

TRANSLATED
DOCUMENTS OF
GREECE & ROME

4

Rome and the
Greek East
to the
death of
Augustus

Edited and translated by
ROBERT K. SHERK

Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

E. Badian and Robert K. Sherk, Editors

VOLUME 4

Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus

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**EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
ROBERT K. SHERK**

*Professor of Classics, State University
of New York at Buffalo*



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Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Greek and Roman history has always been in an ambivalent position in American higher education, having to find a home either in a Department of History or in a Department of Classics, and in both it is usually regarded as marginal. Moreover, in a History Department the subject tends to be taught without regard to the fact that the nature of the evidence is, on the whole, very different from that for American, English, or French history, while in a Classics Department it tends to be viewed as a 'philological' subject and taught by methods appropriate to Greek and Latin authors. Even on the undergraduate level the difference may be important, but on the graduate level, where future teachers and scholars, who are to engage in original research, are trained, it becomes quite clear that neither of these solutions is adequate.

One problem is the standard of proficiency that should be required in Greek and Latin – both difficult languages, necessitating years of study; and few students start the study, even of Latin, let alone Greek, before they come to college. The editors recognize that for the student aiming at a Ph.D. in the subject and at advancing present knowledge of it there can be no substitute for a thorough training in the two languages. Nevertheless, they believe that it is possible to extend serious instruction at a high level to graduate students aiming at reaching the M.A. level and to make them into competent teachers. It is also possible to bring about a great improvement in the standard of undergraduate courses not requiring the ancient languages – courses that instructors themselves usually find unsatisfactory, since much of the source material cannot be used.

In order to use this material, at both graduate and serious undergraduate levels, the instructor must, in fact, be able to range far beyond the standard authors who have been translated many times. Harpocration, Valerius Maximus, and the *Suda* are often necessary tools, but they are usually unknown to anyone except the advanced scholar. Inscriptions, papyri, and scholia can be baffling even to the student who does have a grounding in the ancient languages.

It is the aim of the series to supply that need for translations of materials not readily available in English. The principal historical authors (authors like Livy and Plutarch) are not included; they are easy enough to find in adequate translations, and the student will have to read far more of them than could be provided in a general source book. References to important passages in the works of those authors have been given at suitable points, but it is assumed that the instructor will direct the student's reading in them. While doing that reading, the student will now be able to have at his

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side a comprehensive reference book. Occasionally a passage from an otherwise accessible author (not a main historical source) has been included, so that the student may be spared the temptation of failing to search for it. But most of the material collected in this series would be hard for him to find anywhere in English, and much of it has never been translated at all.

Such translations of documentary sources as exist (and there are some major projects in translation among them, e.g. in the field of legal texts, which are intended to be far more than source books for students) tend to be seriously misleading in that they offer continuous texts where the original is (so often) fragmentary. The student cannot be aware of how much actually survives on the document and how much is modern conjecture – whether quite certain or mere guesswork. This series aims at presenting the translation of fragmentary sources in something like the way in which original documents are presented to the scholar: a variety of type fonts and brackets (which will be fully explained) have been used for this, and even though the page may at first sight appear forbidding to one unaccustomed to this, he will learn to differentiate between text and restoration and (with the instructor's help and the use of the notes provided) between the dubious, the probable, and the certain restoration. Naturally, the English can never correspond perfectly to the Greek or Latin, but the translation aims at as close a correspondence as can be achieved, so that the run of the original and (where necessary) the amount surviving can be clearly shown. Finer points of English idiom have deliberately been sacrificed in order to produce this increased accuracy, though it is hoped that there will be nothing in the translation so unnatural as to baffle the student. In the case of inscriptions (except for those with excessively short lines) line-by-line correspondence has been the aim, so that the student who sees a precise line reference in a modern work will be able to find it in the translation.

Translation is an art as well as a science; there are bound to be differing opinions on the precise interpretation and on the best rendering of any given passage. The general editors have tried to collaborate with volume editors in achieving the aims outlined above. But there is always room for improvement, and a need for it. Suggestions and corrections from users of the series will always be welcome.

The general editors sincerely hope that the present series will make a major contribution to raising the standard of ancient history teaching in the U.S.A. and, indeed, wherever English is the medium of instruction, and that it will help to convey to students not fully proficient in Greek or Latin, or even entirely ignorant of those languages, some of the immediacy and excitement of real (as distinct from textbook) history. Perhaps some

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will be encouraged to develop their skill in the two languages so as to go on to a fuller understanding of the ancient world, or even to professional study of it.

Harvard University
State University of New York at Buffalo

E.B.
R.K.S.

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VOLUME EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The involvement of Rome in Greek affairs toward the end of the third century, the victory over Macedon and then the Roman annexation of Macedon, Greece and Asia produced conditions that transformed the intellectual, social and political nature of the Roman ruling class. So important was this transformation that special attention must be given to it, and it was felt that a separate volume would be necessary to illustrate the many political and diplomatic actions that were so much a part of it. Like the other volumes of the series this one will supply translations of materials not readily available in English, but references to important passages in authors like Polybius or Livy will be given at the appropriate places. The basic intent of the translations has been to express the exact meaning of the original Latin or Greek and to preserve the 'feel' of the original documents and facilitate the checking of references by a conscious effort to maintain line-by-line precision. At times the nature of the Latin or Greek languages has made it impossible, or at least exceedingly difficult, to preserve such line-by-line translation, and therefore a certain amount of manipulation of English grammar or style has been necessary. The result is often contrary to natural English idiom. It is hoped that students of ancient history who use this book will be stimulated to that more intensive study of the original languages so vital to advanced research. It is also hoped that scholars will find in these pages a convenient collection of documents and materials that will make their own researches less time-consuming.

The bibliographies attached to each document are not designed to be exhaustive, but to direct the reader to those books and articles which are the most useful and authoritative and which, in turn, will lead him to previous discussions. As for the documents themselves, the sheer mass of material for inclusion in this volume is so great that the selective process made it necessary to omit many that should have been included, if space had been available. But publisher's restraints had to be followed, and only at the last minute there came to hand Joyce Reynolds' *Aphrodisias and Rome*. Partial use of this very important publication was possible only to the extent of adding a few short documents (nos. 59a-b), revising one other (no. 87) and adding a few notices elsewhere.

A word should be added about the original language of the documents in this volume. The reader may assume that it is Greek, except where the

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notation '(Latin)' alerts him to the contrary. No such distinction is made in the case of ancient authors, since that information will be presumed to be known.

As co-editor of the series, E. Badian has read and re-read with his eagle eye all of the manuscript. His suggestions and corrections have made this a better book than it might otherwise have been. His good judgment and immense knowledge are here given the recognition they deserve. Whatever errors remain are the results of my own carelessness or stubbornness.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAntHung</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
Accame, <i>Dominio</i>	S. Accame, <i>Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto</i> (Rome 1946)
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>Athen. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
Atkinson, <i>Historia</i>	K. M. T. Atkinson, 'Governors of the Province Asia in the Reign of Augustus', <i>Historia</i> 7 (1958) 300–30
Badian, <i>FC</i>	E. Badian, <i>Foreign Clientelae</i> (264–70 B.C.) (Oxford 1958)
Badian, <i>Publicans</i>	E. Badian, <i>Publicans and Sinners</i> (Ithaca, N.Y. 1972)
Badian, <i>Studies</i>	E. Badian, <i>Studies in Greek and Roman History</i> (Oxford 1964)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
Bengtson, <i>Strategie</i>	H. Bengtson, <i>Die Strategie in der Hellenistischen Zeit I–III</i> (Munich 1937–52)
Bernand, <i>Philae</i>	A. Bernand, <i>Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I–II</i> (Paris 1969–)
Bernhardt, <i>Historia</i>	R. Bernhardt, 'Der Status des 146 v. Chr. unterworfenen Teils Griechenlands bis zur Einrichtung der Provinz Achaia', <i>Historia</i> 26 (1977) 62–73
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin)</i> (Berlin 1895–)
Bowersock, <i>Augustus</i>	G. W. Bowersock, <i>Augustus and the Greek World</i> (Oxford 1965)
Briscoe, <i>Commentary</i>	J. Briscoe, <i>A Commentary on Livy (Books XXXI–XXXIII)</i> (Oxford 1973)
Broughton, <i>Asia</i>	T. R. S. Broughton, 'Roman Asia', in T. Frank, <i>An Economic History of Ancient Rome IV</i> (Baltimore 1938)
Broughton, <i>MRR</i>	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic I</i> (1951), <i>II</i> (1952), <i>Supplement</i> (1960), published by the American Philological Association
Busolt, <i>Staatskunde</i>	G. Busolt, <i>Griechische Staatskunde</i> ³ Part I (Munich 1920)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
Daux, <i>Delphes</i>	G. Daux, <i>Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle</i> (Paris 1936)
Day, <i>Athens</i>	J. Day, <i>An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination</i> (New York 1942)
Degrassi, <i>Imagines</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Auctarium. Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae: Imagines</i> , ed. A. Degrassi (Berlin 1966)
Dunant-Pouilloux, <i>Recherches</i>	C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, <i>Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos II: Études thasiennes V</i> (Paris 1958)
Durrbach, <i>Choix</i>	F. Durrbach, <i>Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos</i> , Vol. I in two fascicles (Paris 1921–22)

Abbreviations

Ehrenberg, <i>State</i>	V. Ehrenberg, <i>The Greek State</i> (Oxford 1960)
<i>FGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden 1923–)
<i>FIRA</i>	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> I–III (Rome 1941–3)
Fraser, <i>Samothrace</i>	P. M. Fraser, <i>Samothrace</i> II.1: <i>The Inscriptions on Stone</i> (London and New York 1960)
Gelzer, <i>Caesar</i>	M. Gelzer, <i>Caesar: Politician and Statesman</i> , trans. P. Needham (Oxford 1968)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Greenidge, <i>Public Life</i>	A. H. J. Greenidge, <i>Roman Public Life</i> (London 1901)
Hansen, <i>Attalids</i> ²	E. V. Hansen, <i>The Attalids of Pergamon</i> ² (Ithaca, N.Y. 1971)
Hatzfeld, <i>Trafiquants</i>	J. Hatzfeld, <i>Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique</i> (Paris 1919)
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i>
Holleaux, <i>Études</i>	M. Holleaux, <i>Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques</i> I–VI (Paris 1938–)
Hopp, <i>Untersuchungen</i>	J. Hopp, <i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden</i> (Munich 1977)
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IC</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
<i>I. Délos</i>	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IG Bulg</i> I ²	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae</i> I ² (ed. Mihailov)
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (ed. Jalabert and Mouterde)
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (ed. Cagnat)
<i>I. Ilion</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ilion</i> (Bonn 1975) (ed. P. Frisch)
<i>I. Lampsakos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Lampsakos</i> (Bonn 1978) (ed. P. Frisch)
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (ed. Degrassi)
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (ed. Dessau)
<i>I. Magnesia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin 1900) (ed. Kern)
<i>I. Olympia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> (Berlin 1896) (ed. Dittenberger and Purgold)
<i>IOSPE</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> (ed. Latyshev)
<i>I. Priene</i>	<i>Inschriften von Priene</i> (ed. Hiller von Gærtringen)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Laidlaw, <i>Delos</i>	W. M. Laidlaw, <i>A History of Delos</i> (Oxford 1933)
Larsen, <i>Greece</i>	J. A. O. Larsen, 'Roman Greece', in T. Frank, <i>An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> IV (Baltimore 1938)
Larsen, <i>States</i>	J. A. O. Larsen, <i>Greek Federal States</i> (Oxford 1968)
Magie, <i>RRAM</i>	D. Magie, <i>Roman Rule in Asia Minor</i> I–II (Princeton 1950)
Mellor, <i>Worship</i>	R. Mellor, <i>ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World</i> (Göttingen 1975)
Meloni, <i>Perseo</i>	P. Meloni, <i>Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone</i> (Rome 1953)
Meyer, <i>Staat</i>	E. Meyer, <i>Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke</i> ³ (Zürich and Stuttgart 1964)
<i>Milet</i>	<i>Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen seit dem Jahre 1899</i> (ed. Wiegand) (Berlin 1906)
Moretti, <i>IGUR</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> I–III (Rome 1968–79)
Moretti, <i>ISE</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> I–II (Florence 1967 and 1976)

Abbreviations

Nicolet, <i>L'ordre</i>	C. Nicolet, <i>L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (321-43 av. J.-C.)</i> I (Paris 1966)
OGIS	<i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (ed. Dittenberger)
Ormerod, <i>Piracy</i>	H. A. Ormerod, <i>Piracy in the Ancient World</i> (London 1924)
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
P. Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
RDGE	R. K. Sherk, <i>Roman Documents from the Greek East</i> (Baltimore 1969)
RE	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll (ed.), <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias</i>	J. Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i> (London 1982)
RIDA	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
Robert, <i>Ét. Anat.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Études Anatoliennes</i> (Paris 1937)
Robert, <i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> I- (Paris 1940-)
Robert, <i>Opera</i>	L. Robert, <i>Opera minora selecta</i> I-IV (Amsterdam 1969-)
Rostovtzeff, <i>SEHHW</i>	M. I. Rostovtzeff, <i>Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World</i> I-III (Oxford 1941)
Samuel, <i>GRC</i>	A. E. Samuel, <i>Greek and Roman Chronology</i> (Munich 1972)
Samuel, <i>PC</i>	A. E. Samuel, <i>Ptolemaic Chronology</i> (Munich 1962)
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> (ed. Preisigke and Bilabel)
Schmitt, <i>Staatsverträge</i>	H. H. Schmitt, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> III (<i>Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.</i>) (Munich 1969)
Schwertfeger, <i>Bund</i>	T. Schwertfeger, <i>Der Achaïische Bund von 146 bis 27 v. Chr.</i> (Munich 1974)
SDAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
Sherwin-White, <i>Citizenship</i> ²	A. N. Sherwin-White, <i>The Roman Citizenship</i> ² (Oxford 1972)
SIG ³	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> ³ (ed. Dittenberger et al.)
Sokolowski, <i>Lois</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (Paris 1955)
<i>Studia Pontica</i>	<i>Studia Pontica</i> III (ed. Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire) (Brussels 1910)
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Täubler, <i>Imperium</i>	E. Täubler, <i>Imperium Romanum</i> (Leipzig 1913)
Tod, <i>Arbitration</i>	M. N. Tod, <i>International Arbitration amongst the Greeks</i> (Oxford 1913)
Walbank, <i>Commentary</i>	F. W. Walbank, <i>A Historical Commentary on Polybius</i> I-III (Oxford 1957-79)
Welles, <i>RC</i>	C. Bradford Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (New Haven 1934)
Wilcken, <i>Grundzüge</i>	Part I of U. Wilcken and L. Mitteis, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> , Leipzig-Berlin 1912
Wilcken, <i>Chrestomathie</i>	
Will, <i>Histoire</i>	E. Will, <i>Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)</i> II (Nancy 1967)
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

SYMBOLS

()	indicate an explanatory addition to the text.
[]	enclose letters or words that no longer stand in the text as it survives, but have been restored by modern scholars.
<>	enclose letters or words thought to have been accidentally omitted on the original document.
[[]]	enclose letters or words that were deliberately erased in ancient times.
{ }	enclose apparently superfluous letters or words.
	indicates the end of a line in an inscription.
	indicate the beginning of every fifth line in an inscription.
/	indicates the end of a line of verse.
//	indicate the beginning of every fifth line of verse.
*	indicates the text on which the translation of an inscription or papyrus here given is based.
<i>v</i>	indicates a vacant letterspace on the original document.
<i>vv</i>	indicate that there is more than one letterspace vacant on the original document.
<i>vacat</i>	indicates that an entire line or a space between entire lines was left vacant.
LACUNA	indicates that a portion of the document is missing.
Italics	indicate that only a part of the original word is extant on the document.

Spelling

Most of the personal and place names are transliterated directly. However, the names of Greek and Roman authors as well as individuals are given in their familiar English or Latin spelling, and certain place names, more familiar to readers in a Latin spelling, are retained in that spelling, regardless of the language of the document. Latin names will regularly appear in their Latin spelling for the same reason, but the more unusual Greek names will be transliterated. To many 'Aetolia' is more familiar than 'Aitolia', while 'Cibyra' would be no more enlightening than 'Kibyra'. Still, I have not followed a rigid set of rules.

2 Treaty between Rome and the Aetolian League

1 Roman mercenary commander of the Ptolemaic garrison on Crete. Between 217 and 209 BC.

Light blue limestone, good lettering of the third century, Itanos.

ILS 9458; *IC III 4, no. 18 (+ photograph).

S. Spyridakis, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete* (Berkeley 1970) 79–81; R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 121–3.

To King Ptolemaios Philopator | and Queen Arsinoe | this well and Nymphaion¹ | (are dedicated by) Lucius, son of Gaius, Roman, garrison-commander.²

1 Spyridakis suggests that a water reservoir is meant rather than a sanctuary of the Nymphs.

2 As the commander of a Ptolemaic garrison on Crete, Lucius must have been a mercenary who hired himself out to the Ptolemies. For the date see Spyridakis and Bagnall.

2 Treaty between Rome and the Aetolian League. 212 or 211 BC.

Limestone stele broken at top and bottom, letters of the late third century, Thyrrheion in Akarnania.

G. Klaffenbach, 'Der römisch-ätolische Bündnisvertrag vom Jahre 212 v. Chr.', *SDAW* (1954) no. 1 (+ photographs); *IG IX*² 2.241; Schmitt, **Staatsverträge* 3.536; Moretti, *ISE II* 87. Cf. Livy 26.24.1–14; Polybius 9.39.1–3; 18.38.5–9.

A. H. McDonald, *JRS* 46 (1956) 153–7; E. Badian, *Latomus* 17 (1958) 197–211; *idem*, *FC* 56–7; G. A. Lehmann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Glaubwürdigkeit des Polybios* (Münster 1967) 10–131, 365–71, 386–90; W. Dahlheim, *Struktur und Entwicklung des römischen Völkerrechts*, *Vestigia* 8 (Munich 1968) 181–207; R. M. Errington, *The Dawn of Empire* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1972) 113–15; D. Musti in *ANRW* 1.2.1146–51.

- [---] a|gainst all these (nations?)¹ [--] | let the (League) officials of the
5 Aetolians do² | as he (it?) wishes to be done. And if any || cities of these
nations are captured by the Romans by for|ce, let it be permitted that
these cities and their | territories, as far as the Roman People are concerned,
| be possessed by the People of the Aetolians. | [Whatever] apart
0 from the city and its territory³ the Roman||s capture, let the Romans
possess. If any | of these cities are captured by the Romans and Aetolians
in com|mon, let it be permitted that these cities and their terri|tories, as
far as the People <of the Romans> are concerned, be possessed by the
5 Aetolians. | Whatever they capture (in common) apart from the city, || let
them both have in common. If any of these | cities, in regard to the
Romans or the Aetolians, capitulu|lates or surrenders⁴ to them, let it be

3 Rome as guardian of King Ptolemaios V

20 permitted that these | *men* and cities and their territories, *as far* | as the
 People of the Romans are concerned, || be received by the Aetolians
 [into their] League | [--] autonomous⁵ | [--] from the Ro[man]s --] the
 peace⁶ [--|--]

This is the oldest surviving original of a Roman treaty and the earliest document concerning the public relations of Rome with the Greek East. The phraseology points to a close translation of the Latin original: e.g. 'the People of the Aetolians' in line 8 renders the Latin *populus Aetolorum*, a phrase that refers to the Aetolian League in a characteristically Roman way. The Greek translation appears to have been made in Aetolia, since the dialect used is a form of North-West Greek, while official Roman translations were in the Hellenistic Koine. It is clear from its terms that the treaty reflects no Roman desire for territorial expansion, but is aimed solely at prosecuting the war against Philip. Livy, using Polybius and working within the annalistic framework, has given us an incomplete summary of the treaty, perhaps even incorporating parts of the preliminary agreement made in the field by the praetor M. Valerius Laevinus, which would have been subject to revision for the final draft by the senate.

- 1 Livy (26.24.11) gives a loose geographical indication of what area in Greece is meant: 'cities from the border of Aetolia as far as Corcyra'. The epigraphic text at this point, just prior to its extant remains, would have given the actual names of the various peoples, as seen in the phrase 'all these'. Cf. Polybius 11.5.4.
- 2 Klaffenbach connected this word with the lacuna in line 2 and restored 'against all these let the (League) officials of the Aetolians *make* [war immediately,]' etc.
- 3 I.e. the movable booty, including the inhabitants who would be enslaved.
- 4 This phrase has caused great controversy, since the difference between the two Greek verbs is not immediately apparent. Some, like Klaffenbach, have attempted to distinguish carefully the one from the other, while others, like Lehmann, believe the difference in the tenses of the two is the significant element. The first is in the present subjunctive, the second in the aorist subjunctive. But the phrase appears merely to reflect the traditional legal language of such Latin originals, as Badian (*Historische Zeitschrift* 208 [1969] 640–1) points out. He suggests that the translator was unwilling to use the same Greek verb in two tenses, as he found them in the Latin, and therefore used two different words of almost the same meaning in two different tenses. His suggestion is followed here.
- 5 Apparently such cities that enter the League are to remain autonomous.
- 6 This seems to refer to what Livy (26.24.12–13) says: 'If the Aetolians made peace with Philip they were to add to the treaty that the peace would be ratified if Philip should abstain from war against the Romans and their allies and those who were under their control; likewise, if the Roman People should make a treaty with the king, they should take care that he does not have the right of making war upon the Aetolians and their allies.'

3 M. Aemilius Lepidus and his alleged guardianship of the Boy King Ptolemaios V Epiphanes. 201/200 BC.

A: Justin 30.2.8. B: Justin 31.1.2. C: Valerius Maximus 6.6.1. D: Denarius minted in Ro in 61 BC with legends (Latin). M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols, Cambridge 1974) I 443–4, no. 419/2 (Plate LI, no. 419/2). Cf. Livy 31.2.3; 31.18.1; Tacitus *Ann.* 2.67.4.

3 Rome as guardian of King Ptolemaios V

H. Heinen in *ANRW* 1.1.647–50 (favorable to the tradition); W. Huss, *Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV* (Munich 1976) 168–70 (unfavorable).

A. Justin 30.2.8

When the infamy of the (Egyptian) kingdom had been expiated, as it were, by the death of the king¹ (and)² by the punishment of the courtesans, the Alexandrians sent envoys to the Romans begging them to accept the guardianship of the orphan (Ptolemaios V) and to watch over the kingdom of Egypt.

B. Justin 31.1.2

Since Ptolemaios (IV) Philopator, king of Egypt, was dead and since his little son was only a few years old and, with his hope of succeeding to the kingdom, had been left as a prize to the members of his household, Antiochus the king of Syria determined to seize Egypt. Thus, when he had invaded Phoenicia and other states of Syria, but which were actually under the rule of Egypt, the senate sent envoys to him to declare that he should keep his distance from the kingdom of the little boy who had been handed over to the senate's trust by the last prayers of his father.

C. Valerius Maximus 6.6.1

When King Ptolemaios (IV) had left the Roman People as guardian to his son, the senate sent M. Aemilius Lepidus, pontifex maximus and twice consul (187 and 175 BC), to Alexandria to undertake the boy's guardianship.

D. Denarius, Crawford, *op. cit.* pp. 443–4, no. 419/2

(Obverse, female head wearing
a turreted diadem) Alexandria.

(Reverse, figure in a toga
crowning another figure who
wears a chiton) M. Lepidus
Pontifex Maximus
Guardian of the king.³
By decree of the senate.⁴

1 When Ptolemaios IV died in 205 or 204 BC, a bloody struggle arose over the regency, resulting in a serious instability of Egyptian rule. For this palace revolution see Polybius 15.26–34 and Walbank's discussion, *Commentary* II 435ff., and Will, *Histoire* 92–6.

2 This word seems necessary. F. Ruehl, in his edition of Justin of 1886, inserted it into the text, but O. Seel in his edition of 1972 did not admit it.

3 The tableau on this coin clearly refers to the alleged guardianship of M. Aemilius Lepidus back in 201/200 BC. The coin was minted in 61 BC under the direction of his descendant M. Aemilius Lepidus, who was doubtless the future triumvir with Octavian and Antonius.

4 This merely indicates that the senate had given its approval to the minting of the coin.

5 *Lampsakos honors its citizen Hegesias*

4 Letter of T. Quinctius Flaminius to Chyretiai. Between 197 and 194 BC.

Stone of white marble, letters of early second century, near the site of Chyretiai in Perrhaibia.

SIG³ 593; *RDGE 33. Cf. Livy 31.41.5; 34.48.2.

RDGE pp. 211–13.

Titus Quinctius, consul of the Romans (198 BC),¹ | to the tagoi² and the city of Chyretiai, greetings. Since in all other matters too | we have made clear our own policy and that of the People of the Romans | which we have
5 toward you in general, we have also wished || in the future to appear in every part to be champions | of what is honorable, in order that in these matters too men may not have (the means) to slan|der us, men who have not been accustomed in accordance with the best principles to con|duct themselves. Whatever properties have been lost by you | in land and
10 buildings, of those (now) belonging to the public (domain) || of the Romans, all of them we give to your city, | in order that also in these matters you may learn our nobility of character | and because in no way at all have we wished to be avaricious, | considering goodwill and concern for our reputation to be of supreme importance. But all those who | have not
15 recovered what belongs to them, || if they notify you and if it is the truth they seem to be sp|eaking, and if you conduct your investigation in accord with my writ|ten decisions, I decide it is just (for their property) to be restor|ed to them. vv | vv Farewell.

1 From 197 to 194 BC Flaminius was proconsul in Greece and Macedonia, his command being extended from one year to the next. The Greeks, however, continued to call him consul throughout those years.

2 The eponymous magistrates of the city.

5 *Lampsakos honors its citizen Hegesias. 196/195 BC.*

Two fragments of a stele of white marble, broken at top and bottom, damaged on both sides, common letters of the early second century, Lampsakos in the Troad.

SIG³ 591; Frisch, *I. *Lampsakos* 4 (+ photograph). Cf. Livy 33.38.1–7; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 2; Polybius 21.13.1–5; Diodorus 29.7.

Holleaux, *Études* V 141–55; E. Bickermann, *Philologus* 87 (1932) 277–99; Magie, *RRAM* II 745–6, n. 35; P. Desideri, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 19–20 (1970–71) 501–6; Frisch, *op. cit.* 15–39.

5 *Lampsakos honors its citizen Hegesias*

[-- in | the decrees] written above. [When the Peo|ple sought out] and
 appealed with all [ar|dor] to men to volunteer their service, and when
 5 they decreed [th||at for those who] undertook embassies on behalf of the
 city to | [the Massali]otes and Romans there would be some (form of)
 honor from the | [People], and that, when the envoys returned, a *pre|limi-*
nary decree would be passed by the Boule that they would be honored, and
 after *some men* were proposed | and would not accept, while some others
 10 were actually elected || *and declined under oath* because of the length of the
 journey [and | the expense,] Hegesias was proposed. Instead of declining
 under | oath [after being elected]¹ and asked by the People, [he thought]
 nothing | of the dangers involved in the foreign travel, but | [considered]
 15 his own affairs [of less importance] than the city's inter|est, and [he
 accepted] the embassy. He went abroad, [arri|ved in] Greece and meet-
 ing, along with his *fellow | envoys*, the Roman commander in charge of |
 the fleet, [Lucius (Quinctius Flaminius),²] he recounted to him in
 detail that the | People (of Lampsakos), [being kinsmen and] friends of
 20 the Roman People, had se||nt [them] to him in order that he (Hegesias)
 might request of him and *appe|al* to him, [along with] his fellow envoys,
 since we were kinsmen of the [Ro|mans, to take thought] for our city
 that he should do [whatever | might seem] advantageous for our People,
 for it fell *to them* (the Romans) | [always to guard] the interests of our
 25 city because we [ha||ve] kinship with them, (kinship) which [---] |³ and
 because of the fact that our brothers are the Massaliotes | [who are
 friends] and allies of the Roman People. And | [(the envoys) took care
 to] *obtain* fitting answers | to *send back* [to our People.] Because of these
 30 answers our People [were] in very high spirits, || [for in these answers]
 (the commander) made it clear that he accepted the *relation|ship and*
kinship that we have with the Romans. | [And⁴ he promised that] if he
 made friendship or a treaty with anybody, | he would include our city
 [in it] and would *stand guard* over (our) | [democracy] and autonomy
 35 and *peace*, [and || he would always do what] *he could* to be of service, and
 that if anyone [should] | try to cause trouble,] he would not permit it
 but would prevent it.

Then [with] his | *fellow envoys* (Hegesias) met with the quaestor attached
 to the fleet [--|- and after persuading] him always to be the author of
 some good (toward us), | [he received] from him too a letter to [our]
 40 People, || [which our People decided] was useful and deposited in [our
 public archives.] Having crossed over [--|---|-] and concerning which
 he had the decrees, [he made] | the long and dangerous journey by ship
 45 [to Massal]ia *and went* [before || the Six] Hundred,⁵ won them over and
contrived [to | obtain] envoys for the joint embassy with *himself* [on behalf
 of | their city] to Rome. Judging it would be helpful, they asked for [and
 ob|tained from the] Six Hundred a letter useful [to our Peo|ple to the]

5 *Lampsakos honors its citizen Hegesias*

50 People of the Galatian Tolostoagioi.⁶ Having crossed [to || Rome with] his fellow envoys and those who had been sent with | [him from Massa]lia, he dealt with the senate in company with [them, | and (was present when the Massalioes) made known] the goodwill and esteem which [they continued] *to have* | [toward] them (the Romans), renewed the existing |
 55 [friendship with] them, and also explained to them [about us, || that] they were in fact brothers to our People [and] | had [goodwill (toward us)] *in accordance with* that kinship. (Hegesias) *himself* explained | [about these matters] and about the things his People wanted to be done [when | they had sent off the] embassy, and he appealed to them with his [fellow | envoys to take thought for] the safety of their other friends and kinsmen,
 60 || and to care for our city [because of the | kinship and] friendly relations existing between us and them and [because of] | the recommendation *made* for us by the Massal[iotes. And he as]ked] to receive a [letter] useful to our People. When the *envoys* [earnestly begged (?)] | that we be included [in
 65 the || treaty] which the Romans made⁷ with *King* [Philip, | the senate (?)] *did include*⁸ us in the treaty with [the ki]ng, as] even they *themselves* write, and concerning [all other | matters] the senate *referred* them to [the Ro|man] consul Titus (Quinctius Flamininus)⁹ and to the Ten (Commissioners) [in charge of Gre||ek affairs.] Having come to Corinth with [--| and Apo]llodoros, he met with the commander¹⁰ [and the | Ten,] *spoke* with them about our People and [appea|led with all] ardor for them to
 70 care [for us | and to contribute] to the preservation of our city [as au||tonomous] and democratic. Concerning these matters he duly [received | a favorable decision] and letters to the kings¹¹ [--| and perceiving that (these letters) were useful] to them (i.e. our People) he sent them off [--| the People,] as it had decreed before [--]

1 This is the restoration in *SIG*³. Frisch: '[after being called upon]'.

2 The brother of T. Quinctius Flamininus. Lucius was consul in 192 BC. The senate had given him command of the fleet in Greece in 198 BC as well as of the coastal area: Broughton, *MRR* I 332.

