# THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND REVIEW ARTICLE

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Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Classical World. By Michael Avi-Yonah and Israel Shatzman. New York: Harper and Row, 1975, 510 pp., \$20.00.

The late Michael Avi-Yonah (d. 1974) was the leading Israeli scholar of the classical and Byzantine periods. He had directed a number of excavations in Israel and had served as the editor of *IEJ* and of the *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. He had planned the *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Classical World*, but its completion is largely the work of Professor Israel Shatzman of the Hebrew University, who is primarily a scholar of the Roman period.

In many respects this is perhaps the best reference work of its kind available. It is quite comprehensive, containing articles on 2300 topics, which are by and large concise and accurate. For the reader who is not a classical scholar, this is more serviceable and readable than the Oxford Classical Dictionary. It is more up to date than William Smith's Classical Dictionary. It is superior to the comparable Praeger Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Civilization (ed. by Pierre Devambez) in that it includes bibliographical references, some as recent as works published in 1974.

The work contains six maps and seven pages of chronological charts. There are helpful cross-references throughout the volume as well as a six-page index of items that are not the subject of articles but are discussed in the course of other articles. There are a generous selection of black-and-white photos and some splendid colored illustrations. Unfortunately there is no list of the latter, which are interspersed almost at random without any necessary relation to nearby articles. Nor are there references in the text to the relevant colored illustrations.

In view of its many excellent features, it is a pity that there are some rather glaring deficiencies, particularly in regard to the works listed in the unnecessarily spare bibliographies. In part this may be due to the publisher's guidelines or to the limitations of works accessible in Israel. In part it probably reflects the fact that no individual scholar can hope to be competent in all fields. The deficiencies are most obvious with respect to peripheral areas of the Greek world and the Roman Empire, such as Anatolia and Persia.

What is more lamentable, particularly in a work conceived by one who was himself a leading archaeologist, is the noticeable lack of references to current excavations. Understandable but still regrettable is the omission of references to the NT; the articles on GALATIA,

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EPHESUS, and CORINTH contain no explicit references to Paul's mission or letters to those areas.

Though the volume is not addressed to students of the NT, readers will gain much useful background information from articles such as those on ATHENS, EPICURUS, CAESAR, AUGUSTUS, etc.

For the following topics the reader may also wish to consult the books and articles listed below:

## I. PALESTINE AND THE JEWS

The article on JERUSALEM does not integrate the important discoveries made in the excavations from 1961 to the present; see K. Kenyon, Jerusalem (1967); B. Mazar, The Mountain of the Lord (1975); and M. Avi-Yonah, ed., Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations (1976), II. 579-647. Apart from the Pilate inscription the recent finds at CAESAREA MARITIMA are not noted; see Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations (1975), I. 270-285; and L. Levine, Caesarea under Roman Rule (1975). On PETRA see I. Browning, Petra (1973).

The essay on HEROD THE GREAT should have included references to his buildings at Sebaste, Jericho, Machaerus, Masada, Herodium, etc., and to excavations at these sites; see also S. Perowne, The Life and Times of Herod the Great (1959); S. Sandmel, Herod: Profile of a Tyrant (1967); and A. Schalit, König Herodes (1969). The article on NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS, Herod's biographer, should have referred to B. Wacholder, Nicolaus of Damascus (1962). On BERENICE, great-granddaughter of Herod the Great and mistress of Titus, see R. Jordan, Berenice (1974); and S. Perowne, The Later Herods (1959).

On PONTIUS PILATE, see the articles of P. Maier: "Sejanus, Pilate and the Date of the Crucifixion," CH 38 (1968) 3-13; "Pontius Pilate: The Judge Who Changed History," Mankind 2 (February, 1970) 26-35; "The Fate of Pontius Pilate," Hermes 99 (1971), 362-371. The article on FELIX might have mentioned the first inscription referring to him which was discovered in 1966; see M. Avi-Yonah, "The Epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens," IEJ 16 (1966), 258-264. There is no entry on Festus, the procurator who succeeded Felix.

There is no article on Philo, and the brief article on JOSEPHUS lists no secondary literature. For discussions on these two writers see L. H. Feldman, Studies in Judaica, reprinting articles published in The Classical World in 1961-62, and H. Schreckenberg, Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus (1968). On BAR-COCHBA, see Y. Yadin, Bar-Kokhba (1971).

