

## Greeks and Barbarians

This book is an ambitious synthesis of the social, economic, political and cultural interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks in the Mediterranean world during the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods. Instead of traditional and static distinctions between Greeks and Others, Kostas Vlassopoulos explores the diversity of interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks in four parallel but interconnected worlds: the world of networks; the world of *apoikiai* ('colonies'); the Panhellenic world; and the world of empires. These diverse interactions set in motion processes of globalisation; but the emergence of a shared material and cultural *koine* across the Mediterranean was accompanied by the diverse ways in which Greek and non-Greek cultures adopted and adapted elements of this global *koine*. The book explores the paradoxical role of Greek culture in the processes of ancient globalisation, as well as the peculiar way in which Greek culture was shaped by its interaction with non-Greek cultures.

KOSTAS VLASSOPOULOS is Associate Professor in Greek History at the University of Nottingham. His earlier publications include *Unthinking the Greek Polis* (Cambridge, 2007) and *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy* (2010); he is currently co-editing the *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Slavery* (forthcoming). He is a member of the Institute for the Study of Slavery, the Legacy of Greek Political Thought Network and the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies.

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## Acknowledgements

When Michael Sharp and Paul Cartledge invited me to contribute a volume on the relationship between Greece and the Near East back in 2008, my initial impression was to doubt whether I had developed the tools that might allow me to say anything interesting on such a vast subject. But it occurred to me that broadening the topic into a consideration of the relationship between Greeks and Barbarians could provide a better framework within which to examine the interaction between Greece and the Near East. I doubt that I would have undertaken this exploration without Michael's and Paul's invitation; I am grateful for their support of this project from inception to completion, and I hope that the result will fulfil some of their expectations.

I owe a great debt to those colleagues who were kind enough to devote their time and energy into reading the full manuscript in its various forms: Erich Gruen, Johannes Haubold, Aleka Lianeri, John Ma, Robin Osborne and Christopher Tuplin. Their comments have saved me from numerous mistakes and have helped me to improve substantially the argument and its presentation. This should obviously not be taken to imply that they agree with much that is argued in this book, and responsibility for the views presented here lies solely with the author.

Writing this book would have been impossible without the space and time provided by the institution of research leave. I am deeply grateful to the Department of Classics at the University of Nottingham for granting me a semester of research leave in spring 2011, and to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for an Early Career Research Fellowship between August 2011 and May 2012. For permissions to reproduce images from their collections and publications, I would like to express my gratitude to the Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection, Athens; the Antikensammlung of the Archäologisches Institut of the Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main; the British Museum, London; the Hermitage, St Petersburg; the Librairie Droz, Geneva; the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna; the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia; and the Swedish Labraunda Expedition.

The list of thanks includes the audiences at Cambridge, Cardiff, Durham, Istanbul, Kent and Melbourne, who have listened to papers on various aspects related to this book project, and whose comments, reactions and disagreements have helped me immensely to clarify my thinking. I would finally like to express my gratitude to various friends and colleagues who have kindly helped me in this project in a number of ways, which are far too diverse to list: Zosia Archibald, Yorgos Avgoustis, Elton Barker, Euphrosyne Boutsikas, Anastasia Christophilopoulou, Denise Demetriou, Patrick Finglass, Michael Flower, Alexey Gotzev, Tom Harrison, Stephen Hodkinson, Michalis Iliakis, Kyriaki Konstantinidou, Koray Konuk, Sokratis Koursoumis, George Kyriakou, Doug Lee, Irad Malkin, Evi Margaritis, Judith Mossman, Ioanna Moutafi, Ian Moyer, Katerina Panagopoulou, Robert Parker, Spyros Rangos, Martin Seyer, Joe Skinner, Dorothy Thompson, Isabelle Torrance, Maro Triantafyllou, Dimitra Tsangari, Gotcha Tsetskhladze, Rebecca Usherwood and Luydmil Vagalinski.