3 The People of Lampsakos claimed kinship with the Romans because they lived in the Troad, from where came Aeneas the legendary founder of the Roman people. Lampsakos and Massilia were also related to each other, for both of them had been colonies of Phokaia: Thucydides 1.13.6.

4 'And' in *SIG*³. Frisch: 'Just as'.

5 I.e. the Boule of Six Hundred at Massilia.

6 One of the three tribes of the Galatians in Asia Minor. See Strabo 12.5.1. Although the Galatians were known as plunderers in Asia Minor, there is no real evidence that the Tolistoagioi ever menaced Lampsakos. The reason for the interest of Lampsakos in the Tolistoagioi is unknown.

7 The tense is odd. Perhaps 'were making'?

8 Neither Livy nor Polybius mentions Lampsakos in regard to the treaty. Bickermann believes that the Lampsakenes did not understand the Roman technical terminology and thus mistakenly thought they had been included in the treaty, i.e. actually mentioned by name in it. Desideri thinks the Lampsakenes were in fact mentioned in it.

6 Honors for T. Quinctius Flaminius

9 After the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 BC Flaminius remained in Greece and Macedonia, his imperium extended each year down to 194 BC (cf. above, no. 4, n. 1). With the Ten Commissioners he had concluded the treaty of peace with Philip in 196 BC. The senate had appointed this commission of ten senators to work with him in settling affairs in Greece and in particular to secure freedom for the Greeks: Polybius 18.42 with Walbank's discussion, *Commentary* II 604–8.

10 I.e. Flaminius.

11 Eumenes of Pergamum and Prusias I of Bithynia may be meant.

6 Statues and other honors for T. Quinctius Flaminius in the East. After the declaration of Greek freedom at the Isthmian Games of 196 BC

A: **IG* XII 9.931. Marble base, Chalkis in Euboia. B: B. Powell, *AJP* 7 (1903) 40; B. D. Meritt in *Corinth* VIII. 1: *Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge, Mass. 1931) no. 72 (+ photograph); *SEG* XI 73; **SEG* XXII 214; Moretti, *ISE* I 37. 196/5 BC (?). Limestone plaque, Corinth. C: *IG* V 1.1165; *ILS* 8766; **SIG*³ 592. 195 BC or later. Marble (not otherwise described), Gytheion. D: **IG* XII 9.233 (cf. Addenda p. 177). Marble fragment, letters of second century, Eretria. E: **SIG*³ 616. 189/8 BC. Limestone base, Delphi. Cf. Daux, *Delphes* 593–5, who would push the date back a year or two. F: E. Mastrokostas, *REA* 66 (1964) 309–10 (+ photograph); **SEG* XXIII 412. 189/8 BC. Limestone base, Scotussa in Thessaly. Cf. G. Daux, *BCH* 89 (1965) 301–3. G: G. Daux, *BCH* 88 (1964) 569–76 (+ photograph); **SEG* XXII 266, lines 13–14, extract from an honorary decree for a citizen named Augis. C. 100 BC. Limestone stele with gable, Argos.

Cf. Plutarch, *Flam.* 16–17.

A. *IG* XII 9.931, Chalkis

(On the front)¹ Aristomachos | (son) of Aristokleides, | Amphikrates |
5 (son) of Eurynomos, || (dedicate this statue) to Titus, savior and benefactor, | after they served as gymnasiarchs.

B. *SEG* XXII 214, Corinth

(In honor of) Titus, [(son) of Titus, Quinctius, Roman,] | (by) Aristain[os (son) of Timokades of Dyme,²] | because of his excellence [and beneficence] | toward him [and the Achaians.]

C. *SIG*³ 592, Gytheion

Titus, (son) of Titus, Quinctius, consul of the Ro|mans,³ (is honored by) the People of the Gytheates, their sa|vior.⁴

D. *IG* XII 9.233, Eretria

[---] to keep holiday and to sacrifice | [and to wear a wreath (?)] for the

7 *Eumenes of Pergamum and the war against Nabis*

things that have | [been done⁵ -- and to erect (a statue of) Titu]s, consul of the Rom[an]s -- in the temple of Ar]temis [--]

E. *SIG*³ 616, Delphi

[The city] of the Del[phians] | (dedicates this statue of) Titus Quinc]tius, [son] of Titus, [Ro]man,] *because of his excellence* [and bene]ficence toward] it, to A[pollo].⁶

F. *SEG* XXIII 412, Scotussa in Thessaly

Praylos (son) of Phoxios | (dedicates this statue of) [T]itus, son of Titus, Quinctius | because of his excellence and goodwill | toward him and toward the city.

G. *SEG* XXII 266, lines 13–14, Argos

. . . and now when there was need for ready cash, upon request he gave without interest ten thousand drachmas | to the hieromnemes and to the treasurer for the festival of the Titeia,⁷ etc.

- 1 On the right and left sides there are remains of a total of seven more names of Greeks from Chalkis.
- 2 Aristainos was the leader of the Achaian League in 198 BC (Livy 32.19.2), 195 BC (Livy 34.24), and 186 BC (Polybius 22.10.2). He may have made this dedication in his position as head of the League in 196/5 BC. On difficulties in the identification of Aristainos, sometimes called Aristainetos in Polybius and Plutarch, see J. Deininger, *Historia* 15 (1966) 376ff., and R. M. Errington, *Philopoemen* (Oxford 1969) Appendix 4, pp. 276–9, for opposite views.
- 3 In this context the title does not mean that Flamininus was consul at the moment when the inscription was engraved.
- 4 Flamininus had freed Gytheion from the domination of King Nabis of Sparta: see Errington, *Philopoemen* 95ff.
- 5 This document appears to be a decree, and the 'things' done may refer to the victory over Macedon and the proclamation of Greek freedom, especially for Eretria. See Polybius 18.45.5–6; 18.47.10–11; Livy 33.34.10.
- 6 Flamininus was made a proxenos at Delphi in 189/8 BC (*SIG*³ 585, line 116), which may also be the date for the erection of this statue. On the nature of the statue (not equestrian, as stated in *SIG*³) see F. Chamoux, *BCH* 89 (1965) 220.
- 7 These 'Games of Titus' continued to be held on into the Roman imperial age: see Plutarch, *Flam.* 16.4. Cf. Bowersock, *Augustus* Chapter 9 and Appendix 1.

7 King Eumenes of Pergamum and the war against King Nabis. 195 BC.

Two bases (A–B) of white marble, Pergamum.

**SIG*³ 595 A–B. Cf. Livy 34.29.4–5; 34.30.7; 34.35.2.

8 Letter of a praetor to the city of Teos

Hansen, *Attalids*² 72–3.

(A)¹ [King Eumenes (II) from] the spoils [obtained from] the expedition | [which he made with the Roman]s and [the other] allies against Nabis the Lakonian, | [who had subjugated the Argiv]es [and the] Me[s]s[e]nians, (has dedicated) these first-fruits to Athena Nikephoros.²

(B) (This statue of) [King Eu]menes (has been dedicated) because of his excellence | by [those who] sailed [with] him | [to Gr]eece, soldiers | [and sailors,] for the war against Nabis || [the Lako]nian.

In 198 BC the city of Argos left the Achaian League and turned to Philip V of Macedon for protection. Unable to protect it, Philip handed the city over to Sparta. King Nabis of Sparta supported a most unpopular regime in Argos that continued even after the defeat of Philip by the Romans in 197 BC. Early in 195 BC Flamininus with a mixed army of Romans and Greeks marched against Nabis and forced him to accept a peace treaty. Argos was returned to the Achaian League, but Nabis was left to rule at Sparta.

1 This base is over fifteen feet long.

2 The date when Athena was first called Nikephoros ('Victory Bringer') at Pergamum is unknown, but the festival called Nikephoria at Pergamum was probably started by Attalus I in the 220s BC: see C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 4 (1974) 184ff.

8 Letter of the praetor M. Valerius Messalla to the city of Teos. 193 BC.

Stone (not otherwise described) found in the ruins of the temple of Dionysos in Teos.

SIG³ 601; *IGRR* IV 1557; **RDGE* 34.

Magie, *RRAM* I 102–3; *RDGE* pp. 214–16; R. M. Errington, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 279–84.

vv Of the Romans.¹ *vv* | Marcus Valerius, (son) of Marcus, praetor (193 BC), and the | tribunes² and the senate to the Boule and the | People of
5 Teos, greetings. *v* Menippos, from Antiochus the ki||ng having been sent to us as envoy and cho|sen also by you to be an envoy for your city, | gave us your decree and himself in accordance with it | spoke with all enthu-
10 siasm.³ We received the ma|n kindly because of his for||mer reputation and his present excell|ence and we listened favorably to the requests he made. That | we wholly and constantly have attached the highest importance to | reverence of the gods one can estim|ate from the goodwill we have
15 experienced || on this account from the supreme deity. Not only that, but for | many other reasons we are convinced that manifest to everyone has been | our own high respect for the divine. Therefore, because of the|se things and because of our goodwill toward you and the one who made the

9 *The Delians honor Scipio Africanus*

20 request, | the envoy, we judge your city and its terri||tory to be holy, as it is now, and inviolable and imm|une from taxation by the People of the Romans, and as for | honors to the god and privileges to you, we will tr|y to help increase them, while you carefully maintain, for the | future, your goodwill toward us. *vv* Farewell.

- 1 In larger letters, as a heading. This letter was originally only one of a large collection of documents engraved on stone for public scrutiny in Teos, all of them concerned with the inviolability of the city and similar matters. Many Greek cities had testified to its inviolability in writing, and the present letter is the testimony 'Of the Romans'.
- 2 This is the earliest appearance of the tribunes in the heading of such documents.
- 3 At this time Antiochus III was not yet an enemy of Rome. For Menippos in Rome as a representative of the king see Livy 34.57.6ff.; Diodorus 28.15.2ff; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 6. Holleaux thinks it was only natural at this time for Teos to turn to Menippos to plead its cause in Rome.

9 **The Delians honor P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.** **About 193 BC.**

Stele broken at the bottom; above the text, on the left, a crown of leaves, on the right of it a knotty baton or staff,¹ letters stoichedon,² of the second century, Delos.

*IG XI 4.712 (photograph on Pl. IV); Durrbach, *Choix* 64.

Laidlaw, *Delos* 126-7.

Decreed by the Boule and the People. A[n]|tilakos (son) of Simides made the motion: since Pub[li|us] Cornelius, son of Publius, Scipio, | Roman,
5 being proxenos and benefactor || of the temple and the Delians, bestows all
ca|re on the temple | and the Delians, it is decreed by the Boule and | the
10 People to crown Publius Corn[e]|lius, son of Publius, Scipio, Roman, || at
the Apollonia³ with the sacred | crown of laurel; the sacred herald shall |
announce in the theater, when the children's cho|ruses are conducted,
15 the following proclamation: | The People of Delos crown Publius || Cor-
nelius Scipio, Roman, with the sacred crown of laurel because of his good
character | and his piety toward the temple and | his goodwill toward the
People of Delos. | Lysanias (son) of Kaibon put the motion to the vote.

- 1 The cognomen 'Scipio' is connected with a root meaning 'staff', and it is possible that the knotty staff was the heraldic emblem of the Corneli Scipiones. For the connection between cognomen and emblem see T. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen* I (Berlin 1864) 44-5, who leaves open the question whether the heraldic emblem produced the cognomen or *vice versa*.
- 2 See the Glossary *s.v.* Stoichedon.
- 3 A Delian festival featuring a full program of tragedy, comedy, and musical performances.

12 Letter of Manius Acilius Glabrio to the Delphians

10 Delos seeks to renew friendship with Rome. About 192 BC (?).
Marble stele with molding, letters of the early second century, Delos.

*IG XI 4.756; Durrbach, *Choix 65.*

Durrbach, *Choix* pp. 84–6; Laidlaw, *Delos* 126.

Gods. | Decreed by the Boule and the People. | Telemnestos (son) of Aristeides made the motion. Since there have been sent || by the People envoys | to Rome to renew good | relations [and] | friendship | and concerning the *interests* | of our temple and [People, in (?)] || which all their [zeal and] *enthusiasm* [--]

11 Troops of the Achaian League aid the Romans against the Gauls. 192 BC or 122 BC.

Limestone base of an equestrian statue, good lettering similar to that of the second half of the second century, but often squeezed together, Olympia.

E. Kunze, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia V* (Berlin 1956) 160–4 (+ photograph); *SEG XV 254*; Moretti, **ISE I 60*; Schwertfeger, *Bund* 28. Possible dating in 192 BC: Livy 35.22.3–4; 40.2–4. For 122 BC: Orosius 5.13.2; Livy, *Per.* 61; Velleius Paterculus 2.10.2; 39.1; Strabo 4.2.3; Florus 1.37.5.

Kunze, *op. cit.* 160ff. (argues for 122 BC); Moretti, *ISE* pp. 153–4 (argues for 192 BC or a few years later); Schwertfeger, *Bund* 28–37 (argues for 122 BC); Larsen, *States* 500–1.

Of the Achaians from Patrai, Dyme, Pharai, | Thrious, Heraia,¹ Thelphousa, Psophis, | Kleitor, Kynaitha, Kallistai, | Ascheion, Leontion,
5 Tritaia, Aigion, || Aigeira, Pellana, Boura, | Pheneos, Karneia, those who made an expedition | with Gnaeus Domitius, consul | of the Romans,² against the Gauls (dedicated this statue of) Damon (son) of Alkisthenes |
10 of Patrai, their own commander, because of his excellence, || to Olympian Zeus.

1 Heraia, Thelphousa, Psophis, Kleitor, Kynaitha, and Pheneos are Arkadian cities.

2 He could be Cn. Domitius L.f. Ahenobarbus, the consul of 192 BC (Broughton, *MRR I* 350) who fought against the Boii, or Cn. Domitius Cn.f. Ahenobarbus, the consul of 122 BC (Broughton, *MRR I* 516) who fought against the Allobroges and Arverni.

12 Letter of Manius Acilius Glabrio to the Delphians. Early 190 BC.

Block from the base of an equestrian statue of Acilius Glabrio, Delphi.

*SIG*³ 609; **RDGE* 37 A with extracts from B.

13 *The Achaians participate in the battle of Magnesia*

P. Roussel, *BCH* 56 (1932) 1–24; *RDGE* pp. 221–4.

- [--] is to be *lodging* for our *citizens*. [And do you see to it | that] all these (regulations) are engraved on a stone stele and displayed in the [temple. And if any persons cause] *opposi|tion* about the estates or the fruits from them or the buildings or the [possessions, say|ing they] are theirs, concerning these matters whatever decisions have been made during our
 5 presence [let these be legally binding; || as for you,] do you, after appointing a *tribunal* to handle things properly, settle [the remaining --|-] And it has been reported to me that there have been secret distributions of funds to some individuals from these (estates), [as well as sales, the payment | not] *going* into the public treasury; have regard that nothing similar happens [in the future. And concerning] | matters relating to the temple, if (the) Thessalians or any others send envoys, I will try [in Rome (?) with
 10 all] | my power to see to it that your ancestral rights that existed from the beginning will be yours forever, [the] || autonomy of your city and your temple [kept safe (?)].

(EXTRACTS FROM B)

The lands given to the god | and
to the city:¹ |

At Hypopleistia |

- 5 The (estate) of Androsthē[i]-
das the Tolphonian ||

The (estate) of Mikky<l>ion
the Physkeian |

(Eleven other estates follow,
and there are eleven more
estates, at six other locations,
set out in the same way.)

35

Buildings which he² gave to the
god and | to the [city:] |

vacat ||

The (building) of Agelaos the
Naupaktian |

The (building) of Patron the
Tolphonian |

(Forty-four other buildings are
listed, including one bathhouse
belonging to a private indi-
vidual.)

1 In the period of Aetolian control of Delphi many Aetolians had (illegally?) taken possession of property in and around the city. After the Romans had liberated Delphi Acilius Glabrio evicted them from the area and restored the land and buildings, listed here in two columns.

2 That 'he' is Manius Acilius Glabrio and the author of the letter can be seen from another document (*SIG*³ 826E, col. 3, line 38) which names him as the Roman who gave the Delphian land called Nateia back to the Delphians. Nateia is mentioned here in this list (line 29) as one of the 'lands given to the god and to the city'.

13 Participation of the Achaians in the battle of Magnesia. 190 BC.
Block of bluish white marble, once part of a statue base, Pergamum.

**SIG*³ 606. Cf. Livy 37.18 and 20.

14 Letter of the Scipios to Herakleia in Karia

Holleaux, *Études* V 412–16 (CAH 8.222–5); Hansen, *Attalids*² 79–87.

(This statue of) Att[al]us (son) of King A[tt]alus (I) | (has been erected) because of his excellence and bravery | and his goodwill toward them | by
5 the Achaians who crossed over in accordance with their alliance || with King Eumenes (II), his brother, | in the war fought against Antiochus | and who joined in Lydia, | by the Phrygius River,¹ in the battle, (and has been dedicated) to Athena Nikephoros.²

1 The Battle of Magnesia was fought not far from the confluence of the Phrygius and the Hermus: Livy 37.37.9; Strabo 13.5.

2 See above, no. 7, n. 2.

14 Letter of L. Cornelius Scipio and his brother to Herakleia in Karia. 190 BC.

Square block of bluish-white marble broken at the top, letters of early second century, Herakleia by Mt Latmos.

SIG³ 618; *RDGE 35.

RDGE pp. 217–18.

[Lucius Cornelius Scipio,] consul of the Romans (190 BC), | [and Publius Scipio,¹ his] brother, to Herakleia's Boule and Peo|ple, [greetings.] We had a meeting with your envoys Dias, Dies, Diony|[sios, --]am[an]der, [Eu]demos, Moschos, Aristides, (and) Menes, men *fi*||ne [and good] who gave
5 us your decree and spoke in accord|ance with what was recorded in the decree, leaving out nothing | of their *personal devotion*. We are in fact well disposed toward all the Greeks | and will try, since you have come into our | [pledge of good faith,²] to take all possible care of you and always *to be the authors* of
10 some good (for you). || We grant to you your freedom just as also | [to the] other cities which have given us the power of decision (over them), retaining | your right to govern all your affairs [by yourselves] according to your own laws, | [and in] all other ways we will try to be of service to you and to be always the [authors] of some good to you. | We also accept from you the
15 kind acts and || [pledges of good faith] and will ourselves try to omit no favor toward you in return. | We have *sent* to you Lucius Orbius to care for your | [city] and territory, that nobody may harm you. Farewell.

1 It had long been thought that the author of this letter was the consul of 189 BC, Cn. Manlius Vulso, but M. Holleaux (*Strategos Hypatos* (Paris 1918) 131–46, and *Rivista di Filologia Classica* 52 (1924) 29–44) saw from his analysis of the historical evidence of the period that such could not be the case. He suggested L. Cornelius Scipio. Then G. De Sanctis (*Atti dell'Accademia di Torino* 57 (1921/22) 242ff.) further suggested that the brother Publius might be mentioned in the second line. Holleaux then recognized part

15 Letters and a decree of the senate concerning Delphi

of the word *brother* in that line. The two brothers were also known to have been co-authors of another letter (to Kolophon: *RDGE* 36).

- 2 To the Romans this was virtually equivalent to 'since you have surrendered yourselves to us' and, thus, was often much misunderstood by the Greeks very early in their relations with Roman officials. See Livy 36.28 and Polybius 20.9–10. Cf. *RDGE* pp. 200–1.

15 Two letters from the praetor Spurius Postumius and a decree of the senate. 189 BC for the two letters; the date of the decree is unknown.

Marble stele, now in small fragments; some older fragments, now lost, are known to us in copies, Delphi.

*SIG*³ 612; Holleaux, *Études* V 282–3; **RDGE* 1.

Holleaux, *Études* V 249–94; *RDGE* pp. 21–5.

First letter

- [Spurius Postumius, son of Lucius, praetor of the Romans (189 BC), to the magistrates and the city of Delphi, greetings. The | envoys Boulon, Thrasykles and Orestas, sent by you, spoke about the inviolability of the temple and the city and its | territory, and about freedom and immunity from taxation,] asking that [these be granted to you by the People of the | Romans. Know therefore that it has been decreed by the senate that the temple of the Pythian] Apollo [is to be inviolate, that the
5 || city of Delphi and its territory and the Delphians are to be] *autonomous* and free and *immune from taxation*, [living and administering their government | by themselves, and] having dominion over the *sacred* territory and the sacred harbor, just as [was their] *inherited right* [from the beginning. That | you might know, I have *decided*] to write to you [about these things.]

Second letter

- Spurius Postumius, son of Lucius, praetor of the Romans, to the League of the Amphictiones, [greetings. The Delphian] *en|voys* Boulon, Thrasykles and Orestas [spoke] about the inviolability of the temple and the city and its [territory,] | and about freedom and immunity from taxation, asking that these be granted to them *by* [the People of the Romans.] | Know therefore that it has been decreed by the senate that the temple of
5 the Pythian Apollo [is to be inviolate, and] || the city of Delphi and its territory and the D[elphian]s are to be autonomous and free and [immune from taxation, liv|ing] and administering their government *by themselves* and having dominion over the sacred territory [and the sacred] *har|bor*, just as [was] their inherited right from the beginning. [That] you might know, I have decided to *write* to you [about these things.]

16 Letter of a consul to the Delphians

The decree

On the fourth day before the Nones of May (May 4) [in the Comitium (?) --] *Octavius*, (son) of *Gnaeus*, *praetor* (?),¹ *con|sulted* the senate. [(Witnesses) present at the] writing were: [--]us, (son) of *Publius*; *Mani[us]*, (son) of --; | *Gaius Atinius*, (son) of *Gaius*; *Tiberius* [-- Whereas the] *Del-*
phians *spoke* [about their] inviolate [temple, | their] free [and autonomous
5 and tax-immune] city, about this [matter as follows] || it was decreed: just as formerly [the senate --] had decided [--,] it was decreed to [hold to] that [decision.]

Very soon after *Manius Acilius Glabrio* had freed Delphi from Aetolian control in 191 BC, the senate passed a decree which guaranteed the inviolability of the temple of *Apollo* and the free and autonomous status of the Delphians. *Postumius* then sent one letter to the Delphians and another, identical in content to the first, to the Amphiclonic League. What we have here are the mutilated remains of those two letters. The first of them can be restored with near certainty by reference to the second.

1 In 168 BC a certain *Gnaeus Octavius* was praetor: Broughton, *MRR* I 428. He is the Roman honored at Argos in 170 BC: see below, no. 22. However, since only the *nomen* *Octavius* is extant here, in a very mutilated form, full identification is difficult.

16 Letter of a consul (C. Livius Salinator?) to the Delphians. 189/188 BC.

Block of gray limestone once part of an equestrian statue of *Manius Acilius Glabrio* (above, no. 12), Delphi.

*SIG*³ 611; Holleaux, *Études* V 284–5; **RDGE* 38. Cf. the letters of *Spurius Postumius* to the Delphians (above, no. 15).

Holleaux, *Études* V 249–86; *RDGE* pp. 226–8.

[*Gaius Livius*, son of *Marcus*, (?)¹] consul of the R[o]m[ans] (188 BC) and the *tri|bunes*² and [the] senate to the *magistrates* and the city of Delphi, [greetings.] | The envoys sent by you, *Herys* (son) of *Eudoros* and [D]amo[s]the|nes (son) of *Archelas*, gave us the letters and themselves
5 spoke in accordance with || what had been recorded in them, (spoke) with all enthusiasm and of their personal devotion no|thing did they omit. And they made it clear that you had conducted the gymnastic contest | and the sacrifice on our behalf; and the senate turned its attention | to this and passed a decree regarding your former envoys, | *Boulon*, *Thrasykles*, and
10 *Orestas*, who had come to us³ but on || their return home had been killed, (a decree) to write to *Marcus Fulvius*, | our commander,⁴ that he should see to it that, when for us | the events at Same have turned out favorably,

17 Decree of Elateia honoring the Stymphalians

he seek out the guilty persons and see | to it that they receive the appropriate punishment and that the properties of the envoys | be restored, all
 15 of them, to their relatives; and it also passed a decree || to write to the Aetolians about the crimes committed among you, that | for the present they should seek out all the things that had been taken away from you and res|tore them to you, and that in the future nothing (similar) should ever happen; and concerning those who in Delphi are set|tlers, the senate has
 20 allowed you to have the power to evict | whomever you wish and to permit to settle among you those who are pleasing to the || League of the Delphians; the replies, given to those who previously to | us had come from you as envoys,⁵ we have given to the (present envoys), as | they asked us, and for the future we will try always to be the authors of some good | for the Delphians because of the god (Apollo) and because of you and because of | our ancestral custom to revere the gods and to honor them as the cause of
 25 a||ll good things.

1 The restoration of his name rests upon a complicated series of chronological observations: *RDGE* pp. 227–8. The consul must be one of those of 189 or 188 BC.

2 See also no. 8, n. 2.

3 See the letters of Spurius Postumius, above, no. 15.

4 M. Fulvius Nobilior was consul in 189 BC, but his imperium was extended for another year to complete the war in Greece: Broughton, *MRR* I 360 and 366.

5 Boulon, Thrasykles, and Orestas, now all dead.

17 Decree of Elateia honoring the Stymphalians.¹ About 189 BC.

Limestone stele, its surface badly scarred, poorly engraved, Stymphalos in Arcadia.

M. Mitsos, *REG* 59–60 (1946–7) 150–74 (+ photograph); S. Accame, *Rivista di Filologia Classica* 77 (1949) 217–48; Moretti, *ISE* I 55; **SEG* XXV 445. Cf. Polybius 18.43.1; Livy 32.24.1ff.; Pausanias 10.34.3–4.

A. Passerini, *Athenaeum*, N.S. 26 (1948) 83–95; Accame, *loc. cit.*, and *L'espansione romana in Grecia* (Naples 1961) 254ff.; G. A. Lehmann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Glaubwürdigkeit des Polybios* (Munster 1967) 120–5; G. Klaffenbach, *BCH* 92 (1968) 257–9; Larsen, *States* 238–9, 405–6.

[---|] and of care [and] *kindheartedness proper* to the [relationship] and |
 [--] they (the Stymphalians) received, each into his own home with all
 [kind|heartedness (?), and at] public expense they distributed provisions
 5 to all (the Elateians) for quite a long time, and of whatever || [there was need they gave a share (?)] of everything; they let them share in the religious ceremonies and sacrifices, considering them to be their own | [citizens; and] they marked off a section of their own territory and divided it among the Elateians, and (made it) im|mune [from all (burdens) for] ten

18 The Lycian League honors the goddess Roma

[years;] and they wrote about all these things upon a bronze stele | [and erected it in the temple] of Artemis [Braur]onia, omitting nothing of every *benefaction* | [toward them; and later] again, after some years, when
10 the Romans came to Greece || [with an army (?),] and Manius (Acilius Glabrio) *was in control* of the territory about [E]lateia,² the Stymphalians sent an embassy t|o [the Achaiaans that] an embassy should be sent off to Manius concerning the return of the Elateians to their | [own country, and when the Achaiaans] *sent* as envoys Diophanes and Atha[no]kles, and Manius had conce|ded that the *city* and the *territory* and the laws³ [should be restored] to the Elateians, the Elateians [re|main]ed in Sty[mphal]os for quite some time, *giving no ground for complaint* and in a manner worthy of
15 their ancestors, || [until they could return] to their own land.⁴

1 In 198 BC Elateia in Phokis had been in the hands of Philip V and had then been captured by Flamininus after fierce fighting: Livy 32.24. The Elateians were then driven into exile, perhaps by Flamininus (as argued by Accame, Klaffenbach and Briscoe, *Commentary* 214) or else by the Aetolians (Passerini, Lehmann and Larsen). Because of a legendary relationship between Elateia and Stymphalos, a city in the mountains of Arcadia (Pausanias 8.4), the exiled Elateians found temporary homes in Stymphalos, which was a member of the Achaian League.

2 This refers to the arrival of the Romans in 191 BC, the year in which Manius Acilius Glabrio was consul, to fight against Antiochus the Great.

3 Klaffenbach recognized this word on a squeeze and it was subsequently confirmed on the stone. Former editors: 'slaves'.

4 The text continues on to line 34. Lines 15–34 relate how the Elateians finally returned to their own land and decreed to honor the Stymphalians for their past humanitarian actions.

18 The Lycian League and its celebration of the festival of the goddess Roma. About 180 BC.

Limestone block, broken at the bottom, Araxa in Lycia.

G. E. Bean, *JHS* 68 (1948) 46–56, no. 11 (+ photograph); **SEG* XVIII 570, lines 62–79.

Bean, *loc. cit.*; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 63 (1950) 185–97, no. 183; J. A. O. Larsen, *CP* 51 (1956) 151–70; *idem*, *States* 241–8; Mellor, *Worship* 36–8.

