

## Rome: An Empire of Many Nations

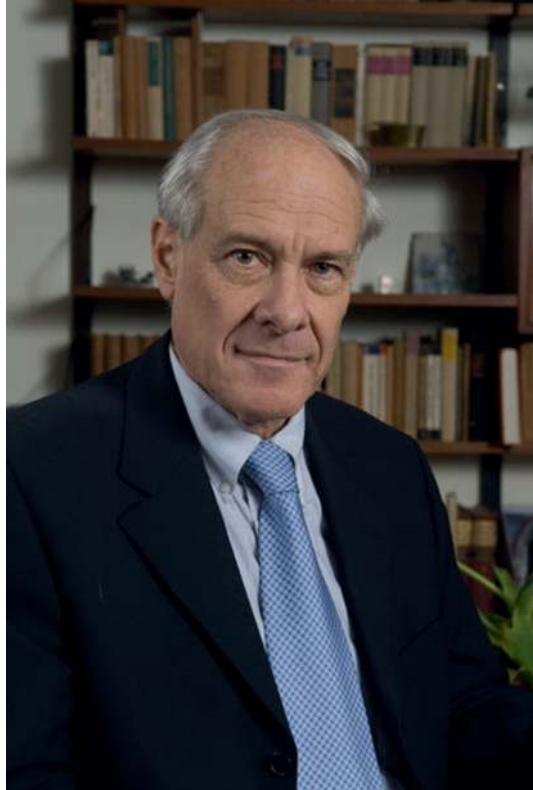
The center of gravity in Roman studies has shifted far from the upper echelons of government and administration in Rome or the Emperor's court to the provinces and the individual. The multidisciplinary studies presented in this volume reflect the turn in Roman history to the identities of ethnic groups and even single individuals who lived in Rome's vast multinational empire. The purpose is less to discover another element in the Roman Empire's "success" in governance than to illuminate the variety of individual experience in its own terms. The chapters here, reflecting a wide spectrum of professional expertise, range across the many cultures, languages, religions and literatures of the Roman Empire, with a special focus on the Jews as a test case for the larger issues. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core.

JONATHAN J. PRICE is the Fred and Helen Lessing Professor of Ancient History at Tel Aviv University and the author of many studies on Greek and Roman historiography, and Jewish history and epigraphy of the Roman period. His publications include *Jerusalem under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State, 66–70 C.E.* (1992), *Thucydides and Internal War* (Cambridge, 2001), and editions of about 3,000 Jewish inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, Volumes I–V (2010–21).

MARGALIT FINKELBERG is Professor of Classics (emeritus) at Tel Aviv University and a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. She has authored *The Birth of Literary Fiction in Ancient Greece* (1998), *Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition* (2005), *Homer* (2014; Hebrew), *The Gatekeeper: Narrative Voice in Plato's Dialogues* (2019), *Homer and Early Greek Epic: Collected Essays* (2020), and numerous scholarly articles. She is the editor of *The Homer Encyclopedia* (3 vols.; 2011).

YUVAL SHAHAR is Senior Lecturer in Jewish History at Tel Aviv University. His published studies on the history, historiography and historical geography of Palestine in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods include *Josephus Geographicus: The Classical Context of Geography in Josephus* (2004).

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
978-1-009-25622-3 — Rome: An Empire of Many Nations  
Edited by Jonathan J. Price , Margalit Finkelberg , Yuval Shahar  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)



This volume was conceived and produced in honor of our dear colleague Benjamin H. Isaac, the Fred and Helen Lessing Professor of Ancient History Emeritus at Tel Aviv University, as well as, inter alia, an Israel Prize laureate, and a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and of the American Philosophical Society. Some but not all of the articles were first presented in May 2015 in a conference at Tel Aviv University on the occasion of his retirement and seventieth birthday. We wish him many more fruitful years of scholarship.

