

NOEL CHEONG

Joining Israel: Gentiles in 1 Peter's Ethnic Imagination

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Mohr Siebeck

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For Rachael and my family

Preface

This book is a revision of my doctoral thesis, undertaken at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Prof. Markus Bockmuehl, whose wisdom, efficiency, and patience are truly inspiring. What a privilege to learn from one of the best in the business!

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Bonn, Easter 2026

Noel Cheong

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Chapter 1

Introduction

When Isaiah Fadzlin decided to become a Christian at the age of 15, his father chased him with a machete. Like over 98% of Malays in Singapore, Fadzlin grew up in a Muslim household.¹ Being a Malay Singaporean, Fadzlin explains, also means taking on a “religious identity”, and it is not unusual for those who renounce Islam to be disowned by their own family and friends.² Fadzlin now pastors a church, but as he reflects on the ongoing challenges from his conversion, he writes about “missing the Malay culture, the celebration of the festivities and being considered part of that Malay community...after all, that is the community I grew up in.”³ For Fadzlin, being Malay comes with the expectation of being Muslim. As a result, his conversion to Christianity immediately led to estrangement from his community and dissonance with the culture within which he grew up, especially since less than 1% of Christians in Singapore are Malay.⁴ Fadzlin’s conversion was a far-reaching transformation of his identity which, from his perspective, fellow Christians from other ethnic backgrounds did not always experience in the same way.⁵

What changes when a person decides to follow Jesus? “Gods run in the blood,” writes Paula Fredriksen concerning the ancient world, and the interconnectedness of peoplehood, culture, and cultic traditions are well-attested across history, even if the categories “ethnicity” and “religion” are relatively modern.⁶ Conversion often exposes this tension.

Fadzlin’s experience of feeling disconnected from one’s culture and community would have been familiar for many first-century Gentile followers of Jesus. They too would have recognised that becoming a Christian was not merely a change in private beliefs but also a reorientation of culture and peoplehood. Several other scholars have already explored how early Christians

¹ Department of Statistics 2021, 201.

² Lim 2022.

³ Lim 2022.

⁴ Department of Statistics, 2021, 201.

⁵ This phenomenon is hardly unique to Singapore. For instance, see studies on conversion in Finland (Syrjänen 1984), South Africa and Malawi (Mumisa 2002), and India (Karlsson 2002) which report similar experiences of estrangement and cultural dissonance suffered by converts from varying religious backgrounds.

⁶ Fredriksen 2006, 232.

used the language of ethnicity to describe this transformation.⁷ This book focuses on the letter of 1 Peter as a case study, for it is a text with a relatively dense concentration of ethnic language, addressed to Christ-followers who have undergone some form of conversion and are suffering as a direct result of this decision. Two overlapping research questions thus guide this study. First, does the ethnic language of 1 Peter imply that the readers constitute a “new ethnicity”? Second, how does 1 Peter conceive of the relationship between the letter’s readers and the people of Israel?

1 Peter has been cited as a potential forerunner of second-century ethnic discourse which positions Christians as a “new race” distinct from Jews and Greeks.⁸ Similarly, some posit that the description of 1 Peter’s readers as a “chosen race” and “holy nation” indicate that the “reality of Israel” has passed without remainder into the “new people of God” – the Church.⁹ This study will challenge both assumptions. I will instead demonstrate that the ethnic language of 1 Peter emphasises how non-Jewish Christians have joined the people of Israel, in a manner akin to the incorporation of non-Israelites into Israel in the Old Testament (OT).¹⁰

1.1. Ethnicity – Then & Now

In much popular and scholarly writing, Judaism is seen as an “ethnic religion”, in contrast to a Christianity which purportedly transcends ethnicity. In his study on Paul, for instance, N. T. Wright outlines the reasons for the apostle’s opposition to his circumcision-advocating interlocutors.

In that new creation the divisions of the human race that marked, and marred, the ‘present age’ are to be done away. [...] If the ‘new creation’ had still been in the future, Paul’s opponents would have been right to insist on the ethnic boundary-markers that kept the chosen people safe and sound (but also ‘under Torah’, with all the tensions of Romans 7)

⁷ E.g. Buell 2005; Concannon 2014; Hodge 2007.

