

## Multiperiod

**María-Paz de Hoz, Juan Luis García Alonso and Luis Arturo Guichard Romero (eds), *Greek paideia and local tradition in the Graeco-Roman east*. *Colloquia Antiqua*, 29. pp. xxi + 270, ills and maps. Leuven: Peeters, 2020. ISBN 978-9-04294-004-8, hardcover €87.**

*Greek Paideia and Local Tradition in the Graeco-Roman East* enriches our knowledge and understanding of the process of Hellenization in the Graeco-Roman East. In the foreword to the volume it is stated that its aim was to study this process especially in areas of Asia Minor and Egypt and to a lesser extent in Syria. The volume examines the various elements involved in the interaction between Greek and local cultures, to show how various aspects of Greek culture were adopted and transformed by indigenous populations who converted such features 'into their own identity traits'. This collection of essays shows how the process of Hellenization that took place in the dynamic environment of the Graeco-Roman East, peopled by various ethnic entities, was modified and manipulated over time. The papers in the collection make it clear that such developments did not influence all regions, strata of local communities and aspects of cultural life equally. Many parameters, including the particular period in question, local circumstances and personal factors determined this process.

The volume contains 12 essays that originated from the research project *Hellenization in the Graeco-Roman East: Processes of Perception and Assimilation of the Local Cultures* conducted by the University of Salamanca. The book includes small abstracts of each essay, extensive citations and bibliographies. At the end there is an index of sources, an index of names of historical and mythological personages and a particularly helpful index of Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Latin and Phrygian words to aid in the understanding of the texts. Illustrations and maps are included at various points in some of the essays.

The book would seem to be divided into three parts. The first three essays examine the impact of Greek education on the kings of Pontus, Cappadocia and Bithynia, the reasons that led them to receive a Greek education in the first place and the interaction of such an education with local language, practices, beliefs and policies. The next two essays study the linguistic modifications that arose when Greek

came into contact with local languages, and in particular when members of local populations began to communicate in Greek. The last essay of the volume, too, despite its position, belongs most naturally with these two pieces. Although this, too, deals with linguistic developments, it goes further and focuses on the preference for Greek or Latin in three bilingual verse inscriptions dating to the Imperial period. These inscriptions reveal the cultural significance of the use of Greek and Latin. They also show how far and on which occasions Greek (as a *lingua franca*) and Latin (as the language of the central administration) were used and adopted by the inhabitants of the Roman East. The third part of the volume contains several articles that explore the integration of Greek literary tradition in local practices, religious beliefs and traditions, revealing how this process was manipulated in order to display local or Greek identity.

In the first part of the volume, Ballesteros Pastor focuses on the education of Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, and reveals how Greek educational elements and Persian education of the magi combined to create a situation in which different cultural backgrounds fruitfully co-existed. The cosmopolitanism of the Hellenistic East allowed Mithridates and the other young aristocrats of the royal court to participate in Greek education, while also pursuing local educational practices. In matters of physical and intellectual education and religious practices, Greek and Persian elements co-existed and interacted with each other. Michels' essay deals with the creation of educational infrastructures by indigenous dynasts of the East. The author shows that their attachment to, and promotion of, Greek education was not merely an expression of their philhellenism. They wished to be thought of as equals to the Macedonian kings as patrons of Greek culture and science. They created cultural centres, where artists, intellectuals and scientists lived and worked to promote Greek culture. Unfortunately, the lack of sources means that we cannot explore how far Greek *paideia* spread beyond the milieu of the kings and local elites. Michel's essay focuses on the actions of the kings of Cappadocia and deals with the adoption of various features of Greek culture and their co-existence alongside local Anatolian and Iranian cultural elements. The author uses the education of Cappadocian king Ariarathes V, and his links with Greek culture, to underline the conscious effort on the part of the king to be perceived as equal of the Macedonian kings. Ariarathes supported Greek *paideia* and Greek educational elements in order to create a court of *pepaideumenoí*. The aristocracy of Cappadocia, in order to share in the cosmopolitanism of the Hellenistic world, adopted

