Deissmann's philological work on the language of the New Testament, particularly since *Licht vom Osten* had just been published in May of that year.

Figure 2: *Samuel Angus (oil).*
Photo: courtesy of St Andrews College, Sydney

This Marburg semester redefined Angus' life, as it gave him unexpected access to a completely new approach to his theology: the philology of the New Testament's Greek language. Four years later, while visiting Louisville in Kentucky to present a guest lecture at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, he wrote to Deissmann: 'Your works first commenced me in this line [i.e. NT philology]' (letter, 15/5/1912).

In 1910 Angus took up a new position in Edinburgh that allowed him to further his philological studies in Berlin. That same year he enrolled in eight courses at the Berlin University's Theological Faculty – two of them under Deissmann who regarded him as an outstandingly gifted New Testament philologist and later introduced him to the 'world's greatest Continental scholars and scientists' (Angus 1943: 157).

During the next couple of years Angus and his wife travelled extensively, until early 1914. That year, his friend, the Scottish theologian Harry Angus Alexander Kennedy (1866-1934), stopped him in his tracks, as it were, by revealing that he had quietly recommended him for the professorial chair of New Testament Exegesis and Historical Theology at the Presbyterian Theological Hall, St. Andrews College – in Sydney! Angus was completely shocked by this abrupt development. Recalling that watershed moment three decades later, he wrote tellingly:

> *I would accept a chair in the United States or Canada, but I could not think of going to Australia, away from libraries and museums and friends.*

His attitude towards Australia as an intellectual exile was typical of many European academics of that time, who tended to know very little about the Antipodes, except, perhaps, that it was a kind of 'dumping ground' for British convicts! Nonetheless, in May that same year the Presbyterian Assembly of NSW cabled to Edinburgh that they had elected him to the vacant chair at St. Andrews – and after that, according to his own words, 'the die was cast'… (Angus 1943: 175-78).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate on Angus' long and distinguished career in Australia – suffice to say that it was not without considerable controversy. For throughout the 1930s his liberal and (importantly) philology-informed theology was provoking the ire of the Presbyterian conservatives, who, for twelve years and through a host of different legal channels, kept (unsuccessfully) pursuing him for heresy. But this constant pressure left him physically ill and exhausted; and when Katharine, his wife of 27 years, died in late November 1934, he suffered a stroke that resulted in facial paralysis and temporary speech impairment.[7] In his memoirs – poignantly completed, with the help of an amanuensis, just five months before his own death of cancer – he wrote of that period: 'In 1935 a severe illness confined me to bed for months during which I was on at least three occasions given up as beyond recovery.' (Angus 1943: 187; see also Emilsen 1991: 251).

To help him overcome this trying time, Angus embarked on a convalescence tour of Europe. It was there that he took the opportunity to make what turned out to be a serendipitous three-day visit to his former teacher, Adolf Deissmann, 'the professor whom I adored' (Angus 1943: 157) – and this is where and when the first tangible link between the Sydney University and German post-classical Greek philology has been forged.

According to Deissmann's diary entry of Saturday 26 October 1935, Angus had dinner with the family at their home in the rural village of Wünsdorf, near Berlin. Here he expressed his frustration at the lack of archaeological *realia* in Australia to do any serious academic studies, and complained that the country 'had appeared too late on the scene to acquire a share of such archaeological materials as enrich the museums of Europe and America'. In answer, Deissmann led Angus to his study, where he showed him his ostraca collection, and intimated that he was actually thinking of selling it – American buyers had already tried to entice him to do so with lucrative offers. He went on to explain, however, that he did not care to sell merely to the highest bidder, but preferred the collection rather to go to an institution where 'one of his old students was settled'. This would then give him an opportunity to pass on the bâton to someone who could continue his lifework with further philological research into the postclassical Greek language and its role in the New Testament.

Angus seized the moment. And, according to his own words, 'persuaded Deissmann to part with his precious collection … so that I might secure [it] for the Nicholson Museum in the University of Sydney.' (Angus 1943:158).

4. A curious business transaction

It is regrettable that no written records seem to have survived which might shed light on the transactional arrangements concerning Deissmann's ostraca; nor could I determine the financial value he had originally placed on them.[8] What is clear, however, is that he *did* sell the collection for money – and apparently a substantial sum at that – likely to help ease his forced retirement four months earlier (Gerber 2010: 351-56). For later, when his collection was presented to the Nicholson Museum, the curator, Professor William John Woodhouse (1866-1937), declared it a 'most notable donation' (Senate Minute Book). In this regard, Angus, too, kept his cards close to the chest when he wrote, rather enigmatically, that he had arranged the financial transaction, 'not on the ordinary commercial system of "on credit," but by the superior non-commercial method of faith – faith in the generosity of certain Australian friends' (Angus 1936a). Undoubtedly, he must have had some prospective Christian sponsors in mind from the outset, or he couldn't have persuaded Deissmann to sell his collection – wealthy and reliable contacts, surely, whose anticipated munificence he could potentially count upon.

Figure 3: *Sir Robert Gillespie. Photo: courtesy of Historical Services, The Westpac Group*

One such possibility was the Irish born merchant and philanthropist, Sir Martin McIlwrath (1874-1952), with whom he had toured Europe in 1935. But the man he pinned most of his hopes on was the Australian industrialist (flour-mills) and director of the Bank of New South Wales, Robert Winton Gillespie (1865-1945 – knighted 1941).

Gillespie was not only a well-known philanthropist, but also a stalwart Presbyterian with a serious interest in education and, as Angus reveals, the principal man 'on whose generosity I did not rely in vain' (Angus 1936a). But what was the reason that underpinned his trust? Susan Emilsen explains it this way:

> *Most significantly, he enjoyed the confidence and patronage of Robert Gillespie ... To Angus, Gillespie represented the ideal of the 'noble Scot'. Successful, hard-headed and honest in his business dealings, discreet and straightforward in his social relations, practical in his piety, and generous to causes which he believed merited generosity. In the 1930s Angus was well-aware of the advantages of his relationship with Gillespie* ... (Emilsen 1991: 180).

Not the least of these advantages was the potential for financial backing should he so require. Indeed, on 30 October 1936, almost exactly one year after Angus' visit to Wünsdorf – and just five months before Deissmann's death – Angus delivered Deissmann's ostraca, packed in three separate boxes, to Professor Woodhouse at the Nicholson Museum, 'in accordance with Deissmann's wish that [the collection] should find a resting place in a centre where one of his students was settled'.[9]

Thus far, the collection had been known simply as 'The Deissmann Ostraca'. But on 9 February 1938, the University Senate Registrar, W.A. Selle, wrote to Angus that the Senate had decided,

> *to adopt the suggestion from Mr. Robert Gillespie that his gift of ostraca to the Nicholson Museum of Antiquities should in the future be known as the 'Deissmann-Angus Collection' (letter, 9/2/1938).*

Angus felt, in his own words, 'greatly honoured' by this; but it should be noted that he had earlier tried to talk Gillespie out of the idea, suggesting instead that it should be named the 'Deissmann-Gillespie Collection' – 'but', he writes wryly, 'he would have none of it' (letter, 10/2/1938).

5. The Deissmann-Angus collection

Deissmann's ostraca collection forms one of the most remarkable, broadly thematic collections of Graeco-Roman non-literary writings in Australia, in that its various texts revolve mainly (although not exclusively) on tax or commerce related matters. These include an intriguing range of tax receipts (e.g. *O. Deiss.* 1-50,), private agreements, transportation documents and bills, as well as one or two private letters, guild bylaws and even a child's alphabet exercise (see page 24). They also constitute a tangible link with Adolf Deissmann, who had purchased these particular pieces of fragmentary pottery mainly for two reasons. Firstly, because he recognised that their unpublished texts might provide worthwhile material for his philological work and, therefore, help reinforce his international authority in this field, as already menetioned. However, they also offered him an affordable possibility of owning some ancient *realia* that was directly related to his research on the postclassical Greek language. It is his possession of these ostraca that conferred on them the name by which they are commonly known today amongst scholars. Nevertheless, although Deissmann made general philological use of them, in the first edition of *Licht vom Osten* he published only five of his collection (i.e. *O. Deiss.* 31 (pages 74ff), *O. Deiss.* 36 (pages 261ff), *O. Deiss.* 56 (pages 83ff), *O. Deiss.* 57 (pages 131ff), *O. Deiss.* 64 (pages 135ff.).

Although three-quarters of a century has passed since Deissmann's ostraca arrived in Australia, this collection clearly continues to offer many research or study opportunities to students and academics alike. For despite the commendable philological groundwork that Meyer has done with them almost a century ago, little or no further progress has been made since.[10] This is regrettable, since his various commentaries tend to get rather bogged

down with technical and/or extraneous superfluity, whilst not paying sufficient attention to the expositions of the texts' real messages themselves. Besides, some of their inscriptions, signs and symbols are by no means properly understood yet, and thus have not been fully integrated into mainstream Greek lexicography. Because of this, numerous linguistic, historical, social and palaeographic questions remain tantalisingly unanswered to this day, awaiting a solution. Yet Meyer himself repeatedly pointed out in his introductory comments to the various ostraca that his readings, interpretations, or translations are far from definitive – in fact, in certain cases they are no more than educated guesswork, and sometimes even pure speculation, as we shall see.

The existing collection provides us with individually unique, original and wholly unpretentious private-life information, mostly in postclassical *koine* Greek; although there are three which are bilingual, with a few demotic lines or phrases added (i.e. *O. Deiss*. 7; *O. Deiss*. 23; *O. Deiss*. 46). All of these texts have been more or less hastily written down, between the third century BC and the third century AD, only to be discarded later as useless rubbish, by either their owners or recipients. Yet now, two millennia later, these same broken bits of pottery offer a variety of exciting research possibilities – and that in our own backyard, as it were. Not only can they aid us with socio-historical insight into the day-to-day affairs of some common individuals about whom otherwise nothing else would be known, but they are also useful for philological, palaeographical and lexicographical studies. They certainly deserve to be regarded as more than merely quaint museum exhibits or occasional student exercise opportunities.

In fact, their writings can be amazingly private; yet somehow the Deissmann ostraca seem to fail to capture the imagination of modern-day classical scholars. One reason for this might be because their apparent mundanity is not deemed to warrant further studies beyond what has already been done; but another is the perceived notion that they are not 'sensational' or 'useful' enough to warrant serious study. At any rate, we know that the Deissmann collection is now seldom made use of by external researchers, and even more rarely referred to in academic or student works. As a matter of fact, according to the Nicholson Museum's curatorial assistant, these ostraca were physically accessed since 2005 by only one single student, in the presence of a supervisor.

In 1983, G.H.R. Horsley featured a photo and brief description of the two ostraca, *O. Deiss.* 33 (NM 36.28) and the 14-letter *O. Deiss.* 83 (NM 36.78) – the latter being a fragmentary child's alphabet exercise – on the book cover of his lexicographical spadework towards a postclassical Greek lexicon, *New documents illustrating early Christianity* vol. 3, (1983). This elicited a letter from Poland, from someone who was pleased to discover where Deissmann's ostraca were now being held. Twenty years later, the same *O. Deiss.* 83 received again a brief mention in the book, *Coming of age in ancient Greece: Images of childhood from the classical past* (251). That same year (2003), the fragment was sent to the Hood Museum of Art at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, as part of an exhibition of the same name as the book; the ostraca was returned to the Nicholson Museum in October 2005 (NM Email, 4/1/2012). In 1985, the Museum has also lent eight of Deissmann's ostraca to the Macquarie University;[11] all were returned in 2008. But other than that, only a very small number of this collection might, on rare occasions, be called upon for internal teaching purposes by the Sydney University's Department of Archaeology (NM Email, 21/10/2010).

6. Vanishing voices from the past

Three months before the Nicholson Museum received the Deissmann collection, Angus wrote two colourful articles on these ostraca, published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in which he announced:

> *This collection of fragments of pottery, reaching back twenty-two centuries, with their compact cursive script, puzzling contractions and signs, preserved for us by the dry air and the dry sands of Egypt, has now to encounter the more humid atmosphere of Sydney. Every precaution will be taken to prevent the danger of the script fading* (Angus 1936b).

Despite Angus' assurance that everything possible would be done to prevent the texts from deterioration, the ink on a few of these ostraca has in the meantime become quite indistinct, in some cases even faded away completely, leaving behind little more than the original pottery fragment they once were (Figures 4 and 5). This deterioration occurred mainly within the past 75 years, and is virtually impossible to reverse without the application of modern imaging technology.[12] The cause of this is partly due to what Angus has described as 'the more humid atmosphere of Sydney', and – perhaps more directly – the physical wear and tear that resulted from casual handling and over-exposure to ultraviolet light by well-intentioned individuals. To some extent, Deissmann himself has also contributed to this, since (as his son, Gerhard, told me in 2004) he was not above carrying various 'demonstration pieces' inside his coat-pockets, to show them to his students during lectures.

Nevertheless, it is significant that when Meyer published the ostraca in 1916, they were all still readable with the naked eye – including the two faded specimens pictured below! It is certainly advantageous for us that Meyer transcribed these texts to the best of his ability; but unfortunately, transcription does not equal textual preservation. For even though the loss of legibility on a few old sherds may not be overly worrisome in the grander scheme of things, further philological studies of their texts, without the aid of advanced technology, now rests somewhat uneasily on Meyer's not always definitive transcripts. Happily, however, the great majority of Deissmann's ostraca remains fairly well preserved and readable.

Figure 4: *O. Deiss. 58 (#NM 36.53) h. 100, w. 125.*

Three-quarters of a century has passed since the collection arrived on Australian soil – and nearly a hundred years since Meyer first published its legible texts. Isn't it about time to re-examine all these ostraca thoroughly, and once and for all close those various wide-open gaps Meyer, Deissmann et al. have left behind? Such a project is quite achievable nowadays, in part because of the intervening philological advancements that have occurred since their days, but also because of the technical leaps (i.e. digital and spectroscopic) which have been made since the early 1990s – including digital infrared, X-ray fluorescence, and spectral imaging.

* * *

The first two rather inconspicuous ostraca are reproduced here to show the extent to which the original visual appeal has now been lost to the naked eye on a few fragments of this collection. In effect, they have almost reverted to their original state – i.e. unremarkable bits of broken pottery – and as such, are now of little value as museum exhibits. Yet for more than 2000 years these same two potsherds have preserved the untold story of two real-life men: Pasemis, the illiterate owner of an irrigated patch of farming land in Egyptian Thebes (Figure 4), and Horos, the slave who needed a written order to rent a pack animal from his local 'rent-a-donkey' guild, to transport a sizable consignment of vegetable seed to the temple of Isis (Figure 5).

These are not earth shattering or literary tales of epic deeds – yet this is precisely the point! Because these ostraca can tell us so many things about the lower to middle social classes in antiquity that no amount of classical literature could or would be able to reveal to us.

O. Deiss. 58 (#NM 36.53: Figure 4)

[Π]ασῆ[μ]ις Πετεχῶντος [.] . [.] -
ενει ʾΑμῶτος χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ
σοῦ τὸ ἐκφόριο̣ν καὶ τὸ ἐπιγένημα
τ̣ῆς ἐπηντλήτου μου γῆς. ἂν δέ τι[ς]
ἐ̣πέλθῃ περὶ βασιλικῶν ἢ ἰδιω-
τικῶν, ἐκστήσω αὐτόν.
ἔ̣γραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ʾΑρχιτ̣ά̣ρχις (?)
ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ
φάσκειν αὐτὸν μὴ εἰδέναι
γράμματα.
ι κς μεσορὴ κ.

Pasemis, son of Petechon, to ... son of Amoto, greetings. I have (received) from you the rent and the surplus of my artificially irrigated land. But should anyone raise an objection against you regarding state or private (obligations entailed by this land), I shall confound him. Architarchis (?) wrote this on his (Pasemis') behalf; it was requested by him because of his statement that he does not know how to write. Year 26, 20th Mesore (i.e. 15 Sept. 155, or 12 Sept. 144 BC)

Figure 5: *O. Deiss. 81 (#NM 36.76), h.65, w. 80.*

Nothing is known of either Pasemis or the son of Amoto, except what is written here in this private leasehold receipt. But from it we can see that Pasemis owned a fertile piece of irrigated farming land somewhere along the Nile, similar to modern Egypt's Sharaki fields in the comparatively higher lying regions of the river valley. For some reason, he doesn't want to (or can't) work the plot himself, but has leased it to the son of Amoto, an apparently quite enterprising tenant farmer, for an undisclosed rent (likely in kind) and any 'surplus produce' (ἐπιγένημα) that the latter isn't able to sell or use himself. Significantly, the ostracon is dated mid-September, which is towards the end of the first of Egypt's three-season flood cycle, and referred to as the Inundation – or *Akhet* – (Strudwick 2005: 87), that is to say, right at the time when the arable land is about to become ready for sowing the next season's crops.

Lines four and five, as well as the date, seem to imply that this was not only a receipt for payment received, but also a contract (or permit) that allows Amoto's son ongoing farming rights for the coming year. Last season he has successfully managed to raise enough crops to pay his rent, feed his family, and produce a pleasing enough surplus for the landowner to act as his potential guarantor. Plainly, this farmer is a robust optimist who is not intimidated by the hard physical labour this plot necessitates if it is to be productive. Yet despite his physical confidence he is not imprudent, for he wants to protect himself against potential trouble from resentful neighbours – perhaps in connection with his water supply? For instead of a simple receipt, or even his culture's equivalent to our time-honoured handshake, he and Pasemis engage a scribe to put their agreement in writing – even though the owner himself is illiterate. Moreover, the latter dictated a strongly worded caveat against any would-be adversaries of his tenant – surely something he would only do for a man he appreciated and trusted.

O. Deiss. 81 (#NM 36.76: Figure 5)

Εἰσίωνι γρα(μματεῖ). μέρισον
῾Ορῳι ῾Ηρακλ(είδου) ὑπ(ὸ) λαχανό(σπερμον)
ὄνον ἕνα ἀρτά(βης) μιᾶς
ἡμίσους βετερ (?) [εἰς] ´
ϑη(σαυρὸν) Φίλας Εἰσήου.
ι ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ μεσορὴ
χζ.

To the [donkey guild] secretary, Ision. Allocate to Horos, son of Herakleides, a donkey to transport 1 ½ artabas (c. 30 kg) vegetable seeds … to the warehouse of the temple of Isis at Phylae. Year 10 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, 27th Mesore (i.e. 20 Aug. 23 AD)

As with the previous ostracon, very little is known about either of the two main characters listed in this transportation directive, nor has the writer signed his name. Nevertheless, we do know that Horos, the deliveryman to whom this load of seed is entrusted, must transport it to the temple of Isis in Phylae, located on two small islands in the Nile. In an earlier era, both these islands had once been deemed to be sacrosanct (ἄβατος) and thus only occupied by priests; but by the time this ostracon was written, the same temple complex had morphed into a lucrative trading centre between Egyptian Memphis and Nubian Meroë.

The name Horos was very common throughout Egypt (Bagnall 2009: 192), yet this deliveryman is not of Egyptian but of Greek immigrant stock, as his father's name, Herakleides, attests. Horos appears to be a civic slave, since he owns no pack animal and needs a written order from his (unnamed) superior to lease one

from the municipally regulated 'rent-a-donkey' guild,[13] administrated by Ision.

Similar to *O. Deiss.* 58 (above), the date of this directive also falls within the Nile's flooding season. Horos, therefore, appears to bring the seed to the temple not for storage but for trading purposes. In other words, someone (likely the writer) is hoping to make a profit from selling it to farmers because the sowing season was about to begin. The exact nature of the seed itself is not certain, except to say that it was for some kind of garden vegetables and not cereal crops.

* * *

None of these men could possibly have foreseen that their names and activities would one day be immortalised through the most fortuitous route, via Deissmann, Meyer, Angus and, finally, the Sydney University's Nicholson Museum. But against all odds, the above two ostraca have survived into modernity and now present us with brief snapshots from these people's daily way of living.

7. The challenge

In contrast to the above faded exemplars, most of the Deissmann ostraca are still in a fine state of preservation, with their writing clearly legible and intact, as the two following images show. And these texts make further studies not only practical – but distinctly called for. For neither Meyer nor Deissmann had intended their philological work to be understood as 'the final word' for any one piece in this collection.

Take, for instance, the example of *O. Deiss.* 65 (Figure 6). Meyer admitted in his commentary – quite rightly– 'whether I have correctly interpreted πρ(εσβύτερος)ς)in line 1 and 8 as [an abbreviation for] "Presbyter" is doubtful' (Meyer 1916: 188). And in regard to his reading of *O. Deiss.* 66 (Figure 7), he went so far as to confess: '[My] explanation is completely uncertain and should be viewed as merely conjectural' (Meyer 1916: 190).

Admittedly, the low hanging fruits have indeed been picked from this collection, by the likes of Meyer, or Deissmann himself; but very much is still hanging there, temptingly inviting. These timeworn pieces of inscribed pottery are now fully ripe for the picking to anyone seriously interested – and exited enough – by the opportunity to engage more deeply with the thoughts and lives of these ancient people and their world.

O. Deiss. 65 (#NM 36.60: Figure 6)

Σῦρος πρ τῷ Παῆρι...Ψενθιαη...[χα(ίρειν)]
ἀναγ'καίως σπούδαζων μετὰ
Εὐδαίμωνι, ἕως ἂν ταριχεύει
τὰ δύο κολοφόνεια, καὶ ποίησον
5 τὸ σὸν ἐν τάχει, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμε-
λήσεις χαὶ ἐτήμασον τέσσαρας
ἀρτάβην σῖτον.
Σῦρος πρ ἐσημιωσάμην

Syros, Commanding Officer(?), to Paëris ... Psenthiaë ... [Greetings]. You and Eudaimon must do your best that he will fill the two Kolophonian wine jars with salted herrings. And do your part quickly, but don't neglect to make ready as well four artabas of flour. I, Syros, Commanding Officer(?), have signed this myself.

This letter was written in the third century AD by a man named Syros. And, judging by his name, he appears to have been a Greek, while the ostracon itself originates

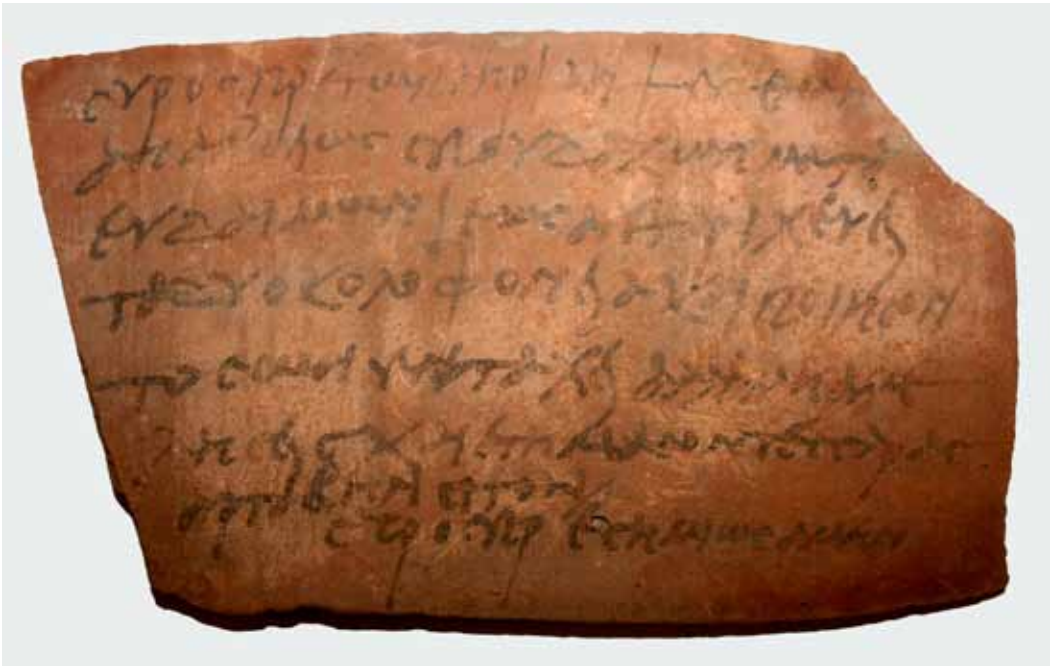

Figure 6: *O. Deiss. 65 (#NM 36.60), h. 80, w. 130*

from Egyptian Thebes (so Meyer). However, one of the most fundamental yet still unresolved questions this text poses must surely concern the two mysterious consonants ΠΡ (PR), which are appended to Syros' name in the first and last line. That they are some kind of titular abbreviation is reasonably certain, but do they really have to stand for πρεσβύτερος (*Presbyteros* – e.g. elder), as Meyer rather unsurely speculated? After all, some 46 different kinds of abbreviations are known to exist for this particular word (Avi-Yonah 1974: 11). If Meyer is correct, then we might think of Syros in two ways: either as an elder or overseer of something like a small business or farming cooperation, or – and in that case perhaps then more naturally – as a presbyter of an early Egyptian Christian (i.e. Coptic) community.

In the first instance, the ostracon would indeed be a private letter, as Meyer suggests; yet this would also raise the obvious question why the writer should conclude his letter with such an oddly formulaic greeting: ἐσημιωσάμην (I have signed for myself)? On the other hand, if the second proposition were true, it would turn the text into an early church-related letter. Yet this too lacks fibre; for if Syros were indeed a Coptic presbyter, one would surely expect his letter to show some internal corroboration to this – at the very least in the register of his language? And again, we have to contend with this formulaic greeting, which points into quite a different direction, since it is without any hint of religious or ecclesiastical authority, purpose, spiritual blessing or formula. All in all then, to read the abbreviation πρ as πρεσβύτερος (elder) does not give us the right key with which to unlock the 'meaning' of this ostracon's text, nor to contemplate the true social stratum of Syros' life.

Perhaps, then, these two vexed consonants should be viewed from quite a different angle. Could they, for instance, not just as reasonably (or even more so) stand for some other at that time commonly recognised abbreviation? A few well-attested possibilities are: πατήρ (father), πρόβουλος (commissioner), πρόεδρος (president), πρώτιστος (the very first), or even παροδίτης (a passer-by, or wayfarer) (Avi-Yonah 1974: 2, 96). Yet, once again, none of these fit the context satisfactorily.

However, I suggest a further alternative exists that deserves serious consideration – even though it may necessitate a little speculation to draw it out. For it seems to me much more consistent with the overall thrust of the ostracon's text, if πρ be read as the shortened form for a military rank (*cf.* Avi-Yonah 1974: 11). To be specific, the rank of πραίτωρ (*praetor*) – in this case, not in reference to a Roman magistrate (civilian *praetor*), but to a commanding officer in a Roman garrison stationed in Greek-speaking Egypt. Looked at in this way, the abbreviation becomes a recognisable hallmark of political/military authority, and the entire ostracon takes on a more official tone. This would also go a long way to explain the awkwardly formulaic greeting. At any rate, Syros is clearly in an authoritative position, and seems to

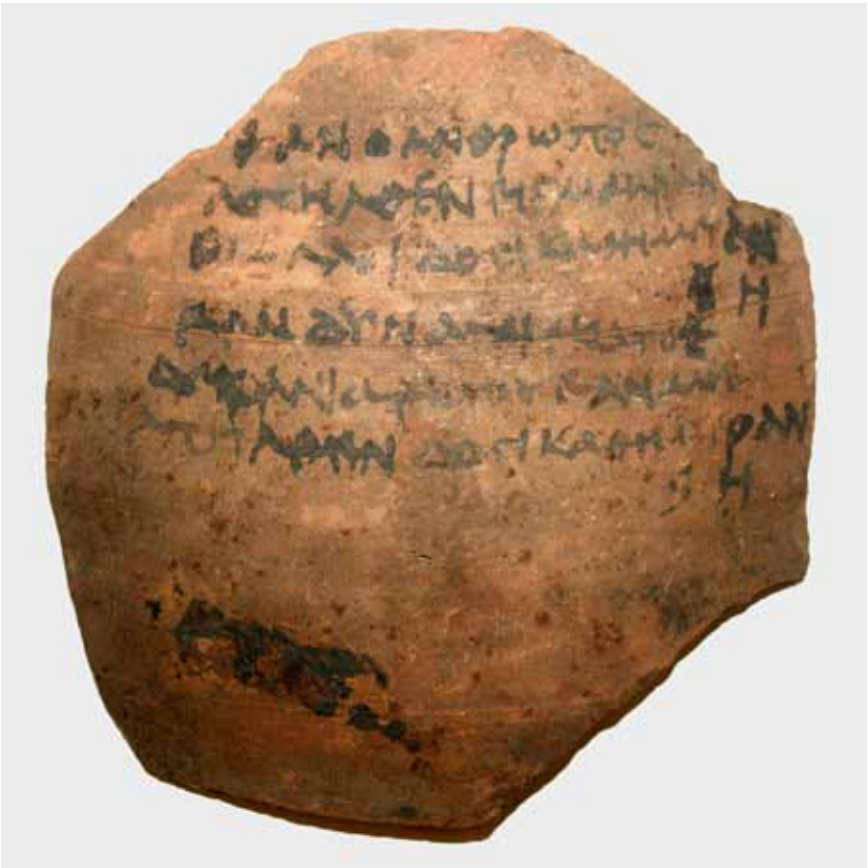

Figure 7: *O. Deiss. 66 (#NM 36.61), h. 115, w. 120.*

know Paëris' stock and general layout rather intimately, including that the two Kolophonian wine jars are standing empty. This suggests that he has been there not so long before, inspected these earthenware containers, and made plans to return – apparently with a detachment of hungry men, for whom he expects Paëris and Eudaimon to cater. That he wants to re-use the two empty three-gallon crocks for salted fish, instead of new wine, becomes also less surprising when πρ is read as *praetor*, since Kolophonian wine was putatively of inferior quality, and significantly, produced mainly for military troops (Kruit and Worp 2000: 65-146).