And when he¹ was sent as en|voy to the envoys from the Romans led by |
65 Appius,² and when he was sent a second time as envoy to || the envoys from the Romans led by Publi|us,² he performed both embassies in a manner worthy | of the People (of Araxa) and the confederation (of the Lycians),³ procuring every advantage | for the city; and many other em|bassies he performed without traveling expenses as a liturgic service; and when the
70 Lea||gue of the Lycians was celebrating the five-year national festival | to Roma the goddess manifest,⁴ and he was sent as festival-envoy to the | first

19 Letter to the Delphian Amphictiones

75 five-year festival, he performed the sacrifices, | with those chosen to assist him, in a fine and worthy manner, | and made the journey in a manner worthy of our city || and the confederation; and in the second national festival celebrated by the League for Roma when he was chosen festival-envoy, along with those who had been chosen to assist him he gave an additional gift | [---] in a manner worthy of the | [city ---]

- 1 I.e. Orthagoras, a citizen of Araxa in Lycia. Our document is a decree of Araxa designed to honor him for his many past services to the city and to the Lycian League. Lines 1–62 list those services in many local wars and diplomatic missions. Although the conclusion of the decree is lost, it would have outlined the nature of the honors to be conferred upon him.
- 2 The Roman envoys Appius and Publius appear to belong to the commission of ten senators (listed by Livy 37.55.7; cf. Broughton, *MRR* I 363) which was sent out in 189–188 BC to assist Gnaeus Manlius Vulso in implementing the treaty with King Antiochus after the Battle of Magnesia. Among them were Appius Claudius Nero, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Aelius Tubero.
- 3 The terms ‘confederation’ and ‘league’ of the Lycians both refer to the same organization, although ‘confederation’ may refer to the federal citizenship or the body of members, while ‘league’ may indicate the federal government or federal state, as Larsen (*CP* p. 168, n. 7) suggests. The Lycian League not only permitted its members to act with strength as a united body but it also played a real political and diplomatic role vis-à-vis Rome and the Hellenistic kingdoms: J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1965) 69ff.
- 4 The consecration of a temple to the cult of the deified *Roma* became a recognized symbol of allegiance to Rome, and after the battle of Magnesia the Lycian League was particularly anxious to secure the favor of Rome: see Larsen (*CP* pp. 155ff.). The epithet ‘manifest’ may refer to the active intervention of Rome against King Antiochus.

19 Letter to the Delphian Amphictiones about King Perseus. 171/170 BC.

Stele of white marble broken at the right and bottom, damaged at the top and lower left, Delphi.

*SIG*³ 643; G. Colin, **Fouilles de Delphes* III 4.75; *RDGE* 40 B. Cf. Livy 42.11–14; 42.40.1–10; Polybius 22.18.1–8; 25.3.1–4.

Daux, *Delphes* 319–25; P. Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone*, *Annali Univer. Cagliari* 20 (Rome 1953) 241–3; *RDGE* pp. 237–9; E. S. Gruen, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 29–60; F. W. Walbank, *Ancient Macedonia* II (Thessaloniki 1977) 81–94.

- 5 [--|--] set over now [--] that they [--] to the gods [--] you may administer just as it *belongs* [to you. Know first of all, therefore,] | that [Per]seus contrary to what is proper [came with his army to the festival | of the] Pythia;¹ it was [clearly] not right at all [for him to have a share with you] | *either* in the sacrifices or in the games [or in the festal assemblies, | since] || he invited in the [barbarians] from across *the* [Danube, who for]
- 10

- no [worthy | reason] for the enslavement of [Greece had even formerly been aroused,] | marched against the shrine [at Delphi, intending to plun|der] and destroy it, and received [from the god fitting punishment.] | He also transgressed the [treaty] made by his [father, which he himself
 15 had renewed,] || the Thracians, our² [allies, he defeated; Abrou|p]olis, whom we had included [in the treaty with Philip (V),] he thr|ew out of his kingdom;³ the *envoys*, [who had been sent from the Thebans] | to Rome about an alliance, [he removed from his path by the treacherous shipwreck.] | In addition, he came to such a height of madness [that, considering it of great importance, contrary to the oa||ths, to do away with] the freedom [given to you] through [our commanders | by throwing] the whole (Greek) nation into disorders [and political strife,] he continued to do [nothing except] | what is base, and, [confounding everything and courting the masses, | and] destroying the men in positions of leadership, [he foolishly announced cancellations of debts] | and made revolutions,
 20 revealing [what hatred he had conceived toward the best || men,] consequently, it happened that the Pe[r]rhaibians and Thessalians fell into terrible | disasters, and the barbarians even *more dreadfully* [set upon them. And, | eager for a great] war so that, [having caught you] *deprived of aid*, he might perhaps | enslave [all the Greek] cities, [he plotted the murder of Arthetauros the Illyrian⁴ | and dared to lay an ambush for] King Eumenes, [our friend and ally,] || at the time when in fulfilment of [a vow he came to Delphi,⁵ disre|garding the devotion toward the] god [customarily practiced] by all those who go there, [and not | observing what protection your temple] has attained in the eyes of all *men* [among the | Greeks as well
 30 as] the barbarians from all [time --|--] you for all the [--|--] sharing (?)
 35 [--|--] others [--]

Ever since his accession to the Macedonian throne in 179 BC Perseus had taken steps to strengthen his country, win over the Greeks, form friendly ties with Syria and Bithynia, and secure the friendship of Rhodes. This deepened Rome's distrust of his motives and caused his enemy, Eumenes II of Pergamum, to visit Rome in 172 BC in order to denounce him to the senate (Livy 42.11–14). The senate listened and finally decided on war. The present document, clearly a letter from some high authority (see n. 2), seems to be a piece of propaganda designed to win over the Greeks for the coming confrontation with Perseus. The majority of restorations made in this document are based on the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, and, thus, verbatim accuracy may not be assumed. Pomtow's restorations in *SIG*³ differ somewhat from Colin's.

1 The festival of the Pythian Apollo in Delphi is meant.

2 The use of 'our' and 'we' is almost certainly collective for the Romans, although proof is lacking, and clearly points to a letter as the format. It would have been addressed to the Amphictiones to achieve general distribution to all Greeks.

3 Abroupolis was king of the Sapaeci, a Thracian people living on the bank of the Nestos River. See Polybius 22.18.2, with the comments of Walbank, *Commentary* III 206.

21 Two decrees of the senate concerning Thisbai

4 Livy says (42.13.6) that Arthetauros had sent letters to Rome, obviously hostile to Perseus.

5 When Eumenes returned to Greece after addressing the senate early in 172 BC he was struck unconscious by rocks thrown at him from an ambush. Although reported dead, he recovered at Aegina. See Livy 42.15.3ff.

20 Decree of the senate concerning Koroneia. 171 or 170 BC.

Stele of white marble, damaged at the top, bottom and right side, Koroneia in Boiotia.

L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 287–9; *SEG* XIX 374; **RDGE* 3. Cf. the decree of the senate concerning Thisbai, below, no. 21, especially lines 25–31 and 58; Livy 42.46.7–110; 42.63.3; 43.4.11; Polybius 27.5.1–3.

Robert, *op. cit.* 290–2; Meloni, *Perseo* 263ff.; *RDGE* pp. 32–3; R. M. Errington, *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 102 (1974) 79–86.

- [-- whoever] entered into [ou|r friendship before Publius | Li]cinius¹
[brought his army against the] | city of Korone[ia, that they should have
5 control of their land] || and buildings [and things belonging to them;] |
concerning this [matter it was decreed as follows:] | that whatever things
once [belonged to them | they are to be permitted] to have as their own.
10 [Decreed.] | Likewise, whereas [the same (envoys) spoke] || about the
citadel [---]² to fortify it [---] | except for the [---]

1 P. Licinius Crassus, the consul of 171 BC who was given Macedonia as his province: Broughton, *MRR* I 416.

2 Robert: '[that they should be permitted]'.

21 Two decrees of the senate on affairs at Thisbai. 170 BC.

Marble stele, good lettering of the second century, Thisbai in Boiotia.

*SIG*³ 646; *FIRA* I 31; **RDGE* 2. Cf. Polybius 27.5; Livy 42.46.7; 42.63.12.

Meloni, *Perseo* 245ff.; *RDGE* pp. 28–31; J. Deininger, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland 217–86 v. Chr.* (Berlin 1971) 164–7.

- Quintus Maenius, son of Titus, praetor (170 BC), consulted the sen|ate
in the Comitium on the seventh day before | the Ides of October (October
9). At the writing | (the witnesses) present were:¹ Manius Acilius, son of
5 Manius, (of the tribe) Volt[i]l[ia]; Titus Numisius, son of Titus. Whereas
the This|[bai]ans spoke about the situation among th|em, that they, who
in friendship | to us had remained, should be given (advisors) | to whom
10 they could explain the situation among them, about th||is matter it was
decreed as follows: that Quintus | Maenius the praetor should from the
senate | select five men who appeared to him in keeping with the interest of

- the Republic and his own good faith. Decreed. | On the day before the
 15 Ides of October (October 14).² (Witnesses) present at the writing || were:
 Publius Mucius, son of Quintus; Marcus Claudius, son of Marcus;
 Manius Sergius, son of Manius. | In like manner whereas the same
 (Thisbians) spoke about their territory | and harbors and revenues and
 about mountain lands, whatever of those had | been theirs it was
 20 decreed that they be permitted to possess them, as far as we are con-
 cerned. || Concerning their magistracies and temples and revenues,
 that they | should themselves have legal authority over them, about this
 matter it was decreed as follows: | whoever had entered into our
 friendship before Gaius Lucretius had brought his army against the
 city of Thisbai,³ | that they should have the legal authority for the next
 25 ten years. Decreed. || Concerning the territory, buildings and things
 belonging to them, whoever | owned any of these, it was decreed that
 they should be permitted to possess what had been theirs. | In like
 manner whereas the same (Thisbians) said that | the deserters, being
 private (persons and) exiles there, | should be permitted to fortify the
 citadel and that they should settle there, just as they explained it, (just
 30 so) as follows it was decreed: that they should settle there and fortify
 it.⁴ Decreed. That the city should be fortified was not decreed. In like
 manner whereas the same (Thisbians) | said that the gold, which they
 had collected for a crown in order that they might dedicate (this)
 crown on the Capitolium, to them, just as they explained it, (i.e.) that
 35 (the gold) be restored to them *in order that* this crown on || [the] Capitolium
 might be dedicated, just so it was decreed to restore it. In like | manner
 whereas the same (Thisbians) said that the men who are *again*st our
 Republic and theirs, | *that* these men should be arrested, about this matter
 just as seemed to Quintus Maenius the praetor in keeping with the
 40 interest of the Republic and his own good || faith, just so it was decreed
 that he should act. That those who to other cities had departed and
 had not come forward into the presence of our commander | should not
 return to their rank (in the government?), about this matter to Aulus |
 [Hostilius] the consul (170 BC) it was decreed that a letter should be
 sent that about this matter he should take thought, as might seem to
 45 him to be in keeping with the interest of the Republic and || his own
 good faith. Decreed. *vv* | In like manner whereas the same (Thisbians)
 spoke about | the trials of Xenopithis and Mnasis, that they should be
 expelled from Chalkis, | and of Damokrita, (daughter or wife) of
 Dionysios, (that she should be expelled) from Thebes, that these
 women should be expelled from those cities | it was decreed, but that
 50 they may not return to Thisbai. Decreed. || In like manner whereas they
 said that these women had brought vessels with silver | to the commander,
 about this matter it was decreed to discuss it at a later date in the

55 presence of Gaius Lucretius. | In like manner whereas the same This-
baians declared that concerning grain and olive | oil they had a partner-
ship agreement with Gnaeus Pandosinus,⁵ about th||is matter it was
decreed that if they wish to be assigned judges, to them judges will be
assig|ned. In like manner whereas the same (Thisbaians) spoke about
60 the | giving of letters to the Thisbaians for Aetolia and Phokis, about this |
matter it was decreed that the Thisbaians and Koroneians for Aetolia and
Phok|is, and for whatever other cities they might wish, be given cour||teous
letters. vv

- 1 After each meeting of the Roman senate a small committee of senators was formed to write down in final form the contents of whatever decrees had been passed. The members of such a committee were described simply as those who 'were present at the writing', and their names were affixed to each decree as witnesses of its contents and its wording. One copy of each decree was deposited in the state archives, the *aerarium Saturni*, and another in the temple of Ceres. See *RDGE pp. 7ff.
- 2 At the first meeting of the senate to hear the Thisbaians it was found that they needed advice and assistance in preparing their requests (October 9). Therefore the praetor Q. Maenius was authorized by decree to select a commission of five suitable men to aid them. When this had been done, the Thisbaians were presented a second time to the senate (October 14) and they made their requests. The senate then voted separately on each of them, as presented in lines 16–60.
- 3 In 171 BC the praetor C. Lucretius Gallus captured Haliartus and marched on Thisbai. Thisbai eventually surrendered, was placed under the political control of pro-Roman authorities, and witnessed the sale of the local Macedonian partisans into slavery.
- 4 The 'deserters' were those Thisbaians who had come over to the Roman side during the fighting. Apparently they were few in number and now ask permission to fortify themselves on the citadel in Thisbai and live there.
- 5 He was a Roman businessman with extensive enterprises overseas: Nicolet, *L'ordre* 348.

22 *Argos honors Gnaeus Octavius. 170 BC.*

Limestone stele with molding at top, broken on left and right, the surface badly worn, Argos.

P. Charneux, *BCH* 81 (1957) 181–202 (+ photograph); *SEG* XVI 255; Moretti, **ISE* I 42. Cf. Polybius 28.3–5; Livy 43.17.2–10.

Since Gnaeus Octavius, (son) of Gnaeus, Roman,¹ [continues to be] well disposed | toward the Achaian League and individually toward those (Achaians) who at any time [make a request of him,] | displaying in every circumstance his own *affection* [and | goodwill,] and forethought for what
5 is advantageous [to the] ci||ty and the Achaians, and (since) having been sent as envoy [with] | *Gaius* by [A]ulus, consul² of the Romans, [he has come] | to call upon the Achaians to preserve their *friendship* [and] | alliance with the Romans, it has been decreed by the People: to *prai|se* [G]naeus Octavius, (son) of Gnaeus, Roman, for the affection which [he

23 An Athenian with the Roman army at Pydna

10 has] || toward the city and the Achaian League; that he is to be | proxenos
of the city and benefactor and citizen – he | and his descendants – and he is
to have the right to purchase and own land and house (in Argos), | and
security and immunity (from taxes?) and inviolability both in war | and in
15 peace, both on land and on sea,³ and the same *privi||leges* as those who have
benefited the People the most; and (it is further decreed) to *en|grave* this
decree on a stone stele and erect it *in |* the temple of Apollo Lykeios in order
that it may be clear tha|t the People to those who have chosen to be their
benefactors | will render thanks corresponding to the benefits (received);
20 and let the ta||sk of erecting the stele fall to the strategoi; | and the expense
25 [--|--|--|--||--] on the fourth (day) of (the month) Apellaios in the [--]

1 Gnaeus Octavius was praetor in 168 and consul in 165 BC. He was assassinated in Syria in 162 BC in the gymnasium at Laodiceia-on-the-sea by a certain Leptines of that city: Polybius 31.11.1 and 32.2–3.

2 Aulus Hostilius Mancinus as consul in 170 BC tried at least once in that year to invade Macedonia from Thessaly, but failed. ‘Gaius’, the other envoy, is Gaius Popillius Laenas (consul 172 BC).

3 This is a peculiar assortment of honors, perhaps more for show than for practicality.

23 An Athenian with the Roman army at the battle of Pydna. 168 BC.

Stele of Pentelic marble with top molding, surface badly weathered, Athens.

B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 18–21 (+ photograph); *idem*, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 429–30; Moretti, **ISE* I 35; *SEG* XXV 118. Cf. Livy 42.55.7ff.; 44.36.8.

B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley 1961) 219–20; Walbank, *Commentary* III 386.

Gods. | In the archonship of Eunikos (169/8 BC), in Attali|s’ prytany,
(which was) the twelfth, in which Hierony|mos (son) of Boethos of (the
5 deme) Kephisia was secretary, || on the last day of Skirophorion, on the
nine-|and-twentieth (day) of the prytany,¹ Ekkle|sia in the Peiraios, of the
10 proedroi (the one who) put the matter to the vo|te was *vv | vacat || vacat*² | It
was decreed by the Boule and the People. | Satyros (son) of Satyros of (the
deme) Kol[on]os said: Sin|ce Kalliphanes of (the deme) Phyle cam-
15 paign|ed with the Roma[ns] and (with) Ki||ng E[u]menes’ brothers Atta-
lus and | Athenaios,³ and, wishing to make | himself useful to his native
city, | was present at the victory that came to the Romans | in Ma[c]jed[o]-
20 nia,⁴ and, being full of eagerness him||self to announce to the citizens the
e|vents [---|---|---|---||---|---|---] with good luck *it is decre|ed* [by the Boule
25 that the men] chosen by lot to be *pro|edroi* [for the] *next* Ekklesia || *should*
30 *deliberate* about *these matters*, and the opinion | of the Boule [they should

25 Treaty between Rome and Kibyra

communicate] to the | *People* that the Boule has decided to praise | [Ka]l-
l[iph]anes (son) of Kalliphanes of (the deme) Phyle | [and to crown him]
35 *with a crown* [of olive branch || because of his goodwill] and eagerness
[---|---|---|---], and the en|graving of this decree is to be done by the sec-
40 retary || -for- the prytany on a stone stele | [and he is to erect] it in the agora
next to the statue | [---] and the expense | [of the engraving and the erection
45 of the] | *stele* is to be paid by the treasurer *of the milita||ry* fund.

The Boule | (and) the People | (honor) Kalliphanes | (son) of Kal-
50 liphanes || of (the deme) Phyl[e].⁵

- 1 These chronological data show that the decree was voted in the Ekklesia on the last day of the year 169/8 BC, i.e. early in July. But recently Meritt (*Athenian Year* p. 220) has come to believe that the calendar had been retarded by a double intercalation, with the result that the first day of the new year 168/7 would begin on August 7. If he is right, our decree was passed on August 6, 168 BC, about six weeks after the battle of Pydna (see below, n. 4).
- 2 It was the president of the proedroi who put the question to the vote before the People. His name is missing.
- 3 Livy (42.55.7–8) informs us that Philetaerus, the third brother of Eumenes II, had been left in Pergamum to protect the kingdom. See Hansen, *Attalids*² 112ff.
- 4 Livy (44.37.5–9) records that the battle of Pydna took place on the day after a lunar eclipse, which modern reckoning has dated to June 21, 168 BC. See Walbank, *Commentary* III 386.
- 5 The last sentence is inscribed in a crown.

24 Statue of L. Aemilius Paullus placed on a pillar erected previously for King Perseus. 168/167 BC.

Base of a huge marble pillar, Delphi.

ILS 8884; *CIL* I² 622; *SIG*³ 652a; **ILLRP* 323. Cf. Plutarch, *Aem.* 28; Polybius 30.10; Livy 45.27.7.

Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* II 740 (with Pl. LXXXII).

Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, general, took (this pillar) from King Perseus | and the Macedonians.

25 Treaty between Rome and Kibyra. First half of second century BC.

Limestone fragment, once a part of the anta of a building, letters of the first half of the second century, Kibyra in Asia Minor.¹

**OGIS* 762.

Magie, *RRAM* I 241–2; II 967–8; Badian, *FC* 295, n. L; Mellor, *Worship* 39–41.

- [-- for the] *People of the* [Ro]mans *to do*.² And *if anyone* takes the initiative in waging wa|*r* against the People of the Romans or transgresses his (existing) trea|*ty* (with the Roman People), then the People of Kibyra | shall aid
 5 the People of the Romans, as is appropriate, || as far as it may be possible, in accordance with the treaties and oaths, for the Kibyran | People to do (so). And if as regards this treaty | the People of the Romans and the People of Kibyra with mutual | consent wish to add or subtract anything, as long as with mutual (and) pub|*lic* consent both of them are willing,
 10 they shall be allowed (to do so). And whatever || they add in the treaty, those things shall be included | in the treaty, and whatever they subtract from the trea|*ty*, those things shall be excluded. This treaty on a *bronze* | *tablet* they shall engrave and set up in | Rome in the temple of Jupiter
 15 Capitolinus and in [Kibyra] || on the base (of the statue) of Roma, the one of gold which they decreed.³

1 Immediately to the east of Karia and adjacent to it, in Asia Minor, was the state of Kibyris which included the four main communities of Kibyra, Bubon, Balbura and Oenoanda.

2 Dittenberger (in *OGIS*) restores 'to remain', but Täubler (*Imperium* 55, n. 2) makes out a better case for 'to do (so)'. Täubler also restores the preceding part of the treaty to yield a parallel obligation for the Roman People.

3 The present text, however, was not engraved on a statue base.

26 Envoys from Teos to Rome oppose the encroachment of King Kotys on territory of Abdera. About 166 BC.

Marble slab broken in the middle from top to bottom, letters of the early second century, Teos.

**SIG*³ 656; *IGRR* IV 1558. Cf. Polybius 30.17; Livy 45.42.6ff.

Robert, *Opera* I 320–6; P. Herrmann, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 72–7.

- The People of Ab[dera] (honor) | Amymo|n (son) of Epi|kouros, | Megathy|mos (son) of Athe|naios. ||¹ When our People *had* need of an embassy to | Rome about our country's [territory,] concerning which the king of the Thracians, | Kot[ys], had delivered a request [to the] *senate* and through his son² | and the envoys whom he sent with him | had laid claim to our
 5 ancestral territory, || envoys were selected [by the] People of Teos,³ Amy|mon (son) of Epikouros and M[egathym]os (son) of Athenaios, men | fine and good and *worthy* [of their] country and well disposed toward | our People, and all their zeal and | enthusiasm did they exercise,
 10 and of their [eagerness] nothing did they o||mit; in the *meetings* that took place about our | territory they [made use of] all their foresight in order not to ne|glect any of the things that could *make* the situation *turn out*

27 *Romans admitted to the Samothracian Mysteries*

20 *favorably*, | always proposing the best⁴ opinion to bring recovery in our dif-
 ficulties; | in their embassy to [Rome] on behalf of our || People they suf-
 fered both mental and *bodily* distress, | but they met with the Roman
 [leading men],⁵ winning them | over by their daily [salutation,] and they
 induced | the (Roman) patrons⁶ of our *country* to come to the | aid of our
 People, and when [some⁷ (of the Romans)] preferred our antagonist
 25 (Kotys) || and stood up in his defense, [by] their exposition of the situation |
 and by daily morning-calls at their atri|a⁶ (our envoys) won over their
 friendship. Concerning [these matters] it was decreed by the Boule and
 the Peo|ple of Abdera to *praise* the aforementioned me|n and to summon
 30 them to front-[row seats each] year at the Dionysiac fes|tival as long as
 they live, and [to crown them] with a gold crown at the *festival* | while the
 herald makes the announcement: 'The People cro|wn with a gold crown
 A[mymon (son) of E]pikouros of Teos, becau|se of his excellence and
 goodwill toward *them*, [and Me]gathymos (son) of Athenaïos of Teos with
 a go|ld crown, because of his excellence [and goodwill] toward them'.
 (Etc.)⁸

1 This sentence occupies only the first four lines of text, for the names of the Teian envoys are contained within two engraved crowns next to each other immediately below the first line, each crown with three lines of text.

2 Although King Kotys had fought on the side of Perseus throughout the Third Macedonian War, his son Bithys even having been taken by the Romans as a hostage to Italy, he soon won great favor in Rome.

3 Abdera in Thrace was a colony of Teos.

4 Robert has corrected an error of previous editors, showing that 'best' and not 'desired' is the correct reading.

5 Robert suggests '[authorities]'.

6 The Latin word is simply transliterated, its earliest appearance in Greek.

7 Restoration by Robert.

8 The text continues on for fifteen more lines, concerned with orders for the publication of the decree on a stone stele and its erection in a public place in Abdera and Teos.

27 **Romans admitted to the Samothracian Mysteries. Second and first centuries.**

Various inscriptions, Samothrace.

A: Fraser, **Samothrace* 28a (Latin), p. 77 (+ photograph). Late second or early first century. Block of white marble inscribed on three faces, Samothrace. **B:** Fraser, **ibid.* 30 (Latin), pp. 82-3 (+ photograph). Early first century. Fragment of blue-gray marble broken on all sides, Samothrace. **C:** Fraser, **ibid.* 32 (Greek and Latin), p. 85 (+ photograph). 76 BC. Fragment of marble with top molding, Samothrace.

A. Fraser, *Samothrace* 28a

5 [--[--] Ides of June. Epopta¹ | [--] Cornelius, son of Lucius, Lent[ulus] |
 legate with praetorian power.² vv || vv Mustae³ devout: vv | [Lucius C]or-

28 Decree of the senate concerning the Sarapieion at Delos

nelius, freedman of Lucius, Phil[o; | Gaius] Mutius, freedman of Gaius, Erun[;] (eight more names are listed).

B. Fraser, *ibid.* 30

[--]tius⁴ | [ep]optes devout. | *vacat* | [-]oninus, Gaius Marius⁵ | [--] vv | [--]

C. Fraser, *ibid.* 32

(On the molding, in Greek) When the king was [---]⁶ | (In the field, in Latin) In the consulship of Gnaeus Oc[tavius, son of Marcus,] | and Gaius Scrib[onius, son of Gaius, (Curio) (76 BC),] | on the [--] day
5 before [the -- of --] || Mustae [devout:] Q. Minuc[us, son of --,] | The[r-
mus,] | P. Magnul[nius | --]aberi[us --]⁷

1 The Greek 'epoptes' (often spelled 'epopta' in Latin) was the highest level of initiation reached by the worshippers of the Samothracian gods called the Kabeiroi.

2 It is not certain which particular Cornelius Lentulus is meant. The ten Roman citizens whose names follow are all freedmen of different individuals and were presumably part of Lentulus' entourage.

3 A transliteration into Latin of the Greek 'mystai'. They were initiates into the mysteries, of a lower grade than epoptae.

4 The 't' is doubtful on the stone. Despite Fraser's objection, '[Ma]rius' is possible.

5 This is almost certainly the great Marius, who traveled to the east in 99–97 BC. Fraser believes the very doubtful reading on the stone (-onini) is not that of a name but a word such as 'slave'.

6 The Samothracian 'king' was the eponymous magistrate when the island enjoyed independence under Roman protection.

7 Q. Minucius Thermus may be the governor of Asia of the year 51/50 BC: Broughton, *MRR* II 243. A certain M. Magulnius is known about this period at Delos: *I. Delos* 1687. The third individual is either '[F]aberi' or '[L]aberi'. The official position, however, of all these Romans while on Samothrace in 76 BC is unknown. The nearness of the Roman province of Macedonia to Samothrace made the shrine there a popular resort for Roman officials from very early times: Fraser, *Samothrace* pp. 15ff.

28 Decree of the senate concerning the Sarapieion at Delos. About 164 BC.

Stele of white marble with small projections at the top in the form of acroteria, letters of the second century, Delos.

*SIG*³ 664; **RDGE* 5.

Laidlaw, *Delos* 178–9; *RDGE* pp. 37–9; S. V. Tracy, *HSCP* 83 (1979) 214.

The strategoi¹ to Charmides the gover[nor of Delos, greetings. There was | lengthy discussion in the Boule² | concerning the decree which was

5 brought || from Rome by Demetrios the Rhenai|an concerning events at
the Sarapi|eion. It was decreed not to prevent hi|m from opening and
10 administering | the sanctuary as be||fore, and to write to you too, | in ord
that you might know about these matters. We have, below, atta|ched for
15 you, in addition, | a copy of the decree brought | by him. vv || Quintus
Minucius, son of Quintus, | praetor,³ consulted the senate | in the Co|mi-
tium on the intercalary Ides.⁴ | (Witnesses) present at the writing were:
20 || Publius Porcius, (son) of Publius; Ti|berius Claudius, (son) of Tiberius, |
(of the tribe) Crustumina; Manius Fonte|ius, (son) of Gaius. Whereas
25 Demetrios | the Rhenaian said || that on Delos the sanctuary of Sara|pis
was his to administer, | but that he was prevented by the Delians and | by
30 the governor, who from Athens | had come there, fr||om administering it,
about this | matter it was as follows de|creed: just as formerly he used to
ad|minister it, as far as we are concerned | he is to be permitted to admin-
35 ister it, || so that nothing contrary to the | decree of the senate is to be
done. | Decreed. vv

1 These were Athenian 'generals', officials elected annually to administer the govern-
ment. In 167/6 BC Rome made Delos a free port and placed it under the general super-
vision of Athens.

2 I.e. the one in Athens. On the Boule see the Glossary.

3 The year of his praetorship is unknown, but the events took place not very long after
167/6 BC. See *RDGE* p.39.

4 The word 'intercalary' is transliterated in this document from Latin into Greek. Since
the Roman calendar in this period was lunar, i.e. based on the phases of the moon, and
thus had only 354 days in its year – eleven days less than a solar year – the months that
were supposed to come in the spring gradually slipped backward into the winter. To
avoid this the Romans at irregular intervals inserted an extra month into their lunar
year. This was called an intercalary month, and the special days that were used to
divide each month into three parts were then called the intercalary Kalends, Nones and
Ides. (See the Appendix on Greek and Roman chronology.) This intercalary month
was inserted in the month of February. Thus, 'the intercalary Ides' mean the thir-
teenth (or fifteenth) day of this month that was inserted in the calendar. Further
details in A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967) 9–15 and
160ff.

29 A letter of King Attalus II of Pergamum to the priest in Pes- sinus. In or soon after 159 BC.

One of a series of documents inscribed on three marble blocks, letters of
the late first century,¹ Pessinus in central Asia Minor.

OGIS 315 C VI; Welles, **RC* 61 (+ photograph).

Welles, *RC* pp. 245–7 and 250–1; Magie, *RRAM* I 25–8; Hopp, *Untersuchungen* 68–70;
Sherwin-White, *JRS* 67 (1977) 64.