*Jonathan Price, Yuval Shahar, Margalit Finkelberg*

# Rome: An Empire of Many Nations

## New Perspectives on Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Identity

---

*Edited by*

JONATHAN J. PRICE

Tel Aviv University

MARGALIT FINKELBERG

Tel Aviv University

YUVAL SHAHAR

Tel Aviv University



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
978-1-009-25622-3 — Rome: An Empire of Many Nations  
Edited by Jonathan J. Price, Margalit Finkelberg, Yuval Shahar  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781009256223](http://www.cambridge.org/9781009256223)

DOI: 10.1017/9781009256193

© Cambridge University Press 2021

Reissued as Open Access, 2022

This work is in copyright. It is subject to statutory exceptions and to the provisions of relevant licensing agreements; with the exception of the Creative Commons version the link for which is provided below, no reproduction of any part of this work may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

An online version of this work is published at [doi.org/10.1017/9781009256193](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009256193) under a Creative Commons Open Access license CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 which permits re-use, distribution and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial purposes providing appropriate credit to the original work is given. You may not distribute derivative works without permission. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

All versions of this work may contain content reproduced under license from third parties. Permission to reproduce this third-party content must be obtained from these third-parties directly.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009256193

First published 2021

Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Price, Jonathan J., editor. | Finkelberg, Margalit, editor. | Shahar, Yuval, 1953– editor.

Title: Rome : an empire of many nations : new perspectives on ethnic diversity and cultural identity / edited by Jonathan J. Price, Margalit Finkelberg, Yuval Shahar.

Other titles: Rome, an empire of many nations : new perspectives on ethnic diversity and cultural identity

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom : New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020057804 (print) | LCCN 2020057805 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108479455 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108785563 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: National characteristics, Roman. | Romans – Ethnic identity. | Ethnicity – Rome. | Jews – Rome – History. | Religious pluralism – Rome. | Group identity – Rome.

Classification: LCC DG78 .R5838 2021 (print) | LCC DG78 (ebook) | DDC 937/.06–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020057804>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020057805>

ISBN 978-1-009-25622-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

*List of Figures* [page vii]  
*List of Contributors* [ix]  
*Acknowledgments* [xi]  
*List of Abbreviations* [xii]

Introduction [1]

### PART I ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE [15]

- 1 From Rome to Constantinople [17]  
BENJAMIN ISAAC
- 2 The Imperial Senate: Center of a Multinational  
Imperium [29]  
WERNER ECK
- 3 Ethnic Types and Stereotypes in Ancient Latin Idioms [42]  
DANIELA DUECK
- 4 Ketī, Son of Maswalat: Ethnicity and Empire [58]  
BRENT D. SHAW

### PART II CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE [85]

- 5 Roman Reception of the Trojan War [87]  
MARGALIT FINKELBERG
- 6 Claiming Roman Origins: Greek Cities and the Roman  
Colonial Pattern [100]  
CÉDRIC BRÉLAZ
- 7 Roman Theologies in the Roman Cities of Italy and the  
Provinces [116]  
JOHN SCHEID

- 8 The Involvement of Provincial Cities in the  
 Administration of School Teaching [135]  
 IDO ISRAELOWICH
- 9 Many Nations, One Night? Historical Aspects of the Night  
 in the Roman Empire [146]  
 ANGELOS CHANIOTIS
- PART III ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN  
 EMPIRE: THE CASE OF THE JEWS [167]
- 10 Religious Pluralism in the Roman Empire: Did Judaism  
 Test the Limits of Roman Tolerance? [169]  
 ERICH S. GRUEN
- 11 Rome's Attitude to Jews after the Great Rebellion – Beyond  
*Raison d'état*? [186]  
 ALEXANDER YAKOBSON
- 12 Between *ethnos* and *populus*: The Boundaries of Being  
 a Jew [203]  
 YUVAL ROTMAN
- 13 Local Identities of Synagogue Communities in the Roman  
 Empire [223]  
 JONATHAN J. PRICE
- 14 The Good, the Bad and the Middling: Roman Emperors in  
 Talmudic Literature [239]  
 YUVAL SHAHAR
- 15 The Severans and Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi [260]  
 AHARON OPPENHEIMER
- PART IV IUDAEA/PALAESTINA [273]
- 16 The Roman Legionary Base in Legio-Kefar 'Othnay – The  
 Evidence from the Small Finds [275]  
 YOTAM TEPPER
- 17 The Camp of the Legion X Fretensis and the Starting Point  
 of Aelia Capitolina [300]  
 SHLOMIT WEKSLER-BDOLAH
- Bibliography* [332]  
*General Index* [386]  
*Index Locorum* [396]