As an afterthought (so Meyer), Syros has also ordered four artabas of flour to be made ready. At about 30 kg per artaba, this amounts to some 120 kg (Bagnall 2009: 187), enough for a medium sized company of men, especially when used in conjunction with the salted fish. There appears to be an organised urgency about Syros' instructions, and it looks as if he sent it ahead in preparation for the imminent arrival of his men. Although the message is addressed to Paëris, he seems to have at least one assistant in Eudaimon, and quite possibly a third – could these men perhaps be something akin to 'provisions officers' in the military base where Syros' garrison was normally stationed?

O. Deiss. 66 (#NM 36.61: Figure 7)

ἐὰν ὁ ἄνθρωπος
ἀπῆλθεν εἰς μακράν
οἱ ἄλλοι δόσι καθ' ἡμέραν
S η
ἐὰν δύναται ἕκατος
δεκανία αὐτοῦ, ἐάν μὴ
ἀπῆλθεν, δόσι καθ' ἡμέραν
S η

If the man should move away to a far (land), the others will each give (him) 8 drachmas daily, provided each member of his dekania has the capacity; should he not go away, they will give (him) 8 drachmas daily.

This is a particularly intriguing ostracon; because its interpretation, as Meyer recognised, is somewhat of a mystery. And while its text is reasonably legible, it was scrawled rather sloppily, with smears, runny ink and careless inconsistencies – even an inkblot at the bottom. But, as with the earlier discussed fragments, should not all this signal a challenge for a fresh approach to this puzzling piece of writing?

For instance, Meyer may well have misjudged the operative word, *dekania* (l. 6) – the Greek form of the Roman *decuria* – by rendering it 'Verein' (i.e. association, or club). He posits various conceivable interpretations for it, but opts unconvincingly to go with Ulrich Wilcken's suggestion of 'Verein' (Meyer 1916: 190, n. 4). However, since the use of *dekania* is well attested militarily by the time this text was written, the term could just as reasonably denote a troop of ten soldiers, perhaps not unlike Syros' above suggested military unit. And in that case this ostracon, too, should be classified as a military, or perhaps law enforcement missive.

Its text is clearly not a schoolboy's writing exercise (as, for instance, the earlier mentioned *O. Deiss.* 83), but was meant to be read by a literate recipient *in absentia* – why else write it? Could this, therefore, not simply be a hastily dashed off explanatory note to some distant enquirer, perhaps in answer to a question relating to the 'running' of this *dekania*?

Let's also look briefly at the puzzling eight-drachmas-pledge (if that is what it is) of the ten members. Meyer places it generally into the third century AD, although he fails to substantiate this in any way, while Deissmann himself never mentions this particular ostracon at all. So, could Meyer's claim be said to be internally consistent? The drachma reference places the writer firmly into pre-Diocletianic Roman-governed Egypt, since the Egyptian drachma 'could not be taken to the rest of the [Roman] Empire' (van Minnen 2008: 238), and 'Egypt thus stood in a sort of monetary isolation' (Bagnall 1985: 9). A daily contribution of eight drachmas per individual would have been totally unaffordable for any commoner or soldier before the latter parts of the third century. But 'then came sustained inflation from 275 onwards, which more or less ruined the economy' (van Minnen 2008: 227), yet it certainly made a personal contribution of eight drachmas per day much easier affordable. During the mid-second century one could buy a measure of wheat for around seven to eight Egyptian drachmas, but in contrast, by the late third the cost for this same measure had risen to approximately 20,000 times as much (Levy 1967: 89; also van Minnen 2008: 227-9). This leads to the reasonable conclusion that a more refined date for the origin of this military ostracon should be posited at sometime between 275 and the first decade of the forth century.

* * *

Deissmann's academic focus was primarily on the philology of the postclassical *koine* of the New Testament, which is why he collected these ostraca. But it is clearly not coincidental that 31 of them bear the names of Roman emperors – and each with the appellation (κύριος) *kyrios*: Augustus (27BC-14AD); Nero (54-68); Vespasian (69-79); Domitian (81-96); Trajan (98-117); Hadrian (117-138); Antoninus Pius (138-161); Marcus Aurelius (161-180), and Galliennus (253-268).

Kurios, usually translated as 'Lord' in the Bible, is one term of significance that frequently occurs in early Christian texts, but has continued to attract scholarly debate and interest. In 1907 Deissmann wrote what one reviewer of

his recently published book described as 'the best account of this word known to the present reviewer' (Souter 1907: 412 [referring to pages 79ff of this book]). And in his next and most popular book, Licht vom Osten (1908: 231-77), Deissmann devoted an entire chapter to the cultic (mis)use of this Greek appellation in the New Testament (4th edn., of 1923: 287-324). For after the death of Jesus Christ, this same title was appropriated by the New Testament writers and applied as a monotheistic epithet to Christ's name (e.g. Acts 2:36; I Cor. 8:6; Phil. 2:11). This, of course, only added to the already strained relations early Christians faced within the various religio-politically governed Roman provinces. To give just one example: when Polycarp, the 86-year old bishop of Smyrna, was arrested in February 155, the police captain urged him privately regarding this term, by reasoning (unsuccessfully): Τί γὰρ κακόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· Κύριος καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ διασώζεσθαι (for what harm is there in saying, "Lord" Caesar [instead of Lord Jesus], and to offer up a sacrifice and so forth, and to save yourself?

As we have seen, Deissmann's ostraca collection comprises a considerable scope of topics; but the 31 '*kyrios* ostraca' form part of a somewhat more defined collection within a collection, as it were (Deissmann 1907: 80). For not only do they support the evidence that Domitian was not the first emperor to be referred to by this appellation – as used to be believed earlier – but they also helped in Deissmann's research on the essentially Eastern tradition of the Christian's curiously ubiquitous use of the honorific 'Lord' (i.e. kyrios), for Christ (see *Licht vom Osten* 1923: 298-310).

8. Conclusion

The Deissmann collection of ostraca, although broadly thematic in content, is neither uniform nor internally wholly consistent; its individual texts display a frequent use of entirely individualistic grammatical contractions, even occasional demotic lines or words, and various mysterious signs which are not fully understood yet.

Ostraca, in general, are certainly no easy puzzles to unscramble or to place within their correct socio-historical context. Especially since physical damage through centuries of 'wear and tear' is not uncommon; their texts (or crucial parts thereof) may be faded completely, worn away or broken off; moreover, the lettering may be smudged or written in completely idiosyncratic or illegible scripts. Yet for all that, the Deissmann collection provides us with very good and relatively easily accessible opportunities to catch a glimpse of a few poignant moments in the lives of some ordinary people whose 'today' has long ago slipped away into the forgotten past. Indeed, their ostraca have now become their memorial stones – and symbols of the brevity of our own existence.

Meyer, Deissmann and a few others have undoubtedly achieved commendable work with these ostraca. But after 75 years in Sydney this collection has neither produced the wider intellectual enthusiasm nor the academic engagement that Deissmann, Angus and Gillespie had once hoped for. Yet, as Angus has highlighted, the timeworn texts on these broken pieces of ancient pottery

> *have come a long and devious way from their historic Oriental home, through the medium of a German professor and an Australian merchant, to remain in our new land and solemnly to remind us that history is ever in the making, whether in the more spectacular hours of crisis or in the reposeful periods* (Angus 1936b).

We should count ourselves fortunate to have Deissmann's intriguing ostraca collection within this country. For, as I have tried to illustrate by those few observations I singled out and took the liberty to expand somewhat upon, these ostraca have clearly not yet been 'mined out' academically. And whether or not modern imaging technology will be employed on any or all of them – a project well worth considering – this collection still offers a wealth of rewarding challenges which deserve more serious scholarly attention than it presently attracts.

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Endnotes

1 Meyer (1916: iv) described a few mainly physically for the record (e.g. *O. Deiss*. 83-92); and *O. Deiss*. 17 was published by H. Windisch in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 25, 1, 1910, 204.

2 For Deissmann's religious and political persuasions, see Gerber (2011: 174-187); for a comprehensive bibliography of Deissmann's published works, see Gerber, (2010: 591-8).

3 One of these papyri is also in Australia (held privately) and was published by G.H.R. Horsley (1994: 10-20). The fate of Deissmann's other papyri and the codices are not known.

4 The museum's ostraca index shows NM 36.31 wrongly as *O. Deiss.* 35 instead of 36. Meyer reports (iv) that Deissmann had gifted *O. Deiss.* 35 to Prof. Allan Menzies, which explains why *O. Deiss.* 36 is missing in the present NM index.

5 NM Email, 21/10/2010. Although, strictly speaking, *O. Deiss*. 68 and 69 are mummy tablets, and 70 is a small wooden panel (a name list) 5.5 cm x 26.5cm.

6 *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung. I, Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte*, Heidelberg, 1905.

7 Angus' wife had been an invalid for many years, and he cared for her at their home in Turramurra in northern Sydney. She died on 24 Nov. after prolonged illness.

8 My research included the Historical Services Archive of the Westpac Group; the University of Sydney Archives and Records Management Services, St Andrew's College Archive, and the Rare Book & Special Collections Library; the Presbyterian Church's Ferguson Memorial Library Archive; the Deissmann main 'Nachlass' in the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin; the Bundesarchiv Berlin, and the Deissmann family's private sources.

9 Woodhouse, letter to W.A. Selle, in Lawler (1997: 160).

10 And that despite the 33 minor changes Meyer subsequently recorded in vol. 2 of the *Berichtigungsliste* (1922, 14-16), and the further 8 equally minor changes in vol. 3 (published posthumously in 1958, 260). .

11 i.e. *O. Deiss.* 33 (NM 36.28), *O. Deiss.* 48 (NM 36.43), *O. Deiss.* 49 (NM 36.44), *O. Deiss.* 61 (NM 36.56), *O. Deiss.* 62 (NM 36.57), *O. Deiss.* 64 (NM 36.59), *O. Deiss.* 65 (NM 36.60) and *O. Deiss.* 83 (NM 36.78).

12 Further to this, see G. Bearman, M.S. Anderson and K. Aitchison (2011) and G. Bearman and W.A. Christens-Barry (2009)

13 Further to such donkey-renting services, see Judge (1981).

One hundred years of the Loeb Classical Library

G.H.R. Horsley

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Abstract: 2011 marks the centenary of the Loeb Classical Library. Founded in 1911 by James Loeb, the series has been served by seven editors and two publishers. More than 500 volumes have appeared and remain in print. The paper offers an assessment of the series' achievement, and notes both innovations it introduced as well as shifts in emphasis over time. Its influence on a number of other publishing enterprises also receives mention.

For Janet and Rod West, ad multos annos!

1. Introduction

To coincide with Harvard University's 375th anniversary on Friday 14 October 2011, a celebratory dinner was held at the University in Loeb House to mark the centenary of the Loeb Classical Library (LCL; Figure 1). Present were the three Trustees of the LCL, the current General Editor of the series, Faculty members of The Classics, staff of the Harvard University Press (HUP) and of the typesetting company, a score of the contributors (one-third of those still living), and others. The speakers were Richard Thomas (the Classics member of the Board of Trustees; Figure 2), Glen Bowersock (himself a contributor to the LCL series), and Mark Schiefsky (Chair of the Dept of The Classics). The evening made clear that there was something of substance to celebrate.

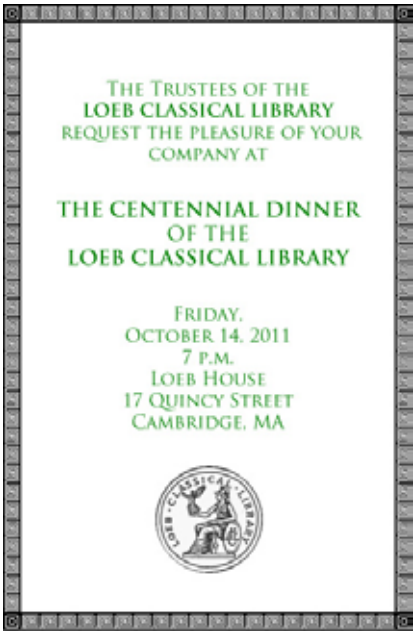

Figure 1: *The Centenary Dinner Invitation.*

Founded by James Loeb (Figure 3) in 1911, the Loeb Classical Library (LCL) has had a standard presence for a century on the bookshelves of university and seminary libraries, as well as on those of many tertiary teachers and students of ancient world studies, at least in the English-speaking world. By 1973 the series was in dire straits, at risk of being closed by HUP. The appointment

Figure 2: *Photo of Richard Thomas, Classics member of the LCL Board of Trustees since 2005. Photo: taken about 2001, courtesy of Professor Thomas.*

Figure 3: *Photo of James Loeb (1867-1933), founder of the Loeb Classical Library, when he was in his 30s. Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).*

Figure 4: *Zeph Stewart (1921-2007), Professor of Classics, Harvard University, Sole Trustee of the LCL 1973-2004.*
Photo: reproduced from Memorial Minute about him submitted to the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences on 18 Nov. 2008, reproduced in the Harvard Gazette 11 Dec. 2008, available at http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2008/12/zeph-stewart/

in that year of Professor Zeph Stewart (1921-2007; Figure 4) in succession to Professor Herbert Bloch (Figure 5), as Executive Trustee (a post he held until 2004) led to so considerable a turnaround in the fortunes of the series that he has rightly been called the 'second founder' of the LCL.[1] As of late 2011, of the 519 different volumes currently listed on the LCL website 516 have appeared, in a Greek : Latin proportion of almost 2:1 (by my count about 340:173).[2] However, once we take into account revised and replacement editions the total output of the series is actually considerably greater than even that relatively impressive tally suggests.

The first 25 volumes (Figure 6) in the numbered series were as follows, and those published in the first year, at least, carried a Preface from the founder (see below).

1 - *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica* (1912), R.C. Seaton

2-5 - *Appian, Roman History* (1912-13), H. White

6 - *Catullus; Tibullus; Pervigilium Veneris* (1913), F.W. Cornish, J.P. Postgate, J.W. Mackail; 2nd edn (1988), G.P. Goold (includes material previously bowdlerised)

7-8 - *Cicero, ad Atticum* (1912-13), E.O. Winstedt, followed by no. 97 vol. 3 (1918); superseded in 4 vols.—vol. 4, no. 491 (1999)—by D.R. Shackleton Bailey

9-12 - *Euripides* (1913), A.S. Way; these volumes, widely regarded as poor, were replaced in 6 vols (1994-2002) by D. Kovacs, whose vols. 1, 3, 4, 5 equated to Way's 4 vols., Kovacs' vols. 2 and 6 being nos. 484, 495, respectively. This is apparently the sole new edition of early volumes in the series to contain no mention of the first editor/translator, though this is not necessarily to be construed as a *damnatio*, since Kovacs provided his own text. In addition to these volumes, C. Collard and M. Cropp have provided two more containing the fragments (vols. 7 and 8; nos. 504, 506, both 2008).

13 - *Julian* (1913), W.C. Wright; vols. 2 and 3 followed as nos. 29 and 157 (1913, 1923)

14 - *Lucian* vol. 1 (1913), A.M. Harmon; the set completed with vol. 8 (no. 432, 1967) by C.W. Macleod

15 - *Petronius*; *Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (1913), M. Heseltine (for the former), W.H.D. Rouse (for the latter); revised E.H. Warmington (1969), translating what had been left untranslated and bowdlerised portions (Figure 6)

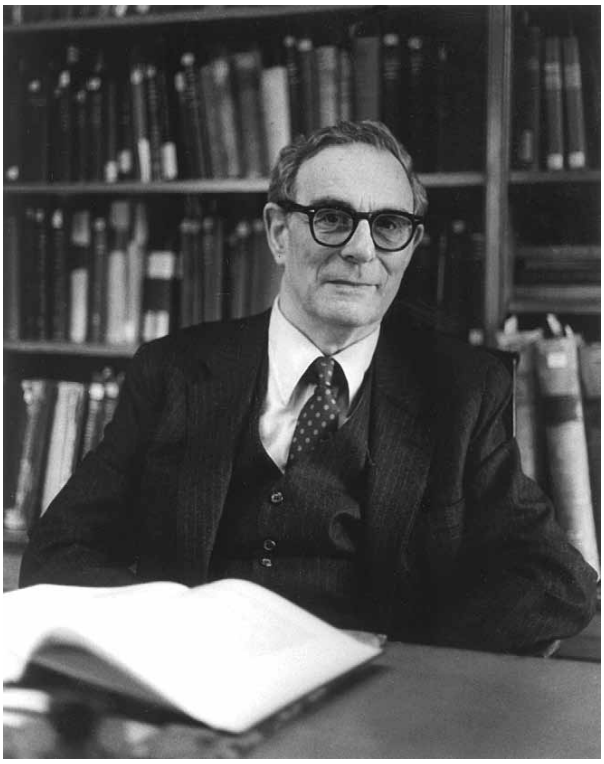

Figure 5: *Herbert Bloch (1911-2006), Trustee of the LCL 1955(?)-72. Photo: from Jones (2008).*

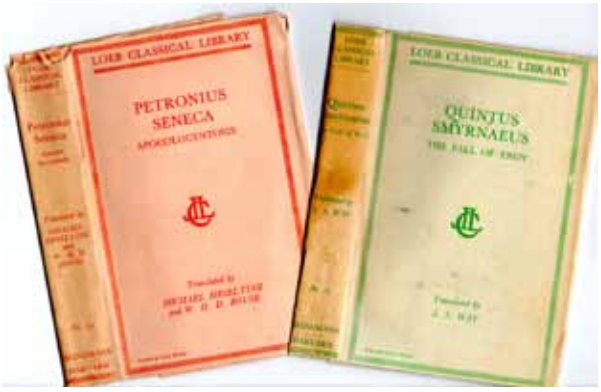

Figure 6: *Two early LCL volumes:* Petronius*, and* Seneca, Apocolocyntosis *(no. 15, 1913), and* Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy *(no. 19, 1913).*

16-17 *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (both vols. 1912), F.C. Conybeare; replaced by C.P. Jones (2005), who added a 3rd volume (no. 458, 2006) containing letters of Apollonius and Eusebius' *Reply to Hierocles* (both originally in Conybeare vol. 2) plus *testimonia*

18 - *Propertius* (1912), H.E. Butler; re-ed. G.P. Goold (1990)

19 - *Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy* (1913), A.S. Way (Figure 6)

20-21 *Sophocles* (1912-13), F.A. Storr; replaced by H. Lloyd-Jones (1994), who added vol. 3 *Fragments* (no. 483, 1996)

22-23 *Terence* (both 1912), J. Sargeaunt; replaced by J. Barsby (both 2001)

24-25 *Apostolic Fathers* (1912-13), K. Lake; replaced by B. Ehrman (2003)

A few others appeared in the first year, but fall outside this first 25: W. Watts produced the *Confessions* of Augustine in 2 vols. (no. 26, 27), and J.M. Edmonds contributed *Greek Bucolic Poetry* (no. 28).

For a 'Classical' Library, these first 25 volumes show a surprisingly catholic diversity, a characteristic which has been a mark of the LCL throughout its hundred years' life. The intention of this article is to reflect on some aspects of the series and how it developed as it did.

2. The founder: James Loeb

James Loeb[3] (6.8.1867-27.5.1933) was born into a Jewish-American family in New York. Entering Harvard College in 1884 (Figure 7), he studied Classical languages before joining his father in business following his graduation in 1888 once he was told by a sympathetic Professor (Charles Norton 1827-1908) that his being Jewish would be an impediment to a career in archaeology. Deteriorating health exacerbated by the family resistance he encountered when he wanted to marry a Christian woman (Calder 1977: 317) led to his withdrawal from business life and from New York soon after the start of the new century. In 1905 he moved to Germany, where he stayed (except for the later part of World War I when America entered the conflict) until his death in 1933. His philanthropy towards Classical Studies and the Arts (e.g. support in 1904 for the Institute of Musical Art which later became the Julliard School of Music in New York) began while he was still working, and continued throughout his life. The permanent move to Germany did not mean forgetting America. It is remarkable that he founded the LCL while living in Germany, an initiative which would benefit primarily Anglophone N. America and Britain. From 1909-30 he was a Trustee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and was one of its major benefactors both during his lifetime and by bequest (Calder 1977: 318). The Loeb Classical Library was thus only one of the indicators of his deep interest in making the Classical world, its literature and its *realia*, accessible to more than the specialist. However, it was unique among his philanthropic interests since it was the one he founded and to which he lent his name. His move to Munich in late 1905 led to generous support for a Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie there; and he donated roughly 800 antiquities to the city's Staatliche Antikensammlungen and Glyptothek (Wünsche and Steinhart 2009), as well as material to other institutions such as Harvard.

Loeb was slow to recover from another breakdown in 1917, but in 1921 he married the widowed nurse who had cared for him for four years (Figure 8). Loeb then moved permanently to his country estate at Murnau-Hochried, near Oberammergau, and died there in May

Figure 7: *Portrait photo of James Loeb as a young man, perhaps during his student days at Harvard College. Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).*

Figure 8: *James Loeb (in his early 60s?) and his wife Marie Antonie at their estate in Murnau-Hochried near Oberammergau.*
Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).

1933. Cambridge and Munich both bestowed honorary doctorates in the 1920s; but although Harvard did not, at his death Loeb bequeathed the LCL and $300,000 to his *alma mater*. The fund was to be called 'The Loeb Classical Library Foundation' and to be used to complete the Loeb Classical Library and to support research in the Classics. His wife having predeceased him by a few months in January 1933, Loeb named in his will one of his stepsons, J.W. Hambucher, as a Trustee of the Loeb Foundation. The Foundation has since been substantially increased, particularly during Stewart's tenure as Trustee.

3. Loeb's vision for the series

To explain his vision for the series, and its genesis, Loeb included the following Preface—extracts only are quoted here (italics mine, as are a few annotations in the appended footnotes); the full text is available on the HUP/LCL website—in the earliest volumes of the LCL which began appearing from the northern Autumn of 1912. He had consulted numerous people (including U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, arguably the most famous living Classicist worldwide: Calder 1977: 321-25, letter to Loeb Sept. 1910) and publishers about the idea over the course of more than two years before it became reality.

> The idea of arranging for the issue of this Library was suggested to me by my friend Mr. Salomon Reinach, the French savant. It appealed to me at once, and my imagination was deeply stirred by the thought that here might be found a practical and attractive way to revive the lagging interest in ancient literature which has for more than a generation been a matter of so much concern to educators. …
>
> *To make the beauty and learning, the philosophy and wit of the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome once more accessible by means of translations that are in themselves real pieces of literature,* a thing to be read for the pure joy of it, and not dull transcripts of ideas that suggest in every line the existence of a finer original from which the average reader is shut out, *and to place side by side with these translations the best critical texts of the original works, is the task I have set myself.*
>
> In France more than in any country the need has been felt of supplying readers who are not in a technical sense 'scholars' with editions of the classics, giving text and translation, either in Latin[4] or French, on opposite pages. Almost all the Latin authors and many Greek authors have been published in this way … In Germany only a handful of Greek authors were issued in this form during the first half of the nineteenth century. No collection of this kind exists in English-speaking countries.[5]
>
> The following eminent scholars, representing Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France, kindly consented to serve on the Advisory Board:
>
> Edward Capps, Ph.D., of Princeton University.
>
> Maurice Croiset, Member of the Institut de France.
>
> Otto Crusius, Ph.D., Litt.D., of the University of Munich, Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science.
>
> Hermann Diels, Ph.D., of the University of Berlin, Secretary of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin.
>
> J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., of Cambridge University.
>
> A. D. Godley, M.A., Public Orator of the University of Oxford.
>
> William G. Hale, Ph.D., of Chicago University.
>
> Salomon Reinach, Member of the Institut de France.
>
> Sir J. E. Sandys, Litt.D., Public Orator of Cambridge University.
>
> John Williams White, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus of Harvard University.
>
> I was also fortunate in securing as Editors Mr. T. E. Page, M.A., until recently a Master at the Charterhouse School, and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D., Head Master of the Perse Grammar School, in Cambridge, England.
>
> Wherever modern translations of marked excellence were already in existence efforts were made to secure them for the Library,[6] but in a number of instances copyright could not be obtained. I mention this because I anticipate that we may be criticised for issuing new translations in certain cases where they might perhaps not seem to be required. But as *the Series is to include all that*

> *is of value and of interest in Greek and Latin literature, from the time of Homer to the Fall of Constantinople,* no other course was possible. On the other hand, many readers will be glad to see that we have included several of those stately and inimitable translations made in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which are counted among the classics of the English language. Most of the translations will, however, be wholly new, and many of the best scholars in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada have already promised their assistance and are now engaged upon the work. As a general rule, *the best available critical texts will be used, but in quite a number of cases the texts will be especially prepared for this Library.* …

The final sentence in this extract discloses that a new critical edition of the original text was not the priority. The primary goal was to provide a translation of a large percentage of Greek and Latin literature covering more than 2000 years, using whatever good quality original text was available wherever possible. The goal was ambitious, and Loeb had the contacts, drive and funds to realise his vision.

The significance of the parallel text format needs to be underscored, since it is so characteristic of the LCL series that it can be taken for granted today. To translate Greek texts into Latin had long-established precedent; and translations alone were also common well before the Loeb series began. But to provide the original text and a translation into the vernacular had hitherto only been done in a concerted manner by the French. In his 1910 letter to Loeb Wilamowitz opposed the parallel text plan: '… er [der Leser] von dem nebenstehenden [*sc*. Übersetzung] hypnotisiert ist' (Calder 1977: 322-23). While Calder concurs that this had its risks, he acknowledges (324) that '… it has also saved many ancient authors … from near oblivion.' In any case, Wilamowitz changed his attitude as his praise of the initiative in a further letter to Loeb in 1931 shows (Calder 1977: 325-28).

Loeb underwrote the startup costs, appointed the General Editors and the Advisory Board, and then appears to have let them proceed without interference. He had given them their 'riding instructions' and, apart from the major bequest to Harvard after his death to guarantee the continuing life of the series, left them to get on with it. Loeb may have had some initial involvement in the selection of contributors. According to Calder (1977: 315 n. 1), he 'engaged' J.W. White (1848-1917), another of his influential teachers at Harvard and whom he included on the Advisory Board, to undertake *Aristophanes* for the series. But White died with the project incomplete, and it passed to B.B. Rogers. As far as can be ascertained, James Loeb was a model as a heavily committed but disinterested philanthropist. Passionate about propagating a continuing interest in the ancient Hellenes and Romans, he nevertheless trusted those to whom he had allocated tasks to undertake them conscientiously and professionally. After all, he was by then based in Germany, the two initial editors were in England and the soon-to-be-added third editor (Capps) in the USA.

As Loeb conceived it, the LCL would draw attention to Anglophone Classical scholarship on either side of the Atlantic. He struck a similar balance editorially in the appointment of the first editors, since in 1914 Capps was also made an Editor: the *duumviri* now worked as a triumvirate, and must have managed to sort out their separate *provinciae* harmoniously as we may infer from the length of tenure each enjoyed. Yet it is also a sign of his awareness of scholarship in the field and of his catholicity of judgement that his Advisory Board also included French and German colleagues of high standing internationally. Far from being a mere sentimental enthusiast about Graeco-Roman antiquity, James Loeb put his money at the disposal of several humanistic, long-term projects, found the initial people to develop and implement them, and then stepped back to allow those to whom he had delegated the work to effect it as they judged best.