My thinking on the subjects covered in this book goes back to a seminar on the Persian Empire organised by Anna Missiou at the University of Crete in Rethimno, which I attended as a young graduate student back in 1999. Anna was a great teacher and always insisted that historians should constantly ask themselves ‘what is the historical question?’ before writing their works; I would like to hope that this has been a lesson I have learnt and applied. One of our tasks for that seminar consisted in writing reviews for a set number of books and articles, and I still remember how impressed I was after reading Momigliano’s *Alien Wisdom* as a set text. It was with a mixture of shock and pleasure that I discovered that the nucleus of my argument on the Barbarian repertoire in Greek culture was already contained in the review of Momigliano’s book I wrote for Anna’s seminar. The shock was due to the fact that I had completely forgotten for almost a decade the conclusions I had reached then and was under the impression that I had made an original discovery in the process of writing this book; it is a painful lesson for anyone interested in the history of historiography to see how difficult it is to reconstruct the development of one’s own thinking, let alone that of others. The pleasure resided in realising how much we owe to our teachers, and how rarely we recognise our debts. Anna died unexpectedly in May 2011, only a few months after her retirement. Her sudden death has deeply saddened all those who knew her, and it is to her memory that this book is dedicated.

## Note to the reader

This book has tried to combine three different aims, which are not easily compatible. The first aim is that of providing a text that could be used as a textbook for undergraduate teaching and would also appeal to a wider non-scholarly readership; accordingly, I have tried as much as possible to assume zero prior knowledge on behalf of the reader and to provide sufficient contextualisation for the evidence used and the phenomena examined. The second is that of providing a synthesis of the political, economic, social and cultural interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks across the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods of the first millennium BCE, taking into account the full range of literary, epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic sources. No such synthesis exists in any language and, as a result, the study of the interactions between Greeks and Barbarians has been characterised by deep fragmentation: scholars working, for example, on the Black Sea are often not familiar with the scholarship on Egypt or the western Mediterranean; scholars working on, for example, archaic Greek ‘colonies’ do not often converse with scholars working on Hellenistic Jews; literary scholars working on, for example, the depiction of Barbarians in Greek tragedy are often unaware of the specialist scholarship on archaeology or numismatics; finally, scholarly approaches in different academic traditions can often talk past each other. I hope this book will provide some bridges across disciplinary divisions and stimulate further interaction and dialogue. The third aim is that of approaching the interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks from a novel methodological and theoretical approach that will link ancient history with current debates in other fields of history, in anthropology and in post-colonial studies. I propose to re-examine the interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks within processes of globalisation and glocalisation in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern world of the first millennium BCE. I hope that this approach will prove to be beneficial and stimulating to scholars working on intercultural interaction in the ancient world, as well as initiate a dialogue with scholars working on global history and globalisation in other periods and cultures.

The enormity of the subject has necessitated some very difficult choices about what issues and areas to discuss, in how much detail, and in what

manner and context. I have tried to be as inclusive as possible under the circumstances; but the need to combine didactic purposes with synthesis and a novel approach means that the same area or different aspects of the same phenomenon might be discussed in different chapters or sections. I have tried to ameliorate any problems created in this way by creating smooth transitions from one section to the other and by providing extensive cross-references to different sections and chapters. Unavoidably, there have been restrictions and omissions. I regret that I could not devote more space than I do to the Greek communities of Asia Minor and their interactions with various non-Greek communities and cultures, as well as to the Greek communities in the far west of southern France and Spain. But the most serious omission is that of Cyprus, which provides a most fascinating test case of the hybrid interaction between Greek and non-Greek cultures in the archaic and classical Mediterranean. I have consciously avoided almost any reference, in the hope that the enormity of the gap will stimulate other scholars with better acquaintance with the evidence to do it justice elsewhere. I explain the structure of the book in more detail in section 1.6 of the Introduction.

The range of subjects covered in this book has produced an enormous scholarly literature. To keep the bibliography of a massive topic within bounds, as well as to allow the reader without foreign languages to pursue further study, I tend to give references, wherever possible, to recent works in English, which provide a synthesis of existing literature as well as full bibliographical references. At the same time, I have also tried to cater for the advanced reader and scholar who would like to explore further areas outside his or her expertise, or the work of different academic traditions. Accordingly, my references might often appear idiosyncratic: I might, for example, give a single reference to a synthetic English work on a large and complex topic, and two or three references to works in German or Italian for a rather secondary issue, on which no synthetic works exist. I hope different kinds of reader will find that in practice the system works rather well.

