

Community and Identity at the Edges of the Classical World

Edited by Aaron W. Irvin

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2021
© 2021 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by law. Advice on how to obtain permission to reuse material from this title is available at <http://www.wiley.com/go/permissions>.

The right of Aaron W. Irvin to be identified as the author of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with law.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

Editorial Office

111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

For details of our global editorial offices, customer services, and more information about Wiley products visit us at www.wiley.com.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats and by print-on-demand. Some content that appears in standard print versions of this book may not be available in other formats.

Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty

While the publisher and authors have used their best efforts in preparing this work, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this work and specifically disclaim all warranties, including without limitation any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. No warranty may be created or extended by sales representatives, written sales materials or promotional statements for this work. The fact that an organization, website, or product is referred to in this work as a citation and/or potential source of further information does not mean that the publisher and authors endorse the information or services the organization, website, or product may provide or recommendations it may make. This work is sold with the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. The advice and strategies contained herein may not be suitable for your situation. You should consult with a specialist where appropriate. Further, readers should be aware that websites listed in this work may have changed or disappeared between when this work was written and when it is read. Neither the publisher nor authors shall be liable for any loss of profit or any other commercial damages, including but not limited to special, incidental, consequential, or other damages.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Irvin, Aaron W., editor.

Title: Community and identity at the edges of the classical world / edited by Aaron W. Irvin.

Description: First edition. | Hoboken, NJ : Wiley, [2021] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020013456 (print) | LCCN 2020013457 (ebook) | ISBN 9781119630715 (paperback) | ISBN 9781119630722 (adobe pdf) | ISBN 9781119630708 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Rome--History. | Roman provinces--History. | Rome--Antiquities. | Rome--Ethnic relations. | Ethnology--Rome--History. | Mediterranean Region--History--To 1500.

Classification: LCC DG77 .C5825 2020 (print) | LCC DG77 (ebook) | DDC 937--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020013456>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020013457>

Cover Design: Wiley

Cover Image: © By Eve Livesey/Getty Images

Set in 9.5/12.5pt STIXTwoText by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

Contents

List of Tables	v
List of Illustrations	vi
List of Contributors	ix

Introduction 1

- 1 The beauty of the *Oikumene* has two edges: Nurturing Roman Imperialism in the “Glocalizing” traditions of the East 7**
Ljuben Tevdovski
- 2 “Triggered identity”: The use of Macedonian ethnic by Blaundos in confrontation with the Roman Empire 29**
Luca Mazzini
- 3 The population of Siscia in the light of epigraphy 47**
Ivan Radman-Livaja
- 4 Roman presence in Athens in the light of epigraphic sources 63**
Aleksandar Simić
- 5 Global and local in the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods in Marathon: The construction of a cultural identity in Roman Greece 79**
Dafni Maikidou-Poutrino
- 6 Consciousness of connectivity: Roman temples in southern Syria 97**
Francesca Mazzilli
- 7 Macedonian, Greek, or Egyptian? Navigating the royal additive identities of Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus 119**
Rachel J. Mittelman
- 8 Being Mithraist: Embracing ‘other’ in the Roman cultural milieu 139**
Nina Mazhjo
- 9 “There are always two sides to every story”: Roman rule, cultural continuities and ethnic identity in southern Hispania 155**
Francisco Machuca Prieto

- 10 Unlocking ritual performances in the Romano-British countryside: How small finds and structured deposits enrich our understanding of provincial priesthods** 173
Alessandra Esposito
- 11 Purification through puppies: Dog symbolism and sacrifice in the Mediterranean world** 189
Aaron W. Irvin and Jason Lundock
- 12 Communities at the edges of the Roman world: The perception of identity in the Roman Iron Age Barbaricum** 209
Kala Drewniak
- 13 Deconstructing “Balkan Latin”** 225
Dragana Kunčer
- 14 The importance of being earnest: Why precise language matters** 243
Kaja Stemberger Flegar
- 15 The dictatorship of identity: Soviet scholarship and Roman imperialism** 255
Anton Y. Baryshnikov
- Index** 271

List of Tables

- Table 2.1** Public inscriptions of Blaundos (Hellenistic period–first half of the third century CE). 39
- Table 14.1** Correspondences between elements of a sign according to the theories of de Saussure and Hjelmslev. 246