4. Publishers: Heinemann, and Harvard University Press

At first Loeb had trouble finding a publisher. The first he tried turned him down: this was Macmillan, publishers of the 'Red Macmillans,' a series of editions of Classical texts and also of major commentaries on the Greek text of Biblical and other early Christian works—such as J.B. Lightfoot's five-volume *Apostolic Fathers* (1885-90), still in print today after more than a century. He then secured the support of William Heinemann, a relatively new publisher in London. The books were typeset and printed in London, and published simultaneously and marketed actively in North America, initially by Macmillan (despite the London headquarters' rejection of Loeb's initial approach that they be the publisher), and subsequently by Putnams. Harvard University Press' (HUP, founded in 1914) association with the LCL came later via a joint enterprise with Heinemann. The balance between the two publishers then shifted increasingly towards HUP. Following Loeb's death in 1933 and his bequest to Harvard to maintain the LCL, HUP took over effective control, even though the volumes were still printed in England under Heinemann's supervision. The latter's name remained on the title page though second to Harvard's for the next half-century until Heinemann withdrew from the arrangement in 1989 when the company was taken over and its focus shifted. HUP, which had already taken over the copyright in 1967, now became sole publisher, and had full responsibility for the series devolved on to it.

To fulfil Loeb's vision that the LCL be accessible, the volumes had to be very affordably priced. This has remained the case, with no difference between large volumes and smaller ones. Loeb's bequest may have effectively subsidised the less well known authors, though

'evergreen' texts certainly provided a balance. The nine ancient authors whose books in the LCL sell best are (alphabetically): Aristotle, Cicero, Hesiod, Horace, Homer, Lucretius, Ovid, Plato, Virgil. Naturally, Lucretius in one volume is not being compared to Cicero in 29, Aristotle in 23, or Plato in 12; rather, one volume (at least) by each of these writers is among the most popular in sales terms for the series. Of the multi-volume authors, these are: Aristotle vol. 23 *Poetics* etc., (no. 199, 1927; re-ed. 1995), Cicero vol. 1, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (no. 403, 1954), and also vol. 21 *de officiis* (no. 30, 1913), Ovid vol. 3, *Metamorphoses* 1-8 (no. 42, 1916; re-ed. 1977), Plato vol. 1, *Euthyphro*, etc. (no. 36, 1914). Though outside the top nine, Caesar vol. 1, *Gallic War* (no. 72, 1917) has also been a very high seller. If we consider the Ovid volume as an example, F.J. Miller's translation underwent 14 printings from 1916 to 1971 (the 1921 reprint included no changes but was termed the '2nd edition'; the 1960 reprint reset the text, but was otherwise unchanged; and the 1971 reprint included some bibliographic updating). Goold's 3rd edition of 1977 was reprinted at least four times in less than 30 years.

Of these nine authors, five are Latin, four Greek; and poetry (notably epic, for which this volume of Ovid should not be overlooked) dominates prose. Philosophy has a marked presence, but surprisingly history and drama are missing. It would be intriguing to discover whether there were shifts in the popularity over the decades, which might coincide with changes in educational and social *mores*. For example, it has been observed that the Vietnam War and a perception of American imperialism caused students studying the ancient world in the USA to turn away from Roman History (and Latin?) in the 1960s and 1970s and towards Greek history (and Greek language?). The list of volumes in the series, included at the back of every volume until recent years, was arranged by Latin authors followed by Greek ones. This order reflects an earlier generation's recognition (whether overt or subliminal) that many more readers interested in the Loeb series would have some Latin, and that those with Greek would be highly likely to have good command of Latin as well.

5. Editors

Loeb initially approached J.G. Frazer to be the sole General Editor of the series, offering him £600 p.a. He declined when Macmillan decided against taking on publication. However, he had already proposed that he would need an assistant editor if he agreed to take on the role, and suggested W.H.D. Rouse (Calder 1977: 319 n. 21; Stray 1992: 43). In consequence, Rouse was the first-appointed General Editor (*pace* Rudd 1981: 29); but he in turn wanted a yokefellow, and suggested his friend T.E. Page. The latter had just retired from 35 years' schoolmastering at Charterhouse (1875-1910), and was much more in a position to devote himself to the task than Rouse who was headmaster of the Perse School at Cambridge, editor of the *Classical Review*, and engrossed in promoting the Direct Method of teaching Classical languages (Stray 1992: 43). So, contrary to the actual situation, the impression was gained by readers of the series that Page was the first General Editor, an inference easily drawn by the ordering of the previous editors' names on the page preceding the title page of every volume until that page was redesigned a few years ago. In reality, it scarcely matters which of the two men was approached first: they were good friends, and clearly worked harmoniously together for many years on the LCL.

The first three editors of the Loeb Classical Library were appointed by Loeb: Rouse and Page first in 1910, then Capps (already a member of the Advisory Board from its inception) in 1914; and all were still serving in this role at the time of his death in 1933. Capps' appointment made tangible the Anglo-American partnership in Classical scholarship which the series was intended to make visible.

W.H.D. Rouse (1863-1950; Figure 9), Editor 1911-47, contributed *Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (no. 15, 1913), *Lucretius* (no. 181, 1924; rev. by M.F. Smith 1975, who also provided a rev. 2nd edn 1982); and *Nonnus* in 3 volumes (nos. 344, 354, 356, all 1940). On Rouse see Stray (1992); a full biography by D. Jones is in preparation.

Figure 9: *W.H.D. Rouse (1863-1950), Editor 1911-47. Photo: dated 1908, used with permission of D. Jones, Perse School Archives, Cambridge.*

T.E. Page (1850-1936; Figure 10), Editor 1911-35, paid £800 p.a. (presumably the same amount was paid to the other two early editors); while teaching had already published editions of Virgil (3 vols., 1894-1900), Horace (1883; revised and augmented 1895), and *Acta Apostolorum* (1895) with Macmillan. He is said to have been asked in a letter from Richard Jebb to consider the Chair of Latin at Cambridge in the 1890s, but declined for personal reasons (Rudd 1981: 26, but see 65 n. 26). He edited no volumes in the series. On Page see Rudd (1981: esp. 29-33 on his work for the LCL), and Rudd (2004).

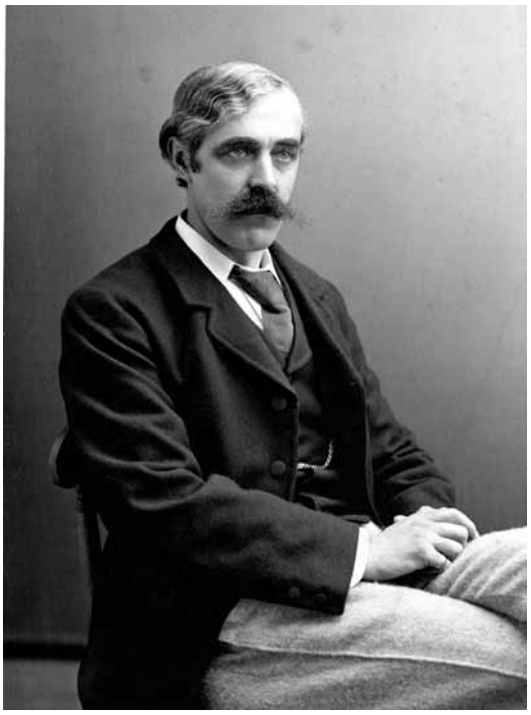

Figure 10: *T.E. Page (1850-1936), Editor 1911-35. Undated portrait photo perhaps taken in the first half of the 1890s; held in the Charterhouse Archives. Photo: reproduced with the permission of the Headmaster and Governors of Charterhouse.*

Figure 11: *E. Capps (1866-1950), member of the Advisory Board at the LCL's inception, and Editor 1914-39.*
Photo: taken 1936(?), reproduced from Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps on his seventieth birthday *(Princeton, 1936), frontispiece, p. iv.*

E. Capps (1866-1950; Figure 11), Professor of Classics at Princeton (1907-35), member of the Advisory Board at the LCL's inception, and General Editor 1914-1939: the only person to hold both responsibilities. He edited no volumes in the series. He was also closely involved for many years with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as chairman of the Managing Committee; this may have been the context where Loeb (who was philanthropically supportive of it as well) met him and realised the contribution he could also make to the LCL. On Capps see Calder (1974).

L.A. Post (1889-1971; Figure 12), Professor of Greek at Haverford College PA for 41 years (1917-58); succeeded Capps as LCL Editor from 1940-67. He edited no volumes in the series. If we take his editorial role an an example, he was involved as General Editor with several volumes of such works as *Augustine, City of God, Babrius and Phaedrus, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, Lucian, Plotinus,* and *Plutarch, Moralia*. The first of these (nos. 411-417, 1957-72) spread across seven volumes, and meant he was negotiating with and responding to several different translators. This was not atypical: the volumes of Diodorus and Plutarch were similarly allocated to a number of translators. To achieve editorial and qualitative consistency between them must have been no mean feat.

Figure 12: *L.A. Post (1889-1971), Editor 1940-67. Photo: taken 1955 by Clarence Myers and used with the permission of Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA, (Special Collections, College Archives, HCHC Photos, Faculty Individuals, Box IIIC), and the help of D.F. Peterson.*

Figure 13: *E.H. Warmington (1898–1987), Editor 1937-74.*
Photo: taken about 1950, courtesy of B.H. Warmington.

E.H. Warmington (1898–1987; Figure 13), Professor of Classics at Birkbeck College, London (1935-65). Editor 1937-74, and after Capps' and then Post's retirement in 1939 and 1967, respectively, was the first sole General Editor. His *Remains of Old Latin* (4 vols.; nos. 294, 314, 329, 359, 1935-40), is a notable addition to the series, the fourth volume containing Archaic inscriptions. It was likely to have been Rouse who commissioned these volumes, as Warmington had been known to him since his school years at the Perse School. So it is also not unlikely that the approach to Warmington to become a General Editor may reflect (if not directly, then obliquely) the link with Rouse: already before 1937 he was apparently being groomed for the role by his regular attendance at the weekly meetings at the publisher's office in London (Rudd 1981: 30). His unsurpassed 38-year tenure of the General Editorship just exceeded that of his former headmaster. Professor Bowersock singled him out at the centenary dinner for his 'selfless service' to the series. B.H. Warmington recalls (per litt. 9/1/12) that, at his father's death, Bowersock and Stewart arranged an *ex gratia* subvention for his widow in recognition of his father's outstanding editorial contribution to the LCL through a difficult period. The LCL increased by 130 new volumes during his editorship (Warmington 2004); and it was on his watch that the first steps were taken in re-editing earlier volumes.

G.P. Goold (1922-2001; Figure 14), held Chairs successively at University College London (1973-78), then finally at Yale as William Lampson Professor in Latin Classics (1978-92) during his tenure as Editor of the LCL (1974-99; Editor Emeritus 2000-01), to which he was appointed (from 1974) by Stewart in his capacity as sole Trustee at the point where Goold was about to leave his Harvard Chair to return to UCL. Under Goold's editorship the LCL grew in professional standing and international recognition. To him has sometimes been attributed the LCL's 'rescue' from the doldrums; but this may not be altogether fair to the memory of Post and Warmington, his predecessors as Editors, for revisions and new editions of some early or unsatisfactory volumes began appearing from the late 1960s: eg, Warmington's own revision of *Petronius and Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (no. 15, 1913) in 1969. The decisive factor under Goold, however, was that a concerted plan for revivifying the LCL was put in place, including decisions about a more moderate, but financially achievable pace of publication, and one which balanced the differing pressures and expectations of producing new volumes as against revised or replacement editions. He was the editor at the time when HUP assumed full responsibility for the series. As General Editor he was firmly committed to Loeb's vision that the volumes be accessible to the interested non-specialist, while continuing to lead by example in professionalising the quality of the edited Latin or Greek text. Apart from his role as General Editor of the series, he contributed

Figure 14: *G.P. Goold (1922-2001), Editor 1974-99; Editor Emeritus 2000-01.*
Photo: provided courtesy of J. Henderson.

almost a dozen volumes for the LCL, either *ab initio* or replacement editions: *Manilius* (no. 469, 1977), the five vols of *Ovid* (nos. 41, 1914 [2nd edn 1977]; 42, 1916 [3rd edn 1977]; 43, 1916 [2nd edn 1984], 232, 1929 [2nd edn 1979]; 253, 1931 [2nd edn 1989]), *Catullus* et al. (no. 6, 1913 [2nd edn 1988]), and *Virgil* (nos. 63, 1916; 64, 1918; 'new and revised edition' 1935, 1934 [*sic*]; 'revised edition with new introduction' by Goold, 1999, 2000), plus *Propertius* (no. 18, 1912; re-ed. 1990, 'an entirely new volume') and *Chariton* (no. 481, 1995)—this last an addition to the series, and his only foray into Greek.

Figure 15: *J. Henderson (1946-), Editor since 1999. Photo: courtesy the Henderson family 2011.*

Jeffrey Henderson (1946- ; Figure 15), William Goodwin Aurelio Professor of Greek Language and Literature, Boston University; like Goold whom he succeeded, appointed by Stewart as General Editor of the LCL in 1999 (both men had been his teachers at Harvard, 1968-72). Henderson thoroughly replaced Rogers' *Aristophanes*, and also *Longus, Daphnis and Chloe* (no. 69, 2009), adding *Xenophon of Ephesus* to it in place of the original volume's *Parthenius*: the latter now appears newly edited in J.L. Lightfoot's anthology: *Hellenistic Collection* (no. 508, 2009). That original volume provides an early instance of Loeb's decision, indicated in his programmatic Series Preface included in the 1912 volumes, that translations from earlier centuries—in this instance G. Thornley's XVIIth century translation of Longus, somewhat updated by J.M. Edmonds for the first edition (1916)—would be included where their literary quality was deemed appropriate by the editors.

It is notable that all these Editors drank from the same fountain of longevity: leaving aside the still-serving Editor, Rouse (37 years), Page (25 years), Capps (26 years), Post (28 years), Warmington (38 years), Goold (26 years). This suggests that the earlier editors derived considerable satisfaction from giving the series shape and substance, and seeing it grow apace, while the later ones rose to the fresh challenge of reviving the fortunes of the series and reinvigorating it partly by taking it to a new level professionally via revised or replacement editions. In turn, long service guaranteed editorial stability for the series. It cannot have been a sinecure: Page alone had no other major academic responsibilities concurrently.

For the series to begin in 1912, volumes had to be commissioned well in advance. Few refer to their inception. W.H.S Jones is one who does so in the Preface to his *Hippocrates* vol. 1 (no. 147, 1923) where he mentions (viii) that he began on it in 1910. This shows that the two General Editors were already at work commissioning volumes late that year (*pace* Stray 1992: 43). Jones was one of the Classics teachers at the Perse School where Rouse was headmaster (Stray 1992: 24); so there are no prizes for guessing who proposed his involvement. Sometimes, at least, prospective contributors were invited to submit a sample portion of translation before the General Editors decided that the publisher should issue a contract (Rudd 1981: 30). It is very rare in the earlier volumes for the contributor to acknowledge the series Editor(s) in his Preface; the consistency of this silence looks like a policy.

6. Contributors

Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the contributors have been from the UK and the USA, though there has been a fair representation from Canada. A scatter of volumes has been provided by people based in Ghana, New Zealand, South Africa, a couple of European countries (Germany and Belgium) and (most recently of all) Australia. This sometimes conceals the national origins of some who began their Classical training in the country of their birth before settling elsewhere. For example, L.H.G. Greenwood may be the sole new Zealand-born contributor, though his two volumes of Cicero's *Verrines* give no hint of that, being produced while he held his post at Cambridge (nos. 221, 1928; 293, 1935). The Englishman J. Barsby had long been domiciled in New Zealand when he provided the new 2 vol. edition of *Terence* (nos. 22-23, 2001). A.S. Way (1847-1930) was born, educated and died in England, but spent a little over a decade as a headmaster in Melbourne (Gellie 1976). While he devised translations of various ancient Classical texts during his time in Australia, his Loeb volumes were done once he returned to England. His *Euripides* volumes (nos. 9-12, all 1913) are still often seen as the 'low water mark' of the LCL's volumes. Yet not all have dismissed his work so quickly. Like the *Euripides*, Way chose to render his *Quintus Smyrnaeus* (no. 19, 1913)—the first-ever translation into English—into blank verse; archaising language dates the translation, and perhaps he is to be faulted for the Greek text he used. Yet his general competence is not in doubt; and some, at least, who have looked closely at his *Quintus* volume have felt repaid (James 2004: xxxii-iii).

Few have produced more than one or two volumes, or the set for one ancient writer. One of the most prolific contributors was Goold who 'led from the front' as General Editor primarily by enhancing the quality of volumes for a variety of authors in the series via revised or 2nd editions, as already mentioned. Goold's range and number of volumes was matched by J.C. Rolfe, who between 1914-46 contributed 12 volumes for six writers: Ammianus Marcellinus, Aulus Gellius, Cornelius Nepos, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Sallust, and Suetonius. Over an even longer span of years E. Cary provided 16 Loebs: all nine for Dio Cassius between 1914-27, and then after a hiatus seven more for Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1937-50). These were not the only prolific contributors: to instance merely one more, H. Rackham added 14 volumes to the series, four each for Aristotle and Cicero, and six for Pliny the Elder. Yet D.R. Shackleton Bailey takes the palm for sheer numbers: 11 volumes of Cicero (mostly letters), three for Statius, two for Valerius Maximus, and finally another two for Quintilian's *Lesser Declamations* (nos. 500, 501, both appearing posthumously in 2006).

In his 1910 letter to Loeb, Wilamowitz singled out this work of Quintilian along with Macrobius and Libanius as 'garbage' ('Schund'): lacking literary merit, they were not worth inclusion in the series (Calder, 1977: 321-23). His pronouncement, albeit in a private letter, appears to have had longstanding influence: Libanius did not begin to be added to the LCL until 1969 (4 vols, nos. 451, 452, 478, 479, 1969-1992), Macrobius only in 2011 (all three volumes in that year, nos. 510-512). As for Valerius Maximus, Shackleton Bailey's translation was the first in English since 1678, and this alone made it welcome despite offputting archaic English features in his translation which seem to run counter to the approach of Goold and Henderson to ensure direct and clear renderings (Wardle 2001).

A very meagre total of nine women have been invited to contribute or offered a volume. The trailblazer was Wilmer C. Wright (who dropped her birth name, Emily, at her marriage),[7] with two of her three *Julian* volumes (nos. 13, 1913; 29, 1913; 157, 1923) contributed virtually at the LCL's inception. In the decade between vols. 2 and 3 she also completed *Philostratus* vol. 4 (no. 134, 1921) containing his *Lives of the Philosophers* and the similar work by Eunapius. M. McElwain (with C.E. Bennett) followed soon after, translating *Frontinus* (no. 174, 1925). Another forty years went by until the next: E.M. Sanford (with W.M. Green, who contributed three of the other six *Civ. Dei* volumes solo) produced *Augustine, City of God* vol. 5 (no. 415, 1965), which was soon followed by B. Radice for *Pliny, Letters* (2 vols; nos. 55, 59, both 1969, replacing the earlier set, and drawing closely on her own translation in the Penguin Classics series). M. Henderson edited *Cicero* vol. 28, the *Commentariolum Petitionis* (no. 462, 1972); this was re-ed. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey in 2002, and accordingly her name is no longer visible on the LCL website. Like Radice, the others mostly provided replacement or revision volumes: S.M. Braund for *Juvenal and Persius* (no. 91, 2004) replaced the older vol. in the series, reversing the order in which the two poets were presented though retaining the original title. D. Innes made a revision of *Demetrius, On style* (included with Aristotle vol. 23: no. 199, 1995). G. Manuwald co-edited with J.T. Ramsey *Cicero, Philippics* (Cicero vols. 15A and 15B, nos. 189, 507, both 2009), generously placing Shackleton Bailey's name first on the title page (and his alone on the spine), since his bilingual edition and translation published elsewhere a generation earlier was the basis of their own revision for the Loeb, a revision made in the light of their own work on those speeches (Ramsey 2003; Manuwald 2007). Shackleton Bailey (1986: vii) implicitly regarded as inadequate the existing single volume Loeb translation by W.C.A. Ker (no. 189, 1926). In the same year as Ramsey and Manuwald's edition, J.L. Lightfoot contributed a new volume containing an anthology: *Hellenistic Collection* (no. 508, 2009).

Classicists overwhelmingly comprise the contributors of the volumes, but exceptions occur. Medicine proves instructive here. The sole volume devoted to Galen (no. 71, 1916) comprises his *On the natural faculties*; it was completed and published while its translator, A.J. Brock, was engaged in war service as a doctor. With his FRCS (Eng.) under his belt, W.G. Spencer produced the three volumes of *Celsus, de medicina* (nos. 292, 304, 336, 1935-38). The *Hippocrates* volumes reflect variety in the contributors' background: the nine volumes were translated by two classicists (W.H.S. Jones x3, W.D. Smith x1), one surgeon (E.T. Withington x1), and a specialist in the History of Medicine (P. Potter x4). In his introduction to vol. 4 (no. 150, 1931), Jones states baldly (vii), 'This volume completes the Loeb translation of Hippocrates'—and as an 'extra' to fill up that volume it included Heracleitus' *On the universe*. P. Potter drew attention to this odd statement in his Preface to vol. 5; and from the long hiatus between vols. 4 and 5 (the latter in 1988) we may perhaps infer an early editorial decision to include only certain works from the Hippocratic corpus. This impression receives some confirmation when we consider together vols. 1 and 7: the former includes 2 books (1 and 3) of the *Epidemics*, the latter provides the remaining ones (2, 4-7). Furthermore, the first four volumes are nos. 147-150, though unsurprisingly were not all published in one-after-the-other order (1923, 1923, 1928, 1931). Few doctors today might feel they were sufficiently trained in Classical languages to take on such a task, though I. Johnston is one exception (cf. already Johnston, 2005), being one of the two contributors to the most recent entirely new addition to the Loeb series, Galen's *Method of Medicine* (3 vols; nos. 516, 517, 518, all 2011).

Some contributors provided all volumes of a particular author (e.g. J. Henderson's recent *Aristophanes*, D. Kovacs' new *Euripides*, each replacing multi-volume sets by one person (B.B. Rogers and A.S. Way, respectively). Others ranged widely in what they produced: e.g. J.M. Edmonds

provided *Greek Elegy and Iambus* in two volumes (nos. 258, 259, both 1929; now replaced with editions by D. Gerber, both 1999), *Greek Bucolic poets* (no. 28, 1912), and *Theophrastus, Characters* (no. 225, 1929). This last also included *Herodes* (*sic*) and *Greek Choliambic poets*, both translated by A.D. Knox. That volume was eventually replaced with a new edition and translation in 1993 of the first two texts by J. Rusten and I.C. Cunningham, respectively, with Knox's Choliambic poets dropped in favour of *Sophron* and other fragments of mime texts. Not only did W.H.S. Jones submit his Hippocratic volumes, but also four of the five for Pausanias (nos. 93, 1923; 188, 1926 [with H.A. Ormerod]; 272, 1933; 297, 1935).[8] The 5th, a companion volume to the Pausanias text, is unique to the LCL series: printed on gloss paper, it contains 85 high quality plates (including foldout maps) with comment on each by R.E. Wycherley (no. 298, 1935; rev. edn, 1955), to illustrate certain sections of Pausanias' discussion.

Although there had been a few Classicists of international profile who contributed volumes in the early years—eg J.G. Frazer for *Apollodorus* (nos. 121, 122, both 1921) and *Ovid, Fasti* (no. 253, 1931, rev. by Goold 1989), J. E. Sandys for Pindar (no. 56, 1915; replaced in two vols. By W.H. Race, nos. 56 and 485, both 1997), H.W. Smyth for *Aeschylus* (no. 145, 1922; 146, 1926; H. Lloyd-Jones' appendix of major fragments added to vol. 2 in 1957; replaced in 2008 with three vols. by A.H. Sommerstein, nos. 145, 146, 505), D. Magie (perhaps not so well known at the time of his *Historia Augusta* volumes, nos. 139, 1921; 140, 1924; 263, 1932)—under Goold an increasing number of internationally highly regarded classicists provided volumes: we may instance merely D.R. Shackleton Bailey, and H. Lloyd-Jones for *Sophocles*. Swiftly identified as a landmark in this respect, and in others (textual and historical thoroughness; a highly readable, clear translation), was P.A. Brunt's revised text and translation of *Arrian*, commissioned during Warmington's tenure as Editor and appearing during Goold's, replacing in 1976 and 1983 the translation of E.I. Robson (nos. 236, 1929; 269, 1933). Brunt's almost 80-page Introduction superseded Robson's 10 pages; as well, he included many Appendixes in both volumes. There had already been precedent for the latter feature. Post as General Editor agreed to L.H. Feldman including 19 Appendixes in the original vol. 9 of Josephus in 1965. Although the trend was developing already, then, under Goold's Editorship a new professionalism was more explicitly expected from contributors, though he was determined not to abandon the principle of accessibility for the wide readership for whom Loeb had envisaged the series: those with a good education, but not necessarily in Classics, and with an interest in Western Literature from its earliest centuries.

Teamwork has been a marked rarity, reflecting the longstanding approach in the Humanities for people to research and publish solo. A few volumes have two (rarely more) names on them where shorter texts edited by different individuals have been placed together. D.C. Mirhady contributed *Aristotle, Rhetoric to Alexander* in vol. 2 of the 2-vol. *Aristotle, Problems* redone by R. Mayhew (nos. 316, 317, both 2011); this reflected the same split of tasks in the first edition (1936, 1937) between W.S. Hett and H. Rackham. *Pietas* towards a deceased teacher has occasionally been a factor in another's involvement; thus, F.H. Fobes undertook the completion of A.R. Benner's volume on Letters of *Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus* (no. 383, 1949; see Prefatory note). Rouse's publication of the 3 vol. *Nonnus* in 1940 (nos. 34, 354, 356) was presumably intended to be a solo retirement project which built on his collation of the MSS during his six-year Fellowship at Christ's College Cambridge (1888-94). However, he happened to be underway with the translation (the first-ever rendering of this author into English) when L.R. Lind in America wrote offering to do *Nonnus* for the LCL series; so the two formed a Transatlantic team in achieving the task (Stray 1992: 60). Though Rouse is rightly perceived as the author, the names of Lind and H.J. Rose are also included on the title page for their contributions with a clarification of the division of labour.[9] *Theophrastus, de causis plantarum* was edited and translated by B. Einarson and G.K.K. Link (3 vols; nos. 471, 474, 475, 1976 [vol. 1], 1990 [vols 2-3]). In Einarson's Introduction (vol. 1, lxvi-vii) he speaks of the 'partnership' he enjoyed with Link as a *sine qua non* for achieving the undertaking. The recent *Galen, Method of Medicine* (nos. 516-518, 2011), is another rare instance of teamwork. The standout example of teamwork for the LCL, however, is the contribution by 'The Illinois Greek Club' of *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, and Onasander* (no. 156, 1923). Seventeen members of the Club contributed to the translation of Aeneas Tacticus, a much smaller group to the other two writers. The linchpin for all three was W.A. Oldfather.

7. Translations or editions?

Whereas the early contributors to the series were always designated simply as the translator, after several decades a shift became visible and they came to be described variously on the title page by wording reflecting their task as editor and translator of their volume. These designations were presumably determined by the General Editors regardless of the varied nature (and quality) of each contribution. Some contributors were quite content to be self-effacing. Thus, L.H.G. Greenwood's Preface to *Cicero, The Verrine Orations* (vol. 1, no. 221, 1928) says (p. v) that, 'This edition of the Verrine Orations is not intended as a serious contribution to the improvement of the text,' though he actually made numerous alterations to certain earlier editions, and included some of his own conjectures. The change in the title page byline at a later stage was evidently felt justified by the increasing amount of MS variants provided in the apparatus of the volumes, even though the amount of this continues to be markedly (and rightly, given the wide range of readership to be embraced) reined in. A few of the early volumes prove an exception to this, and include quite an amount

of MS evidence, e.g. *Hippocrates* vol. 2 (no. 148, 1923) xlviii-lxvi. *Alciphron*, appearing in a volume with letters of Philostratus and Aelian (no. 383, 1949) also continues to stand up well for its quality as an edition. Another contribution which has become virtually the *de facto* standard edition is C.R. Whittaker's 2-volume *Herodian* (nos. 454, 1969; 455, 1970), which includes a lengthy introduction and notes on historical and other matters on nearly every page.[10] It may be felt too broad a generalisation that the 'Loeb translations became standard texts …' (Calder 1977: 324): only in some cases or for some readers did this occur. Even so, it is inevitable that occasional errors in translation do occur in the Loebs—what published book is without flaw?—becoming accepted and transmitted to other contexts (Lefkowitz 1972). Whether Lefkowitz's comments in this article were influential in decisions to revise some LCL volumes is doubtful, however, as this process was already under way at least in the 1960s under Warmington's Editorship, even if it became much more a planned strategy in Goold's time.

