Minos' silver Wine-Cup: religious forgery, reception and functional memory in classical antiquity

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Resumen

El interés moderno por la falsificación adquiere formas muy variadas. El interés popular radica especialmente en el escándalo e, implícitamente, en el mantenimiento de un mito romántico de autenticidad; entre los expertos está relacionado con la preservación y mejora del valor comercial; el interés académico se dirige hacia las posibilidades abiertas por "la muerte del autor". En el ámbito de la Antigüedad Clásica, son las intenciones de los falsificadores lo que ha constituido tradicionalmente el foco de atención. Al adoptar un "modelo de comunicación", este artículo analiza la falsificación religiosa desde el punto de vista de la recepción, los intereses que operan en el proceso de aceptación y (ocasionalmente) rechazo. Las falsificaciones se comprenden como contribuciones que aspiran a la memoria cultural, de modo que hacen necesario considerar grados de legitimidad consensuada y conceptos de plausibilidad operativos.

Abstract

Modern interest in forgery takes many forms. Popular interest is mostly in scandal, and implicitly the maintenance of a Romantic myth of authenticity; connoisseurship is concerned with the preservation and enhancement of commercial value; academic interest is directed towards the possibilities opened up by the 'death of the author'. In the field of Classics, it is forgers' intentions that have traditionally been the focus of attention. Adopting a communication-model, this article considers religious forgery from the point of view of reception, the interests at work in the process of acceptance and (occasional) rejection. Forgeries are understood as aspirant contributions to cultural memory, so that it becomes necessary to consider degrees of consensual legitimacy, and operative concepts of plausibility.

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The topic of fakes and forgery has for many years now been a favourite subject for popular books and articles purporting to reveal the truth about scandals past and present.[1] They bear titles such as *Literary Forgeries*, *Artifices et mystifications littéraires*, *Las falsificaciones de la Historia*, *Gefälscht!* or *Das Lexikon der Fälschungen*.[2] In them one finds anecdotes instructive and entertaining, illustrating a variety of themes, glimpses into the the world of the outrageous, the daring, the extraordinary, the cunning, the half-mad, stories whose moral is simultaneously that anyone can be the the victim of learned and not-so-learned forgery, and that the forger is a kind of folk- or culture-hero, excluded merely by mischance from the ranks of the legitimate grandees of the signifying past, a figure who cocks a snook at the authorities, at propriety, at the recognised norm. Everyone today knows the name of Annius of Viterbo, Erasmus Stella (Johannes Stüler), Constantine Simonides,[3] Denis Vrain-Lucas, Hans van Meegeren, Frederic Prokosch, or Edgar Mrugalla, to say nothing of the recent cases of over-keen biologists and bio-medical researchers, just as everyone must feel a sneaking sympathy for a man like Giammaria Biemmi (1708-78), the historian of Brescia, who published two histories of his native city to great acclaim, since they illuminated periods about which little had hitherto been known; but whose greatest achievement remains the history of Gjergj Kastriota, better known as Skanderberg, the national hero of the Albanians' struggle against the Turk, which, through vivid evocation of notable but quite unhistorical battles, is still the basis of much popular lore in Albania about him.[4] Hardly less sympathetic is a man like David Hermann Schiff (1801-

1 This paper was originally written for a Craven seminar on Fakes and Forgeries in the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge, 29-31 May 2001, where contributions from many different fields, not only Classics, were presented. The first few pages retain traces of that circumstance. I thank Jaime Alvar for prompting me to revise and up-date it for this penultimate issue of ARYS.

2 E.g. J. Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones* (Madrid, 1868, repr. Valencia, 1998; Granada, 1999); H. Hagen, *Über literarische Fälschungen* (Hamburg, 1889); J.A. Farrer, *Literary Forgeries* (London, 1907); R. Picard, *Artifices et mystifications littéraires* (Paris, 1945); C. Corino, *Gefälscht! Betrug in Politik, Literaturwissenschaft, Kunst und Musik²* (Frankfurt, 1990); J. Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)* (Barcelona, 1991 and 1992); W. Elsner, *Betrug und Schwindel: Die wichtigsten und aufsehenerregensten Schwindel, Betrügereien und Fälschungen* (Ratstatt, 1998); W. Fuld, *Das Lexikon der Fälschungen: Fälschungen, Lügen und Verschwörungen aus Kunst, Historie, Wissenschaft und Literatur* (Frankfurt, 1999).

3 See recently L. Canfora, *Il papiro di Artemidoro* (Bari, 2008); R. Janko, 'The Artemidorus papyrus,' *CR* 59.2 (2009), 403-10; cf. J.K. Elliott, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Simonides Affair* (Thessaloniki, 1982). Contra: C. Gallazzi, B. Kramer and S. Settis (eds.), *Il papiro di Artemidoro* (Milan, 2008).

4 G. Biemmi, *Istoria di Brescia*, 2 vols. (Brescia 1748-49); *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto detto Scan-*

67), who in 1831 and 1832 published two novellas of his own that he purported to have translated from Balzac. They were greeted with acclaim, the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* observing with satisfaction that: "Auch in Deutschland ist Balzacs Name nicht mehr fremd".[5] They were so successful indeed that that in the following year translations of the veritable Balzac began to appear.

On the other hand, however, just as the folk-hero's resistance to the political authorities usually masks a deeper coincidence of interests, so the forger's subversion of the world of official culture is only apparent.[6] Even the most grotesque forgery may turn out to be a pillar of the establishment, such as the Mozart researches allegedly carried out in 1936 in sub-Saharan Africa by one of the earliest indigenous anthropologists, named Ogni Kra Kra, some of whose work had fallen into the hands of a well-known Salzburg dealer in Mozartiana, Max Bläulich. Ogni Kra Kra had apparently carried out some interesting experiments proving that Mozart's music affected even savages. Over a period of six years, he had played records of the operas to members of two tribes, the 'Pusti' and the 'Mengelli', in order to find out what effect they had. It turned out that, whereas in their religious ceremonies they had previously put grey or yellow mud on their hair, after listening to *Entführung aus dem Serail* they started to wear red mud for this purpose. Ogni Kra Kra concluded from this that the opera generated frivolous impulses, which stimulated the audience to erotic behaviour, and proved the universality of the appeal of Mozart's genius – a conclusion of course that met with thorough approbation in Salzburg.[7]

The popular interest in the scandal associated with forgery thus masks a rather conventional view of cultural rules and hierarchies. Awareness of forgery, plagiarism and so on is most developed nowadays where financial interests are concerned. It is art- and Kunstobjekten-dealers who are today most keen to obtain certificates of authenticity from museum-experts, academics, and acknowledged connoisseurs.[8] Indeed, Anthony Grafton has claimed that the development of

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derbergh (Brescia, 1742), which includes among its claimed sources an anonymous work, *Historia Scanderbergi edita per quendam Albanensem*, published in Venice in 1480 (a work of which there is of course no other bibliographic trace), purporting to have been written by the brother of a member of Scanderberg's bodyguard. The historical facts Biemmi took from the competent volume by the Catholic priest Marinus Barletius (Marino Barlezio), *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbergi Epirotorum principis* (Rome, 1509-10, repr. Frankfurt, 1578 and frequently thereafter under a variety of titles).

5 *Lebensbilder: drei Teile in zwei Bänden von Honoré de Balzac, dem Verfasser des letzten Chouan oder die Bretagne im Jahre 1800. Aus dem Französichen übersetzt* .... (ed. F. Hirth) 2 vols. (Munich, 1913).

6 Cf. the vast collection on this theme in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Akten des Internationalen Kongresses der MonGermHist., Munich 16-19 September 1986*. Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 33.1-6 (Munich 1988-90); briefer and more entertaining: A. Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in fifteenth-century England* (London and Toronto, 2004).

7 A. Holzer (ed.), *Dokumente des Musiklebens. Aus dem Archiv des Instituts für Musikgeschichte* (Wien), Feb. 1995 (Vienna 1995), 36 no. E26. The 'Pusti' and 'Mengelli' are of course fictitious (possibly calqued on the Phuthi in South Africa, and the Migili in Nigeria). Ogni Kra Kra seems likewise to be a fiction. A modern version of this claim, that listening to Mozart makes children more intelligent, is likewise false.

8 R. Myers and M. Harris, *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript* (Winchester, 1989); K. Riha (ed.), *Zum Thema: Fälschungen*, Diagonal (Zeitschrift der Universität Siegen)

criteria by which to expose forgeries owes a great deal to the practice of forgery itself.[9] Here again, the popular interest in forgery tends to draw upon, and reinforce, distinctions that appear to be common-sensical but which are in practice very difficult to apply. For any such issue to be decided by a court, the intention to deceive must be taken for granted, as it is in the popular view. The historian, on the other hand, need make no such assumption; but that makes it quite difficult to decide what definition, if any, one can give the notion. Grafton, for example, begins from the assumptions that forgery is as old as writing, and that as an historian one cannot attempt to uncover forgers' intentions – they are simply too varied and, very often, impenetrable. I cannot do better than to define forgery, at any rate in the present context, as a communicative medium whose true genesis cannot, from the observer's point of view, correspond to the process alleged or implied.[10] In general it may be better, particularly in the religious context, to use a word such as *pseudepigraphon*, even though it has the disadvantage that it can only properly be used of texts, whereas in the religious case, as I insist below, objects and topographies are also of great importance in authenticating for an audience the truth of religious claims. In what follows, I shall be using the word *pseudepigraphon/a* in this wider sense, to include objects and topographies.[11]

DRAWING BOUNDARIES

One effect of the discovery of inter-textuality has been to relativise the notion of the individual creative author; it has even been claimed, in a post-modern hyperbole, that the forged work is actually the truest one.[12] I take it that it is such post-modern doubts about the status of the author, and the consequent increase of interest among critics in neglected forms such as parody, pastiche, letters, and

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1994 (2) (Siegen, 1994); C. Caspars, *Geächtet: Fälschungen und Originale aus dem Kestner-Museum* (Hannover, 2001); A.-F. Auberson (ed.), *Faux – contrefaçons – imitation: Actes du 4e colloque international du Groupe suisse pour l'étude des trouvailles monétaires, Martigny, 2002* (Lausanne, 2002); G. Zeising, *Wer erkennt das Blendwerk? Fälschungen und Fehlzuschreibung von Gemälden, Plastiken, und Handzeichnungen: Eine Einführung in die multidisziplinäre Werkbestimmung* (Weimar, 2004); G.-V. Weege, *Münzfälschungen: Wie schütze ich mich vor Fälschungen?* (Vienna, 2005); A.-K. Reulecke, *Fälschungen: Zu Autorschaft und Beweis in Wissenschaften und Künsten* (Frankfurt, 2006); A. Cwitkovits, *Alte Meister? Spektakuläre Fälschungen* (Vienna, 2010).

9 A. Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990); for the term 'pseudosaggistica' in this context, see G.M. Facchetti, *Scrittura e falsità* (Rome, 2009).

10 Such a definition would include pseudonymous productions (cf. J.A. Sint, *Pseudonymität im Altertum.* Comm. Aenipontanae, 15 [Innsbruck, 1960]) but intentionally omits mythical narratives, which played a central role in the construction of ancient religious topographies, since to term them 'forgeries' would be as strange as calling modern fiction 'lies'.

11 One problem with such a terminology is that the word 'pseudepigrapha' already has a relatively determinate meaning, particularly in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (cf. M. Hengel, 'Anonymität, Pseudepigraphie und "Literarische Fälschung" in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur,' in K. von Fritz (ed.), *Pseudepigrapha.* Entretiens Fondation Hardt, 18 [Vandoeuvres, 1972], 229-329), which jars with the plural of my proposed term. Where I intend the word in the wide sense, I write it in italics.