The book also quotes and cites a wide range of evidence from literary, epigraphic, papyrological, archaeological and numismatic sources. All texts quoted have been translated. Translations of literary sources are from the relevant volumes of the Loeb Classical Library, unless otherwise stated; translations of epigraphic and papyrological sources are by the author, unless otherwise stated. Non-specialist readers and those who cannot read ancient Greek tend to be least familiar with the epigraphic and papyrological evidence; for those who would like to read further, or employ the sources mentioned in their own research, I have tried to provide references



to easily accessible translated sourcebooks, in tandem with references to the standard epigraphic and papyrological corpora for specialist readers. For readers unfamiliar with the languages and literatures of the ancient Near East, I have provided references to collections of translated texts, where passages can be easily consulted.

I have tried to provide illustrations for much of the archaeological and numismatic evidence mentioned in the book; given the practical limits to the number of illustrations that could be included, I have also given references to publications where readers can find images of those objects and monuments which have not been illustrated. This book mentions numerous places and regions, and it is often difficult even for the specialist reader to keep track of all of them, let alone the student or the wider audience. The book contains eight maps whose purpose is to enable readers to place the phenomena, events and processes discussed. To make consultation easier, the entries for places and regions in the Index include in square brackets the number of the map at which each place is depicted.

The transliteration of Greek names and places in English is a perennial problem. To achieve maximum consistency with minimum opacity, I have opted for Latinised versions of Greek names and places (Herodotus for Hêrodotos, Boeotia for Boiôtia), with the minor exception of those names and places whose English version has become so common, that it would be impractical to use the Latinised version of the Greek original (Aristotle instead of Aristoteles, Antioch instead of Antiocheia).

All dates are BCE unless otherwise stated.

## Abbreviations

<i>AchHist 2</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), <i>Achaemenid History, vol. 2: The Greek Sources</i> . Leiden, 1987.
<i>AchHist 3</i>	A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds), <i>Achaemenid History, vol. 3: Method and Theory</i> . Leiden, 1988.
<i>AchHist 6</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), <i>Achaemenid History, vol. 6: Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire</i> . Leiden, 1991.
<i>AchHist 8</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), <i>Achaemenid History, vol. 8: Continuity and Change</i> . Leiden, 1994.
<i>AchHist 11</i>	M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds), <i>Achaemenid History, vol. 11: Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis</i> . Leiden, 1998.
ACSS	<i>Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia</i> .
AION ( <i>arch</i> )	<i>Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica</i> .
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> .
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> .
Arvanitopoulos	A. S. Arvanitopoulos, <i>Θεσσαλικά μνημεία</i> . Athens, 1909.
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> .
Austin	M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest</i> , 2nd edn. Cambridge, 2006.
AWE	<i>Ancient West and East</i> .
B-D	R. S. Bagnal and P. Derow (eds), <i>The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation</i> , new edn. Malden, MA and Oxford, 2004.
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> .
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> .
BNJ	I. Worthington (ed.), <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , available at: <a href="http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnj_title_bnj">www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnj_title_bnj</a> .
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> .
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i> .
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> .
CC	W. Blümel, P. Frei and C. Marek (eds), 'Colloquium Caricum', special issue of <i>Kadmos</i> , 37, 1998.

- CHI 2 I. Gershevitch (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*. Cambridge, 1985.
- CHJ 1 W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. 1: Introduction; The Persian Period*. Cambridge, 1984.
- CHJ 2 W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge, 1989.
- CIRB V. V. Struve *et al.* (eds), *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1965.
- CJ *Classical Journal*.
- Confini e frontiera* *Confini e frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente: atti del trentasettesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto, 1999.
- COP M. T. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, 2nd edn. Brussels, 1980.
- CQ *Classical Quarterly*.
- CRAI *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*.
- Curty* O. Curty, *Les parentes légendaires entre cités grecques*. Geneva, 1994.
- D-K H. Diels and F. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vols I–III, 6th edn. Berlin, 1951–2.
- DdA *Dialoghi di Archeologia*.
- DHA *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*.
- EA *Epigraphica Anatolica*.
- EAD *Exploration archéologique de Délos*.
- EGF M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Göttingen, 1988.
- FD *Fouilles de Delphes*.
- FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, vols I–III. Leiden, 1923–58.
- Fornara C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War*, 2nd edn. Cambridge, 1983.
- G&R *Greece and Rome*.
- Grandi santuari* *La Magna Grecia e i grandi santuari della madrepatria: atti del trentunesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto, 1992.

GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.</i>
Gusmani	R. Gusmani, <i>Lydisches Wörterbuch: mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung.</i> Heidelberg, 1964.
H-N	W. Horbury and D. Noy, <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Greco-Roman Egypt.</i> Cambridge, 1992.
IA	<i>Iranica Antiqua.</i>
ICS	O. Masson, <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> , 2nd edn. Paris, 1983.
IEOG	F. Canali de Rossi, <i>Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco: un repertorio.</i> Bonn, 2004.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>
K-A	R. Kassel and C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , vols I–VIII. Berlin, 1983–2001.
L-P	E. Lobel and D. Page, <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta.</i> Oxford, 1955.
Labraunda	J. Crampa, <i>Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches, vol. III.2: The Greek Inscriptions.</i> Stockholm, 1972.
LdÄ	W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , vols I–VII. Wiesbaden, 1972–92.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , vols I–XVIII. Zurich, 1981–99.
L'Or perse	R. Descat (ed.), 'L'Or perse et l'histoire grecque', special issue of <i>REA</i> , 91, 1989.
M-S	R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> , vols I–V. Munich, 1998–2004.
M-W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica.</i> Oxford, 1967.
MAS	<i>Modern Asian Studies.</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité.</i>
MHR	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review.</i>
Michel	C. Michel, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques.</i> Brussels, 1900.
Modes	<i>Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes.</i> Rome, 1983.

<i>Moretti</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni agonistiche greche</i> . Rome, 1953.
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> .
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> , vols I–II. Leipzig, 1903–5.
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i> .
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i> .
<i>P. Col. IV</i>	W. L. Westermann, C. W. Keyes and H. Liebesny (eds), <i>Business Papers of the Third Century BC Dealing with Palestine and Egypt</i> , vol. II. New York, 1940.
<i>P. Enteux.</i>	O. Guéraud, <i>Enteuxeis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.</i> Cairo, 1931.
<i>P. Mil.</i>	A. Calderini (ed.), <i>Papiri Milanesi</i> . Milan, 1928.
<i>Page</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae melici Graeci</i> . Oxford, 1962.
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i> .
<i>PdP</i>	<i>Parola del Passato</i> .
<i>PP</i>	W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack (eds), <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica</i> , vols I–IX. Louvain, 1951–81.
<i>QdS</i>	<i>Quaderni di Storia</i> .
<i>R-O</i>	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford, 2003.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i> .
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> .
<i>RICIS</i>	L. Bricault, <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> , vols I–III. Paris, 2005.
<i>Rigsby</i>	K. J. Rigsby, <i>Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World</i> . Berkeley, CA, 1996.
<i>Rose</i>	V. Rose, <i>Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta</i> . Leipzig, 1886.
<i>Rowlandson</i>	J. Rowlandson (ed.), <i>Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook</i> . Cambridge, 1998.
<i>Sardis</i>	W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, <i>Sardis, vol. VII.1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> . Leiden, 1932.
<i>SB</i>	F. Preisigke et al. (eds), <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , vols I–XVIII. Strasbourg, 1915–93.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
<i>SGDI</i>	H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (eds), <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> , vols I–IV. Göttingen, 1884–1915.

<i>Sibari</i>	<i>Sibari e la Sibaritide: atti del trentaduesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia.</i> Taranto, 1993.
<i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. Leipzig, 1915–24.
<i>Snell</i>	B. Snell, <i>Pindari carmina cum fragmentis</i> , vols I–II, 6th edn. Leipzig, 1980.
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Society.</i>
<i>TL</i>	E. Kalinka, <i>Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> . Vienna, 1920–44.
<i>Tod</i>	M. N. Tod, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , vol. II. Oxford, 1948.
<i>UPZ</i>	U. Wilcken, <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit: ältere Funde</i> , vols I–II. Berlin, 1927–57.
<i>Wehrli</i>	F. Wehrli, <i>Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar</i> , vols I–XII, 2nd edn. Basel, 1948–69.
<i>West</i>	M. L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati</i> , vols I–II, 2nd edn. Oxford, 1989–92.
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies.</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>