

SCRIPTA CLASSICA ISRAELICA

YEARBOOK OF THE ISRAEL SOCIETY
FOR THE PROMOTION OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

VOLUME XLI

2022

The appearance of this volume has been made possible by the support of

Bar-Ilan University
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
The Open University
Tel Aviv University
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PUBLISHED BY
THE ISRAEL SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
<http://www.israel-classics.org>

Manuscripts in the form of e-mail attachments should be sent to one of these e-mail addresses:
scripta.classica.israelica@gmail.com or isaacb@tauex.tau.ac.il. For reviews, contact
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Scripta Classica Israelica, c/o Department of General History, Ben-Gurion University of the
Negev, P.O.B. 653 Beer Sheva 8410501, Israel.

Price \$50

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Camera-ready copy produced by the editorial staff of *Scripta Classica Israelica*
Printed in Israel by Magnes Press, Jerusalem

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María-Paz de Hoz, Juan Luis García Alonso and Luis Arturo Guichard Romero (eds.), *Greek Paideia and Local Tradition in the Graeco-Roman East*, Leuven–Paris–Bristol: Peeters, 2020. 268 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-40043-8.

This volume focuses on questions of Hellenisation, the persistence of native elements in contact zones, and the role played by the elites in the Graeco-Roman East in Hellenistic and Imperial times. Especially important elements are Greek language and literary traditions, not least in the medium of inscriptions.

The first three chapters deal mainly with the role of kings: Luis Ballesteros Pastor (“Between Magian Lore and Greek *paideia*: royal education in the kingdom of Pontos”, 1–18) focuses on the youth of Mithridates Eupator whose education, he argues, was mainly Iranian and lay in the hands of magi (4–6). There are, however, almost no sources on Mithridates’ childhood (6), and the “presence of the magi” is indirectly deduced from the areas of knowledge the king was familiar with. But pharmacology was also a traditional Greek topic; and the main source for the Persian influence is Justin, whose work (an epitome of Pompeius Trogus’ world history) might well be rather biased. Is a king intimately acquainted with poison not the stereotype of an Eastern barbarian? Appian (Mithr. 112) attests that the king had a Greek education; cities in his realm like Daskyleion or Sinope had institutions like a gymnasium, something totally alien to Persian culture (8–10). The king of Pontos was certainly the product of two cultures, but it is hard to see in which way “the magi were relevant [...] for the legitimacy [...] also of certain Roman emperors” (12).

More convincing is the chapter of Christoph Michels (“*Pepaideumenoí* and *paideia* at the court of Hellenistic Cappadocia and the impact on cultural change”, 19–38) on strategies of self-representation of kings, mainly Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, a kingdom that emerged from a Persian satrapy (with many Iranian traditions, 20–24). As in other Hellenistic monarchies residences quickly became cultural centres attracting intellectuals; Greek became the official language, the kings minted Greek coins, held international *agones* and acted as patrons of art and benefactors of Greek cities and sanctuaries (25–31). Did this royal *paideia* spread into the interior? There was no conscious effort to Hellenize the country; rather, as M. suggests (31) “networks between the foreign *pepaideumenoí* and the local elites created a milieu in which it was desirable for the local elites to adopt certain elements of Greek culture.” A certain amount of Greek *paideia* was necessary to play a role in a world system dominated by Graeco-Roman culture.

A similar oscillation between globalisation and local adoption and adaption of the globally dominating culture (“glocalisation”) is analysed by Madalina Dana (“Local culture and regional cultures in the Propontis and Bithynia”, 39–71). This area had a Thracian–Mysian background, but the coast had already been colonized by archaic Greece. By integrating indigenous memories in foundation legends (e.g. of Byzantium, 41–44) its inhabitants created their own local identity. Like the Cappadocian rulers the Bithynian kings sent gifts to Greek sanctuaries and cultural institutions, and supported foreign artists (44–54). The rural elite (of whom many still had indigenous names) was integrated in the royal army and administration (54–65), but Greek culture permeated not every area or all social strata with the same intensity, depending on external influences as well as on the local background.

Juan Luis García Alonso (“Graeco–Egyptian bilingualism: co–existence (and interference?) of two vowel systems”, 72–87) focuses on Egypt: After a short introduction into Ancient Egyptian (73–75) and modes of contact between Greek and Egyptian (75–77) the author analyses so-called “interference phenomena”, i.e. deviations from the norm of either language as result of the influence of one language on the other in bilingual contexts. Unfortunately he limits himself to the vowel

systems of Coptic and Greek koiné (which has its own phonological problems, 81), which makes the article unintelligible for a non-linguist not intimately familiar with Coptic. The conclusion states two theoretical possibilities of vowel length distinction in Coptic (84–86). But do changes in the vowel system have anything to do with the *paideia* of the speaker? Do these interferences in any way reflect the context of the society, Greek being the language of the foreign elite and Coptic that of the indigenous people?

In contrast Bartomeu Obrador–Cursach (“Phrygian in contact with Greek: an overview”, 89–121) presents a clear and convincing picture even for readers not familiar with Phrygian: The Phrygian script was abandoned after the Macedonian conquest 334 BCE (89. 105–113); most inscriptions (117) are from the end of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd c. CE, consisting mainly of bilingual funerary inscriptions from rural contexts, with the epitaph itself in Greek while the Phrygian text consists of a standardised curse against potential grave robbers (91–95). There were Greek loan words (95–103) and Greek personal names (103–105) in Phrygian inscriptions even before the Macedonian conquest, but since the two languages are genetically close it is sometimes unclear whether a word is a loanword or a cognate. O.–C. also tackles the thorny problem of Greek metrics in Phrygian inscriptions. Phrygian words even made it into Greek (e.g. in Sappho’s poems), showing the fascination Phrygia exerted in archaic times (99–102. 117–118).