There is an implicit tension here for the series between the aspiration of the contributor to provide a professionally respectable Greek or Latin text (even if not a full edition as such), and the increasingly visible recognition that users of the series nowadays cannot be presumed to have much—or even any— control of the two Classical languages. Not that all early contributors followed this line. For example, H. Rackham provides some textual evidence on nearly every page of his 1934 revised edition (also called the 'second'; no. 73, first pub. 1926) of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and was explicit (Preface, xi-xii) that his translation was

> designed to serve as an assistance to readers of the Greek; it is therefore as interpretative as I was able to make it without its becoming a mere paraphrase. Had I been working for those desirous of studying Aristotle without reading Greek, my method would have been very different: I should have aimed at an entirely non-committal version, reproducing the Greek as closely as possible, keeping the abbreviations, omissions, ambiguities and obscurities that seem to be observable in some of its sentences, and so providing an English text to accompany the study of the valuable commentaries on the treatise that are available.

Anyone translating a text would normally give considerable reflection to such questions as the anticipated readership, the balance between literalness and idiomatic rendering, etc. Not always do they make their thinking explicit for their readers; and the Loeb volumes are no exception to this. So comments such as S.M. Braund provides in her new edition of *Juvenal and Persius* (no. 91, 2004, replacing that by G.G. Ramsay, 1918) are useful for the reader. She says, in part (Preface, vii):

> Ramsay's 1918 Loeb translation has lasted remarkably well, but it is clearly time to update it and to incorporate advances in scholarship since then. One central difficulty in preparing a translation which is designed for a long shelf life is that of contemporary idiom. … The intrinsic problem of the Loeb Classical Library is that of turning poetry into prose. …

The new *Galen, Method of Medicine* has made clear the primary readership in view (vol. 1, Intro. xxx).

From the start, there was an expectation (spelled out in writing by Loeb to Page as an editorial policy, and then included in contracts) that no material would be translated explicitly where there was concern that it may offend. Obscene passages were handled in various ways: sometimes they were simply omitted (eg Juvenal 6.514, 1st edn: p. 125; contrast new edn: p. 283; Persius 4.35-41, 1st edn: p. 361; contrast new edn: pp. 91-93), or translated into another language. Greek was usually translated into Latin on the facing-page English text; and in the first edition of Martial putatively offensive Latin was translated into Italian (eg 7.70, vol. 1: p. 471; contrast new edn vol. 2: p. 135), whereas in the case of Petronius the Latin was simply repeated on the right-hand page (eg §§92, 134, pp. 185, 301, respectively; contrast pp. 219, 355 in Warmington's revised edn). Leaving aside their inconsistency, such avoidance strategies were not very successful. The longstanding practice of translating Greek texts into Latin as an aid to the semi-Greekless *may* have suggested to the editors a device to deal with these passages whose explicit rendering was felt to be too confronting to contemporary social *mores*.

This was not simply a matter of personal scruple by Loeb and the early editors, several of whom were either active Christian adherents (Page, Post presumably), or had been brought up in that tradition (Rouse). Heinemann as the publisher would have raised the red flag, aware of the risk of flouting the laws about obscenity in both Britain and America, which were not relaxed until 1959 and 1969, respectively. Once these sanctions were removed, the LCL began to address the matter, with Warmington's revised *Petronius* appearing in 1969.

Questionable strategies of other kinds were also applied. In no. 225 (1929), the *Mimes* of Herodes (ie Herodas) were translated not into English, but into Scottish dialect in an attempt to suggest the Greek dialect in the original. Though different in motivation, this was of a piece with the expectation that Greek epic merited 'biblical' language for its high style to be conveyed with due dignity. As a consequence, some translations quickly looked dated—a feature reinforced by Loeb's misconceived desire to include some translations from earlier centuries because of their literary merit, regardless of the archaic English. Greater sensitivity to what may constitute an appropriate translation for the expected readership of the series has encouraged change, as has recognition of the external pressure of changing social attitudes; and from the time of Goold's editorship, in particular, unambiguous trans-

lation has been expected, however direct. The previous approach of drawing a veil over sexually explicit texts did not altogether matter at a time when Classicists could read the original text for themselves, and the interested lay reader was mostly not distracted by minutiae of translation. Today, however, perhaps the majority of Loeb readers (Ancient History students comprise one large cohort in Australia, at least) have rather less Classical language training, and so are much more dependent on a translation which reliably conveys the actual meaning without literary flourish, or paraphrase.

Over time, the ancient authors represented in the LCL have meant that the series now spans about fourteen centuries (Homer to Bede) and every genre. In date range, this is very impressive, even if somewhat more limited than Loeb's original, expansive projection ('Homer to the Fall of Constantinople'). Although not all periods and genres are represented equally or in a balanced way, nevertheless the achievement of this undertaking should be emphasised. Loeb could rightly feel that his vision had been amply fulfilled by the energy and acumen of the series of editors and of the contributors from whom they in turn commissioned volumes.

The Loeb series continues not to aim at full editions of the Latin or Greek text, and consistently abjures the provision of much information (let alone interpretative commentary) for readers. There are Oxford Classical Texts or the Teubner series available for the former, and detailed commentaries on many of the texts for the latter. The French Budé series stands out quite exceptionally in this respect, for in more recent years the amount of explanatory notation has increased to match the generally high quality of the original text and facing translation. As merely two rather different examples from 2007, the recent volumes devoted to Galen by V. Boudon-Millot (notably vol. 1) and J. Sheid's edition of the *Res Gestae* illustrate this development clearly. However, in the more recent Loebs contributors have been permitted considerably more space for their Introduction: what was typically a very few pages of general introduction to the work and a statement about MSS consulted has often become 50+ (even 150+) pages. This is a recognition of a changed expectation, and especially so for those authors who may be considered less well known rather than the 'canonical' writers of Greek tragedy and philosophy, Roman oratory and history, etc. Some early exceptions to the fairly perfunctory introductions occur, eg W.H.S. Jones includes nearly 60 pages (ix-lxvi) in his *Hippocrates* vol. 2 (no. 148, 1923).

But a shift became visible in the 1990s when Harvard was in complete charge of the LCL. A renewal plan for the series—devised in the earlier 1970s by Stewart in conjunction with Goold, with advice from a small committee—took as its premise a more modest goal than that originally conceived, to publish four or five new volumes a year. This plan includes titles new to the LCL (such as *Chariton*, no. 481, 1995), completely new editions and translations (such as *Euripides*, nos. 9-12, 484, 485, 1994-2002), and thoroughly revised editions (such as *Hesiod*, no. 57, 1914, replaced by nos. 57 and 503, 2006 and 2007, respectively).

Yet is there an Achilles heel, at least potentially so, in this very professionalising of the series? James Loeb consciously chose schoolmasters as two of his first three editors. Highly proficient in both Classical languages Page and Rouse undoubtedly were (each could certainly have held a Chair); but they were also able to communicate the subject with distinctive passion that was recognised by others—as did the later General Editor L.A. Post, who apparently by choice spent his entire career at a College rather than at a University. These men were no second-rate Classicists; what they also brought to the task was long experience of imparting the languages and their literature to tyros and students without sufficient experience to read the original text without some aids. In the earlier years of the LCL these editors had no compunction about commissioning volumes from some they knew who were teaching in schools (though perhaps more so in Britain than in America, given Capps' position at Princeton): contributions to the Loeb series was not the monopoly of university staff, even though the latter constituted the large majority. Today, it is almost inconceivable that anyone not in the tertiary sector would be approached to undertake such a task—the sole exception being the rare 'private scholar.' There is an irony here which should not pass unnoticed. There is nowadays a small but gradually increasing cohort of secondary teachers of Classics and Ancient History who possess a doctorate, but who have missed out on a university post, if that had been the ambition; and this phenomenon is not confined to Australia. It is as if there has been a return to the period a century ago in Britain where well trained Classicists taught the next generation of school students, and sometimes by choice. As well, universities now look for different characteristics in the staff they employ. Furthermore, for Anglophone undergraduate students of Ancient History, Classical Civilisation, Ancient Philosophy and Studies in Religion, many of whom have minimal control of the two languages (as do the majority of high school teachers of that broad discipline area), the greater commitment made by Loeb contributors to editing the Greek or Latin text may be subliminally (if not overtly) offputting. It is never possible to be sure in detail who comprises the readership of such a series, to differentiate those seriously committed to reading and digesting every page as against the occasional browser. For this reason, the LCL is right not to aim for the lowest common denominator, for textual notes which may be somewhat confronting on the page to those with little understanding of textual transmission may be a stimulus to others' curiosity.

In addition, since James Loeb's day there has been a flourishing publishing and excellent marketing of cheap translations— in the Anglophone world notably the Penguin Classics which began with E.V. Rieu's *Odyssey* after WWII following the success of Penguin Books from

its inception in 1935—and these are normally regarded as 'good enough' by those capable only of reading a translation. If the LCL provides a half-way house between a fully edited, critical text and a clear, idiomatic translation, perhaps in turn the Aris and Phillips venture has devised a distinctive niche for itself in the Anglophone world over more than a generation now in providing facing-page text and translation with a commentary on the English. This latter feature appears to imply A&P's perception of their readership as more likely to be those with at best only some control of the original language.

8. Pace of publication, and order of appearance

I mentioned earlier that after Loeb appointed his Advisory Board and Editors he left them to get on with their task of building a distinctive series of portable and accessible volumes with facing-page text and translations and a minimum of accompanying critical comment. And 'get on with it' they certainly did, apparently without interference from himself.

The first twenty volumes (not identical with the allocated nos. 1-20) were published in the later part of 1912. The LCL had been underway for only two years when the First World War broke out. Despite that, between 1914 and 1918 54 new volumes saw the light, including 'evergreen' authors like Virgil and Ovid—though in their case perhaps we should say 'everre(a)d'—and less frequently encountered writers such as Marcus Aurelius and Galen. The first 100 volumes appeared within less than a decade (no. 112 in 1919), the second hundred just as swiftly (230 titles by 1930). By the time of Loeb's death in 1933, the tally had reached nearly 300, a good number of them going to several reprints, such was their popularity. (Indeed, it would be useful to tot up for each volume the sheer number of reprints, and to gain a sense of the size of the print runs.) The tally by that stage deserves to be underlined. More than half the total number of new volumes (*Athenaeus, Deipnosophists* vol. 8, no. 519 the latest in 2011, covering book 15 which had been in no. 345 when it first appeared in 1941, plus an index to the entire 8 vols.) was produced in the first twenty years of the life of the series—and this despite the outbreak of WWI soon after the LCL began, plus the Depression before the series' second decade was completed. Loeb's vision had certainly struck a chord in the Anglophone world; and the speed of production in the first twenty years cemented the profile of the series. That speed redounds to the credit of the three General Editors (and presumably also of the Advisory Board whose 'hands on' role is less clear). It was an impressive achievement by Page, Rouse and Capps the first Editors, and *a fortiori* despite the years of the Great War. Some volumes were clearly delayed by the Conflagration: Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* did not appear until 1926, but its Loeb series no. (73) places it close to *Galen, Natural Faculties* (no. 71) which appeared in 1916; one other Aristotle volume (vol. 22) also appeared in 1926, but its allocated Loeb no. is 193.

When we look back to the LCL's earlier years, it is remarkable that these massive international dislocations did not slow the pace—let alone cause the series to stall entirely—though WWII and subsequent conflicts and economic pressures (and no doubt also changing social, educational and political perspectives and expectations) took their toll. The pace slowed somewhat in the decade after Loeb's death: 38 new volumes were published from 1939 to 1945, with only 10 of these appearing in the last three years of the War (considerably fewer than the approximately 10 p.a. average in the early and mid-1930s). In 1944 for the first time no new volumes appeared. While the series had averaged over 10 new titles a year since 1912, output waned further in the 1950s. By the end of 1974 465 titles had appeared in the series; in the almost 40 years since then just over 50 new volumes have been published—though a good number of these are an expanded re-editions of an earlier volume (thus, *Hesiod* no. 57 plus now 503), or reflect the decision to include fragments of a playwright (thus, nos. 504 and 506 for Euripides). Today, partly in response to the difficult times the series experienced in the 1970s—even though it came through that serious threat to its very survival thanks particularly to the acumen of Stewart and the drive, experience and editorial judgement of the two successive editors he appointed—in addition to straightforward reprints four or five entirely new or re-edited volumes are published annually. That there has been such a massive dropoff in the number of new volumes added to the LCL should not be given a defeatist interpretation. The importance of updating texts and translations was recognised at least in Warmington's time as sole General Editor, and this aspect of the LCL's output increased markedly under Goold and then Henderson.

The tallies given in this last paragraph have been arrived at from statements on the LCL website, and we must take them as having been reliably determined. However, my tallies may be a little 'rubbery': to attempt to make some checks against the site's list of published volumes is not easy since older volumes which have been replaced or revised are sometimes represented in differing ways. Details of the previous translator may no longer be signalled. Sometimes the date of the original volume is no longer provided. Nor are there simply instances where an original single volume for an author has expanded to become two, or a two-volume set has become three, due to the discovery of additional texts, or the decision to include fragments of an author. Sometimes, texts originally paired together in a volume are re-edited and placed with a new partner text or group of works (Parthenius offers one recent instance). There can be a fine line between a new volume and a re-edited one.

When an early volume was revised or replaced at some much later date, the original number was normally allocated to it. Thus C.P. Jones' replacement of F.C. Conybeare's 90 year-old, 2-vol. *Philostratus, Life of Apollonius* in 2005 has the original numbers, 16 and 17. However,

the addition of a third volume by Jones meant that a new number had to be allocated; and while no. 458 (2006) looks oddly far removed from the other two volumes, this approach to volumes in the series which expand on earlier ones makes pragmatically consistent sense. There are now numerous authors, and texts grouped by genre—eg D. Campbell's *Lyric Poetry*, now five volumes in place of the previous three (nos. 142, 143, 144; plus 461, 476, 1982-93)—for which this principle has been applied, including the Greek dramatists: Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Menander, and Sophocles. Papyrus finds and other identifications of fragments of drama make it churlish today to say these are mere scraps. Their inclusion is a further sign, however, of the push to professionalise the series in various directions. Once more, the question arises whether the intended reader is nowadays different from the person Loeb envisaged a century ago—and if so, whether it matters.

Goold had clearly reflected on this issue, judging from an anecdote recalled by Stewart in 2002 (at a memorial gathering for Goold?). 'Goold once explained to an editor why the Loeb would include only a selection of certain fragments, not the complete corpus. He compared the Library to the public exhibition area of a great museum. In the storerooms there are indeed many more artifacts for specialists to study and enjoy, but in the public areas are placed only the most important and most meaningful pieces.' This fine analogy (conveyed to me by J. Henderson, email 2/1/2012) encapsulates the LCL perfectly today: what is to be included should be presented professionally (up to date text, etc.) and accessibly (accurate translation, informative Introduction, etc.)—and not forgetting attractively—for the range of readers who may avail themselves of the volume, but should resist the pressure to write for Classicists alone (or even primarily) and seek to say the last word on every aspect of the work. An exception to this last point, however, may be allowed: since the LCL has become a *de facto* preserver of sometimes quite esoteric texts with English translation, the less obviously popular appeal of some works may justify a more detailed or technical approach. The *Herodian* volumes serve as an appropriate bell-wether.

It should be no surprise that volumes did not always appear in the order of the allocated LCL no.: thus nos. 13, 14 and 29 (*Julian*, vol. 2) were all published in 1913, whereas nos. 18, 20 and 24 all in 1912. However, for those authors for whom many volumes were required a traditional order of works in his corpus was maintained; but other considerations determined the priorities for commissioning those volumes. Aristotle provides a case in point: of the 23 LCL volumes bearing his name the first to be published was vol. 19 *Nicomachean Ethics* (no. 73, 1926), and in the same year vol. 22 *Art of Rhetoric* (no. 193, 1926), followed a year later by vol. 23 *Poetics* (together with *Longinus, On the sublime* and *Demetrius, On style*; no. 199, 1927; these three texts re-ed. 1995).

9. Differing character of some volumes

Once the series became well established, some volumes were included which have a very different character. For example:

i. *Select Papyri* in 3 vols. constitute a useful anthology: non-literary texts in vols 1 and 2 edd. A.S. Hunt/C.G. Edgar (nos. 266, 282; 1932, 1934), and literary ones in vol. 3 ed. D.L. Page (no. 360, 1941). A generation later, plans which had been accepted under Warmington for a further volume of Christian papyri were cancelled by HUP in the mid-1970s—a reflection of the stringencies under which the series laboured during that period. If there had been any plan for a volume of Jewish papyri, perhaps this was given up with the appearance of the *Corpus of Jewish Papyri* (3 vols; HUP, 1957-64). If the small page format of the series made inclusion of papyri difficult, it may have been a decisive consideration against the inclusion of similar volumes of inscriptions, had this possibility ever been raised—though Warmington's *Archaic Latin* vol. 4 (no. 359) already showed the way in 1940. That inscriptions can be included successfully in a small format volume by means of printing 'landscape' instead of always 'portrait', the recent edition by J. Scheid (2007) of the *Res Gestae* (both Greek and Latin texts) has demonstrated in the similarly-sized Budé series. Contrast the minute point size (not typical for other volumes in the series) of these same inscriptions edited by E. Weber (1999[6]) in the equivalent German series *Sammlung Tusculum* (founded in 1923), giving Greek and Latin text on the same page opposite the German translation.[11] Yet there is another factor to consider, which might be felt to justify the inclusion of papyri but not inscriptions. Like the equivalent Italian series *Classici Greci e Latini*, the LCL focuses primarily on 'literature', or at least on literary texts. Plenty of papyri fall into this category, whereas such texts are rare in epigraphy. Yet before this factor is given a sage nod too quickly, it should be recalled that the first two volumes of papyri published in the LCL were documentary texts; the volume of literary texts was added only some years later. What may have overridden the 'literary texts' focus of the LCL here is the exotic nature and provenance of these new finds, which had begun being published in considerable numbers only during little more than the previous generation. The much later number allocated to D.L. Page's third volume here belies the suggestion that the onset of the War was the cause for the gap of several years after Hunt and Edgar's two volumes.

ii. The final volume of Plutarch's *Moralia* (vol. 16, no. 499, 2004), by E.N. O'Neil, comprises an index to the entire 15 preceding volumes of that multi-faceted collection of essays. It had already been prepared a generation earlier, but was another victim of the 1970s cuts, and so was finally published only after O'Neil's death. Similarly, half of *Josephus* vol. 10 (no. 456, 1965) constitutes an index by L.H. Feldman to the entire 10 vols. On that basis, Plato (12 vols.) and Aristotle (23 vols.) each

awaits his deserved index, as does Cicero (29 vols.); but these are unlikely to appear given the existence of indexes and concordances to these authors published elsewhere. These latter presuppose users conversant in the original language, however, whereas the Loeb series consciously allows for the reader with little or no training in Greek and Latin, and so normally provides an English-language index of terms/subjects/names.

iii. B.E. Perry's *Babrius and Phaedrus* (no. 436, 1965) contains, in addition to a 90 page introduction, a massive *c*. 200 page, appendix; undoubtedly very useful to specialists, but pertinent for the broader readership which Loeb had envisaged as well?

iv. To the existing 10 volumes on Philo two supplementary volumes were added by R. Marcus (nos. 380, 401, both 1953). These volumes appear to be almost unique in the LCL in that they translate the Armenian version of the original Greek text of Philo's *Questions and answers on Genesis and on Exodus*. Accordingly, the parallel text format is dispensed with in favour of translation *tout court*, though Appendix 1 in vol. 2 includes the surviving Greek fragments. The only approximate parallel I have noted is on an altogether different scale: in *Josephus* vol. 3 (containing when first published in 1928 *Jewish War* books 4-7) H.St.J. Thackeray included in a short Appendix his translation of a German rendering of the Slavonic additions to the Greek text of the writer.

v. The name Philostratus appears on several volumes in the LCL, and this gives rise to more than one entanglement. The two-volume *Vita Apollonii* (*VA*) is not at issue; but C.P. Jones' recent new third volume (no. 458, 2006) which supplements it includes—as did F.C. Conybeare in the original volume 2 (no. 17, 1912)—a work probably by Eusebius (*Reply to Hierocles*) the relevance of which a reader intent on Philostratus or Apollonius would readily perceive,[12] whereas a reader looking generally for works by Eusebius or specifically for the *Reply to Hierocles* might not think of searching in a volume whose focus is Philostratus. This is not the only volume under the name Philostratus to include others' work: his *Vitae Sophistarum* (*VS*) is paired with Eunapius' similar work (no. 134, 1921). It seems a pragmatically sensible decision to yoke together two short works by different writers dealing with a similar subject or connected by genre: thus Longus and Parthenius have been replaced in the new edition by Longus and Xenophon of Ephesus (no. 69, 2009). Yet a longer bow is drawn with no. 383 (1949), for although there is the common element of letters, we now have letters of three different writers: Philostratus, Alciphron and Aelian. Another kind of potential for confusion exists in no. 256 (1931), which comprises the *Imagines* of both Philostratus the Elder and his younger namesake, together with a work which shows knowledge of them both, Callistratus' *Descriptions*. Neither of these last two Philostrati is to be identified with the author of the *VA*. The complexity of distinguishing the authorship of works by these homonymous men is teased out in Benner and Fobes' introduction to the *Epistolae eroticae* in no. 383, pp. 387-91. The level of familiarity expected with such complex matters as authorship is arguably beyond James Loeb's envisaged original remit. It is to the credit of Benner and Fobes that they did not avoid dealing with the problem; but it is a sign of the incipient professionalization of the series which Classicists in universities today may take for granted and applaud, but which may not really have been what Loeb himself was seeking. That said, we should ask whether to remain unwaveringly true to Loeb's vision after a hundred years is a *sine qua non* for the series as a whole. The captivating vision could become a captivity.

10. New, and new for old

The mere fact that, particularly from Goold's time as General Editor onwards (though the process began under Warmington), a considerable number of volumes have been revised or even completely replaced reflects a recognition that some of the previous ones were felt to be deficient in certain respects for a series whose great 'selling point' was its ambition to keep every volume permanently in print—while also allowing for scholarly advances. Certain volumes were uneven in quality: outmoded as translations into current English or in their lack of direct (non-bowdlerised) phraseology. Excluding simple reprints, by my count (and not claiming absolute exactitude), as at 2011 about 130 (*c*. 25%) volumes have been replaced or updated to a substantive degree, whether described as 'revised,' '2nd edition,' etc. It has been a dramatic change that over the last two decades the balance is now about equal between producing new volumes and redoing earlier ones, whether complete replacements or something less ambitious (Figure 16). Perhaps this also reflects a recognition that the corpus of Classical literature is finite, and that a principle of diminishing returns has become relevant in the consideration of other texts to be

Figure 16: *Two recent LCL volumes, a new edition of one first published in the series in 1924, and one entirely new:* Plautus *vol. 3, ed. and transl. by W. de Melo (no. 163, 2011);* Galen, Method of Medicine *vol. 3, ed. and transl. by I. Johnston et al. (no. 518, 2011).*[13]

included: some works which have survived are not of sufficient quality as literature to warrant inclusion (a point made by Wilamowitz in his 1910 letter to Loeb: Calder 1977), or may even be felt pragmatically to be unlikely to generate sufficient sales to justify inclusion.

Goold showed discrimination in revision. Whereas his *Propertius* (no. 18, 1912; re-ed. 1990) was 'an entirely new volume,' with his publication in 1977 of a 3rd edition of *Ovid* vol. 3, *Metamorphoses 1-8* (no. 42, 1916) he chose to intervene only lightly since he was aware that new critical texts of the Latin were in preparation with other publishers. 'I have everywhere sought to present the best Latin text and accommodated the English translation to it, but I have otherwise disturbed the original edition as little as possible' (Preface, vii).

Yet however completely superseded its predecessor in the series was, as mentioned earlier the latter's number has been retained with the new volume, whether this is a revision or a completely *de novo* book. H.G. Evelyn-White's *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (no. 57, 1914) provides a striking instance of this decision. That material is now spread across—and notably supplemented by—M.L. West's *Homeric Hymns, Homeric aprocrypha, and Vitae of Homer*, and his *Greek epic fragments* (no. 496 and 497, both 2003), combined with G.W. Most's 2-vol. *Hesiod* (nos. 57, 503, 2006 and 2007, respectively). Three titles, West's two and Most's one in two volumes, constitute an expansive and welcome replacement of Evelyn-White's single book, useful as it once was. The benefit for the series of the 'century of papyri' is well illustrated by the complete replacement of F.G. Allinson's single-volume *Menander* (no. 132, 1921) with W.G. Arnott's masterly 3-vol. set (nos. 132, 1979; 459, 1996; 460, 2000).

Let us revert to the first 25 volumes listed at the beginning of this essay. From the outset of the series previous editors had a twofold aim in their commissioning of contributions: to provide the original texts and readable translations of works that were less well known to their intended readership, and to balance this with the inclusion of 'evergreen' works which would guarantee sales for the series as a whole. In the latter category, of Latin authors we see Catullus + Tibullus, some Cicero, and Propertius among the first two dozen, matched on the Greek side by Euripides and Sophocles and soon followed in the 1920s by Aeschylus (nos. 145, 146) and Aristophanes (nos. 178-180), and some Aristotle for the Greek. More noteworthy is the first category, however: texts not so familiar to many readers. Hellenistic epic and Roman history by a Greek writer inaugurated the series. Second Sophistic writers have a marked presence, constituting one-third of the first two dozen volumes: Julian, Philostratus and Lucian in addition to Appian.

Perhaps it was the first editors' own idea to include the *Apostolic Fathers* very early in the series, unless they took a leaf out of the book of the Egypt Exploration Society which from vol. 1 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1898) included some Christian texts both because of their importance *per se* and also in recognition that those interested in Bible and the development of the Church would be eager readers and subscribers to the series no less than Classicists. The 2-vol. *Apostolic Fathers* were followed immediately after the War by G. Butterworth's *Clement of Alexandria* (no. 92, 1919); and *Eusebius' HE* followed a few years later in 1926 (nos. 153, 265). One brief Eusebian text had already been included in 1912 as a supplement in *Philostratus, Vita Apolloni* vol. 2. As for texts of Christian Late Antiquity and the early Medieval period, Augustine's *Confessions* appeared in the very first year of the LCL's existence (nos. 26-27, both 1912); and Bede was also up high in the list, appearing before the series' second decade was over (nos. 246, 248, both 1930). However, the need for more than a few representative Christian texts may be felt to be less urgent today (and even at the outset of the LCL a century ago), in view of the appearance of fine series in Europe covering this zone from AD II onwards, such as *Sources chrétiennes* (*SC*) and *Griechische christliche Schriftsteller* (*GCS*), to say nothing of specially focused series such as the *Gregorii Nysseni opera* (*GNO*). The first of these began in 1942 as an initiative by French Jesuits and comprises over 500 volumes in bilingual editions. Its success provided the model for a similar German series, *Fontes Christianae*. The *GCS* was established in 1891 by two formidable scholars at Berlin, the pre-eminent German Church historian A. von Harnack and the Roman jurist and historian T. Mommsen, two decades before the LCL began. Another Classical Philologist, W. Jaeger (who completed his career at Harvard), initiated the *GNO* in 1921.

Boethius on the Latin side (no. 74, 1918; new edition 1973) and *Procopius* on the Greek (7 vols; vol. 1 no. 48, 1914; vol. 7 no. 348, 1940) show that the writers of the Byzantine period were also on the editors' radar from very early in the LCL's life. Yet the series pulled back from its original remit to cover Greek and Latin literature right through to the fall of Constantinople as envisaged by Loeb. The General Editors must quite early have adjudged it unrealistic, since if any specific contributions of such late date were ever considered they never reached publication in the series. Although pared back, this still-extensive program clearly conceived from the outset is impressive given the intention of the series to provide good quality, readable translations and serviceable original texts. On the new HUP initiative to produce medieval texts in a format modelled on the LCL, see §§11.ii, and 12.ii below.