⁸ Buell 2005, 45; Horrell 2011, 134. On the difference between “race” and “ethnicity”, see Section 1.1.4.

⁹ Achtemeier 1996, 69; I will generally use “church” when referring to local congregations which gather regularly in a certain place (e.g. “the church in Rome”), and “Church” when referring to the imagined community of Jesus-followers across time and space (e.g. “the early Church”). The distinction is admittedly blurry at times, but it is often useful in this project to distinguish between the two concepts.

¹⁰ Throughout this book, the term “Old Testament” is used when referring to the collection of literature typically called *Tanakh* or Hebrew Bible. While I acknowledge the problems with the term “Old Testament”, an alternative like “Hebrew Bible” would be an inaccurate label when referring to those texts in their Greek form, and as we will see in Chapter 5, “old” does not necessarily mean worse, outdated, or superseded. All abbreviations are taken from *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd edition.

while awaiting the new day. Here as elsewhere, Paul's real objection to those who would perpetuate such things was that they were *past their use-by date*.¹¹

For Wright, Paul's opposition to the necessity of circumcision could be understood as opposition to "ethnic boundary-markers" for God's chosen people. Similarly, Guy Stroumsa argues that "ethnic terms were deeply irrelevant for the Christians."¹² Yet by the second century CE, Christians (and their opponents) used terms typically associated with ethnicity to define and describe the early Jesus movement.

For it is clear to us, O King, that there are three classes of men (τρία γένη) in this world; these being the worshippers of the gods acknowledged among you, and Jews, and Christians.¹³

Since I see, most excellent Diognetus, that you are extremely interested in learning about the religion of the Christians... [who] neither recognizing those who are considered to be gods by the Greeks nor observing the superstition of the Jews... and why this new race or way of life (καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα) has come into the world we live in now and not before...¹⁴

We are indeed said to be the "third race" of men (*tertium genus dicimur*). [...] It is in respect of our religion, not of our nation, that we are supposed to be the third (*sed de superstitione tertium genus deputamur, non de natione*), the series being the Romans, the Jews, and the Christians after them.¹⁵

In your empire, greatest of sovereigns, different nations have different customs and laws; and no one is hindered by law or fear of punishment from following his ancestral usages, however ridiculous these may be. [...] But for us who are called Christians you have not in like manner cared; but although we commit no wrong.¹⁶

In her landmark study *Why This New Race*, Denise K. Buell therefore concludes that "many early Christians define Christianness as a membership in a people characterized especially by religious practices, in contrast to historical reconstructions that portray Christianness as a category that transcends or dissolves ethnoracial difference."¹⁷ In stressing the use of ethnic reasoning in early Christianity, Buell counters the common portrayal of Christianity as a "religion of belief" standing in contrast to "religions of traditional practice", namely paganism and Judaism.¹⁸ For the early Jesus followers, she argues, framing Christianity in ethnic language was a useful means of self-

¹¹ Wright 2013, 1938, emphasis his.

¹² Stroumsa 1999, 83.

¹³ Aristides, Gk. *Apol.* 2.2; ANF 9:264. The Syriac recension lists four races, dividing the first category of idol-worshippers into "Greeks" and "barbarians".

¹⁴ Diogn. 1.1; all translations of *Epistle to Diognetus* are taken from Holmes 2007.

¹⁵ Tertullian, *Nat.* 1.8.1, 11; ANF 3:117.

¹⁶ Athenagoras, *Leg.* 1.1–3; ANF 2:129.

¹⁷ Buell 2005, 35.

¹⁸ Buell 2005, 59, responding to Hopkins 1999, 80; cf. Buell and Hodge 2004.

identification.¹⁹ Furthermore, while Buell's monograph focuses on the second and third centuries CE, she speculates that "the linking of religious practices with ethnoracial transformation and coherency appears in 'Christian' texts as early as 1 Peter," adding that the "moral and religious change" experienced by the readers in this epistle is "portrayed ethnoracially".²⁰

While Buell was not the first to notice this phenomenon, *Why This New Race* has generated further discussions on ethnic language in early Christianity, including opposition from several quarters.²¹ In a collection of essays under the provocative title *Ethnicity in the Ancient World: Did It Matter?*, Erich Gruen answers the titular question with a confident "No". After surveying an array of historical contexts, including the question of Jewish identity and the notion of Christians as a "third race", he concludes that, in the ancient world, "collective identity rested primarily on common customs, traditions, moral principles, and manner of life, rather than on birthright and bloodline."²² In the final analysis, he asserts, "the establishment of a distinctive ethnicity did not much matter."²³

Buell and Gruen, in some ways, represent the two poles in recent discussions about early Christian ethnic discourse. Was ethnicity a significant means of Christian self-identification or something that "did not much matter"? To arrive at an answer, we need to clarify what exactly we mean by "ethnicity".

