

Cooperation and Competition in the Ancient World

19th-20th September, Budapest

Session 1: Cooperation and Competition in Domestic Politics. Chair: András Patay-Horváth

Informal Cooperation in Hellenistic City-State Politics

Péter Kató (Eötvös Loránd University)

Two phenomena appear in the centre of the discussion on the character of post-classical Greek politics: First, the emergence of rich and powerful individuals acting as benefactors (*euergetai*) of and competing for power in the poleis, and second, the proliferation of formally organized voluntary associations (*koina, thiasoi*) which united, protected, and promoted the interests of lower class groups of people. This paper will argue that the prosopographical study of Hellenistic decrees and dedications reveals another hitherto neglected characteristic socio-political phenomenon which is closely connected to the topic of this workshop: the cooperation of individuals outside of formally organized institutions in their quest for prominence, influence, and power. Through the analysis of some selected inscriptions, typical ways, contexts and aims of such cooperations will be demonstrated. The paper ends with a discussion of the relevance of these observations for our general understanding of public life in the post-classical polis.

Dr. Péter Kató is a lecturer at the Department of Ancient History at the Eötvös Loránd University Budapest. His main interests lie in Hellenistic Greek history and epigraphy, with a special emphasis on the social and religious history of the Aegean.

The Evolution of the Babylonian Policy of the Assyrian Empire

Chen Fei (Peking University).

From 729 to 627 BCE, the Babylonian policy of the Assyrian Empire was changing all the time. Tiglath-pileser III annexed Babylonia and ascended the Babylonian throne in person, acting as a king of “dual-crown” (king of Assyria and king of Babylon). After retaking Babylonia, Sargon II followed and developed the “dual-crown” model. Sennacherib abandoned that model; at first, he appointed Babylonian kings; after that failed, he turned Babylonia to a kingless land. Esarhaddon restored the “dual-crown” model, but finally he passed the Assyrian throne to Ashurbanipal and the Babylonian throne to Shamash-shuma-ukin respectively. Ashurbanipal complied with the separation policy of Esarhaddon, but he only admitted the independence of Babylonia on the surface, while in actual fact he controlled Babylonia closely as an “uncrowned” Babylonian king. The evolution of the Babylonian policy of the Assyrian Empire is a course that the Assyrian kings adjusted constantly the way of ruling Babylonia under the influence of various factors combined, foreign and domestic, including the Babylonians, the Chaldeans, the Elamites, as well as the Assyrian magnates, with an aim always to maintain the control of Babylonia on the basis of consolidating the Assyrian kingship.

Dr Chen Fei is an Assistant Professor at the School of Foreign Languages at Peking University, majoring in Assyriology. His research interests focus mainly on the languages, history, and culture of the ancient Near East.

Competing Constituents and Success of Hellenistic Federal States

Jacek Rzepka (Warsaw University)

This paper will focus on successful Greek leagues. The criterium to measure leagues' success will not be a short-time preponderance in Greek inter-state politics, but rather long survival of federal statehood. I am convinced thus criterium is quite well grounded in Classical political thought. Ability

to survive crises or live long unharmed was one of the most desired things for any state – the ancient commentators almost invariably praise states that distinguished by stability of constitution and the lack of civil strife. Thus, the Boeotian League, being a Greek super-power in the 4th cent. BC, was hardly a success story in the eyes of the ancients (hence also a negative picture of Boeotians in post-Classical literature). Greek federal states, not unlike unitary *poleis*, were menaced by civil conflicts fueled by various sets of political ideas. In addition, the leagues were under threat of disbandment due to dissatisfaction of members with a form or/and actions of federal government or due to actions of external enemies. Rivalries between constituents were unavoidable, too, and as such were a huge danger for a league's survival.

Dr Jacek Rzepka holds degrees (MA, PhD, Dr. Habil.) from Warsaw University and works there as University Professor in the Department of Ancient History, Faculty of History. His research focuses are political, constitutional, cultural, and military developments in North-Western Greece and Macedon in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, with special attention paid to Greek federal states (with a recent project on intra-federal migrations). He was Mellon CEE Fellow in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) in the year 2009/10 and Bekker (Polish National Agency of Academic Exchange) Fellow at the University of Vienna in the year 2019/2020.

