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CONTENTS

	PAGE
MARGALIT FINKELBERG, Fifty Years of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies	1
RACHEL ZELMICK-ABRAMOVITZ, An Epic Formula in Herodotus	5
CARSTEN HJORT LANGE, Augustus as Commander in Chief: Approaching Strategy and Leadership in (Civil) War	31
WERNER ECK, Ein Grabbau für einen Legionssoldaten in Jerusalem, erbaut von seinem Bruder. Zur Aussagekraft einer Inschrift, publiziert in IEJ 70, 2020	57
JONATHAN PRICE AND MORDECHAI AVIAM, A Greek Inscription and Architectural Fragments, Possibly of a Synagogue, from Sejara (Ilaniya)	63
JOSEPH PATRICH, ERAN MEIR AND AHARONI AMITAI, A Provincial (Praetorium) in Tiberias? The Archaeological Finds and the Evidence of the Literary Sources	77
REVIEW ARTICLE	
Ellen Birnbaum and John M. Dillon, <i>Philo of Alexandria: On the Life of Abraham. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary</i> (by Cana Werman)	109
BOOK REVIEWS	
Robin Lane Fox, <i>The Invention of Medicine: A History from Homer to Hippocrates</i> (by Ido Israelowich)	119
Tosca Lynch and Eleonora Rocconi (eds.), <i>A Companion to Ancient Greek and Roman Music</i> (by Amir Yerucham)	120
Tazuko Angela Van Berkel, <i>The Economics of Friendship: Conceptions of Reciprocity in Classical Greece</i> (by Gabriel Danzig)	122
Daniela Dueck, <i>Illiterate Geography in Classical Athens and Rome</i> (by Jerry Toner)	125
Erich S. Gruen, <i>Ethnicity in the Ancient World—Did It Matter?</i> (by Craige Champion)	128
John Glucker, <i>Classics and Classicists. Selected Essays, 1964-2000</i> (by Voula Tsouna)	131
María-Paz de Hoz, Juan Luis García Alonso and Luis Arturo Guichard Romero (eds.), <i>Greek Paideia and Local Tradition in the Graeco–Roman East</i> (by Balbina Bäßler)	134
Jonathan J. Price, Margalit Finkelberg and Yuval Shahar (eds.), <i>Rome: An Empire of Many Nations: New Perspectives on Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Identity</i> (by David Potter)	136
Katell Berthelot and Jonathan Price (eds.), <i>In the Crucible of Empire: The Impact of Roman Citizenship upon Greeks, Jews and Christians. Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion</i> (by Lucia Cecchet)	140
Oswaldo Cavallar and Julius Kirshner, <i>Jurists and Jurisprudence in Medieval Italy: Texts and Contexts</i> (by Ido Israelowich)	142
OBITUARIES: KLAUS BRINGMANN (by YITZHAK DANA)	145
DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS	147
PROCEEDINGS: THE ISRAEL SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF CLASSICAL STUDIES	153

most prominent emperors are those who were primarily active in Palestine. Titus and Hadrian, not surprisingly are true villains. More surprising perhaps is the one good emperor—Antoninus son of Aseverus. This is Caracalla. Finally, as an emperor of middling value, there is Diocletian. The positive aspect of Diocletian appears to have been his persecution of the Christians, the more neutral aspect reflected the fact that he was simply very busy reforming the empire.

The contributions to this volume raise a wide variety of theoretical issues, and provide excellent models for their analysis with which all historians of the Roman world need to engage.

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Katell Berthelot and Jonathan Price (eds.), *In the Crucible of Empire: The Impact of Roman Citizenship upon Greeks, Jews and Christians. Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion*, 21. Leuven; Paris: Peeters, 2019. Pp. 337. ISBN 9789042936683.