11. Gaps?

Anyone may have a personal wish-list of works to be added to a series such as the LCL; but that needs to be tempered by balancing it against the aim of the series, and other factors such as overlap with other enterprises. Nevertheless, some areas of ancient Greek and Latin

writing are curious for their neglect by the LCL. It seems to me that in some zones at least the LCL has not yet quarried all that is worth extracting from available Greek and Latin texts—though there may be good reasons why this is so.

i. Medicine may be felt to be a case in point. Celsus and Hippocrates both feature, but until late 2011 only one volume had appeared in the LCL to represent the super-prolific Galen. A.J. Brock's translation of the *Natural Faculties* (no. 71, 1916) remains a fine piece of work after almost a century, but was a foundation never built upon in the series. Lack of medical expertise by most Classicists, and conversely the lack of training in Classical languages by most doctors today, accounts for this in part, at least. The Budé series, however, is well under way with high quality volumes devoted to his medical *oeuvre*, just as it has done for Hippocrates. Cambridge University Press has announced plans to publish translations of the entire Galenic corpus under the general editorship of P. van der Eijk, and with financial undergirding from the Wellcome Institute. Yet there is certainly room for more of Galen's treatises in the LCL. Some of his less directly medical works would have a much wider readership, among them the *peri alupias* (*On not grieving*), its Greek text rediscovered at a monastery in Thessalonike during the last decade and already the object of intense scholarly discussion (most recently, and with considerable bibliography, Nicholls 2011). And given that Galen *philosophicus* rather than *medicus* has become the focus of the renaissance of interest in him over the last two decades (Barnes and Jouanna 2003; Hankinson 2008), at least some of those works might be considered. Yet the great works which formed his so-called medical 'canon' should not be lost to sight, as risks becoming the case today—the Loeb series has a distinctive role to play in this regard: saving significantly influential ancient works from oblivion in an age where there is not the same interest in them currently as formerly, perhaps because they are not primarily 'high' literature. Yet it would be right to ask: how much Galen? For the first near-century of the LCL's existence one work was felt sufficient. The centenary year has been marked by the appearance of another of Galen's most influential works, the *Method of Medicine*. Over 60 Loeb volumes would be needed to cover all of his treatises which survive in Greek, for it has been estimated that these works comprise c. 12% of all Greek literature (excluding the Fathers) down to AD II (Boudon-Millot 2007: xcii, ccxxxi).

ii. The LCL does not provide a great deal of Jewish texts: Philo and Josephus are the core. One welcome item would be Ezekiel's *Exagoge*, the only surviving (but fragmentary) tragedy from the Hellenistic period. Its very survival is due to Eusebius quoting it. Since Jacobson's fine edition (1993) is out of print, this would be a short text to include together with other fragmentary material, whether literary Hellenistica, or Judaica, or fragments of tragedy by others than the 'famous three.' Selections from the Septuagint (or why not the whole of it?), the world's first great translation, also recommends itself for several reasons. The texts which make it up are varied in genre, the translation was made during a period of pivotal linguistic change in the Greek language, illustrating such phenomena as bilingual interference between languages in contact with one another, are interesting historically and for their influence on later writers, both Jewish and Christian. The argument for it to be included is strengthened by the fact that HUP's new series inaugurated in 2010, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* (*DOML*), has included Jerome's Vulgate amongst its very first volumes; and the Septuagint was equally significant, though in different respects. The only complete translation available in English appears to be Bagster's version from the 19th century. The Göttingen editions provide a generally excellent critical text, though there is also Rahlfs' text, produced by a single mind.

iii. Mention of Eusebius makes it pertinent to consider as well some more of his writings than the *Church History* and the tract replying to Hierocles appropriately included in *Philostratus* vol. 3. Similarly, just as some early Christian writers (Tertullian, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Apostolic Fathers, Basil) are represented, so if the series is looking to expand its net in this zone, maybe Hippolytus, Irenaeus and Justin Martyr are candidates. It remains to be seen whether, for the later period of chronological overlap between the LCL and *DOML*, the two series will devise an accommodation such that the latter focuses on Christian texts, the former on non-Christian ones.

iv. At the very outset of the LCL's history, the *Apostolic Fathers* volumes were an intriguing choice to include. Yet no one would have thought of including the New Testament then in view of the number of translations available, and the Westcott and Hort critical text—to say nothing of Nestlé. Some might say that that situation is even more true now. Yet it is an oddity that these texts remain excluded from the LCL. On linguistic and historical grounds, the variety in genre they exhibit, resonances with the contemporary cultures of Rome and of Judaism, and sheer influence on Western literature, the case for inclusion is hard to deny. Perhaps it is time to get a Classicist to contribute a volume devoted to this set of texts in a manner which reflects the cross-fertilising benefits of the 'Antike und Christentum' approach exemplified long ago in the early 20th-century studies of F.J. Dölger and others after him such as T. Klauser and W. Speyer—not that this has been a narrowly German phenomenon. In its enlarged range, the approach taken by *Der Neue Pauly* reflects, even in its title modified to contrast with the old Pauly-Wissowa, a change in Classical Studies which continues to gather momentum: a change to greater openness to notions of reception, and of contact (and rejection of contact). It would be a fascinating challenge for someone to translate the New Testament in a specifically context-related manner rather

than on behalf of a 'cause.' Those who knew Stewart might imagine him to have been very open to such an undertaking.

v. Aesop (including the *Life*) is a rather different kind of text that would not be easy for everyone to locate, even though discussion of him lies at the heart of Perry's *Babrius and Phaedrus* (no. 436, 1965); and renewed interest in the Greek novel for more than a generation now means that the LCL could catch that wave with further volumes in that zone (Heliodorus is underway) to supplement Longus, Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton, to the benefit of its readers.

vi. More non-literary texts would undoubtedly be of value in maintaining a wideranging list for the LCL. May this be felt to militate against the original vision to make literature available? Well, yes; but shifts of other kinds offer a precedent; and, after all, by far most of the new Greek and Latin texts that are found nowadays are inscriptions and papyri.

vii. Works devoted to some other areas have not found much place in the series hitherto: music provides one example. Plutarch *Moralia* vol. 14 (no. 428, 1967f) includes an essay 'On music.' It would be appropriate to have several of the texts of Philodemus included, such as *de musica* (Neubecker 1986, with Delattre 1989) and *de pietate* (Obbink 1998).

viii. A volume with a selection of material from ancient grammarians might be felt useful provided it has a clear focus, eg, on the debate about Atticism, or dialects.

ix. A volume sampling commentaries on and *scholia* to certain well known authors and texts (epic, drama) would be useful, and of interest not only to those concerned with literary and historical matters, but also to those for whom the burgeoning area of reception studies appeals. Servius on Virgil is a case in point; and Professor Henderson tells me (email 2/1/12) that Asconius on Cicero is spoken for. It is true that such volumes will never be best sellers, but that was never the *raison d'être* for decisions about what to include. To make texts such as these available to those with catholic interests in antiquity and not solely in 'canonical' literature is an important service which the series has long provided. The best sellers will continue to subsidise the others.

12. Innovations, and influence

i. The LCL is going digital from 2011, though it is not abandoning the print version. Indeed, it was suggested by one speaker at the centenary dinner that the printed book still remains the best way to ensure the survival of texts. Digital copies mean that typographical errors can be easily corrected and then applied to a reprint of the book copy. This serves as a continuing guarantee of quality, without opening the door to wholesale rewriting by the contributor.

ii. The impact of the series has stretched beyond Classics. The bilingual, portable and accessible format has been recognised as a model for other projects, either underway (Sanskrit, Renaissance and Medieval texts) or in prospect (Arabic and Chinese texts). The Clay Sanskrit Library was established by a philanthropist who had studied both Classics and Sanskrit. He consciously took the LCL as his model, and delegated to others the task of producing in five years (2005-09, though there was a lead-time of several years before the publication of the first book) about 50 volumes spanning two millennia of Classical Sanskrit literature—drama, poetry, satire, novel, epic. The Sanskrit text was transliterated in preference to printing the Devanagari script, standing opposite the English translation. That Project has now ceased, but is being replaced by a new enterprise, thanks again to individual philanthropy. The Murty Classical Library of India is to be published by HUP, and the first volumes are scheduled to appear in 2014, the centenary year of HUP. Apart from this Sanskrit project, the *I Tatti* Renaissance series has been underway for a decade, since 2001; and most recently the *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* (*DOML*) started in 2010 with 15 volumes already published or announced. The latter enterprise consciously aims to 'plug the chronological gap' between the LCL and *I Tatti*. That being the case, LCL still has room for Christian works (cf. §11.iii above) since it already includes material as late as Bede. The influence of the LCL format and ambition is patent in these series all published by HUP. That being the case, Stewart and Goold's resuscitation of the LCL in the mid-1970s can be seen to have been all the more significant: had the LCL died then, perhaps its 'offspring' series would never have seen the light.

iii. In an attempt to reach a broader readership again, a volume has appeared in recent years which provides an anthology of 'purple passages.' *A Loeb Classical Library Reader* appeared in 2006, with facing-page parallel texts as usual, but here comprising selections from both Greek and Latin writers ranging across many centuries (Homer to Jerome) and numerous genres. In other ways, too, it strikes out in different directions from the typical LCL volume: paperback, not hardcover, many fewer pages than 'normal', much cheaper than the standard (and very moderate) price for the LCL series, and a great cover offering a Classical world impression (Colosseum, Greek temple façade, etc.) which resonates with Bruegel's famous 'Tower of Babel' painting. Such 'tasters' are well worth pursuing if they can be marketed to a wider range of shops than those which traditionally stock the LCL, and 'trail the coat' to draw readers on to discover entire texts in the series.

iv. Some volumes include marginal summaries to the text, but this innovation— though it was urged by Wilamowitz in his letter of 1910 to Loeb (Calder 1977: 322), it is unlikely that he was the inspiration for it as this feature appears in too few volumes—was not widely employed, nor always retained in a re-edition. One example is provided by a very early volume in the series, *[St John Damascene], Barlaam and Ioasaph* (no. 34, 1914)

contributed by G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, with a new introduction by D.M. Lang (1967). This feature was retained in the 2nd edition of *Lucretius*, and is found also in *Josephus*. B. Ehrman's replacement of K. Lake's 2 vol. *Apostolic Fathers* dispenses with the marginal summaries of the first edition.

v. *Josephus* vol. 9 was originally designated on each title page of that author's set to be the final one, but this made the volume 'for a series based on the principle of uniformity, disproportionately large' (G.P. Goold, Foreword to vol. 10). So vol. 10 comprised material separated from a reprinted vol. 9 (1981) into a new volume, which had initially (1965) contained over 800 pages, including L.H. Feldman's General Index of over 200 pages. In fact, there were consequences for the entire Josephus set. For example, H. St. J. Thackeray's *Josephus* vol. 2 (no. 203, 1927) originally contained *Jewish War* books 1-3, but under the replanning of the set now comprises books 1-2 only. Vol. 3 was also published in 1927 and contained *JW* books 4-7; but the reallocation means it now contains only bks 3-4. The new LCL number (487) for this volume reflects the 'intercalation' of an additional four volumes under the replanning of the set: the originally conceived nine volumes became thirteen. With such major rejigging of an entire set of volumes, it is not surprising that some 'glitches' slipped by for a time. What is clearly vol. 9 (see Foreword to vol. 10) remained for a while printed as vol. XII on the page preceding the title page, the spine and the dust jacket. Though there seems to be no other instance of such large-scale redevising of an ancient writer's multi-volume set, this is not the sole instance of volume-splitting due to a perception of unwieldy size. *Minor Latin Poets* (no. 284, 1934, repr. 1935) also had over 800 pages, but was separated into two volumes in the late 1970s, as vol. 2's LCL number 434 shows. Despite the largely (though not entirely) damning strictures of at least one reviewer (Housman 1936), the contents of this work remained unmodified at the time of division into two volumes; perhaps this should be put down to the financial stringencies at the time. Yet several volumes with a little more than 700 pages published much earlier continue to be reprinted unchanged: eg *Oppian, Colluthus and Tryphiodorus* (no. 219, 1928), and *Cicero* vol. 7 (no. 293, 1935). For Goold the 'disproportionately large' determinant must have been somewhere between 700 and 800 pages.

vi. Goold added a laconic list of the stories contained in each book of *Ovid, Metamorphoses* (no. 42; 3rd edn 1977): brief but judicious as an aid to the Loeb reader who may feel overwhelmed by the sheer range of the *Met*.

13. Projects and experimental features abandoned

i. Mention has already been made of the cancellation by HUP of the contract for a volume of Christian papyri in the LCL. That this was not the only instance is no surprise if the goal was to regain financial viability and stability for the series. In fact, as Professor Henderson informs me (email 4/12/2011), Stewart and Goold cancelled all contracts to make a fresh start with the series. Three further instances must suffice.

a. Well before Shackleton Bailey produced *Valerius Maximus* in 2000 (2 vols., nos. 492, 493), the earlier, publicly announced plan by C.J. Carter to produce it came to nothing (Wardle 2001); and we may infer it was another victim of the 1970s belt-tightening. Once the revivified series was flourishing, however, the Valerius project went ahead; but by that time a generation had passed, Carter had apparently moved on, and the task was allocated to another.

b. C.A. Behr's *Aristides* (no. 458, 1973) is also a telling example. This book's title page is specified as vol. 1, its title is 'Aristides in four volumes,' and it contains Aelius Aristides' first two speeches. Yet no subsequent volumes appeared, although it is quite clear that Behr expected they would (Introduction xviii; cf. Behr 1986: vii).

> Because of lack of space, I shall … detail only the factors upon which I have based the text of ors. [= orations] i and ii. In the ensuing volumes, I shall supply the [MSS] information pertinent to the writings contained therein.

Instead, within a decade Behr was publishing with Brill most of the rest of what was obviously intended for the Loeb series.[14] The orphan Aristides LCL volume is not traceable on the HUP website for the LCL, and may be the exception which proves the rule, that all LCL volumes are to be kept in print. The subsequent publication with Brill may have been felt to obviate the need to retain the Loeb volume. The no. 458 was reassigned to C.P. Jones' new, third vol. for *Apollonius of Tyana* (2006).

c. Similarly, A.H. Sommerstein was under way with preparing replacements volumes for Rogers' *Aristophanes*; but the difficult period in the 1970s meant this was put on hold, and consequently he published his editions with Aris and Phillips (Sommerstein 2006). Once HUP was in a position to reconsider the replacement of Aristophanes for the LCL, Sommerstein was thus no longer available, and J. Henderson undertook the task. Sommerstein later re-edited the LCL *Aeschylus* (nos. 145, 146, 505, all 2008), contributed originally by H. Weir Smyth in the 1920s.

The Aristophanes and Valerius Maximus projects show that the LCL still wanted these volumes to be done; but in the mid 1970s it was a case of the stars not being in alignment.

ii. Loeb had originally hoped to include the Church Fathers, but only a small scatter of volumes reflects that ambition (Calder 1977: 323 n. 30). He may have been influenced to rein in this area by Wilamowitz' negative reaction to that prospect in his letter of 1910 to Loeb (Calder 1977: 322).

Once financial stability was achieved, positive longer-term planning could begin. Professor Henderson informs me (email 2/1/12) that, 'In 1990/91 Stewart and Goold commissioned a group of some 30 scholars to evaluate and grade each volume of the Library, and their assessments still guide our priorities for replacement and revision …'

14. Inconsistencies

Under Henderson's editorial hand, there has been a strong and effective move to achieve consistency in layout (e.g. fonts, the many changes over the years to the page preceding the title page, containing the previous editors, the LCL number), orthography (now American), removal of the list of back titles at the end of the volume, etc. This has become an imperative since the decision was taken to digitise the series. All this, and more, is very welcome. The lack of overall consistency was due to several factors: General Editors (and a plurality of them at times) on two continents where different orthographic and idiomatic conventions applied; the sheer multitude of contributors each understandably wanting their volume's idiosyncratic features (photos, maps, drawings) handled well; the change of publisher; financial constraints affecting paperweight, density of text on the page, space for notes, etc. With the death of Goold in 2001, however, all editors' names other than the current one were from 2003 removed from the page preceding the title page. This cleans up the page, certainly, but is nevertheless a matter for some regret, on historical grounds alone. Many a Classics journal provides the precedent for retention by continuing to name its founding editor well after his decease. Apart from this small demur, Henderson's achievement in this overarching editorial area should not go unnoticed or unappreciated. It is a particular plus that the pages now have more 'air,' and especially those carrying the original text.

i. Titles of volumes sometimes vary between Latin and English for the works they contain, e.g. the Lucretius volume (no. 181, 1924; revised 1975; 2nd edn 1982) has *On the Nature of Things* on the dust jacket, but *de rerum natura* on the title page of the 2nd edition. The volume containing W.D. Hooper and H. B. Ash's *Cato and Varro* (no. 283, 1934) reverses the inconsistency: *de re rustica* on the dust jacket, but *On Agriculture* on the title page. Some other volumes have a similar characteristic, eg *Macrobius, Saturnalia* and *Manilius, Astronomica*. A slip, or a deliberate device to aid the reader not proficient in the original language? Were it the latter, we should have expected more instances.

ii. At least once, authorship of an ancient text is handled inconsistently. *[St John Damascene], Barlaam and Ioasaph* stands on the title page of the 1967 reprint (no. 34, 1914), but the dust jacket and spine continue to imply by their lack of brackets the attribution of this work to John of Damascus.

iii. While not an inconsistency, I list here a confusing oddity in the series numbering. J.C. Rolfe's *Cornelius Nepos* appeared in 1929, yet has the series number 467, which ought to place it several decades later. This is to be accounted for by the fact that this work was originally paired in one volume with E.S. Forster's *Florus*. Goold must have decided on the split, as it occurred in 1984 and necessitated the allocation of a new number for the 'new' Nepos volume which was otherwise unaltered from the original. Nor is this the sole instance, as we have already seen above with J. Wight Duff and A.M. Duff's *Minor Latin Poets*. The difference between these splits should be noted. For the latter the size of the volume was at issue. This was not relevant for Florus and Nepos, so I infer that the decision to make this split was driven by a concern that Nepos not be invisible, hidden away in a volume with another writer.

15. Conclusion

The Loeb Classical Library has been integral to well-educated Anglophone culture for many decades now. Its popularity has been due in no small part to the provision of the facing-page bilingual text and translation in a portable and unfussy format. Price makes the volumes attractive for individuals to buy when longstanding Classics publishers (Brill, CUP, de Gruyter, OUP, etc.) are now too expensive for individuals, and sometimes privately acknowledge that they price their books for the library market. In an increasingly competitive publishing world, where Penguin Books (as merely one widely known instance) provides a large range of translations as well, the LCL undertaking to keep all its titles in print is particularly valuable. Even though less and less students and interested readers have real control of the ancient languages, the provision of the Latin and Greek texts remain inextricable from the entire distinctive and ambitious enterprise conceived by James Loeb.

In a beguilingly written review of W.R. Paton's *Greek Anthology* vol. 2 (no. 68, 1917) Virginia Woolf discusses the effect of Greek on us—even when available solely in translation—because of this language's peculiar ability to speak with deep sentiment yet without sentimentality. In praising the LCL series, she observes that '... The existence of the amateur was recognised by the publication of this Library, and to a great extent made respectable ...' (Woolf, 1917). When she wrote the period of the 'amateur Classicist' was fast coming to an end in Britain, where perhaps alone even in Anglophone countries this had been a distinctive feature to mark the social class divide. Yet we should not infer that James Loeb's goal was to embed that attitude. Rather he recognised the difficulty of two languages whose literature was so masterfully surprising and remained so influential that it should be made available to any and all who wanted access, with whatever level of help they wanted: entirely in translation, limping through the original with the aid of sideways glances across to the translation, or reasonably (even completely) independent of the right hand page. The Loebs were not

intended for those whose proficiency in Greek and Latin was such that they could sneer at those who needed (or simply wanted) to use them. From the hundred-years' vantage point, James Loeb unwittingly provided a social benefit no less than a cultural one for Anglophone readers everywhere who had the self-educative impulse.

Before the 20th century was out, the Loeb Classical Library could rightly be regarded as one of the most influential projects for Classics worldwide. (Another has been the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, which also came to birth thanks to American private philanthropy.) This is above all because Loeb's vision had not been abandoned, to make Greek and Latin texts available to the non-specialist in a reliable translation, but with the original language on the facing page for those who wished or needed to consult it. In this regard, the LCL had a vision which differed fundamentally from another great Classics enterprise in 20th century Anglophone publishing, Penguin Classics. What made the difference was the financial undergirding which Loeb's philanthropy guaranteed for the long-term future (Figure 17). The LCL does not sit uneasily between the Oxford Classical Texts and the Penguin Classics: let no one accuse it of being neither fish nor fowl! Its own distinctive character—both scholarly *and* accessible—and the massive number and range of works it embraces have ensured it a long continuing life. The sheer number of volumes, and their variety, justifies the choice of the word 'Library' in the series title devised a century ago. Let the name James Loeb continue to be remembered as löblich! *Floreat ad multos annos Bibliotheca Classica Loebiensis*!

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Figure 17: *James Loeb late in life. Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).*

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Pictures of James Loeb included here (Figures 3, 7, 8, 17) are reproduced from R. Wünsche and M. Steinhart eds. (2009). Acknowledgement of the sources of other photos of individuals is made in the caption to the relevant Figure. Other colleagues generously gave me information on points of detail: G. Bailey, W. Briggs, K. Coleman, A.W. James, E.A. Judge, S. Lawrence, E. Minchin, C. Smith, G.R. Stanton, C.A. Stray, T. Taylor, B.H. Warmington, A. Weiss.

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Endnotes

1 Stewart did much to safeguard other endeavours from collapse. In particular, as the Director (1985-92) of the (Harvard) Center for Hellenic Studies based in Washington he ensured its survival when it ran into financial problems. An enduring collegial legacy was his editing of A.D. Nock's papers: *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* (2 vols; Oxford, 1972). On Bloch, Professor of Latin at Harvard, see Jones (2008).

2 My tally of 513 has a small discrepancy from the LCL website which can only be accounted for in part: one number (458) is allocated to two volumes, and when the first ceased by be reprinted by LCL the number was reassigned to a new volume: see below, §13.i.b, *fin*.

3 Is it conceivable that the family name was originally Lob ('Praise'), later anglicised with an 'e' in America perhaps to avoid the English pronunciation of it as 'lob', though cf. the adjective löblich ('praiseworthy')?

4 Since the Renaissance there was plenty of precedent for parallel texts of Greek works with a Latin translation, eg K.G. Kühn's 20-vol. *Galeni omnia opera* (Leipzig, 1821-33).

5 The only widely available English translations (without original texts, except for a volume of Latin and Greek quotations) were provided by the 19th century Bohn Classical Library, which ran from 1848-1913, one of five discipline-based series published by H.G. Bohn (1796-1884), born in England of German descent. While frequently treated with mockery today, the Classics section was innovatory in its own right: one volume was an atlas, poets were often translated both literally and in a metrical version, indexes were included for a few multi-volume authors. The Greek : Latin ratio of the 116 volumes in the Classics series was almost 1:1 (not including the atlas, index volumes, or the *Dictionary of Latin quotations* which also contained Greek ones). It is worth contemplation whether Bohn's series title was the inspiration for James Loeb's LCL. Just before the LCL was conceived by him, the Everyman series began in 1906, and included some Classical texts in translation.

6 An instance of this is vol. 2 of Eusebius' *Church History*, which by this strategy could be published in the same year (1926) as vol. 1, despite a much later series number having been allocated to it in the expectation that it would appear a few years later (nos. 153, 265).

7 Since Wilmer is so rare and gender-unidentifiable in that spelling, the only giveaway to her gender is provided on the title page of her *Julian*: at Cambridge she had been in Girton College.

8 In Jones' preface (vii) to vol. 2 he states that Ormerod, at Leeds, 'was compelled to give up collaboration owing to the pressure of University teaching.' Plus ça change …

9 As an aside on Rouse's *Nonnus*, his very specific date at the end of his vol. 1 Introduction alludes obliquely to the outbreak of the War a month earlier; and his preface to vol. 3 refers more directly to 'the tyrants of the world.' Such glances at contemporary events are extremely rare in the LCL. At the end of his vol. 1 Introduction, Rouse also mentions 'the Reader', presumably a reference to one of the other General Editors who ensured that another, disinterested eye looked over his contribution. Such acknowledgements of the 'behind the scenes' work of the General Editors remained uncommon until much later, during Goold's tenure.

10 Recognition of the quality of Whittaker's work came not only at the time, eg Downey (1971-2: 182-84). A generation later Nixon (1991: 322-33) took it as axiomatic that Whittaker's Loeb remained the benchmark.

11 The larger format edition by Cooley (2009) retains the portrait format, matching Latin and Greek sections (and their respective English translations below each) on facing pages (58-101). The spate of re-editions of the *Res Gestae* (three in half a decade) is striking: the next one is imminent in Mitchell and French (2012).

12 There are various links to be discerned between the letters of Apollonius, the *testimonia* about him, and Eusebius' tract. For instance, Apollonius' letters to Euphrates are unfriendly, if not hostile. Eusebius, who expresses positive views about Euphrates (*Reply*, 33.4), mentions that in Vespasian's time Apollonius had 'not yet' fallen out with him (33.1-3), and a little earlier (30.2) offers a reason *en passant* for the enmity between them.

13 Note the changed logo from the early volumes (compare Figure 6): the LCL initials are now emblazoned on Athene's shield (see Figure 1). The original logo was still being used in the early 1960s. The Athene logo began to be used by the start of the 1970s, in a smaller, less distinct form; it has also appeared from the later 1970s on the title page in place of the Heinemann logo. The logo has been slightly enlarged and sharpened up effectively in more recent years.

14 These publications have a complex arrangement. Behr provided a lengthy preface and some Greek texts (*Orations* 2-4), and saw into print the late F.W. Lenz's edition of the Greek texts of *Or*. 1, 5-16 (Lenz and Behr 1976-80), followed by a translation of these (Behr 1986). Already he had published a translation of *Or*. 17-53 (Behr 1981), in which he foreshadowed the appearance of the Greek text in the series already underway (1976-). Yet no Greek text of these orations has appeared, though he did provide as an appendix to the 1986 book (447-70) a list of textual changes from B. Keil's 1898 edition which are reflected in his translation. For the *scholia* to Aristides recourse must still be had to W. Dindorf's edition of 1829. For the *Sacred Tales*, Behr's translation (1968: 205-92) is based on Keil's Greek text.

Reading the Gospels as Biographies of a Sage

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Abstract: This paper argues that the Gospels are ancient biographies of a recent figure. Ancient biographies of recent figures normally preserved a significant amount of accurate information about those figures, so our default expectation should be the same for the Gospels. The paper also argues that the Gospels are biographies of a sage and that this may strengthen the expectation further. Almost no one today doubts that Jesus was a sage with disciples. Yet disciples in this period normally carefully preserved and propagated their masters' teachings. Thus our default expectation, barring strong evidence to the contrary, should be the same for Jesus' disciples.

Introduction

Studies of Gospel genre and oral tradition have multiplied in recent decades. Many of these findings are helpful for us in exploring how accurately the Gospels depicted Jesus. Far from being novels fabricated by the composers' imaginations, the Gospels reflect significant information about their primary figure, who was active one or at most two generations earlier.

Until recently readers have traditionally approached the Gospels as biographies. This classification appeared more problematic in the early twentieth century when scholars recognized that the Gospels differed from modern biographies. In recent decades, however, the consensus has shifted back toward viewing the Gospels as biographies, so long as one recognizes them as ancient rather than modern biographies. Scholars influential in this debate include Talbert (1977), Burridge (1992), Shuler (1982), Aune (1987:46-76) and Frickenschmidt (1997).

Ancient readers would also approach a volume about a recent historical character in these terms, especially if it was clear that it employed recent sources (or was trusted as such a source by its near successors.) Novels, which flourished more fully in the late second and early third centuries, usually involved fictitious figures. When they did, less frequently, involve historical figures, they virtually never, in contrast to biographies, include a figure as recent as Jesus was to the writers of the first-century Gospels. Nor did they employ sources as we find in the Gospels (see Keener 2009a:76-78 and 2012).[1]

After carefully defining the criteria for identifying genre and establishing the characteristic features of Greco-Roman *bioi*, or lives, Richard Burridge shows how the Gospels fit this genre (1992:191-239).[2] So forceful is Burridge's work on gospel genre as biography that one reviewer concluded, "This volume ought to end any legitimate denials of the canonical Gospels' biographical character" (Talbert 1993:715). Reversing his prior published position, Graham Stanton regarded as "surprisingly inaccurate" the older views of Bultmann and others that the Gospels were not biographies (1993:63; 1995:137).

The Nature of Ancient Biography

Those who have judged the Gospels harshly have often done so because they misapprehend their genres, evaluating them by criteria better used for modern biographies than ancient ones. For example, some critics complain that events sometimes vary in sequence among the Gospels; ancient biographies, however, were more often composed in topical rather than chronological order.[3] Similarly, the same sayings in different Gospels sometimes appear with different wording. Ancient writers, however, valued paraphrase so long as one retained the central idea.[4] Two of the Gospels open, after introductory comments, with John the Baptist and Jesus' public ministry; but ancient biographies often opened with a person's adult career (e.g., Plutarch *Caesar* 1.1-4).

While the nature of ancient biography explains the flexibility that we find among the Gospels, it also supports our trust in their offering an essentially reliable picture of Jesus. Many classicists argue that in this period biographies were essentially historical works, related to historiography (e.g., Bravo 2007:516); the boundaries between these two genres are quite 'fluid' (Stadter 2007:528; Burridge 1992:63-67; Aune 1988:125). Some scholars treat them, in fact, as a special category within the larger genre of ancient historiography (Kennedy 1978:136).