30 Treaty between Pharnakes I and Chersonesos

[King Attalus (II) to Attis the priest,² greetings. If you are well, it would be] | as I wish. I too am in good health. When we came | to Pergamum and I brought together not only Athenaios | and Sosandros and Menogenes
5 but also many other || 'relatives',³ I set before them the matters about which in Apameia we had | made plans, and I told them what we had decided about them.⁴ There were | exceedingly many speeches, and at first everyone was inclin|ed toward the same opinion as ours, but Chloros was most energetic | in putting forward the Roman (view of) things and
10 advising us in no way to do any||thing without the Romans. At first few shar|ed this opinion, but afterwards, in our day-after-day consider|ations, it began to make more of an impression on us, and to come to a hasty decision with|out them (i.e. the Romans) seemed to hold great danger. For to us, if success|ful, would accrue envy, a taking away (of success) and hate-
15 ful suspicion, such as || they conceived about my brother, and if unsuccessful, ruin | in plain sight: for (in the latter case) they would not turn back toward us, but it would give them pleasure to sele (our disaster), because we had set such things in motion without them. But as things are at present, if – may it | never happen – we were unsuccessful in anything, after having with their | approval done each and every thing, we would
20 receive their help and || might retrieve a defeat, with the goodwill of the gods. Therefore, I decided | in each instance to send to Rome men who would immediately re|port (to the Romans) *those things about which we are in doubt*, and, for ourselves, to make preparations | [carefully, so that, if there is need, we could help] ourselves [--]

1 It is not clear why this letter, along with the others of the same series, all concerned with events of 163–156 BC, was not engraved until more than a century later. Welles (p. 247) suggests that 'In a time when independent political activity had come to an end, the priests might well wish to recall to visitors that their predecessors had corresponded with kings.'

2 The temple of Cybele, the 'Great Mother', an ancient Asianic goddess at Pessinus, owned domains of great size, and the priest of the temple was actually the ruler of a vast independent principality.

3 The word 'relatives' here does not mean literally members of the royal family. The word had become a mere honorary title.

4 At this meeting between Attalus and the priest presumably some great military expedition had been agreed upon, perhaps against the Gauls of Galatia who were old enemies of Pessinus.

30 Treaty between King Pharnakes I of Pontos and the city of Chersonesos. 155 BC.

Marble stele broken at the top, Chersonesos in the Crimea.

*IOSPE I² 402. Cf. Polybius 25.2 for background to the treaty.

31 *Ptolemaios VIII leaves Cyrene to the Romans*

Magie, *RRAM* I 192–4; II 1090 n. 45; V. F. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Berlin 1971) 312; Walbank, *Commentary* III 20 and 274; S. Burstein, *AJAH* 5 (1980) 1–12.

[-- we will assist in guarding his] *kingdom* | [with all our power, as long as
he remains] with *us* [in | friendship and] maintains his friendship [with
5 the Rom]ans | [and does nothing] in opposition to them; || and may it be
good for us swearing a true oath and for us swearing a false oa|th the
opposite. This oath was ta|ken on the fifteenth of the month of Hera-
kleios, | when the king was Apollodoros (son) of Hero|gei|tes, and when
10 the secretary was Herodotos (son) of Hero||dotos. *vv* The oath which King
Pharnakes swore when the envoys Matrios and Herakle[i]os went to him:
| I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, all the Olympian gods | and goddesses. I
will be a friend to the Chersonesitans for all | time, and if the neighboring
15 barbarians should make an expedition || against Chersonesos or the land
controlled by the Cherso|nesitans or should commit an act of injustice
against Chersonesitans, and if they call up|on me, I will help them just as
if mine were the cri|sis, and I will not plot against the Chersonesitans in
20 any | way, nor will I make an expedition against Chersonesos, nor || will I
stockpile weapons against Chersonesitans, nor will I do | anything with
respect to Chersonesitans which would tend to harm | the People of the
Chersonesitans, but I will as|sist in guarding democracy with all | my
25 power, as long as they remain in friendship with m||e and have sworn the
same oath | and maintain their friendship with the Romans | and do
nothing contrary to them. | May it be good for me swearing a true oath
and for me swearing a false oath the oppo|site. This oath was taken in || the
30 one hundred and fifty-seventh | year, in the month of Daisios, as King
Pharnakes | *vv* reckons (time).¹ *vv*

1 The defensive alliance, as sworn to by both parties here, was previously dated to 180–179 BC, but recently Burstein has shown that the era used in lines 30–31 cannot be one which began with the accession of Mithridates II to the throne of Kios in 337/6 BC, as previously thought, but must be the Seleucid era of 312/11 BC, which produces a date of 155 BC when applied to our document. Thus, a recognized condition of friendship had been established between Rome on the one hand and both Pharnakes and the city of Chersonesos on the other sometime prior to 155 BC. That friendship also seems to have been recognized soon after 179 BC, when Rome became reconciled with Pharnakes at the conclusion of the Pontic War (183–179 BC). See Burstein, *loc cit.*

31 Testament of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II, leaving his kingdom of Cyrene to the Romans. 155 BC.

Stele of white marble perfectly preserved, letters of the second century, Cyrene.

G. Oliverio, *Documenti antichi dell'Africa Italiana I: Cirenaica* Part 1 (Bergamo 1932) pp. 11ff. (+ photographs); *SEG IX 7.

32 Decree of the senate concerning Ariarathes and Priene

Oliverio, *op. cit.* 11–84; M. N. Tod, *Greece and Rome* 2 (1932) 47–51; P. Roussel, *REG* 45 (1932) 286–92; E. Bickermann, *Gnomon* 8 (1932) 424–30; W. Otto, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung*, N.S. 11 (1934) 97–119; Th. Liebmann-Frankfort, *RIDA* 13 (1966) 73–94; B. A. Kouvellas, *Platon* 24 (1972) 300–4.

In the fifteenth year,¹ in the month of Loos. | With good luck. This is the testament of King | Ptolemaios, (son) of King Ptolemaios | and of Queen
5 Cleopatra, gods || manifest, the younger (son).² Of this another copy | has been sent to Rome.³ May it be mine | with the good will of the gods to take vengeance | worthily upon those who have organized against me | the
10 unholy plot and have deliberately chosen || not only of my kingdom but also | of my life to deprive me. But if anything happens to me, | in accordance with human destiny, before successors | are left (by me) for my
15 kingdom, I bequeath | to the Romans the kingdom belonging to me,⁴ || for whom from the beginning friendship and | alliance have been preserved by me with all sincerity. | And to the same (Romans) I entrust my possessions | for them to protect, appealing to them by all the gods | and by their
20 own good reputation that, if any persons || attack either my cities or my territory, they may help, | in accordance with the friendship and alliance which {toward} | toward each other we (now) have and (in accordance with) | justice, with all their power. And I make witnesses to these (dispositions) Jupiter || Capitolinus and the Great Gods | and the Sun and the
25 Founder Apollo,⁵ to whose (custody) the text of these (dispositions) is also consecrated. | With good luck.

1 From 170 BC to the summer of 163 BC Ptolemaios VI Philometor and his younger brother Ptolemaios VIII ruled Egypt jointly. The fifteenth year of their reign is 155 BC. Dissensions between them caused Roman intervention and a division of the realm: the older brother retained Egypt and Cyprus, the younger only the Cyrenaica, to which he withdrew in 163 BC. For all details see Will, *Histoire* 262–75 and 302–6.

2 The ‘younger (son)’ is Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II, who was nicknamed ‘Physkon’ (‘Pot-belly’).

3 No literary sources mention the existence of this will. Its terms were never carried out, since Ptolemaios VIII eventually had children and recovered Egypt, seizing the throne after the death of his brother in 145. He died in 116 BC. Bickermann argues that we have before us not an authentic will at all, but rather an official extract, published in 155 BC, of an earlier will. Roussel accepts Bickermann’s main conclusions.

4 He probably considered Cyprus as much a part of his kingdom as Cyrene.

5 Apollo was considered the founder of Cyrene.

32. Decree of the senate concerning Ariarathes and the city of Priene. About 155–154 BC or soon afterwards.

Two fragments of stone from the wall of the temple of Athena Polias, Priene.

OGIS 351; *I. Priene* 39; *RDGE 6 B. Cf. Polybius 33.6.

33 *Treaty between Rome and Methymna*

Magie, *RRAM* I 117 and 202; II 969. n. 93; *RDGE* pp. 40–3; Hansen, *Attalids*² 130–1; Hopp, *Untersuchungen* 67–8; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 67 (1977) 63; Walbank, *Commentary* III 547–9.

B. Decree of the senate¹

[Ariarathes] *having besieged* the city [of Priene² | and plundered] *property* and [carried off most of the] live booty³ [private and] | public [--] and having let go [--|--] which Orophernes [had deposited] in the temple of
5 A[thena, it was decided to ans||wer] them kindly [-- neither the] | senate nor the People for [--] | concerning these matters [it was decreed as follows: that X⁴ should write to] | King Attalus and King Aria[rathes about their] *at|tack* as [might seem] to him [in keeping with the best
10 interest of the Republic || and his own good faith. Decreed.]

1 This decree is preceded on the stone by another document which is either a decree of Priene or a covering letter from some Roman magistrate. It is extremely fragmentary.

2 In 159 BC King Ariarathes of Cappadocia was driven out of his kingdom by his half-brother Orophernes, but two years later the Roman senate ruled that the two should rule jointly. Ariarathes, however, drove out his half-brother with the aid of King Attalus II of Pergamum. When Ariarathes then tried to withdraw 400 talents which Orophernes had deposited in the temple of Athena at Priene, that city refused to comply. Ariarathes and Attalus marched on the city with their armies. Priene appealed to Rhodes, and finally Rome was called in. See Polybius 33.6.

3 The word could mean 'animals' (beasts of burden) or, more commonly, 'slaves'.

4 Here would appear the name of the consul or praetor who presided over the meeting of the senate.

33 *Treaty between Rome and Methymna. Perhaps as early as 154 BC.*¹

Marble (not otherwise described), whose letters point to a period before the Mithridatic wars, Methymna on Lesbos.

IG XII 2.510; *IGRR* IV 2; **SIG*³ 693.

Magie, *RRAM* II 967–8, n. 89; Täubler, *Imperium* 45 and 55ff.

[-- neither with weapons nor with money nor with ships shall they give aid | with public sanction (and)] in *bad* [faith]. The People [of the Romans | to the enemies and] *opponents* of the People of the M[e]thymnaians shall not grant passage through their own] *land* and through (the land) which
5 the People of the R[o]mans rule,] with public sanction and in [bad] | faith, [with the result that (such enemies)] would wage war upon [the People] of the Methymnaians and those whom | [the People of the Methymnaians] rule, | [and to Methymna's enemies neither with weapons] nor with money nor with *sh|ips* [shall they give aid with

34 Letter and decree of the senate concerning Magnesia and Priene

- 10 public] sanction (and) in bad faith. || [If anyone takes the initiative] in waging [war] against the People of the Meth[ym]naians, then the People of the Rom]ans [shall give aid] to the People of the Methy[m]naians as may seem] appropriate; and if anyone | [takes the initiative in waging] war [against the] *People* of the Romans, then [the Peop|le of the Methymnaians] shall give aid to the *People* of the Romans,
15 || [as may seem appropriate in accordance with their] treaty and oaths to the | [People of the Romans and the] People of the Methymnaians. | [--] *this* treaty with mutual [con|sent --] with public consent and both |
20 [--] *add* in the treaty || [---]² the treaty.

1 For a discussion of the date see Magie, *loc. cit.*

2 For the nature of the material in lines 17–20 see the treaty with Kibyra (above, no. 25, lines 9–11) and with Astypalaia (below, no. 53, lines 45–8).

34 A letter of the praetor Marcus Aemilius and a decree of the senate concerning Magnesia and Priene. Middle of second century or a little earlier.

Marble block, Magnesia.

SIG³ 679 IIb; *RDGE 7.

Tod, *Arbitration* 44–5; Magie, *RRAM* I 113–14; *RDGE* pp. 44–7.

- [- Decree obtained] *from* the Ro[man] senate [by the envoys who had been sent || concerning the Prienean affair.]¹ Marcus Aemilius, [son] of Marcus,² [praetor, to the Mylasan | Boule and People, greetings.] Envoys from Magnesia and [Priene came to me, | that] I might give [them (an audience with the) senate.] I *gave* them (an audience with the) senate. [Decree of the senate. On the -- day before | the -- of --]ber in the Comitium. (Witnesses) present [at the writing] were: [--|-- Fo(?)]n-teius, (son) of Quintus, (of the tribe) Papiria; Titus Mallius, (of the
40 tribe) Fa[--³||--] Whereas the Magnesian envoys Pythodoros, Hera-kl[eitos, --, | fine and good men] from a fine and good People, friends and *allies* [of ou|rs,] spoke *in person*, and whereas the Prienean envoys [--, | --,] fine and good men and friends from a fine and [good] People, *fri|ends* and
45 allies of ours, spoke in person about the territory || from which the Magnesians had withdrawn and the possession of which territory they had ceded | to the People of Priene, in accordance with the decree of the senate that a special court be appointed for them, concerning [this] | matter it was decreed as follows: that Marcus Aemilius, son of Marcus, praetor, shall grant them a *free* | *state* as arbitrator which shall be mutually acceptable to them. But if one mutually acceptable to them is not fou|nd, that Marcus Aemilius, son of Marcus, praetor, [shall give]

35 *Destruction of Corinth and Roman regulations for Greece*

- 50 them a free state as arbitrator || for this controversy, as seems to him to be
in keeping with the interest of the Republic | and his own good [faith.]
Decreed. (The free state), which will act as arbitrator between Mag-
nesia and Priene about this | territory, excluding the (land) of the
Prieneans, from which the Magnesians say they have | withdrawn – to
the one of these two Peoples which is found | to have possessed this terri-
tory at the time when it entered into friendship with the Roman People,
55 || to that one it shall award this territory and establish the borders.
Decreed. In like manner whereas the same Pri|enean envoys spoke in
person against the Magnesian envoys | about the wrongs which Mag-
nesia had committed against them, concerning this matter as foll|ows it
was decreed | that Marcus Aemilius, son of Marcus, praetor, shall order
the same state | which was appointed arbitrator concerning the territory
60 to judge also these wrongs. If (wrong)s were *comm|itted* by the Magnesians,
a penalty shall be imposed as much as appears good and fair, and |
Marcus Aemilius, son of Marcus, praetor, shall send a letter [to] the same
arbitrating state about this ma|tter, on what day each of the two (parties)
shall be present for each of the two *hear|ings*, [and by what] day they shall
decide [--] that [--]

- 1 This heading serves to separate the present letter and decree from a preceding document. There were four other documents engraved on the other sides of the present block, and from their remains we learn that Magnesia had engraved an entire file of the pertinent documents on this and other marble blocks placed on top of each other and engraved on all four visible sides. Remains of the other documents are in *SIG*³ 679 Ia, IVc and Vd. The first of them is a Magnesian decree honoring the Magnesian public advocates and ordering the engraving of the whole dossier, also informing us that Mylasa had been the arbitrating state and that Magnesia had won; the second is our letter and decree of the Roman senate; the third document is lost; the fourth contains the decision of the Mylasan arbitrators; and the fifth lists the names of the Magnesian advocates who had successfully pleaded their city's case.
- 2 The omission of his cognomen makes identification difficult. Possible candidates are: M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 158 and praetor in 161 at the latest); M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina (cos. 136, praetor in 140 at the latest). The lettering places the document not long after the Roman war against Antiochus.
- 3 The tribe is either Falerna or Fabia. This Titus is almost certainly a Manlius. See Broughton, *MRR* Supplement 38.

35 *Destruction of Corinth and new Roman regulations for Greece.* 146 BC.

Extract from Pausanias.

Pausanias 7.16.7–10. Cf. Polybius 39.2–6; Dio 21.72; Livy, *Per.* 51–2.

Larsen, *Greece* 306–11; Accame, *Dominio* 1ff.; Larsen, *States* 498–504; Schwertfeger, *Bund, passim*; Bernhardt, *Historia* 62–73.

(7) Those of the Achaiaans who had escaped to Corinth after the battle¹ immediately fled from there at night, and the majority of the Corinthians themselves fled. Mummius,² although the gates were open, for the moment hesitated to enter Corinth, suspecting that an ambush might be waiting for him within the wall, but on the third day after the battle he took Corinth by force of arms and burned it. (8) Most of the survivors the Romans killed, but the women and children Mummius sold. He also sold the household slaves, all those who had been set free and had fought alongside the Achaiaans, but had not at once met death in the deeds of the war. Those votive offerings and other ornaments that especially aroused admiration he carried off; the rest, those of less value, Mummius gave to Philopoimen, the general sent by Attalus (III). The Pergamenes still had these Corinthian spoils of war up to my time. (9) As for those cities which had fought against the Romans, Mummius destroyed their walls and took away their weapons even before legates³ were sent by the Romans. And after those men had arrived who were to advise him, he put an end to the democracies and he established governments on the basis of wealth. Tribute was assessed on Greece⁴ and the wealthy were prevented from acquiring property beyond their borders. All confederacies (formed) by groups of Peoples, whether Achaian, Phokian, Boiotian or any other in Greece, were dissolved. (10) But not many years later the Romans were moved to pity for Greece and restored the old confederacies by groups of Peoples to each, also the right to acquire property beyond their borders, and they remitted the fines which Mummius had imposed on them. For he had ordered the Boiotians to pay a hundred talents to the Herakleians and to the Euboians, and the Achaiaans two hundred to the Lakedaimonians. The Greeks secured remission of these (fines) from the Romans, but a (Roman) governor down to my time was still being sent (to Greece).⁵

1 This was the final battle of the Achaian War in 146 BC.

2 L. Mummius, consul in 146 BC: Broughton, *MRR* I 465–6.

3 These were the ten Commissioners sent out to arrange matters in Greece. Polybius (39.5) says they finished their work in six months. Memorials of their presence have been found in many cities: list and references in Schwertfeger, *Bund* 19–20, n. 4.

4 Pausanias writes as if all Greece had to pay tribute. No such penalties seem to have been imposed on those parts of Greece which had remained loyal to Rome in the war. Many, perhaps all, of the Greek cities which had resisted Rome were forced to pay tribute, but direct evidence is lacking. Schwertfeger, *Bund* 67ff.

5 Pausanias here creates the impression that Greece received a separate governor and was thus a separate province after 146 BC, but that did not happen until 27 BC. Pausanias was writing sometime about the middle of the second century AD. Accame (*Dominio* 2ff.) has demonstrated that in 145 BC those Greek states which had fought against Rome in the Achaian War were placed under the supervision of the Roman governor of Macedonia, while those which had not fought against Rome retained their freedom. Schwertfeger, however, questions this arrangement and elevates the Achaian League to a level of great importance in the administration of the conquered area of Greece. Bernhardt objects and believes the conclusion of Accame to be correct.

37 Letter to the Dionysiac Artists

36 The builder of the Via Egnatia in Macedonia.

About 146–143 BC.

Cylindrical milestone of dull white marble, bilingual inscription with lettering of the second century, found near Thessaloniki by the river Gallikos.

C. Romiopoulou, **BCH* 98 (1974) 814 (+ photograph). Cf. Strabo 7.7.4.

Romiopoulou, *op. cit.* 813–16; P. Collart, *BCH* 100 (1976) 182–3; G. Daux, *Journal des Savants* (1977) 145–63. For the whole route see N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia I* (Oxford 1972) 19–58.

- (Latin) 260 (miles).¹ | Gnaeus Egnatius, son of Gaius,² | proconsul. |
5 (Greek) Gnaeus Egnatius, (son) of Gaius, || proconsul of the Romans. |
260 (miles).

1 The distance is from Dyrrachium to the milestone.

2 He ought to be Cn. Egnatius C.f. of the tribe Stellatina mentioned as a witness to a decree of the senate dated between 175 and 160 BC: *RDGE* 4, lines 16–17.

37 Conclusion of a letter by a Roman magistrate to the Dionysiac Artists. After 146 BC.

Stone broken on all sides, the surface greatly eroded, Thebes.

IG VII 2413; **RDGE* 44, lines 1–9.

Accame, *Dominio* 1ff.; *RDGE* pp. 249–52; Larsen, *States* 498–504; Bernhardt, *Historia* 62–73.

- [--- | Macedonia,] the province of the Romans, and (that part?), which
they rule, | [? of Greece,¹] I grant to you for the sake of Dionysos² and | [of
5 the other] gods and of the way of life which you have preferred, || that [you]
in every way are to be immune from liturgies and from *bille|ting* and *immune*
and *exempt* from every war-contribution, | [both yourselves and] your
wives and children until [they reach] *adult|hood*, just as you asked. *vv* | *vv*
With good luck. *vv*³

1 The mutilated phrases in lines 2–3 have led to a controversy on the status of Greece after 146 BC. Accame's solution, accepted by many scholars, divides Greece into two parts: one is subject to the governor of the new province of Macedonia, while the other remains free and independent. See Pausanias on the destruction of Corinth (above, no. 35).

2 The mention of Dionysos suggests that the letter was addressed to a guild of Dionysiac Artists, on whom see the glossary.

3 The next four lines on the stone form the beginning of a new letter by a Roman consul or proconsul to the Ionian and Hellespontine Guild of Dionysiac Artists.

38 Decree of the senate concerning NARTHAKION and MELITAIA. 140 BC or earlier.

Grayish stone slab, letters of the second century carefully engraved on both sides, NARTHAKION in Thessaly.

IG IX 2.89; SIG³ 674; *RDGE 9.

Tod, *Arbitration* 23–4; RDGE pp. 49–53; Larsen, *States* 281–8; Schwertfeger, *Bund* 24.

- When the *strategos*¹ of the Thessalians was Leon | (son) of [Hag]esippos from Larisa, and when in NARTHAKION | [the tagoi² were] Kriton (son) of Ameinias, Polykles | (son) of [Phei]dippos, and Glauketas (son) of
- 5 Agelaos, || a decree was engraved (and set up), passed by the sen|ate when the strategos of the Thessalians was Thessa|[los (son)] of Thrasymedes of Pherai. vv | [Gaius Hos]tilius, son of Aulus, Mancinus, prae|tor,³ con-
- 10 sulted the senate on the || [--day] before the *Nones* of July in the Comi-tium. | (Witnesses) present at the *writing* were: Quintus <S>tatilienus, son of Quintus, | (of the tribe) [Cor]nelia; Gnaeus Lutatius, son of Gnaeus, | (of the tribe) [--en]sis;⁴ and Aulus Sempronius, son of Aulus, (of the tribe) [Fa]|lerna. vv Whereas the Thessalian *envoys* from Melitaia,
- 15 Harmo|[xenos (son) of Ly]sandros, and Lampromachos (son) of Politas, | spoke, being men fi|ne and good, friends from a People fine | *and good*, our friends and allies, | and renewed their goodwill, [friendship and] *alliance*,
- 20 || (and whereas) [they spoke (?)] *about* their public [land] and about the desert area, in possession of which land into friendship | with the [People] of the Romans vv they had entered, and which la|nd the [NARtha]kieians thereafter unjustly | [had made] their own, about this matter (they
- 25 asked) that || (the senators) direct their attention⁵ to it so that the (former) condi|tion might be restored [in full, just as | previously] in (the court of Medeios and the Thessalian | [--,] and in (the court of) Pyllos (and) the Mace|[donians⁶ a judgment] for them had been made, (asking us) [that]
- 30 these [judg|ments] be [legally binding;] about this mat|ter it *pleased* us and the NARTHAKIEIANS | [that ---] should judge the present [contest] in
- 35 M[eli]taia (?) -- on this land [--| both] Peoples [entrusting --|] there is [--] | LACUNA [--- and whereas the Thessalian | NARTHAKIEIANS, N]ika-tas (son) of Ta[--, | --,] envoys, *spoke* [in | person in the] senate, [being
- 40 men fine || and good,] friends from a People *fine* | [and good,] friends [and allies of ours, | and renewed goodwill,] *friendship* [and] *alliance* [and | dis-cussed the] *situation* [in their country,] | about the land [and] *sanctuaries*
- 45 and [about the] || (land) *taken from* [the] rule of [Melit]aia, (land) of the Nar|thakieians in [Acha]ia (Phthiotis), (saying) that in possession of *this* | land into *friendship* with the *People* [of the Ro]mans the NARTHAKIEIANS had

entered, and that concerning | the land and the sanctuaries they had been
 50 in the courts victor||ious according to the laws of the Thessalians, la|ws
 which they use to the present day, laws which Titus | Quintius (Flamini-
 nus), consul (198 BC), after consultation with the Ten Commis|sioners
 had given them, also in accordance with a decree | of the senate, (adding)
 55 about this mat||ter that it was now the third year since before three tri|bu-
 nals they had been victorious – (tribunals) of Samians, Kolo[ph]|onians
 and Magnesians – and that the decisions had been made in accordance
 with the laws, | (and) that they should all be legally binding, just as for
 60 others | had been done, about this matter || it was decreed as follows: that
 goodwill, friendship and alliance | be renewed, that they be given a
 friendly re|ply and that as fine and good men they be add|ressed, and that
 whatever decisions had been made in accordance with laws | which Titus
 65 Quintius, consul, had given them, it seemed best that these || ought to be
 legally binding, just as had been decided; | that it was not an easy thing
 for that, which in accordance with the laws had been deci|ded, to be made
 invalid; and that Gai|us Hostilius, praetor, should order the quaestor to
 70 give gifts | of 125 sesterces || to each embassy, as might | appear [to him] to
 be in keeping with the interest of the Republic | and his own good faith.
 Decreed. vv

By this period Rome was regularly consulted by Greek states concerning their contro-
 versies with each other – cf. the decree of the senate about Magnesia and Priene, above, no.
 34, and see Tod, *Arbitration, passim*, and *RDGE* pp. 195–6. After the two parties through
 envoys had presented their respective cases before the senate, the final decision was some-
 times made by the senate itself, as in the present instance, or sometimes the senate
 merely stated the rule to be applied and then handed the whole matter over to some third
 (neutral) city to render the decision, as above, no. 34, between Magnesia and Priene.
 Sometimes a senatorial commission would be formed to decide the case. In our document
 we see that Melitaia and Narthakion were quarreling for a long time over possession of a
 piece of land. After their envoys had presented their arguments, the senate decided in
 favor of Narthakion, thus upholding the actions taken more than half a century earlier by
 the Ten Commissioners and Flamininus in their settlement of conditions in Greece after
 the conclusion of the war against Philip.

1 A new feature of the Thessalian League after its reorganization by Flamininus was that
 its head henceforth was to be an annually elected strategos ('general'): Larsen, *States*
 286.

2 Tagoi were the chief magistrates in Thessalian cities.

3 The latest possible date for his praetorship is 140 BC: Broughton, *MRR* I 480; II 643,
 addendum to I 480.

4 '[Arnen]sis' or '[Anien]sis'.

5 One expects here: '(they asked) that || we direct our attention to it' etc.

6 Medeios and Pylos were the men who headed two previous tribunals concerned with
 this same controversy, each of them having a team of arbitrators working with him.

39 Decree of Pergamum on citizenship after the death of Attalus III. 133 BC.

Stele of white marble with a break running from the top center to the middle of the right side, broken at the bottom, Pergamum.

*OGIS 338; IGRR IV 289. For the will of Attalus III cf. Livy, *Per.* 58–9; Strabo 13.4.2; Velleius Paterculus 2.4.1; Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 14; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 33.148; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 62; Justin 36.45.

Broughton, *Asia* 505–11; Magie, *RRAM* I 147–50 and II 1035, n. 5; F. Carrata Thomes, *La rivolta di Aristonico e le origini della provincia romana d'Asia* (Turin 1968) 35–41; Hansen, *Attalids*² 151–9; Hopp, *Untersuchungen* 121–38; C. Delplace, *Athenaeum* N.S. 56 (1978) 21–8.

In the priesthood of Menestra[*tos*] (son) of Apollodoros | on the nineteenth of the month Eumeneios,¹ it was decreed by the | People on the motion of the strategoi: since King Attalus | Philometor and Euergetes
5 [passed away] from me|n and left our *city* free, | having included in it the territory which he judged to be *civic territory*,² | and (since) his will must be ratified by the Romans, and (since) it is [necessa|ry] for the common safety that the below lis|ted³ peoples share in the citizenship
10 because of the whole-hearted good||will that they exhibited toward the People (of Pergamum), – with good luck, let it be decree|d by the People to give citizenship to the *follow|ing*: those registered in the lists of resident | aliens and of the soldiers living in the ci|ty and its territory, and
15 likewise the Macedonians and My[sians] || and those who are registered in the fort and [the] | old [city] as colonists, and the Masdyenoi⁴ and [--] | and the police and the other [free | men]⁵ living or owning property [in
20 the city] | or the territory, and likewise (their) wives and children. || To the (class of) resident aliens (etc.)⁶

When King Attalus III died in 133 BC, naming the Romans as heirs to his kingdom and granting the city of Pergamum the status of a free city – all subject, of course, to confirmation by Rome – a pretender to the throne called Aristonicus began a revolt that lasted three years and was brought to an end by the combined forces of Rome, Greek cities, and the kings of Pontos, Bithynia and Cappadocia. His appeal to classes such as slaves, serfs, some royal soldiers, and non-Greeks was so great that the Pergamenes, in order to forestall further defection to his cause, passed the present decree granting citizenship to large numbers of the inhabitants who had not possessed it, with the hope that the action would win their loyalty to the city.

1 No precise equivalent in the Julian calendar is possible.

2 Greek cities regularly controlled the adjacent countryside with its smaller communities for some distance out from the city limits proper. P. Foucart, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 37 (1904) 300, has suggested the phrase '*cities and*' for '*civic territory*', thus: 'having included in it both *cities and* a territory which he determined'.

40 Decree of the senate concerning Attalus III

- 3 Hansen translates the phrase as 'subordinate classes', and Delplace as 'les peuples soumis'.
- 4 The Macedonians, Mysians and Masdyenians were colonists or settlers within Pergamene borders. The soldiers previously mentioned were mercenaries of the king.
- 5 Restoration by L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris 1962) 55, n. 6. Prott and Kolbe in *Athen. Mitt.* 27 (1902) 109, n. 1, suggest '[auxiliary troops]'.
- 6 The text continues on for seventeen more lines, listing the classes of individuals who are to be transferred to the class of resident aliens and depriving certain others who had left the city or who may hereafter leave it of their civic rights. The stone breaks off at a point where further provisions are being made about the granting of citizenship.

40 Decree of the senate concerning the death of King Attalus III. Probably 133 BC,¹ late in the year.

White marble broken on all sides, beautifully engraved, Pergamum.

OGIS 435; IGRR IV 301; *RDGE 11.

Magie, *RRAM* I 33 and II 1033–4, n. 1; *RDGE* 59–62; T. Drew-Bear, *Historia* 21 (1972) 75–87; C. Delplace, *Athenaeum* N.S. 56 (1978) 28–33.

