This collection of papers illustrates how our picture of the Greco-Roman East has changed over the last two decades as a result of new finds, new methods and new interests on the part of classical scholars. The chapters, by a distinguished international cast of contributors, present a view of life in the Eastern empire from the bottom up, and show how a thoughtful use of both new and existing material evidence can shed light on aspects of social and political life that could barely be guessed at from the literary record alone. The evidence of coins, inscriptions and archaeological data is used in the investigation of a wide range of socio-historical issues, including processes of Hellenization and acculturation, the permeability and flexibility of political boundaries at all levels, the interaction of civil and religious authority, and the operation of networks of patronage and power from the highest to the lowest social level.

Stephen Colvin is Associate Professor of Greek Literature and Linguistics at Yale University. He is the author of Dialect in Aristophanes (Oxford, 1999).
ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ

Μπορείτε να γίνει,
ή έκφραση σοβαρή και μεγαλοπρεπής.
Το διάδρομα καλλίτερα μάλλον στενό:
έκείνα τά φαρδιά τῶν Πάρθων δεν μὲ ἄρεσον.
Ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ὡς σύνηθες, Ἑλληνικά
ὅχι ἐπερβολική, ἢ χαίρετος –
μὴν τὰ παρεξήγησει ὁ ἄνθυπτος
ποῦ ἐκσκαλέζει καὶ μην στὴν Ῥώμη –
ἄλλ', ὁμοίως βίας τιμητική.
Κάτι πολύ ἐκλεκτό ὅπ' τὸ ἄλλο μέρος
κανένας διακοφόλος ἐφθέγξει ὁρατός.
Πρὸ πάντων σε συστείνω νὰ κυττάξεις
(Σιβάστη, πρὸς θεό, νὰ μὴ λησθομηθεί)
μετὰ τὸ Βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ Σωτὴρ,
νὰ χαραγηθῇ μὲ γράμματα καμφρά, Φιλίλλην.
Καὶ τώρα μὴ μὲ ἀριστεράς ὁφυλαξίας,
τὰ "Ποῦ οἱ Ἑλληνῶν"; καὶ "Ποῦ τὰ Ἑλληνικά
πίσω ὅπ' τὸν Ζάγρο ἤδη, ἀπὸ τὰ Φράστα πέρα."
Τόσοι καὶ τόσοι βορβαρότεροι μας ἄλλοι
ἀροῦ τὸ γράφων, θὰ τὸ γράφουμε κ' ἔμεις.
Καὶ τέλος μὴ ἔχεις ποὺ ἔνοιξε
μᾶς ἔρχουν' ἀπὸ τὴν Συρία σοφισταί,
καὶ στημπόλακι, κι ἄλλοι ματαιώστουν. 
Σατε ἀνάληψατοι δὲν ἐμέσα, θαρρώ.

C.P. Cavafy, 1912

Make sure the engraving is done skilfully.
The expression serious, majestic.
The diadem preferably somewhat narrow:
I don’t like that broad kind the Parthians wear. The inscription,
as usual, in Greek:
nothing excessive or pompous—
we don’t want the procurator to take it the wrong way;
he’s always smelling things out and reporting back to Rome—
but of course giving me due honour.
Something very special on the other side: perhaps a discus-thrower, young, good-looking.
Above all I urge you to see to it
(Sithaspis, for God’s sake don’t let them forget)
that after ‘King’ and ‘Saviour’,
they add ‘Philhellene’ in elegant characters.
Now don’t try to be clever
with your ‘where are the Greeks?’ and ‘what Hellenism
here behind Zagros, out beyond Phraata?’
Since so many others more barbarian than ourselves
choose to inscribe it, we’ll inscribe it too.
And besides, don’t forget that sometimes
sophists do come to us from Syria,
and versifiers, and other triflers of that kind.
So we’re not, I think, un-Hellenized.

trans. Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of illustrations</th>
<th>page viii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of abbreviations</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Under the watchful eyes of the gods: divine justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor
   **Angelos Chaniotis** *(Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)*  
   1