A Comparison with Other Biographies of a Recent Figure

Contrary to what some have assumed, ancient writers were well aware of the difference between fiction and historiography, and expected the latter to deal with facts.[5] Granted, when historians and biographers wrote about the distant past, they sometimes had to depend on legends; they themselves noted that more recent sources were more reliable than these older ones.[6] But what about when they wrote about more recent figures, figures of the preceding generation or two, as in the case of Jesus? In only a minority of cases did biographers write surviving biographies of figures as close to their own time as Jesus was to the writers of the Gospels. That minority of cases that have survived, however, are instructive. I compared three versions of Otho's life, composed roughly half a

century after his death. Although these versions, like the Gospels, each include some information unique to them, they also include considerable material that overlaps with the other surviving accounts.

Because I am publishing the fuller study on Otho elsewhere (Keener 2011b), I will merely sample and summarize some of the results here. Even a brief sample, however, should make obvious that the biographers did not engage in free composition. Whatever the relationship among our three contemporary sources (the biographies of Suetonius and Plutarch and the historical work of Tacitus), it is clear that they understood the genre as requiring historical information. Even if two of them borrowed from the other (despite more widespread sources; see comment below), they viewed their own work and that of their source as bound to historical information. Otho's final days in these documents are compared in Table 1.

These comparisons represent only a sample of the clear overlap in these documents. In Suetonius's brief biography of Otho, fewer than two thousand words, I found roughly fifty points of comparison with each of the other two authors. For a point of comparison with our Gospels as biographies: Mark, often dated to roughly four decades after Jesus's public ministry, is more than five times the length of Suetonius's account of Otho. If Mark's biographic approach is comparable to that of his contemporaries, we might therefore have expected more than two hundred and fifty points of comparison with any other biographies written at the same time. This estimate takes into account only places where Suetonius overlaps with his contemporaries, but if Suetonius depends on prior information where we can test him, it is logical to presume that he also does so where we cannot test him. Suetonius (and the other sources) gave indications of depending on oral and sometimes written sources even closer to the events. These observations simply demonstrate that biographies in this period written about recent figures (as opposed to those of the distant past) depended on substantial information.

In most cases we cannot know precisely what earlier sources these writers had available, but some hints remain. For example, Tacitus drew on Fabius Rusticus (cf. Tacitus *Ann*. 13.20.2; 14.2; 15.61), and Suetonius may have done so as well.[7] Certainly we know that written sources often circulated in antiquity earlier than the historical reports that remain extant. Josephus, for example, wrote only about three decades after Nero's death, yet notes the proliferation of contemporary histories about Nero (*Ant*. 20.154), though he did not like them. Plutarch consulted witnesses, including an officer who described to him what he saw while Plutarch was touring the site with him (Plutarch *Otho* 14.1). Among Suetonius's sources, his own father Suetonius Laetus was a tribune serving under Otho, and shared with him information about Otho's character and actions (*Otho* 10.1). It was normal for writers about historical events to prefer contemporary sources and even to consult, where available, eyewitnesses. For example, historians normally sought to consult with families of relevant individuals (see the sources in Byrskog 2002:82-83). Why should we assume the case to be different with the Gospels, which in fact sometimes make reference to such sources? There is a trend in some Gospels studies toward recognizing eyewitnesses (Riesner 2007).

Differences and Perspectives in Sources

These contemporary biographies yield differences as well as similarities. The differences range from minor variations, sometimes reconcilable, to stronger variations that appear difficult to reconcile. Ancient readers expected differences in sequence, and omitting material could be simply a matter of arrangement. Sometimes, however, differences appear more significant. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that even in these cases the differences involve matters of detail rather than major differences in the larger story.

Thus, for example, Suetonius may garble details when condensing information (probably the case in *Otho* 6.2; 8.2-3). Suetonius designates the name of Otho's supportive astrologer as Seleucus (*Otho* 4.1), whereas Tacitus and Plutarch designate him Ptolemy (Tacitus *Hist*. 1.22; Plutarch *Galba* 23.4). Likewise, Plutarch contradicts Tacitus in having the centurion Sempronius Densus bravely defend Galba himself (Plutarch *Galba* 26.5), whereas Tacitus has him defending Galba's adoptive son Piso (*Hist*. 1.43). The three writers diverge in their details when they recount soldiers nearly killing senators after some weapons were moved (Suetonius *Otho* 8.1-2; Tacitus *Hist*. 1.80-82; Plutarch *Otho* 3.3-7). In this case, comparing all three of our sources allows us to better reconstruct the larger context that makes sense of some details, though minor conflicts remain.

Ancient biographers varied in their degree of fidelity to their sources, so sampling biographic and historical treatments of Otho within a half century of his death provides only a general range of the sorts of differences that appear. The point that is important for the present study is that the differences in the sources cannot obscure the vast areas of agreement among them. That is, even in works with a significant range of variation (such as Gospels scholars usually claim for the Gospels), the degree of overlap is too substantial to ignore. No competent historian would ignore the works of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plutarch when reconstructing Otho's life; instead they would likely exploit these sources for their information more confidently than do many scholars with the Gospels. Of course, they would approach them critically, working back from the variations to try to reconstruct the likeliest details. My point is that they would recognize that these sources provide us substantial historical information in what they report about the figure they treat.

But do not the Gospels teach theology as well as history? Indeed they do, but this approach does not remove them from the sphere of ancient historiography or biography. Ancient biographers did expect readers to draw moral

Suetonius	Tacitus	Plutarch
Otho's soldiers were not ready to give up the war (*Otho* 9.3), and initially refused to believe the report that they had experienced a defeat (10.1)	His soldiers were not ready to give up the war (*Hist* . 2.46)	The soldiers with him pledged their continuing loyalty (*Otho* 15.1-3)
Otho wanted to spare his followers further suffering on his behalf (*Otho* 9.3; 10.1; cf. 10.2—11.1)	Otho wanted to spare his followers further suffering on his behalf (*Hist* . 2.47)	Otho wanted to spare his followers further suffering on his behalf (*Otho* 15.3-6)
Otho's final instructions, summarized (*Otho* 10.2)	Otho's final speeches and instructions (*Hist* . 2.47-48)	Otho's final speech and instructions (*Otho* 15.3—17.2)
Otho gave final instructions for the safety of several people whom he addressed, including his nephew (*Otho* 10.2)	Otho consoled his nephew Salvius Cocceianus, noting that Otho had spared Vitellius' family hence mercy should be expected, and warning him to remember neither too much nor too little that Otho had been his uncle (*Hist* . 2.48)	Otho consoled his nephew Cocceianus, noting that Otho had spared Vitellius' family hence mercy should be expected, and warning him to remember neither too much nor too little that Otho had been his uncle (*Otho* 16.2)
Otho destroyed any letters that could incriminate his friends to Vitellius (*Otho* 10.2)	Otho destroyed any letters that could incriminate his friends to Vitellius (*Hist* . 2.48)	-
He distributed money to his servants (*Otho* 11.1)	He distributed money, though frugally (*Hist* . 2.48)	He distributed money to his servants, but carefully rather than lavishly (*Otho* 17.1)
Those beginning to leave the camp were being detained as deserters, but Otho prohibited harming them, and met with friends until late (*Otho* 11.1)	He urged his friends to depart and provided means (*Hist* . 2.48); the soldiers tried to prevent those departing, requiring his harsh intervention, and he met with those departing until late (*Hist* . 2.49)	Otho persuaded his friends, especially those of rank, to depart (*Otho* 16.1-2), and provided means for their departure (17.2); the soldiers threatened to kill them unless they remained, forcing Otho to intervene harshly (16.3)
At a late hour Otho quenched his thirst with cold water (*gelidae aquae* , *Otho* 11.2)	Near evening Otho quenched his thirst with cold water (*gelidae aquae* , *Hist* . 2.49)	That evening, Otho quenched his thirst with some water (*Otho* 17.1)
Otho chose the sharper of two daggers to place under his pillow (*Otho* 11.2)	Otho chose the sharper of two daggers to place under his head (*Hist* . 2.49)	Otho chose the sharper of two daggers to place under his head (*Otho* 17.1)
Otho then slept soundly one more night (*Otho* 11.2)	Otho then spent a quiet night, reportedly even sleeping some (*Hist* . 2.49)	Otho then slept so deeply for the rest of the night that his attendants heard his breathing (*Otho* 17.1)
At dawn he stabbed himself to death (*Otho* 11.2)	At dawn he fell on his weapon (*Hist* . 2.49)	Just before dawn Otho fell on his sword (*Otho* 17.3)
People rushed in when he groaned, as he was dying from a single wound (*Otho* 11.2)	People rushed in when he groaned, as he was dying from a single wound (*Hist* . 2.49)	Hearing his groan the servants hurried in (*Otho* 17.3, leaving the implication that the single blow was sufficient to end his life)
He was quickly buried at his request (*Otho* 11.2)	He was quickly buried at his request, to prevent disfigurement by his enemies (*Hist* . 2.49)	Plutarch implies that he was buried quickly (*Otho* 17.3-4)
Many soldiers killed themselves in mourning by his bier (*Otho* 12.2)	Some soldiers killed themselves in mourning by his bier (*Hist* . 2.49)	Some soldiers killed themselves at his funeral pyre (*Otho* 17.4)
He died in his thirty-eighth year (*Otho* 11.2)	He died in his thirty-seventh year (*Hist* . 2.49)	He lived 37 years (*Otho* 18.2)

Table 1: *A comparison of Ortho's final days in Suetonius and Plutarch and the historical work of Tacitus*

lessons from their accounts; this expectation characterized ancient biography far more than it characterized ancient novels. Biographers often had strong perspectives; Tacitus and Suetonius, for example, loathed Domitian, a perspective that undoubtedly facilitated their crediting the worst reports about him. Likewise, ancient historians often had moral, political, and theological agendas; they illustrated and supported these agendas through narration of information, however, not through creating fictitious stories.[8] Other genres existed for those who wished merely to preach without information, or to have a free hand in imaginative composition (cf. the comments of Vermes 1984:20). The Gospel writers, who cite earlier biblical tradition profusely, also knew well ancient Israelite historiography, which Jewish people believed conveyed both historical information and the divinely inspired interpretation of it. Some other Jewish people in this period continued to affirm the possibility of inspired historiography (Hall 1991).

Oral Tradition

Granted that biographers depended on prior information wherever possible, how accurate was this information? Some information remained in wide oral circulation; thus, for example, Tacitus sees no need to report most of Seneca's dying words, recorded by the latter's secretaries, because in his day they remained too well-known to bear repeating (*Ann*. 15.63). Some scholars protest that the comparison with biographies of Otho is unfair at this point, because Otho was an emperor, a public figure in the Roman Empire, whereas Jesus was merely a sage. Such a concern underestimates, however, the care with which information could be preserved in schools of sages. Oral tradition within schools of sages was in fact more likely to be preserved (on matters of detail like sayings) than in most other kinds of settings.

Memory in Mediterranean Antiquity

In our modern age of ready access to information, most westerners lack exposure to the extent to which oral memory can be trained and developed. The case is different in some other societies, and was quite different in Mediterranean antiquity.[9] Such recall tends to be thematic rather than verbatim, but can include entire epics or other material unexpected by modern western audiences (Harvey 1998:41). Variation characterizes much oral performance, so it should not surprise us to find variations in wording among the Gospels (Dunn 2005:110, 112, 118, 122).[10]

Among the uneducated, ancient bards could recite epics hours in length; among the educated, ancient orators memorized their speeches, again often hours in length.[11] Some persons developed such exceptional memories that they put them on display. Seneca the Elder, for example, claims that in his youth he could repeat back two thousand names in sequence immediately after hearing them (Seneca the Elder *Controv*. 1.pref.2). After lamenting the decline of his mnemonic abilities in his old age, he then proceeds to repeat back long sections of more than a hundred declamations that he heard in his youth (*Controv*. passim). Nor was Seneca alone; we hear of other such feats, for example, the man who could repeat back all the details of a day-long auction from memory at the end of the day, or the man who, having heard a poem once, could recite it back verbatim (*Controv*. 1.pref.19).

Memory was most important, however, in academic settings.[12] Memorization characterized elementary education,[13] but, combined with other skills, also continued to be important at more advanced levels of education (most common in later teenage years), that is, among teachers' disciples. Members of Greek schools passed on sayings attributed to the schools' founders from one generation to the next.[14] The founders themselves seem to have encouraged this practice.[15] Indeed, in all schools "teaching was passed down from master to pupils, who in turn passed it on to their own pupils" (Alexander 2001:112); the founder's teachings often functioned as canonical for their communities (Alexander 2001:112-13).

Students laboured to learn their teachers' lectures, often with careful repetition.[16] After a teacher died, former students might collectively recall the teachings, reconstructing with the benefit of the group's memory rather than merely that of an individual (Philostratus *Vit. soph*. 1.22.524). In reference to traditional Middle Eastern culture, Dunn points out that group ('net') transmission can retain and communicate more information than individual ('chain') transmission (2005:43-46, 114-15). Although less care was required, they also transmitted accounts of the teachers' behaviour to subsequent generations (e.g., Eunapius *Lives* 458; Philostratus *Lives* 1.22.524; *t. Piska* 2:15-16; *Sipre Deut*. 221.1.1.).

All our evidence from rabbinic schools suggests that if anything, advanced Jewish education in the Torah emphasized oral memory more than, rather than less than, typical Greek schools.[17] Some object that the rabbinic evidence is later; while the objection is technically true, we have earlier Jewish evidence for emphasizing careful memory practices and strong education (see Josephus *Life* 8; *Apion* 1.60; 2.171-73, 204). Moreover, we should consider the usual expectation behind this objection. Extant evidence is always limited, but virtually all the extant evidence points in the same direction. If some scholars wish to explain away all Greek evidence as foreign and Jewish evidence as late, and then argue the opposite of where this evidence almost unanimously points, they are explaining away all extant evidence and making an argument from silence based on the fact that no evidence remains. Is it not the more usual practice in ancient historiography to work from the limited surviving evidence we do have rather than to argue the opposite based on the limitations of our evidence? Levinskaya (1997: ix-x) is in favour of using available extant evidence, despite its limitations, while Donaldson (1997:51) discusses the value of depending on a diverse range of our limited sources.

By definition, Jesus' disciples were not only long-term eyewitnesses of Jesus' ministry, but also had been his *disciples*, those who learned from him as students learn from a teacher. Like many advanced disciples, they had only one main teacher. It is also difficult to dispute (see 1 Cor 15:5-7; Gal 1:18-19; 2:8-9) that they assumed prominent roles in the early Christian movement, in which they would have been teaching and doing what disciples were trained to do: to pass on the master's teachings. One might forget some material over the years, but if one is continually teaching, hence rehearsing, the words of one's master, one is far more likely than otherwise to preserve a greater amount of information (on factors supporting more accurate memory, see Bauckham 2006:331-34).

Literacy and Memory?

Some object that Jesus' followers, unlike disciples of most teachers, were illiterate Galilean peasants. Several problems exist concerning this objection. First, we do not know that all of Jesus' disciples were illiterate. Admiring Jewish emphasis on education, some counted the Jewish

people a nation of philosophers (see Stern 1974:8-11, 46-50; Gager 1983:39). Some have argued for wider literacy among them (Millard 2000, 2003), although the matter remains disputed. Moreover, fishermen (the largest named profession among Jesus' followers) were not peasants, and many have argued that they had more income, hence more access to education, than many others (see e.g., Freyne 1988:241).

Finally, one of Jesus' named followers was a tax collector (Mark 2:14), who probably would have been literate. Later tradition in fact suggests that other writers after him made use of his material (Eddy and Boyd 2007:250, noting Papias' testimony in Eusebius *H.E.* 3.39.16). To respect this tradition does not require the rejection of Markan priority, which I also hold. This suggestion is not as unusual as some scholars have insisted. Note-taking was standard practice in Greek education, and the students' notes were often both thorough and accurate.[18] Teachers often left the matter of publishing their views to their followers (Kennedy 1978:129). If even one of Jesus' disciples took notes, characterizing them all as illiterate is inaccurate. Confronted with a classicist's evidence of note-taking in antiquity, one traditional form critic conceded that such evidence would require revision in the scepticism of some of his more radical peers (Fuller 1978:179).

Second, in some societies literacy is inversely proportional to oral memory. It is oral cultures that usually emphasize memory cultivation the most (Byrskog 2002:110-11). Scholars who belittle these possibilities based on our own culture should consider the oral memorization of the Qur'an in some societies today.[19] My wife, who is Congolese, has a Ph.D. in history and spent most of her childhood in African villages, also emphasizes that oral memory was often strongest before the spread of literacy.[20]

Third, in the concrete setting of Mediterranean antiquity, we know that oral memory did flourish even among the illiterate. The bards who could recite Homer from memory were largely illiterate, and were criticized by intellectuals for merely memorizing rather than engaging the traditions critically. Disciples of some kinds of teachers could come from largely illiterate backgrounds.[21] Though disciples of rabbis were probably expected to be able to read (certainly to recite) the Torah, their preservation of post-Torah tradition in this period seems to have been largely oral, and some may not have come from very literate backgrounds.[22]

In short, we have good reason to trust that the eyewitnesses, who were in positions of church leadership, would have remembered large amounts of Jesus' teaching. We should also assume that, like virtually all other disciples in this period, they would have viewed it as a duty to accurately communicate their master's teachings. Those writing about history normally consulted eyewitnesses first (Byrskog 2002:82-83). The amount of time dependent on oral memory before biographies began to be written is also fairly short. By the time that Luke writes his Gospel, 'many' had already written about Jesus (Luke 1:1). Indeed, as W. D. Davies pointed out, probably only a single lifespan 'separates Jesus from the last New Testament document' (1966:115-16).

Traits Suggesting Early Tradition

One could multiply an extensive list of traits suggesting early tradition in the first-century Gospels (as opposed to later works that some have compared with these Gospels). Here, however, to avoid redundancy, I provide merely a brief sample (see further Keener 2010; also in 2009b passim):

- Story parables, common in Jesus' teaching, are a teaching form especially characteristic of Jewish sages (see Johnston 1977)[23]

- The first half of the 'Lord's Prayer' (Matt 6:9-10//Luke 11:2) resembles and undoubtedly echoes the early Jewish prayers, especially and most obviously the Kaddish (see e.g., Jeremias 1964:98; 1971:21; Vermes 1984:43; Luz 1989:371)

- The question that the Pharisees ask about divorce, and that Jesus answers, reflects a debate reported between the two schools of Pharisees precisely in Jesus' day (especially clear in Matthew; see *m. Git*. 9:10; *Sipre Deut*. 269.1.1; Keener 2009b:463-64)

- Later Babylonian Jewish teachers, not likely influenced by Jesus, could depict what was impossible or close to impossible as 'an elephant passing through a needle's eye'; in Palestine the equivalent would have been a camel (Mark 10:25) (Abrahams 1924:208; Dalman 1929:230; Jeremias 1972:195; Bailey 1980:166)

- Jesus played on debates between the two schools of Pharisees in his day as to whether one must clean the inside of the cup first (Matt 23:25-26//Luke 11:39-41; see Neusner 1976:492-94; McNamara 1983:197)

- removing the beam from one's eye before trying to remove the chip from another's (Matt 7:3-5//Lk 6:41-42; see Vermes 1993:80; Lachs 1987:137)

- the phrase, 'to what shall I/we compare?' (Matt 11:16//Lk 7:31) was common in Jewish rhetoric, especially to introduce parables[24]

- the phrase, 'So-and-so is like' (Matt 11:16; 13:24; 25:1; cf. also Mk 4:26, 31; 13:34; Lk 6:48-49) is common in Jewish rhetoric[25]

None of this is meant to deny that the Gospel writers and their tradition often updated their language for their own audiences. It is simply to note that, despite that practice, a significant amount of primitive features survive, revealing at these points the persistence of early tradition. Because the one language intelligible to everyone in Antioch, and probably already in Jerusalem, was Greek, the Aramaic features such as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, 'the son of the

man,' which makes no sense in Greek, probably go back to the earliest bilingual community. Likewise, reports that reflect Galilean customs or other Palestinian Jewish features undoubtedly date to the earliest period of the church, when memories of Jesus and the dominance of the eyewitnesses' voices would remain strongest.

The Objection about Miracles

Many scholars would accept the Gospels as more reliable biographies except for a philosophic obstacle: the Gospels contain miracle accounts, which many modern western readers deem implausible. These objections, formulated especially by some deists but popularized by David Hume, are debated much more vigorously today than in the past century.

For the purposes of typical historical analysis, what is relevant is not one's philosophic view about the possibility of miracles, but whether eyewitnesses can report what they believe to have been miracles. Especially in the case of miraculous cures, the evidence is overwhelming that eyewitnesses through history and today experience what they believe to be supernatural cures and that they report them accordingly (see in detail Keener 2011a). Not only Jesus' followers but also others reported the belief that he performed wonders (see e.g., Josephus *Ant*. 18.63, as understood by Vermes 1973:79; 1987). Most historical Jesus scholars today acknowledge that Jesus' contemporaries experienced him as a healer and an exorcist however we might wish to explain those experiences (Blackburn 1994:362; Eve 2002:16-17; Welch 2006:360; Licona and Van der Watt 2009:2; Dunn 2003:670; Hultgren 2009:134-35).

If this is the case, one cannot count the presence of miracle accounts against the genre of the Gospels or the reliability of the traditions behind them. Biographies of sages included teaching; a biography of one reported as a miracle worker would necessarily include miracle reports. This pattern remains true in historical analysis of other figures associated with miracle reports (see MacMullen 1984:7, 23-24; Eve 2002:357-59; McClymond 2004:83).

Conclusion

The Gospels are ancient biographies of a recent figure. Ancient biographies of recent figures normally preserved a significant amount of accurate information about those figures. Why would anyone expect otherwise about the Gospels? Almost no one today doubts that Jesus was a sage with disciples. Yet disciples in this period normally carefully preserved and propagated their masters' teachings. Why would anyone expect otherwise about Jesus' disciples? One might wonder if, when some scholars approach the Gospels with radical scepticism, concerns other than mere balanced historical analogy are at work.

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Endnotes

1 I discuss this genre question more extensively in the second chapter of the introduction in Keener 2012.

2 For criteria for genre, see Burridge 1992:109-27; for pre-Christian Greco-Roman biographies, 128-53; for later ones, 154-90. Although I am citing from the original Cambridge University Press edition, he interacts more fully with subsequent works in his second edition published by Eerdmans (2004).

3 See e.g., Suetonius *Aug*. 9; *Calig*. 22.1; *Nero* 19.3; Keener 2009a:82; Stanton 1974:119-21; Görgemanns 2003.

4 As a standard rhetorical exercise, see Theon *Progymn*. 1.93-171; Hermogenes *Method* 24.440; Libanius *Anecdote* 1.4; 2.3; *Maxim* 1.2-5; 2.3; 3.2.

5 See e.g., Aristotle *Poet*. 9.2-3, 1451b; Pliny *Ep*. 5.5.3; 5.8.5; 7.17.3; 7.33.10; 8.4.1; 9.19.5; Arrian *Ind*. 7.1; even the rhetorical historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Thuc*. 55; *Ant. rom*. 1.1.2-4; 1.4.2.

6 E.g., Thucydides 1.21.1; Livy 6.1.2-3; 7.6.6; Diodorus Siculus 1.6.2; 1.9.2; 4.1.1; 4.8.3-5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom*. 1.12.3; *Thuc.* 5.

7 For Fabius Rusticus as a source for Tacitus, cf. Martin 2003:1470.

8 E.g., Polybius 1.1.1; 8.8.3-6; 10.26.9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom*. 1.2.1; 1.6.3-5; Diodorus Siculus 15.1.1; 37.4.1; Val. Max. 2.pref.; Tac. *Agr*. 1; Lucian *Hist*. 59; cf. also Pliny *Ep*. 5.8.1-2.

9 For oral memory in other societies, see e.g., Lewis 1975:43; Vansina 1986:10.

10 On retention of the gist, despite variation in detail, see also Bauckham 2006:333-34.

11 For bards, see West 2003; Xenophon *Symp*. 3.5-6; Dio Chrysostom *Or*. 36.9; on speeches, see e.g., Quintilian *Inst*. 11.2.1-51; Satterthwaite 1993:344; cf. Olbricht 1997:159, 163.

12 See e.g., Quintilian *Inst*. 1.3.1; 2.4.15; Plutarch *Educ.* 13, *Mor.* 9E; Diogenes Laertius 6.2.31; Eunapius *Lives* 481.

13 See e.g., Musonius Rufus *frg*. 51, p. 144.3-7; Theon *Progymn*. 2.5-8 (Butts).

14 Culpepper 1975:193; Aulus Gellius 7.10.1; Socrates *Ep*. 20.

15 Diogenes Laertius 10.1.12, on Epicurus, according to Diocles; on followers of Pythagoras, cf. Culpepper 1975:50.

16 E.g., Lucian *Hermot*. 1. Pythagoreans reportedly emphasized this practice to the greatest extent (Iamblichus *V.P*. 20.94; 29.165; 35.256; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll*. 1.14; 2.30; 3.16; Diodorus Siculus 10.5.1).

17 See e.g., information in Goodman 1983:79; Gerhardsson 1961:113-21, 127-29, 168-70. For the emphasis on careful traditioning, see further *tos. Yeb*. 3:1; *Mek. Pisha* 1.135-36; *Sipre Deut*. 48.2.6; *Ab. R. Nat*. 24 A.

18 Quintilian *Inst*. 1.pref. 7-8; Seneca *Ep. Lucil.* 108.6; Epictetus *Diatr.* 1.preface; Lucian *Hermot*. 2.

19 For the interplay with literacy, cf. e.g., Wagner and Lotfi 1983:111-21.

20 Cf. discussions in various sources on African oral historiography, e.g., Hoeree and Hoogbergen 1984:245-89.

21 See e.g., Alciphron *Farm*. 11 (Sitalces to Oenopion, his son), 3.14; 38 (Euthydicus to Philiscus), 3.40. Although the characters are fictitious, Alciphron depends on his audience recognizing the accounts' resemblance to social reality.

22 For some key sages from poorer backgrounds, at least according to later tradition, see *b. Ned*. 50a; *Pes*. 49b.

23 Although twentieth-century scholars often disputed the Gospels' reports that Jesus frequently provided interpretations for his parables, these appear frequently in ancient Jewish parables; see Stern 1991:24; Johnston 1977:561-62, 565-67, 637-38; Vermes, *Religion*, 92-99.

24 See e.g., *m. Ab*. 3:17; *Suk*. 2:10; *tos. Ber*. 1:11; 6:18; *B.K*. 7:2-4; *Hag*. 2:5; *Sanh*. 1:2; 8:9; *Sipra Shemini Mekhilta deMiluim* 99.2.5; *Behuq*. pq. 2.262.1.9; *Sipre Num*. 84.2.1; 93.1.3; *Sipre Deut*. 1.9.2; 1.10.1; 308.2.1; 308.3.1; 309.1.1; 309.2.1.

25 See e.g., *tos. Suk*. 2:6; *Sipra Shemini Mekhilta deMiluim* 99.2.2; *Behuq*. pq.3.263.1.5, 8; *Sipre Num*. 84.1.1; 86.1.1; 89.4.2; *Sipre Deut*. 3.1.1; 11.1.2; 26.3.1; 28.1.1; 29.4.1; 36.4.5; 40.6.1; 43.8.1; 43.16.1; 45.1.2; 48.1.3; 53.1.3; 306.4.1; 306.7.1; 309.5.1; 312.1.1; 313.1.1; 343.1.2; 343.5.2.

Brief Communication:

Foot-amulets: a possible amuletic value

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Abstract: A number of foot-shaped objects have been found in Bronze Age graves in the region of Messará, Crete. Previous scholars have suggested they may be amulets or talismans. One hypothesis advanced in the late 1960s proposed that they gave protection from poisonous snakes bites and were connected to the Minoan Snake Goddess cult. This paper reports on a new interpretative hypothesis for these objects based on an analysis of ancient sources, and paleontological and herpetological research. It also draws attention to analogous findings from Egyptian contexts, contemporary to those of Minoan Crete, to search for possible origins and typological relationships for the so called foot-amulets.

A number of foot-shaped pendants, dated between the Early Minoan and Middle Minoan and thought to be amulets, have been found in south-east Crete, mostly in various *tholoi* of Messará. At the time of their discovery these objects were called 'leg-amulets' (Evans 1964: 45; Xanthoudídes 1971: 129) because of the similarities they shared with some ancient Egyptian amulets, also found in funerary contexts (Naville 1909: 18; Andrews 1994: table 67). However, in the late 1960s, Branigan (1970) presented a hypothesis that related the amuletic value of these objects to protection from the bites of venomous snakes, and they subsequently became known as 'foot-amulets'.