- [---] | *vv* [Decree of the] senate. *vv* | [G]aius Popillius, son of Gaius, *praetor*,² sought [the sen|ate's] advice [on the --] *day* before the [-- of || --] *Jember*.³ Whereas [he] spoke [about] affairs [in Perga|m(?)]um, (about) what injunctions [there will be for the] | praetors who go [to A]sia, (in order that) [whatever in Asia] do|wn to the death of Attalus by the [kings (in Asia)] | had been amended (or) given (or) taken away (or whatever)
- 10 penalties had been imposed, [that these acts should be] || *legally binding*, the senate [passed a decree] about this [as follows: concerning | what G]aius Popillius, son of Gaius, praetor, [said,] | about this matter [it has been decreed as follows:] | whatever King Attalus and the *rest of the* [ki|ngs] had amended (or whatever) penalties they had imposed (or whatever)
- 15 [they had taken away (or) given,] || whatever of these things were done down to one [day before | Att]alus died, that *these things* [are to be legally binding,] and [the prae|tors] who go to Asia [-|-]⁴ but should allow these things to remain legally binding, [all of them just as the sen|vv ate] has decided. *vv*⁵

When it was learned in Rome that King Attalus III of Pergamum had died and in his will had left his kingdom to Rome, the praetor – in the absence of the consuls – convened the senate and placed before it the matter of the will and various actions of the kings in Asia. The senate discussed the matter and then passed the present decree, in which all the past actions of the kings 'down to one [day before Att]alus died' were to be legally binding. That included, of course, the will itself. Cf. above, no. 39.

1 E. Badian, *JRS* 70 (1980) 202, suggests 132 BC.

2 This senator is otherwise unknown: Broughton, *MRR* I 496, n. 1.

41 The cult of the goddess Roma in Miletus

- 3 The date must fall between August 16 and December 12, excluding the period September 14 through October 15.
4 *RDGE*: '[are not to disturb his tes|tament (?)]'. Dittenberger (in *OGIS*): '[are not to disturb anything to no good purpose]'.
5 On the next line is found the heading of a new document: 'Letter of [Pu]blius Seruil[ius --]'.
6

41 The cult of the goddess Roma in Miletus. About 130 BC.

Two fragments (A–B) of a marble anta, Miletus.

Milet I 7, no. 203 (+ photograph); Sokolowski, **Lois* no. 49.

Mellor, *Worship* 53–4 and 135; Fayer, C., *Il culto della Roma* (Pescara 1976) 47–8.

(A) With good luck. The man who buys the | priesthood of the People of
5 the Ro|mans and of Roma | shall immediately register a priest with || the
treasurers and kings,¹ a ma|n not younger than twenty years. | The man
who has been registered shall serve as priest for three years | and eight
10 months, beginning with | the month Metageitnion when || Kratinos is
stephanephoros,² or another man | he shall present to serve as priest in
pla|ce of himself for the same period of time, after he has been consecrated
to Zeus | Telesiourgos,³ and he shall receive from the | treasurer, each
15 year in the month || of Taureon on its first day, dra|chmas (to the number
of) sixty, and he shall sacrifice to the Peo|ple of the Romans and to Roma
on the | first day of the month Taureon | a fully grown victim. And on the
20 eleventh day || of the same month there shall be a sacrifice, as they en|ter
into office, by the gymnasi|archs, along with the ephebes, of a full|y grown
victim to the People of the Romans and | to Roma, and likewise, as they
25 leave their office, || the gymnasiarchs shall make a sacrifice, along with
their ephebes who have finished training, of a [fu|lly grown victim,] and
each of these groups (gymnasiarchs and ephebes) shall give to [the |
priest] the prescribed perquisites.

(B) [--] and for the other athletic contests assigning to ea|ch the approp-
riate prizes, also setting up for de|dication (other) prizes, weapons of war
5 no | less than three, having also the inscription || on them of (the name of)
the contest, and displaying the ut|most zeal regarding them, in accor-
dance with the piety of our People toward the divine | and with our grate-
tude toward the Ro[man]s. | And there shall take part, [together with] the
10 priest, || in organizing these (contests) and administering them, the gym-
nasiarchs of the | young men, in order that the contests might be as splen-
did as possible; on the eighth day of the third decade | of the same month⁴
he shall put on the contest, in the chil|dren's palaestra, of the torch-race
15 and the oth|her athletic games, providing a fitting | organization for the

41 The cult of the goddess Roma in Miletus

games; co-operating in effort | and taking part, together with him, in organizing this contest and administering it, | shall be the supervisors of the children's education. And there shall take place the de|dication of the
 20 arms, set up (as prizes) in the || Roman Games,⁵ for the present in the gymnasi|um of the young men, but when is completed the temple | of Roma, (the dedication shall take place) in the Romaion.⁶ And there shall be a sacrifice by the pr|iest, on the first day of each month, to the Peo|ple of
 25 the Romans and to Roma of a victim fu||lly grown, (the priest) having received from the prytany | treasurer ten drachmas for the sacrifice; | on the seventh day of the month Thargelion there shall be a sacrifi|ce by the aisymnetes,⁷ to the People of the Roma|ns and to Roma, of a fully grown
 30 ox || and he shall give to the priest the prescribed perquisi|tes, and he shall sacrifice in Metageitnion, | on the twelfth day, in the same way and give the perquisites. | But if the god buys the office of aisym|netes,⁸ there shall
 35 be a sacrifice by the prosetairoi⁹ || of the god, on each of these two days, of a fu||lly grown victim, and they shall give the perquisites to the priest | as prescribed. In the month of Boie|[d]romion on the eighteenth day there
 40 shall be a sac|rifice, by the fifty archons,¹⁰ of a [fully || grown] pig, and they shall give the perquisites [to the | priest --]

The worship of the goddess Roma did not begin in Italy – she was not worshipped in Rome until the reign of Hadrian – but in the Greek world, the evidence placing the start in Smyrna in 195 BC. Roma was the personification of the Roman state, but still a goddess with a cult that included priests, temples, epithets, games, etc. The Greeks of the Hellenistic world, accustomed to use religious forms to express political feelings, saw the cult of Roma as a political and not a religious observance. As Roman domination spread over the east in the second century, the cult of Roma spread from city to city, eventually displacing the Hellenistic ruler cult. Through Roma the Greek cities expressed their acceptance of Rome as a political force in their world and formally placed themselves under Roman protection. For a list and discussion of the evidence for such cities see Mellor, *Worship* 27–110.

- 1 Rehm (in *Milet*) believes that Miletus had a college of treasurers with a 'king' as president.
- 2 Kratinos seems to have been stephanephoros, i.e. the eponymous magistrate, c. 130 BC. Rehm observed that such a date is in agreement with the letter-forms and spellings of the inscription. After the priesthood had been established about this time, each priest after the first one would serve a full four years.
- 3 'Who Brings to Completion'. See K. Latte, *Philologus* 85 (1930) 225–8.
- 4 It is not known whether the count of the third decade in the Milesian month was forward or backward: Samuel, *Chronology* 115.
- 5 For these 'Romaia' see Mellor, *Worship* 165–80.
- 6 The sacred enclosure which included a temple of Roma.
- 7 A Milesian post involving religious duties, usually burdensome.
- 8 Sometimes no citizen bought the post of aisymnetes; it was then bought on behalf of the god and the expenses paid out of the temple funds.
- 9 These were tribal representatives.
- 10 The college of fifty archons was an oligarchic institution introduced by the Romans.

43 *Bargylia supplies troops against Aristonicus*

42 **Manius Aquillius constructs the first Roman roads in Asia. 129–126 BC.**

Milestones.

A: *CIL* III 7183; *ILS* 27; *IGRR* IV 264; **ILLRP* 455. Milestone between modern Dikili on the coast and Pergamum. **B:** *CIL* III 14202.4; *ILS* 5814; *IGRR* IV 1659; **ILLRP* 456. Milestone at Tire in southern Lydia. **C:** **CIL* III 7177; *IGRR* IV 880. Milestone at Tacina on the border of Phrygia and Pisidia.

Magie, *RRAM* I 157–8; II 1048–9, nn. 39–40; D. H. French, *ANRW* 7.2.706–7.

A. *ILLRP* 455

- (Latin) Manius Aquillius, son of Manius, | consul (129 BC). | (Mile)
5 131.¹ | (Greek) [Mani]us [A]quill[i]us, (son) of Manius, || consul of the
Romans. | *vv* (Mile) 131. *vv*

B. *ILLRP* 456

- (Latin) Manius Aquilli[us, son of Manius, consul.] | (Greek) [M]aniu[s]
Aquilli[us,] son of [Ma]nius, [consul of the Romans.] | (Latin) [L.] Aquil-
lius, [son of Manius,] Floru[s,² quaestor,] | restored (the road). *vv* (Mile)
5 [2]4. || (Greek) [Lu]cius Aquil[ius, son of [M]anius, | grandson of
[M]anius, [Flo]rus, quaestor, restored (the road). *vv* (Mile) 24.

C. *CIL* III 7177

(Latin) [Manius Aquillius, son of Manius,] | *vv* consul. *vv* | *vv* (Mile) 223.³
vv | (Greek) [Man]ius Aquillius, (son) of Manius, || *consul of the Romans*. | *vv*
(Mile) 223. *vv*

1 The Roman miles were regularly numbered from a provincial capital, which in Asia was the city of Ephesus.

2 Nothing else is known about this senator, except that he appears to be a descendant, perhaps the grandson, of the consul of 129 BC.

3 This is clear evidence of the extent of Asia toward the south-east from the very beginning of the province.

43 **The city of Bargylia supplies troops in the war against Aristonicus. 129 BC.**

Extract from a handwritten copy of a lost stone, Bargylia in Karia.

Holleaux, **Études* II 179–86.

Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 463–5; Magie, *RRAM* II 1039, n. 14; Hansen, *Attalids*² 158.

(A, lines 13–21)¹ And when Manius | Aquillius, the commander of the Romans (consul 129 BC), had marched (on campaign) into (that part of
 15 Mysia || called Ab[b]aitis toward the interior² and had left behind | in *our* territory Gnaeus Domitius, (son) of Gnaeus, with command *pro praetore*,³ and when (Aquillius) had detached some of his *for|ces* and the majority of the allied troops (and assigned them) to Domitius, and when [he had led | away the soldiers] who had been sent by our People in accordance with (the) alliance⁴ | [and] had won *many* great successes, and when the fortres-
 20 s||les that seemed to be difficult to capture had [all] been captured by him by force of arms, [(Poseidonios) rejoiced | at the events]⁵ and performed the appropriate sacrifices to the gods [--]

(B, lines 21–42) [-- Quintus Caepio --, having re|ceived] as a successor the [command entrusted] to [G]naeus (Domitius), demanded [a large number] | of *soldiers* in order to take this [force] (with him) into the field; [and when there was an outbreak a|gain (?)] of the war, it happened that
 25 [our] city was [heavily] burdened [by our] || having continuously engaged in military operations in the field [together with the Romans in accordance with] the order of Quintus Caepio,⁶ | and even more of [our soldiers] had been sent off by the People and [enrolled] | for the war, [and difficult times (?)] *followed* (in our city); [and therefore | the People,] thinking that Poseidonios was [equal to the task (?),] called upon him to [re|new (?)] our former requests concerning the soldiers, [in order that there might
 30 not] be *im||plemented* upon the city this [order (for troops)] from Quintus Caepio [in accor|dance with the policy of Mani]us Aquillius the commander; [when called upon,] (Poseidonios) eagerly complied and, setting out from the city with his [fellow envoys,] me|t with [G]naeus (Domitius),⁷ and, having spoken [appropriately (?)] on behalf of our
 35 city, | he brought back the soldiers and relieved [the city of the] || expense [for them;] in return for these services the People *confirmed* the [previous] decree [and praised hi|m,] one and all, and performed sacrifices to the gods and ordered [the *stephanephoros* (?)] | to summon the envoys to the temple for the sacrifices; [and in this(?)] | (Poseidonios) was thought worthy of [great] *fa|vor*⁸ by Gnaeus, so that [he was enrolled] among the friends (of Gnaeus), and | the sons of Gnaeus, writing [on behalf] of him
 40 (their father) to [our city, made it clear] that they had en||rolled Poseidonios also as a paternal [friend of theirs (?); in return for these things the People] *accepted* [this policy of theirs] | *in a hospitable way* (?) and enrolled on [the stele of proxenoi and benefactors (?) | both Gnaeus and his sons (?) ---]

1 This document is part of a long decree passed by the city of Bargylia in south-western Karia to honor Poseidonios, one of its most prominent citizens. Neither its beginning

44 Pergamum celebrates its friendship with Rome

nor its ending is known, the extant central portion being concerned with the reasons for honoring Poseidonios. A handwritten copy of the lost stone shows that three fragments of it had been found (A–C). Lines 1–13 of A inform us of Poseidonios' repair of the Town Hall of Bargylia, the regulations he introduced about the appointment of *stephanophoroi* and about the honors and sacrifices to be made to Apollo; lines 13–21 of A and 21–42 of B (translated here) are concerned with the Roman military actions against the rebel forces of Aristonicus and the aid given by Poseidonios to his city in those difficult times. The third fragment (C, lines 42–57) informs us that Poseidonios had gone to Rhodes to settle a dispute between the Rhodians and the city of Stratonikeia in Karia. Many of the restorations made in this inscription, especially in B, are highly conjectural, although the general sense has been made reasonably clear. The most speculative of these restorations are queried in the present translation.

- 2 The reference is to the war against Aristonicus, who began a revolt against the establishment of Roman domination in 133 BC after Rome had accepted the will of Attalus III of Pergamum, bequeathing his possessions to the Roman People (cf. above, nos. 39–40). In 131 BC a Roman army was sent to Asia, but it was not until 129, under Manius Aquillius, that the last of the major rebel forces were subdued in the district of Abbatias between Mysia and Phrygia. See Magie, *RRAM* I 147–54.
- 3 Gnaeus Domitius, son of Gnaeus, Ahenobarbus (consul 122) was a legate under Aquillius: Broughton, *MRR* I 505. For the command *pro praetore* see the Glossary, s.v. *Promagistrate*.
- 4 Holleaux argues that this ought to mean 'as an auxiliary force' because of the absence of the definite article in the Greek. But idiomatic omission of the article is not unknown, and, thus, 'in accordance with (the) alliance' is possible.
- 5 For Poseidonios see n. 1.
- 6 Probably Quintus Servilius, son of Gnaeus, Caepio, the later consul of 106 BC: Broughton, *MRR* I 505.
- 7 He is no longer in the vicinity of Bargylia, since Caepio had replaced him there, but he is apparently Caepio's superior officer.
- 8 An alternative for '*favor*' is '*reception*'. Thus: '[a fine] *re|ception*'.

44 Decree of Pergamum to celebrate its friendship and alliance with Rome. Probably about 129 BC.

Marble stele cut in half vertically, broken at top and bottom, damaged on both sides, found c. 5 km above the mouth of the Caicus River.

**SIG*³ 694; *IGRR* IV 1692; Sokolowski, *Lois* no. 15, pp. 44–5 (lines 31–61 only).

- [--] (son) of Theon (?) [--|--] of this [--|--] | *vv* [It was decreed by the
 5 Boule] and the People,¹ || [-- (son) of Nik]anor, | [-- (son)] of Dion[y]sios, |
 10 [-- (son) of Ar]chias, | [-- (son) of Me]nandros, | [P]olystr[atos (son) of
 M]enon, || the strategoi, made the motion: | [since] our People, from the
 beginning [preserving] | their *goodwill and friendship* [with] the [R]omans,
 | have given [many] other [exhibitions] | of their friendly policy in the
 15 [most pressing crises,] || and likewise in *the war against* | [Ar]istonikos have
 applied themselves with [all] | enthusiasm and have *undergone* great

dangers | both on land and [on] sea, [in consequence of which] | the
 20 People [of the Rom]ans came to know the *friendly poli|cy* of our [People,]
 accepted | our goodwill and *have received* our *People* | into *friendship* and *alli-*
ance; | and since there has been dedicated *in* [Rome] in the temple of |
 25 Jupiter Capitolinus a bronze plaque [and] || on it has been set out the
 decree *passed* | by the [senate] about the alli|ance, and likewise the
 [treaty,] and (since) it is proper | that [these] also be engraved *among us* on
 30 two plaques | of bronze and *placed* in the temple || of Demeter and *in* [the]
 Hall of the Boule | *beside* the statue of [Democ]racy,² it is *decreed* | by [the]
 Boule and the *People* that the auditors of public accounts | [through] the
 proper men *let out a contract* for the | preparation [of the] plaques and for
 35 their || *engraving*, [and] likewise for two stelai of mar|ble upon which, when
 [the] plaques have been comple|ted, [they] are to be affixed. And there is
 to be engraved | [on the] stelai a verbatim copy | [of this] decree, and
 40 [when] the erection || of them has been completed, [the] stephanephoros
 and | [the] priests and [priestesses] and the magistrates | [on behalf of the]
 citizens [are to open] the temples | [of the] *gods*, offer frankincense, and
 45 *pray*: | 'For the good luck [and] *safety* of || our People [and of the Rom]ans
 and of the Asso|ciation of the *Artists* of Dionysos Our Leader | (we pray
 that) for all time there will remain with us the | friendship and *alliance* with
 the [Ro]mans.' And there is to be pre|sented a sacrifice, as fine as pos-
 50 sible, to || [De]meter and Kor[e, the] presiding | goddesses of our city, and
 likewise to | [Rom]a³ and to all the other [gods] and goddesses. | And the
 day is to be *holy*, and there is to be an exemption | for the children from
 55 their [studies,] and for the house||hold slaves from their work. And there is
 to be celebrated, after the | *sacrifice*, a parade for the *boys* and young men, |
 under the direction of the supervisor of the boys' education | and the
 gymnasiarch. The expense incurred | *for* the preparation [of the] plaques
 60 and for the other things || is to be paid by Eukles and Di[onysi]os, the trea-
 surers, | [from the] *revenues* which they control.

1 Since the stone was found almost midway between Pitane and Elaea, on the right bank of the Caicus River, and some thirteen miles downstream from Pergamum, the identity of the city passing the decree was long in doubt, but, as Robert pointed out (*Ét. Anat.* 49 n. 3), the mention of the Dionysiac Artists in line 46 could only indicate Pergamum, seat of their Association.

2 The representation of Democracy in art in the Greek world dates back at least to the fourth century BC in Athens (cf. Pausanias 1.3.2). For a relief on a stele showing a seated Demos being crowned by a standing Demokratia see the inscription published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 355–9, with Pls. LXXXIX–XC, the text now in *SEG* XII 87 (of 337/6 BC). Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Akte des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik* (Vienna 1964) 332–7 (parallel publication in *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 238–43 with Pl. LXXXVI).

3 See above, nos. 18 and 41.

45 Decree of the senate concerning Pergamene land. Probably 129 BC.

Stone blocks from Adramyttium (copy A) and Smyrna (copy B).¹

IGRR IV 262 (copy A); A. Passerini, *Athenaeum* 15 (1937) 252ff. (copy B); R. K. Sherck, *GRBS* 7 (1966) 361–9 (B+A, photograph of B); **RDGE* 12 (B+A). Cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 5.4ff.

Passerini, *loc. cit.*; Magie, *RRAM* II 1055–6, n. 25; G. Tibiletti, *JRS* 47 (1957) 136–8; L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome 1960) 170–5; *RDGE* pp. 63–73; H. B. Mattingly, *AJP* 93 (1972) 412–23; Badian, *Publicans* 60 and 132.

- (Copy B) [--] and concerning [--|--, concerning this] matter [it was decreed as follows: the Per|gamene envoys as men fine and good] and as friends [from a People fine | and good, our friends and allies,] that they are to be addressed (in that way, and) that goodwill, [friendship and
- 5 alliance || are to be renewed. Concerning the land which] is *under* controversy and [concerning --, | -- that concerning these] matters, about which they spoke, [-- X² --] is to determine what are the boundaries of the Pergamenes, [if it seems best to him, | --] (the land within ?) the boundaries exempted and safeguarded [so that it may not be exploited (? by the publicans ?)³ | And Manius Aquilius and Gaius Sempro]nius,⁴ the
- 10 consuls (129 BC), between themselves [are to see to it that either || they or --,] the urban *praetor*, [to whomever of them it seems best, in regard to the decision which | --, - X -,] may make about these [matters, (they) are to communicate (that decision) to the senate. | Likewise, (it has been decreed that) the] senate wishes and [considers it just and] | believes that [it is in keeping with the best interest of our] *Republic* that, [as it may seem best to --, | -- X --,] about these matters, [our magistrates who on Asia
- 15 || impose the revenues or]⁵ *let out the contracts* for the revenues of Asia [are to see to it that, as may | seem best to them and in keeping with the best interest] of the *Republic* and their own good faith, [thus these matters are to be handled (?), | and that Manius Aq]uilius,⁶ the consul, *v* if it seems best to him, is to order that Th[--⁷ | are to be provided with quarters, furnishings] and gifts according to official procedure, {if it seems best to him},⁸ [the quaestor (being ordered) to let out contracts (for these things) | and send them off,] as may seem best to him and in keeping with the best
- 20 interest of the *Republic* || [and his own good faith.] Decreed. *v* Decision concerning the land. *v* Record Book *v* 2 *v* page⁹ [--.] (Copy B+A) [On the | third day before the Kalends] of July (June 28) in the Comitium. With his Advisory Board [-- | -- X --] concerning the land which is under controversy between the *publicans* [and the Per|gamenes gave his decision (?).]

46 Samos honors Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus

Present [on the] Advisory Board were: Quintus Caecilius, (son) of Quintus, (of the tribe) [Aniensis; Gaius | --ius, (son) of Gaius, (of the tribe) Me]nesia; (etc.)¹⁰

After the annexation of Asia by Rome in accordance with the bequest of King Attalus III of Pergamum in 133 BC, a controversy arose between Pergamum and the publicans about the location of the boundaries of the Pergamene territory (cf. line 7 of the present document). Pergamum sent envoys to Rome and they explained their side of the argument to the senate. The publicans explained theirs. The senate replied by passing the present decree. The date is crucial, for in the decree one sees that the publicans are already at work collecting the taxes. See nn. 4 and 6.

- 1 Copy A was found near Adramyttium over 100 years ago and it contains mutilated parts only of the present text, from line 21 to 37. Thus, in that area, both copies can be used to reconstruct the text more fully. Copy B, from Smyrna, first published in 1934, is engraved on a huge building block that may once have been the anta block of a public building in the agora. Its inscribed surface is badly damaged on all sides, but it is the fuller of the two copies. It is the text presented in *RDGE*, with its restorations in lines 21–37 reproducing the extant remains of copy A.
- 2 The name of a Roman magistrate once stood in this space.
- 3 The text of this entire line is badly preserved. Passerini felt that the Greek of ‘exempted and safeguarded’ translated a Roman legal term (*exceptum caviumve*) and, as a parallel, he cited the *lex Agraria* (*CIL* I 2.585; *FIRA* I 8, line 6).
- 4 Mattingly does not believe that the consuls whose names once stood in this line were the consuls in office. He restores the names of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Gaius Fannius, the consuls of 122 BC.
- 5 For this important phrase, restored here, see the decree of the senate concerning Asclepiades (*RDGE* 22, line 23), and *OGIS* 441, line 108. See Passerini, *op. cit.* 261.
- 6 Mattingly believes that he is the younger Manius Aquillius, the consul of 101 BC and thus, like Magie, dates the document to the year 101 BC.
- 7 One expects here the names of the Pergamene envoys.
- 8 Passerini thought that this phrase was engraved in error, the eye of the engraver seeing the same phrase in the previous line.
- 9 The Greek word translated here as ‘page’ means literally ‘wax’. The records in the Roman archives were originally in the form of wax tablets bound or strung together in series, each tablet evidently being given a number. See *RDGE* pp. 9–10.
- 10 The list of names continues on to line 47, the total number of names being 55. For the list see *RDGE* pp. 69–70 and the discussion in Taylor, *loc. cit.* Lines 48–53 contain the decision of the Roman magistrate about the controversy. It is hopelessly mutilated.

46 Samos honors Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus. 129–126 BC.

Statue base, letters of the last half of the second or first half of the first century, Samos.

IGRR IV 968; Robert, **Opera* I 559.

The People of Samos (dedicate this statue of) Gnaeus Domitius, | son of the Gnaeus who was given by the | (Roman) senate as patron¹ to our

47 *Roman negotiatores in the Greek East*

- 5 People, | for his (interest) in the temple of || *vv* Artemis *vv* | Tauropolos, because of his excellence | toward them, to Hera. | Philotechnos (son) of Heroides made (the statue).

1 The father may have been one of those ten commissioners who had been sent out by the Roman senate to assist Paullus in organizing Macedonia in 167 BC: Broughton, *MRR* I 435. He may have been assigned to speak on behalf of the Samians in some (legal?) difficulty. His son, the present Gnaeus, served under Manius Aquillius in Asia: Broughton, *MRR* I 505.

47 Roman negotiatores (businessmen) in the Greek East. Second and first centuries.

A: *OGIS* 135; Durrbach, **Choix* 105; *I. Délos* 1526. Soon after 127 BC. Marble base, Delos. B: Durrbach, **Choix* 95; *I. Délos* 1645. Soon after 126/5 BC. Pedestal of a statue, Delos. C: *CIL* I² 845; Ch. Picard, *BCH* 34 (1910) 540 (+ photograph); *I. Délos* 1999; **ILLRP* 343. Base on which rested the statue of a naked man bending down on his knees, letters of early first century, Delos. (Latin and Greek). D: Durrbach, **Choix* 138; *I. Délos* 1725. Early first century. Rectangular base, Delos. E: J. Bingen, **BCH* 78 (1954) 84; *AE* 1954, 31; *ILLRP* 370. Limestone plaque, letters and spelling of the first half of the first century, Aigion in Achaia. (Latin). F: *CIL* I² 746; *ILS* 867; **ILLRP* 374. 68 BC (?). Statue base, Argos. (Latin). G: *CIL* III 455 = 7160; *ILS* 891; **ILLRP* 433. 34 BC (?). Statue base, Mytilene. (Latin). H: *OGIS* 354; **IG* II² 3426. Middle of the first century. From a copy of the original, Athens.

A. Durrbach, *Choix* 105, Delos

- 5 The Roman shipowners | and merchants who in the cap|ture of Alexan-
dria were treated kindly by King | Ptolemaios Euergetes, god,¹ || (dedicate
this statue of) Lochos (son) of Kallimedes, kinsman² of Ki|ng Ptolemaios
and Queen Cleopatra, because of his excellence and | kindness toward
them, | to Apollo.

B. Durrbach, *Choix* 95, Delos

- (This statue of) Theophrasto[s (son) of Herak]l[eitas of (the deme)
Achar]nai, past governor of Delos,³ | who improved the market-square
and with the breakwater enclosed the harbor, | has been dedicated by the
Athenian colonists on Delos and by the merchants and shipowners | of
5 the Romans and the other foreigners residing here, || because of his
excellence and noble qualities and kindness toward them.

C. *ILLRP* 343, Delos

(Latin) [Gaius Marius, son of Gaius (?),]⁴ *legate* (?), (is honored by) the
Italians who were in Alexandria, | because of his [excellence] and

47 *Roman negotiatores in the Greek East*

kindness. | (Greek) Agasias (son) of Menophilos, | of Ephesos,⁵ made (the statue).

D. Durrbach, *Choix* 138, Delos

The merchants and those who work (on) the (market?) square⁶ | (dedicate this statue of) Maraius Gerillanus, son of Maraius, Roman, | banker at
5 Delos, | because of his *noble conduct* toward them, || to [A]pollo, Artemis (and) Leto. | Agasias (son) of [Menophilos, of Ephes]os, made it.

E. BCH 78 (1954) 84, Aigion in Achaia

(Latin) *vv* The Italians *vv* | who do business at Argos | (honor) P. Rutilius, son of Publius, Nudus, | q(uaestor).⁷

F. ILLRP 374, Argos

(Latin) (Set up to) Q. Caecilius, son of Gaius, Metellus,⁸ | imperator, (by) the Italians | who do business at Argos.

G. ILLRP 433, Mytilene

(Latin) The Roman citizens who | do business at Mytilene | (dedicate this statue) to M. Titius, son of Lucius, proconsul, | prefect of the fleet,
5 || consul designate,⁹ their patron, to honor him.

H. IG II² 3426, Athens

King Ariobarzanes Philopator, son of King | Ariobarzanes Philoromaaios and of Queen | Athenais Philostorgos,¹⁰ (is honored by) those who had
5 been commissioned | by him for the construction of the Odeion, || Gaius and Marcus Stallius, sons of Gaius,¹¹ and | Menalippos, as their benefactor.

Roman and Italian negotiatores had spread rapidly over the Greek East during the second century in the wake of Roman wars and the expanded Roman political activity. They were not small traders, but big businessmen ready and able to invest their capital for profits in banking or other financial enterprises: cf. below, no. 74, on the brothers Cloatii. They came largely from leading southern Italian families and many of them were familiar with Greeks even before coming to the East, because of their activities in southern Italy. In Greek they were called 'Romaioi', whether Romans or Italians, but in Latin they were *Romani* or *Italici*. See Hatzfeld, *Tragiquants, passim*; Broughton, *Asia* 543–54; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* II 762–4; 788–90; 817–19; 958–60; Nicolet, *L'ordre* 357ff.