1.1.1. Defining the Terms

"Ethnicity" is a modern concept, but it has ancient antecedents. People have long attempted to group themselves and others based on perceived commonalities and differences in homeland, ancestry, language, and culture. The historian and geographer Herodotus uses labels like "Persian" and "Phoenician" to categorise peoples, and he famously put forward a broad definition of "Greekness" in 8.144 which included characteristics like shared bloodline and common language. Genesis 10 offers a myth of origins for all the nations of the world – Cush, Egypt, Canaan, etc. – tracing their respective family trees. Even the term "Gentile", as we will later discuss, represents a form of ethnic discourse insofar as it homogenises all who are non-Jewish. Humans ancient and modern employ ethnic categories. However, the way ethnic categories are defined and policed varies across time, cultures, and individuals.

¹⁹ Buell 2005, 2–3.

²⁰ Buell 2005, 45

²¹ Earlier studies include Kinzig 1994, 171–186, Lieu 1995, and Lieu 1998. See also the collection of essays in Brett 1996.

²² Gruen 2020, 218.

²³ Gruen 2020, 218.

This matters when we think about the use of ethnic discourse in early Christianity.

Ethnicity is often framed as a primordial category, determined by ancestry and bloodline. Hence, a person would be considered ethnically Indian if their parents are Indian, regardless of where and how they live. This primordialist take on ethnicity is common in everyday life – a person’s ethnicity is innate, constant, and determined from birth. Yet the apparent immutability of one’s ethnicity belies the underlying instability, malleability, and randomness of the categories themselves. From which ancestor does the supposed ethnic group trace its lineage? Who determines the ethnicity of children in so-called “mixed marriages” between partners from different ethnic groups? Can the same ethnic category change over time? Take the notion of “English” ethnicity. It is widely accepted that the English people today descend from a dizzying admixture of other peoples – Celts, Romans, Normans, and Saxons, to name a few.²⁴ The English share a common language, of course, but it is also the language spoken by the majority of North Americans and Australians today. As the newspaper *The Economist* remarked, “Englishness has a weak hold on Britain. This is no surprise when the concept is so poorly defined.”²⁵ Moreover, an individual can be “English” in one context but described as “British”, “European” or “white” in another – one often takes on multiple ethnic labels depending on context and interlocutor. In other words, “ethnicity” is a means of describing people in relation to traits we regard as fixed (ancestry, place of birth, appearance, etc.) but the categories themselves are mutable and contextual.

Since the 1960s, therefore, social scientists have approached ethnicity from an “instrumentalist” or “constructivist” perspective, emphasising the constructed nature of ethnic categories. Fredrik Barth, for instance, focuses on the group’s boundaries, positing that the manner in which groups define and police membership offers greater insight into the ethnic group than “the cultural stuff that it encloses.”²⁶ Ethnic categories emerge precisely in the contexts where differing cultures interact and individuals need to establish difference and superiority, Barth suggests.²⁷ The instrumentalist approach towards ethnicity was further developed by the so-called “Manchester School”, such as Abner Cohen’s thesis on the Hausa and Yoruba communities in Nigeria. Cohen studies how the Hausa people intentionally adjust the borders of their ethnic group, such as the adoption of a particular Muslim sect as a core aspect of Hausa identity, to control trading networks.²⁸ Cohen concludes that eth-

²⁴ Smyth 1998, 24–26.

²⁵ Robinson 2023.

²⁶ Barth 1969, 15.

²⁷ Barth 1969, 10.

