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0521828759 - The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society, Volume XXXI - Edited by

Stephen Colvin

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THE GRECO-ROMAN EAST

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).

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YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES



VOLUME XXXI

THE GRECO-ROMAN EAST

Politics, Culture, Society

Edited for the Department of Classics by

STEPHEN COLVIN

Associate Professor of Greek Literature and Linguistics, Yale University



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UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK

40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

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First published 2004

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Adobe Garamond 11/12.5 pt. *System* L^AT_EX 2_ε [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

The Greco-Roman East: politics, culture, society / edited for the Department of Classics by Stephen Colvin.

p. cm. – (Yale classical studies; v. 31)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 82875 9 (hardback)

I. Middle East – History – To 622. I. Colvin, Stephen. II. Series.

PA25.Y3 vol. 31

[DS62.2]

939'.4 – dc21 2003051486

ISBN 0 521 82875 9 hardback

ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ

Τὴν χάραξι φρόντισε τεχνικὰ νὰ γίνῃ.
 Ἐκφρασις σοβαρὴ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής.
 Τὸ διάδημα καλλίτερα μᾶλλον στενό·
 ἐκεῖνα τὰ φαρδιά τῶν Πάρθων δὲν μὲ ἀρέσουν.
 Ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ὡς σύνηθες, ἑλληνικὰ·
 ὄχ' ὑπερβολικὴ, ὄχι πομπώδης –
 μὴν τὰ παρεξηγήσει ὁ ἀνθύπατος
 ποὺ ὄλο σκαλίζει καὶ μηνᾶ στὴν Ρώμη –
 ἀλλ' ὅμως βέβαια τιμητικὴ.
 Κάτι πολὺ ἐκλεκτὸ ἀπ' τὸ ἄλλο μέρος·
 κανένας δισκοβόλος ἔφηβος ὠραῖος.
 Πρὸ πάντων σὲ συστείνω νὰ κυττάξεις
 (Σιθάσπη, πρὸς θεοῦ, νὰ μὴ λησμονηθεῖ)
 μετὰ τὸ Βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ Σωτήρ,
 νὰ χαραχθεῖ μὲ γράμματα κομψά, Φιλέλλην.
 Καὶ τώρα μὴ μὲ ἀρχίζεις εὐφυσολογίαι,
 τὰ “Ποῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες”; καὶ “Ποῦ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ
 πίσω ἀπ' τὸν Ζάγρο ἐδῶ, ἀπὸ τὰ Φράατα πέρα.”
 Τόσοι καὶ τόσοι βαρβαρότεροί μας ἄλλοι
 ἀφοῦ τὸ γράφουν, θὰ τὸ γράψουμε κ' ἐμεῖς.
 Καὶ τέλος μὴ ξεχνᾷς ποὺ ἐνίοτε
 μᾶς ἔρχοντ' ἀπὸ τὴν Συρία σοφισταί,
 καὶ στιχοπλόκοι, κὶ ἄλλοι ματαιόσπουδοι.
 Ὡστε ἀνελληνιστοὶ δὲν εἴμεθα, θαρρῶ.

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 proconsul to take it the wrong way;
 he's always smelling things out and reporting back to Rome –*

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*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

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Preface

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

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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 focusses 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*

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> in <i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen [later Staatlichen] Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> (Berlin 1895–)
<i>BIWK</i>	<i>Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens</i> , ed. G. Petzl (<i>EA</i> 22, Bonn 1994)
<i>CEG</i>	<i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , ed. P.A. Hansen, 2 vols (Berlin 1983–9)
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> (Paris and Athens 1977–)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin 1853–)
<i>C.Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i> (<i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> II: <i>Codex Iustinianus</i> , Berlin 1906)
<i>Dura</i>	<i>The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Reports I–IX</i> , ed. P.V.C. Baur, M.I. Rostovtzeff <i>et al.</i> (New Haven 1929–52)
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens</i> (Bonn 1983–)
<i>EBGR</i>	<i>Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion</i> , ed. A. Chaniotis <i>et al.</i> (in <i>Kernos</i> 4, 1991–)
<i>HTC</i>	<i>Les hautes terres de Carie</i> , ed. P. Debord and E. Varinlioğlu (Bordeaux 2001)
<i>I. Alex. Troas</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Alexandria Troas (IGSK 53)</i> , ed. M. Riel (1997)