List of Illustrations

- Figure 1.1** Map of the Globalizing world after Alexander's death, including areas conquered by Alexander, and those influenced by his Successors. 12
- Figure 2.1** (BMC Lydia 1-3) Obverse: Head of Zeus. Reverse: Eagle with the wings open, caduceus and grain-ear to left and right. The legend says ΜΛΑΥΝΔ ΘΕΟΤΙΜΙΔΙΟ (*Mlaund(eon) Theotimido(s)*). 34
- Figure 2.2** (Waddington 4905). Obverse: Head of Dionysus with ivy wreath. Reverse: Filleted Thyrsus. The legend says ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΘΕΟΓΕΝ (*Mlaunde(on) Apolloni Thegen(i)*). 34
- Figure 2.3a, b and c** Presence of the Macedonian Ethnic in the legend of Roman Imperial Period Issues. 35
- Figure 2.4** (RPC II 1346 var). Obverse: Laureate head of Vespasian, the legend says ΟΥΕCΠΙΑCΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC: *Vespasian Caesar Augustus*. Reverse: Around (anticlockwise) and in fields, Apollo standing facing, head right, resting on a lyre on a column, and holding plectrum. The legend says ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC ΦΟΙΝΙΞ, ΕΠΙ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ: *Tiberius Claudius Phoenix, under the (proconsulate) of Italicus, (the city) of the Blaundeian Macedonians*. 37
- Figure 2.5** (BMC Lydia 48 var.) Date: 161-180 AD. Obverse: Bare headed, draped bust of the Roman Senate right. The legend says ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC - *Hiera /Synkletos, sacred Senate*. Reverse: Dionysus, loins draped, standing left, holding kantharos and thyrsus, panther at foot left. The legend says ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ: (*city of the Blaundeian Macedonians*). 38
- Figure 4.1** The base of the statue of Marius Gerillanus, courtesy of Claire Tuan (taken from her website: <http://lespierresquiparlent.free.fr/menu.html>, accessed 30.7. 2019). 65
- Figure 4.2** The base of the statue of Menodorus, listing his many victories, courtesy of Claire Tuan (taken from her website: <http://lespierresquiparlent.free.fr/menu.html>, accessed 30.7. 2019). 68
- Figure 4.3** Athenian silver tetradrachm of the New Style, Dea Roma represented on the obverse, seated facing, being crowned by Nike, courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, LLC (taken from their website: <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=183928>, retrieved 30.7. 2019). 69
- Figure 4.4** Bilingual inscription from Delos listing cult worshipers with both Greek and Roman/Italic names, courtesy of Claire Tuan (taken from her website: <http://lespierresquiparlent.free.fr/menu.html>, accessed 30.7. 2019). 70
- Figure 5.1** Plan of the sanctuary © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica. 80

