

BETWEEN GREECE AND BABYLONIA

This book argues for a new approach to the intellectual history of the Hellenistic world. Despite the intense cross-cultural interactions which characterised the period after Alexander, studies of ‘Hellenistic’ intellectual life have tended to focus on Greek scholars and institutions. Where cross-cultural connections have been drawn, it is through borrowing: the Greek adoption of Babylonian astrology; the Egyptian scholar Manetho deploying Greek historiographical models. In this book, however, Kathryn Stevens advances a ‘Hellenistic intellectual history’ which is cross-cultural in scope and goes beyond borrowing and influence. Drawing on a wide range of Greek and Akkadian sources, she argues that intellectual life in the Greek world and Babylonia can be linked not just through occasional contact and influence, but also by deeper parallels in intellectual culture that reflect their integration into the same overarching imperial system. Tracing such parallels yields intellectual history which is diverse, multi-polar and, therefore, truly ‘Hellenistic’.

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BETWEEN GREECE AND BABYLONIA

Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective

KATHRYN STEVENS
University of Durham



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For Anne and Gillian Stevens

For Tosca

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION, TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Absolute consistency in the English rendering of Greek, Latin and Akkadian names can lead to forms which depart considerably from common usage and even impede recognition of known individuals and localities. My practices have been governed by a combination of factors, which leads overall to inconsistency but, I hope, greater clarity. I have used Anglicised forms where these are commonly known (Ptolemy, Aristotle, Aššurbanipal, Pliny; Athens, Babylon, Sippar). Some Greek names have been Latinised where this form is more common in English – for instance Athenaeus, Miletus – while Greek authors and places never or rarely attested in a Latinised form are transliterated strictly – thus Semos of Delos, Harmodios of Lepreon, and the river Akesines. Akkadian place names are given in transliteration or transcription where this is conceptually appropriate or useful to the reader (e.g. Mišir rather than Egypt in discussions of Babylonian geography); Akkadian proper names with no common Anglicised form are transcribed with diacritics in accordance with Assyriological conventions (Anu-bēlšunu, Nabû). In references to cuneiform tablet line numbers, the presence of the symbol ' indicates that the initial lines of the tablet are lost, so that the number is based on the preserved lines, e.g. obv. 10' indicates line 10 of the preserved text on the obverse of a tablet where an unknown number of lines are lost at the start.

Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Cuneiform tablet collections of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
<i>AAntHung</i>	<i>Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AB	<i>Assyriologische Bibliothek</i> . Leipzig, 1881–1933.
ABC	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> . Locust Valley, NY, 1975.
ACT	O. Neugebauer, <i>Astronomical Cuneiform Texts</i> (3 vols). London, 1955.
<i>AClass</i>	<i>Acta Classica: verhandelinge van die Klassieke Vereniging van Suid-Afrika</i>
AD	A. Sachs and H. Hunger, <i>Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia</i> (6 vols). Vienna, 1988–.
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHB	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AHES	<i>Archive for History of Exact Sciences</i>
AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
AIHS	<i>Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Ann. Sci.</i>	<i>Annals of Science</i>
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> . Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969.
ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
Ash. Mus.	Cuneiform tablet collections of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia</i>
BAAS	<i>Bulletin of the American Astronomical Society</i>
BaBesch	<i>Bulletin antieke Beschaving</i>

List of Abbreviations

<i>BagM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BCHP</i>	I. Finkel and R. J. van der Spek, <i>Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period</i> (preliminary online editions at www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chronoo.html)
<i>Bib. Or.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BM</i>	British Museum collections
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , ed. I. Worthington. Online publication: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby
<i>BOR</i>	<i>The Babylonian and Oriental Record</i> . London, 1886–1901.
<i>BRM</i>	<i>Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan</i> . New York and New Haven, 1912–1923.
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (21 vols). Chicago, 1956–2010.
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> . Cambridge
<i>CCAG</i>	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i> (12 vols). Brussels, 1898–1953.
<i>CCGG</i>	<i>Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz</i>
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes</i> . Paris, 1978–.
<i>CM</i>	J.-J. Glassner, <i>Mesopotamian Chronicles</i> . Leiden and Boston, 2005.
<i>CMG</i>	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i> . Berlin, 1908–.
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> . London, 1896–.
<i>EAD</i>	<i>Exploration archéologique de Délos</i> . Paris, 1909–.
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> . Paris, 1908–.