On the subject of the JEWS in the Greco-Roman world see also M. Grant, The Jews in the Roman World (1973); M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism (1974); H. J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome (1960); S. Safrai et al., ed., The Jewish People in the First Century (1974); and E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar (1973).

# II. PHOENICIA AND SYRIA

The article on TYRE does not refer to the excavations conducted

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since 1947 by M. Chehab, who has cleared on the Tyrian mainland one of the best preserved of all Roman hippodromes; see M. Chehab, Tyre (n. d.). Though the splendid "Alexander" sarcophagus is pictured on p. 414 in relation to SCULPTURE, under SIDON there is no discussion of this or the three other magnificent Hellenistic sarcophagi which were discovered here; see N. Jidejian, Sidon Through the Ages (1972). The article on BYBLUS says nothing about the important contacts with Egypt and includes scant reference to the excavations conducted since 1921 by M. Dunand and P. Montet; see N. Jidejian, Byblos Through the Ages (1969).

Only five lines are devoted to HELIOPOLIS (BAALBEK), one of the most splendid of Roman temple complexes; see D. M. Robinson, *Baalbek; Palmyra* (1946). The treatment of PALMYRA and of ANTIOCH, in view of their significance in the Roman world, is also disappointing. The data provided by excavations are hardly noted; see H. Klengel, *The Art of Ancient Syria* (1972).

#### III. MESOPOTAMIA

One would not learn from the article on DURA-EUROPOS that excavators found an early Mithraeum (2nd cent. A. D.), a synagogue with important frescoes (3rd cent. A. D.), and the earliest church (3rd cent. A. D.) yet discovered; see F. Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum," Mithraic Studies (ed. by J. Hinnells; 1975); J. Finegan, Light from the Ancient Past (1946) 403-409; J. Gutmann, The Dura-Europos Synagogue (1973).

On EDESSA, see J. B. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"* (1970). Edessa was an important center of early Syrian Christianity.

#### IV. PERSIA

The article on DARIUS does not mention his important Behistun inscription, which provided the key to the decipherment of cuneiform, nor does it refer to his great capital of Persepolis; see G. Cameron, "The Monument of King Darius at Bisitun," Archaeology 13 (1960) 162-171; idem, Persepolis Treasury Tablets (1948); R. Hallock, "Darius I, the King of the Persepolis Tablets," JNES 1 (1942) 230-237; idem, Persepolis Fortification Tablets (1969); R. G. Kent, Old Persian (rev. ed., 1953); E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis I-III (1953, 1970); M. Wheeler, Flames Over Persepolis (1968); D. Wilber, Persepolis (1969). For the important quadrilingual inscription of Darius discovered at Susa in 1972, see the articles by M. Kervran et al. in JA 260 (1972) 235-266.

On SUSA, the Elamite capital where Darius built a palace and where the story of Esther took place, see P. Amiet, Elam (1966); idem, "Quelques observations sur le palais de Darius à Suse," Syria 51 (1974) 66-73; A. Barucq, "Esther et la cour de Suse," BTS 39 (June, 1961), 3-5; R. Ghirshman, "L'apadana de Suse," Iranica Antiqua 3 (1963), 148-154; G. Richter, "Greeks in Persia," AJA 50 (1946), 15-30.

Articles should have been included on the Medes and the Scythians; see W. Culican, *The Medes and Persians* (1965); T. Rice, *The Scythians* 

(rev. ed., 1961). For the PERSIAN WARS, see also H. Bengtson et al., The Greeks and the Persians (1968).

## V. AFRICA

By AETHIOPIANS the Greeks meant the dark races of Africa; the word aithiops literally means "sunburnt face." The term did not refer to the modern country of Ethiopia. Moses marreid an "Ethiopian" woman (according to Num 12:1 KJV; Hebrew Cushite), that is, a woman from ancient Nubia in the modern country of Sudan. In NT times the treasurer of "Ethiopia" (Acts 8:27) converted by Philip was an official of Candace, queen of the kingdom of Meroe in the Sudan. See G. Beardsley, The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization (1929); P. Shinnie, Meroe (1967); F. Snowden, Blacks in Antiquity (1970).