12 N. Groom, *The Forger's Shadow: How Forgery Changed the Course of Literature* (London, 2002).

pseudepigrapha, that underlie the selection of forgery for this issue of *ARYS*.[13] A similar drift in art-history undermines the notion of 'artist' by emphasizing the circumstances of production in medieval and early modern painters' workshops and *ateliers*, with their assistants, apprentices and underlings, any of whom may have had a hand in the finished work. A few years ago, *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* devoted part of an issue to the question of musical forgery, re-working and, more generally, the notion of copyright. One of the authors pointed out how in earlier periods melodies were considered to be 'raw material' and so re-cycled by successive composers that the very idea of 'authorship' loses any meaning; and that, insofar as the notion of musical borrowing did emerge in the Baroque, it was likened to borrowing money from a bank, so that the proper thing to do was to 'return' the melody or composition 'with interest', embellished, improved, rendered more beautiful.[14] In such situations, the belief that there must be clear lines of demarcation between the forged and the genuine, which the popular interest in forgeries unselfconsciously, or rather implicitly, seeks to maintain by appealing to common-sense categories, becomes hard to sustain.[15]

Decisions here are rarely easy.[16] The ancient world abounds with difficult cases, some of which I may sketch here. The first is the case of Akousilaos of Argos, a late Archaic logographer generally assigned to the second half of the sixth century BC/early Classical period. Grafton claims him as the earliest example of a forger in Greece.[17] His justification is that Akousilaos sought to support his account of the genealogies of gods, heroes and men, which evidently contained numerous corrections or supplements to the earlier epic tradition,[18] by means of the claim that his new material was derived from some bronze tablets which his father had found in the grounds of their house in Argos. "Thus he founded", observes Grafton, "one of the great *topoi* of the western tradition of forgery". The finding of alleged documents or books is indeed a typical claim by forgers.[19] But this information about 'Akousilaos' is owed exclusively to his entry in the *Suda* (a 942 = *FGrH* 2 T1 = Acusilas Argeus T1 Fowler) and it is generally agreed that

13 At any rate in the field of historical-cultural studies, Foucault's *Les mots et les choses* (Paris, 1966) represents a significant step away from the structuralist belief in textual 'deep meaning'.

14 W. Birtel, ' "Zu gut für ihn": Plagiate, Falschzuschreibungen und Fälschungen in der Musik,' *Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2001 (3) (2001), 18-25. Between 1802 and 1806, the architects James Wyatt and John & George Repton (sons of Humphry) authenticated their alterations to Cobham Hall, Kent, which were intended to make the central range look older, by means of false date-stones.

15 Cf. the rich article by K. Ziegler, s.v. Plagiat, *RE* 20A (1950), 1956-97.

16 I here ignore the obvious cases of legitimate doubt about the notion of authorship in the classical field, such as the bulk of Archaic Greek literature, mythography, the interface between Hellenistic and Roman literary production, and Early Christian pseudepigraphy.

17 Grafton, *Forgers and Critics* (n. 9), 13.

18 "Si Akousilaos d'Argos est cité une quinzaine de reprises par la tradition comme une autorité en matière d'érudition mythographique au même titre qu'Hésiode, c'est que précisément, il s'écartait de ce dernier sur tout un ensemble de points et proposait des variantes aux versions poétiques du mythe": C. Jacob, 'L'ordre généalogique. Entre le mythe et l'histoire,' in M. Detienne (ed.), *Transcrire les mythologies. Tradition, écriture, historicité* (Paris, 1994), 169-202 (178).

19 For the ancient world, the standard account is W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen, 1970).

the story is itself a forgery, perhaps devised in the time of Hadrian.[20] At any rate, everyone agrees that all the fragments are credible and genuine.[21] But Grafton, committed to his claim that forgery begins with writing, needed an early Greek forger to found his tradition; and took the story in the *Suda* at face value – thus, as it were, forging his own tradition.

Then again, in the first fragment in Ernest Rieß' collection of Nechepso and Petosiris, who were considered to be the founders of hellenistic Egyptian astrology, Nechepso claims to have received a vision at night in which he beheld all the movements of the constellations, and became drunk on the beauty of the star-strewn heavens.[22] That looks like a typical forger's claim, and it seems clear from the lines Vettius quotes: ἔδοξε δέ μοι πάννυχον πρὸς ἀέρα ‹--------› /καὶ μοί τις ἐξέχησεν οὐράνου βοή, τῆ σάρκας [μεν] ἀμφέκειτο πέπλος κυάνεος κνέφας προστείνων, that the passage was written in iambics.[23] Now of course both 'authors' are pseudonyms, in the sense that the entire corpus of early Egyptian astrology on its reception from Babylon in the early Hellenistic period was said to have been written by them.[24] But these details, suspicious though they look, by no means prove that the corpus is a 'forgery', whatever that might mean in this context, for there is good reason to believe that they belong to an Egyptian tradition of revelation text; the passage recalls Apuleius' account in *Metam*. XI of Lucius' first initiation: *nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine, deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adoravi de proximo*.[25] And in the magical papyri we possess dozens of recipes for direct revelation from a god, by means of which the lector-priests of the 'House of Life' legitimated their divinatory visions.[26] There is therefore reason to believe that Nechepso's claims may have

20 The Suda, e 360 s.v. Hekataios Milesios = FGrH 2 T7 = Acusilas T**7 Fowler, claims that τὰ ᾽Ακουσιλάου νοθεύεται, 'The writings of Acusilaus are forgeries'. Period of Hadrian: E. Schwartz, s.v. Akusilaos, *RE* 1 (1894), 1222-23.

21 Diels-Kranz no. 9 = *FGrH* 2 F1-43 with the commentary in I (Komm).376-86 = Acusilaus Argeus F1-44 Fowler; cf. F. Montanari, s.v. Akusilaos, *DNP* 1 (Stuttgart, 1996), 418-19.

22 E. Rieß (ed.), 'Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica,' *Philologus* Suppl. 6 (1891-93), 332-33, frg. 1 = Vettius Valens 6.1, p.241.9-20 Kroll = 6.1.8-10 Pingree = M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (Hildesheim, 1985), 183 no.77. I have used Pingree's text.

23 "There appeared to me [as I looked up, *vel sim*.] to the night sky ... and (I heard) a cry emanating from heaven, that cast a dusky robe over nature, spreading darkness all over". I take *savrka~* in LSJ's sense II.3, 'the physical or natural order of things', but it may of course simply mean 'my body' or 'human beings'. The compound *prosteivnw* is not listed in LSJ, though its meaning is clear. On the 'pseudo-revelatory style', see A. Schmid, *Augustus und die Macht der Sterne* (Cologne and Weimar, 2005), 185, 187.

24 Cf. W. Kroll, s.v. Nechepso, *RE* 16 (1936), 2160-67; W. and H.G. Gundel, *Astrologumena: Die astrologische Literature in der Antike und ihre Geschichte*. Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 6 (Wiesbaden, 1966), 27-36; 105. Divine voice: W. Speyer, s.v. Himmelsstimme, *RfAC* 15 (1989), 283-303; idem, 'Das Hören einer göttlichen Stimme,' *Helmantica* 45 (1994), 7-27.

25 Apuleius, *Metam*. 11.23: "in the middle of the night I saw the sun flashing with bright light; I came face to face with the gods below and the gods above ..." (tr. Hanson).

26 R.L. Gordon, 'Reporting the Marvellous: Private Divination in the Greek Magical Papyri,' in: H. Kippenberg & P.Schäfer (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leyden, 1997), 65-92; K. Spakowska (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2006); J.-F. Quack, 'Demotische, magische und divinatorische Texte,' in: B. Janowski and G.

been, at least in a sense, perfectly true – not so much a forgery as a report of a generically-appropriate vision, albeit certainly not by Nechepso, who, so far as we know, was not a historical person but an ancient idealised King.[27]

Another example might be the famous account by Hippolytos in *Refutatio omnium haeresium* of the fraudulent practices of the 'magi'.[28] This passage is clearly taken from a book, possibly by a Cynic philosopher, which exposed, in much the same way as Oinomaos of Gadara in the second century AD did for oracle-mongering, the tricks of professional mountebanks who purported to offer revelations and other magical services.[29]

> Thus they pretend to be able to put their hands in boiling pitch; but the boiling is mere appearance, since it is mixed with vinegar and nitre, and when slightly warmed, begins to bubble; and the magician bathes his hand in vinegar before putting it into the pitch, so that it is not in fact scalded (§33).

Among many other revelations, the book explained how magicians pretend to perform a lecanomancy with figures, that is a bowl filled with a mixture of oil and water, beneath the surface of which figures could be seen moving, who would answer one's questions. The floor of the room has a concealed trap-door, and the bottom of the bowl is made of rock-crystal; when the trap is opened by an accomplice dressed the part, the consultant seems to see a god or gods beneath the surface (§34). Now this looks a perfectly familiar kind of text, reassuringly identical to the procedures of the Society for Psychic Research to which E.R. Dodds belonged,[30] or the fearless exposures of fraudulent spiritualists undertaken in Britain by the *Daily Telegraph* after the Great War. But is it in fact? Is this really an exposure of fraud, or merely a rationalising account of how the claims to be found in magical receptaries might have been performed if they had actually occurred? Reinhold Merkelbach once suggested that all Egyptian *autoptoi* (direct visions of god) were indeed mere fancy-dress occasions got up by the priests; but not many have followed him.[31]

Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, NF 4: Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörung* (Gütersloh, 2008), 331-85; E. Suárez de la Torre, 'La divinazione nei Papiri Magici Greci,' in M. Monaca (ed.), *Problemi di storia religiosa del mondo tardo-antico: Tra mantica e magia*. Collana di studi storico-religiosi, 14 (Cosenza, 2009), 13-44.

27 On the place of Nechepso and Petosiris in Vettius Valens, see J. Komorowska, *Vettius Valens of Antioch: An Intellectual Monography* [sic] (Cracow, 2004), 160-69, who rightly distinguishes obscurity from obfuscation; also A. Schmid, 'Astrologie als Einspruch – aber gegen was?' in G. Urso (ed.), *Ordine e sovversione nel mondo greco e romano: Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 25-27 settembre 2008*. I convegni della Fondazione Nicolò Canussio, 7 (Pisa, 2009), 207-21 (208-09).

28 Hippolytos, *Ref. omn. haer.* 4 28-42 = Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte* (n. 22), 184-92 no.78.

29 J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik des kynikers Oenomaus*, Athenäums Monographien, Altertumswissenschaft, 188 (Königstein, 1988).

30 E.R. Dodds, *Missing Persons* (Oxford, 1977), 39, 97-102.

31 R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, 3. Papyrologia Coloniensia, 17.3 (Opladen, 1992) 29-32 (he also cites the 'Nauplios' of Hieron of Alexandria, περι αὐτοματοποιικης 22-30, pp. 412-53 Schmidt); so also already idem and M. Totti, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*. Papyrologia Coloniensia, 17. 1-2 (Opladen, 1990-91), 1: 25.

