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descriptions. This statement is difficult to accept, as the ritual outlined by Lucian ends with the burning of the victims on the altar, skins as well as meat, i.e., a holocaust, a ritual which was uncommon within Greek religion at large and is never mentioned in Homer.

There are also some generalizing statements that reveal a lack of awareness of the complexity of Greek sacrificial ritual: for example, on p. 30: "For instance, if a group of worshippers believe that their recipient has human needs, this will result in a succession of sacrificial acts involving the offering of a portion of meat to the particular god." If applied to Greek religion, this would imply that offerings of food to the gods were performed since the Greeks perceived their divinities as having human needs. Though a notion of hungry gods is found in some comedies, animal sacrifice was never seen by the Greeks as a way of feeding the gods. Considering the intricate use of *theoxenia* and *trapezomata* rituals within the larger context of *thysia* sacrifice, such simplified interpretations do not shed light on the use of meat offerings within Greek cult.

To conclude, Petropoulou's book clearly illustrates the methodological difficulties involved in comparing three religious systems as distinct as ancient Greek religion, Judaism and Christianity. Even among the Greeks and the Jews, who both practiced animal sacrifice, the aims of this ritual were fundamentally different, as the animal victim did not play the major role within Jewish ritual that it did for the Greeks. Further complications in this comparative approach are the nature of the extant sources and the difficulties in using, for example, a Greek sacred law, the legal opinions of the Rabbis collected in the Mishnah and the sayings of Paul, to address one and the same issue. One may ponder on the extent if any that Pausanias' description of animal sacrifices in obscure, local Greek cults will help us understand why the Christians found animal sacrifice incompatible with the worship of their God.

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S.I. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Blackwell Ancient Religions), Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 2008. 193 p. ISBN: 978-1-4051-1573-5.

Sarah Iles Johnston's book treats the seminal topic of Greek divination. Most aspects of the matter are introduced in five substantial chapters. The study is broadly divided into two blocks: institutional oracles, i.e., the major oracular sites of antiquity (Chapters 2 and 3), and independent diviners, i.e.,

the status and role(s) of the *mantis* and related divinatory practitioners in Greek society (Chapters 4 and 5).

Chapter 1 is as expected an introduction to the book at hand. Pointing to the popularity of contemporary divination (horoscopes, tarot reading etc.), Johnston shows the pervasiveness of such practice. This is readily understandable in the light of her definition of the purpose of divination: "... to gain knowledge of what humans would otherwise not know" (p. 3). The chapter then proceeds with an easy to follow presentation of the ancient discussions of divination. In contrast to other pivotal religious acts, e.g., sacrifice and prayer, the ancient Greeks (and Romans) apparently spilt a lot of ink on divination: whether it worked and why. Johnston suggests that the reason behind this preoccupation was the understanding that divination was an immediate dialogue with the divine, where you were almost certain to get a rapid answer. In this way the existence of the gods and their constant attention to men were proved. This communication between gods and humans is stressed throughout the book: divination as an experience of the divine is a recurring theme.

The presentation of ancient discussions furthermore introduces the (ancient) concepts of artificial versus natural divinatory methods, that is, divination depending on human competence (reading of signs through birds, fire, entrails, etc.), versus divination through the close presence of a deity (oracles through the mouth of the enthusiastic Pythia, or dreams). The section also gives a good introduction to the Stoics' explanation for how divination worked: artificial divination through *sympathia*, a force permeating the world and connecting everything within it, and natural divination through each soul's inherent capacity for oracles. This is followed by a brief history of scholarship of ancient divination. Its few pages give a succinct account of the field as well as a closer look at scholarship that treated divination in relationship to magic.

After a note on the importance of location for the prestige and functioning of an oracular site, Chapter 2 gives a good overview of the oracles of Delphi and Dodona. The account of Delphi is interesting and up-to-date: it includes a discussion of the relatively recent suggestion that hallucinatory ethylene rose from fissures under the temple to intoxicate the Pythia, and addresses Delphic oracles other than the priestess, e.g., lot divination providing simple yes-or-no answers. The presentation of Dodona is especially welcome, as introductions to divination tend to focus on Delphi alone. Equally salutary is Chapter 3, which presents the oracles of Claros and Didyma, followed by sections on incubation oracles, Trophonios' cave and necromancy, and finally an overview on methods such as divination by mirrors, water, dice, etc. The chapter will be of value to students new to the topic of divination, before consulting specialized studies. Johnston's skepticism as regards the frequency or even existence of necromantic oracles—consultations of the dead—should be noted.