²⁸ Cohen 1969, 151, 183–188.

nicity is a “political phenomenon”, a category generated to serve political ends through the creation of groups.²⁹ Similarly, Ien Ang writes about “the racialized construct of the Malay as the region’s ‘native race’” as part of nationalist discourse in postcolonial Malaysia.³⁰ There is increased acceptance that ethnic categories are a means of uniting, dividing, and compartmentalising different peoples, often for political or economic reasons.

An interesting example comes from the Balkans at the turn of the twentieth century. The legitimacy of territorial sovereignty was determined by the supposed ethnic make-up of the population at the time, and one of the contested areas was Macedonia, a region claimed by Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece.³¹ Each of these three nations conducted censuses of Macedonia’s ethnic composition between 1889 and 1905 but arrived at wildly different results.³² The census conducted by Serbia declared that 71.4% of Macedonia’s population was Serbian while just 2.0% were Bulgarian. By contrast, Bulgaria’s census reported that 52.3% of the population was Bulgarian – with Serbians constituting 0.0% of those surveyed. Attributing these discrepancies to simple fabrication “largely misses the point,” David Kertzer and Dominique Arel argue, for it assumes a “correct and objective method of counting identities, whose process is then spoiled by political elements.”³³ Rather, the censuses show how the goal posts of “ethnicity” can move depending on perspective and situation. “The argument of the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalists,” Kertzer and Arel explain, “was that the Slavic language spoken in Macedonia was a dialectical version of their own language, and therefore Slav-speakers were Bulgarian or Serbian, respectively.”³⁴ Moreover, neither census included “Macedonian” as a possible ethnicity.³⁵ In other words, the censuses reflect the malleable boundaries of ethnicity as a means of inclusion or exclusion.

In addition, Rogers Brubaker invites us to question the very idea of “ethnic groups” as bounded, fundamental units. What we regard as “ethnic groups” typically comprise a huge number of individuals with diverse backgrounds and competing interests. If we define a group as “a mutually interacting, mutually recognizing, mutually oriented, effectively communicating, bounded collectivity with a sense of solidarity, corporate identity, and capacity for concerted action,” Brubaker argues that many so-called ethnicities simply do not operate on such a collective level.³⁶ Rather, individuals or organisations claim to *represent* a given ethnicity, and thereby evoke the language of “eth-

²⁹ Cohen 1969, 190.

³⁰ Ang 2022, 764.

³¹ Kertzer and Arel 2002, 21

³² Friedman 1996, 85; Turkey subsequently conducted a census several decades later.

³³ Kertzer and Arel 2002, 21–22.

³⁴ Kertzer and Arel 2002, 22.

³⁵ Kertzer and Arel 2002, 22.

³⁶ Brubaker 2006, 8.

nic groups” to lend clout to their position. Brubaker thus advises researchers to think of ethnicity as a “category” rather than “group”.³⁷ Ethnicity is a means through which people categorise themselves and others, not a fundamental unit with a corporate identity and common interests, even if that is how certain actors choose to portray ethnicity. For a similar reason, I generally avoid using the phrase “ethnic identity” in this book, as the term implies that each individual has an inherent ethnicity, such as “Greek” or “Syrian”, that remains static and implies belonging to a homogenous culture. In reality, a “Greek” in one situation might be an “Athenian”, a “Roman”, or a “Gentile” in another. Individuals ascribe and are ascribed ethnic labels. Sometimes they can choose to accept, reject, or qualify these labels depending on their situation, and sometimes they have no choice in the matter.

Given these considerations, some question the value of ethnicity as a category altogether.³⁸ Yet humans across space and time have always attempted to categorise themselves and others based on perceived similarities and differences in physical appearance, language, practices, and homeland. As we shall shortly see, there is no escaping the fact that ancient writers used terms like “Jew”, “Galilean”, “Idumean”, and so on. In short, our conversations and writings carry all sorts of terms and ideas which could be regarded as “ethnic”. “Ethnic designations create a sense of bounded order by introducing distinctions between certain groups and relevant Others,” Katherine Southwood remarks.³⁹ Ethnicity is a tool, a means through which individuals establish similarities or differences with others based on seemingly fixed factors. Rather than avoiding it altogether, we can learn much about how humans understand themselves and the people around them through their use of ethnic categories.⁴⁰ Like the equally nebulous category “religion”, therefore, the researcher’s challenge is to study *how* and *why* the language of ethnicity is employed, recognising that the object of our study has fuzzy boundaries.