Branigan's theory, which originated from a passage in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, suggested that the serpentine stone from which the amulets were made protected the bearer because its colour resembled that of the snake's skin (Pliny XXXVI: 11, 55). Furthermore, the presence of these objects between Early Minoan (3100-3000 BCE) and Middle Minoan II (1875/50-1750/00 BCE) and their subsequent disappearance from Middle Minoan III onward (1750/00-1700/1675 BCE)[1], was interpreted as part of a passage from superstitious belief to religious cult, achieved by a specific and protective divinity who has been identified as the Minoan Snake Goddess. According to Branigan (1970: 20), her cult places could be connected with the so called 'peak sanctuaries' but this hypothesis has not really been demonstrated because there are no evidences that can confirm it. The evidence on which these hypotheses are based is examined below.

Examination of classical sources

In *Naturalis Historia* book XXXVI*,* Pliny refers to other stones such as *ematite*, *gagate* and *schisto,* in addition to serpentine, as affording protection from snake bites*.* The Roman encyclopaedic writer described how these stones could be used against dangerous snakes:

> Gagates lapidis nomen habet loci et amnis Gagis Lyciae. [...] Fictilia ex eo in scripta non delentur; cum uritur, odorem sulpureum reddit; mirumque, accenditur aqua, oleo restinguitur. Fugat serpentes ita recreatque volvae strangulationes. Deprendit sonticum morbum et virginitatem suffitus (Pliny, XXXVI, 141, 34).
>
> *Gagates is a stone, so called from Gages, the name of a town and river in Lycia. [...] Marks made upon pottery with this stone cannot be effaced. When burnt, it gives out a sulphurous smell; and it is a singular fact, that the application of water ignites it, while that of oil quenches it. The fumes of it, burnt, keep serpents at a distance, and dispel hysterical affections: they detect a tendency also to epilepsy, and act as a test of virginity.*
>
> Schistos et haematite cogniationem habent. Haematites inventitur in metallis, ustus minii colorem imitatur, uritur ut Phrygius, sed non restinguitur vino. [...] Et in vesicae vitiis efficax bibitur et in vino contra serpentium ictus (Pliny, XXXVI, 144, 37).
>
> *Schistos and Haematites have a certain affinity between them. The latter is found in mines, and, when burnt, has just the colour of minium. It is calcined in the same manner as Phrigian stone, but is not quenched in wine. [...] It is very efficacious also for affections of the bladder; and it is taken with wine for the cure of wounds inflicted by serpents.*

The 'foot-amulets' found in the region of Messará were not made exclusively from serpentine, therefore Branigan's hypothesis based on the Pliny quote is questionable. In fact 'foot-amulets' known from Crete are also made from chlorite, diorite, ivory, limestone, middle hard stone and steatite, none of which are related to snake bite by Pliny (Mordà 2011). However, the nomenclature of stones catalogued by Pliny does not necessarily correspond to modern geological classification. The *Naturalis Historia* cannot be considered a reliable source for the study of ancient natural history without a validation by geological research involving a comparative study of materials confirming the ancient Roman taxonomy.

Species of snakes in crete

The presence of poisonous snakes in Crete was generally taken for granted (Branigan 1970: 10-23; Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1997: 637-9). However, contemporary paleontological and herpetological studies on Crete have demonstrated the complete absence of any snakes dangerous to humans, both today and in the past. The geological history of the island demonstrates that it has always been completely isolated in the Mediterranean context, a situation which did not allow its colonisation by species of the *Viperidae* family (Szyndlar 1991: 123-266).

At present, there are four known species of snakes in Crete, none of which are harmful to humans,[2] and these were also the species present in Bronze Age Crete. It is therefore very unlikely that the foot-amulets were made to protect the Cretan people from venomous snake bites.

The Snake Goddess cult and peak sanctuaries

The Cretan peak sanctuaries are amongst the most interesting phenomena of the Minoan civilisation. More then fifty sites are presently claimed as peak sanctuaries throughout Crete. First sites known as peak sanctuaries were Petsofas and Youkhtas but other important sanctuaries have been identified such as Karfi and Kophinas. The origin of peak sanctuaries has been debated by many scholars (Rutkowski 1972, 1986; Cherry 1978, 1986; Peatfield 1983, 1990; Watrous 1984, 1995; Marinatos 1993; Kyriakidis 2005). they are believed to have originated within farming societies between Middle Minoan IB (1925/00-1875/50 BCE) and Middle Minoan II (1875/50-1750/00 BCE; Rutkowski 1972), and were later taken up by the palatial élite (Kyriakidis 2005: 124-7). At present, it is problematic to determine what kind of divinity was worshipped in these places because no cult images have been found (Peatfield 2001: 51-5). Each peak sanctuary contains a variety of different archaeological remains (Marinatos 1993: 119-20), suggesting that there was not a cult related to a specific divinity.

A number of mostly ovine and bovine figurines have been found inside these sanctuaries (Peatfield 1983: 273-80), and also figurines representing parts of the human body. These reproductions of body parts have been interpreted by scholars as votive objects (*ex voto*), which may confirm that the divinity for whom they are intended has a healing aspect (Gheorghulake 1997: 188-296). It cannot, however, be specifically connected to a divinity associated with snake bites. It is also important to clarify that figurines of the Snake Goddess have not been found in peak sanctuaries.[3] At present, the meaning of Snake Goddess is still obscure; she probably represents a divinity connected with the concepts of regeneration and fertility. It is quite unlikely, however, that she was a divinity related to protection from snake bites, or connected with a specific snake cult (Marinatos 1993: 157; Jones 2001: 259-65; Lapatin 2002).

In many cultures several meanings have been assigned to the symbolism and concept of the snake (Balaji 1983), including regeneration (Gessel 2006). In the Minoan culture this animal was connected to the chthonic world apparently only during the Late Bronze Age (1700/1675-1625/00 to 1200/1100-1075/50 BCE) while in the Middle Minoan (2100/50-1925/00 to 1750/00-1700/1675 BCE) the snake was related to the seasonal cycle and to concepts of regeneration and fertility (Trčková-Flame 2003; 2006).

I therefore argue that the hypothesis of a connection between the peak sanctuaries and a Snake Goddess cult cannot be accepted, because the point above demonstrates that peak sanctuaries cannot be related to a specific cult and a specific divinity connected with snakes as Branigan (1970: 70) suggested.

Trade and cultural diffusion

It is well-known that during the Bronze Age Minoan people began to trade intensively with both the Near East and Egypt (Branigan 1967; Carinci 2000: 31-7; Hood 2000: 21-3; Knapp 1988: 198; Merillees 1998: 149-55; Warren 2000: 24-8; Watrous 1998: 19-28). These activities generated remarkable interest from the Minoan élite about foreign items; the foot-amulets probably represent one of these interests.

At Egyptian sites, leg-amulets found in funerary contexts have been defined as 'amulets of assimilation' and were believed to ensure that the mummy's body would continue to function in the afterlife (Andrews 1994: 69-73; Petrie 1972: 9, 11). Although the similarity of Minoan foot-amulets with the Egyptian leg-amulets is unmistakable, it is very difficult to attribute the same meaning to them, because we still do not have any interpretation of Cretan written sources.

Most foot-amulets have been found in graves in south-east Crete; however, for a number of them, the place of origin is unfortunately unknown. At present, it seems that there are no similar finds in other parts of the island. Other items such as stone vases, hippopotamus-shaped amulets and scarabs have also been found in the *tholoi* of Messará. This evidence confirms the presence of a rich élite interested in the acquisition of foreign and prestigious items; however, it does not necessarily mean that there was also a correspondence of religious ideas connected with the same objects. It is a matter of fact that the Minoan culture has had independent religious iconographic developments and different political organisation.

Moreover, two foot-amulets have been found at mainland sites: at Ziguries, located in Attica, and at Haghios Kosmàs, in Argolide. In Zigouries the object comes from a house while in Haghios Kosmàs from a grave (Myloans 1959). It is interesting to note that the finding from Zigouries is, at present, the only evidence of a non-funerary context for this class of objects (Blegen 1928: 43-7). At the moment it is not clear whether these items were used

both in daily life and in the graves, or whether these particular objects were connected with beliefs about the afterlife and subsequently used as protective amulets only in funerary contexts.

From Middle Minoan II to Middle Minoan III

The period between Middle Minoan II (1875/50-1750/00 BCE) and Middle Minoan III (1750/00-1700/1675 BCE) saw great change. Crete was devastated by a number of earthquakes while at the same time the archaeological evidence testifies to various cultural changes such as the beginning of monumental architecture, the introduction of new pottery styles and an interest in precious materials (De Martino 2008). The new palatial élite must have influenced productive activities during this period when foot-amulets disappeared from Crete, however from Middle Minoan III the so-called talismanic seals were produced (Kenna 1969). This may reflect a different system of control which could have influenced the production of objects, but this has not yet been agreed by scholars.

Conclusion

As a result of trade with foreign societies, the Minoan culture acquired various objects, probably with different meanings from those originally assigned to the items. At present, these objects can only be interpreted as a fashion of Minoan society; it is impossible to assign a specific protective value to them. According to the data collected it can be argued that this new élite influenced both the previous élite and the production of objects. The passage between Middle Minoan II and Middle Minoan III is known as the New Palatial period, a time of great transformations and this probably had a strong impact on previous Cretan societies, most likely in connection with superstitious and independent religious ideas, for example in the region of Messará, where many amulets have been found.

Only extensive research in Crete and on the mainland will be able to clarify the many open questions about these interesting artefacts.

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Endnotes

1 The Cretan chronology is still being debated; however, I have used the chronology updated by S.W. Manning (2010).

2 These four snakes are named as Hierophis gemonensis, Natrix tessellata, Telescopus fallax and Zamenis situlus (Corti et al. 1999). Although Telescopus fallax possesses venomous teeth, its bite is not dangerous to humans because the amount of venom injected is minimal and its toxicity is moderate. No Telescopus species is listed as a poisonous species by the World Health Organisation (Lumsden et al. 2004).

3 Faïence figurines identified as Snake Goddesses have not been found in the Peak Sanctuaries, but were discovered in the so called 'Temple Repositories' on the site of the Palace of Knossos.

Reviews

G.H.R. Horsley, *Regional Epigraphic Collections of Asia Minor V: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum,* British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 34, London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2007, 321pp + xviii, figs 348 (hardback) ISBN 978 1 898249 18 4, GB £60.00

Reviewed by Emma Rix

In this catalogue, G. H. R. Horsley has collected together for the first time all inscriptions on stone in Greek or Latin held, as of 1998, in Burdur Archaeological Museum, one of Turkey's largest regional collections of epigraphy.

Three hundred and forty-nine inscriptions, numbered **1**–**350 (**220 is not used) are included in the book, of which 154 were previously unpublished. Some of the inscribed stones recorded in the Museum could not be located during Horsley's survey; these are included where sufficient information is available. Also published are certain stones which have lost their inscription, or never carried one, but which, like the anepigraphic Rider god steles, relate to other inscriptions in the catalogue. The inscriptions are divided into three main sections: dedications and funerary inscriptions, which make up the bulk of the collection, and the 23 public inscriptions concerned with matters such as the administration of cities and the Imperial cult. The majority of the inscriptions date from between the first and third centuries AD.

Horsley's book is very effectively laid out: the Greek text is followed by translations into both English and Turkish, and almost every inscription is illustrated, with photographs inserted into the text, sparing readers from constantly turning to the back of the book to locate them. There are eleven indices in total, including not only standard items such as an index of personal names, index of lexical items, and index of topics discussed, but also indices dealing with religion, abbreviations and features of letter cutting, and grammatical oddities; the latter, although commendably comprehensive, does occasionally (for example under *word order*) omit examples where the feature is discussed in the commentary, and include those where it is not. Two concordances are also given, one of Burdur Archaeological Museum inventory numbers, and one of epigraphic texts in modern publications.

The Museum receives artefacts from the modern administrative district of Burdur, which lies to the NW of Antalya and corresponds roughly to the ancient region of Pisidia, although some inscriptions in the catalogue are thought to emanate from N Lykia and one (**73**) from Telmessos; in any case, the boundary between Pisidia and Lykia altered at various points during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A good map of the region is given on page xvi, and, very helpfully, a grid reference is included in every entry for an inscription with a known provenance.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods much of Pisidia was very rural, although there were some prosperous urban centres such as Sagalassos. It is therefore unsurprising that many of the inscriptions at Burdur relate to the life of the smaller settlements and villages, with their local gods and cults. Among these are dedications to Anatolian gods such as Men (**105** – **110**) and Meter (**111** – **119**), and to the Dioskoroi. The cult of the Dioskoroi, although its deities were Greek in name, was primarily indigenous, as shown by its rural open-air sanctuaries and the Anatolian iconography (depicting two riders and a moon goddess) of many of the dedications **(27**- **45)**; Horsley discusses this matter in the commentary on **26**.

The figure of the Rider god was common in Anatolian cult, and around 40% of the dedications in the Burdur collection are steles depicting a type of Rider god specific to Pisidia and Lykia type who brandishes a raised club in his right hand. The vast majority of these steles are dedicated to Heracles or to Kakasbos, a deity known only from Lykia and Pisidia. Kakasbos and Heracles are often considered to be essentially two versions of the same figure, but attempts have been made, for example by Delemen in *Anatolian Rider-Gods* (1999), to identify iconography specific to each and thereby allocate uninscribed Rider god steles to one or the other. Horsley considers this problem in some detail, and concludes that, although the two deities should not be considered interchangeable (as in some earlier discussions), it is likely that many of the anepigraphic steles were not dedicated exclusively to either one of the pair. **83**, where the letter cutter appears to have conflated the two names, writing Ἡρακασβος, is of particular relevance to this question, since it suggests an unconcious slip caused by the close connection between the gods. Dedications on Rider god steles also name Apollo (**7**) and Poseidon (**121**); it is impossible to tell whether this indicates assimilation or confusion between foreign gods and local gods, or merely that Rider god steles were considered appropriate dedications for a number of different deities. Since Poseidon is shown carrying a trident rather than a club it seems that, in this case at least, the iconography was deliberately made appropriate to the dedicatee.

The Rider god dedications are discussed in detail in the Excursus at the end of the book (pp 255-274), where Horsley makes a number of interesting points. In addition to consideration of the relationship between Heracles and Kakasbos, he argues (§1) that although these steles predominately date from second and third centuries AD they had their origins in earlier Pisidian culture, thinking it unlikely that 'such a distinctive local phenomenon' (p 257) would have arisen at the precise time that a more noticeable Roman presence was being established and suggesting that some of the anepigraphic steles could in fact have been made in the Hellenistic period. However,

it is perhaps also possible that this distinctive local style actually arose in reaction to the increased Roman presence.

Section 7 of the Excursus considers the skill and literacy of those cutting the inscriptions on the Rider god steles (including the letter-cutter of **74**, which is inscribed from right to left) while section 4 deals with the attribution of groups of steles to the same workshop, pointing out similarities between, for example **138** and **140**, and **54-56, 57, 60** and **79**. The existence of such workshops makes it very possible that steles were prefabricated, with inscriptions added by the purchaser to stock items. From this another interesting suggestion arises (§6): that those steles which bear only personal names in the nominative (**250**, **262**, **275**, **276**, **277**, **279**) or genitive (**249**, **263**, **289**) were in fact funerary monuments, although perhaps originally created for use as dedications.

Depictions of horsemen begin to be found beside Pisidian and Lykian tombs from before the Hellenistic period, and are usually interpreted as heroised portrayals of the deceased. This iconography is found on some of the funerary inscriptions in the Burdur collection, including **254**. However, the club-wielding rider specifically associated with Heracles and Kakasbos is not usually a feature of funerary inscriptions.

The possibility that these steles were an exception to that rule is supported by **298**, a funerary bomos bearing a relief of a rider with a raised club in his right hand. Even so, as Horsley admits, this interpretation is not entirely certain. It does seem strange that the words μνήνης χάριν or μνήνης ἕνεκεν, which are found on so many funerary bomoi and steles, were never added to monuments whose nature was presumably ambiguous (although perhaps signalled by their location in a cemetery). A further question, not discussed here, is whether club-wielding riders on funerary steles would have retained some connection with Heracles and Kakasbos, or would simply have been considered to represent the person commemorated.

There is, then, plenty of evidence in the Burdur Museum collection for the continued vigour of local culture in the area, despite the political domination of Pisidia by the Seleukid and, later, Attalid empires from the third century onwards. The continued use of numerous epichoric Pisidian names into the third century AD is further evidence of this.

However, there are also indications among the inscriptions of the influence of Greek culture and language in the area at an early stage. Admittedly there are, at most, eight inscriptions from the Hellenistic period: Horsley suggests that this 'has implications for an assessment of the depth of penetration of Greek in Pisidia, at least as reflected in publicly inscribed monuments' (p 3), although he does not explicitly draw out these implications. The spread of epigraphy is often considered one of the key indicators of the spread of Greek civic culture, and the absence of any non-Greek epigraphy from the area in this period supports this view. However, it is impossible to be certain whether the Hellenistic inscriptions which do survive indicate groups and individuals with a particular interest in Greek culture, or more widespread Hellenisation.

One of the earliest inscriptions in the collection - perhaps the earliest - is a decree of the city of Olbasa with a response from Attalos II inscribed below (**326**), which shows that the Attalid empire played at least some role in the internal affairs of the city. The city asks for, and is given, permission to honour Sotas, who had received those who were fleeing from the enemy, and was 'well-disposed to the affairs of the king'; this suggests that there had been some kind of strife among the inhabitants. Attalos' answer implies that Sotas was in fact the king's representative in the city; he is described as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ πόλεως, attested as the title of an administrative office in Pergamon (OGIS ii: 483). Whether this should be considered an 'official title' in the context of Olbasa is perhaps debatable, but together with appearance of the στρατηγοί and the γραμματεύς and the use of the standard introductory formula 'it seemed good to the council...' it does imply that Olbasa's civic structure was essentially that of a Greek city. Three photographs are given of this inscription, but one (plate 330) has unfortunately been stretched to fit the full width of the page, with the result that it is badly distorted, and does not provide an accurate impression of the lettering.

The earliest 'private' inscriptions in the Museum show an interesting mixture of epichoric names and Greek cultural elements. **204**, the only funerary inscription from the second century BC, commemorates a man with a Pisidian name (Attas) – but a Greek patronym (Menestheus). Unlike the later inscriptions, which tend to be short and very formulaic, this inscription consists of four elegaic couplets, which include both epic language and the word ἶνις, found only in the lyric passages of tragedy. The picture which emerges is one of an elite family who wished to indicate their knowledge and appreciation of Greek culture in their father's memorial.

Crucial to the discussion of the extent of Greek cultural influence in the area by the end of the Hellenistic period is **327**, a previously unpublished honorary inscription from Yesilova (19/18 BC). This records how the people of Ze, accompanied by the inhabitants of various neighbouring villages, 'crowned Panagoas with a gilded crown'. The inscription uses the typical formula of Hellenistic honorary decrees, showing how Hellenisation had reached even rural areas by the end of the first century BC. It has now been published fully by Corsten (2005), who suggests a different date.

There are dedications in the collection to many of the gods of the Greek pantheon, including Zeus, Apollo, Artemis (see in particular **21**) and Hermes, although these are not found in such profusion as those to local gods. It is possible that in some cases the popularity of these gods was due to association with earlier epichoric deities; however,

even the Dioskoroi appear in their Greek guise rather than their Anatolian guise in one inscription, the earliest dedication to them in the collection (**26**, from the first or second century AD).

'Greek' culture should not, of course, be viewed as a homogenous set of ideas and images. One bomos (**51**) dedicated to Hera bears a relief of the goddess holding a phiale in her left hand in addition to the sceptre in her right. This combination is usually limited to Thrace, and its occurrence here draws attention to the Thracians settled in the region by the Seleukids, whose continuing presence is also indicated by Thracian names in, among others, **214** (Ματια), **272** (Δοας), and **273** (Σευθης), and by **328**, a dedication to Roma and Augustus set up in 5/4 BC by 'the Milyadeis... and the Thracians living among them'.

Interestingly, despite the fact that Pisidia was bequeathed to Rome in 133 BC along with the rest of the Attalid empire, and was under direct Roman control, as part of the province of Galatia, from 25 BC onwards, there are only four Latin inscriptions and one Greek-Latin bilingual inscription in the museum. There are no Latin epitaphs or dedications; even the stones from Kremna, which was refounded as a Roman colony in the time of Augustus, are inscribed in Greek, and the *Inscriptions of Central Pisidia* records only three Latin funerary inscriptions known from that city (Horsley & Mitchell 2000). One previously unpublished inscription from near Kremna (**222**) commemorates Marcus Pacuntius; the lettering suggests a date of the first century AD, making it likely that he was a first or second generation colonist at Kremna, yet he still chose to inscribe his memorial in Greek rather than Latin.

Funerary inscriptions make up around 35% of the inscriptions in Burdur Museum. These are primarily on steles and bomoi, and are often very simple, consisting of the names of the giver and the person commemorated followed by μνήνης χάριν or ἔνεκεν. The inscriptions show a marked interest in genealogy, naming the fathers and sometimes grandfathers of the deceased; **228** names four generations of males of the family. Many inscriptions commemorate more than one family member, with reliefs often depicting a family group, although it is likely that only some were dead at the time it was constructed. Most steles or bomoi are decorated with a figure, or figures, in relief; as with the Rider god steles, it seems that there were various workshops producing similar funerary monuments in large quantities. Horsley identifies at least two groups: **245**, **258**, **270**, **280**, **301**, and **308** are a series of steles from the same workshop, and **215**, **227**, and **311** a series of bomoi.

Four inscriptions, on **226** (a limestone column, previously unpublished) **235**, **261**, and **252** (sarcophagi) include a warning against disturbing the grave, of the type common throughout Western Asia Minor; considering the profusion of such interdictions in Phrygia, in Pisidia (on sarcophagi at Antiocheia, Termessos and other sites) and in Lykia it is perhaps significant that none are found on these steles and bomoi, although Horsley does not comment on this explicitly. **261** is also unusual because, although the inscription dates to the second century AD, it is on a reused sarcophagus which dates to the first half of the third century BC and has one of the earliest known examples of the door reliefs which later became common.

316 also reuses an earlier monument, in this case a stele. A previous inscription has been erased, although the remains of 16 gridlines can be seen, and four verses, starting with a hexameter, have been inscribed. This attempt, however, which is the only verse epitaph in the collection other than **204** (mentioned above), was so unsuccessful that the letter-cutter apparently abandoned his work before it was finished. It is possible that the verses commemorate a Christian woman who was persecuted in the area, since they seem to say 'I went through all of the East and among enemies' and state that ὁ θεὸς honoured her because of her faith. The inscription also talks enigmatically of her coming εἰς τάσδε κελαινὰς, which Horsley understands as an adjective, for which some noun must be supplied, and translates as 'to these black (roads?)'; however, it also seems possible that Κελαινὰς is the place name Kelainai, the earlier name for Apamea in N Pisidia.

Among the previously unpublished funerary inscriptions included in the catalogue are some inscribed ostothekes (**234**, **238**, **246**, **256**, **257**, **278**, **287**, **303**) and inscribed busts (**210**, **228**, **239**, **317**, **318**). The ostothekes are generally inscribed only with the name of the deceased in the genitive, sometimes accompanied by their patronymic. By contrast, the inscriptions on the busts are longer, and some include the common phrase ἀνέστησαν + *name of deceased in acc.* (**228**, **317;** see **210** comm.), referring to the setting up of the figure. This suggests that, when used on a bomos or stele, ἀνέστησαν refers either to the image of the deceased in relief (eg **215**), or to a bust, now lost, which would originally have been placed on top.

In addition to those public inscriptions already mentioned, there are two others of particular importance. **335** is a bilingual edict (Latin followed by Greek) from the territory of Sagalassos, in which Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidanus, propraetorian legate of Galatia, sets out regulations governing the requisitioning of pack animals and transport from the Sagalassians by Roman officials. Sotidius states that he is reiterating the orders of Augustus and Tiberius, in order to prevent the abuses which had been occurring. A scale of payment was set, giving ten bronze asses for a donkey and four for a mule, but with accommodation to be provided free.

A later inscription was sent to Kolbasa, in AD 312, by an even more important individual. **338** records a letter from the emperor Maximinus, praising the persecution of Christians which had been taking place, and thereby showing the presence of significant numbers of them in third century Pisidia. Copies of the same letter are also

known from Arykanda and (through Eusebios) from Tyre; since these were bilingual it seems likely that the version at Kolbasa was too, although this must remain uncertain.

This well-organised book will be of interest to - and a vital resource for - all those working on the history and epigraphy of Western Anatolia, as well as those interested in epichoric cults and gods more generally, and in the funerary culture of rural areas. The comprehensive indices and convenient layout make it pleasant to use, while added interest is given to a potentially rather dry publication by the longer discussions of general aspects of the inscriptions which are included within the commentaries, usually accompanying the first relevant inscription. These include comments on the Dioskoroi at **26**, on the Perminous sanctuary (the source, or likely source, of a number of the inscriptions) at **16** and on the use of door iconography on ostothekes at **234**.

The non-specialist might desire more background information in some areas, perhaps a brief discussion of the use of funerary bomoi and their possible connection with hero-cults to accompany the useful diagram of a bomos included in the Introduction (p 7), but in view of the large number of inscriptions to be discussed it is not surprising that there is little space for general information; the detailed Excursus on the Rider gods does provide a very interesting analysis of one important section of the collection.

There is an inherent incompleteness in a collection of this type, since the element of chance which governs the survival and discovery of inscriptions from antiquity is exacerbated by the fact that only a part of these will end up in any one museum. Nevertheless, with the exception of building inscriptions, the Burdur collection gives an essentially accurate picture of finds from Pisidia, and Horsley's book draws attention to the many interesting items it contains.

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Albrecht Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist,* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010, 649 pp + xxiii, ISBN 978 3 11 022431 3, € 139.95

Reviewed by E.A. Judge

This rich and massive study keeps one in suspense. It is like a monumental excavation report, unexpectedly diverse in its finds, unearthing far more than the title might lead one to expect. Indeed, as with many an honest excavation, the ostensible purpose is left frustratingly unsatisfied. Yet it has a clear structure. It reflects three seasons of the expedition as it were, or at any rate establishes three strata on the site. Their interconnections, if any, are open to dispute.

Albrecht Gerber (Gerber) has defined three stages in the intellectual life and public career of Gustav Adolf Deissmann (Deissmann), born in the duchy of Nassau (now part of the federal state of Hessen) in 1866, the very year in which it passed under Prussian control. He died in 1937 as the retired professor of New Testament (appointed 1908) in the Faculty of Protestant Theology, Berlin. His public life spanned the Wilhelmine Empire and the Weimar republic, from Bismarck to Hitler. His most famous work was *Light from the Ancient East* (Berlin 1908, English trans. 1910).

Because Gerber's work is not a full biography one may find oneself repeatedly stranded for lack of a simple curriculum vitae, though there is a family tree. Likewise one may quickly be lost without a map of important locations. The *Grosser Shell-Atlas* does not even register Deissmann's birthplace (Langenscheid), while for his father's next posting as pastor (Erbach) one has six places of the same name to choose from.

Yet the sheer weight of detailed documentation is surely the most valuable aspect of the work. Only a little over half the space is used for the three soundings in their chronological order. Even there the constant citation of sources woven into the narrative, or in sometimes extensive footnotes, tips the balance of the whole in favour of the sources. The vast Appendices and Addenda give the text of nearly a hundred documents on Deissmann, including a thirty-page self-portrait. Gerber has quarried twenty-five archives in eight different countries. There are 250 documents referred to in all. The names of 400 other people are indexed, mostly contemporary with Deissmann, in which case dates of birth and death are given.

For anyone who sees the Berlin of Mommsen and Einstein as the high point in defining our standards in every academic discipline such a collection as this is precious. It gives us personal insight on a direct and even daily basis as it were. Gerber has not needed to give introductory or background explanations of things. We are there in the midst of it all as it happens. The same goes for the many glimpses we are given into the now remote world of a pastor's life, both pious and learned, in provincial town or village. Can a modern German tell you, for example, why some Protestant scholars must be addressed as *D. Dr.* (and not merely 'doctor'), or why it matters to be entitled a *Geheimer Konsistorialrat*? Gerber does not stoop to tell you either. You are now where such things are simply taken for granted.

The thorough-going Germanness of the work gives it a special authenticity. Source phrases are embedded in the English syntactically. One reads the sentences as a coherent whole, bilingually. When complete paragraphs are cited from the original they also constitute an integral stage in the presentation, and their sense will not have been extrapolated into the following English section. Gerber has been admitted into the family circle of Deissmann. The book is dedicated to his late son, Gerhard Deissmann, who had opened the door for Gerber.