## Figures

- 4.1 Tombstone of Gaius Julius Gaetulus / Ketis son of Maswalat. [page 61]
- 4.2 The Hippo Regius Region: Hippo Regius and Thullium. [66]
- 4.3 Proconsular Africa: The 'Cheffia' Region in Context. [67]
- 16.1 Legio-Kefar 'Othnay and the sites in Palestine that mention Roman military presence, Roman roads and the activities of the soldiers of Legio II Traiana and Legio VI Ferrata. [276]
- 16.2 Peutinger Map – Capercotani (Legio) along the Roman road between Caesarea and Bet She'an-Scythopolis. [281]
- 16.3 Sites in the Jezreel Valley and its environs showing connections to Legio, according to Eusebius. [283]
- 16.4 Schumacher map (1908), probes and archaeological excavations at Legio. [286]
- 16.5 Tile bearing the stamp of Legio II Traiana, from Legio-Kefar 'Othnay. [290]
- 16.6 Stamps of Legio VI Ferrata from Legio-Kefar 'Othnay. [291]
- 16.7 Legio, Coin with two countermarks, the first of Legio VI Ferrata, the second of a head facing right. [293]
- 16.8 Legio, Roman military equipment. [295]
- 16.9 Kefar 'Othnay – the northern panel of the mosaic in the Christian Prayer Hall. [298]
- 17.1 The camp of the X Fretensis, the Temple Mount, and the bridge connecting them in the early second century CE. [305]
- 17.2 The city of Aelia Capitolina and the military camp in the second and third centuries CE. [306]
- 17.3 Jerusalem/Aelia in the mid fourth century. [307]
- 17.4 Jerusalem/Aelia around 450 CE. [308]
- 17.5 Café Bashourah. [310]

- 17.6 Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza, looking northeast. [317]
- 17.7 Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza, looking southwest. [318]
- 17.8 Bread stamp from the Roman dump. [319]
- 17.9 Finds from the Roman dump along the Eastern Cardo. [320]
- 17.10 Proposed reconstruction of the military camp, the ruins of the Temple Mount and the bridge connecting them in the early second century CE. [321]
- 17.11 Flagstones of the Western Cardo. [324]
- 17.12 Great Causeway – Eastern Cardo. [325]
- 17.13 Great Causeway. [326]



## Contributors

Cédric Brélaz

Professor of Ancient History, University of Fribourg, Switzerland

Angelos Chaniotis

Professor of Ancient History and Classics, School of Historical Studies,  
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Daniela Dueck

Associate Professor of Ancient History, Bar Ilan University

Werner Eck

Professor of Ancient History (emeritus), University of Cologne

Margalit Finkelberg

Professor of Classics (emeritus), Tel Aviv University

Erich S. Gruen

Gladys Rehard Wood Professor of History and Classics (emeritus),  
University of California, Berkeley

Benjamin Isaac

Fred and Helen Lessing Professor of Ancient History (emeritus), Tel Aviv  
University

Ido Israelowich

Senior Lecturer in Classics, Tel Aviv University

Aharon Oppenheimer

Sir Isaac Wolfson Professor of Jewish Studies (emeritus), Tel Aviv  
University

Jonathan J. Price

Fred and Helen Lessing Professor of Ancient History, Tel Aviv University

Yuval Rotman

Associate Professor of History, Tel Aviv University

John Scheid

Professor of Religion, Institutions and Society of Rome (emeritus), Collège  
de France