### VI. ANATOLIA

The article on MOPSUS betrays no knowledge of the fact that the existence of this legendary Greek seer, who migrated to Cilicia after the Trojan War, has been confirmed by the discovery by H. Bossert of bilingual Phoenician and Hittite hieroglyphic texts at Karatepe; see R. D. Barnett, "Mopsos," JHS 73 (1953), 140-143; C. H. Gordon, Forgotten Scripts (1968), pp. 100-103.

On the central Anatolian kingdom of PHRYGIA, see also R. D. Barnett, Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age (1967 [vol. II, chap. 30 of the rev. CAH]); C. Haspels, The Highlands of Phrygia, Sites and Monuments (1971). There is no reference in the article on the Phrygian capital of Gordium to the excavations of R. Young; see M. Mellink, "The City of Midas," Scientific American 201 (July, 1959) 100-104; R. Young, "Early Mosaics at Gordion," Expedition 7 (Spring, 1965) 4-13.

The article on the Lydian king GYGES (sometimes associated with Biblical Gog) does not refer to the Assyrian texts which referred to him as "Gugu" nor to the excavation of what may be his tomb at Sardis; see D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria (1926) II. 351-352; G. Hanfmann and A. Detweiler, "The Tomb of Gyges...," Illustrated London News (March 20, 1965) 26-27. There are inadequate references to the excavations at SARDES, the Lydian capital. For current reports on the sixteen campaigns which had been conducted there by 1973 see BASOR.

The article on LYCIA in southwest Anatolia should have referred to the excavations of M. Mellink in this area; for current reports see AJA, and see also S. Haynes, Land of the Chimaera: An Archaeological Excursion in the South-West of Turkey (1974).

The essay on GALATIA will not help students of the NT decide whether Paul wrote to North (ethnic) Galatia or to South (political) Galatia. The former position was defended by J. B. Lightfoot, the latter by W. Ramsay; see W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire Before A. D. 170 (1893); W. W. Gasque, Sir William M. Ramsay (1966).

The brief entry on EPHESUS contains an inadequate description of

the remains; see instead E. Akurgal, Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey (rev. ed., 1970) 142-170; R. Fleischer, Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien (1973); A. Wotschitzky, "Ephesus, Past, Present and Future of a Great Metropolis," Archaeology 14 (1961) 205-212; O. Meinardus, St. Paul in Ephesus and the Cities of Galatia and Cyprus (1973).

Though little remains of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, one may get a good idea of its grandeur by viewing the well-preserved temple at DIDYMA, which was designed by the same architect who worked on the temple at Ephesus. The temple of Didyma was third in size only to those of Ephesus and Samos; See Akurgal, Civilizations, pp. 222-231; R. Naumann. Didyma Führer (1974).

### VII. GREECE

There is no article on either the Greek family or marriage. On these subjects see W. Erdmann, Die Ehe im alten Griechenland (1934); A. Harrison, The Law of Athens I: The Family and Property (1968); W. Lacey, The Family in Classical Greece (1968); H. Licht, Sexual Life in Ancient Greece (1932); C. Vatin, Recherches sur le mariage et le condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique (1970).

On Greek education, in addition to H. I. Marrou's excellent A History of Education in Antiquity (1956), consult: W. Capes, University Life in Ancient Athens (1922); J. Delorme, Gymnasion (1960); C. Forbes, Greek Physical Education (1929); W. Jaeger, Paideia (1936-45); idem, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia (1961); J. Lynch, Aristotle's School (1972); P. Monroe, Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period (1910); R. Nettleship, The Theory of Education in Plato's Republic (1935); M. Nilsson, Die Hellenistische Schule (1955).

On the OLYMPIAN GAMES see also L. Drees, Olympia (1968); R. Schaap, The Olympics (1967); H. Schobel, The Ancient Olympic Games (1966).

The bibliography given for ALEXANDER THE GREAT is quite spare: three primary references and two secondary works. One should also consult N. Burich, Alexander the Great; A Bibliography (1970); A. Burn, Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic World (1962); J. R. Hamilton, Plutarch—Alexander: A Commentary (1969); J. Snyder, Alexander the Great (1966); W. W. Tarn, Alexander the Great (1948); C. B. Welles, Alexander and the Hellenistic World (1975); U. Wilcken, Alexander the Great (1967).