<i>IAM</i>	<i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc II: Inscriptions latines</i> (Paris 1982)
<i>I. Aryk.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda (IGSK 48)</i> , ed. Sencer Şahin (1994)
<i>IC</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , ed. F. Halbherr and M. Guarducci (Rome 1935–50)
<i>I. Eph.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos (IGSK XI–XVII)</i> , ed. H. Wankel <i>et al.</i> (1979–81)
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> , ed. R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> (Paris 1911–27)
<i>IGrSic. et inf. It.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad ius pertinentes</i> , ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri (Milan 1925)
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> (Bonn)
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae</i> , ed. L. Moretti (Rome 1968–90)
<i>I. Iasos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Iasos (IGSK XXVIII. 1–2)</i> , ed. W. Blümel (1985)
<i>I. Keramos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Keramos (IGSK xxx)</i> , ed. E. Varinlioğlu (1986)
<i>I. Laodikeia/Lykos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos (IGSK XLIX)</i> , ed. T. Corsten (1997)
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau (Berlin 1892)
<i>I. Magn. M.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> , ed. O. Kern (Berlin 1910)
<i>I. Magn. Sip.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos (IGSK VIII)</i> , ed. Th. Ihnken (1978)
<i>I. Mylasa</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa (IGSK XXXIV–XXXV)</i> , ed. W. Blümel (1987–8)
<i>I. Priene</i>	<i>Inschriften von Priene</i> , ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen (Berlin 1906)
<i>I.Rh.Per.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften der rhodischen Peraia (IGSK XXXVIII)</i> , ed. W. Blümel (1991)
<i>IS</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia (IGSK XXI, XXII.1–2)</i> , ed. M.Ç. Şahin (1981–90)
<i>ISE</i>	<i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , ed. L. Moretti (2 vols, Florence 1967–76)
<i>ISE III</i>	<i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche III. Supplemento e indici</i> , ed. F. Canali de Rossi (Rome 2001)

List of abbreviations

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- I. Smyrna* *Die Inschriften von Smyrna (IGSK xxIII–xxIV)*, ed. G. Petzl (1982–90)
- I. Tralleis* *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa (IGSK xxxvi)*, ed. Fj. B. Poljakov (1989)
- 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)
- LSAM* *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris 1955)
- LSCG* *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris 1969)
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Manchester 1928–)
- Milet* *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 I.3: Das Delphinion im Milet*, ed. G. Kawerau and A. Rehm (Berlin 1914)
- OGIS* *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1903–5)
- PIR²* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III* (2nd edn, Berlin and Leipzig 1933–99)
- PSI* *Papyri graeci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri 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)
- RIT* *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, ed. G. Alföldy (2 vols, Berlin 1975)
- RMD* *Roman Military Diplomas I–IV* (Institute of Archaeology, London 1978–)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden)
- SIG³* *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger (4 vols, Leipzig 1915–24)

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*List of abbreviations**Staatsvertr.**Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*. II, ed. H. Bengtson; III, ed. H. H. Schmitt (Munich 1962–9).*TAM* II*Tituli Asiae Minoris* II: *Tituli Lyciae linguis graeca et latina conscripti*, ed. E. Kalinka (Vienna 1920–44)*TAM* V*Tituli Asiae Minoris* V: *Tituli Lydiae linguis graeca et latina conscripti*, ed. P. Herrmann (Vienna 1981–9).*Tit. Cal.**Tituli Calymnii*, ed. M. Segre (*Annuario* 22–3 (1944–5) [1952], whole volume)*Tit. Cam.**Tituli Camirenses*, ed. M. Segre and G. Pugliese-Carratelli (*Annuario* 27–9 (1949–51), pp. 141–318)*TL**Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, ed. E. Kalinka (Vienna 1901)

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Map 1. Caria and environs