48 *Lete honors a quaestor*

- 1 Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II, nicknamed Physkon, after being driven out of Egypt, put down a revolt in Alexandria in 127 BC and regained his throne. See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I 119–22.
- 2 This Lochos is known to have been governor (strategos) of the Thebaid in Egypt in 127 BC: Bengtson, *Strategie* III 101 and 227. The word ‘kinsman’ applied to him was a court title and shows that he enjoyed the highest rank in the court of the king: Fraser, *op. cit.* I 102–3. On the negotiatores in Egypt see Fraser, *op. cit.* I 155ff.
- 3 Theophrastos was governor of Delos in 126/5 BC: P. Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne* (Paris 1916) 105–6. In 167/6 BC the island of Delos was named a free port by Rome and placed under the supervision of Athens. Athenian colonists moved there, and each year a new epimeletes (governor) arrived from Athens. Roussel, *op. cit.* 97–125, discusses these governors and gives a list of them in chronological order. Cf. Laidlaw, *Delos* 176ff.
- 4 It was T. Mommsen (*Ephemeris Epigraphica* 5 p. 600) who first suggested that the name of Gaius Marius might be restored in this inscription. Picard later (*BCH* 56 (1932) 498–530) took up the suggestion, placed on the base a statue found nearby which represented a wounded warrior and believed it referred to the victory of Marius over the Cimbri. The base and the statue could have been erected when Marius was in the East in 99–97 BC (Plutarch, *Marius* 31.2). For another view, however, and some objections see the discussion by Fraser, *op. cit.* II 271, n. 192.
- 5 The sculptor Agasias seems to have flourished c. 100 BC.
- 6 The interpretation is controversial. Roussel in *BCH* 34 (1910) 110ff. believes that the phrase ‘those who work the square’ means ‘makers of Herms’ because of the squared posts on which they were placed and because several other references apply the phrase to these Herms. See Durrbach, *Choix* 226.
- 7 Rutilius Nudus, commander of the fleet at Chalcedon in the spring of 73 BC, was put in charge of the Roman land forces on the Bosporos and was defeated by the advancing army of Mithridates. See Magie, *RRAM* I 325 and II 1206, n. 8.
- 8 Quintus Caecilius Metellus (consul 69 BC) was apparently honored because of his victory over Crete and the pirates while he was proconsul in Crete. For this he was later given the title ‘Creticus’.
- 9 In 39 BC the consuls for the next eight years were designated in advance (Dio 48.35.1). M. Titius was proconsul (governor) of Asia in 34 BC and consul in 31 BC.
- 10 Ariobarzanes II Philopator became king of Cappadocia after the abdication of his father in 63 or 62 BC and was killed in 52 or 51 BC.
- 11 These two brothers must have been Roman architects or contractors or bankers. The Odeion was that of Perikles, destroyed by Sulla’s soldiers in 86 BC: Vitruvius 5.9.1.

48 *Lete honors M. Annius, quaestor. 119 BC.*

Stele from Lete in Macedonia.

*SIG³ 700.

F. Papazoglou in *ANRW* 2.7.1 (1979) 312.

Year 29,¹ Panemos 20. *vv* | The politarchai² of Lete, after a prelim|inary decree was passed by the members of the Boule, made the motion: Marcus Annius, son of Pub|lius, a noble and good man, having been sent out as
 5 quaestor b||y the People of the Romans to duty in Macedonia, | in the entire earlier period had continued | to put above everything else things

advantageous in common to all Mace|donians and to exhibit the greatest
 forethought for | things of importance for our city in particular, of zeal and
 10 ar||dor omitting nothing, and in the present crisis, when the Gal||lic nation
 assembled and made an expedition against the lands to|ward Argos³ with
 a huge army, against which there mar|ched out Sextus Pompeius the
 praetor⁴ and faced them in battle formation with | his own troops, and
 15 (when), as it happened, he died in the fighting, || and for this reason his
 troops were disheartened, (against the Gauls) mar|ched Marcus the
 quaestor with the men attached to him. He rou|ted the opposing forces,
 recovered the fallen (dead)⁵ and kill|ed *many* of the enemy; he seized many
 horses and arms, | and with concern for the safety of the guards in the for-
 20 ward zones || had them sent to the encampment; and after many | days
 even more Gallic horsemen assembled, and | with them came Tipas, chief
 of the Maedi,⁶ with a *horde* | even *larger*, but (Annius) repulsed the oncom-
 ing assault of the barbarians; and oth|er soldiers, to fulfill treaty obliga-
 25 tions by the Macedonians, he decided not || to send for, because he did
 not wish to afflict the cities with soldiers' pay, | preferring the mass (of the
 population) to remain at their work; he went on the attack wi|th the
 soldiers he had in the encampment, and, avoiding no danger or *suffer|ing*,
 deployed his troops and defeated the enemy in com|bat, with the provi-
 30 dence of the gods, and many of them in hand-to-hand fighting || he killed,
 but he also took some alive, and many of their horses and arms he sei|zed,
 and in such a way he held events under control in good spirits | and has
 tried to hand over the province to his successors after keeping safe all | tho
 in the territory, at peace and in the most splendid | settled condition,
 35 doing these things in a way worthy of his country and his || ancestors and
 worthy of his own fame and bravery and also of the | position of responsi-
 bility with which he had been entrusted. Therefore, it is decreed by the
 Boule and *People* of Lete | to praise Marcus Annius, (son) of Publius,
 quaestor of the Romans, and to cro|wn him for the sake of his deeds with a
 crown of (olive) branch, and to establish for him | an annual equestrian
 40 *contest* in the month of Daisios, when for other benefact||ors the contests
 are held; and to choose envoys to tra|vel to him with felicitations from our
 city and congratulations | on the health of himself and his army, and to
 give him this de|cree and to request him to receive with goodwill our
 People's es|teem and to be now and afterwards always the author of some
 45 good || for our city; and (it is decreed) to engrave this decree and crown on a
 | stone stele, to be placed in the most conspicuous place of the agora,
 ca|re to be taken for the engraving of the decree and for the erection of the
 ste|le by the politarchai and the treasurer of the city. Confirmed by vote |
 in the year 29, Panemos 20. As envoys (the following men) were chosen
 50 from among the members of the Boule: || Adaios (son) of Adaios, Lyson
 (son) of Philotas, Amyntas (son) of Dies.

49 Decree of the senate concerning Phrygia

- 1 The twenty-ninth year of the Macedonian era is 120/119 BC, since that era began in 148 BC: M. N. Tod, *BSA* 23 (1918–19) 206–17; *ibid.* 24 (1919–21) 54–67; *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (St Louis 1953) II 382–97.
- 2 The politarchai were the executive magistrates of the city.
- 3 This Argos is in Macedonia, near the Epirote border. The ‘Gallic nation’ are the barbarian Scordisci, for whom see G. Alföldy in *AAntHung* 12 (1964) 107–27, and F. Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times* (Amsterdam 1978) 271–345, and no. 52 below.
- 4 Sextus Pompeius may have been praetor in 120 and propraeor in 119: Broughton, *MRR* I 526 and 527, n. 3.
- 5 The Greek word means, collectively, all the dead who fell previously under Sextus Pompeius, or, possibly, the corpse of Pompeius himself. In either case Pompeius is included.
- 6 The Maedi were a Thracian tribe living in the middle Strymon River valley.

49 Decree of the senate concerning Phrygia. Either 119 (?) or 116 BC.

Stone broken on all sides, lettering of the later Roman period,¹ Arızlı (north-east of Apameia) in Phrygia.

OGIS 436; *IGRR* IV 752; **RDGE* 13, lines 6–10. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 2.11–12; 3.15; 8.56–7.

Magie, *RRAM* I 168–9; *RDGE* pp. 74–7; T. Drew-Bear, *Historia* 21 (1972) 79–87; *idem*, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* (Zutphen 1978) no. 1, pp. 1–5 (+ photograph); B. C. McGing, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 35–42.

- 6 [Concerning the things which Quintus Fabius, son of --, Maximus (?) and G]aius Licinius, son of Publius, | [Geta, consuls (?),² said,] concerning this matter | [it was decreed as follows: Whatever King Mithridate]s wrote or gave to anybody or (whatever) con|cessions he made, [that these things should remain legally binding as] he granted them to his last day,
10 || [and concerning the rest of the matters, that they should be decided by the (ten?)] legates after they have crossed over to Asia³ | [---]

Among the territorial possessions of Mithridates V, king of Pontus, was Greater Phrygia. When he was assassinated in 120 BC, the Roman senate, apparently after some delay, declared that Phrygia was to be annexed and made a part of the province of Asia. Since the present decree of the senate was found within the district of Phrygia and since its provisions partly resemble those found in the decree of the senate concerning the death of King Attalus III of Pergamum (see above, no. 40), it has been assumed that it concerned the dispositions made by the senate about Phrygia after the death of Mithridates V. Hence, his name has been restored in line 8.

- 1 The letters appear to belong to the Roman imperial period, long after the events mentioned in the decree had taken place. This indicates that the inscription had been re-engraved at the later age for some reason unknown to us.
- 2 Gaius Licinius Geta may not have been consul when he spoke in support of the motion before the senate. If he was consul at the time, the date would be 116 BC and the name of his colleague, Q. Fabius Maximus, would also have appeared in line 6. But if Licinius Geta presided over the meeting when he was praetor (not later than

119 BC), then the name of Q. Fabius Maximus must be removed from line 6 and the word 'praetor' must replace 'consuls (?)'.

- 3 It was the custom of the Roman senate to send out a group of commissioners, usually ten in number from among the members of the senate, to settle affairs at the conclusion of a war (cf. above, no. 5, line 69) or to lay down regulations and make arrangements for the annexation of new provincial land (cf. the commissioners sent to Greece after the destruction of Corinth, no. 35).

50 Letter of Q. Fabius Maximus to the city of Dyme. 115 BC?

Marble slab broken in four pieces, a small molding at the top, very carefully inscribed letters, Dyme in Achaia.

SIG³ 684; *RDGE 43.

RDGE pp. 246–8; Larsen, *States* 499; Schwertfeger, *Bund* 66ff.; Bernhardt, *Historia* 62ff.

- v In the priesthood of Leon, when the secretary of the Synedrion¹ was Stratokles. | Quintus Fabius, (son) of Quintus, Maximus, proconsul of the Romans² to the Dymai|an magistrates and synedroi and city, greetings.
- 5 When the || synedroi in company with Kyllanios explained to me about the com|mission of crimes among you, I mean about the burn|ing and destruction of the archives and the public records, | the leader of the whole breach of the peace having been Sosos (son) of Tauromenes, who | also
- 10 wrote up laws contrary to the constitution given to the || [A]chaians by the Romans,³ concerning these matters point by point we had a discuss|ion in [P]atrai in the *presence* of my Advisory Board. Now since the perpe|trators of these actions appeared to me for the worst *conditions* | and turmoil to have laid a [foundation for all Greeks,] not on|ly (a foundation) for *lack of*
- 15 *good relations* with each other and for a *cancellation of* [private] *debts*, || but also (a foundation) alien to the freedom given in common to the Greeks | and alien to our policy, and when there was a pre|sentation by his accusers of true proof that So|sos had been the leader of the actions and had writ-
- 20 t|en the laws for the destruction of the constitution given (to Dyme), || I judged him to be guilty and sentenced him to death, and likewise | [Phor]-miskos (son) of Echesthenes, one of the demiourgoi⁴ who collaborated with | [those who] burned the archives and the public records, since he also | [himself] confessed. But Timotheos (son) of Nikias, who along with Sosos | [had been] the writer of the laws, since he appeared to have been
- 25 less guilty of crime, [I or|dered] to go to Rome, after making him swear that he would be there on the first day of the nin|th [month,] and I informed the peregrine prae|tor [of my decision] that *there should be no return* home for him, unless he [---]

51 *Epidauros honors a citizen*

- 1 The 'Council' of Dyme is meant; its members being called the 'synedroi'. See Accame, *Dominio* 142–3.
- 2 It is generally believed (thus, e.g., Broughton, *MRR* II 644) that this proconsul (of Macedonia) was probably Q. Fabius Maximus (Eburnus), the consul of 116 BC. However, there are other candidates: see *RDGE* pp. 247–8.
- 3 This is a reference to the arrangement made by the Romans after the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC: see the extract from Pausanias, above, no. 35. Cf. also no. 37.
- 4 These were the magistrates at Dyme.

51 *Epidauros honors one of its prominent citizens. 112/111 BC.*

Limestone base, carefully inscribed letters of the second century, in the Asklepieion of Epidauros.

**IG* IV² 1.63.

Schwertfeger, *Bund* 50–1.

- Since Archelochos (son) of Aristophantes, being a man noble (and) good, | has led his way of life and has held public office in a good and worthy manner | and, having been appointed envoy to Rom[e] regarding
- 5 friendship and alli|ance, exercised all enthusiasm and care devot||edly, and (as a result) friendship and alliance with the Romans were concluded for the cit|y of Epidauros, and (since) of the decree passed and hand|ed over to the (Roman) treasury and of the alliance put up | on a bronze plaque on the Capitolium – of (both) these (documents) copies | have been delivered by him to our public archives – it has been decreed by the
- 10 synedroi¹ and the People || to praise Archelochos (son) of Aristophantes for his noble quality and for | the documents contributed by him, and to reward him | with a bronze statue and to erect his statue in the most conspicuous | place of the temple of Asklepios. The treasurer appointed |
- 15 for the thirty-fourth year² shall pay the cost of the s||tuate and its base, and the epimeletes³ shall let out the contract (for their construction). He (Archelochos) and his | descendants shall have immunity⁴ and exemption from taxation, and they shall be summoned *v* | to front-row seats at the [festivals which] the city celebrates. And the engraving | of this decree on the base (of the statue) shall be seen to by [the secretary]. *v*

- 1 The members of the Council at Epidauros: Accame, *Dominio* 142–3. Cf. above, no. 50, lines 1–5 with n. 1.
- 2 The thirty-fourth year of the Achaian era is 112/11 BC. It was formerly believed that the era used in Epidauros was the Macedonian, but that has been disproved by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass. 1931) 234ff.
- 3 The title given to a magistrate at Epidauros. His full duties are otherwise unknown.
- 4 The extent of this 'immunity' is confined to the city government of Epidauros and probably refers to special local taxes.

53 Decree of the senate and treaty with Astypalaia

52 M. Minucius Rufus honored by Delphi. Between 110 and 106 BC.

Base of an equestrian statue, Delphi. The inscription is in Latin and Greek, the Latin version being the one translated here.

CIL I² 692; *ILS* 8887; **SIG*³ 710C; *ILLRP* 337. Cf. Livy, *Per.* 65; Velleius Paterculus 2.8.3.

H. Last in *CAH* 9.109; F. Papazoglou in *ANRW* 2.7.1 (1979) 314.

- (This statue of) Marcus Minucius, son of Quintus, Rufus, | imperator,¹
after the Gauls, | Scordisti, and Bessi | [and the remaining Thracians
5 || were defeated (by him), because of his] merits, [to Apollo] | was *dedicated*
by the People of Delphi.²

In the second half of the second and early decades of the first century the Gallic people called the Scordisti posed a serious threat to Macedonian stability. From their home at the confluence of the Save and Danube rivers they constantly attacked and harassed the Roman province. For a particularly violent invasion in 119 BC see above, no. 48. In 114 BC the army of C. Porcius Cato, consul of that year with a command in Macedonia, suffered an ignominious defeat. M. Livius Drusus (consul 112 BC) as governor in Macedonia (112–111 BC) campaigned successfully against them. His successor was M. Minucius Rufus (consul 110 BC), whose victories mentioned in the present document did not bring the northern danger to an end. For all known details of these and later incursions by the Scordisti see Papazoglou, *op. cit.* 312ff.

1 Rufus took up the command in Macedonia while still consul in 110 BC and continued to hold it as a promagistrate until 106: Broughton, *MRR* I 543ff.

2 The Greek version (*SIG*³ 710A), although also damaged and worded slightly differently, assures the restoration of the Latin.

53 Decree of the senate and a treaty with Astypalaia. 105 BC.

From an old hand-written copy, the stone having been destroyed in a fire in 1797, Astypalaia.

IG XII 3.173; *IGRR* IV 1028; **RDGE* 16 A–B.

Accame, *Dominio* 80–90; *RDGE* pp. 94–9; Mellor, *Worship* 68–9.

A. Decree of the senate

- [--] concerning this matter it was decreed as follows: [With | the People of
Astypalaia peace, friendship (and) alli|ance] should be renewed; as a fine
and good man [from a Peo|ple] fine and good and friendly (the envoy)
5 *should be addressed* || [and] a friendly response should be given [him].
Decreed. And [that Publi|us] Rutilius, consul (105 BC), should see to it
that a bronze plaque of [this] alliance [on | the] Capitolium is nailed up a|.

- seems to him to be in keeping with the interest of the Republic | [and]
 10 his own [good faith.] Decreed. [And] that [Publius Ruti|li]us, consul,
 should order the quaestor according to official procedure [to give (the
 envoy) gifts] | and [that he (the envoy) be allowed] to make a sacrifice
 on the Capitolium, if he wishes, [and that according to] | the Rubrian
 and Acilian Law(s)¹ [a copy (of this alliance) may be set up in] | a public
 [and conspicuous] place (and) exposed [where the majority | of citi-
 15 zens] walk by, and that each year [in the (Astypalaian) Assem|bly] it
 may be read aloud. Decreed. In the consulship of Publ[ius Rutili]us,
 son of Publius, and [Gn]aeus Mallius, son of Gnaeus (105 BC), when
 the [praetor i|n the] city was Lucius [--]Jonius, son of Lucius, and [the
 peregrine praetor | was --,] son of Publius, [and in Astypalaian] | (time)
 reckoning when [Phile]ta<i>ros (son) of [-- was the --, it was decreed
 20 || that a plaque of the alliance should be set up, while Rhodokles (son)
 of Antimachos² was the envoy, | and that a plaque] of this alliance
 should be given to the People [of Astypalaia] | according to (the) decree
 of the senate. *vv* |

B. The treaty

- 25 [--- (three lines missing) --|-- between the People | of the Romans and]
 the People of Astypalaia there shall be peace and [friendship | and alli-
 ance] both on land and on sea [for a|ll time.] There shall be no war. The
 30 People [of Astypalaia shall not grant pass|age to the] enemies and oppo-
 nents [of the People of the Romans | through their own land and the land
 which the People of Astypalaia control, with pub|lic] sanction, so that
 upon the People of the Romans and those under Roman | rule they may
 wage war. And in regard to (Rome's) *enemies*, neither [with weapons] | nor
 with money nor with ships shall (the Astypalaians) aid them with public
 35 sanction (and) in [bad] *faith*. || The People of the Romans, in regard to the
 enemies and opponents [--|--] of the People of Astypalaia, [shall not]
 through their own land and the land which | [the People of the Romans
 control grant them passage] with public sanction (and) in [bad] *faith*, |
 [so that upon the People of] Astypalaia and those under their | rule they
 may wage war. And [in regard to (Astypalaia's) enemies,] neither with
 40 weapons nor with money nor || with ships shall (the Romans) aid them in
 bad faith. And if anyone [takes the initiative] in waging [war] upon the
 People of | Astypalaia, the People of the Romans [shall aid the People of
 Astypalaia (?). And if | anyone] takes the initiative in waging war upon
 [the People of the Romans, the People of Astypalaia shall aid (the
 Romans) in accordance with| the] treaty and oaths [made -- between] |
 45 the People of the Romans and the People of Astypalaia. || And if anything
 they wish with common consent to add to this treaty or | subtract from it
 with public sanction, [whoever (?)] so wishes shall have permission.

54 *M. Antonius transports his fleet across the Isthmus*

Whatever they may add | in the treaty or [whatever] they may subtract from the treaty, these things shall be recorded [on] the | treaty outside (the main text).³ [And they shall set up] one votive offering of the Romans in the Capitoline temple of | Jupiter, and one of the Astypalaia in the temple
50 of Athena and of Asklepios and near || the altar [--] of Roma.⁴

1 For this, whether one law or two, see G. Tibiletti, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953) 7–16.

2 The name of the envoy is known from a third document engraved on the same stone: *RDGE* 16 C.

3 The hand-written copy, full of small errors throughout, is somewhat confused in lines 47–8. What is meant is that amendments must be recorded, but without erasing the original text. Somewhat different is the statement in the treaty with Kibyra (above, no. 25, lines 9–15).

4 On the worship of the goddess Roma see above, no. 18.

54 **Marcus Antonius transports his fleet across the Isthmus of Corinth. Poem in elegiac couplets (Latin). Each line contains one verse. 102 or 101 BC.**

Limestone block badly damaged at the bottom, letters and spelling of the early first century, Corinth.

A. B. West, *Corinth* VIII 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1931) pp. 1–4 (+ photograph); *CIL* I² 2662 S. Dow, *HSCP* 60 (1951) 81–91; **ILLRP* 342. Cf. Cicero, *De orat.* 1.38.82; Livy, *Per.* 68.

Magie, *RRAM* II 1161, n. 12; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 66 (1976) 4–5; J. Wiseman in *ANRW* 2.7, pp. 495–6.

What nobody has attempted or [--,] | learn of this feat, so that we might extol the man's exploits by wide report. | Under the auspices of [[Marcus Antonius]]¹ the proconsul a fleet | was transported across the Isthmus and
5 sent over the sea.² || He himself set out to go to Side,³ while Hirrus at Athens, | (with command) pro praetore, halted his fleet because of the time of the year. | These things were done within a few days with a minimum of confusion, | a great deal of planning and [good (?)] safety. | He who is honest praises him. He who is hostile [looks spitefully at his exploit
10 (?)]. || Let men envy him, so long as [they see ---]

1 The grandfather of the triumvir, his name chiseled out (as also on the Capitoline Fasti) apparently when Antony's name was removed from the Fasti and his name condemned in 30 BC. The grandfather (praetor 102, consul 99 BC) received a command against the pirates in Cilicia and continued to hold it as proconsul until 100 BC, when he celebrated a triumph for his successes: Broughton, *MRR* I 568.

2 For similar portage see Thucydides 8.7 and Polybius 4.19.7–10.

3 On the coast of Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor, not far from Cilicia.

55 Piracy law(s)¹ from Delphi and Knidos. 101 or 100 BC.

A: *Fouilles de Delphes* III 4.37 (+ photographs); *FIRA* I² 9; M. Hassall, M. Crawford, J. Reynolds (= H-C-R), **JRS* 64 (1974) 201–7. Three marble blocks (here numbered A, B, C from top to bottom) once part of the monument honoring L. Aemilius Paullus (above, no. 25); small letters, often difficult to decipher, Delphi.² Cf. G. Colin, *BCH* 48 (1924) 58–96; H. Stuart Jones, *JRS* 16 (1926) 155–73; Magie, *RRAM* I 283–4; F. T. Hinrichs, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 471–502; H-C-R, *op. cit.* 195–220; J.-L. Ferrary, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 89 (1977) 619–60.

B: H-C-R, **op. cit.* 201–7. Three limestone blocks placed side by side, with the inscription in five columns (here numbered I–V from left to right); letters comparable to those of the second century, Knidos.² Cf. H-C-R, *op. cit.* 195–220; A. W. Lintott, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 65–82; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 66 (1976) 5–8; J.-L. Ferrary, *op. cit.* 619–60; G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 211–25; E. Badian and T. R. Martin, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 153–67.

A. (Delphi B)³

- [-- or] for the sake of *public* [business⁴ --|-- for whom alliance and] friendship exist with the [People of the Romans --|-- in this] law nothing [has been proposed].⁵ In regard to the praetor | or proconsul who over the Asian province holds control,] that he should any the less hold control also over
- 5 the [province of L]ykaonia just as [before the ratification of this law || was the case, (as regards this matter) within this law nothing has been proposed.⁶ Letters] by the consul who was (elected) first (?)⁷ to the Peoples [and states, to whom | it might seem best to him, shall be sent out (announcing) that the People of the Romans have acted energetically (?)] in order that the citizens of the Romans and the Latin allies from Italy and whoever [of the nations outside | (Italy) are in the friendship of the People of the Romans] with safety might be able to sail the seas. And (he shall write) that Cilicia for these reasons [according to this law | has been made (by the Romans) a praetorian (?)⁸ province; and likewise (he shall write)] to the king who rules⁹ on [the] island of Cyprus, and to the king [who in Alex]andria and Egy[pt rules, and to the king who in Cy]rene
- 10 rules, and to the kings who in Syria rule, [with all of whom || there exist] friendship and alliance [with the People of the Romans, (to all of whom) having written, he shall make it clear] also that [it is] just that they see to it that neither from their kingdom [nor] from their | territory or borders [any] pirate [sets out, and that no magistrate or commanders whom] they will appoint should receive [the] pirates under their protection, and that they should see to it, as much as is [in] *their* power, | that the People of the Romans [have them as enthusiastic fellow workers for the safety of everybody.] The letters being sent [to] the kings according to this law to the | [Rho]dian envoys [--- he shall give. The consul] who is in charge of these matters shall see to [the] safety [of the|m in accordance with the laws and with] justice. And if [---]¹⁰ shall be established and, if there shall be a

- 15 need, as they may prefer, before the senate [in that same || manner] he shall bring up the matter, and the senate, [just as it may seem best to it in accordance with the interest of the Republic] and its own good faith, shall deliberate. And whatever concerning this matter the *senate* may decree, [every (?)] magistrate or *promagistrate* [shall take thought and see to it, in accordance with what seems to be best to him,] that (the decree) is implemented. The consul, upon whom it may (devolve?), and who may ask that he [grant an audience (?)]¹¹ to the embassies, [to the envoys from the] *People* of Rhodes, whoever of them may be in Rome, he shall grant (an audience before the) senate outside [the] | regular order, and these [envoys --]¹² he shall introduce into the senate [outside] the regular order, and that a [senate] | decree be passed shall be his concern [at the time when they according to this law, whether] it is a [law] or a plebiscite,
- 20 have been introduced by him. And this, *without penalty* [to himself,] || he shall be permitted to do. The *praetor*, [propraetor or proconsul (?), to whomever] Asia [has fallen] as his province¹³ [during the consulship] of Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius (Flaccus) (100 BC), | [shall send] letters to the Peoples [and states immediately and to] the kings mentioned above, and likewise [to those whom] also the consul according to | this law [will ask him] to write, as [may seem to be best to him (?). And of this] law he shall send a copy to the cities [and] *states* to which according to | this law [it is incumbent upon] him to send [letters, taking care, as far as may be] in his power, that whatever letters according to this *law* he sends to the addressees | are delivered (to them) according to *this* law; [and, following the practices] of each of them to whom according to this
- 25 law *letters* have been sent, upon a *tablet* of bronze the letters shall be engraved, [or, failing that, upon a marble stele or] else upon a whitened board, so that in the cities *they may be exposed* visibly [in a temple] or agora, (in a place) where, | standing [level with the ground, people who wish to do so] will be able to read them. [And in no other way] than this shall he (i.e. the governor) write, in order that, [on an equal basis, the kings and Peoples] over whom they rule shall do these things. | Whoever according to this [law holds the province,] they shall see to it [that things are done in this way.] The *praetor*, [propraetor or] *proconsul*, whoever according to this | law – whether it is a plebiscite [or a law – or according to a decree of the senate] will hold the province [in Ma]cedonia, he shall proceed immediately [to the Kaine]ik [Chersonese]¹⁴ which Titus Didius during his command | conquered. And the province's [---] shall be (?), and in regard
- 30 to this province [--] he shall act (?) as may seem to him || to be best, in order that they¹⁵ may collect the public *revenues* [which] are [in that province, --] who will leave the task (of doing so); and he, each ye|ar, no less than *sixty* days [-- areas] before the [---, as far as he can,] that they | [with] whom to the People [of the Romans --- this] prae|tor [---]

A. (Delphi C)

- [--|--] to contribute (?) [-|-- until to R]ome he returns. [The quaes|tor or proq|uaestor, to whom the Asian or Macedo[nian quaestorship has fallen, ---] shall care for the public || *monies* and shall levy fines, [---] when he was in office; and he shall not be *account|able* until [he returns] to Rome [---. Whatever] *according* to this law it is necessary for him [to d|o,] he shall do, and no magistrate [or promagistrate shall obstruct him (in such a way) – in regard to] those matters upon which according to this law | he must act – that what has been [prescribed does] not [take place.] The praetor [or proconsul who] has the province of either Asia or Macedonia, | within the next ten days after he *learns* that [this] law [has been ratified by
- 10 the People] in the Assembly, shall swear an oath that whatever || (the People) order him to do in this law, these things he will do and nothing contrary [to these things] in bad faith. Whatever magistrates | are *now* (in office), with the exceptions of tribunes and governors,¹⁶ within the [next] five days [after] the People ratify this law, (and) whoever there|after will hold a magistracy, with the exception of governors,¹⁶ these within the next five days after they enter office [shall swear an oath,] whoever of them are in Rom[e.] | They shall swear by Jupiter and the ancestral gods to do whatever has been placed on record in this law – {to do} everything – and to see to it that (everything) is *im|plemented*, and to do nothing contrary to this law, and to do nothing by reason of which someone else might so act,
- 15 and not to do anything other than is in this law to make it hap|pen.¹⁷ No one shall do anything contrary to this law in bad faith. Whatever any persons must do according to this law they shall do; no one shall act in such a way that th|is law is invalidated by deception in bad faith; no one shall act or issue an edict to prevent the implementation of what must be done according to this law; and | those who must act, who must swear an oath, shall act and shall swear so that nothing¹⁸ is done less than or otherwise {otherwise} than has been written in this law; whoever con|trary to this law commits an act or issues an edict, whatever he fails to do according to this law or (if he) does not swear the oath according to this law, that he | should go unpunished shall not be permitted, nor any the less shall it be possible (for anyone who) wishes to bring him to trial.¹⁹ If anyone does anything contrary to this law, and if (anyone of) those, who must accord-
- 20 ing to || this law do <or swear> anything, does not do it or does not swear, and if anyone acts so that what is in this law is not done (?),²⁰ or in any other way acts contrary to what in this *la|w* has been written, acting or issuing an edict or breaking the law in bad faith, he <shall be fined> 200,000 sesterces on each count which is ille|gal; and if anyone does not act – contrary to what has been written in this law – and if anyone does act other than what has been recorded in this law,²¹ to the People this | is the

- amount he shall be obligated to give. And this money anyone who is free-born in this state, against (any of) those from whom according to this law it is permitted to claim the money and whom it is permitted to bring into court, shall institute proceedings and bring (him) into court and enter his name (for trial) before (the magistrate) in charge of such matters. No
 25 magistrate or || promagistrate shall act (in such a way) that he is not brought into court, nor shall he prevent this money from being made the object of legal proceedings and being sued for, nor the court from being set up, nor | the money from being handed over. Whoever does anything contrary to these (actions) or obstructs them or issues an edict (against them), he shall be fined on each count just as if | he had acted contrary to this law, or as if he was required to do something according to this law and did not do it; and he shall be fined in the same way a|s has been described in the other instances. Whatever money according to this law is sued for, if this money, when it has been sued for, whoever has been sued for it, is not [paid,] the sa|me praetor to whom the action about this matter was brought at the beginning shall assign a [judge or a] court (with instructions) that as much (money) as [seems right to him,] by whoever was
 30 sued for it [according to th|is] law, [shall be paid without evasion (?)] to the People (of the Romans). And he [---]