In this context, we might also cite the Homer verses in Sex. Iulius Africanus' *Kestoi*, Book XVIII, which are often taken to be a glaring example of forgery.[32] They consist of an incantation in pseudo-Graeco-Egyptian manner put into the mouth of Odysseus as he tries to gain access to the inhabitants of Hades in *Odyssey* XI.34-50. The lines begin:

Κλῦθί] μοι, εὐμειδης και ἐπίσκοπος, εὔσπο[ρ᾽ Ἄν]ουβι,
κλῦθί τε αἱμ]ύλε ‹κρ›υπτὲ πάρευνε, σαῶτι Ὀσί[ρεω]ς,
δεῦρ᾽ Ἑρ]μῆ, ἅρπαξ, δεῦρ᾽, ε[ὐ]πλόκαμε, χθόνιε Ζεῦ, ...[33]

If we simply look at the lines as conveniently excerpted in Preisendanz' *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, the idea of forgery seems plausible enough.[34] It is however advisable to go back to points made by Richard Wünsch in his fundamental contribution to this problem, namely that the first thirteen lines of col. 1 contain the ordinary Homeric text of *Od.* XI. 34-43 + 48-50; the lines immediately following, ll.14-42, contain suppositious or interpolated text, followed by *Od.* XI. 51. However, of ll.14-42 only ll.22-36 are 'Graeco-Egyptian', the remainder is Homeric pastiche.[35] In a thorough re-consideration of col. ii of the surviving codex-page, which contains a sort of commentary, Jürgen Hammerstaedt has pointed out that Africanus simply claims that Homer knew this incantation but deliberately omitted it from his text. [36] He does not claim to have found another manuscript, in the time-honoured manner of the forger – the status of the suppositious text is left quite unclear.[37] It is thus rather to be taken in the manner in which we take speeches in the historians, 'the sort of thing that it was appropriate to say at this juncture', i.e. an imaginative supplement – albeit it hopelessly anachronistic –rather than a forgery.

A final example of the care that needs to be applied in identifying ancient religious forgery is the case of the non-standard *ushabti*s found in parts of

32 So Grenfell and Hunt, *POxy* 412; J.R. Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus: Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaire* (Florence and Paris, 1970), frag. 5 with extensive commentary. Vieillefond calculates that the codex as a whole must have contained 1505 lines (c.7650 words), roughly 32 printed Budé pages, but we have no idea how much more suppositious material it contained.

33 "Hearken to me, kindly Lord, well-begotten Anubis, and hearken, thou resourceful, clandestine wife, saviour of Osiris! [Come hither,] rapacious Hermes, hither, Zeus of the Underworld, with your beautiful head of hair!"

34 *PGrMag* XXIII (vol. 2: 150-51).

35 R. Wünsch, ëDie Sidaimonia, I: Der Zaubergesang in der Nekuia Homers', *ARW* 12 (1909) 2-19, positing at least two interpolators; there is a useful resumé of Wünsch's points and a good analysis of the suppositious invocation in Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2.2. Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, 23.2 (Amsterdam, 1990 [orig. Vienna, 1924]), §§334-338.

36 J. Hammerstaedt, 'Julius Africanus und seine Tätigkeiten im 18. Kestos (*P.Oxy* 412, col. II),' in M. Wallraff and L. Mecella (eds.), *Die Kestoi des Julius Africanus und ihre Überlieferung*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur, 165 (Berlin and New York, 2009), 53-69 (56). He argues, against Vieillefond, that the codex contained 36 cols. = 1530 lines, and that it must date from the mid-250s, so that the 'Graeco-Egyptian' incantation must have been written shortly before Julius Africanus incorporated it into this *Kestos*.

37 Hammerstaedt, 'Julius Africanus,' 61-66. There is a colour photo of the page with the two columns on p.69.

North-Central Italy, which hold the wrong sort of objects in their hands, and whose hieroglyphic texts do not cite the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead, as they should; related types even carry the crown of Osiris and an unusual sort of *flagellum*.[38] Are these ancient forgeries, sold to the ignorant, as has often been suspected? It has recently been suggested that they are better understood as local craft-productions, attesting to a belief among Italian worshippers of Isis that *ushabti*s were in fact representations of Osiris, an appropriate mistake given the regular connection between the latter and the after-life.[39]

In their different ways, these examples illustrate the point that in the world of forgery, or supposed forgery, things may not be quite what they seem. And especially in the case of religion it has often been suggested that there is a significant element of connivance or complicity in the reception of forgeries. Jesus' veritable swaddling clothes, mentioned in Luke's Gospel, and measuring 20 x 25 cm, first shown to the faithful in 1175, have been on show in Spoleto Cathedral since 1996. La Sindone, displayed in 2010 at Turin Cathedral for the first time since being restored in 2002, is expected to attract 1.8 million pilgrims. As Karl Deschner observed in relation to the Donation of Constantine, "Dass die Welt betrogen werden will, könnte man fast glauben, zumal dort, wo ihre Hoffnungen am größten sind, in der Religion".[40] We may at any rate urge that the most successful forgeries are those that tell the audience what they want to hear.[41] I return below at greater length to this issue of reception, which, at any rate in the religious context, is surely central.

The author-centred approach: Intentions

Although my narrower topic is religious forgery, it is worth first of all providing a general context for such productions by rapidly surveying the materials we possess from the ancient world relating to the topic of forgery in a wide sense. In this task, one cannot avoid a heavy debt to Wolfgang Speyer, whose main work, apart from a number of important articles and longer pieces,[42] appeared in his contribution to the series Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, *Die literarische*

38 G. Capriotti Vittozzi, *Oggetti, idee, culti egizi nelle Marche (dalle tombe picene al tempio di Treia)* (Tivoli, 1999), 131-45 and 216-27.

39 M. Malaise, *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques*. Mém. de la Classe des Lettres de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique, coll. in-8°, 3° sér., 35 (Brussels, 2005), 18-19.

40 Cited by Corino, *Gefälscht!* (n. 2 above), 27.

41 Indeed there are some who would go further and claim that not merely are mimicry and pretence widespread in the animal world, but that memory itself is the greatest forger of all: I. Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul* (Princeton, 1995).

42 'Religiöse Pseudepigraphie und literarische Fälschungen im Altertum,' *JbAC* 8-9 (1965-66), 85-125; 'Angebliche Übersetzungen des heidnischen und christlichen Altertums,' *JbAC* 11-12 (1968), 26-41; *Bücherfunde* (n. 19 above); 'Fälschungen, pseudepigraphische freie Erfindungen und echte religiöse Pseudepigraphie,' in von Fritz, *Pseudepigrapha* (n. 11 above), 331-72; 'Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen,' *JbAC* 17 (1974), 47-63;'Der numinöse Mensch als Wundertäter,' *Kairos* 26 (1985), 129-53. Some of these are re-printed in his collections: *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Hildesheim, 1999) and the three volumes of *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld* (Tübingen, 1989-2007).

Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum.[43] It was the first attempt for over 80 years to cover the topic of literary forgery right through to Late Antiquity. The first point to note is the amount of space allocated respectively to pagan and Christian texts (70 [including 20 on ancient Judaism] against 130).[44] In other words, the grand period of ancient forgery appears in fact not to be Graeco-Roman antiquity but Early Christianity – at least the greater survival-rate of Christian texts makes it appear so.[45] The reasons for this disparity, though interesting, do not concern me here. Certainly the techniques used in creating apocryphal or gnostic gospels, apocalypses, martyr-acts, saints' lives, letters from heaven, and a variety of legal documents are imitated from pagan antiquity. Christianity emerged in a pseudepigraphic world, and never forgot that primitive instruction.[46] The main modes of ancient literary forgery are: spurious first-person narratives, the creation of false seals or σφράγιδες, and (the largest group) claims about the source of the text – through vision or dream, letters to and from great men, texts found in tombs, temple-libraries, archives; translations of ancient documents; narratives learned from chance encounters with old men; citation from non-existent documents; writing in pseudo-dialect (e.g. Doric in the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha).[47]

Speyer's position is that literary forgery is the most important sub-category of pseudepigraphy. He does allow for another sub-category, 'echte religiöse Pseudographie', by which he means texts genuinely written under inspiration and therefore ascribed to the authorship of a god, texts of a type common in the Near East but not in Graeco-Roman antiquity.[48] Non-literary forgery is almost entirely ignored.

The essential feature of forgery in Speyer's view is that it claims to be written by one who is not the actual or veritable author. We have a forgery when the true author is not the person announced by the *subscriptio* or title or σφράγις, by the contents or by the transmission. A true forgery is a text where the mask is used as a means of pursuing ends that lie outside literature (or art).[49] For Speyer, therefore, the question is at bottom a moral one: deception is a form of lie, and the essence

43 W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (Munich, 1971). For many years (1965-76) Speyer (*1933), who as a boy attended the well-known Benedictine Ettalergymnasium, was employed on the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* by the F.-J. Dölger Institute in Bonn, before becoming außerordentlicher Professor (1977), later ordentlicher Professor (1987), at Salzburg. He received a Festschrift, *Chartulae*, in 1998.

44 M. Smith, 'Pseudepigraphy in the Israelite Literary Tradition,' in von Fritz, *Pseudepigrapha* (n. 11) 189-227 distinguishes sharply between the Graeco-Roman and the Jewish traditions of pseudepigraphy and forgery.

45 While working for the F.-J. Dölger Institute, Speyer studied Catholic Theology, and now works mainly in that area. He is a member of the Katholische Akademie in Vienna and the Bayerische Benediktinerakademie in Munich.

46 Cf. N. Brox, *Falsche Verfasserangaben: ZurErklärung der frühchristlichen Pseudepigraphie*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien79 (Stuttgart, 1975); idem,'Tendenz und Pseudepigraphie im ersten Petrusbrief,' in *Das Frühchristentum* (Freiburg, 2000), 203-15.

47 Speyer, *Fälschung*, 44-83.

48 Speyer, *Fälschung*, 6 and 35-36.

49 Speyer, *Fälschung*, 13.

of forgery is deception: "Nur wo Täuschungsabsicht, also *dolus malus*, vorliegt, wird der Tatbestand der Fälschung erfüllt" (p.13). Anonymous works may also be forgeries in this sense, but, at any rate in principle, not pseudonymous works. By contrast with Grafton, Speyer believes that there is no point in studying forgery unless you can say something about its motives, complex though they may be. In any case, only motive explains forgery.[50] Generally speaking, the rule holds: *is fecit cui prodit*.

On this view, the pre-condition for the development of forgery is the existence of an idea of personal authorship, which, following Bruno Snell, Speyer places in VII-VI[a].[51] The development of the book-market, beginning at Athens in V[a],[52] created new possibilities of forgery, from the simplest of all, the bookseller's changing of the name on the σφράγις or *subscriptio*, to circulating wholly spurious texts in the manner of Bolos of Mendes, in that it routinised and commodified the notion of the literary work.[53] It is therefore telling that the usual words in Greek for forgery begin to appear at this time: ἀποκόπτειν, ἀφανίζειν, διαφθείρειν, ἐμβάλλειν, ἐξαιρεῖν, καινοτόμειν, κιβδηλεύειν, νοθεύειν, παραχαράσσειν, περεμβάλλειν, σφετερίζεσθαι.[54] Apart from the book-market, two further linked features of the literary scene in antiquity encouraged the growth of forgery. One is the development of a canon of Classical authors, particularly the tragedians and the orators, whose style was considered paradigmatic. The other is the central position of a rhetorical education that included the close stylistic imitation of precisely the canonical authors. This associated the very idea of education with the practical capacity to produce reasonably convincing literary pastiches. All the same, it is noticeable that the range of high literary forgery in antiquity is very limited, concentrating as it does on epistolary production (e.g. the letters

50 "Nur das Motiv erklärt die Fälschung": Speyer, *Fälschung*, 9.

51 B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung der Geistes: Studien zur Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen* (Hamburg, 1946).

52 Bookmarket: Speyer, *Fälschung*, 16; cf. J. A. Davison, 'Literature and Literacy in Ancient Greece,' *Phoenix* 16 (1962), 141-56 and 219-33; F.D. Harvey, 'Literacy in the Athenian Democracy,' *REG* 79 (1966), 585-635; E.G. Turner, *Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*[2] (London, 1977); R. Pfeiffer, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie , 1: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus*[2] (Munich, 1978), 46-49; C.W. Hedrick, 'Democracy and the Athenian Epigraphic Habit,' *Hesperia* 68 (1999), 387-439.