As a working definition, “ethnicity” in this study will be described as a means of categorising people based on one or more of the six factors listed by Anthony D. Smith as ideas commonly associated with ethnicity.⁴¹ These are:

- a) A collective name
- b) A common myth of descent
- c) A shared history
- d) A distinctive shared culture (e.g. language or religion)
- e) An association with a specific territory
- f) A sense of solidarity

³⁷ Brubaker 2006, 12.

³⁸ Ardener 2018, 211–212; Carter and Fenton 2009, 14–16.

³⁹ Southwood 2012, 25.

⁴⁰ Banks 1996, 186–187.

⁴¹ Smith 1986, 22–30.

As Smith clarifies, not all ethnicities exhibit these six features, but they are a helpful starting point that allows us to focus our discussion to the terms or ideas in 1 Peter which relate to one or more of these characteristics.⁴² Importantly, however, ethnic discourse includes the *negation* of these characteristics and its usage by *outsiders*. For instance, the label “Asian American” reflects and emphasises the purported dissimilarity between Americans of Asian descent and Americans of European or African descent.⁴³ Similarly, labels like “barbarians”, “foreigners”, and “Gentiles” represent attempts to cast certain groups as ethnic outsiders.

Smith’s six criteria also remind us that “ethnicity” can overlap with other social categories, such as “religion” and “nationality”. In everyday conversation, for instance, “Japanese” can refer to a person’s ethnicity or nationality – we rely on context or further elaboration to clarify which category the person is referring to, or sometimes the ambiguity is intentional. Similar overlaps can occur in relation to nominally “ethnic” and “religious” labels. Writing in 1986, Smith illustrates this point with reference to Yugoslavia:

...the Muslims of Bosnia have decided to adopt the name ‘Muslim’ as an ethnic designation in the Yugoslav census which requires everyone to name their nationality. This, in spite of the fact that many such Bosnian Muslims no longer adhere to the beliefs and practices of Islam. Yet they identified themselves, and were identified by others, by reference to their religious origins (the fact that they *had been* Muslims) in a society where nationality and religious affiliation were closely intertwined, preferring this identity as their emblem than the name of the province they had so long inhabited.⁴⁴

“Muslim” could serve as both a “religious” and “ethnic” category in this context, and such overlaps were also common in the ancient world. Ethnicity was closely associated with the ancestral traditions of a particular people, including deities, festivals, and myths of origins.

This fundamental category of ἔθνη with their laws and customs includes important elements of our “religion”, in what we separate out as “religious law”, customs, and charter myths. In the case of the Judaeans, such laws and customs are often taken by scholars as equivalent to “the Jewish religion”. But the political-ethnographic category of ἔθνος cannot simply be identified with “religion”.⁴⁵

Steve Mason subsequently observes that people in the ancient world consistently perceived “conversion” as a movement from one *ethnos* to another; it was “a change of ethnic-ancestral culture, the joining of another people.”⁴⁶

⁴² Katie Marcar suggests that all six characteristics can be found in 1 Peter (Marcar 2022a, 10).

⁴³ Ok 2019, 417.

⁴⁴ Smith 1986, 23.

⁴⁵ Mason 2007, 484.

⁴⁶ Mason 2007, 491.

Similarly, Benjamin Isaac writes, “In the Roman world, religion and ethnic loyalties were inseparable.”⁴⁷ Although the Latin *religio* was sometimes used (e.g. Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 69), ancient writers typically referred to so-called “religious practices” as ancestral traditions.⁴⁸

With this in mind, we can return to Gruen’s claim concerning people in the ancient world that their “sense of collective identity rested primarily on common customs, traditions, moral principles, and manner of life, rather than on birthright and blood-line.”⁴⁹ To what extent does this prove, as he suggests, that ethnicity did not much matter?

1.1.2. Did Ethnicity in the Ancient World Matter?

In an oft-cited passage from Herodotus’ *Persian War*, the Athenians reassure the Spartans that they will never side with the Persians due to their shared Greek heritage.