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Aix-Marseille in September 2014. As the editors explain in the introduction, the purpose is that of understanding the impact of the Roman discourse and practice of citizenship on the way Jews and Christians defined and internally organized their own communities both before and after Caracalla's edict of 212 CE (p. 2). This aim fills a gap in the current research on the impact of Roman citizenship on the provinces, which has recently focused mainly on its impact on the Greeks.¹

The volume is divided in two parts. The first (shorter) part, 'Roman Citizenship in the Graeco-Roman World', discusses the impact of Roman citizenship mainly on the Greeks, with the first chapter dealing also with the extension of Roman citizenship to the Italic communities during the Republic. Myles Lavan provides a useful history of the spreading of Roman citizenship from the fourth century BCE to the third century CE. The author rejects the famous view of Adrian Sherwin-White, that Caracalla's edict was the culmination of a linear and teleological process of enfranchisement.² Further, he warns us about the risk of exaggerating the role of citizenship in defining identity and social status. In his view, grants of Roman citizenship to the local elites were not a straightforward form of distinction or the main way of integrating provincials in the empire enhancing the stability of Roman rule (p. 47). Rather, they were a part of a complex ensemble of social, spatial, cultural and ethnic axes, which defined individuals' identities and their positions in the community.

Anna Heller explores the impact of Roman citizenship on the Greeks in the light of two aspects, namely, the accumulation of local (Greek) citizenships and the 'oligarchisation' of the civic communities since the early imperial period. In agreement with Lavan, she highlights the fact that not all of the local notables sought Roman citizenship as a sign of social status (the most famous example was the Lycian magnate Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, a citizen of several cities in Lycia, but not a *civis Romanus*). She also re-discusses Gauthier's famous distinction between Greek citizenship as a form of political participation and Roman citizenship as a form of integration based on conferral

¹ See now Frija, Gabrielle, ed. (2020), *Être citoyen romain dans le monde grec au IIe siècle de notre ère*, Scripta Antica 139 (Bordeaux).

² Sherwin-White, Adrian, N. (1973), *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd edition (Oxford).

of legal rights.³ Heller highlights the fact that euergetism contributed to re-shaping participation. The reader will find particularly interesting the short (but intense) discussion of the results of Heller's *Habilitation* study of honorific titles from the fourth century BCE to the middle of the fourth century CE (pp. 69–71 with n. 34). Drawing from this (unpublished?) study, she raises the question whether holding the *civitas Romana* played a role in the attribution of certain titles, such as *philosebastos* and 'son or daughter of the city'. She concludes that distribution of titles varies based both on legal and geographical criteria (the case of Ephesus is illuminating). A bar chart accompanying statistics and percentages would have made discussion clearer to the reader.

Adam Kemezis's chapter concludes the first part of the volume with an analysis of the intellectuals' discourse of Roman citizenship in the Greek East, mainly drawing from the speeches of Dio Chrysostomus, Aelius Aristides and the work of Cassius Dio. In his view, Roman citizenship 'functions as an individual status marker that is desirable because it gives one rights and privileges, not because it makes one part of the group' (p. 79). Far from being an instrument of social equalization, Roman citizenship before Caracalla's edict was for Kemezis a marker of status and social class, hence it contributed in stressing the differences between elites and masses.

The second part of the volume, 'The Impact of Greek and Roman Models on Jews and Christians', starts with Katell Berthelot's review of the citizenship vocabulary (*polites*, *politeia*, *politeuma*) in connection with the Jews. Berthelot shows that the Roman policies of enfranchisement and the discourses praising them influenced the way authors such as Philo and Josephus described the integration of proselytes into the Jewish communities. Paula Fredriksen explores Paul's incorporation of pagans (*ta ethne*) into the 'messianic redemption of Israel', arguing that Paul drew on two Roman cultural practices, i.e. adoption and inheritance, but not on the idea of citizenship. Peter Oakes discusses the traditional translation of the word *politeuma* as citizenship in Paul's *Philippians* 3.20 in the light of the so-called 'Jewish *politeuma*' papyri from Herakleopolis. He convincingly argues that a better translation of *politeuma* in this passage is 'governing institution'. Oded Irshai investigates the impact of the Roman model of enfranchisement, including the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, on the integration of gentiles into the Jewish communities and their conversions to Judaism. Yair Furstenberg focuses on a case study, i.e. the Samaritans, a group, which was in part associated with the gentiles in Rabbinic law. He highlights that, while the sources of the Second Temple period dissociate Judeans from Samaritans and depict the latter as foreigners, later Rabbinic sources give a more homogeneous picture of the two groups, stressing the Samaritans' integration into the Jewish legal system. The author argues that the 'Samaritan's status was determined through a set of citizen rights parallel to those applied in the Roman context' (p. 214). Hence, Roman citizenship provided the model for their integration. Samuele Rocca looks at Roman Italy, discussing the evolving status of the Jewish communities from the early imperial period to Late Antiquity. While early communities were organized like *collegia*, the Jewish communities in Late Antiquity reflected the organization of the Christian Church. Capucine Nemo-Pekelman's chapter deals with the involvement of the Jews in the municipal administration in the late imperial period. The epigraphic evidence shows Jews were actively engaged in holding municipal offices and they even carried out *munera*. Her reappraisal of the evidence suggests that the information contained in the Theodosian Code about exemptions of the Jews from the municipal obligations should not be seen as a universal rule. Gilles Dorival analyses the models of citizenship