53 Bolos: R.L. Gordon, '*Quaedam veritatis umbrae*: Hellenistic Magic and Astrology,' in: P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen et al. (eds.) *Conventional Values in the Hellenistic World* (Aarhus, 1997), 128-58 (134-39); M.W. Dickie, 'The Learned Magician and the Collection and Transmission of Magical Lore,' in: D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomasson (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first S. Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997*. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4 (Bergen, 1999), 163-93.

54 In Latin comparable words are: *adulterare, auferre, delere, eradere, extinguere, falsare, interpolare, subvertere*. The nouns used by neo-Platonists to describe the Pseudo-pythagorean literature are νόθος and νόθεια: Porphyry, *vit. Plot*. 16.15; *vit. Pythag*. 53; Iamblichos, *vit. Pythag.* 2.3;Olympiodoros, *Comm. in Meteor., CAG* 12.2 (ed. Struve) p.4.16; cf. G. Staab, *Pythagoras in der Spätantike: Studien zu De vita Pythagorica des Iamblichos von Chalkis* (Leipzig, 2002), 215 n.528.

of King Priam, Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans,[55] Solon,[56] Herakleitos, The Seven Sages, Themistokles, Socrates, Hippokrates, Xenophon, Plato, Isokrates, Aeschines, Demosthenes, Alexander the Great, Speusippos, Epicurus, Sallust, Apollonios of Tyana[57]...).[58]

Alongside this 'institutional' account of the emergence of forgery, however, lurks another, namely that forgery really only gets under way in the Hellenistic period. One important consideration adduced here is the demand for texts generated by the great Hellenistic royal libraries, at Pella, Alexandria, Antioch and Pergamon (Strabo 13.2, 624C), the sums available to such libraries for purchases, and the rapidity with which the shelf-space needed to be filled.[59] There certainly are a number of instructive stories in this connection about serious forgery in the Simonides or Van Meegeren style, with papyrus-rolls being artificially darkened with olive-oil and 'distressed' to give them a spurious appearance of age.[60] Speyer himself however placed more weight on the idea of a changing readership, which required information and entertainment of a type excluded from the very limited literary production of the Classical period. Citing Tacitus, he argued that from the death of Alexander "the superficial curiosity of a half-educated class of readers about the past created a steady demand for such inventions and forgeries".[61] A new society needs new myths; and such new myths were at least partly provided by forgeries under the names of supposedly pre-Hesiodic figures such as Linos, Orpheus, Musaios, Amphion of Thebes, Anthos, Pierios, Philammon and Thamyris.[62] The need for new myths was also met by taking advantage of the new religious and cultural horizons opened up by Alexander's conquests, with texts ascribed to Zoroaster, Ostanes, Hermes Trismegistos, Nechepso, Petosiris, Bitys or Pitys, Psammetichos and many others. Here again, however, a moralising note creeps in: it is the exhaustion of original philosophical thought that encourages forgery: "As creative energy in

55 A. Städeler (ed.), *Die Briefe des Pythagoras und der Pythagoreer*. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 115 (Meisenheim am Glan 1980).

56 Diog. Laert. 1.64-67 (Periander, Epimenides, Peisistratos, Kroisos).

57 The authenticity of at least some of the letters ascribed to Apollonius has however been defended by R.J. Penella, *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana: A Critical Text*. Mnemosyne Suppl. 56 (Leyden, 1979), 26-28 and G. Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles-Lettres in the Third Century AD* (London, 1986), 185-91. They are regarded as second-century forgeries (rightly, in my view) by E.L. Bowie, 'Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,' *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978) 1652-99 (1677, 1683).

58 Cf. J. Schneider, s.v. Brief, *RfAC* 2 (1954), 564-85; N. Holzberg (ed.), *Der griechische Briefroman: Gattungstypologie und Textanalyse*. Classica Monacensia, 20 (Munich, 1980); H. Görgemanns, s.v. Epistolographie, *DNP* 3 (1997) 1166-69.

59 Speyer, *Fälschung*, 133.

60 E.g. in relation to King Juba: *FGrH* 275 T11.

61 The disdain for the Hellenistic period – itself an off-shoot of the post-Romantic German adulation of the 'Classic' - is better grasped in the original: ".... hat eine oberflächlich gebildete Leserschaft durch ihrer halbwissenschaftliche Neugier für die Vergangenheit immer wieder derartige Erfindungen und Fälschungen veranlaßt" (Speyer, *Fälschung*, 136). The Tacitus passage is *Hist*. 2.4.1: (Titus) *spectata opulentia donisque regum quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit* ....

62 See also P. Maas, s.v. Olen, *RE* 17 (1931), 2432-33; idem, s.v. Pamphos, *RE* 18 (1949), 352-53.

philosophy dwindles, so forgery increases – the epigones belabour each other with forgeries rather than with authentic writings".[63]

Speyer's insistence on the primacy of motive supplied the basis for an organisational typology.[64] His procedure was to allocate the source material, mainly anecdotal but including some extant texts, under these headings. The informal typology so constructed looks like this:

1) (Forgeries to) increase the standing of a given base-text or author: mostly letters of famous authors, but also e.g. Ktesias' claim to have used documents in the Persian royal archives (ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν) for his Περσικά, or the forged letters and other documents in the *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis*.[65]

2) To give one's work a higher status by assuming a famous name from the past: examples in different genres are Bolos of Mendes writing as 'Democritus'; Jacoby's 'Schwindelautoren'; the Oracle of Hystaspes.[66]

3) Monetary gain: e.g. Peisistratos paying for forged Homer verses; 100 minae paid by Dion for the three rolls of Philolaus' Pseudo-pythagorika.[67]

4) Personal enmity: e.g. Anaximenes of Lampsakos, the pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, author of the Τρικάρανος; forged letters used as evidence in trials.[68]

5) Completing a tradition: Greek examples here are the forging of the laws of Charondas and Zaleukos,[69] the poems of Socrates; the witness-statements in Demosthenes' *De corona* and [*Dem*.] 43-66, or the oracle in *Dem*. 21.52f.; the Spartan decree granting citizenship to Apollonios of Tyana (*Epist. Apoll. Tyan*. 62). Roman examples might be: the replacement of the archives lost in the supposed Gallic invasion of 390 BC (Plutarch, *Numa* 1); circulating speeches by historical figures such as P. Scipio Africanus or Tib. Gracchus (Livy 38.56.5).

63 Speyer, *Fälschung*, 140; see already W. Burkert, 'Pythagoreische Pseudopythagorica,' *Philologus* 105 (1961), 16-43 (43).

64 So also e.g. R. Syme, 'Fraud and Imposture', in von Fritz, *Pseudepigrapha* (n. 11) 1-21. Speyer did however allow for a possible hierarchy of motives, superficial and deep, and a class of forgeries whose motives are wholly opaque.

65 Ktesias: Diod. Sic. 2.32.4 = *FGrH* 688 F5 p.450, with F.J. Gómez Espelosín, 'Estrategias de veracidad en Ctesias de Cnido,' *Polis* 6 (1994), 143-68; Philostratos: *Vit. Apoll*. 1.24, 2.41, 5.41, 6.33, cf. 6.37, 7.35 with Bowie, 'Apollonius' (n. 57), 1682-84.

66 Bolos: Aulus Gellius, *NA* 10.12.8 = Diels-Kranz 68 [Demokritos] F7 (p.214.16-18): *multa autem videntur ab hominibus istis male sollertibus huiuscemodi commenta in Democriti nomen data nobilitatis auctoritatisque eius perfugio utentibus*, cf. n.53 above; Schwindelautoren: F. Jacoby, 'Die Überlieferung von Ps-Plutarchs *Parallela minora* und die Schwindelautoren,' *Mnemosyne*[3] 8 (1940) 73-144. The Oracle of Hystaspes, a production roughly contemporary with Varro (perhaps a trifle later), purported to be a sequence of dreams by the Median king of that name, as interpreted by an inspired youth, and preserved by being written down: *sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri ad memoriam posteris tradidit* (Lactantius, *Inst. div*. 6.15.19, p.634 Brandt); cf. O. Nicholson, 'Broadening the Roman Mind: Foreign Prophets in the Apologetic of Lactantius,' in *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001), 364-74.

67 Peisistratos: I. Bekker, *Anecdot. Gr.* 2: 767f.; Plato buying Philolaos' Pseudo-pythagorika: Diog. Laert. 3.9; 8.15; Iamblichos, *VPyth* 199; cf. *Orac. Sibyll*. 7.132-33: οἱ διὰ κέρδος αἰσχρὰ προφητεύουσι (among Jews).

68 Anaximenes alleged that the Trikarano~ was by Theopompos: Pausanias 6.18.5 = *FGrH* 72 T6; Josephus, *c. Apion* 1.221; the two surviving frags. are *FGrH* 72 F20-21; cf. J. Brzoska, s.v. Anaximenes 3, *RE* 1 (1894) 2086-98 (2096-97). Forged letters in trials: Martial 7.12.3-4; 7. 72.12-16; 10.3.9-12

69 Cf. H.F. Jolowicz, 'The Wicked Guardian,' *JRS* 37 (1947), 82-90.

6) Contributions to philosophical traditions and debates: examples here might be the Letters of Anacharsis, Ninon's λόγος ἱερός against the Pythagoreans (Iambl., *Vit. Pythag*. 258-60); the Letter of 'Lysis' (Diog. Laert. 8.42), and, along with that, the entire (very diverse) corpus of Hellenistic Pythagorean pseudepigrapha, which includes not merely Archytas' Ὑπομνήματα used by Alexander Polyhistor, and the 'Tripartitum', but also several Ἱεροι λόγοι purporting to be works by the sage, and the ethical works of 'Archytas', 'Metopos' and others.[70]

7) A variety of political and local-patriotic motives, such as Solon interpolating a passage in Homer to defend the Athenian attack on Salamis (Plutarch, *Solon* 10); Alcibiades using false prophecies to obtain command of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse (Plutarch, *Alcib.* 17; *Nicias* 13.1); forged Spartan king-lists and Pythian victor-lists; the testament of Aristomenes (Pausanias 4.20.4; 26.6-8), the entire gamut of new myths legitimating connections between cities in the Hellenistic period.[71]

As a survey of ancient, non-Christian literary forgery, Speyer's account has considerable merits, but also serious limitations. I have already alluded to one of the main difficulties, namely its exclusive emphasis on authorial intention. The point will be clearer if we invoke a simple linear communication model, based on the set sender-medium-message-recipient.[72] Concerned solely with (one aspect of) the sender-message duo, Speyer reduces the issue of medium to literary texts, and ignores the recipient almost completely. Taking medium first, from the point of view of the historian of religion, Speyer neglects several types of forgery that were of central importance to the practical legitimation, indeed the continuing functioning, of the religious system. The forgery of objects, such as votives and their accompanying inscriptions, was at least as significant as that of texts.[73] Analogously, he ignores some important classes of text, above all, oracles produced at sites where ecstatic prophecy was practised, and the accounts of ἰάματα at Epidauros and elsewhere. At Delphi it was the anonymous priests who turned the Pythia's utterances into hexameter verse; likewise at the various

70 *Hypomnemata*: Diog.Laert., *Vit. Pythag*. 24-33, cf. A.J. Festugière, 'Les «Mémoires Pythagoriques» cités par Alexandre Polyhistor,' *REG* 58 (1945), 1-65 = *Études de philosophie grecque* (Paris, 1971), 371-435; also the discussion between W. Burkert, 'Zur geistesgeschichtlichen Einordnung einiger Pseudopythagorica,' in von Fritz, *Pseudepigrapha* (n. 11), 23-55 and H. Thesleff, 'On the Problem of the Doric Pseudo-Pythagorica: An alternative Theory,' *ibid*., 57-102; 'Tripartitum': Diog. Laert. *ibid*. 6 with H. Diels, 'Ein gefälschtes Pythagorasbuch,' in his *Kleine Schriften* (Darmstadt, 1969), 266-87; *hieroi logoi*: Iamblichus, *Vit Pythag*. 146; ethics: B. Centrone (ed., tr., comm.), *Pseudopythagorica ethica. I trattai morali di Archita, Metopo, Teage, Eurifamo* (Naples, 1990). See further the fundamental treatments by W. Burkert, 'Pythagoreische Pseudopythagorica,' *Philologus* 105 (1961), 16-43 and 226-46 (cited n. 63 above); H. Thesleff, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period*. Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora 24.3 (Åbo 1961), 8-27.