B. (Knidos, col. II)²²

- 5 [--] *People* of the Roma|ns --|--|--] outside, || gave back [--|--] to act without bad faith, [and the] ci|tizens of the Ro|m]ans and [the] *allies* of the Lat[in] na|me and [likewise] of the nations those | which are in the friendship of the People of the Romans || in order that with *safety* they may be able to sail | and obtain justice. *v* |
- The consuls²³ in office, in regard to soldiers who by | law or vote (of the plebs) to the prae|tor [or] propraetor or proconsul || in control of the province of M[ace]donia | are to be returned to this (governor) and | handed over, (these consuls) who are under an obligation to do this (or) to see to this, or | will be under such an obligation, these consuls in regard to these |
 20 soldiers, to the Macedonian || province they shall not send (them) back, | and for their dispatch and handing over | they shall not provide, and for them, without | (legal) personal liability, it shall be lawful to do this.
- 25 Where|as also the same (?) consuls before the sen|ate by the law or vote (of the plebs) | are or will be obligated to introduce a motion for these | soldiers who are in Macedonia | to be given as much grain as the senate | considers just that a contract be let for, in order that a con||tract may be let for this (purpose), the consuls before the senate | shall not introduce such a motion, nor for such a contract (col. III) [shall they provide (?) --- (c. 60 lines are lost) --|-- concerning a] state (?), a king and nations a decree²⁴ |
 30 [--] and to each according to the decision [-|-] and nobody in regard to

5 these things con|trary to what is in the law which Marcus *Porcius* || Cato,
 praetor,²⁵ passed on the third day before | the *Feralia* (?)²⁶, outside the
 province shall dra|w up (soldiers) in battle formation, nor shall he [--,]
 nor shall he mar|ch from the province for the purpose of giving assistance
 (?) knowingly in bad | faith; and no magistrate or promagistrate [shall --]
 10 || outside the province in which province he a|ccording to this law is obli-
 gated to be or will be so obligated; | and, except as a result of a decree of
 the senate, he shall not g|o on march and shall not march forth (his troops)
 except for the sake of through passage | or public business, and the men of
 15 hi||s (entourage) he shall prevent, <without>²⁷ bad faith, (from doing
 these things). |

Whatever²³ peoples and nations, when this la|w is ratified by the People
 (of the Romans), to a king or kings or Peo|ples – with whom friendship
 and alliance with the Peo|ple of the Romans exist – contribute taxes or
 20 revenues || or troops, (as regards them) within this | law nothing has been
 proposed.²⁸ v |

In regard to the praetor²³ or proconsul who over the Asian pro|vince
 holds control, that he should any the less also over Ly|kaonia hold control,
 25 and that any the less his || province (should also be) Lykaonia just as
 before the | ratification of this law was the case, (as regards this matter)
 within | this law nothing has been proposed.²⁹ v |

Letters by the consul²³ who was (elected) first (?)³⁰ | to the Peoples and
 30 states, to whom || it might seem best to him, shall be sent out (announcing)
 that the Peo|ple of the Romans [have acted energetically (?)]³¹ <in order
 that> the | citizens of the Romans and the La|tin allies and whoever of the
 nations outside (Italy) are in | the friendship of the People of the Romans
 35 with sa|fety might be able to sail the seas. v (And he shall write) that Cili|cia
 for this reason according to this la|w has been made by them a praetorian
 (?)⁸ province; | and likewise (he shall write) to the king who in Cypr[us]
 40 ho|lds control,³² and to the king who in Alexandri|a and in Egypt rules,
 and to the kin|g who over Cyrene rules and to the kin|[g--] vv

(Col. IV) (c. 60 lines lost) | [---|---|---] according to his law [--|---] they
 5 may hold, in order that this law may thus be im||plemented [--] they shall
 see to it.³³ vv | The praetor, *propraetor* (or)³⁴ proconsul who | according to
 [this] law or plebiscite or (according to a) senate *de|cree* holds [Macedo-
 ni]a as his province or will ho|ld it, [immediately to the] Kaineik Cher-
 10 sonese, which Ti||tu[s Didius] captured by force of arms, he shall *pro|ceed*.
 And he who shall have as his province³⁵ (the) Kai|n[eik] Chersonese, |
 this province together | with Macedonia he shall govern and bring it
 15 about, | as may seem best to him, th||at the public revenues in that | terri-
 tory according to law³⁶ are collec|ted by whoever, in regard to these public
 reve|nues, shall have the task of collecting them; and he each | year shall
 20 be in those areas for no less a period || – before another (governor) succeeds

him – than sixty days; | and he shall see to it, as far as he may be able
to do so, that those, who with the People | of the Romans have friendship
and alliance, that | they are not driven out of their borders and that no-
25 body to them may be an im||pediment and that they may not be unjustly
treated. And {in order that} this praetor or proconsul, who over the
Macedo|nian province holds control, before leaving the pro|vince, accord-
ing to the decree of the senate | passed during his (magistracy ?),³⁷ shall
30 set³⁸ the boundaries of the Kaine[i]k Chersonese, ||just as seems to him
be|st, as quickly as possible. vv |

If²³ this praetor to whom the Asian (or) Macedonian | province has
fallen resigns from his magistracy or resigns³⁹ | by order of [--,] he shall
35 have power in all re||spects, to attend to (wrongdoing, i.e.) to punish, to
administer justice, | to make decisions, to assign arbitrators (or) foreign
judges,⁴⁰ over sureties, proper|ties, [--,] (and) manumissions in the same
way | he shall (have) jurisdiction⁴¹ as in his magistracy it was permitt|ed
40 this proconsul until he || returns to [R]ome. v |

If²³ the quaestor or proquaestor, to whom the Asian (or) Maced[o]nian
quaestorship falls, resigns from his magistracy | or resigns (?), equally for the
monies which are pu|blic [--]
(Col. V)⁴²

1 After the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia (189 BC) and the removal of his control over Asia Minor west of the Taurus Mountains, much of Cilicia, especially Cilicia Tracheia, became a base for pirates. Protected by the mountains of the interior from a northern assault, they operated almost freely in the eastern Mediterranean. The Roman government did nothing to oppose them. Toward the end of the second century there was a general expansion of this piracy and the Romans finally took action. The first indication of this action in our sources is found in the mission of Marcus Antonius (above, no. 54). But the pirate menace continued. The present law(s), translated here, illustrate the seriousness of the menace, but despite their far-ranging provisions it was not until the campaigns of Pompey in 67 BC that the pirates were effectively brought under control. See Ormerod, *Piracy* 186–247; Magic, *RRAM* I 281ff.; Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 2ff.

2 When the new text from Knidos was discovered, it was thought by H-C-R that it was 'in date and content closely related to (perhaps identical with) the text found at Delphi'. Therefore, they published the Delphi text, with revision, along with the new Knidian text. The two texts exhibit remarkable similarities in many ways, and the differences between them were explained by H-C-R and others by assuming that two separate translations from Latin to Greek had been made (perhaps at different times, as suggested by Sumner), each independently of the other. The precise relationship, however, of the one to the other is still a matter of controversy. A new and better reading of the Knidian text by Joyce Reynolds is expected, but meanwhile she has kindly communicated to me some of these new readings, for which I am most grateful. Where these have been used in the present translation a reference is added in the notes to 'J.R.'

3 Delphi A has been omitted, since only a few connected words are extant, such as: '[K]oinon', 'of the People [a decision (?)]', '[P]amphylia and Ly[kaonia?]', '[K]oinon'

- also has the more general meaning 'common', but if it has the meaning here of 'League', then all of Block A may be a letter of introduction to the Piracy Law.
- 4 Alternative meaning: 'for the sake of the *Republic*'.
 - 5 From this point in the Delphian text to line 9 restorations may be made by comparison with the Knidian text, col. III 21–41.
 - 6 I.e. the governor of Asia was to retain Lycaonia as part of his province, as before.
 - 7 For a discussion of this phrase see the collection of evidence by Ferrary, *op. cit.* 648ff., and cf. below no. 102, line 138 with n. 16. Colin translates: 'the consul who opened the year', while H-C-R have 'the senior Consul'.
 - 8 Or: 'a general's sphere of command'. The status of Cilicia at this period is still controversial. Was it a regularly organized and administered province, or merely a field command?
 - 9 In the Knidian text (col. III, line 39) the verb is different: 'to the king who in Cyprus holds control'.
 - 10 H-C-R do not claim to understand this sentence and they give a translation of what they think is the sense: '[? If ambassadors about this matter] are presented and it is necessary (to?) as they [choose he is to [?bring the matter before the senate likewise] and the senate is to deliberate [as it thinks best in the public interest and according to] its conscience.'
 - 11 The intent of this section is not clear. H-C-R translate with hesitation: 'The consul to whom (the relatio) falls, whoever [?asks] that [?he reply] to the embassies', etc. Colin, *op. cit.* p. 86, with a different restoration, has: 'Que le consul à qui incombera le soin de (communiquer) aux ambassades (étrangères) [les décisions du Sénat].'
 - 12 Colin: '[envoys, offering no excuse for delay,]'.
 - 13 Provinces were assigned to qualified senators by lot at a meeting of the senate.
 - 14 For the people called Caeni see Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 4.40 and 47; Ptolemy, *Geography* 3.11.6; Livy 38.40.7. They lived in Thrace, and the Caenian Peninsula seems to be the one leading down to the Bosphoros. T. Didius, consul in 98 BC, was praetor in an unknown year, but the latest possible date would be 101 BC: Broughton, *MRR* I 571. See parallel Knidian text, col. IV, 4ff.
 - 15 Cf. the Knidian text, col. IV, lines 6ff.
 - 16 The Greek *eparchoi* means 'governors' or 'prefects'. In line 12 the reference is to future governors (or prefects).
 - 17 The sense intended appears to be that the magistrates shall not act in any way other than to make happen what the law intends.
 - 18 The text here is very disturbed, but again the intent is clear enough: to make sure that no circumvention of the law shall be allowed.
 - 19 The text is again very disturbed at this point.
 - 20 H-C-R translate: 'if anyone diminishes the effect of this law'. The Greek expresses the idea in a very clumsy fashion.
 - 21 I.e., anyone failing to act is just as liable to a fine as one who acts contrary to this law.
 - 22 Col. I is here omitted, since its lower half may not have been inscribed, and only a few letters of the upper half can be made out.
 - 23 The engraver has started this word in the margin to the left of the rest of the text, to indicate a new paragraph.
 - 24 For lines 1–10 I have used the new readings by J.R.
 - 25 Sumner, *op. cit.* 220, is convinced he is the son of M. Porcius Cato, the consul of 118 BC (cf. Broughton, *MRR* I 527), but H-C-R merely list the possibilities of identification, p. 210.
 - 26 The original reading by H-C-R was 'three days before the Nones of February', i.e. February 3. *Feralia*, the new reading by Reynolds communicated to Badian by letter, was a festival of the dead that took place on February 21.

56 *The rise of Mithridates*

- 27 The Greek translator here has committed an error. Literally his phrase would mean 'knowingly without bad faith'. Other errors connected with the translation of the Latin terms are to be seen in Delphi C 10 and 15–16. See Badian, *op. cit.* 161–7.
- 28 Thus, the rights of friends and allies of Rome over their own subjects were not affected by this law.
- 29 Cf. Delphi B 4–5 with n. 6.
- 30 Cf. Delphi B 5 with n. 7.
- 31 The text here is difficult. I follow Martin, *op. cit.* 160.
- 32 See Delphi B 8 (with n. 9), where the verb 'rules' is used in place of 'holds control'.
- 33 New reading by J.R.
- 34 The stone has 'and'.
- 35 Here it appears to be a case of instructions to future governors. Cf. lines 18–19; the phrase 'each year' is significant.
- 36 Since the word 'this' is omitted before 'law', the possibility exists that the reference is to some other law which spelled out regulations about the collection of public revenues. Another possibility is that the reference is to the future regulations to be made about the revenues.
- 37 As suggested by Martin, 157–8.
- 38 As suggested by Martin, 153–6. J.R. is now inclined to think it is right.
- 39 The Greek translator has repeated the verb 'resigns', the second time in the middle voice to indicate an action upon the subject, i.e. upon 'him'. The translator apparently made a very literal translation of the Latin first and then repeated the verb in the middle voice for the sake of his Greek readers. See Ferrary, *op. cit.* 634–5.
- 40 This is the meaning of the Greek phrase, but the original Latin for 'foreign judges' at this point is unknown.
- 41 H-C-R suggest that the phrase 'not accountable' should appear here, basing it on the appearance of that phrase in Delphi C 5–6. The proconsul, thus, would not be held accountable until he returns to Rome.
- 42 The first nineteen lines of col. V are so badly obscured on the stone that no connected sense can be obtained, and about one third of the right side of the column's remaining twenty-seven lines are missing. The subject matter is the trial procedure to be followed in cases concerned with violation of the law, i.e. with empanelling of a jury by the magistrate from a list of 300 names, and the guidelines to be followed in the hearing of the case.

56 **The rise of Mithridates and his war against the Romans. About 100–87 BC.**

Extract from Memnon.

Memnon (*FGrHist* 434 F 22.1–10). Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 10–30.

Magie, *RRAM* I 199–220; E. Badian, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 105–28; W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (Oxford 1979) 273; E. Olshausen in *ANRW* 1.1.806–15.

Afterwards, the grievous war of Mithridates, king of Pontus, against the Romans broke out, its apparent cause being the seizure of Cappadocia. By means of deception and oaths that led to agreement Mithridates gained control of this (land), after arresting his nephew Arathes¹ and kill-

ing him with his own hand. Arathes was the son born to Ariarathes by the sister of Mithridates. (2) Mithridates was most murderous right from childhood. Not long after coming to the throne as a thirteen-year-old he put his mother, who had been left by his father as joint ruler of the kingdom with him, in prison and destroyed her by the use of force and the passage of time; and he (also) killed his brother. (3) He also subjugated by war the kings around the Phasis as far as the regions beyond the Caucasus, increased his kingdom and became puffed up with great arrogance. (4) For these reasons the Romans became all the more suspicious of his intent and decreed that he should restore to the Scythian kings their ancestral rule. He obeyed their orders only to a certain extent, but associated himself in an alliance with the Parthians and Medes and the Armenian Tigranes and the Scythian² kings and the Iberian (king). (5) He added (to these activities) other causes for war. For when the senate in Rome set up Nikomedes, son of Nikomedes and Nysa, as king of Bithynia, Mithridates set up [Sokrates]³ surnamed The Good in opposition to Nikomedes. However, the decision of the Romans prevailed despite Mithridates. (6) Later, when Sulla and Marius were firing up civil discord over the Roman government, Mithridates gave his general Archelaos forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry and ordered him to campaign against the Bithynians. Archelaos engaged the enemy and was victorious in battle, and Nikomedes fled with a few men. When Mithridates learned this and when his allies had joined him, he set out from the plain at Amaseia and marched through Paphlagonia at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand. (7) Manius (Aquillius), when the allies of Nikomedes had scattered at the mere mention of Mithridates, with a few Romans took up a position against Menophanes,⁴ the general of Mithridates. Manius was routed, took to flight and lost all his troops. (8) Mithridates with impunity broke into Bithynia and seized the cities and the countryside without a fight. Some of the other cities throughout Asia were captured, others came over to the side of the king, and a complete reversal of everything took place, the Rhodians alone showing regard for their friendship with the Romans. For this reason Mithridates both on land and sea made war upon them, and the Rhodians had such an advantage that Mithridates himself came close to being captured in a naval battle. (9) After this, when Mithridates learned that the Romans, who were scattered among the cities, stood in the way of his plans, he wrote to all (the cities) to murder the Romans among them on a single day. Many obeyed and brought about such a massacre that eighty thousand on one and the same day met death by the sword. (10) When Eretria and Chalkis and all Euboeia joined the forces of Mithridates, and other cities came over to his side, and the Lakedaimonians were defeated, the Romans sent out Sulla with a considerable army.

57 Letter of Q. Mucius Scaevola to Ephesus

- 1 The manuscripts have 'Arathes', but it must be a corruption of 'Ariarathes', if Justin 38.1 is right.
- 2 The manuscripts have 'Scythian', which might be right. Modern editors have changed it to 'Phrygian' on the basis of Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 13. But the same passage in Appian shows that Mithridates had Scythians as his allies.
- 3 The manuscripts here have 'Nikomedes', but Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 10, records that Mithridates had sent 'Sokrates surnamed The Good' against Nikomedes, adding that Sokrates was the brother of Nikomedes.
- 4 Jacoby (in *FGrHist*) thinks the name 'Menophanes' is a mistake or a corruption, but there is a general of that name who conducted a campaign for Mithridates. See Magie, *RRAM* II 1101, n. 27.

57 Letter of Q. Mucius Scaevola to Ephesus. 98/97 or 94/93 BC. Fragments of bluish-white marble, Pergamum.

OGIS 437, lines 25–55; *IGRR* IV 297, lines 32–61; **RDGE* 47, lines 26–57.

Magie, *RRAM* II 1064; *RDGE* pp. 256–9.

Quintus Mu[cius,] son [of Publius,] Scaevo[la,] | proconsul of the
Romans,¹ to the [Ephesi]an Boule [and] | People, greetings. Since, *havin*
been judged (to be in a state of) friendship² (with the Romans), | the Peoples
30 and [Tribes³ have decreed] the establishment of thea||trical and [gymnas-
tic] *games* coming every *four*⁴ year [and have planned --] concerning the |
35 [--|--] | LACUNA [--|-- Sardia]ns, a *disturbance* (?) [--|--] hatred and dis-
agreement [--] | more conspicuous and more glorious, [in order that
those] | Peoples who have *withdrawn* from them⁵ might *with* [all good | will]
40 come together to a meeting, *we have sent* [--|--]sos (son) of Phylotimos, an
Athenian, [--] | a *fine* and good man and [wor]thy of our greatest] trust, to
[yo|ur] People and to the (People of the) Sardians, to call up|on them to
45 give us their hands (as pledges) toward [an agreement.] || Since [both]
Peoples have reached agreement | in regard to their demands and have sent
their en|voys, yours being Hikesion (son) of Artemidoros, [Posei]|donios
(son) of Poseidonios (grandson) of Dionysios, A[risto]|geiton (son) of
50 Patron, Artemidoros (son) of Art[emido]||ros, Menekrates (son) of
Mene[kra]t[es] (grandson) of Ar[temi]|doros, Apollod[oros] (son) of Her-
mo|kr[ates, Hermip]|pos (son) of Menoites, and those of the Sa[r]dians
being the] *gener|als* Menekrat[es] (son) of Diodoros, Phoinix (son) of
55 Phoinix,] Archelaos (son) of Theo[philos --|--] | to act as arbitrator⁶ [--] |
to collect (?) [--]

Preceding this letter to the Ephesians on the stone is an identical letter, very badly mutilated, to the Sardians. At the top of the stone is a heading: '[Treaty between Sardians and [Ephesia]ns'. The present letter to the Ephesians is followed by the text of the treaty itself.

58 The Organization of Peoples and Tribes in Asia

- 1 The date of his governorship of Asia is disputed, but it is either 98/97 or 94/93 BC. For a summary of the controversy see B. A. Marshall, *Athenaeum* N.S. 54 (1976) 117–30.
- 2 There was an actual register of such friends of the Roman People recorded in Rome called the ‘formula amicorum (et sociorum)’. See Badian, *FC* 12, who believes that both friends and allies were part of a single list.
- 3 For the full phrase see the next document, no. 58.
- 4 The Greek (‘pentaeteric’) means ‘every fifth year’, i.e. including the first and the fifth in the count.
- 5 The word ‘them’ seems to refer to the games.
- 6 Pergamum was the arbitrating state.

58 The Organization of Peoples and Tribes in Asia. Early decades of the first century (?) BC.

Marble block, Poimannum in the province of Asia.

*OGIS 438; IGRR IV 188.

J. A. R. Munro, *JHS* 17 (1897) 276–7; Magic, *RRAM* I 173–4, II, 1064–5, n. 48; T. Drew-Bear, *BCH* 96 (1972) 460ff.

The Peoples and the Tribes in Asia¹ | and those judged individually (to be)
in (a state of) | friendship with the Romans² and those others cho|sen to par-
5 ticipate in the Soteria vv and || Moukieia³ vv have honored vv | Herostratos
(son) of Dorkalion,⁴ because he has been a good man | and has excelled in
trust and excellence | and justice and piety and on behalf of their common |
10 advantage has applied the greatest || zeal and has achieved many great
things | for the assembly’s common affai|rs of matters involving fame and
eternal memory, | [because of] his excellence and goodwill | toward them-
selves. vv

- 1 This phrase is found in several other documents of the first century, showing that some sort of an organization of Greeks in Asia had arisen as early as Scaevola’s letter to the Sardians and Ephesians (above, no. 57). It speaks here with one voice to honor a man who had served it well. This early organization seems to have developed into the larger League or Commonalty later called the Koinon of Greeks in Asia. Cf. below, no. 65.
- 2 See the preceding document, no. 57, n. 2.
- 3 Pseudo-Asconius (on Cicero, *II Verr* 2.21.51): ‘He (Mucius Scaevola) governed Asia so well that a festival was established by the Greeks in his honor, called the Mucia.’ For other such cults of Roman magistrates in the East see Bowersock, *Augustus*, 150–1. In the present inscription the joining of ‘Soteria and Moukieia’ seems to indicate that the new festival was simply added to the older Soteria, which were usually elaborate city or national festivals celebrated at regular intervals to commemorate events of great importance.
- 4 Munro suggested that the Herostratos of this text was identical with the Herostratos mentioned by Plutarch, *Brutus* 24, who was sent by Brutus after the death of Caesar into Macedonia to win support for him. His suggestion was rejected by Dittenberger (in *OGIS*) who dated the present inscription to the period between Scaevola’s governorship of Asia (see above, no. 57) and the beginning of the First Mithridatic War.

59 Exemption of sacred territory from the revenue contracts of the publicans. 89–87 BC.

Round stone base, Ilium.

OGIS 440; IGRR IV 194; ILS 8770; **I. Ilium* 71.

I. Ilium pp. 172–3.

The People | (dedicate this statue of) Lucius Iulius, | son of Lucius, Caesar, | who became censor (89 BC),¹ || restored the sacred | territory to Athena | Ilias and removed | it from the revenue contract.²

1 L. Iulius Caesar belonged to the same clan (*gens*) as the later dictator, but no close relationship existed. The reason for interest in Ilium by the Iulii was the connection between that city and the legendary origin of their ancestors from Aeneas. See above, no. 5, n. 3.

2 For a similar case of encroachment by the publicans on sacred territory see below, no. 70.

59a *Plarasa-Aphrodisias*¹ decides to aid the Romans against Mithridates. 88 BC.

Two blocks (A–B), both damaged, from a Doric entablature with architrave and frieze, originally part of the theater, with inscription² on one metope and the frieze, Aphrodisias.

Reynolds, **Aphrodisias*, Document 2 (photograph Pl. II 1–2). Cf. Livy, *Per.* 78; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 17 and 20.

Reynolds 11–16; Magie, *RRAM* I 211–14.

A. (In a metope) Decreed by the Bou|le and the People, | [\leq moved by the magistrates (?)>] | and by Pereitas | [(son) of <--, >] |³ (grandson) of
5 Antiochos, sec|retary of the People, | and by Attalos (son) of Me|nandros the | territory's gen|v eral v.

B. (On the frieze below Col. 1) Since Quintus Oppius, son of Quintus, proconsul of the Ro[mans]⁴ has sent (a letter) that a siege is being conducted against Laodikeia and | himself, and the People have decided to help him in full strength and also to have their paroikoi⁵ and slaves march out with them, and they have chosen in | the ekklesia also a man to lead them; v and (since) it is necessary to send out envoys as well to explain to the pro|consul the policy which our People have toward the Romans, who are saviors and benefactors, and, in case the governor
5 gives any other or||der to our city, to arrange that the order is made clear and carried out – it has been decreed by the People to choose as envoys

men from among those who have been honor|ed (by our city)⁶ and who hold our trust and who are favorably inclined toward the Romans, men who will go to Quintus Oppius the pro|consul and explain to him the policy which our People has toward him and toward all Romans, and who will show that not | vv only in full strength have we decided to fight on his side but also that as the man in charge of the force to engage in this fighting we have chosen v | (Col. 2) Artemidoros the stephanephoros, a
 10 man from among those who have been honored (by our city) || and who hold our trust, a man who is of outstanding bravery in armed combat; | and they will explain to him that our entire People, with our wives | and children and our entire means of livelihood, are ready to take our chances on behalf of | Quintus and the Roman cause, and that without the | v Roman leadership we do not even choose to live.

1 Plarasa was a neighboring city whose political life had merged with that of Aphrodisias by a process called *sympoliteia*.

2 The text which we have is a re-engraving of the second century AD.

3 Two lines appear to have been accidentally omitted by the engraver: one line after line 2 and another after line 3.

4 Q. Oppius (praetor in 89 BC (?)) was proconsul in 88 BC when he took the field against Mithridates and was besieged in the city of Laodikeia, where he was captured: Broughton, *MRR* II 42.

5 The 'paroikoi' may have been resident aliens or (more likely) the native peoples without citizenship who farmed the city's land.

6 The phrase 'men who have been honored' means those men who had held public office in the city.

59b Letter of Q. Oppius to Plarasa-Aphrodisias after the war against Mithridates. Very late in 85 or early in 84 BC.

A damaged pilaster and its capital with an inscription (A-B),¹ originally terminating the south wall of the north parodos of the theater, Aphrodisias.

Reynolds, **Aphrodisias*, Document 3 (photograph, Pl. I 2-3).

Reynolds 16-20.

A. (On the molding of one face of the pilaster's capital) Quintus Oppius, Quintus | son, proconsul of the Romans, | praetor (?),² to Plarasa-
 5 | Aphrodisias' magistrates, || Boule and People, greetings. |
 B. (On the pilaster) [-- | --] Antipat[ros | (son) of -]stos, Pereitas (son) of
 10 Apollo|[nio]s, Artemidoros (son) of Myon, || Dionysios (son) of Menis, Teimov|kles (son) of Zenon, envoys | of yours, men fine and | good, met
 15 me in | Kos and congratulated me and || gave me the decree in which it was made cle|ar that you rejoice great|ly at my presence,³ | and this

60 *A friend of the Romans and enemy of Mithridates*

20 (rejoicing), in view of your | good wishes to me and our Repub||lic, I
firm|ly believe (is sincere); for at the critical tim|e when from Laodikeia
25 to v|o|u I sent a letter that | you should send soldiers to me,⁴ || you were
among the first to se|nd them, and you did this a|s is the duty of all|ies who
30 are good friends of the Peo|ple of the Romans to do, || and as to your men
sent | to me as envoys, | I made use of their fine and complete service.⁵ |
35 For these reasons v | I (will) take care [both in pul||bic (?)] and in private
[life,] | while keeping | my good fai|th, to do for you whatever I ca|n and for
40 your pub||lic affairs | to be of service, | and always of some good | to be the
45 author (for you); | and (I will take care) that to the senate|| and the People
those things which you | have done | I will, when I return to Rome, | make
50 clear; | the same envoys beg||ged me that it might be possible | for you also
to enjoy my patronage, | and those men I | accepted, and (undertook)
55 because of my rega|rd for you||r city | to be your People's pa|tron.⁶ v

1 The text which we have is a re-engraving of the second century AD.

2 There is an error here in the engraving. Apparently the phrase (in Greek) 'strategos anthypatos' stood in the previous line, as in the previous document (no. 59a), but the engraver separated those two words and placed 'strategos' in this line. Oppius was not a praetor at this time.

3 Oppius, captured by Mithridates, was released after the peace of Dardanus (85 BC) between Sulla and Mithridates.

4 See above, no. 59a.

5 The envoys mentioned in this context must be those described in the decree of Plarasa-Aphrodisias, above, no. 59a.

6 Cf. nos. 26.23; 46.3; 47 G5; 73.8; 75 E2; 79 B-C; 98 D2. But this is the earliest epigraphic account of a Roman's acceptance of a client from the Greek world.

60 **Chaeremon of Nysa, friend of the Romans, enemy of Mithridates. 88/87 BC.**

Stele of Amygdaloid rock, originally from Nysa on the Maeander.

A: *SIG³ 741 I; RDGE 48 (letter of the governor of Asia to Nysa). B: SIG³ 741 III; (Welles, *RC 73 (letter of Mithridates). C: SIG³ 741 IV; Welles, *RC 74 (letter of Mithridates).

Welles, RC pp. 294–9; Rostovtzeff. SEHWW II 819–21; RDGE pp. 260–2.

A. SIG³ 741 I

[The] *People* [of Nysa and the Boule have honored] | Ch[aer]em[on] (son) of Pythodoros. | Gaius Cassiu[s]¹ sends greetings to the magistrates of
5 [N]ysa. | [Ch]aeremon son of Py[thodor]os, your citizen, || came to me in Apameia and asked [that] | I give him permission to attend my council. | I gave him this permission, when | he promised [the] council that out of respect for the sen|ate and *People* of the Romans he would give (us) in our

61 *Ephesus declares war against Mithridates*

- 10 army camp || a gift of sixty thousand modii² of *wheaten flour*. | Concerning
this matter, I answered | that he had *acted* well and that I, in turn, *would see*
| to it that he would learn that this *was* pleasing to us, | and *we* [will report
(?) this] to the senate and the People of the [Roman]s. vv ||

B. Welles, RC 73

- King [Mithrid]ates to Leonippos, satrap, | *sends greetings*. vv | Since
Cha[er]emon (son) of [Py]thodoros *is* most hateful | and warlike in his
5 dispo||sition *toward* our cause and from the beginning with our most hated
enemies has [associa|ted,] and now, having learned of my presence, has
sent away his so|ns Pythodoros and Pythion and has himself | fled, make
this announcement: if anyone cap|tures alive Chaeremon or Pythodoros
10 or Pythion, his reward will be forty talen||ts, and if anyone brings in the
head of any [of these,] | his reward will be twenty talents. vv

C. Welles, RC 74

- King Mithridates to Leonippos sends greetings. | Chaeremon (son) of
Pythodoros, in the past when some of the Romans had escaped, | removed
them together with his sons to the city of Rhod[es,] | and now, having
5 learned of my presence, || *he has fled* into the temple of Ephesian Artemis, |
and from there is sending letters to the common | *enemies* (of all), the
Romans.³ His freedom from punishment for the crimes | he has committed
10 is an incen|tive to operations against us. *See to* || *it* that if at all possible you
bring him in to [us,] | or that (at least) he be kept under guard and in
prison until I may be free from the | enemy. vv

Sometime, probably soon, after Sulla had concluded the terms of peace with Mithridates in 85 BC, the city of Nysa had this stele erected, containing the testimonials to Chaeremon's services. Chaeremon seems to have perished in Ephesus, but his sons escaped.