aspects of Greek education and culture as part of their efforts to gain access to international politics. How far this area was actually assimilated is not clear, since the aspects of Greek culture that were adopted affected only certain areas of the lives of the local population. The third essay in this part, by Dana, focuses on the process of the Hellenisation of indigenous kings and local elites in the Propontis and Bithynia. The author deals with how and why local historians connected indigenous heroes and traditions with heroes of Greek mythology, in an effort to embed their cities in a panhellenic network. During the Hellenistic period Bithynia was ruled by indigenous kings, who turned it into a major cultural centre. The capital city, Nicomedeia, had all the infrastructure of a Greek city and it was a cultural focus. The author points out, that, although the native kings aspired to present themselves as Hellenistic rulers and so imitated their actions (e.g. they erected their statues in important sanctuaries, promoted and benefited *gymnasia*, supported religious, artistic, intellectual and athletic life), they persisted in retaining their Bithynian origins. From the evidence, the author concludes that Greek culture was widespread, especially in urbanised areas or in cities such as Nicomedia and Nicaea, and was a property mainly of the local elite, who participated in royal administration and the army. Clearly, Greek culture did not influence all strata of the society, all areas of the kingdom at all times in the same fashion. Native tradition and native practices remained in use for a long time and were combined with aspects of Greek culture, which, Dana maintains, is evidence for an admiration of Greek culture, at least on the part of some members of local society.

The second part of the volume is devoted to linguistic change and the cultural impact of bilingual inscriptions. García Alonso focuses on the adaptation of the Greek alphabet used for Coptic, the final stage of ancient Egyptian. He covers the earliest stages of contacts between the Greek and Egyptian languages, through the communication of natives in Greek, in order to examine the gradual modification of the vowel system. He points out that, as Hellenistic *koiné* became the language of communication and contact between Greeks and natives, it brought changes to linguistic phenomena, such as the Classical vowel system, and influenced the way in which the Greek language was modified in order to represent the sounds of Coptic. Obrador Cursach considers the linguistic contact between Phrygian and Greek that began before the Macedonian conquest of Anatolia. The author studies some aspects of linguistic contacts (e.g. adoption of the Greek alphabet, bilingual inscriptions, loanwords, Greek metrics),

to argue that after the conquest of the East by the Macedonians, Greek became the *lingua franca* and that Phrygians started to use the Greek alphabet for their own language. Gradually the Phrygian language Hellenized, used Greek terms and it became limited to use in particular circumstances (as in funerary contexts on the periphery of the kingdom). It is important to note that traces of Phrygian are obvious in the Greek spoken language of the area, as is revealed by Greek evidence. The author points out that some elements of the Phrygian language during the first centuries AD reveal the lengthy contact and interplay between Greek and Phrygian. In this second part of the volume, we must include the last essay, by Garulli and Santin, which, rather than dealing with linguistic change, looks instead at the very important issue of the cultural importance of the language choice in Greek-Latin bilingual inscriptions. This essay examines three bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Latin from the Middle East, dated to the Imperial period, and tries to explain the cultural significance of the choice of Greek and Latin in relation to their context and to the messages that they promoted. After a close examination of these three inscriptions, the authors conclude that Greek, the *lingua franca* in the East, is used as a local language of social communication, since it was widely spoken in the East. On the other hand, Latin was the language of the central administration, of politics and of the army, or the language of Roman families that settled in the area. The author concludes that in the multicultural environment of Graeco-Roman east 'Greek and Roman identities play the major roles, different from and – to some extent – counterbalancing each other'.

In the third part, several essays explore the influence and the impact of the Greek literary tradition. Guichard Romero deals with monuments whose inscriptions are written in Greek, although the image accompanying the inscription is Egyptian. These monuments, which date from the 3rd century BC to the 6th century AD, reveal how texts and images that belonged to different cultures interacted in order to spread a message comprehensible by the indigenous population, by Greeks, and by Hellenized immigrants in Graeco-Roman Egypt. This chapter shows that the images that exist on bilingual monuments are complementary to the text. We could say that the Egyptian images fulfil the role of a secondary language, that sometimes surpass a mere translation of the text and give other dimensions to the context of the monument. Bortolani's essay focuses on magical papyri from Roman Egypt and discusses the use of Greek literary tradition (especially of Homer and Hesiod), in