71 Cf. T. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter: Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte* (Munich, 1993).

72 W. Nöth, *Handbuch der Semiotik*² (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2000), 243-47. On the possible complexities of 'medium' and 'message', e.g. in the case of intellectual history, see J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Concept of a Language and the *métier d'historien*: Some Considerations on Practice,' in his *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge, 2009), 87-105.

73 Some material on this topic will however be found at Speyer, *Fälschungen*, 146, cf. 67.

seats of the Sibyl, and at Klaros and Didyma. In other words, a type of forgery was central to the practice of the most important oracles in the Greek world.[74] Like all Wundererzählungen, the anonymous ἰάματα at Epidauros, which briefly describe alleged cures by the god, bear an unknowable relation to actual events.[75] Both types of activity were fully incorporated into the official practice of their respective institutions; but Speyer ignores them because the 'intent to deceive' was not a significant part of the motivation.

ALTERNATIVE CRITERIA

One alternative approach would be to think of forgery as just one aspect of a perpetual process of religious creativity or invention. Underpinning that idea is of course the constructivist proposition that, whatever degree of credence their practitioners accord them, religions are fictive cultural constructs, and therefore intimately related to make-believe.[76] Religious make-believe in antiquity embraces all aspects of practical cult – from the construction of divine statues, temples and shrines, through sacrificial usages and other modes of communication with the divine, to religious language and the corpus of organising rules and regulations. Objectively the system is arbitrary and massively under-determined, subjectively it is a rational praxis.[77] Practical strategies of interpretation, say of oracles or omens, likewise involve construction: at public sacrifices, a scheme of conventional meanings was applied by the hepatoscopist or the *haruspex* to the idiosyncratic reality of each individual liver; the movement of birds, the observation of the heavens, the flickering of the lamp,[78] all required to be interpreted, that is, negotiated against a theoretical or notional scheme, itself not objective but stored in the memory of the interpreter. In such a situation, the production of a

74 V. Rosenberger, *Griechische Orakeln* (Darmstadt, 2001), 28-35; see also the convenient collection of 154 hexametrical Delphic responses in L. Andersen, *Studies in Oracular Verses: Concordance to Delphic Responses in Hexameter*. Historisk-filosofisk Meddelelser 53 (Copenhagen, 1987), 3-43. Sibyls in the Greek world: H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in the Ancient World* (ed. by B.C. McGing) (London and New York, 1988), 51-135; on the Sibylline tradition at Rome: M. Monaca, *La Sibilla a Roma: I libri sibillini fra religione e politica*. Collana si studi storico-religiosi (Cosenza, 2005). Apollo: A. Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon: Pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive, II-VI^e siècles*. RGRW 156 (Leyden, 2005).

75 *IG* IV 951-52, 955 = *Syll*³ 1168/9, 1170, cf. O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*. RGVV 3.1 (Gießen, 1909); L.R. LiDonnici, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions: Text, Transl. and Comm.* (Atlanta, 1995).

76 "Celui qui étude une religion de l'extérieur voit d'abord un ensemble d'institutions, de croyances et de comportements relatifs à des êtres ou à des pouvoirs surnaturels. Or ces êtres et ces pouvoirs n'ont à ses yeux point de réalité propre. Il en résulte que les institutions lui paraissent inutiles, les croyances erronées, les comportments illusoires. Ce situation surprend en ce qui concerne la Grèce": J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique* (Paris, 1992² [orig. ed. Geneva, 1958]), 3 (the opening sentence of the book).

77 Cf. J. Rudhardt, 'Essai sur la religion grecque,' in idem, *Opera inedita*. Kernos Suppl., 19 (Liège, 2008), 49-68; P. Brulé (ed.), *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne*. Kernos Suppl., 21 (Liège, 2009).

78 J.L. Calvo Martínez, 'Morfología de las práticas manticas de la luz. Fotagogia y Licnomancia en los PGM,' in Monaca, *Problemi* (n. 26 above), 45-78.

pseudepigraphon can be seen as a logical extension of institutionalised practices constitutive of religious action-in-the-world, that is, not as the polar opposite of 'true belief' or 'authenticity' but as the supplement that (to the observer) reveals the underlying fictionality of the entire enterprise. At the same time, just as cases of proven manipulation of oracles, corrupt prophets, disconfirmed oracles, deceptive dreams were taken as so many confirmations of the validity of the divinatory system as a whole,[79] so the exposure of regular forgers, such as the seer Onomakritos, whom Lasos of Hermione denounced for passing an oracle about the disappearance of the island of Lemnos beneath the sea,[80] tacitly confirmed the propriety of all the other processes of institutionalised religious invention that were not so 'exposed'.

This constructivist position, though excessively general, does serve to raise the question of the structural role of *pseudepigrapha* in ancient religious systems: how far did they require or depend upon such constructions for their ability to connect received schemes and representations with the requirements of the momentary situation? Since there was no canon of sacred texts, the corpus of myth had no formal boundaries and engaged in constant auto-correction.[81] Yet this process was invisible as 'forgery', just as the element of construction in oracular production and reports of healing miracles was largely bracketed out and so became normal. Given that religious practice in antiquity was massively dispersed and de-centralised, we should expect the types of religiously-motivated construction to reflect the specific nature of the *local* system and its structural requirements.[82] At the micro-level that must always have been true; but in this context we can hardly ever work at the micro-level.[83] There is however one wider category we can usefully invoke here, namely the contribution of *pseudepigrapha* in constructing cultural memory in the religious context.

79 Cf. T. Harrison, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* (Oxford, 2000), 122-57.

80 Cf. Hdt. 7.6.3 with 5.92 = *Orph. frg*. T 182 Kern = 807 Bernabé; Paus. 1.22.7 = T 195 Kern = 1119 Bern.; also F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in der vorhellenistischen Zeit*. RGVV 33 (Berlin, 1974), 147-49; Harrison, *Divinity*, 140-43.

81 On the steady production of 'corrections' of myth, see V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour à la source: Pausanias et la religion grecque.* Kernos Suppl., 20 (Liège, 2008), 64-67.

82 For the importance of local sub-systems in the history of ancient religion, see H.G. Kippenberg, 'Lokale Religionsgeschichte von Schriftreligionen: Beispiele für ein nützliches Konzept,' in idem and B. Luchesi (eds.), *Lokale Religionsgeschichte* (Marburg, 1995), 11-20; for a specific example, see G.F. Chiai, 'Die Ortsgebundenheit des Religiösen: Das Paradigma der ländlichen Heiligtümer Phrygiens in der Kaiserzeit,' in C. Auffarth (ed.), *Religion auf dem Lande: Entstehung und Veränderung von Sakrallandschaften unter römischen Herrschaft.* Potsdamer Altertümwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 28 (Stuttgart, 2009), 133-60..

83 A possible exception is the role supposedly played by Scipio Nasica as *vir optimus* and Claudia Quinta in the introduction of the cult of Mater Magna into Rome in 204 BC, which may well have been invented by the historian L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 133 BC) in the context of the contemporary conflict over the legacy of Attalus III: H. Berneder, *Magna Mater-Kult und Sibyllinen: Kulttransfer und annalistische Geschichtsfiktion*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, 119 (Innsbruck, 2004), 82-157.

The dependence of polytheistic systems upon a sacral landscape has recently been stressed by Aleida Assmann,[84] and exemplified for Greece in numerous recent contributions to the study of Pausanias.[85] The sacred sites that constitute such a landscape are 'contact-zones' offering a highly selective, if complex, representation of the past, where the repetition of cult-practice and the reiteration of specific (mythical) narratives together serve to underwrite a claim to unbroken continuity with an unspecifiable 'earliest time'. Votive offerings supposedly dedicated by mythical figures enjoyed a privileged position in this construction, their presence – or their reported presence – serving as a major guarantor of the institution of the votive *tout court*. As for other types of *pseudepigrapha*, from oracles to myth-variants to specific texts by Orpheus or Demokritos, we can draw upon Assmann's distinction between 'Speichergedächtnis' and 'Funktionsgedächtnis', that is between the notional total pool of collective memory, in its unfocused and potential state, and actualised memory, exploited for specific cognitive ends.[86] Precisely because such *pseudepigrapha* were tailored to specific socio-religious niches they were able to constitute a major part of the operative 'Funktionsgedächtnis' of the site in question, and even, in the case of pan-Hellenic and pan-Italic oracles, of the culture as a whole.

If we begin by viewing religion as composed of three types of sign-sets, language, image and action, [87] it is clear that *pseudepigrapha* are only to be found in the first two sets: there can be no forged or apocryphal *enacted* rituals or festivals.[88] With regard to the institutions and individuals that produce such sign-sets, we find *pseudepigrapha* distributed both within the hegemonic order and within that of the counter-hegemonic.[89] *Pseudepigrapha* in the wide sense are not consistently subversive of hegemonic authority; indeed, pseudepigraphic votives and inscrip-

84 "Die Götter der polytheistischen Religionen wollten an ihrem Ort aufgesucht und verehrt werde": A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich, 1999), 303. Already in 1950 Maurice Halbwachs made a similar claim for his entire category of 'collective memory': *La mémoire collective* (ed. G. Namer) (Paris, 1997), 209: "Il n'est point de mémoire collective qui ne se déroule dans un cadre spatial. Or, l'espace est une réalité qui dure ....".

85 See e.g. C. Calame, 'Pausanias le Periégète en ethnographe ou comment décrire un culte grec,' in *Le discours anthropologique: Description, narration, savoir* (Paris, 1990), 227-50; S.E. Alcock, 'Landscapes of Memory and the Authority of Pausanias,' in J. Bingen (ed.) *Pausanias historien*. Entretiens Fondation Hardt, 41 (Vandoeuvres, 1996), 241-67; eadem, J.F. Cherry and J. Elsner (eds.), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford, 2001); W.E. Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge, 2005); Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour* (n. 81), 98-173; C. Frateantonio, *Religion und Städtekonkurrenz: Zum politischen und kulturellen Kontext von Pausanias'* Periegese (Berlin, 2009).

86 Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume* (n. 84), 130-45.

87 P.J. Bräunlein, 'Ikonische Repräsentation von Religion,' in H.G. Kippenberg et al. (eds.), *Europäische Religionsgeschichte: Ein mehrfacher Pluralismus* (Göttingen, 2009), 2: 771-810 (771-72).

88 This would hold good even in the case of the Saecular Games of Augustus, whose conduct was organised on the basis of scattered materials from the Republican record (the only certain earlier celebrations were in 249 and 146 BC) and a good deal of invented tradition, cf. H. Erkell, '*Ludi saeculares* und *ludi Latini saeculares*,' *Eranos* 67 (1952) 166-74; M. Beard, J.A. North and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge, 1998), 1: 71-72, 201-06.

89 S. Hall, 'Encoding/decoding,' in *Culture, Media, Language. Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London, 1980), 128-38.

tions, and, more loosely, fabricated narratives, were a characteristic feature of the ensembles staged by civic temples in antiquity, and thus of the cultural memory they enshrined.

Given the variety of *peudepigrapha* in my extended sense, it is clear that no single scheme is going to subsume meaningfully all possibly relevant phenomena. Heuristic choices must be made. One might for example consider the criterion of *realism*, that is, the effort expended, or considered worth expending, in making religious forgeries 'convincing'; that of *generic preference*, that is, the genres considered appropriate or preferable for religious forgery; or that of *claims to authority*, that is, the types of appeal made to other cultural institutions. Here however I prefer to explore just two criteria that emerge from the reception aspect of communicative acts, namely *consensual legitimacy* and *notions of plausibility*.