## VIII. ROME

On the Roman family and marriage see J. Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome (1960) 76-100; P. Corbett, The Roman Law of Marriage (1930); M. Hopkins, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage," Population Studies 18 (1964-65) 309-327; G. Williams, "Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals," JRS 48 (1958) 16-29; H. Wolff, Writ-

ten and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law (1939).

On Roman education see also G. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (1969); S. Bonner, The Education of a Roman (1950); D. Kidd, Roman Attitudes to Education (1958); E. Parks, The Roman Rhetorical Schools (1945); Quintilian on Education (1938); J. G. Townsend, "Ancient Education in the Time of the Early Roman Empire," The Catacombs and the Colosseum (ed. S. Benko and J. O'Rourke; 1971) 139-163; A. Wilkins. Roman Education (1905).

On Greco-Roman LIBRARIES see also: C. Boyd, Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome (1915); F. Cowell, "Book Production in Ancient Rome," History Today 24 (1974) 794-798; J. Platthy, Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries with the Testimonia (1968); F. J. Witty, "Reference Books of Antiquity," Journal of Library History 9 (1974) 101-119.

On GLADIATORS and other games see also: R. Auguet, Cruelty and Civilization: the Roman Games (1972); J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome (1969); A. Cameron, Bread and Circuses (1974); J. Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome (1960); M. Grant, Gladiators (1967); G. Jennison, Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome (1937); J. Pearson, Arena (1973); J. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (1973).

Regarding the cities of POMPEII and HERCULANEUM, buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A. D. 79, see also M. Brion, *Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1960); J. Deiss, *Herculaneum* (1966); M. Grant, *The Cities of Vesuvius* (1971); W. Leppmann, *Pompeii in Fact and Fiction* (1968); J. Lindsay, *The Writing on the Wall* (1960).

On Greek and Roman burials, for which there are no entries, see C. Clairmont, Gravestones and Epigrams (1970); F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism (1922); W. Knight, Elysion (1970); D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, Greek Burial Customs (1971); R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (1962); A. D. Nock, "Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire," HTR 25 (1932) 321-359; J. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (1971). On the CATACOMBS see also H. Leon, The Jews in Rome (1960); J. Finegan, The Archaeology of the NT (1969) 209-212.

## IX. RELIGION

Though there are articles on DELPHI and on DODONA, there are no articles on astrology or divination; see E. R. Bevan, Sibyls and Seers (1929); A. Bouché-Leclercq, L'astrologie Grecque (1899; repr. 1963); idem, Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité (1879-82; repr. 1975); J. Bram, tr., Ancient Astrology, Theory and Practice [Firmicus Maternus] (1975); F. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics (1954); F. Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (1912; repr. 1960); La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines (1966); F. Flaceliere, Greek Oracles (1965); W. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913; repr. 1967); F. Krauss, An Interpre-

tation of the Omens, Portents, and Prodigies Recorded by Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius (1930); O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes (1959); H. Parke and D. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle (1956); J. Pollard, Seers, Shrines and Sirens (1965); C. R. Whitaker, "The Delphic Oracle," HTR 58 (1965) 21-47; R. White, tr., The Interpretation of Dreams [The Oneirocritica of Artemidorus] (1975).

No article on magic, which played such a prominent role in the Greco-Roman world, has been included; see A. Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae (1904); C. Campbell, Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian (1950); E. Burriss, Taboo, Magic, Spirits... in Roman Religion (1931); E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (1963); S. Eitrem, The Greek Magical Papyri in the British Museum (1923); T. Hopfner, Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber (1921-24); J. Hull, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition (1974); E. Kagarov, Griechische Fluchtafeln (1929); J. Lowe, Magic in Greek and Latin Literature (1929); M. Nilsson, Die Religion in den Griechischen Zauberpapyri (1946); A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," JEA 15 (1929) 219-235; K. Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae I-III (1928, 1931, 1942); E. Tavenner, Studies on Magic from Latin Literature (1916).