Session 2: Cooperation and Competition in the International Arena. Chair: Péter Kató

Competition Among Greeks During and After the Persian Invasion of 480-479 BC

András Patay-Horváth (Eötvös Loránd University).

It is well-known that Greeks eagerly competed with each other in panhellenic games and that they celebrated the Olympic Games even in 480. There were other kinds of competitions during and after the great invasion, most notably among the victorious poleis in erecting victory monuments. This phenomenon will be explored in detail including the exceptional cases where some cooperation is discernible as well.

Dr András Patay-Horváth has studied classical archaeology, classical philology and ancient history at ELTE Budapest, Heidelberg and Freiburg. He took his PhD in classical archaeology and is currently the head of the department for ancient history. His research focuses on Olympia, sculpture and iconography in connection with Greek history and epigraphy.

Between Competition and Cooperation: the Roman-Parthian Relations During Pompey's Command in the East

Rik van Wijlick (Peking University).

Much ink has been spilt over the political and diplomatic interaction between Roman generals in the East and Parthia during the Third Mithridatic (e.g. Ziegler 1964; Sherwin-White 1984). In particular, for the period from 66 to 63—the time in which Pompey held his command in the East— scholarship has for a long time evaluated the Roman-Parthian relations as one characterized by hostility and antagonism. Recently, this view has received a long overdue corrective (Schlude 2020), underlining the cooperation between the Pompey and Phraates III in their struggle against the Armenian ruler Tigranes II. The struggle and disagreement that ensued between Pompey and the Parthian king in 65 and 64 concerned the political settlement of former Armenian lands in Mesopotamia. Scholars have rightly drawn attention to the treaty concluded by Pompey with the Parthians in comprehending the exact bone of contention. But did the conflict really hinge on the crossing of the Euphrates 'by Pompey's generals? My paper explores the role of the Euphrates in the dispute between Pompey and Phraates. In this way, it envisions to provide insight into the Roman-Parthian relationship during Pompey's command in the East: through diplomacy and a posture of strength both powers anticipated to serve their own interests.

Dr Hendrikus van Wijlick is Associate Professor in the Department of History and the Centre for Classical and Medieval Studies at Peking University. His research focuses on the history and representation of Rome's foreign relations with kingdoms and principalities in Asia Minor and the Near East during the Late Republic and the Principate.

Diversity and Dynamism in the “Amastriane”: Cooperation and Integration

Wu Chingyuan (Peking University).

In literary sources we find Amastris a thriving second-century *civitas* with a much frequented port and an intellectual community (cf. Plin. Ep. 10.98; Luc. Alex. 26ff; Luc. Tox. 57ff), but what of the land that supported it? The Amastriane, as Strabo calls it (Ἀμαστρίανη", Strab. 12.3.10), had a lot of good boxwood, but beyond this much is unclear. This paper interrogates a group epigraphic and field survey evidence in the Eflani valley, approximately 70 km southeast of Amasra. One inscription refers to an Amastrian archon who was also a *genearch* of what appears to be a local clan (Marek Kat. Amastris no. 95). Scholars have focused more on the cult that the *genearch*'s family worshipped and naos they built, and less if any on the *genos*' involvement with Amastrian civic institutions. The second inscription is concerns a *nomikos* Demetrios son of Kyrenios (Marek Kat. Amastris no. 97). He was perhaps related to a Chrestes son of Kyrenios and a self-designated Amastrian of the tribe Halicarnassus, who set up a funerary monument at Deresameil (Marek Kat. Hadrianopolis no. 29; 10 km northeast of Hadrianopolis) for his brother-in-law Sextus Vibius Epaphroditus, perhaps related to the Trajanic *primipilarius* Sextus Vibius Gallus from Amastrian Kytoros (Corsten 2007; Ruscu 2017). This paper wishes to suggest that Marek' expansive Amastrian *territorium* would have initially been a highly fragmented social and political space, but familial recruitment, manumission, intermarriage, and mobility between significant urban centers gradually created common ground for cooperation and integration. Also, the clan at Meyre may have benefited from intensifying interaction between Amastris, Hadrianopolis and Pompeiopolis, leading to its increased importance, greater integration in Amastrian institutions and norms.