Focus then shifts to practitioners of "freelance divination":

the *manteis*. Chapter 4 discusses how one became a *mantis* and what set him apart. The relationship between doctors, *manteis* and magicians is treated. Whereas their abilities sometimes overlapped (e.g., when a seer, not a doctor, was called upon to find relief from a plague), Johnston also points to the differences in ancient ideas surrounding their skills. The author then returns to the *mantis*, discussing what he (sometimes she) actually did, and his techniques. Concentration lies on the *mantis'* role in war, his search for explanations in the past and finally healing. The last section is the most substantial. It opens with a discussion on possible chronological developments. Robert Parker has suggested that the single, professional identity of healer-seer-purifier gradually split into doctors on the one hand and purifiers with mantic knowledge on the other (*Miasma. Pollution and purification in early Greek religion*, Oxford 1983). Johnston does not refute this development, but believes that it was never complete. Religious/purification methods were easily combined with more "scientific" ones: what mattered was being cured, not how this was achieved. She continues, however, to point out the prevalence of the *mantis* in the constellation *mantis*-healer-purifier, because not only could the *mantis* access various healing techniques, but also choose the appropriate one through divination. Of importance here is the diviner's ability to see not only the future, but also the past, where the key to the cure was often to be found. To access this knowledge, the *mantis* communicated with worlds other than the human one. Johnson closes with a further note on the diviner as "... communicator between realms that are otherwise hard for mortals to bridge" (p. 125).

A straightforward account on various techniques (the reading of entrails, dreams, the heavens, the flight of birds, chance utterances, etc.) closes Chapter 4. This section furthermore includes comments on thoughts on the transmission of divine signs (how they ended up in the entrails of an animal, for example), possibilities of being your own *mantis* (most people were acquainted with the reading of signs through the vital organs of a sacrificial victim or through observing birds or chance occurrences such as sneezes), as well as an interesting note on the competition or co-operation between *manteis* and institutional oracles.

The final chapter explores connections between divination and magic. Clearly the author takes a special interest in the question, but the stated reason for this focus is the information concerning divination to be found in the so-called Greek magical papyri. After a brief observation on the normative value of the term "magic", and on whether we can separate two distinct categories of "magic" and "religion", Johnston presents this material and discusses major cultural changes visible in the documents. This leads her again to underline the encounter between deities and mortals possible through divination: many papyri prepare its readers for face-to-face divine meetings. In the following sections, Johnston discusses the magician's take on divinatory methods. She makes a good

point of the practical side of divination visible in the "magical" texts, and on the magicians' adaptability: they transformed practices of temples and institutional oracles of a more public nature to make them suitable for their own situation. Lychnomancy, divination through the flame of a lamp, is for example frequent in the papyri, and could be understood as a D.I.Y. version of empyromancy, divination through studying the sacrificial fire, an act performed in sanctuaries. Lychnomancy kept the fiery element, but could be done at home, thus fitting the magicians' small-scale purposes.

The chapter ends with examples of where *manteis* and magicians used different techniques and where their goals diverged. The dream as mantic vehicle was of interest both to the magician and to the diviner. But for the magician, dreams not only provided information; the papyri also give instructions on how to send dreams and thus manipulate the dreamer. Other divinatory methods that seem to belong to the magicians' spectrum only, e.g., hand-mills, skulls or even entire corpses, bring the author back to necromancy. According to Johnston's study, only eight out of 600 spells in the magical corpus involves approaching the dead for divinatory assistance. Johnston argues that this is not due to lost evidence, or that such dangerous practices were never put on papyrus, but rather, that the dead were never considered as good informants. Most of the ghosts met in literature seem unaware of what is going on outside their underworld: therefore, there was no point in conjuring up the dead to gain knowledge.

The closing section readdresses the question of why divination and magic so often were treated as connected. Johnston refutes Martin Nilsson's explanation of magic as a debased form of divination (*Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, München 1941 & 1955) and W.R. Halliday's idea of divination as a weakened form of magic (*Greek divination: A study of its methods and principles*, London 1913). Instead she suggests similarities in the *mantis'* and magician's goals and professional situation. Both claimed superior knowledge, attained through communication with worlds beyond, and both were, in contrast to most other *polis* religious practitioners, professionals who gained their living through their art. Both offered readily available services, and were prepared to expand their repertoire from divination to initiation to writing curses, if the clientele so demanded.

