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978-1-107-09211-2 - Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early
Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era

Fritz Graf

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ROMAN FESTIVALS IN THE GREEK EAST

This study explores the development of ancient festival culture in the Greek East of the Roman Empire, paying particular attention to the fundamental religious changes that occurred. After analysing how Greek city festivals developed in the first two Imperial centuries, it concentrates on the major Roman festivals that were adopted in the Eastern cities and traces their history up to the time of Justinian and beyond. It addresses several key questions for the religious history of later antiquity: Who were the actors behind these adoptions? How did the closed religious communities, Jews and pre-Constantinian Christians, articulate their resistance? How did these festivals change when the empire converted to Christianity? Why did emperors not yield to the long-standing pressure of the Church to abolish them? And finally, how did these very popular festivals – despite their pagan tradition – influence the form of the newly developed Christian liturgy?

FRITZ GRAF is Distinguished University Professor and Director of Epigraphy at the Ohio State University. He has published widely on Greek mythology, local cults in ancient Asia Minor, eschatological texts from Greek graves, and ancient magic.

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Preface

This book has been a long time in the making. It began its life as a project on Roman festivals that should go beyond the antiquarianism that at the time, in the 1990s, still characterized part of the studies on Roman cult. The first steps in this project were made during a sabbatical from Basel that I spent in 1996/97 at the University of Chicago and that was made possible by Christopher Faraone and Bruce Lincoln. I first publicly explored my methodology in the *Lectio Teubneriana* of 1997 on the Roman festival year, which was still fully and only concerned with the time between Caesar and Augustus, Cicero and Ovid. But this easy and fast trajectory was soon derailed when I realized that there was evidence for Roman festivals beyond the well-documented periods from Varro to Ovid, and beyond the city walls of Rome, from the Greek East during the Imperial age well into the Christian centuries of both Romes, the Eastern and the Western one. The 1999 Grey Lectures in Cambridge gave me the first opportunity to deal systematically with this evidence and to put it into a framework of Greek city festivals and the Christian opposition, manifested in the exciting sermons of Augustine that François Dolbeau had just published and that gave me a first entry into the debates of the Christianizing fourth and fifth centuries. I thank my Cambridge hosts, Mary Beard and David Sedley, for a great time, and my patient audience for their rich input in what was then still very much a learning enterprise. My years at Princeton helped me to enter the worlds of post-Second Temple Judaism and late antique Christianity, mostly thanks to the generous friendship of Peter Schäfer and Peter Brown.

More than a decade has gone by since then. Although other obligations sidetracked me sometimes, the elapsed time has offered enough time for prolonged reflection and deepened my interest in the way the Mediterranean world turned from many gods to one through the work of ever-changing prophets, some more radical than others, but few as open to compromise as the emperors and their administration. Some leisure to

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push forward with this and to read my way into the vast continent of Christian sermons, council acts, and law codes was granted by fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Guggenheim Foundation, to whom I am immensely grateful. The final touches were added during a stay at the Lichtenberg Kolleg in Göttingen where Heinz-Günther Nesselrath and Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler were my generous hosts; the debates with them and with the Lichtenberg fellows helped again consolidate things. Other impulses came from my former Academic home, the University of Basel, where during several summers my successor Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer graciously invited me to teach Roman religion, from the Republic to Late Antiquity; I thank her and the Basel colleagues Joachim Latacz and Anton Bierl for having me temporarily back. During the years at The Ohio State University, I could rely on the treasures of the Epigraphy Center and the reliable help and advice of its staff members, Wendy Watkins and Phil Forsythe.

Among the many colleagues who gave me input and incentive, I mention again Mary Beard and add Jan Bremmer, Gideon Bohak, Peter Brown, Angelos Chaniotis, David Frankfurter, Peter Schäfer, John Scheid, and my Ohio State colleagues David Brakke, Tom Hawkins, Anthony Kaldellis, and Tina Sessa.

I owe more than I can describe to the long discussions, steady help, and sometimes intellectual provocation of Sarah Iles Johnston, colleague and companion for many years, who kept me sane and on course even during my years as department chair.

I thank Michael Sharp and the editors of this series for welcoming the manuscript and improving its content and form in many helpful ways, and the staff of Cambridge University Press, especially my editor Emma Collison and copy-editor Malcolm Todd, for carefully and patiently assisting in moving the text from the manuscript to the printed book.

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Abbreviations

When I abbreviate names or works of ancient authors, I follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third edition) and of Lampe, respectively. The same is true for periodicals and series where, however, I have often preferred to give the full name.

What follows, then, is a list of abbreviations not found in *OCD*³ or Lampe.

<i>Basilika</i>	see Bibliography at Scheltema and Van der Waal (1955)
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Reviews</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> , ed. Paul Krueger. <i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877)
<i>Const. Sirm.</i>	<i>Constitutiones Sirmondianae</i> , in: <i>CTh</i> ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer
<i>Copt. Enc.</i>	<i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905)
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der neue Pauly</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. Felix Jacoby <i>et al.</i>
<i>FiE</i>	<i>Forschungen in Ephesus</i>
<i>I.Cret.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones creticae, opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae</i> , ed. Marguerita Guarducci (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935–1950)
<i>I.Didyma</i>	<i>Didyma. Teil 2: Die Inschriften</i> , ed. Alfred Rehm and Richard Harder (Berlin: Reimer, 1958)

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- I.Ephes.* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, ed. Hermann Wankel. IKS 11:1–8,2 (Bonn: Habelt, 1979–1984)
- IKS* *Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien*
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. Hermann Dessau (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916)
- I.Milet* *Inschriften von Milet*, ed. Peter Herrmann. Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998)
- I.Priene* *Inschriften von Priene*, ed. F. Hiller v. Gaertringen (Berlin: Reimer, 1906)
- I.Stratonikeia* *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, ed. M. Çetin Şahin. IKS 21 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981ff.)
- Iscrizioni di Cos* *Iscrizioni di Cos*, ed. Mario Segre (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1995, 2007)
- IvP* *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, ed. M Fränkel. *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8 (Berlin: Spemann, 1890/1895)
- Lampe* G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)
- LSCG* Frantizek Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris: Boccard, 1969)
- Mansi* *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovan Domenico Mansi (Paris: Welter, 1901–1927)
- OLD* *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*
- OMS* Louis Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta. Epigraphie et antiquités grecques*. 7 vols. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969–1990)
- RAC* *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
- SIG³* *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. Wilhelm Dittenberger, 3rd edn. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924)
- StEGO* *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, ed. Reinhold Merkelbach and Josef Stauber (Bonn: Habelt, 1998–2004)
- ThesCRA* *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004–2006)