Although there are separate articles on the various gods and goddesses, there is no general article on mythology. On Greco-Roman mythology see M. Grant, Roman Myths (1971); R. Graves, The Greek Myths (1955); F. Guirand, Greek Mythology (1963); J. Henle, Greek Myths: A Vase Painter's Notebook (1973); G. Kirk, The Nature of Greek Myths (1974); M. Morford and R. Lenardon, Classical Mythology (1971); M. Nilsson, The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology (1932; repr. 1963); S. Perowne, Romay Mythology (1969); H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology (1959); E. Tripp, The Handbook of Classical Mythology (1970); R. Warner, The Stories of the Greeks (1967).

A major lacuna is the lack of a general article on Greek and Roman religion. On this subject see F. Altheim, A History of Roman Religion (1938); S. Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World (1929; repr. 1967); E. R. Dodds, Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety (1965); L. R. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States (1896-1909); J. Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire (1970); A. Festugière, Personal Religion among the Greeks (1954); W. W. Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People (1911); T. R. Glover, Conflicts of Religions in the Early Roman Empire (1910; repr. 1960); F. Grant, ed., Ancient Roman Religion (1957); idem, Hellenistic Religions (1953); idem, Roman Hellenism and the New Testament (1962); W. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods (1950); idem, In the Beginning (1957); M. Hadas and M. Smith, Heroes and Gods (1965); J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (rev. ed. 1922; repr. 1955); idem, Themis (rev. ed. 1927; repr. 1962); M. Lewis, The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians (1955); E. Melas, ed., Temples and Sanctuaries of Ancient Greece (1973); G. Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion (rev. ed. 1951); M. Nilsson, Greek Folk Religion (1940; repr. 1961); idem, Greek Piety (1947; repr. 1969); idem, A History of Greek Religion (rev.

ed. 1952; repr. 1964); A. D. Nock, Conversion (1933; repr. 1961); idem, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World (1972); R. Ogilvie, The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus (1969); W. Otto, The Homeric Gods (1954); R. Palmer, Religion and Roman Empire (1974); I. Richmond, The Roman Army and Roman Religion (1962); H. J. Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome (1959); idem, "Roman Religion 1910-1960," JRS 50 (1960) 161-172; K. Scott, The Imperial Cult under the Flavians (1936); L. Sweet, Roman Emperor Worship (1919); L. R. Taylor, The Deification of the Roman Emperor (1931); J. Toutain, Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain (1908-20); S. Weinstock, Divus Julius (1971).

There are articles on the MYSTERIES, ADONIS, ATTIS, etc. These do not discuss the alleged resurrection of these figures, which have sometimes been compared to Christ. The article on MITHRAS does not mention the discovery of a Mithraeum in Caesarea in 1973. See B. Metzger, "Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity," in Historical and Literary Studies (1968) 1-24; G. Wagner, Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries (1967). For specialized studies, see the series Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain (Brill).

The article on GNOSTICISM is confused and misleading; it makes no reference to the important Nag Hammadi Coptic texts, though it does list J. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics (1960). See also A. Helmbold, The Nag Hammadi Gnostic Texts and the Bible (1967); D. Scholer, Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969 (1971); R. McL. Wilson, Gnosis and the New Testament (1968); E. Yamauchi, Pre-Christian Gnosticism (1973).

The essay on MANICHAEISM does not mention the important Cologne codex on the life of Mani published in 1970, and lists but one reference, H. C. Puech, Le Manicheisme (1949). See also C. Allberry, ed., A Manichaean Psalm-book (1938); J. P. Asmussen, "Manichaeism," Historia Religionum I: Religions of the Past (ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren; 1969) 580-610; M. Boyce, The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian (1954); P. Brown, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire," JRS 59 (1969), 92-103; A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Eine alte griechische Mani Schrift," ZPE 5 (1970), 97-216; A. Jackson, Researches in Manichaeism (1932); C. Mitchell, The Prose Refutations of Mani (1972); H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, ed., Kephalaia (1934); H. J. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien (1934); G. Widengren, Maniand Manichaeism (1965).

Finally, there is a dismaying number of misspellings of proper names in the bibliographical entries: "Fryre" for "Frye" (p. 146); "Marrow" for "Marrou" (p. 176); "Hoekner" for "Hoehner" (p. 233); "Cymont" for "Cumont" (p. 249); "Cymunt" for "Cumont" (p. 405); "Morison" for "Morrison" (p. 421); "Michel" for "Michell" (p. 431).