CONSENSUAL LEGITIMACY

The main advantage of stressing the issue of consensual legitimacy is that it allows us to stress the social meaning of the *pseudepigraphon* rather than the notions of intellectual property and/or sincerity, which apply only to the sender aspect. In this context, we may propose a continuum of possibilities between the poles of full legitimacy and full illegitimacy. [90] 'Full legitimacy' here means a case in which everyone accepts the validity of the text or object in question within the local or contextually-relevant religious system or sub-system, and is prepared to negotiate with or instrumentalise it as such. 'Full illegitimacy' is the notional opposite case, where no one does so (or at any rate powerful socio-political interests do not). There will be no religious products at the extreme of either pole, although the declaration of the hepatoscopist's findings at a public sacrifice in the regular annual calendar, for example, or the decisions of the *exegetai* at Athens, come near to 'full legitimacy'.[91] An important qualification or limitation is provided by the idea of the 'relevant religious system or sub-system'. The sacredness, the historical value, of many religious texts and (especially) objects was only accepted locally: they had no validity beyond a shrine, village or city, nor – and this is surely crucial – was any wider legitimation sought. Moreover, the circulation of most literary forgeries was extremely small, such that their real audience consisted of at most a few individuals.

That said, we can distinguish on this criterion between three main classes of *pseudepigrapha*: items fully institutionalised within a given religious (sub-)system; disputed items; and items that are so contested that their shelf-life is momentary or very brief. Institutionalisation is the significant term here: the more embedded

90 I prefer the rough and ready view of typologies suggested by Moses Finley in relation to the issue of unfree statuses, as a heuristic means of high-lighting one parameter within an entire complex of issues: M.I. Finley, 'The Servile Statuses of Ancient Greece,' *RIDA* 7 (1960), 165-89; idem, 'Soziale Modelle zur antiken Geschichte,' *HZ* 239 (1984), 265-308.

91 Inspection: Aeschyl. *Prom*. 493-94; Xen., *Hell*. 3.4.15; 4.7.7; cf. Rudhardt, 'Essai' (n. 77), 140. *Exegetai*: M. Valdés Guía, '*Bouzyges nomothetes*: purification et exégèse des lois sacrées à Athènes', in Brulé, *La norme* (n. 77), 293-320.

a given production-practice in an already legitimate social-religious context, particularly cultic, the greater its chances of joining the ranks of religious 'facts', i.e what no one within the system is interested in contesting.[92] Central to institutionalisation therefore is the issue of complicity: what type(s) of *pseudepigrapha* best fit(s) the interests of the local religious system?

These main classes include items of three types: open-text traditions whose authorship is hazy and where the idea of a fixed canon is meaningless; objects made significant by being referred to the mythical past; and, the largest class of all, oracles, prophecies and dreams.

Farthest along the continuum towards full institutionalisation are:

Oracles produced by divinatory sites that are culturally ranked 'high'. As such, being recyclable, they served as material for further cultural work, in drama, historiography, political negotiation, personal life-stories, rumour, millenarian expectations.[93] In that sense, they were foundational texts in the construction of a specific sense of what it meant to be Greek.

Miracle stories from healing and other sites that occupied a comparable cultural status, which likewise tended to circulate in different forms outside the sanctuary. The main value of these narratives was to exemplify the role of illness, disease and physical suffering as a divine sign, that is, one of the major investments of this religious system.[94]

Objects with a recognised place in temple inventories. By way of illustration, I list some of those said by Timachidas in the Lindian ἀναγραφή to have (once) adorned the temple of Athana ἐκ παλαιοτ]άτων χρόνων (A4):

a fialh dedicated by the hero Lindos
a water-pitcher dedicated by the Telchines
a bronze tripod φοινικοις γραμμασιν ἐπιγεγραμμένον, dedicated by Kadmos
a silver cup presented by King Minos
two wicker shields presented by Herakles
a φιαλή dedicated by Tlepolemos
a gold cup presented by Rhesos
a cup presented by Telephos.[95]

92 Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour* (n. 81), 80, rightly emphasizes the 'ancrage cultuel' as a major factor in Pausanias' acceptance of the authenticity of such items; and the 'fit' between their claimed antiquity and a conception of the primordiality of the gods.

93 D. Asheri, 'Erodoto e Bacide. Considerazionei sulla fede di Erodoto negli oracoli (Hdt. VIII 77),' in M. Sordi (ed.), *La profezia nel mondo arcaico*. CISA 19 (Milan, 1993), 63-76 ('tesaurizzazione delle profezie'); Harrison, *Divinity* (n. 79), 143-44; J. Kindt, 'Delphic Oracle Stories and the Beginnings of Historiography: Herodotus' *Croesus Logos*,' *Classical Philology* 101 (2006), 34-51.

94 Cf. W. Speyer, 'Die Geschichte vom Blinden und Lahmen. Erwägung zur ihrer Entstehung, II,' in *Elemente der Literatur: E. Frenzel zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1980), 18-22; M. Wolter, 'Inschriftliche Heilungsberichte und neutestamentliche Wundererzählungen: Überlieferungs- und formgeschichtliche Betrachtungen,' in: K. Berger et al. (eds.), *Studien und Texte zur Formgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1992), 135-75; G.E.R. Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease: Studies in the Greek Imagination* (Oxford, 2003), 1-13, 52-60.

95 *FGrH* 532 F1, B-C §§1-8. Timachidas' list was drawn up in 99 BC, though many of the items derive from earlier lists in the Lindian archives, dating back at least as far as the fourth century (B-C

Almost all of are said... to have been dedicated Ἀθάναι Πολίαδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ, except the tripod, whose dedication, being in Phoenician, no one could read. Such details underscore the scrupulous 'veridicality' of the list, and so, by implication, the authenticity of the dedications. 'Phoenician letters' in turn recall the more famous tripods inscribed with 'Kadmeian' letters that Herodotus reports having seen in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, and which he ascribes to Laios, the great-grandson of Kadmos.[96] We know from Pausanias that there were literally hundreds of such objects in temples all over Greece, such as the *xoanon* of Aphodite on Delos, given by Daidalos to Ariadne (9.40.4), or the sceptre at Chaeroneia dedicated by Electra (9.40.12).[97] In some cases, he disputes their authenticity on a variety of grounds; but where they are deemed to play a significant role in cult and contribute to proving the antiquity of worship at a given site, he chooses to view them positively. As I have pointed out, one major value to the local system of such objects lay in their underwriting claimed continuity from the period of the foundational myths to the present. Another was their affirmation of the shrine's location within a regional or pan-Hellenic network of contacts and relationships.

Further along the continuum towards the pole of illegitimacy would fall items that might under certain circumstances be contentious. Often we can only surmise the arguments involved, since we are generally presented with the 'fact' of forgery. Visions, especially derived from dream-experiences, are an obvious candidate here, since, at any rate when issued into the public realm, they constituted claims pitched straight into political discussion or dispute, where they were intended to outflank opposition by appealing to a higher reality.[98] Lysander is supposed to have employed forged oracles to change the constitution of Sparta – which evidently means that he succeeded in getting the validity of the oracles accepted by the ephors or the Gerousia, but his opponents continued to claim that they were inauthentic on the grounds that they played too obviously into his hands.[99] The 'false oracle' was a trope of ancient political discourse, a political instrument, not an empirical fact. Despite acknowledgement of the fact that Pythagoras had left no writings, the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha, or at any rate many of them, such as the Ὑπομνήματα, were generally considered authentic; it was the concern of neo-Platonists, such as Nicomachos of Gerasa, Porphyry and Iamblichos, to use

§1). Jacoby rightly assigns the items listed above to the cataloguing work of the mid-fourth-century priest Gorgosthenes (*FGrH* 529 F1-12; cf. his comm., p.444); it is not however clear how many of the objects still existed in 99 BC (A4). See also C. Higbie, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of their Past* (Oxford, 2003), comm. ad loc., with the reservations of V. Gabrielsen, *CR* 55.1 (2005), 319-22.

96 Hdt. 5.59-61, in the context of the introduction of writing into Greece; Herodotus claimed to have been able to read these easily: Harrison, *Divinity* (n. 79), 205.

97 Well discussed by Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour* (n. 81), 76-81.

98 E.g. the prosecution of Euxenippos for giving a false report of a dream-oracle: Hypereides, *Euxen*. 14f. So far from being authoritative (as in most literary texts), the legitimacy of revelation by dream was a subject of constant discussion in antiquity: W. V. Harris, *Dream and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge MA, 2009), 123-228.

99 Plut., *Lysander* 26.1-3; Nepos, *Lys.* 3.5.

Pythagoras as a concrete moral ideal that prompted them to 'expose' (some of) these texts as forgeries, insofar as they failed to correspond to their own preferred representation of the sage.[100]

Still more contentious would be the claims of the slave-leader Eunos to divine inspiration and support. His visions during the Sicilian slave-rebellion of 137-32 BC were taken to be authentic by his followers, highly incredible among the Roman commanders sent against him, and ridiculous by all after his defeat.[101] In this case one can see clearly the dependence of such claims upon a specific audience and their historical contingency. On the other hand, once reduced to writing, similar claims might to an extent be institutionalised and so adapted to other circumstances, in such a way that the idea of divine inspiration was safeguarded but their interpretation could be controlled. Servius claims, for example, that the fulgural/brontoscopic texts attributed to the Etruscan nymph Vegoia/Vecuvia were included among the materials supervised by the *Xviri sacris faciundis*.[102] The precise reading is uncertain, but we may take it that these texts included other prophecies ascribed to her, the best-known of which, preserved in the Corpus Agrimensorum, begins:

> *Scias mare ex aethera remotum. Cum autem Iuppiter terram Aeturiae sibi vindicavit, constituit iussitque metiri campos signarique agros ...*
>
> You should know the sea was separated from the air. So when Jupiter took the land of Etruria under his protection, he laid it down and ordered that the land should be surveyed and the fields marked off.[103]

The remainder concerns the sacredness of these boundaries, and hence the danger of interfering with the ownership and control of land in Etruria. The text locates itself at the end of the eighth Etruscan *saeculum*, which Plutarch claims, probably erroneously, to have been the last such age; what is certain is that the closing stages of Etruscan *saecula* were understood to be periods of portents and

100 Staab, *Pythagoras* (n. 54 above), 69-74, 75-143.

101 Diod. Sic. 34.2.5-7; Florus, *Epit*. 2.7 (19). 4-6; Livy, *Per.* 56; F. Münzer, s.v. Eunus 1, *RE* 6 (1907), 1143-45 (1145) compared him to the charismatic John of Leyden in the Reformation.

102 Servius, *ad Aen*. 6.72: *qui libri (*i.e. *Sibyllae) in templo Apollinis servabantur, nec ipsi tantum, sed et Marciorum et Begoes (*i.e. *Vegoiae) nymphae, quae artem scripserat fulguritarum (?) apud Tuscos*. The reference to the *Xviri* clearly indicates a date for the notice prior to Sulla; cf. J.A. North, 'Prophet and Text in the Third Century BC,' in E. Bispham and C. Smith (eds.), *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2000), 92-107 (99).