- Figure 5.2** Statue of Isis from the south pylon © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica. 81
- Figure 5.3** Statue of Isis from the west pylon © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica. 82
- Figure 5.4** Statue of Isis from the north pylon © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica. 83
- Figure 5.5** Statue of Isis from the room of the lamps © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica. 84
- Figure 5.6** Statue of Osiris © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica. 85
- Figure 6.1** Plan of temple at 'Atil (the author, after *PPUAES* II fig. 120). 100
- Figure 6.2** Plan of temple 3 at Si' (the author, after *PPUAES* II ill. 341). 101
- Figure 6.3** The temple apse at Breikeh (the author 2010). 102
- Figure 6.4** Corinthian capitals from the temples at 'Atil and al-Mushennef (the author 2010). 102
- Figure 6.5** A Corinthian capital from the eastern portico of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra (Schlumberger 1933: pl. 34.4). 103
- Figure 8.1** The Mithraic bull-slaying scene. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM. 141
- Figure 8.2** The colorful tauroctony of the Mithraeum Berberini at Rome (CIMRM 390). 142
- Figure 8.3** The Mithraic tauroctony in the courtyard of the Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican Museum. 143
- Figure 8.4** Relief sculpture of Mithras, third century. ©Museum of London. 144
- Figure 8.5** Detail of Mithras on the tauroctony of Dura-Europos Mithraeum. 144
- Figure 8.6a and b** The Mithraic dadophoroi (Cautes and Cautopates), Vatican Museum, author. 145
- Figure 8.7** South wall, Late Mithraeum, Fresco of Mithras the hunter, Dura-Europa. 146
- Figure 8.8** Detail of the statue of Augustus in the Villa of Livia Augusta at Prima Porta, Vatican museum. 147
- Figure 8.9** The military scene from the Parthermonument of Lucius Verus, from Ephesus. 148
- Figure 8.10** The scene of the Trajanic battle on the Arch of Constantine. 148
- Figure 9.1** The cities of Phoenician origin of the Iberian Peninsula towards the end first century BCE. 158
- Figure 9.2** Roman provincial bronze coins of *Abdera* (14–37 CE). Obverses: TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS, with laureate head right of Tiberius. Reverses: *RPC* I 124) a tetrastyle temple, with two center columns in the form of tunny fish and legend *'bdrt* in the pediment; *RPC* I 125) legend ABDERA across and between the columns of a tetrastyle temple, with two center columns in the form of tunny fish and legend *'bdrt* in the pediment; *RPC* I 126) legend ABDERA across and between the columns of a tetrastyle temple and astral symbol in the pediment. Photograph: Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid, Spain). 161
- Figure 9.3** Graffiti over Campanian potsherds from *Malaca* (first century BCE). Drawing by Juan Téllez (courtesy from Pérez-Malumbres 2012: 378). 164
- Figure 11.1** Cooper alloy handle with canine head terminal. Birmingham Museums Trust, Rights Holder. 190
- Figure 11.2** Bronze canine votive from the shrine of Nodens at Lydney, UK. 191

- Figure 11.3** Bronze figure of a terrier found near Coventina's Well, Chester's Roman fort, Northumberland, UK. 191
- Figure 11.4** Licking dog figure, copper alloy, from Gloucestershire hoard. Bristol City Council, rights holder. 192
- Figure 11.5** Kudurru (boundary stone) for the temple of Gula at Isin, showing Gula seated with her dog at her side, ca. mid-2nd-millenium BCE. 193
- Figure 11.6** Terracotta Statuette of a dog from Isin deposit. Photograph © 2020 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 194
- Figure 11.7** Copper alloy figure B.02086, of a man and dog from the Heraion, Samos, seventh century BCE. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Samos and Ikaria. 197
- Figure 11.8** Copper alloy figure B.02087, of a man and dog from the Heraion, Samos, seventh century BCE. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Samos and Ikaria. 197
- Figure 11.9** Gallic shrine to Nehalennia, flanked by her dog. © Livius.org | Jona Lendering. 200
- Figure 11.10** Monstrous canine figure (Item 1883,0802.12), from the British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. 200
- Figure 13.1** The Latin-speaking Provinces of the Balkans at Death of Traian (117 CE). 229
- Figure 13.2** The Latin-speaking Provinces of the Balkans according to the Verona List (c. 303–324 CE). 230

List of Contributors

Anton Y. Baryshnikov is a researcher in the Centre for Cognitive Programs and Technologies at the Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow. He completed his PhD at Kaluga State University, Russia, in 2015. His research interest lies in the areas of Romano-British urbanism, Roman imperialism, and Soviet-Marxist scholarship.

Kala Drewniak is specialized in the archaeology of central Europe during the Roman Iron Age. She has studied prehistory at Bonn, Germany and Warsaw, Poland. Her research interests lie in the non-state societies as well as the interaction of the Roman Empire and the communities behind the Roman limes.

Alessandra Esposito is currently a Research Associate at King's Digital Lab working on the AHRC/Newton funded project MaDiH (مديح): Mapping Digital Cultural Heritage in Jordan. She has participated and oversaw archaeological excavations in South Italy (Cumae, Puteoli, Elea/Velia, Terina) and in Jordan (Jerash), as well as working in commercial archaeology. She completed her PhD in Classics at King's College London in 2018.

Kaja Stemberger Flegar obtained her PhD in Roman mortuary archaeology from King's College London in 2018. She currently works in commercial archaeology in Slovenia and continues researching on the topics of theoretical archaeology and identity studies.

Aaron W. Irvin is Associate Professor of the Ancient World at Murray State University, Kentucky, USA. His research examines human organization, government, empire, and religion in the Roman world, and in the Late Bronze Age system of states.