³ Cf. also Müller, Christel (2014), '(De)constructing *politeia*: reflections on citizenship and the bestowal of privileges upon foreigners in Hellenistic democracies', *Annales HSS* 69, 533–554 (cited also by Heller, p. 57 n. 5 in the French original version).

contained in the work of Philo, the New Testament, the *Letter to Diognetus* and Origen and he argues that in particular the redefinition of citizenship by Origen represented a potential for conflict with the Roman power. The last chapter by Hervé Inglebert further explores the Christian discourse of citizenship by looking at Augustine's City of God and its antecedents in Jewish literature and New Testament. He stresses the differences, rather than the similarities, between the Christian use of a civic vocabulary to describe new religious realities and the Graeco-Roman vocabulary and realities of citizenship.

As well as for the high quality of the single chapters, this volume must be praised for addressing the question of the impact of Roman citizenship not only on the Greeks, but also on the political and religious discourse of the Christians and the Jews. This is a crucial question because these communities defined their internal structure largely by drawing on the Graeco-Roman civic practice and civic vocabulary. One caveat: the word 'Greeks' in the title might generate some confusion, as readers interested in the impact of Roman citizenship on the Greek pagan communities of the imperial period will find fairly little in this volume, let alone the chapters of Heller and Kemezis. One might regret that the two parts of the book are not more narrowly connected to each other: a chapter of conclusions offering a comparison of the impact of Roman citizenship between the three groups discussed in the book would have been very useful. The editors' introduction aptly contextualizes the aim of the volume within the frame of the current research on Roman citizenship. However, one would have expected more attention for the recent debate on Greek citizenship and the limits of Aristotle's model,⁴ especially since the editors engage with a discussion of Gauthier's famous comparison of Greek and Roman citizenship (pp. 3–4).⁵ But these are just minor points of criticism. This is an excellent volume offering in-depth discussions of ancient texts and scholarly literature. It will become a fundamental reference for anyone interested in gaining a broader picture of the impact of Roman citizenship and the relations between Rome, the Christians, and the Jews.

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Oswaldo Cavallar and Julius Kirshner. *Jurists and Jurisprudence in Medieval Italy: Texts and Contexts*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press (UTP), 2020. Pp. xxv, 866.

The review of this volume on jurists and jurisprudence in Medieval Italy is written from the point of view of a Roman jurist and for a readership, of a classical journal. The authors, Oswaldo Cavallar and Julius Kirshner hereby offer an extensive volume and a highly welcome contribution for teachers and students of Medieval law, with particular interest in Italy, who prefer English and are yet to master Latin to a degree which could allow tackling the works of Medieval jurists in an unmediated form. This is a particularly challenging task for a number of reasons. Medieval law did not have an inaugural work, in the form of Gaius' (and later Justinian's) *Institutiones*. Gaius, and Justinian compiled their works for the benefit of those who wished to become jurists. They offer an

⁴ Recently, Cecchet, Lucia and Busetto, Anna, eds. (2017), *Citizens in the Graeco-Roman World. Aspects of Citizenship from the Archaic Period to AD 212* (Leiden/Boston); Duplouy, Alain and Brock, Roger, eds. (2018), *Defining Citizenship in Archaic Greece* (Oxford).

⁵ Gauthier, Philippe (1974), 'Générosité' romaine et 'avarice' grecque: sur l'octroi du droit de cité', in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston*, Publications de la Sorbonne, série Etudes 9, (Paris), 207–215.