103 B. Campbell (ed., tr. comm.), *The Writings of the Roman Land-Surveyors*. JRS Monographs, 9 (London, 2000), 256.34-35 = 1: 350 Lachmann. In l.1, I retain the *aethera* of the ms, for which Campbell (p.446 n.18), following K. Latte, reads *e[x] [ae]t[h]er<r>a = e terra*. S. Weinstock, s.v. Vegoia, *RE* 8A (1955), 577-81 (578) long ago saw that the basis is a cosmology, beginning with Chaos. I take it that the first sentence briefly evokes the formation of the world (cf. Suda, s.v. Τυρρήνια; text in N. T. de Grummond and E. Simon, *The Religion of the Etruscans* [Austin TX, 2006], 200), the mention of air and sea implying the separation of the third constituent, the land. It is worth comparing the process described in Ovid, *Met*. 1.21-37, where *aether* forms heaven and the sea embraces, i.e. gives contour to, the land. The land forms the link between them, *deus ... caelo terras et terris abscidit undas* 21f. Between this sentence and the reference to Jupiter organising the land is an ellipse, designed to give the flavour of 'prophetic' utterance.

marked change.[104] Various scenarios have been suggested, most commentators locating the text in the context of the Social War - perhaps specifically Livius Drusus' attempt to pass a *lex agraria* affecting Etruria in 91 BC.[105] A minor deity named Lasa Vecuvi(a) or Lasa Vecu, who appears on two Etruscan mirrors, one from Vetulonia datable to the early III[a], and a gold ring from Todi, has been tentatively identified as the original of Vegoia, and there is good reason to think that the prophecy itself, at least in some form, was considerably older than the Social War.[106] Once under the control of the *X/XVviri s.f.*, however, its potentially radical implications could be re-directed.

Farthest along the continuum towards the pole of 'full illegitimacy' fall oracles and other texts that public officials succeeded in destroying or suppressing. Here two accounts, again Roman, may be cited. The first is the discovery in 181 BC of evidently Pythagorean texts attributed to King Numa that were found on the Janiculum in a coffin next to that of the king.[107] At first accepted as genuine, they were destroyed by Q. Petilius Spurinus, the *praetor urbanus*, after the Senate had decided they were subversive. We may assume that the real author was Cn. Terentius, and that they had a partly prophetic, partly radical-moralistic slant (this is also the period of the Bacchanalian 'conspiracy').[108] The second is Augustus' burning, once he became *pontifex maximus* in 12 BC, of multitudes of oracle-texts, which, even if possibly related to the uncertainties attending the death of Agrippa, symbolically marked the prophetic free-for-all of the crisis of the Republic and the civil wars.[109] The creation of monarchy involved an (always unsuccessful) effort to establish an imperial monopoly of significant knowledge

104 Plutarch, *Sulla* 7.3-6 (88 BC), citing οἱ λογιώτατοι Τυρρηνῶν. Other sources, however, notably Censorinus, *De die natali* 17.5-6 (repr. de Grummond and Simon, 200-202), speak of ten, or even twelve, *saecula*. Weinstock, 'Vegoia', 579 dates the end of the eighth *saeculum* to the late II[a].

105 So e.g. J. Heurgon, 'The Date of Vegoia's Prophecy,' *JRS* 49 (1959), 41-45; A. Valvo, *La profezia di Vegoia: Proprietà fondaria e aruspicina in Etruria nel I secolo a.C*. Studi pubbl. dall'Ist. ital. per la Storia antica, 43 (Rome, 1988), 103-04; C.E. Schulz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Roman Republic* (Chapel Hill NC, 2006), 162 n.26. Niebuhr opted with Plutarch for 88 BC; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), 288 n.3 suggested the context was the later Sullan confiscations, 81-80 BC.

106 Archaeology of Lasa Vecu--: De Grummond and Simon, *Etruscan Religion* (n. 103), 30-31 with figs. III.4-6. It has been plausibly argued that the eighth Etruscan *saeculum* fell in the period 284-164 BC: R. Turcan, 'Encore la prophétie de Végoia,' in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine. Mélanges J. Heurgon*. CEFR, 27 (Rome, 1976) 2: 1009-19, endorsed by North, 'Prophet' (n. 102), 99. A date in III[a] for the translation into Latin was suggested already by C. Alexandre, Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοι, 2: *Ad Sibyllinos libros excursus* (Paris, 1856), 169 (cited by Weinstock, 'Vegoia', 579).

107 Varro, *RD* frg.3 Cardauns (= Aug., *Civ. Dei* 7.34); Festus p.178L; Livy 40.29; Val. Max. 1.1.12; Pliny, *HN* 13.84-86, 88; Plut., *Numa* 22.5-8; Lactantius, *Inst. div*. 1.22.5-8. All these descend, directly or indirectly, from the account by Cassius Hemina, frg.37 Peter = *FRH* 6 F40 Beck/Walter, who was particularly interested in the current new forms of religious and cultural communication (including the Bacchanalian affair, of course); see J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy, Bks 38-40* (Oxford, 2008), 480-85.

108 M. Chassinet, *L'annalistique romaine* (Paris, 1999), 2: 147-57; cf. also for the reception, M. Willi, 'Numa's Dangerous Books,' *MusHelv* 55 (2000), 139-72.

109 Suetonius, *Aug*. 31.1, with D. Kienast, *Augustus: Princeps und Monarch*[3] (Darmstadt, 1999), 235 n.103.

of the future.[110] 'Illegitimacy' here means not that many people might not have been ready to accept such documents, but that there were socio-political instances with a decisive interest in declaring them inacceptable – whether or not they were forgeries was evidently a secondary consideration. The objection was that they were dangerous rather than that they were inauthentic.

Adopting the criterion of legitimacy thus enables us to highlight the issue of the place of a given *pseudepigraphon* within the local religious (sub-)system. Very many *pseudepigrapha*, both texts and objects, were simply never noticed as such, because they were integral to the functioning of the system as a whole. 'Complicity' here is not confined to the priests who issued the texts but extends to the entire diversified institution of reception. It is conflict with settled interests that raises the claim that a given item is a forgery. A religious *pseudepigraphon* can therefore in this context be defined as an item that becomes contentious because it is perceived as disadvantageous to the interests of some locally-significant individual or group. The claim about forgery is thus merely one of a number of rhetorical tropes available in the armoury of Contention. The reverse of the coin of legitimacy is thus the issue of exposure: who is in a position to 'expose' religious *pseudepigrapha* as forgeries? What are their motives, and their interests? Both the types of *pseudepigrapha* current in a given system and the degree to which they are subject to disconfirmation are diagnostic of the power relations at work within it.

CONCEPTS OF PLAUSIBILITY

I can deal with the second criterion, that of plausibility, more briefly. It is a truism in the case of medieval forged documents that they are, to a modern eye, laughably inept. To take the example of Æthelbald's 'Golden Charter' of 'AD 716', we find letters resembling Anglo-Saxon minuscule interspersed with Gothic letters, and the text is peppered with random crosses, which were evidently thought to lend the whole an air of authenticity.[111] Such forgeries (and the 'Golden Charter' was not 'exposed' until 1703) thus provide insight into the historical imagination of the period in which they were created and taken to be plausible.

The extreme fragmentation of the Greek sense of the past, due partly to the sheer number of different cities, each with its own constructed memory of the past, and partly to the diversity of themes and options open to any would-be historian or synthesising commentator, placed a premium upon conventionalisation: λέγεται, φασί, οἱ λογοι τῶν ~, κατὰ τὸν τῶν ~ων λόγον .... The past consisted not of a single coherent if complicated narrative but of an inexhaustibly rich store-

110 M.-Th. Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager: Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (Frankfurt, 1993), 254-321.

111 Hiatt, *Medieval Forgeries* (n. 6 above), 36-69, esp.44-45 with fig.5. The forgery survives only in a facsimile by George Hickes, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus, 2: Dissertatio epistolaris* (Oxford, 1705), Tab. D; also in idem, *De antiquae litteraturae sepentrionalis utilitate sive de linguarum veterum septentrionalium usu* (Oxford, containing separate fascicules variously dated 1703, 1705).

house of reported deeds and actions whose coherence lay in their relation to a specific topography, a topography both literal and of the mind.[112] Fidelity to such local narratives helped to avoid confrontation with discrepant or contradictory items; and even when such confrontation was unavoidable, it could normally be smoothed over by focusing on the internal coherence of each story. The character of the remote past could be inferred with reference to the epic tradition, especially Homer and Hesiod, which thus provided a horizon of plausibility, say for claims about the tallness of ancient heroes, and so the ordering of narratives about graves containing giant bones into a temporal sequence.[113] Although from the modern point of view it would makes some sense to speak of the entire mythic and heroic corpus as 'forgery', such a perspective would have been meaningless in antiquity, where attention was fixed upon the traditional quality of such tales and their interlocking of cultural themes rather than on the 'credibility' of their narrative contents.[114] Given that the social function of this massive body of material was to link the divine world with the contemporary re-interpretation of the idea of pre-conquest Greece, by means of genealogies, king-lists and shared themes, it necessarily partook, at least in some measure, of the qualities attributed to the other world, above all σέβας, the sense of wonder, astonishment, marvel deemed to be a special property of the gods (and certain human-beings) and elicited in their presence.[115] This understanding in turn demanded the creation of narratives and inscribed objects that embodied this sense of continuity with the divine world. Yet the form assumed by such claims did not remain constant or static. As the range of genres increased with the emergence in the Hellenistic world of a new leisured reading-class with wide interests, the notion of σέβας supplied the horizon of plausibility for a variety of new stories, some of which transposed the ancient marvellous into a new conception of Nature as the transcription of divine power,[116] while others transformed the theme of ascetic self-denial, which had been a sign of difference from a dominant value of sociability, into superhuman feats that connote quasi-divinity.[117]

The notion of σέβας and the verb σέβειν provide one of the major contexts of plausibility for the marvellous in Greek mythic and post-mythic narratives, by means of which *pseudepigrapha* could claim not just readability but also authority.[118] Some of the devices developed in search of such plausibility can be illustrated

112 "Le passé se décline en un tourmillement de 'choses passées'": Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour* (n. 81), 43; cf. 50 ('étiologie toponymique'). Rome, however, as Arnaldo Momigliano used to insist, was different.

113 Eadem, *ibid*., 44 (on Paus. 1.35.5-8, the bones of Geryon).

114 R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994), 69-144; cf. C. Gill and P. Wiseman (eds.), *Lies. Fiction in the Ancient World* (Exeter, 1993).

115 Rudhardt, 'Essai' (n. 77), 69-90.

116 M. Vegetti, 'La scienza ellenistica: problemi di epistemologia storica,' in G. Giannantoni and M. Vegetti (eds.), *La scienza ellenistica*. Collana Elenchos, 9 (Pavia, 1984) 427-70.

117 "Extraordinary self-deprivation becomes a sign of divine identity": R. Finn, *Asceticism in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 2009), 30; cf. W. Speyer, 'Der numinöse Mensch als Wundertäter,' *Kairos* 26 (1985), 129-53.

118 "Der Realismus eines Topos zeigt sich in dem Grade, wie er das Typische auf dem Hinter-

by Philostratos' account of the visit of Apollonios of Tyana to the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia.[119] When Apollonios arrives, the priests will not allow him to enter because he is a Pythagorean: Thereupon the hero appears in person to chide the priests, who then admit Apollonios and his followers. After the consultation, however, Apollonios completely disappears. It was quite usual for visitors to the oracular shrine to come up some way away; but his wisdom and holiness were so exceptional that he only appeared a week later, and as far away as Aulis on Euboea, clutching a book containing Pythagoras' δόξαι. This volume he had evidently been given by the god, as an implied answer to the question he had posed, which was: τί ἐστι ἡ ἀρτιωτάτη καὶ καθαρωτάτη φιλοσοφία; The roll, evidently one of the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha, was later taken into the library of Hadrian's villa at Antium, where it was the object of special admiration by visitors.