An element of mystery is cast over the whole scene by the headings applied to its major components. The title of the book itself 'Deissmann the philologist', repeats the title of only one of its nine chapters. Moreover, Deissmann was never formally identified as a student or as a teacher in that faculty. He was enrolled at Tübingen in the Faculty of Theology, and attended only their lectures, as his certificates show (pp 421–423). As professor in both the Heidelberg and the Berlin Faculties of Theology he lectured only on their curriculum, as his diaries register in detail for the years 1904 to 1935.

For the whole book along with each of the three main parts, its general conclusion, and a fourth part (Appendices and Addenda), Gerber presents a portrait of Deissmann by way of frontispiece:

p vii: bronze bust (1936), frontispiece for the book

p 5: photograph (c. 1895–98) for Part 1

p 125: photograph (1926) for Part 2

p 207: oil painting (1930) for Part 3

p 371: family photograph (1934) -'General conclusion'

p 381: bronze plaque at Langenscheid (1962) for Part 4

This picture gallery presents a figure of ageless consistency, solemn, a little guarded, and not a dramatic lecturer. Some students suggestively called him 'the sheikh'.

The first puzzle heads the portrait for Part 1:– Δύο τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας. Presumably this is a totem for Part 1. But it is neither identified nor translated (Matt. 25:22 'You gave me two talents'). That text of course continues, 'Behold, I have earned two more'. So will these be for Parts 2 and 3? For Part 1 we must ask, were the two talents applied to himself by Deissmann, or are they offered (for him) by Gerber? Although I read the book eagerly from cover to cover, and have prowled around it since over many months, I am still unable to pick up the key.

My best guess is that Gerber uses it to hint at the conflict of interest in Deissmann's twenties between Theology

and Philology ('Classics'). His father had insisted on enrolment in Theology. But Deissmann printed on his own visiting card that he was a student in both faculties. It was notorious (and still so in my time) that German students bonded in faculty groups against each other (much as with college boats in Cambridge). The serious part in Deissmann's case is that his pioneering philological approach to the New Testament on the basis of the papyrus documents (then first being published en masse) put him at odds with Theology. He was hand-picked for the Berlin chair by his eminent predecessor (Bernhard Weiss) who correctly sensed a paradigm shift, but had to endure public denunciation of Deissmann in the theological press.

The outcome however was for Deissmann 'the philologist' both deeply frustrating, and even tragic. He allowed himself to be taken from Heidelberg to centre-stage in the imperial capital in the belief he would be free to concentrate on the new dictionary of Biblical Greek demanded by his own discovery of its common (*koine*) character, the ordinary discourse of the day, and not a distinctively spiritual register. It was never to be completed. Deissmann was dragged by the times into radically different commitments (Parts 2 and 3). In early 1945, Gerber believes, the precious card index for the dictionary was used as winter fuel by the Red Army officers briefly quartered in the family home, where the widow had until then been still in residence.

The structure of this fascinatingly complex book is best grasped by the titles of the nine chapters and sixty sections into which it is sharply divided (pp xxi–xxiii). Each is an intensely detailed exploration of a specific facet of Deissmann's affairs. I list here the nine, with one tantalising section heading in each case.

Part 1 (116 pp)

1. Deissmann the discoverer (pp 7–60)
   1.3 The formula ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ('in Christ Jesus').

2. Deissmann the lexicographer (pp 61–103)
   2.4 Berlin: a crucial decision

3. Deissmann the philologist (pp 104–122)
   3.2 Deissmann's philological background

Part 2 (80 pp)

4. From the study to realia (pp 127–154)
   4.1 Study tour 1906: Anatolia, Greece and Crete

5. The Ephesian excavations (pp 155–206)
   5.2 Raising awareness and funding

Part 3 (168 pp)

6. From postclassical Greek to *Sozialpolitik* (pp 209–244)
   6.5 Belgian invasion, and first cracks in confidence

7. *Evangelischer Wochenbrief* and *Protestant Weekly Letter* (pp 245–282)
   7.4 Changing perspectives in the *Wochenbriefe*

8. Ecumenical humanitarianism (pp 283–342)
   8.2 War theology and the German God

9. From zenith to eclipse (pp 343–376)
   9.5 Epilogue to an anachronistic life

Each of the nine chapters has a separate conclusion, as well as the general one. I will identify a key point in each, with my own comment.

1. The discovery of the common character of biblical Greek has been broadly vindicated. Yet Deissmann's initial dissertation on the 'in Christ' formula (which he took as implying 'Christ mysticism') is now side-stepped by the semantic break-down of the actual instances of the formula in the Macquarie thesis of D.J. Timms, mentioned but not evaluated in Gerber's footnote 65, and omitted from his index. Also omitted from the index is the 1991 claim of Stuart Pickering that 'by the late 1900s ... some 40,000 [papyri] had been published', which Gerber (footnote 75) says 'appears excessive'. But this is because Gerber is referring to 'the last two decades of the 19th century', his eye tricking him into reading 'late 1900s' as the same period. Pickering is of course correct for the last two decades of the 20th century ('late 1900s'). The latest estimate (2009) is 50,000.

2. Deissmann's plan for a new kind of lexicon of biblical Greek was intended as his life's work, which is why it had often to give way to more urgent demands. He was more ready to help with Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* than to co-opt a partner himself who might have seen his own project through to completion.

3. Deissmann grew out of his youthful ambition to be a classical philologist, yet did not become a mere theologian. He established the sub-discipline of postclassical Greek as vital to New Testament studies.

4. Two study tours to the Middle East formed a watershed in his academic and personal life. His romantic attachment to 'the world of the New Testament' fuelled his need to break out of the confines of academic study.

5. This led the Austrian excavators of Ephesus to ask him to join four seasons of their work (1926–1929), and he chaired the trustees of this costly enterprise until his death, with access to American and German funding.

6. Out of his research into the social history of early Christianity grew a political conscience in support of Naumann's social principles, which by 1914 Deissmann was directing more to international understanding.

7. Throughout the war Deissmann produced a personal weekly letter for carefully targeted people abroad. It was increasingly critical of both sides, and after the war he was established as a worldwide ambassador for peace.

8. Deissmann distanced himself from the neo-Lutheran

doctrine of the two kingdoms (*Zweireichelehre*). For a God-chosen nation the war had become a holy one, to fulfil God's inscrutable will for the rest of mankind. But for Deissmann his mystical trust in God's love began to stir in him the desire to help in reuniting the alienated world through the unity of the church.

9. Nominated twice for the Nobel Peace Prize, several times an honorary doctor abroad, and finally rector of the University of Berlin, Gerber considers none of this would have been possible without Deissmann's fundamental work in the early Heidelberg period (1897–2008), which had launched him into the international arena with his philological researches. But the loss of very many of his students in the war left him with no successor to it. Four years into the Nazi 'standardisation' (*Gleichschaltung*) he died 'of a broken heart'.

General Conclusion (pp 373–376)

'Deissmann emerges as an atypical humanitarian internationalist ... who cannot be "pigeon-holed" without distorting his true persona.' 'His work ... has been widely underestimated or misunderstood by post–WW II scholarship' 'Deissmann's slide into virtual oblivion ... was a "side effect" of WW II.' Deissmann 'should not be characterised narrowly (or *merely*) as "a theologian", nor, indeed as an ecumenist ... he was an intellectual pragmatist.'

'not a free thinker, but ... highly independent in his thinking'

'not a pacifist, but ... a passionate peacemaker'

'not a devout Lutheran, but ... a pietistic believer in the Pauline Christ-mysticism'

'not a nationalistic *Bildungsbürger*, but ... a patriotic *Gebildeter*'

'not a stereotypical ecumenist, but ... an altruistic latitudinarian ...'

Gerber thus concludes with a finely calculated description of a committed intellectual. The philologist has finally been left unmentioned. Gerber's mastery of the widely dispersed sources will establish his work as the necessary point of reference in studies of various fields. Deissmann deserves wider recognition in particular for his re-floating of the archaeology of Ephesus, highly productive in our time.

Gerber has developed the remarkable achievement of this book in connection with G.H.R. Horsley of the University of New England, whose own lexicographical interests led to contact with the family of Deissmann, and who once let the world know that the 'lost' Deissmann ostraca were safely kept in the Nicholson Museum at Sydney.

It is fitting maybe for an Antipodean rediscovery to suspect 'a slide into oblivion' (p 373), but Deissmann's pupil Emil Bock need not be thought to have 'verified' Deissmann's 'obscurity' in 1959 (p 361). Bock's own New Testament publications suggest that his professional interest had gravitated away to the curriculum needs of the Rudolf Steiner schools. The standard German reference works of the fifties recognise Deissmann's ongoing importance. Note for example the Pontifical Biblical Institute's K. Prümm, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch* (Rome 1954) and Carl Schneider's *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums* (Munich 1954). In the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1956) H. Strathmann states that amongst German theologians only Deissmann's senior colleague Harnack (1851–1930) was more famous worldwide.

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G.R.H. Wright, *Ancient Building Technology, Volume 3, Construction,* Technology and Change in History 12/1, Leiden: Brill 2009, ISBN 90 04 17745 1, Part I, 325pp + xxvi, Part 2, 415 pls, US$ 350.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

This is the final volume in the *Ancient Building Technology* series by G.R.H. (Mick) Wright. Earlier books in the series are *Volume 1: Historical Background* (2000) and *Volume 2: Materials* (2005). Other publications on the subject by Wright include *Ancient Building in Cyprus*, (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Siebente Abteilung, Kunst und Archaologie, Brill 1992), and *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine,* (Brill 1985).

Wright is an Australian archaeologist who has been active in the field since the early 1950's. His early academic training was in law and architecture and he performed surveying and architectural roles on excavation teams where he trained an entire generation of archaeologists to draw plans and sections. His drafting skill is more than evident in the illustration volumes while his didactic style pervades the text.

The role of 'architect' on archaeological excavations may be confused with traditionally trained modern architects who have a grounding in design, modern architectural forms and to some extent the significance of symbol in architectural form. However the responsibilities of the archaeological architect relate more to recording, analysing fragmentary remains and conceiving theoretical reconstructions, none of which are part of the modern profession. Wright sees the built environment from a technological perspective and as such his books are invaluable to the archaeological site architect.

The separation of text and plates into two volumes is useful as it is possible to follow the illustrative material while reading the text. Wright has redrawn many diagrams and sketches to produce a uniform style. Photographs are also included.

The first chapter deals with drawings, specifications and quantities, which he believes to be common to all projects ancient and modern so that 'it is useful to introduce their discussion in ancient building by reference to present day practice and procedure' (p 1). He is no doubt correct that it is a practical place to commence, but there must be a constant awareness that past practices may differ significantly as a result of the technological or social setting. Before plans could be easily drawn and reproduced entire navies were built and rigged on the 'rules of thumb' or proportional measurements in the minds of ship-yard foremen; similar traditions would have existed for building construction. Wright is aware that the plans we have may be 'as built' drawings rather than project designs. The material available for discussion is Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman.

The next chapter on setting out also draws heavily on mid-20th century practice. There is no doubt that people who have not been engaged in these practices are not likely to appreciate the issues involved. Wright discusses all matters of orientation and vertical control, but only has Egyptian and Greek examples to draw upon. In earlier works, such as the *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine,* he has discussed proportionality and he acknowledges the issue here in relation to the Mt Gerizim church, but he does not consider it significant where setting out is concerned.

The last introductory chapter deals with site works and the organisation of materials and labour. Most of the chapter discusses specific projects, starting with the tower at Neolithic Jericho and finishing with Roman concrete structures. Wright reviews the available methods of moving materials and the types of temporary support structures necessary to facilitate construction for buildings and includes the pyramids of Egypt and the Pantheon of Rome.

The remainder of the book addresses issues relating to different building materials starting with wood, which includes the *Mudhif* reed buildings of the Marsh Arabs and European lake dwellings, stone, brick, and Roman concrete.

The chapter on wood uses examples from all ancient Mediterranean cultures, but especially Anatolia. He does not discuss the use of wood in the floors at Alaça Hüyük, but all other occurrences are dealt with. While roofing spans are referred to there is no analysis of what widths were possible; wood often has a structural role in monumental structures and the text may have benefit from some civil engineering analysis.

The stone chapter is lengthy. Again, a wide geographical range of examples are referenced. Wright discusses the use of stone in walls, columns, roofing especially vaults and domes, and foundations. There is an appended note on rock cut structures such as those at Petra and Egyptian tombs.

Brick is treated geographically and chronologically, beginning with the Neolithic and ending in late (pre-Islamic) Iran. The description benefits from this systematic approach. The Roman concrete discussion deals with the systems used to construct vaults and domes, and the different structural behaviour of concrete. The concluding chapter is a useful overview tentatively tracing the progressive development of building techniques from the Neolithic until Roman times.

The overall feeling from this book is that there is currently a lack of real knowledge about basic ancient building practices. Wright has pulled together what we know, but as he acknowledges, it is still sketchy. The literature on ancient literacy is vast, but there is comparatively little on numeracy and other basic building skills. There is also an increasing amount of writing on the significance

of certain architectural forms in the landscape, but very little about the knowledge and skill base of the ancient builders and engineers responsible for the structures. Nor do we know very much about the social organisation of building project teams and the ways building and design expertise were made available and transmitted. These matters are not peripheral to our assessment of ancient societies with the capacity to design and construct monumental structures.

Each chapter has its own bibliography and there is a comprehensive index. Referencing is inconsistently formatted and there is an incomplete list of abbreviations in the text volume. These matters are trivial when considered against the grandeur of these monumental volumes. The *Ancient Building Technology* series by Mick Wright will be the baseline for the study of ancient architecture for many years to come.

Paul Lawrence, *The Books of Moses Revisited,* Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011, 172 pp + xv, ISBN 978 1 61 097417 2, US$ 22.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

Paul Lawrence has worked for some time with Professor Kenneth Kitchen on a multi-volume work entitled *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East,* which contains the original texts and translations of every known ancient treaty, ninety-seven in all, together with an analysis of them. This book is a harbinger of that larger work which is now in the hands of a publisher; it foreshadows some of the conclusions and it references the texts from the forthcoming volumes.

In addition to the material relating to ancient treaties Lawrence argues that the Pentateuch should be considered in the light of other late second millennium BC features such as Egyptian loan words and legal framework. He also discusses the epic poems about Sinuhe and Gilgamesh, and Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey*. Lawrence's argument is basically that the Documentary Hypothesis as an explanation for the formation of the Pentateuch is no longer tenable in the light of the large amount of evidence that has come to light since its was proposed by Julius Wellhausen between 1876 and 1883.

Lawrence's first chapter introduces the Documentary Hypothesis and what we know about Moses from the biblical story. A racy history of the second millennium BC is provided in the second chapter. Genesis is then discussed, proposing a structure based on the phrase translated as 'These are the generations of…', and noting the contextual data for the treaty structure in the four reported treaties, the Egyptian loan words in the story of Joseph and the appropriateness of the slave price mentioned in relation to Joseph.

The meat of the book is found in the following four chapters where Exodus 20 to the end of Leviticus and Deuteronomy are analysed as treaties and their structure, terminology and content are considered in relation to possible contemporary treaty documents. It is concluded that it is the treaty material from the second millennium BC, rather that the first millennium, that is relevant. Pentateuch book divisions are seen as a result of later scroll lengths.

The penultimate chapter deals with the epics of Sinuhe, Gilgamesh and Homer and attempts to show that in transmission and in some respects, content, the Pentateuch as a second millennium BC document is not unique. This subject area is vast involving second and third millenium BC Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Greek literary texts and their transmission. The treatment of the subject here, while reasonable, clearly does not have the same comprehensive and rigorous analysis underpinning it as do the preceding four chapters.

The conclusion states that 'there is no compelling reason to reject the traditional view, that Moses was the 'author' of the Pentateuch or substantial portions of it..' (p 123). Indeed if Moses did not write the Pentateuch, someone like him must have done so. Egyptian education, Semitic background, a knowledge of second millennium BC international treaties and politics and experience with early alphabets are all evident in the text.

Many biblical scholars will no doubt be dismissive about the Pentateuch in a second millennium BC context. What is at stake here is not so much its authenticity, but rather its context and meaning. Unfortunately, the number of scholars who can effectively engage in this discussion is small. The linguistic prerequisites preclude all but a handful, and the situation is not likely to improve as the educational establishments teaching Akkadian, Sumerian and Hittite diminish.

There are also a couple of methodological issues militating against contextual studies such as this. Many colleges see the Bible as 'authoritative' studying it in isolation and in so doing they lose much of its meaning. Others adopt a modernist approach seeking to be scientific. However in this post-modernist, post-processual, world there is a realisation that empirical certainty is an illusion and that all evidence should be considered. Following this methodology much of the ancient Near Eastern data discussed by Lawrence are in fact source material, while the biblical text is an artefact that we seek to understand.

Paul Lawrence's book itself is meant for the general reader as it does not assume prior knowledge of the history of the debate and the ancient world or the documents themselves. It has tables of chronology, lists of treaties, maps, indexes and a useful bibliography. Although the text appears disjointed with many quotes, tables and footnotes, there are regular introductory and summary paragraphs enabling the reader to stay abreast of the argument. Unlike detailed earlier works such as Ken Kitchen's *On the Reliability of the Old Testament,* this book is a manageable length and is priced for the non-specialist.

Adam Winn, *The Purpose of Mark's Gospel: An Early Christian Response to Roman Imperial Propaganda,* WUNT 2/245; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008 236 pp + xiv, ISBN 978 3 16 149635 6 €54.00.

Reviewed by John Noack

The author begins this book by surveying other scholars who have presented theories and suggestions about Mark's purpose or aim in writing his Gospel. These theories include the historical purpose, which involves the recording of the supposed historical events and people which were part of Jesus' life (p 6). The theological purpose seeks to explore such metaphysical themes as Christology (Son of God, Son of Man) and the Messianic secret. The pastoral purpose explores discipleship, the 'cross Christology' and various ethical issues. The evangelistic purpose clarifies the roles of Jesus and the failures of the disciples as it presents its message and promotes the use of Mark's gospel. The socio-political purpose brings in political and economic aspects and it sees in Mark an apology that seeks to distance the Christian Movement from its Jewish roots following the Roman attack on the Jews between 66 and 70 CE.

In contrast, Winn's opinion is that Mark presents a clash between two first-century claimants to the title 'Son of God' and its manifestations in divine, supernatural glory and in cosmic or universal power.

One claimant was the Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasian, who was ruling the Roman Empire from 69-79 CE, at the same time as St Mark or some other author was writing the Gospel of Mark in Rome. The city of Rome was a melting pot of the many Religions and Mysteries attracted to Rome from the conquered regions of the Empire, so it was an ideal location for Mark's clever blending of Hellenistic/Roman and Hebrew/Jewish beliefs. This Roman 'Sitz im Leben' or Context in Life brings together the world of Jewish messianic hope and the Roman imperial cult (p 99). Thus, Vespasian could see himself as (1) the Jewish Messiah, who, according to Josephus in *Wars* 399-408, had been predicted in Hebrew and Jewish writings; (2) a claimant to the divine right to rule the world and (3) a performer of supernatural miracles (p 160).

Even earlier than Vespasian, Winn points out that Julius Caesar was deified after his death with the title 'divus Iulius' or God Julius. His adopted son Octavian, who became Caesar Augustus, the Roman Emperor at the time of Jesus' supposed date of birth, adopted for himself the title 'divi filius' or Son of God (p 101). The Greek word 'euaggelion' meaning good news and used in Mark 1:1 was also widely used to announce political and military victories in the Roman imperial cult (p 96). Winn even ponders whether the composition of the Passion Narrative is an 'anti-triumph' narrative, constructed on the common Roman Imperial Triumphal Procession, held after great Roman victories over their conquered and defeated enemies such as the Jews in Judea (p 130).

The other party was naturally enough the Galilean Jew called Jesus-Christ (in Hebrew Joshua-Messiah or in English Yahweh Saves-Anointed One) with his Christology of Power and Glory and his resume of miracles, healings and exorcisms, although Jesus could point to 'no tangible kingdom or visible power' (p 169). Yet readers of Mark soon notice that the first half of Mark's Gospel repeats and stresses Jesus' title of 'Son of God' and Mark lists some very impressive healing and nature miracles, including the feeding of 5,000 people with a handful of bread and fishes, walking on water and raising the dead.

On the other hand, the second half of Mark repeats and stresses Jesus' title of the 'Son of Man', who must suffer, die and then rise again after three days, as Jesus reminds the disciples at least three times.

Winn manages to see in the Passion Story Jesus' Cross of Execution but in the Easter Story Jesus' Crown of Exaltation, thus presenting the required theme of the glory and exaltation of the 'Son of God' throughout the whole of Mark's Gospel and in competition with Vespasian.

Winn also sees several secondary purposes in Mark's Gospel, such as equipping his readers for persecution by the Romans and alleviating their eschatalogical anxiety about the non-arrival of the Second Coming of Christ as the heavenly Son of Man (p 204).

In summary, Winn interprets Mark's Gospel as an antagonistic polemic against the Roman Emperor Vespasian and his personal claim to being the 'Son of God'. Mark's Gospel was thus composed to demonstrate that this Roman claim to glory was a false claim and that, in the language of today, 'Everything Vespasian the Emperor can do, Jesus/Joshua the Christ/Messiah can do much better'!

During the 70s in the first century, no doubt this anti-Roman perspective was easy to understand and in this context, probably conveyed some truth to believers in Jesus as the Jewish Messiah or the Christ.

However, many puzzles in Mark still remain after the evidence for such a polemic is assembled and these enigmas are often described in Mark's text as under-meanings beneath the surface level which require deeper exploration and understanding. Concepts such as the Son of God, the Son of Man, the Messianic Secret, the Mystery of the Kingdom of God/Heaven/the Heavens still contain dimensions not fully explored or understood in the context of an anti-Roman polemic. This book is certainly scholarly, with a Bibliography of 16 pages. It is generally consistent in argument and it provides evidence which mostly rings true as a polemic. However, in my opinion, it certainly does not deal with nor does it resolve all of the many enigmas, puzzles and deeper under-meanings which are features but also creators of frustration for diligent commentators of this Gospel of Mark.

Francesca Stavrakopoulou and John Barton, (Editors) *Religious Diversity in Ancient Israel and Judah,* London and New York: T&T Clark International, A Continuum Imprint 2010, 207 pp, ISBN 978 0 56 703215 7 (Hardback), US$152.95; 978 0 56 703216 4 (Paperback) US$52.95.

Reviewed by John Noack

An international team of eleven scholars has addressed the key and often controversial aspects relating to the issue of the religious pluriformity in ancient Israel and Judah. Bernhard Lang's comment on the book's cover suggests that this book 'represents the eye of the storm in current biblical scholarship'.

These scholars explore both the available textual and the artefactual evidence, while being honest about their interpretational problems and about the need for a new paradigm in relation to the origin, the sources and to the traditional depiction of the development of religion in Ancient Israel and Judah.

The editors Francesca Stavrakopoulou from the University of Exeter and John Barton from the University of Oxford have organised their book into four main sections, including conceptual, socio-cultural and geographical diversities and a final postscript reflecting on religious diversity. They also have included brief introductions to and academic biographies of the eleven writers and their topics.

Conceptual Diversity

The theme and issue of 'conceptual diversity' is explored by Susan Niditch from Amherst College, who addresses herself to experiencing the divine in heavenly visits, in earthly encounters and in the land of the dead. Herbert Niehr from the University of Tubingen explores the relationship between Israelite and Canaanite religion, including the depiction of the Israelite and Judahite religions as subsets of West Semitic Religion. Editor Stavrakopoulou then investigates the practice, perception and portrayal of the concepts of Israel's popular over against its offical religion.

Socio-religious Diversity

'Socio-religious diversity' is the scholars' next major theme. Nicolas Wyatt from the University of Edinburgh deals with royal religion within ancient Judaism. Diana Edelman investigates cultic sites and complexes beyond the Jerusalem Temple and Philip Davies explores the vexed issue of the relationship between urban and rural religion.

Carol Meyers from Duke University continues this theme with her analysis of household religion and Rainer Albertz from Munster explores personal piety.

The final major theme of 'geographical diversity' is developed by Jeremy M. Hutton from Princeton Theological Seminary, who investigates the 'southern, northern and trans-Jordanian perspective' and Lester L. Grabbe from the University of Hull looks at the question of Yahweh outside of Judah and in the Jewish diaspora.

Extensive bibliographies are provided at the end of each chapter and the 'Abbreviations' of scholarly academic journals alone take up six pages.

Need for a New Paradigm.

An over-riding theme is the need for a new paradigm, which relates to the clashes between Maximalist and the Minimalist approaches and presuppositions and to the scholarly need to balance the contents of the ancient texts with archaeological artefacts and with academic and scientific methodology. The Historical Past is supposed to be the depository of factual history but it can also be the mental world for the imagination, for the retrojection of later created constructs and for an idealized history. Few would now continue to claim that the Deuteronomic or Priestly biblical writers aimed to present an unbiased and objective biblical history of the Israelites and Jews.

Each scholar has provided a very challenging and well-documented chapter in this very up-to-date and exhaustive exploration of religious diversity in ancient Israel and Judah.

The reviewer has been impressed by these scholars' many thought-provoking insights. Niditch comments that 'the boundary between official and unofficial, popular and institutional, vulgar and elite religion is a porous and artificial one' (11) and she observes that the symbolic vision, as expressed by the classical prophets, tended to make their deity more distant (p 19). Niehr challenges the traditional presentation of the Canaanites as 'abominable'. He suggests the need for 'a real paradigm shift', which takes into account such inscriptions as those at Kuntillet 'Ajrud in the Negev which associate Yahweh with the goddess Asherah and which is deconstructing the 'simple, biblically based and coherent picture of Israel's past'. He further suggests that the biblical Canaanites 'were invented in the counter-image of what Israel claimed to be' and that Yahweh can take his place with Baal, Addu/Hadddu as a weather god. He also suggests that the Judahite and Israelite religions can be viewed as subsets of West Semitic religion (pp 24-30).

Editor Stavrakopoulou challenges the portrayal of 'official' Yahwism with the state, with being formal and with being orthodox, in contrast to its 'popular' version labelled as folk, heterodox and non-conformist. She blames a confessional approach within biblical study for this bias (p 39).

Wyatt's exploration of royal religion involves past kings whose existence is problematic. He suggests that the Davidic kingship is a reflection of kingship in the period of Manasseh and that David was a heroized and epicized local, who was constructed as an 'archetypal king' (p 63). The king as prophet, priest, king are also explored and

the king's status from Psalm 8:5 is seen to imply that he was viewed as 'divinely begotten', who was included in the context of matrilinearity and matrilocality as a king of Judah (pp 72-75).

Yahweh in the 'Promised land'

Edelman takes her investigation of cultic sites back to the time of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob or Israel and then to the many cultic sites used in the 'Promised Land' (p 84). In relation to archaeological artefacts and evidence, Edelman warns that only 'a very limited number of sites have been excavated and usually less than 20 per cent of a site is dug systematically and then not always to bedrock. Thus, even a site that has been excavated may well contain cultic areas and complexes that have failed to come to light' (p 90). The thought-provoking solar shrine at Lachish is included, along with the two staircases on the main building at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, which gives access to an upper floor above the storeroom (p 97). These arise in connection with the ongoing study of Yahweh as the Sun.

In addition, Davies proposes the retrojection of the later contemporary scene back into the time of David and Solomon. He affirms that 'How far the biblical portrait of Judah's religion is historically reliable constitutes perhaps the single most important and hotly debated issue in current biblical scholarship' (p 108). Davies also suggests that the urban rather than the rural religion was viewed as a reflection of the heavenly court of the deities (pp 108-9), although the fertility aspect of rural agriculture encouraged the reverence for the 'Queen of Heaven' and for the goddess Asherah, which expressed the need for both the masculine and the feminine principles and energies for agricultural rebirth and growth (p 111). Yahweh as Warrior is seen in the title 'Yahweh of Armies', who was carried in the Sacred Ark of the Covenant into the Israelites' battles (p 113).

Yahweh beyond Israel and Judah

Grabbe's chapter on Yahweh's boundaries and influence explores, by using textual and artefactual data, such sites and areas as Ebla, Mari, Ugarit and Northern Syria. Yahwism in these sites is scarce but the Jewish diaspora communities such as those at Mesopotamia, and at Elephantine and Leontopolis in Egypt took their deity Yahweh with them. Grabbe concludes that 'the Yahweh deity and Yahweh cults were unique to Israel and Judah' and that 'Yahweh originated in southern Palestine' (p 184).

Barton's closing thoughts remind us that we can examine religious practices but it is difficult to examine what people thought or believed about the divine realm. Certainly the Hebrew Bible is a religious document but it is also a theological document, presenting the Yahwistic perspective of the biblical writer. 'The varied thoughts they had are also part of the religious diversity in ancient Israel and Judah' (p 193).

This review's brief outline of the contents and the above highlights should reveal the extent to which this book can correctly be described as representing 'the eye of the storm in current biblical scholarship'.

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