order to express religious beliefs and rituals. The author examines various levels of interactions and finds that the degree of penetration of Greek literary tradition was dependent both upon the compilers of the magical texts, and on their broader Hellenized audience. He concludes that 'these texts may embody not only an obvious interest in collecting Greek magico-religious material, but also an exploitation of Greek literary tradition for 'marketing' purposes more than an actual impact of Greek *paideia*.' De Hoz, in her study of epigraphic prayers, hymns and metrical dedications to the gods in Asia Minor, shows how local cultic traditions and beliefs interacted with Greek literary tradition to construct a new religious *koine*, whose main origin lay in Eastern religious customs and practices. Although the metrical and poetic language of the texts reveal how far Greek was known, their contents reflect local religious beliefs and feelings. The author argues that 'the [Greek] language is adapted and integrated to express religious contents that do not belong to Greek tradition'. Thus, these metrical dedications, which are located between the local and the 'supra-regional' world of the Graeco-Roman East, became the vehicle through which local identity and Eastern religious traditions, beliefs and feelings were expressed. Arroyo Quirce deals with how the inhabitants of Pisidian Termessus in south-west Asia Minor connected their origins to the Solymi, the previous inhabitants of the area who fought against the Greek hero Bellerophon (*Iliad* 6.203-205). The paper shows the mechanisms that the Termessians employed to express their local identity, while also adhering to the doctrines of Greek *paideia* and culture in Graeco-Roman Asia Minor. Claiming a Homeric identity, the Termessians adopted the traditions of the Solymi, their ancestry and their connection with Zeus Solymeus, who was a hybrid divinity created from local and Greek religious traditions. This process of deliberate association by the Pisidian Termessians with the Solymian past, explains why the Pisidians and the Solymi are related in sources of the Imperial period. The epigraphical evidence and the use of Greek literary forms and language show the preference on the part of the local elite for Greek *paideia*. Yet, such influence was not limited to the upper classes. Members of the lower classes of Termessian society were also attracted by aspects of Greek culture. Sánchez Hernández focuses on how Greek literary tradition and local religious practices were combined, in order to describe a historical event, the 'Antonine plague' of AD 165. Agosti, who deals with metrical inscriptions from Late Antiquity, moves beyond consideration of the influence or the level of literacy of the authors

involved to focus on the impact of the public display of the inscriptions and on the messages that they promoted. Metrical inscriptions as part of Greek literary tradition allowed members of local elites to demonstrate their knowledge of Greek language and literary style and to showcase their cultural, social and political status to a broader audience. Thus, one might argue that metrical inscriptions reflect the cultural, religious and political identities current in various circumstances and during various periods. This process became imperative in Roman times, when local elites, in order to preserve their privileges and to strengthen their connection with the central administration, display their cultural and political status as well as their religious identity.

This volume makes it clear that the *paideia* current in the multi-ethnic environment of Graeco-Roman East incorporated intellectual, physical, moral and religious features, that were transformed in ways dictated by the peculiarities of regions, local cultures and traditions, of native social strata, the presence of Hellenized immigrants and of temporal and local conditions. The aim of this volume is to show how *paideia* in the Graeco-Roman East became the means that allowed the indigenous population to access aspects of Greek culture, and to incorporate these in their local traditions to varying degrees and in various ways. In the pre-Hellenistic period, travel, commercial activity and settlement created an important network for communication and the interchange of ideas, beliefs and practices between Greek and local culture in the East, with all its distinctive features and traditions. After the conquests of Alexander, long term contact between Greek and local cultural elements, the respect for and skilful handling of, local traditions and practices by the majority of Hellenistic rulers, increased such interaction. This facilitated a multifaceted approach towards various aspects of Greek culture. In the Hellenistic East, Greek language and culture were spread and adopted on several levels and to varying degrees. We have seen that *paideia* in the Graeco-Roman East was shaped in accordance with local socio-cultural peculiarities and created a fruitful environment for cultural exchange, addressed both to local populations and to a broader audience that lived and worked in the ethnically heterogeneous Graeco-Roman East.