For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech (αὐτίς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔδον ὁμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον), and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common and the likeness of our way of life (θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα), to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false.⁵⁰

In this passage, Herodotus mentions several ethnic categories and the ways in which they were used. The historian appeals to a common Greek identity which unites the Athenians and Spartans, based (among other factors) on the perception of shared blood and speech. There is no clear distinction between purportedly mutable and immutable characteristics: “shared blood” (ὁμαιμος) is as much a determining trait of Greek kinship as “shared speech” (ὁμόγλωσσος) and “shared way of life” (ὁμοτροπία). As Herodotus presents it, these factors are common to all Greeks, revealing an ethnic affinity between Athenians and Spartans which should motivate a political alliance against the Persians. In doing so, he simultaneously constructs the category “Greek” and their other, the “Persian”.⁵¹

The geographer Strabo also mentions scores of ethnicities and their purported origins. In Geog. 12.1.2, Strabo notes the existence of two tribes in Cappadocia – the Cappadocians and the Cataonians. This latter group, Strabo writes, shared a common language with the Cappadocians but were nonetheless considered a “different nation” (ἑτεροεθνής) by earlier writers, though no

⁴⁷ Isaac 2006, 500.

⁴⁸ Fredriksen 2017, 34; Novenson 2022, 50.

⁴⁹ Gruen 2020, 218.

⁵⁰ Herodotus 8.144; LCL 120:152–155.

⁵¹ Hall 1989, 56–100; Zacharia 2008, 27.

reason for this differentiation is given.⁵² The Cataonians were eventually annexed by the Cappadocian king Ariarathes III (r. 255–220 BCE), and though once “distinct” (διωρισμένοι), Strabo writes that all signs of the Cataonians constituting a “separate nation” have disappeared.⁵³ This account highlights the transience of ethnic categories.⁵⁴ There is no indication that the Cataonians had been annihilated; rather, their cultural similarity with the Cappadocians and annexation under Ariarathes III led to “Cataonian” being no longer a meaningful ethnic category.

Strabo makes a similar point in his description of the Turdetanians, in southern Iberia, under Roman rule.

The Turdetanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis, have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more. And most of them have become Latins (Λατῖνοί τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγόνασι), and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans (ὥστε μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι). Moreover, all those Iberians who belong to this class are called “Togati” (τογαῖτοι). And among these are the Celtiberians, who were once regarded the most brutish of all.⁵⁵

“Turdetianians”, “Romans”, “Latins”, “Iberians”, “Celtiberians” – Strabo here uses at least five ethnic categories, even as he recognises their inherent fluidity. The Celtiberians, for example, are described as a subset of the Iberians, but they have largely assimilated into a Roman mode of life. Furthermore, Emma Dench remarks, “There is a particular emphasis here on the idea of becoming Roman, with a range of manifestations of this process, crossing our categories of cultural, institutional, and political change.”⁵⁶ For Strabo, it was possible for someone of a different ethnic origin to “become Roman” through the adoption of language, dress, and culture.⁵⁷ Such a transformation could even result in them being ascribed the label “Togati”, possibly describing those of non-Roman descent who had assimilated to Roman culture.⁵⁸

This brings us to the complex case of “Romanness”. Roman identity, Gruen argues, was primarily a legal or political category, and therefore should not be regarded as ethnic. The acceptance of foreigners into the citizen community, he writes, proves that “Romans did not employ ethnicity as a fulcrum for the evaluation of character or quality.”⁵⁹ The boundary lines between the political and the ethnic, however, are blurrier than they seem. Sue-

⁵² “Καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ὁμογλώττων οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς Κατάονας καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἔταπτον, ἀντιδιαπρὸντες τοῖς Καππάδοξιν, ὡς ἑτεροεθνέσι” (LCL 211:344–345).

⁵³ “ἡφάνισται τελῶς τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀλλοεθνίας” (LCL 211:344–347).

⁵⁴ Panichi 2005, 203–204.

⁵⁵ Strabo, *Geog.* 3.2.15; LCL 50:58–61.

⁵⁶ Dench 2010, 266.

⁵⁷ van der Vliet 2003, 270–272.

⁵⁸ Bispham 2007, 61–62; see Suetonius, *Julius* 48; Lucan, *Civil War* 9.238.

⁵⁹ Gruen 2020, 87–89.

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