Dr Chingyuan Wu received a PhD in ancient history from the University of Pennsylvania in 2018. He was Colburn Fellow and Capps Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens between 2015 and 2017. He was an International Exchange Postdoctoral Fellow at Peking University from 2018 to 2020, and is currently assistant professor of History at Peking University. His main research interests are Roman provincial studies, comparative empires, and pre-modern Eurasian interactions.

The Function of Athenian *Proxenia* Based on the Honorific Decrees

Chen Ke (Jiaying University).

Since Greek states did not send permanent diplomatic representatives abroad, a local citizen was served as a *proxenos* to look after the visitors from another state. Usually, a *proxenos* was the citizen of *polis* A, appointed by *polis* B and served the interest of *polis* B. Greek states selected their *proxenoi* in other states and, in return for services already rendered and expected in the future, bestowed honors and privileges upon them. This system is the so called *proxenia*. *Proxenia* is a unique system in ancient Greece. There was no counterpart in other civilizations. *Proxenia* served the inter-polis or inter-community relations from the late 6th or 5th BC to the 2nd century AD. Almost all the Greek states honored their *proxenoi* by means of publishing *proxenia* decrees, and over 3, 000 *proxenia* honorific decrees survive. The *proxenia* decrees and the *proxenoi* they honored could reflect the competition and cooperation between Greek states. This paper will take Athenian *proxenia* as the example. The decrees issued by Athens are usually elaborate, with more or less certain dating and various elements. It is believed that all the Athenian *proxenia* decrees are *probouleuma* decrees, with legal procedures. Athenians were careful when choosing a *proxenos*. He must have made great contribution to Athens and was expected to serve as a bridge between his home city and Athens. The Athenian *proxenia* in the 5th century reflected its political and military function, while in the 4th century BC, many honors were due to their economic contribution, especially the services in selling or shipping grains. The number of *proxenoi* who were honored for providing grains increased

significantly, reflecting the need for grains in Athens at that time. Some of the *proxenoi* in Athens in the 3rd century BC were honored because they had protected the Athenians overseas. In any case, practical function was always the major concern of Athenians when granting *proxenia*.

Dr Chen Ke is a lecturer at Jiaying University, P.R. China. He graduated from the Institute for the History of Ancient Civilisations, Northeast Normal University in 2021. His current research is a study of the *proxenia* decrees of ancient Greece, especially those of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. By examining the formula of the decrees and the background, he will explore how the inter-*polis* relationship was established and maintained via individuals in ancient Greece.

Session 3: Cooperation and Competition in the Supernatural Realm. Chair: Magnus Widell

Talking Dead: Conflict and Cooperation between This World and the Next in Ancient Egypt Silvia Zago (University of Liverpool).

It is well-known that, for the ancient Egyptians, death was not an absolute end, but rather the beginning of a transition to a new state of being in another, metaphysical dimension (the Duat). The living and the dead formed a community that transcended the somewhat permeable barrier between this world and the next. The deceased were powerful liminal entities, ancestral spirits that continued to play a significant role in the everyday life of the living. This is attested by a broad range of textual and archaeological evidence, which centres around the tomb, regarded as an interface between dimensions. The interaction between the living and the dead was quite complex: if, on the one hand, the spirits of the deceased could be beneficial to the living and support them, they could also turn malevolent and influence their world in negative ways, including harming their health and wellbeing. This paper will explore the multifaceted relationship between the living and the dead, focusing on the magico-ritual practices aimed to enable a successful transition of the deceased into the afterlife and the means of communication with them, whether the contact be prompted by a conflictual situation or by a request for assistance from the hereafter. The discussion will thus illustrate not only what a concrete and important reality the otherworld represented for the Egyptians, but also the significant impact that this intimate interconnection between realms had on society.