List of Abbreviations

<i>FGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958.
<i>FHG</i>	K. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Paris, 1841–1870.
<i>FHSG</i>	W. Fortenbaugh, P. Huby, R. Sharples, and D. Gutas (eds.) <i>Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence</i> . Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1993–.
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
<i>GDBT</i>	E. F. Weidner, <i>Gestirn-Darstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln</i> . Vienna, Graz and Cologne, 1967.
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>H&T</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>Hist. Sci.</i>	<i>History of Science</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HSM</i>	Cuneiform tablet collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>I.Délos</i>	F. Durrbach <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . Paris, 1926–1950.
<i>I.Ephesos</i>	H. Wankel <i>et al.</i> , <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (8 vols). Bonn, 1979–1984.
<i>I.Lindos</i>	C. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches, II. Fouilles de l'Acropole. Inscriptions</i> . Berlin, 1941.
<i>I.Magnesia</i>	O. Kern, <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin, 1900.
<i>I.Priene</i>	F. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> . Berlin, 1906.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IM</i>	Cuneiform tablet collections of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
<i>IOSPE</i>	Latyshev, V. <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i> . St Petersburg, 1885–1901.

List of Abbreviations

<i>ISE</i>	Moretti, L. <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche. I. Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia; II. Grecia centrale e settentrionale</i> . Florence 1967–1975.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHA</i>	<i>Journal for the History of Astronomy</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNER</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Religions</i>
<i>JMC</i>	<i>Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JPH</i>	<i>Journal of the Philosophy of History</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (formerly <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>)
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>K</i>	Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London
<i>LBAT</i>	A. Sachs, T. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts</i> . Providence, 1955.
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Oxford, 1987–.
<i>MAA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry</i>
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
<i>MLC</i>	Yale Babylonian Collection, Morgan Library Collection
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i>
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>PAPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
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List of Abbreviations

<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>P.Gen.</i>	<i>Les Papyrus de Genève</i> . Geneva, 1896–1900.
<i>P.Hib.</i>	<i>The Hibehe Papyri</i> . London, 1906–1955.
<i>P.Oxy</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . London, 1898–.
<i>P.Oxy.Astr</i>	A. Jones, <i>Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus</i> (2 vols). Philadelphia, 1999.
<i>PNA</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Helsinki, 1998–2011.
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RIMA</i>	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods</i> . Toronto, 1987–.
<i>RINAP</i>	G. Frame, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Neo-Assyrian Period</i> . Toronto, 1995–.
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin and Leipzig, 1932–.
<i>SAA</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria</i> . Helsinki, 1987–.
<i>SAAB</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
<i>SAAS</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Studies</i>
<i>SAS</i>	<i>South Asian Studies</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SCIAMVS</i>	<i>SCIAMVS: Sources and Commentaries in the Exact Sciences</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . 1923–.
<i>SGDI</i>	H. Collitz (ed.), <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (4 vols). Göttingen, 1884–1889.
<i>StOr</i>	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
<i>SpTU</i>	<i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> : I, H. Hunger, 1976; II–V, E. von Weiher, 1983–1998.
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TCL</i>	<i>Textes Cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre</i> . Paris, 1910–.
<i>Tit. Cam.</i>	M. Segre and G. P. Carratelli, ‘Tituli Camirenses’, in <i>ASAtene</i> 27–29, n.s. 11–13 (1949–1951): 141–318.

List of Abbreviations

UCP	<i>University of California Publications in Semitic Philology</i> . Berkeley, 1907–.
UET	<i>Ur Excavations: Texts</i> . London, 1928–.
UVB	<i>Vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka</i> .
VAB	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i> . Leipzig, 1907–16.
VAT	Berlin Museum collections (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln)
YOS	<i>Yale Oriental Series</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZOA	<i>Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie</i>
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i>

Abbreviations for Classical authors and works follow the Oxford Classical Dictionary (4th edition), with the addition of:

<i>Ar.</i>	<i>Aristeae ad Philocratem epistula</i> (ed. Hadas 1951)
<i>Epiph. De mens.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>De mensuris et ponderibus</i>
<i>Gal. Hipp. Epid.</i>	Galen, <i>In Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros commentaria</i> (CMG V.10.1–2)
<i>Gal. HNH</i>	Galen, <i>In Hippocratis De Natura Hominis commentaria</i> (CMG V.9.1)
<i>Hipp. Comm. Arat.</i>	Hipparchus, <i>In Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena commentarium</i> (ed. Manitius 1894)
<i>Iren. Adv. Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses</i>
<i>Philo Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>De Vita Mosis</i>
<i>PN</i>	[Pseudo-Scymnus], <i>Periodos to Nicomedes</i> (ed. Marcotte 2000)
<i>Sync.</i>	Syncellus, <i>Ecloga chronographica</i> (ed. Mosshammer 1984)
<i>Tzetz. Proleg.</i>	Tzetzes, <i>Prolegomena de comoedia Aristophanis</i> (ed. Koster 1975)
<i>Vit. Arat.</i>	<i>Vitae Arati</i> (ed. Martin 1974)