2 Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia
   **Stephen Colvin** *(Yale University)*  
   44

3 Caracalla et son médecin L. Gellius Maximus à Antioche de Pisidie
   **Michel Christol et Thomas Drew-Bear** *(CNRS, Paris)*  
   85

4 Roman material culture across imperial frontiers? Three case studies from Parthian Dura-Europos
   **Nigel Pollard** *(University of Wales Swansea)*  
   119

5 Sympoliteiai in Hellenistic Asia Minor
   **Gary L. Reger** *(Trinity College Hartford)*  
   145

6 Hellenism on the periphery: the case of Cilicia and an etymology of *soloikismos*
   **Giovanni Salmeri** *(Università di Pisa)*  
   181

7 Leon son of Chrysaor and the religious identity of Stratonikeia in Caria
   **Riet van Bremen** *(University College London)*  
   207

Bibliography  
   245

Index  
   271
Illustrations

PLATES
1. Inscription pour Caracalla (partie supérieure) page 87
2. Inscription pour Caracalla (partie inférieure) 88
3. Inscription latine pour L. Gellius Maximus 93
4. Inscription grecque pour L. Gellius Maximus 98
5. Un prêtre d’Aesculapius 108
6. Excavation photograph of south apse of Room 4 (caldarium) in F3 bath, showing tubuli 134
7. Excavation photograph of east side of Room 4 (caldarium) of F3 bath, showing rectangular niche 135
8. Excavation photograph showing collapsed fragment of concrete arch with vaulting tubes in F3 bath frigidarium 136
9. Excavation photograph showing primitive pendentive in north-west corner of Room 3, F3 baths 138

FIGURES
1. Inscription grecque pour L. Gellius Maximus 96
2. L. Gellius Maximus prêtre d’Aesculapius 104
3. Plan of the F3 block at Dura-Europos, showing F3 bath and amphitheatre 133
4. Reconstructed elevation of the F3 baths at Dura-Europos 137
5. Schematic depiction of the relationship between the house in F4 and the F3 baths 140

MAPS
1. Caria and environs xv
2. The Roman Near East, showing location of Dura-Europos 120

TABLE
1. Roman and Parthian coins found at Dura-Europos, numbers by reign 129
Preace

The present volume owes its conception to the shared interests in the languages and material culture of Greco-Roman Asia Minor of the original editor of the volume, Andrew Gregory, and his then colleague in the Yale Department of Classics, Stephen Colvin. It follows the established pattern of Yale Classical Studies in bringing substantial contributions by a number of scholars to bear from different points of view on a theme of general interest.

The contributors were invited to explore some of the ways in which our picture of the Greco-Roman East has been changing over the last two decades as a result of new finds, the development of new methods and the emergence of new interests on the part of classical scholars. With its emphasis on the material culture of the Greco-Roman East, the volume complements the extensive, vigorous and innovative work done in recent years on the literature and ‘high culture’ of the period, notably in the literary movement known, after the phrase of one of its later participants, as the Second Sophistic. The result is a distinct change of perspective. If the literary evidence, rich and varied as it is, offers a ‘top down’ view of the period, the papers included in this volume show how a thoughtful use of new and existing material evidence can shed light on aspects of social and political life that could barely have been guessed at from the literary record alone. They use the evidence of coins, inscriptions and archaeological discoveries and deploy these in conjunction with the transmitted literary texts, in the investigation of a wide range of socio-political issues. These include the processes (and limits) of Hellenization and acculturation, the permeability and flexibility of political boundaries at all levels of society, the interaction of civil and religious authority, and the operation of networks of patronage and power from the highest to the lowest levels. If the effect is to emphasize the complexity and diversity of the social experience of those who lived even in this one part of the ancient world, then this reflects the situation as it actually existed. Historical writing must be as willing to acknowledge
Preface

complexity as it is eager to simplify, and not all research leads to a single conclusion.