Dr Silvia Zago is Lecturer in Egyptology in the Department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology of the University of Liverpool and Visiting Professor of Egyptology at the University of Pisa. She obtained her PhD in Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations (Egyptology) from the University of Toronto, where she also taught the ancient Egyptian history and language for several years. She moreover holds an MA in Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East (Egyptology) from the University of Pisa and a BA in Conservation of Cultural Heritage (Near Eastern Archaeology) from Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Silvia specialises in ancient Egyptian religion and afterlife texts, and in particular the evolution of the concepts of the otherworld over time, on which she just published her monograph *A Journey through the Beyond: The Development of the Concept of Duat and Related Cosmological Notions in Egyptian Funerary Literature* (Columbus, GA: Lockwood Press, 2022). Her research also encompasses magic and ritual practices, the conceptualisation and use of Egyptian sacred landscapes, and cross-cultural interconnections and transmission of knowledge in Graeco-Roman Egypt. She was appointed a Member of the Royal Historical Society (London) in 2021.

Competitors or Cooperators? The Role of Snakes in the Early New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld

Hannah Osborn (University of Liverpool).

Snakes were enigmatic creatures which were frequently venerated in ancient Egyptian literature and art. In the tripartite subdivision of the Egyptian cosmos, they occupied the realm deep in the earth termed the 'lower sky', which existed within the Netherworld (Duat). As primordial inhabitants of

this chthonic realm, snakes were often perceived and conceptualised by the ancient Egyptians as objects of mystery, fear, and intrigue. Holding not only the potential for aiding solar regeneration and rebirth, but also the ability to threaten cosmic order (Maat), snakes developed a twofold nature as agents of protection and destruction. This is explored in-depth in both text and image in the Books of the Netherworld, a body of literary compositions that explore the nightly rejuvenation of the Sun god occurring after his treacherous journey through the Netherworld. Depictions of snakes within this corpus are numerous, and their roles can be differentiated through their actions; some are shown to be assisting and guiding the Sun god through his journey, others are shown to be threatening him. This paper will explore the middle sections of two of the early Netherworld Books, namely the Amduat and Book of Gates, analysing the role that snakes play in them, and will challenge previous assumptions that these creatures were mainly a negative force. The discussion will show that although there are examples of snakes that threaten the solar rebirth, these figures represent a minority, and most of them are positive forces that support, and in some cases even trigger, the cosmic regeneration of the Sun god.

Ms Hannah Osborn recently graduated from the University of Liverpool with a BA in Egyptology from the department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology. During her BA she was awarded the Rankin Prize for Egyptology and the Undergraduate Dissertation Prize for her study on the representation of ophidian creatures in the Amduat and Book of Gates. She is also the recipient of the 22/23 Rankin Scholarship for Postgraduate Study in Egyptology and will begin her MA at the University of Liverpool this September.

Dealing with the Devil: Competition and Cooperation with Satan as presented in the Apophthegmata Patrum

Glenn Godenho (University of Liverpool).

Recent research has focussed on the position of demons in early Christianity, and the degree to which their 'chaotic' natures can be harnessed by either Christ and his followers or by Satan in order to do their will. During the course of these discussions, there has been some comment on the position of Satan and the degree to which he can be manipulated for certain means. This presentation entertains the possibility of Satan, as presented in the Apophthegmata Patrum (or Sayings of the Desert Fathers), as a being eligible not only for monks to compete against, but also to cooperate with in order to achieve certain outcomes.

Dr Godenho is a Senior Lecturer in Egyptology at the University of Liverpool where he is also Academic Director of the University's Continuing Education Department. His teaching and scholarship interests focus on the transitional period between Egypt's Old and Middle Kingdoms, and on latest phase of the ancient Egyptian language: Coptic.

Session 4: Cooperation and Competition in Social Organisation. Chair: Glenn Godenho

Communication, Collaboration and Organisational Efficiency in the Early Old Babylonian Period: the E-urra of Addayya

Magnus Widell (University of Liverpool).