In conclusion, this volume offers a welcome set of views of Hellenization. It forms a very important collection of essays and provides much material on cultural interactions in the Hellenistic and Roman East. The authors of this volume use literary and epigraphic testimonies to analyse the cultural, literary, social and religious aspects involved in

order to reveal the mechanisms behind the process of Hellenization and its impact on local cultures. These twelve essays analyse several and sometimes neglected topics involved in this cultural interaction and certainly offer material that will substantially aid further research.

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**John Ellis Jones and Ourania Kouka, *Elis 1969. The Peneios Valley Rescue Excavation Project: British School at Athens Survey 1967 and Rescue Excavations at Kostoureika and Keramidia 1969*. pp. vi + 184, b/w ills. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016. ISBN 978-1-784-91230-7, paperback £33; ISBN 978-1-784-91231-4, E-book £16.**

**Effie Photos-Jones and Alan J Hall, *Eros, mercator and the cultural landscape of Melos in antiquity: The archaeology of the minerals industry of Melos*. pp. 261. Glasgow: Pottingair Press, 2014. ISBN 978-0-956-82401-1, paperback £45.**

Both of these books represent much belated publications of older fieldwork. Appropriately perhaps, since we could not find suitable or willing reviewers, your Editor has undertaken to review these books, also considerably belatedly. But they remain little known and so well worth recognition.

The Elis Survey was a British contribution to a rescue project shared out amongst several foreign archaeological schools in Athens, to document a landscape in Elis about to be drowned by a new dam and reservoir. 34 archaeological surface sites were found, and a summary presentation of them has appeared in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* for 1968. As Elis has not been much favoured by landscape archaeology, their discovery is none the less welcome. This slim volume is devoted to just two of these sites. The surface study and test excavations at Kostoureika and Keramidia sadly did not produce clear plans for these rural installations. The latter site might have been a humble Hellenistic farmhouse, with an important Early Helladic predecessor occupation. The former site gave more

substantial traces of a multiroomed farmhouse with courtyard spaces, yet also of no great status, with evidence for use from Classical into Late Roman times. With parallels now available from the recent excellent catalogue of Roman villas in Greece (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2013), it might be possible to reconstruct the overall plan for Kostoureika.

However the most useful feature of this book, once we note ‘duty well done’, are the remarkably full catalogues of finds, ceramic, glass, coins, metal objects etc., which include well-illustrated coarse and cookware, both for the Early Helladic and Greco-Roman eras. From humble rural sites these offer invaluable data for comparison with the less well-preserved finds recovered on archaeological surface surveys in Greece. One other remarkable feature of this volume is a short section on several highly simple Early Modern rural houses, ruined and occupied, of a type probably already disappeared, and adding valuable records to those assembled by Cooper’s team around the Peloponnese (Cooper 2000) and for Greece as a whole by Sigalos in the framework of our Boeotia Project (2004).

Our second belated review deals with the ancient mining industry on Melos, presenting fieldwork from 1998-2002 and related laboratory results. Larger, and better published, this volume deserves attention for its in-depth treatment of a neglected ‘industrial island’ of Greco-Roman antiquity (the prehistoric extraction of Melian obsidian and millstones however has been very thoroughly studied by Robin Torrence, Colin Renfrew, Catherine Perlès and others). In Antiquity Melos and the neighbouring island of Kimolos were the source of volcanic-origin ‘earths’, widely used as pigments, washing powders and in medicine. This is the first detailed treatment of this Greco-Roman industry, and gives us a general understanding of their geological context, extraction and processing methods, and subsequent range of uses in Antiquity and later. The presentation is clearly of far wider interest to anyone interested in ancient mining and technology.

Special attention was devoted to fieldwork on Melos at localities where there was evidence for extraction, processing and outward shipping of these ‘earths’. To this purpose intensive fieldwalking and precise mapping of all potential features were carried out, reminiscent of long-term mapping at the Lavrion and neighbouring ancient mining installations in Attica (cf. Hulek and Lohmann 2019).

Although there is insufficient textual and epigraphic evidence for clearly identifying the