An interesting solution to the challenge of addressing two cultures in one monument is presented by Luis Arturo Guichard Romero (“The interplay of text and image as a form of cultural contact in Greek inscriptions from Egypt”, 123–138): Five *stelai* (one funerary stele, three dedications and one stunning “advertisement” of a Greek dream interpreter, 125–127) from Egypt from the 3rd to the 6th cent. CE show a Greek or Latin text combined with an Egyptian image that virtually “serves as an instrument of cultural translation” (124). Instead of bilingual texts two different codes are used (136–137).

The following three chapters address similar questions in different medias, contexts and areas, e.g. about how well the indigenous elite exhibiting Greek *paideia* was acquainted with Greek literature (especially Homer) and religion, or whether this knowledge was sometimes rather more superficial, coming from handbooks and pre-existing compilations, as Ljuba Merlina Bortolani (“Traces of Greek literary tradition in the magical papyri from Roman Egypt: borrowing, adaptation, appropriation”, 139–160) shows in the case of Homeric verses in spells and so-called “magical hymns”: These texts emerged from long processes of compilation and re-elaboration, but the compilers had no direct interaction with Greek literary tradition but used pre-existing incantations (140–141). Especially interesting are dream oracles that obviously appeal to a Greek clientele but show no real familiarity with actual Greek ritual practice. The Greek elements are more for “marketing purpose” than signs of *paideia* (151–154).

María-Paz de Hoz (“Greek literary tradition and local religion in metrical cult dedications from Asia Minor”, 161–182) analyses local cult elements expressed via Greek *paideia* and epigraphical habit in the Anatolian interior where the process of Hellenisation culminated only in Roman times (161–163). Five metrical dedications to mostly indigenous gods (Men, Hysistos, Sabathikos) show local religious features in Homeric verses (163–172). At this time there existed a religious *koiné*, as Eastern elements had expanded into the East Mediterranean and Roman world since the post-Classical period, accounting for the universal character of phenomena like the celestial being that sees everything and establishes justice (177–179).

Héctor Arroyo–Quirce (“Greek epic in Pisidia: The Solymi at Termessus”, 183–198) shows how the Pisidian inhabitants of Termessus adopted the “Homeric” identity of the Solymi (*Il.* VI 184.

203–204.), demonstrated by honorific verse inscriptions with epic wording (188–195) and displayed in places occupied by the elite (192–196).

Juan Pablo Sánchez Hernández (“Greek literary topoi and local traditions in the etiology of the ‘Antonine plague’”, 199–216) highlights a so far mostly overlooked contemporaneous eastern source that influenced certain traits in later narratives (esp. Amm. 23, 6,24) of the outbreak of the so-called Antonine plague: Five inscriptions of oracles of Claros that were requested in the 2nd cent. CE by different cities about the disease may well have been the origin of some elements (like the adyton, the crevice, and toxic fumes in Apollo’s temple in Seleucia, 210–211.)

Verse inscriptions were produced for members of the elite until the 7th cent. CE (217–219), as Gianfranco Agosti (“Greek metrical inscriptions, classical *paideia* and identity in Late Antiquity”, 217–231) demonstrates with a series of Christian funerary inscriptions from Syria using Homeric verses (219–223). The real degree of familiarity with Hellenic culture was less important than to display it, together with Christian piety (223–228). In this way the deceased (and those who commissioned the stele) asserted their social, local and religious identity against the *ethne* of the desert (225–226; designated with the Homeric term *eremboi*).

The important social role of the language used in Late Antique contexts is also shown by Valentina Garulli and Eleonora Santin (“Greek-Latin bilingualism and cultural identity in the Graeco-Roman East: *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca et Latina (CEGL)* from the Middle East”, 233–257), analysing three long bilingual epitaphs that use a mix of Christian and pagan imagery: neither language necessarily implies a low or high education. The first gives a short Latin summary of the longer, elaborated Greek text (234–243), while in another example (of a woman for her dead daughter, at the same time a cenotaph for her husband, 249–253) the Latin text is much longer and the Greek not of good quality. Obviously they were Latin speakers, and Greek, the local language, had become a communication tool for them.

This is a very stimulating volume, tackling very interesting themes: the wide range of *paideia* in the East; the multi-faceted role of elites who had to address indigenous people as well as to represent their kingdom within the dominating Hellenistic-Roman global culture; the meaning of bilingualism and the means and media of addressing audiences of different cultural backgrounds.

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Jonathan J. Price, Margalit Finkelberg and Yuval Shahar (eds.), *Rome: An Empire of Many Nations: New Perspectives on Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Identity*, Cambridge University Press: 2021. 410 pp. + xiii. ISBN 978-1-108-47945-5.

The issue uniting the studies assembled in this excellent volume is the reconciliation of local identity with Roman power. As such this volume is a worthy tribute to the wide-ranging contributions by its honorand, Ben Isaac, to Roman studies.

As communities and local circumstances differed, so too did modes of assimilation to Rome. If, for instance, there was a Roman legion encamped nearby that would dictate a very different sort of relationship than otherwise. As the two excellent essays on the military camp at Legio-Kefar ‘Othnay (housing successively units from *legio II Traiana* and *legio VI Ferrata*) and *legio I Fretensis* at Jerusalem, show, the Roman army’s presence defined the space in which civilians lived, without necessarily defining how those people thought. The discovery of a Christian meeting house,