It is first of all clear that Apollonios' divine aura, his σέβας, is sufficiently outstanding to be recognised directly by the hero Trophonios: what the priests, the ordinary representatives of civic religion, cannot recognise, the inhabitants of the divine world can. Secondly, Apollonios' status as a holy man is objectified by the divine gift of a book-roll. This is as though the visual trope of the roll on funerary monuments, where it acts as a label of a superior rhetorical education (*vir doctus*) and membership of the ruling class, both central and local, has been combined with the much older mythic trope of the talismanic object whose value is transformed by its passage into an alternative medium (the sea, the grave) and back.[120] Thirdly, the acquisition of the volume by the imperial *patrimonium* provides an implicit reassurance that it is an authentic production by Pythagoras himself and no mere νόθος.

We can also note that this narrative was probably not invented by Philostratos himself but taken over by him from an existing written tradition.[121] Written traditions, and generic rules in particular, constitute the second major means of insulating local judgements of plausibility from criticism. This applies most clearly to the genres in which pseudepigraphy was more or less *de rigueur*, in astrology, τα φυσικά, and the occult sciences in general. In the case of astrology, given the suspicion of the imperial authorities and thus the danger of delation, there may have been some personal safeguard in the use of sobriquets such as Chiron, Deukalion,

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grund der Erwartungshaltung des jeweiligen Publikums zu erfassen vermag": Staab, *Pythagoras* (n. 54 above), 247.

119 Philostr., *Vit. Apoll.* 8.19-20; cf. Bowie, 'Apollonius' (n. 57), 1672-73; P. Bonnechere, *Trophonios de Lébadée: cultes et mythes d'une ité béotienne au miroir de la mentalité antique.* RGRW 150 (Leyden, 2003), 232 (who unfortunately does not devote a proper discussion to the passage as a whole).

120 Book-roll as sign: H.I. Marrou, Mousikoˆ anhr: *Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Paris, 1938); from AD 200 the number of Muse- and philosopher-sarcophagi commissioned by the élite, mainly senators, increases dramatically, as do representations of senators with book-rolls on column- and strigil-sarcophagi: H. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage Roms: Der Beitrag des Senatorenstandes zur römischen Kunst der hohen und späten Kaiserzeit*. Monumenta Artis Romanae 29 (Mainz, 2001), 70-75, 101-02 with pls.11.3, 13.1-2, 14.2, 16.1-2, 17.1, 19.2. Talismanic objects: L. Gernet, 'La notion mythique de la valeur en Grèce,' in idem, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968 [orig. 1948]), 93-137 (102; 109-16).

121 Bowie,'Apollonius' (n. 57), 1691-92.

Melampous, Orpheus, Pythagoras, or Demokritos;[122] but otherwise the adoption of such pseudonyms was rather intended as a reassurance of the appropriateness of the contents to the demands and expectations of the readers of the genre.

We may take the Magian use of semi-precious stones for divination as an example here.[123] There can be no doubt that the Hellenistic tradition concerning such stones was derived, perhaps through the Babylonian diviner Sudines,[124] perhaps through Zachalias,[125] or some other source, from Seleucid cuneiform *šikinšu*-lists, themselves derived from much earlier Babylonian 'lists of stones'.[126] Apart from its sheer exoticism, this material was attractive for the powers it appeared to open up, its apparent indifference to the familiar Graeco-Roman hierarchy from low induction to high intuition, and its challenge to the critical boundary between 'alive' and 'inert' (for these natural wonders seemed to be ordered along a scale between inertia and responsiveness).[127] The stone that is most nearly 'alive' is obsidian, which, when ground, mixed with myrrh, and sprinkled over a flame, foretells the future by sputtering and twitching - just as the fresh sacrificial liver foretells the future by its spasms, which immediately recalls Babylonian hepatoscopic lore.[128] Such circumstantial details served to underwrite the really important philosophical challenge to naturalist physics, namely that it is Nature herself who is responsible for such marvels, just as it is the East that brings such knowledge to light.

If generalised expectations of the divine world and 'generic insulation' are two important factors that influenced the reception of *pseudepigrapha*, a third is the sheer heterogeneity of ideas that could be ascribed to a single author in a world that lacked the Romantic notion of unique creation and where ideas circulated through the education system much like the early modern melodies I referred to earlier. A good example is 'Orphic' production, both in the Classical period and

122 W. and H.-G. Gundel, *Astrologumena* (n. 24 above), 66-75.

123 On the magical use of stones, see still Th. Hopfner, s.v. *Liqikav*, *RE* 13 (1926), 747-69; R. Halleux and J. Schamp (eds.) *Les lapidaires grecs: Lapidaire orphique; Kérygmes lapidaires d'Orphée; Socrates et Denys; Lapidaire nautique; Damigéron-Évax* [Collection Budé] (Paris, 1985, repr. 2003), xiii-xxxv; on the 'Orphic' texts, R. Keydell, s.v. Orphische Dichtung, A: Erhaltene Gedichte, *RE* 18 (1942), 1322-41 (1338-41); the introductions to each text in Halleux and Schamp; and most recently R. Martín, 'El lapidario órfico,' in A. Bernabé and F. Casadesús (eds.), *Orfeo y la tradición órfica* (2 vols.) (Madrid, 2008), 365-78.

124 Cf. W. Kroll, s.v. Sudines, *RE* 4A (1931), 563; cf. Halleux and Schamp, *Lapidaires*, xxiii. But Pliny at any rate never cites him for Magian claims.

125 Suspected by M. Wellmann, 'Die Stein- und Gemmenbücher der Antike,' in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, 4.4 (1935), 122-23; cf. Hopfner, Λιθικά (n.118), 748.23-33: "für Plinius die Hauptquelle". He was a contemporary of Mithradates VI Eupator (Pliny, *HN* 37.169), and is cited there for typically Magian claims; he is also listed among the authors for that book. The name is utterly confused in the ms tradition: K. Ziegler, s.v. Zacharias, *RE* 9A (1983), 2210.

126 Cf. E. Reiner, 'The Uses of Astrology,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985), 589-595 (593).

127 *Lith. kerygm*. 25, p.165 Halleux-Schamp; Wellmann, 'Steinbücher', 115-22, provides a convenient list of the 29 magical stones described by the related Orphic *Lithika* 170-764, and the parallel references to them in Pliny, *HN* 37 and elsewhere.

128 *Lith. kerygm*. 9.1f., p.152f. Halleux-Schamp; note also the vitalist language used by Pliny of the magnet and the *adamas* (resp. *HN* 36.127 and 37.61).

the Hellenistic-Roman, where it would be imprudent to claim that 'Orphism' meant specifically this, that or the other -had, for example, to be centred around the myth of 'Zagreus'.[129] Texts could be spliced, re-used, adapted without apparent limit. In the case of the so-called Orphic Hymns, which claim to derive from a mystic ritual composed by Orpheus and taught to Musaios, there exists a variety of manuscripts, some of which contain all the 87 hymns, while others offer just a selection (most prominently of twelve). To modern eyes, it is clear that the texts, which contain numerous Homeric epithets, but also many words only known from the imperial period, hapaxes and learned calques upon older words, are a pastiche of the early Empire, and in that sense comparable to Æthelbald's 'Golden Charter'.[130] But the groups who used them, whether in Pergamon or elsewhere in Asia Minor, had no interest in remarking such discrepancies and saw the mingling of registers, as well as the deployment of current philosophical claims, as confirmation simultaneously of the texts' antiquity and of their continuing relevance for proper private worship.

Doubts about the plausibility of *peudepigrapha* arose most typically in situations where two or more perspectives clash. Pausanias is a good example, since, as a periegete, whatever his larger ambitions in writing the *Periegesis*, he had no a priori commitment to any local claim. Thus he mentions a statue of Poseidon Hippios at Pheneus in Arkadia that had been dedicated by Odysseus. The inscription on the base contained instructions by Odysseus to his grooms on how to look after his horses in his absence. Pausanias, however, objects to the authenticity of the inscription by drawing on his knowledge of art-history: in the days of Odysseus craftsmen were not able to cast bronzes in a single piece; this statue is in one piece; therefore the inscription cannot be by Odysseus.[131] Pausanias elsewhere mentions his own criteria of moral and religious appropriateness in judging the authenticity of traditions.[132] The point to note, however, is that such criticisms are never generalised and arise only in relation to particular items, and thus serve as tacit confirmations of the bulk of traditional claims.

Differences in estimates of plausibility naturally occurred too at the interface between different religious systems. We may take as an example Tacitus' account of the Roman Senate's attempt in AD 22-23 to restrict the rights of asylum enjoyed by temples in various cities of the Aegean islands and Asia Minor.[133] What the Roman officials objected to were the elements of 'disorder' that flourished under the traditional regime, the runaway slaves who lounged about, safe from their

129 J. Rudhardt, 'Recherches sur les Hymnes orphiques', in *Opera inedita* (n. 77 above), 165-325 (167); Bernabé and Casadesús, *Orfeo* (see n.123), 241-324.

130 Rudhardt, 'Recherches', 171-74; G. Ricciardelli, 'Los himnos órficos,' in Bernabé and Casadesús, *Orfeo*, 325-48.

131 Paus. 8.14.5-7; P. Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes: Essai sur l'imagination constituante* (Paris, 1983), 107-08 cites this, and 8.12.9, as examples of criticism of 'internal coherence'.

132 On the well-known passage Paus. 8.8.2-3, see F. Hartog, *Mémoire d'Ulysse: Récits sur la frontière en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1996), 151-58; Hutton, *Describing Greece* (n. 85), 305-11; Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour* (n. 81), 71-72.

133 Tac., *Ann*. 3.60-63; 4.14.

masters, and the debtors who thereby managed to avoid repaying their creditors. In defending their traditional rights, which were also matters of intense local pride and comparative status because they involved the honour of the poliad deity, the cities employed different kinds of arguments.[134] The Ephesian ambassadors stressed the existence in their city of an olive-tree *quae tunc etiam maneat*, on which Latona had supported herself as she gave birth. Smyrna (whose *asylia* went back to 244 BC) and Tenos appealed to the oracles dispensed by Apollo in their cities. From well outside these sub-systems, the Senate remained unimpressed, arguing that such ancient stories were too unreliable to ground legal claims of the sort under discussion; and brought the new allocation of such privileges to an end.[135] What Caesar, as a recent Republican magistrate, had agreed, was on a different footing. Plausibility here is a matter of the type of discourse that is to be granted priority in a given context.[136]

CONCLUSION

In trying to accommodate the notion of religious *pseudepigrapha* in antiquity to more recent thinking about religion as a communicative system and the social contexts of authorship, educational systems, intellectual property and so on, it seems advisable to view such texts (whether oral or written) and objects as an integral part of religious communication in antiquity, closely related to the construction of focused cultural memory, rather than primarily as the product of an intention to defraud or mislead. As such, they should be regarded as a regular, if not indispensable feature, of ancient polytheism. For that reason, *pseudepigrapha* were rarely contested, so that 'exposures' must themselves be problematised and examined in terms of the hegemonic and institutional interests at stake. Declarations of illegitimacy typically affected politically-inopportune oracles that could be dismissed as low-grade or inauthentic, or were prompted by perspectives or judgements from outside the relevant sub-system. The implicit function of such exposure was to protect the religious system as a whole, and the mainly hegemonic interests it served.

134 K.J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*. Hellenistic Culture and Society, 22 (Berkeley, 1996), 1-29; A. Chaniotis, 'Conflicting Authorities: Greek *asylia* between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis,' *Kernos* 9 (1996), 65-86. In the Hellenistic period, temples, if they lay outside the city, could acquire the right for themselves; within the city, for the city and its territory.

135 Rigsby, *Asylia*, 35.

136 The Senate's decision thus formally ended a typical mode of Hellenistic inter-state negotiation; *asylia* was typically a privilege enjoyed within an entire package, cf. L. Robert, 'Les concours grecs,' in *VIII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie, Athènes 1982* (Athens, 1984), 35-45 (41) = *Choix d'écrits*, ed. D. Rousset (Paris, 2007), 267-78 (274).