Dragana Kunčer is a Research Associate at the Institute of History, Belgrade, Serbia. She has prepared the critical edition and Serbian translation of the Latin chronicles *Gesta regum Sclavorum* (2009) and *Descriptio Europae orientalis* (2013). Her main field of research is Latin spoken in the Balkans in Antiquity and Late Antiquity.

Jason Lundock is a current Research Associate with the Gulf Archaeology Research Institute, an Archaeological Consultant and Research Associate with Seafarer's Exploration, LLC., and a Lecturer at the College of Central Florida. He received his PhD from King's College London in 2014, and has worked at the Appleton Museum of Art, the British Museum, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the UK's Portable Antiquities Scheme. He is the author of the 2015 book, *A Study of the Deposition and Distribution of Copper Alloy Vessels in Roman Britain*.

Francisco Machuca Prieto is a current Postdoctoral Fellow of the University of Malaga, Spain, having also held positions at Durham University, the University of Oxford, and the Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA) at Rome. He is specialized in the Phoenician diaspora in the ancient Western Mediterranean, with research interests in identity, ethnic and cultural matters, power relationships and social change. He is the author of the 2019 book, *Una forma fenicia de ser romano: identidad e integración de las comunidades fenicias de la Península Ibérica bajo poder de Roma*.

Dafni Maikidou-Poutrino holds a Masters in Classical Mediterranean Archaeology from Leiden University, the Netherlands. She is currently completing a PhD in Classical Archaeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, holding a scholarship from the Academy of Athens. Her research examines the Isiac cults in Roman Greece exploring, religious connectivity and cultural identities.

Nina Mazhjo has recently completed her PhD in Religion at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada. Her research has contributed to the study of the Roman cult of Mithras, from which she uses the critical lenses of ritual theory, memory and historiography, identity, post-colonial theory, and material culture of the Roman Empire. Currently, her research centers on the cultural transmission of the god Mithra/Mithras from Persia to the Roman Empire with a focus on Rome's cultural identity and imperial ideology.

Francesca Mazzilli is a current Research Fellow at the University of Bergen under the EU's Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions. She holds a PhD in Archaeology from the University of Durham. Over the last ten years, she has worked as an archaeologist in England, Italy and Jordan. Her main research interests are Roman religion, architecture, landscape, theory and pottery. She is author of the book *Rural Cult Centres in the Hauran: Part of the Broader Network of the Near East (100 BC–AD 300)* (Archaeopress, 2018). Together with Dies Van Der Linde, she is currently co-editing a book entitled *Dialectics of Religion in the Roman World*. She has been a member of the Theoretical Roman Archaeological Conference (TRAC) standing committee and of the Theoretical Roman Archaeological Journal (TRAJ) editorial team since 2017.

Luca Mazzini completed a Masters in Ancient History at the University of Bologna in 2015, and is a PhD researcher in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter, UK. His research, investigating the significance of Macedonian evidence in the Roman province of Asia, was awarded the International Classics Scholarship in 2015.

Rachel J. Mittelman is currently an Assistant Professor of History at Gordon State College, GA, USA. She holds a PhD in Egyptian History from the University of Memphis. Her specialization and interests include the study of migration, identity, and ethnicity in Egypt and Libya, ceramic analysis, and fakes, forgeries, and pseudoscience in the ancient world.

Ivan Radman-Livaja is a senior curator at the Greek and Roman Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Croatia. His research interests mostly concern Roman Pannonia, the Roman army, as well as Roman trade and economy. His publications include *Militaria Sisciensia* (Zagreb, 2005), *Finds of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia* (ed., Zagreb, 2010), as well as *Les plombs inscrits de Siscia* (Zagreb, 2014).

Aleksandar Simić is currently a PhD student of history among the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia. His research focuses on the topic of Greece and its hinterland during the Hellenistic and Roman eras, with particular focus on the development of Athens from the Hellenistic to Roman administration.

Ljuben Tevdovski is Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Institute of History and Archaeology, Goce Delchev University in Štip, Macedonia. He has served as Director of research of the Holocaust Fund of the Jews from Macedonia, Director of Skopje City Museum and coordinator of numerous regional projects for intercultural and scientific cooperation in south eastern Europe. He has published in the areas of classical archaeology, religious studies, ancient and modern globalization, intercultural relations and impact of culture in international relations.