This short presentation will focus on the organization and economic activities of the E-urra of Addayya (e₂-ur₃-ra a-da-a-a), which may have been located in the well-attested but hitherto unidentified city of Zibnātum in southern Mesopotamia. A handful of Early Old Babylonian administrative documents, dated to two consecutive years in Nūr-Adad's reign (1865-1850 BC, according to the so-called Middle Chronology), document in detail how various officials stationed in the surrounding cities delivered both large and small amounts of sesame seeds to the E-urra of Addayya, all under the watchful eyes of the institution's many "comptrollers" (ša₃-tam-e-ne).

Dr Magnus Widell is a Reader in Assyriology in the Department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology at the University of Liverpool. He is particularly interested in the Sumerian cuneiform texts, and in socio-economic, environmental and agricultural issues of the 3rd millennium BC.

The Egyptian Elements within the Near East Art in the First Millennium BCE – The Griffin as an example

Khattab Rashad (Eötvös Loránd University).

Each region of the ancient near East had an artistic style that can clearly be tracked noticing the unique elements that set it apart from the others. But we can see that the interaction between several civilizations in the Levant area caused a mixed elements within the same sculpture. For example, by studying the forms of the Griffin in the ancient East, we notice that the Griffin carving was influenced by several artistic methods. But the main one that concerned us is the Egyptian influence, specifically within the Phoenician style that was distinguished by Poulsen with the Egyptian elements present in the scene. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The Griffin's head depicted on ivory slabs was like the typically Egyptian motive falcon. Some of The Griffin's depictions that were used were: trampling on enemies, A Griffin wearing Hathor crown, The Griffin with the tree of life and lotus flower -which is directly related to the ancient Egyptians-. Usually, it's hard to change people's religious ideas, which can be evident of how strong the dominate power is on this region to have an impact on its sensitive thoughts. But by going through this, we can conclude that the relations in the near east weren't only based on conflicts and dominance. The people back then interacted with the new powers and took what suited their minds and included all of that in a new matrix creating a harmonious society that accepted all new kinds of traditions.

Mr Khattab Rashad is a current PhD student at Eötvös Loránd University, where he is the recipient of the Stipendium Hungaricum Scholarship. He attained his undergraduate and MA degree from Damascus University in the department of Arts and Archaeology, graduating in 2017. His dissertation 'The Griffin in the Art of the Early 1st Millennium BC Near East' focuses on the Griffin from its first appearance in Elam/Iran until the first millennium BC, observing the evolution of the creature in an attempt to understand its role in that time, as no text clearly shows the reason of its existence, or even what it stands for.

Romulus, Remus and the Latins. Twinship and Identity in the Roman Tradition

György Hegyi W (Eötvös Loránd University).

A good founding story is suitable for presenting important issues in terms of the history and identity of a community, or at least for providing a starting point for the discourse about them. In addition, the hallmark of a good origin story is its inherent versatility and variability, and this is the only way to simultaneously connect several topics of interest to the commemorative community with the beginnings. The myth of Romulus and Remus is also such a story, and its most important elements, their twinhood and their competition that culminated in fratricide, served as the origin and explanation of many dualities characterizing the Romans. My presentation examines some important episodes of the early history of Latium and Rome – episodes which discuss the relationship between the Latins and the Romans – in order to take stock of the narrative elements with which they are connected to each other and to the zero point, the story of the twins. These connections are certainly not accidental, and their examination may contribute to a more precise understanding of the workings of Roman memory and annalistic historiography.

Competition on the Roman Chariot Racing Tracks and in Magic

György Németh (Eötvös Loránd University).

In Roman circuses, contestants from four factions competed against each other: the red, the green, the white and the blue. One might think that the competition was between the individual charioteer, but in fact it was between the factios, their owners and the Roman citizens who bet large sums on the racing chariots. Sports bettors, who feared for their money, sometimes also enlisted the help of magicians to

prevent the other factio's horses or charioteers from winning. The competition was not between the magician and the victim of the curse, but between the individual sports bettors. When St Hilarion in Gaza supported the Christian racing stable owner against the pagan racing stable owner, the competition reached an even higher level. The opposing parties represented the last of the Gentiles and the victorious Christians, and the decision was in the Lord's hands.