Yuval Shahar

Senior Lecturer in Jewish History, Tel Aviv University

Brent D. Shaw

Andrew Fleming West Professor in Classics (emeritus), Princeton University

Dr. Yotam Tepper

Archaeologist, Israel Antiquities Authority

Dr. Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah

Archaeologist, Israel Antiquities Authority

Alexander Yakobson

Associate Professor of Ancient History, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

## Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank those who provided the funding for the conference in honor of Benjamin Isaac, held in Tel Aviv in May 2015, that gave rise to the present volume: first of all, Joan C. Lessing, whose continuing, generous support is invaluable to historical research and advanced study of history in Tel Aviv University. Within Tel Aviv University, we are grateful to the Rector's office, the Dean of Humanities, the Zvi Yavetz School of Historical Studies, the Shirley and Leslie Porter School of Cultural Studies and the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center. Our talented graduate student in ancient history, Noam Rytwo (Ritbo), prepared the bibliography and the indices; we thank him, as well as the Zvi Yavetz School of Historical Studies for underwriting his work.

## Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (see Cagnat et al. 1888–)
BCTH	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques</i> (see Cagnat et al. 1892)
BMC	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i> (see Hill)
BMCRE	<i>British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire</i> (see Poole et al.)
BRGK	<i>Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> (see Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)
CCL	see CCSL
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i> (see Dekkers et al.)
CIIP	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> (see Ameling et al.)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (see Mommsen et al.)
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CPG	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Graecorum</i> (see Leutsch and Scheidewin)
CPJ	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> I–III (see Tcherikover et al.)
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (see Vahlen et al.)
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (see Müller et al.)
GV	<i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> 1: Grab-Epigramme (see Peek)
IAM	<i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc</i> (see Galand et al.)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (see Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin)
IGBulg	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (see Mihailov)
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (see Jalabert et al.)
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (see Cagnat et al. 1906–)
IJO	<i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis</i> (see Noy et al.)
ILAlg	<i>Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie</i> (see Gsell et al.)
ILB	<i>Les inscriptions latines de Belgique</i> (see Deman et al.)
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (see Dessau)
ILTun	<i>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie</i> (see Merlin)

IvO	<i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> (see Dittenberg and Purgold)
LSAM	<i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (see Sokolowski)
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae</i> (see Calder et al.)
P. Lond	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> (see Kenyon and Bell)
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III</i> (see Klebs et al.)
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> (Jones et al.)
RGZM	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum</i>
RIB	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (see Collingwood et al.)
RIL	<i>Recueil des inscriptions Libyques</i> (see Chabot)
RMD	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> (see Roxan and Holder)
RPC	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> (see Burnett et al.)
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> (see Chaniotis et al.)
SNG München	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum München</i>
SNG von Aulock	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum von Aulock</i>
TAD	<i>Textbook of Aramaic documents from Ancient Egypt</i> (see Porten and Yardeni)
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (see Kalinka et al.)
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
978-1-009-25622-3 — Rome: An Empire of Many Nations  
Edited by Jonathan J. Price , Margalit Finkelberg , Yuval Shahar  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

This title is part of the Cambridge University Press *Flip it Open* Open Access Books program and has been “flipped” from a traditional book to an Open Access book through the program.

*Flip it Open* sells books through regular channels, treating them at the outset in the same way as any other book; they are part of our library collections for Cambridge Core, and sell as hardbacks and ebooks. The one crucial difference is that we make an upfront commitment that when each of these books meets a set revenue threshold we make them available to everyone Open Access via Cambridge Core.

This paperback edition has been released as part of our Open Access commitment and we would like to use this as an opportunity to thank the libraries and other buyers who have helped us flip this and the other titles in the program to Open Access.

To see the full list of libraries that we know have contributed to *Flip it Open*, as well as the other titles in the program please visit <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/open-research/open-access/oa-book-pilot-flip-it-open/flip-it-open-acknowledgements>

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
978-1-009-25622-3 — Rome: An Empire of Many Nations  
Edited by Jonathan J. Price , Margalit Finkelberg , Yuval Shahar  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---