The book is written for a broad audience of scholars and the generally interested alike. There are no footnotes: instead, Johnston gives some references in the text and a detailed bibliography with subdivisions for each chapter. This works rather well. A collected bibliography at the end would have been helpful, but a reader with further questions will easily find information, and the text flows smoothly. The latter is also due to the clear *I* of the account. The author allows herself personal comments and questions, which makes her text all the more readable.

I particularly appreciated Johnston's continuous stress on the importance of the enquirers' experience. She establishes that deity and mortal met through divination, and chooses to present the included oracles through the kind of divine encounter an oracle offered: this is a successful take on the matter. The book takes divination seriously but does not treat it as a dead object in need of dissection. Johnston sometimes suggests practical explanations to puzzling features, but without over-rationalizing. Greek religion (and thus divination) was neither all belief, nor all practicality.

My only objection to Johnston's study is that I felt somewhat cheated by the end chapter. Its focus on magic rather than divination makes it more suitable as a case study in an appendix than as part of the main text. A brief general discussion leading to conclusions and pointing to further questions would have been preferable. Despite this, through careful use of sources and honesty in how she uses them (the fundamental problem of combining evidence from various periods is for example discussed, necessarily so since the author presupposes a basic continuity of divinatory practice through the centuries), Johnston has written a highly informative and enjoyable book.

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P. von Rummel, *Habitus barbarus: Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: de Gruyter 2007. xi + 481 pp. ISBN: 978-3-11-019150-9.

Rummel's book, which is based upon a doctoral thesis at the University of Freiburg presented in 2005, treats how dress was an important way to express individual and collective identity in Late Antiquity. Despite extensive previous research within the area, this is the first interdisciplinary study of all available source material: texts, images and archaeological finds. Based on these sources R. argues for a new interpretation of so-called "barbarian" dress, which, according to the author, is an expression of status rather than ethnicity.

R. concentrates on the importance of dress as a social marker, which is made clear already in the introductory part of the book (pp. 1–96). The author begins by locating his work within the framework of modern sociological scholarship. Here Pierre Bourdieu occupies a key position, which is also mirrored in the title of the book. The introduction contains a thorough survey of earlier research from 1884 to 2005, which places R.'s study in its context. Common to much of earlier scholarship has been the focus placed on the opposition between the Roman and Germanic peoples, stressing ethnic affiliation. R. warns of the danger of equating ethnic iden-

tity with archaeological find categories: instead, different sources should balance each other (p. 63). Already at this point is established that "ethnicity is not a primary archaeological category" (p. 12).

The core of the book, comprising a study of the source material, follows in the three following chapters. The first of these chapters treats the written sources (pp. 97–196). R. argues that these, which stem mainly from the Roman senatorial aristocracy, puts a positive, traditional Roman self-image against a negative, ideologically motivated depiction of the "barbarians", who are identified by their dress, among other things. But R. wishes to establish that this "barbarian" look, with neck rings, trousers and long hair, was an integrated part of Roman military dress code, creating an opposition towards Roman *civilian* clothing rather than Roman dress in general.

Depictions are the object of interest in the following chapter (pp. 197–268). R. argues that identifications of "barbarians" in the study of Roman art are based in the final analysis on textual sources, which already have been dismissed in the preceding chapter. R. believes that scholars have allowed themselves to be guided too much by written material, without questioning the circumstances in which they were written. One of the most important and debated examples is the so-called Stilicho Diptych, where the depicted soldier in R.'s interpretation is dressed in official Roman military attire (*chlamys*) in contrast to the civilian dress of office (*toga*). No ethnic features are visible to the author.

The same kind of argumentation permeates the third analytical chapter, which treats the archaeological sources (pp. 269–375). In archaeology one has often assumed that the types of clothing ascribed to "barbarians" in written sources, and which then crop up in excavations, can readily be identified as non-Roman burials. R. discusses for example the tombs in Tunisia which have traditionally been identified as Vandal burials. The artefacts found in these graves are distinguishable from other local styles, but not from "Roman" burials in Spain and France. Since these kinds of graves have richer finds, R. chooses to interpret this as a question of status rather than ethnicity. The dress ornaments found in the tomb of the Frankish King Childebert may be viewed similarly, according to the author: as signs of military, Roman status, not as ethnic, Germanic dress code.

For R. to have written this dissertation at the University of Freiburg is no coincidence. The Department of Early Medieval Archaeology there has in later years become the foremost advocate in Germany for a more flexible interpretation of ethnicity during the age of migrations, arising in opposition to the cultural-historical movement, primarily represented at the University of Munich by such greats as Joachim Werner and Volker Bierbrauer.

The Freiburg movement started in the mid-1980s when Heiko Steuer became professor,¹ and has now spawned a