With its emphasis on political culture and society rather than on literature, the collection begins and ends with papers, by Angelos Chaniotis and Riet van Bremen, on religion and the gods. Its second and penultimate chapters, by Stephen Colvin and Giovanni Salmeri respectively, are on local proper names and the (mis-)use of language, and in the heart of the collection is Gary Reger’s study of city formation in the Hellenistic period. The dominant geographical focus is on Asia Minor, but as we write these words in the University department of Michael Rostovtzeff, we feel that Nigel Pollard’s paper, which focuses attention on the shifting boundaries of Greco-Roman influence at Dura-Europos, is a particularly appropriate inclusion. The editor is grateful to Cambridge University Press for its agreement to vary its normal practice and allow the fascinating chapter by Michel Christol and Thomas Drew-Bear on Caracalla’s doctor and his commemoration in his city of origin to be printed in the language in which it was written.

The editor wishes also to express his gratitude to his colleagues, the contributors to this volume, for their patience on its long road to publication, to the Yale Department of Classics for its support, and to Michael Sharp and Cambridge University Press for undertaking the publication of this volume, as the first instalment in the planned revival of Yale Classical Studies.

Department of Classics
Yale University

John Matthews
Stephen Colvin
Abbreviations

Abbreviations of journal titles not listed here follow the conventions of *L’Année philologique*

- **AE** L’Année épigraphique
- **BE** Bulletin épigraphique in Revue des études grecques
- **BGU** Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen [later Staatlichen] Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden (Berlin 1895– )
- **BIWK** Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens, ed. G. Petzl (EA 22, Bonn 1994)
- **CEG** Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, ed. P.A. Hansen, 2 vols (Berlin 1983–9)
- **CID** Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes (Paris and Athens 1977– )
- **CIL** Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin 1833– )
- **C.Iust.** *Codex Iustinianus* (Corpus Iuris Civilis II: *Codex Iustinianus*, Berlin 1906)
- **Dura** The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Reports i–ix, ed. P.V.C. Baur, M.I. Rostovtzeff et al. (New Haven 1929–52)
- **EA** Epigraphica Anatolica, Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens (Bonn 1983– )
- **EBGR** Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion, ed. A. Chaniotis et al. (in *Kernos* 4, 1991– )
- **HTC** Les haute terres de Carie, ed. F. Debord and E. Varinlioglu (Bordeaux 2001)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IAM</td>
<td>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc: Inscriptions latines (Paris 1982)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Creticae, ed. F. Halbherr and M. Guarducci (Rome 1935–50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGR</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, ed. R. Cagnat et al. (Paris 1911–27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGrSic. et inf. It.</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et infinitae Italieae ad ius pertinentes, ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri (Milan 1925)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGSK</td>
<td>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (Bonn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGUR</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae, ed. L. Moretti (Rome 1968–90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILS</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau (Berlin 1892)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Magn. M.</td>
<td>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander, ed. O. Kern (Berlin 1910)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Priene</td>
<td>Inschriften von Priene, ed. F. Hiller von Gaerrtingen (Berlin 1906)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISE</td>
<td>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche, ed. L. Moretti (2 vols, Florence 1967–76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISE iii</td>
<td>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche iii. Supplemento e indici, ed. F. Canali de Rossi (Rome 2001)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### List of abbreviations

- **Labraunda**: *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches* (Stockholm 1955–)
- **LGPN**: *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, ed. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (Oxford 1987–)
- **Lindos**: *Lindos. Fouilles de l’acropole 1902–1914 II: Inscriptions*, ed. C. Blinkenberg (Copenhagen and Berlin 1941)
- **MAMA**: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Manchester 1928–)
- **Milet**: *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 1.3: Das Delphinion im Milet*, ed. G. Kawerau and A. Rehm (Berlin 1914)
- **OGIS**: *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1901–)
- **PSI**: *Papyri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papi greci e latini in Egitto, Florence 1912–)
- **P.Tebt.**: *The Tebtunis Papyri* (London 1902–)
- **RGE**: *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and epistulae of the age of Augustus*, ed. R.K. Sherk (Baltimore 1969)
- **SEG**: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden)
List of abbreviations