1 Proconsul of Asia in 88 BC: Broughton, *MRR* II 42.

2 The Roman modius was a dry measure, about a fourth of a bushel.

3 The engraver made a mistake in the word 'Romans', putting it in the Genitive instead of the Accusative case, which makes it mean 'common enemy of the Romans'.

61 *Ephesus declares war against Mithridates. End of 86 or beginning of 85 BC.*

Plaque of white marble broken at top and bottom, Ephesus.

*SIG³ 742. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 48.

Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* II 943; Magie, *RRAM* I 224–5; Bernhardt, *Historia* 69ff.

62 *Letters of Sulla concerning the Dionysiac Artists*

- [-- with the People | keeping] toward the Romans, the *common* [saviors (of mankind), their ol[d] *goodwill* and to all their orders [being enthusiastically | agreeable.] *v* Mithridates, [king] of Cappadocia,¹ [having trans-
 5 ||gressed the] treaty with the Romans and assembled [his forces, | attempted] to become master of our [land,] which did not *belong* to him, | and, having first seized the cities located before us, he also tre|acherously gained control of our city after terrifying us | [by the] size of his forces and
 10 the unexpectedness of his attack.² || Our People, from the beginning having kept their goodwill toward the Roma|ns and having (now) seized the opportunity to aid our common inter|ests, have decided to declare war on Mithridates on behalf | of the leadership of the Romans and of our common freedom, *v* | all our citizens unanimously having dedicated them-
 15 selves to the || struggles for these things. *v* Therefore, it is decreed by the People, since it is a matter con|cerning the war and the protection and security and | safety of the temple of Artemis and the city and the ter-ri|tory, *v* that the strategoi and the secretary of the Boule and the | proedroi should introduce a decree immediately, also (a decree) concerning conces-
 20 sions,³ || as the People have determined is beneficial concerning this matter. *vv*

1 Cappadocia was a part of the Pontic kingdom of Mithridates.

2 The city of Ephesus here has played with the truth. Back in 88 BC it welcomed Mithridates, its citizens overthrowing the statues of the Romans. From his headquarters at Ephesus Mithridates issued his infamous order for the massacre of Romans in Asia. See Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 21 and 23.

3 Lines 21–64 of the present inscription contain much of a very long decree of Ephesus outlining these concessions. They were intended to unite the people at this critical moment and included such measures as extension of the citizenship, abolition of debts, etc. On this portion of the inscription see Broughton, *Asia* 559–60, and J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 60 (1939) 468–70.

62 Two letters of Sulla concerning the Dionysiac Artists. About 84 and 81 BC.

Upper part of a stele of white marble inscribed on both sides (A and B), with a small projecting cornice on the front face, the letters carelessly engraved, Cos.

*RDGE 49.

RDGE pp. 263–6.

- (A. 81 BC) *vv* With Good Luck. *vv* | [L]ucius Cornelius, son of Lucius, Sulla Epa|phroditos dictator to the magistrates, Boule | (and) People of
 5 Cos, greetings. To Alexandros of Laodikeia, ci||tharist, a good and fine

63 *Letters of Sulla and decree of the senate concerning Stratonikeia*

- man, ou|r friend, envoy from the United Association of Dio|nysiac Artists in Ionia and Hellespont | [and] of the Artists of Dionysos the Leader,¹ I have given *per|mission* to erect a [stele] among you in the most
 10 conspicuous place, || [on which] will be engraved the privileges given by me | [to the Artists.] Since [he now] came as an envoy | [to Rome,] and the senate [passed] a decree *about* | [these matters,] accordingly I wish you to see to it that [there be de|signated among you] *a most conspicuous*
 15 [place] in which will be erect||ted [the stele about the Artists.] I have appended | [copies of the letter from me and of the decree] of the sen|ate [---] LACUNA
 (B. c. 84 BC) [---] and the *goodwill* which you have toward *us*, | accordingly I wish (you) to learn that I, in accordance with my advisory | board's vote, have reached a decision: those privi|leges and honours and
 5 immunities from the liturgies² which to you out of res||pect for Dionysos and the Muses and favor toward *your corporate* | *body* our senate, magistrates and pro|magistrates have given [(and) gran]|ted, these you shall
 10 keep, and, [just as formerly, | you shall be] *immune* from every liturgy || and military service, and you shall not pay any [tax or public expen|ses,] and you shall not [be disturbed by anyone] | for supplies [and billeting, and you shall not | be forced] to receive any [lodger,] | and in order that [---]

1 Originally these were two guilds which united about the middle of the second century to form a single association. See the works cited in the Glossary *s.v.* 'Dionysiac Artists'.

2 On the liturgies see the Glossary.

63 A letter of Sulla to Stratonikeia, followed by a second letter introducing a decree of the senate concerning that city. 81 BC.
 Building blocks, now in many fragments, once part of the wall of the temple of Hekate at Lagina in Karia.¹

OGIS 441; *RDGE 18.

Magie, *RRAM* I 234–5; *RDGE* pp. 105–11.

- (Col. 1: the first letter) [Lucius Cornelius, son of L]ucius, Sulla Epaphroditos, | [dictator,] to the magistrates, Boule and People of [Stratoni]keia, greetings. | [We are not unaware that] from the time of your ancestors
 5 most justly | [you] have acted [toward our] leadership and at || [every opportunity] have conscientiously preserved your loyalty [to] *us*, | and that [in the] war [against Mithrida]tes you were the first of those in | [Asia to oppose him] and for those reasons (there were) many dangers, | of different kinds, which you on behalf of our Re|public most readily took
 10 upon yourselves, || [-- (dangers)] both [public] and private, | *because of*

63 *Letters of Sulla and decree of the senate concerning Stratonikeia*

[your friendship] toward us, your goodwill | [and kindness,] and that [in the] crisis [of the war] | *you sent envoys* to [the other cities of Asia] and to | [those of Greece --] || LACUNA

- 15 (Col. 2: the second letter) Lucius Cor[nelius Sulla Epaphroditos, dic-
tator, | [to the magistrates, Boule and People of] Strato[nikeia, greetings
| I have given] this decree, [passed by the senate,] to your envoys. |
(The decree) Lucius Corneli[us, son of Lucius, Sulla Epaphroditos, dic]-
20 tator, | *consulted* the senate [on the sixth day before the] *Kalends* || of April
(March 27) in the [Comitium. (Witnesses) present at the writing were:
G]aius | Fannius, [son of] Gaius; [---; G]aius | Fundanius, [son of]
Gai[us; ---. Whereas the envoys] from Chrysaorian² | [Stratonikei]a,
25 Paionios, son of Hier[okles; | ---;] || Hekataios, son of Pa[---; ---;] | and
Dionysios, son of E[---,] spoke | *in harmonious* [agreement with the decree
of Stratonikeia, | asking for a share in our joy over the fact that] the public
30 *affairs* of the People | [of Rome] are [now in better] *condition*: || [that they be
permitted to dedicate a golden crown | of] two hundred [talents from
their] own city to the senate, | [that] they be permitted to perform a [sacri-
fice on the Capitol] (to celebrate) the *victory* | [and leadership of the
People] of Rome, | [and that hereafter Lucius Cornelius,] son of [L]ucius,
35 Sulla Epaphroditos, || [dictator, think it best (?) to] treat the People [of
Stratonikeia] kindly; | [and since the People (of Stratonikeia) in the
period of peace] preserved their | [goodwill, loyalty and friendship] toward
the People of Rome, | [and were the first of those in Asia, when Mith-
r]idates | [was a most fearsome tyrant] there, [to prefer] to oppose him,
40 || [and since the king marched against their city,] captured and took | [---]
|| LACUNA [--- to Lucius Cornelius, son of Lucius, Sulla,] | dictator, [---]
| and since the People (of Stratonikeia) [have always preserved their exist
45 ing] || goodwill and *loyalty* and alliance [toward the People of Rome, | con-
ducting] *their own* affairs [in keeping with] the policy [of the latter, and
upon Mithridates] | made war, and, displaying their [spirit most zeal-
ously in their opposition] | to the violence and power of the king, [---] |
LACUNA (asking) that they might enjoy *their own* [jurisdiction] and *their*
50 *own* laws and customs [as they had || previously,] and that whatever [dec-
rees they passed] | because of [this] war which [they declared] against
King [Mithridates] | (all) those should be legally binding; | [and that
Pedasos (?),] Themessos, Keramos and the places, [villages, harbors and
the re]venues of the] cities which Lucius Corn[elius Sulla, imperator,]
55 || *for the sake of* their courage and honor [added and assign]ed to them, that]
they should be *permitted* to possess (all of these); | [the temple] of Hekate,
most famous [and most great goddess, that (her) long] revered (temple)
60 [--- | and its sacred precinct should be] inviolate; || [and concerning their]
losses [in the war, that] | (Col. 3) the *senate* should issue instructions to the
magistrate going to Asia | *to see to* and to turn his attention to (this), | that

he should see to the restoration of things proved to be theirs, and that their
 men captured in war | should be restored to them, and that they receive
 65 just treatment in the other matters; || and that to envoys coming from
 Stratonikeia to Rome | the (Roman) magistrates should give (audience
 before) the senate outside the regular procedure – | about this matter a
 decree was passed as follows: that the envoys | of Stratonikeia be given in
 person in the senate a friend|ly response; that goodwill, friendship and
 70 alliance be renewed || and that the envoys be addressed as fine and good
 men, friends | and allies of ours from a fine and good People, | friends and
 allies of ours. Decreed. | Whereas these [envoys] spoke and *whereas* |
 75 Lucius Corneli[us Sulla] Epaphroditos, dictator, *spoke* || (to the effect) that
 [it was known to the Ro]mans [by letters sent | from those who have held]
 Asia and Greece [and from those | who have been] legates [in these] pro-
 vinces | that friendship and [loyalty and goodwill toward the] | People of
 Rome (are things which) the Stratonikeians continuously [in times of
 80 peace and war] || have always preserved, and that *with soldiers* [and grain
 and huge | expenditures of money] the Republic [of the People of Rome] |
 has been most zealously protected (by them) [---,] | and that because of
 [their own] highmindedness [they joined with (the Romans) in fight|ing]
 85 against King [Mithridates' commanders] || and *forces*, and most cour-
 ageously on *behalf* of [the cities of Asia and] | Greece they opposed (those
 commanders and forces), *v* | [about these matters a decree has been passed
 as follows: it pleases the sen|ate to *remember* good and] just [men and to
 90 pro|vide that Luci]us Cornelius Sulla Epaphrodit[os, || dictator, shall
 order the] *proquaestor* [to give] them gifts according to official procedure, |
 and that their own laws and customs [which] they formerly | [enjoyed,]
these they shall enjoy; *v* | [and that whatever laws] and decrees [they them-
 selves] have passed [because of] this [war] | against Mithridates, [all
 95 these || are to be legally binding] *upon them*; and whatever (things) [for the
 sake of] their courage [and hon|or,] *according to* the vote of his advisory
 board, Lucius Sul[la, im|perator,] added and assigned to them, (con-
 sisting of) [communi|ties (?), revenues,] *lands*, villages and harbors, [these
 100 | they are to be permitted to keep;] *the* People of Rome [---||---] in a man-
 ner *befitting* and worthy of them [---|---] the Stratonikeians [---|---] *shall*
be acceptable; and *that* Lucius Corneli[us Sul]la Epaphroditos, dictator,
 105 [if to him] | it seems best, shall review whatever *communities*, || villages,
 lands and harbors which he as imperator had added to Stratonikeia (and)
 shall establish [how much] | revenue [each] of them should pay to Strato-
 nikeia; | and that, *when* he has established it, he shall send letters to those
 communities (?) which | he has added to Str[atonikeia] that such an
 110 amount of *revenue* | is to be paid (by them) to Stratonikeia; *v* || and that those
 who, at any time, are in charge of the [provinces] of Asia and Greece | shall
 take thought and see to it that [these things] | *v* are done in this way; (Col. 4

115 that the temple of Hekate *shall be* [inviolate;] | whatever proconsul at
 any time is in charge of the *province* of Asia, || shall investigate what things
 are *missing*, | who stole them, and who (now) possess|es them, so that he
 may see to it that they are recovered from them | and restored, and that
 120 their prisoners of war | they shall be able to recover, and in regard to the
 other matters || shall obtain justice, as may | seem to him to be in keep-
 ing with the interests of the Republic and | his own good faith. Decreed.
 v | As for the crown sent from the people (of Stratonikeia) [to the
 125 senate,] | wherever Lucius [Cornel]ius || Sulla Epaphroditos, dictator, |
may think it [good, (there) they shall be permitted to set it up; | and as
 for a sacrifice on the Capitol, if they wi|sh, they shall be permitted to
 130 perform it. | As for the envoys coming from Stratonikeia to || Rome, it
 has been decreed that (audience before) the] senate | *be granted* [to them
 by the magistrates outside the regular procedure. Decreed.]

At the conclusion of the war against Mithridates (85 BC) a general reorganization of the cities in Asia was made by Sulla. Cities loyal to Rome were rewarded, while those which had sided with Mithridates were punished. Stratonikeia had remained loyal and was accordingly rewarded by Sulla. After Sulla returned to Rome, the city sent envoys to the senate to obtain confirmation of all the benefits and privileges it had been given.

1 It was estimated by Diehl and Cousin in *BCH* 9 (1885) 437–74 that these documents had been engraved on the wall of the temple of Hekate in five parallel columns. Following the senatorial decree on the wall there is a decree of the city of Stratonikeia which authorizes the engraving of the list of those cities which had recognized the inviolability of the temple. It is found in the last half of col. 4 and in col. 5.

2 According to Pausanias 5.21.10 the territory and the city of Stratonikeia had been called Chrysaoris in early times. See Magie, *RRAM* II 1031, n. 77, and J. Crampa, *Labraunda*, Swedish Excavations and Researches III: *The Greek Inscriptions* Part I (Lund 1969) 33ff.

64 A letter of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella to Thasos. 80 BC.

Fragment of a marble building block, Thasos.

Dunant-Pouilloux, *Recherches* no. 175, pp. 45–6 (+ photograph); **RDGE* 21.

Dunant-Pouilloux, *Recherches* pp. 47–55; *RDGE* pp. 121–3.

[Gnae]us Cornelius, [son] of Publius, [Dolabella, proconsul,]¹ sends greetings to the magistrates, Boule and People of Thas[os]. Mikas son of Mikas, Sa[-- son] of Eurymenides [by adoption] but of Lyetes by nature, envoys | of yours, *fine* [and good] men, [friends from a] *fine* and good [People,] friends and allies of ou[rs], [met me] in Thessalo[nike and informed me] that the senate of the Roman People || (passed) [a decree] in favor of your [city on account of] your respect for (our) Republic. | This decree

- 10 [--] | I learned [--] | had [--] | in the war [--] || fell into hard times [--] |
 imperatores² and [--] | goodwill, [friendship and alliance to renew --] |
 which, having *learned* that you [--] to the envoys from Abdera in the man-
 15 ner in which Lu{c}|cius Cornelius Sul[la --] *decided* and the senate deter-
 mined as just and the Peo||ple of the Romans *ordered* [--] were to be sub|ject
 to you, and [whatever --]³ revenues the senate [of the Ro]|mans has
 conceded in order that [you might] *enjoy* [--] these [--] were to be [--,]
 simi|larly to the Peparethians and [Skiathians] I have sent letters that
 they are to be subject to you in the manner in which our | senate wished.
 20 *vv* || And if concerning the land which, bordering on Ismaros (?)⁴ [--] land
 I have determined | is to be reserved for you, to return any (land) reserved
 [for you --] to whom [--] lett|ers I have sent, in order that concerning this
 land [--] they should | withdraw and return the land reserved for you, just
 as [--] | and if Rhoimetalkas or Ablouporis or Tuta⁵ [--] occupy any of
 25 your [property,] || they are to return that which is reserved for you; and
 likewise [--] | to take care that these [-- of] yours be restored [--] about
 those matters concerning y|ou publicly or privately that to me [--] | And
 concerning the remainder, if (it comes) to a dispute [--] | let envoys come
 to me [about] the matter [--] | whatever (cities or peoples?) have remained
 in the friendship of the People of Rome [--] |⁶

In the autumn of 88 BC, after his conquests in Asia, Mithridates sent two armies to invade Europe: one by land through Thrace and Macedonia, and another across the Aegean. After almost all Greece had come under the king's control, Sulla arrived early in 87 with an army, bottled up the enemy forces in Athens, besieged and captured Athens in 86 and then defeated the Mithridatic army in Boiotia. In the winter of 86/5 Sulla marched northward toward Macedonia. In the spring he sent part of his army on a punitive expedition against native tribes of the north which had been plundering Roman territory. In autumn of 85 BC Mithridates accepted the peace terms offered by Sulla. The letter of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, translated here, is part of a series of documents that originally had been engraved on some part of an official building in the agora of Thasos. They are concerned with the difficulties faced by Thasos at home and especially on the Thracian coast opposite the island. The documents include a letter of Sulla to Thasos with a decree of the senate, dated to 80 BC, both badly mutilated (*RDGE* 20). The decree shows that Thasos had resisted enemy forces – probably Thracians in the anarchy following the advance of the Mithridatic army – and had remained loyal to Rome. For those reasons the senate had decreed to renew friendship and alliance with Thasos and to grant the city certain privileges. When the senatorial decree was brought back to Thasos, it was brought to the attention of the governor of Macedonia, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, who sent the present letter to the city.

1 Consul in 81 BC, he was governor of Macedonia 80–77 BC. For his family see E. Badian, *BRSR* 33 (1965) 48–51.

2 The Latin word is here simply transliterated into Greek.

3 Dunant-Pouilloux: '[communities, places,] *harbors*, [villages and] revenues'.

4 The stone has, apparently, EMARON, but no such place is known, while Ismaros is in Thrace, north of Maroneia.

65 Decree of the Koinon of Asia

- 5 All three are Thracians, apparently the chiefs of Thracian tribes who had been plundering Thasian territory on the mainland coast. Thrace remained independent of Rome throughout the whole Republican period and did not become a Roman province until the reign of Claudius.
- 6 A second letter of Dolabella follows on the stone in a very mutilated form, but it appears to contain instructions of some kind about Peparethos and Skiathos.

65 Decree of the Koinon of Asia. Between 80 and 48 BC.

Stone block broken at the top and left side, Aphrodisias in Karia.

T. Drew-Bear, **BCH* 96 (1972) 444; photograph in *PBSR* 37 (1969) Pl. X–XI; Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*, Document 5.

Drew-Bear, *op. cit.* 443–71; Reynolds, *Aphrodisias* pp. 26–32.

- [-- on the motion of] the proedroi and the secretary: *vv* since the cities |
[and the tribes, being oppressed] by the publicans and the [--|--] and
[having come (?)] to the final stage of despair through certain (indi-
5 viduals), | [the Koinon] of the Greeks met and unanimously decided || [--]
in the city of Ephesus to send envoys to | [the senate and] the (Roman)
leaders, (envoys drawn) from the most prominent and most honor|ed
[men, to discuss with] *them* about the aforementioned matters and the
other things | [of interest to the Greeks,] and to ask them to take the pro-
vince in hand and | [to --] it; and when the envoys were chosen, among
10 whom (were) *vv* || [Dionysios and Hier]okles, (sons) of Iason (the son) of
Skymnos,¹ being Aphrodisians and also *cit|izens* in Tralles but not in
residence, the proedroi sent | [a man (?) to convey] to the People of
Aphrodisias a *letter* that they had been chosen | [--] because of the com-
mon interest of the Greeks (well) known being | their reputation [among
15 the Greeks] for excellence and honor, just as in detail (?) || [concerning
each particular] is revealed [in] the letter sent about them | [--] they were
called upon by the People after an Assembly had been convoked | [and
they undertook] to perform the embassy; and because of this embassy
many | [great] dangers were they subjected to; and they gave our decrees |
20 [to the senate] and the (Roman) leaders, and they besieged at *ev|ery*
[opportunity] those leaders; they took upon themselves many great
(judicial) contests | [on behalf of the] Koinon of the Greeks and were
present at all those contests; and *con|ducting* [the] embassy in a fine and
successful manner worthy of the Koinon of the Greeks | [and of their own
personal] reputations, they successfully accomplished matters of the
greatest importance and interest to the | Peoples and Tribes [who are in
25 the whole of (?)] Asia – (therefore) it is decreed by the Koinon in Asi||a [of
the Greeks] to praise the aforementioned men and to crown with a gold |
[crown] *each* of them for the courage and zeal which they demonstrated

66 Decree of the senate concerning Greek naval captains

vv | [and to erect] bronze statues of them among whatever People or Tribe they wish, | the *inscription* (on the statues) *being v* The Peoples and Tribes in Asia have honored Dionysios and Hierokles, | [the (sons) of Iason] (son) of Skymnos, for their most successful accomplishments, on account of their excellence.

- 1 Iason son of Skymnos was one of the most prominent men in Aphrodisias, having been a local magistrate connected with the mint of the city. His name appears on a number of coins of Aphrodisias: Drew-Bear, *op. cit.* 467 ff.

66 Decree of the senate concerning three Greek naval captains. 78 BC.

Bilingual inscription on a bronze tablet,¹ Rome.

IGRR I 118; *CIL* I² 588; *FIRA* I 35; *ILLRP* 513; **RDGE* 22; Moretti, *IGUR* I 1; photograph in Degraffi, *Imagines* no. 393. Cf. the letters of Octavian concerning Seleukos of Rhosos, below, no. 86.

RDGE pp. 124–32; A. J. Marshall, *AJP* 89 (1968) 39–55.

- In the consulship of Quintus Lutatius, son of Quintus, Catulus and Marcus Aem[ilius, son of Quintus,] | grandson of Marcus, L[e]p[i]dus (78 BC), when the urban and peregrine praetor² was Lucius Cornelius, [son of --,] | Sisenna, month of May. Quintus Lutatius, son of Quintus, Catulus the consul consulted the senate | on the eleventh day before the Kalends of June (May 22) in the Comitium. (Witnesses) present at the writing were Lucius Faberius, son of Lucius, (of the tribe) Sergia; Gaiu[s --,] son of [Lu]lc[ius, (of the tribe) Poplilia; Quintus Petillius, son of Titus, (of the tribe) Sergia. Whereas Quintus Lutatius, son of Quintus, Catulus the consul said that A[sklepiades] | son of Philinos the Klazomenian, Polystratos son of Polyarkos the Karystian, and Men[i]skos son (by adoption) of Eirenaios (and by nature son) of Thargelios the Mile[sian --] | had been present with their ships at the beginning of the Italian War,³ had given valiant and faithful service to our Republic, | and that he wishes to send them back to their countries in accordance with a decree of the senate, if it pleases (the senate), that for their fine accomplishments [and brave] | deeds for our Republic they might receive respect, concerning this matter it has been decreed as follows: that Asklepiades son of Philinos the Klaz[omenian,] | Polystratos son of Polyarkos the Karystian, and Menis-
 5 kos the Milesian son (by adoption) of Eirenaios and by descent (son) of Thargelios⁴ *vv* are to be *addressed* as fine and good men, (our) *friends*. | The senate and the People of the Romans consider the deeds of these men have been good and brave and loyal to our Republic, | and for this reason the
 10

- senate decides that they, their children, and their descendants are to be immune in their own cities from all liturgies and financial contributions; if any taxes | have been levied on their properties since these men left in the service of our Republic, these (taxes) are to be given back (and) returned to them; if any | of their fields, houses or properties have been sold since these men left their homeland in the service of our Republic, all of these
- 15 are to be returned to them in their entirety;⁵ || if any fixed day (for payment of debts) has passed since they left their homeland in the service of our Republic, this is not to be detrimental to them, | and no debt owed to them is for this reason to be less (valid), nor is it to be any less lawful for them to sue (or) exact payment (of such debts); and whatever inheritances have come to them or their children, | these they are to hold, possess and enjoy; whatever lawsuits they, their children, their descendants, and their wives may bring against another person, and if other persons | bring lawsuits against them, their children, their descendants, and their wives, these men and their children <and their descendants> and their wives <are> to have the right and the choice | of having the case decided in their own cities by their own laws, if they wish, or before our magistrates
- 20 by Italian judges, or in a free city, one which has remained constantly || in the friendship of the People of the Romans, – wherever they may prefer, there the trial about these matters is to be held; if any judgments | have been made about them in their absence since they left their homeland, these are to be returned to their former condition and a new trial according to | the decree of the senate is to take place; if their cities owe any public debts, they are not to be obligated to contribute toward (payment of) these debts; | our magistrates, any (of them) who may at any time farm out (the contracts for) Asia and Euboia or may impose taxes on Asia and Euboia, are to take care that these men are not obligated to give anything; | Quintus Lutatius and Marcus Aemilius the consuls, one of them or both, if it seems good to them, are to see to it that these men be entered on the roll of
- 25 friends, || that they be permitted to set up on the Capitolium a bronze tablet of friendship and to perform a sacrifice there, and that gifts to them, according to official procedure, and lodging and board be contracted for and sent by the urban quaestor, (the consuls) are to order; and if concerning their own affairs | they desire to send envoys to the senate or to come themselves, permission is to be granted to them, their children, and their descendants | to come as envoys or to send them; Quintus Lutatius and Marcus Aemilius the consuls, one of them or both, | if it seems good to them, are to send letters to our magistrates, who are in
- 30 charge of the provinces of Asia and Macedonia, || and to their (city) magistrates, that the senate wishes and considers it just that these things be done in this fashion, | as may appear to them to be in keeping with the interest of the Republic and their own good faith. vv Decreed. vv Askle-

67 P. Servilius Vatia in Cilicia and Isauria

piades (son) of Philinos the Klazomenian, Polystratos (son) of Polyarkos the Karystian, and Meniskos (son) of Eirena[ios the M]ilesian.⁶

- 1 The Latin original text occupies the upper half of the tablet, but only parts of it are extant. The Greek translation, which is translated here, is complete.
- 2 See the Glossary *s.v.* Praetor.
- 3 Probably the war of 90–89 BC is meant, although the Sullan war of 83–82 cannot be discounted.
- 4 Here is stated somewhat differently exactly what is said above in line 6.
- 5 On this technical expression in Roman law see L. Gallet in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*⁴ 16 (1937) 407–25.
- 6 The three Greeks added their names at the end, when they had the tablet nailed up – holes are in the lower two corners and in the middle – somewhere on the Capitulum.

67 P. Servilius Vatia in Cilicia and Isauria. 78–75 BC.

A: Eutropius 6.3. **B:** A. Hall, *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik*, Vestigia 17 (Munich 1973) 570 (Latin) with photograph. Rectangular building block of mottled red and gray limestone, slightly damaged at top right corner, Isaura Vetus in Isauria in Asia Minor. Cf. Strabo 12.6.2; Sallust, *Hist.* 2.82–7 (Maurenbrecher); Florus 1.41.5; Orosius, *Adversum Paganos* 5.23.21. Livy, *Per.* 93.

H. A. Ormerod, *JRS* 12 (1922) 35ff.; Magie, *RRAM* I 287–90; Hall, *op. cit.* 568–71.

A. Eutropius 6.3

The ex-consul, P. Servilius,¹ a vigorous man, was sent to Cilicia and Pamphylia. He subdued Cilicia, besieged and captured the most famous cities of Lycia, including Phaselis, Olympus, Corycus in Cilicia. He also attacked the Isaurians, reduced them to (Roman) rule, and within a three-year period brought an end to the war. He was the first of all the Romans to make a march in the Taurus (Mountains). Upon his return he received a triumph and earned the name of Isauricus.

B. Hall, *op. cit.* 570

- 5 Servilius, son of Gaius, imperator, | defeated the enemy, captured Isaura Vetus | and sold the captives. | Whether it is a god or goddess who || protected Vetus | Isaura, *vv* he fulfilled his vow.²

- 1 He was consul in 79 BC and then received the command in Cilicia for 78, his authority subsequently extended each year to 75.
- 2 Hall believes that a ceremony similar to *evocatio* was performed during the siege of Isaura Vetus. *Evocatio* was a ceremony to hasten the fall of a city by inducing its god(s) to leave it, thus making the city easier to capture. This would mean that the Romans would have to accept the god or gods in Rome. For the ceremony and formula see Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.9.7ff. But here in Isaura Vetus it may have been only some propitiatory and expiatory ceremony.

69 C. Salluvius Naso honored for his actions against Mithridates

68 Murder of publicans in Herakleia in Pontos. 74 BC.

Extract from Memnon.

Memnon, *FGHist* 434 F 27.5–6. Cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus* 7.5.

Magie, *RRAM* I 324–5.

(5) The fleet of Mithridates sailing along by Herakleia was not received by the city, but it did obtain market (privileges) after requesting them. As was to be expected, when the men mingled with each other, Archelaos the fleet admiral arrested Silenos and Satyros, notable men of Herakleia, and did not release them until he persuaded (the city) to grant him five triremes as allies in the war against the Romans. In consequence of this, a thing which Archelaos also contrived, the people of Herakleia incurred the hatred of the Romans. And when the Romans set up the leasing of the taxes in the other cities, they subjected Herakleia to them as well, for the reason mentioned above.¹ (6) The publicans came to the city in contempt of the customs of its government and demanded money, antagonizing the citizens who considered this to be, so to speak, a beginning of slavery. Although they ought to have sent an embassy to the senate to be relieved of the leasing of the taxes, they were misled by a very headstrong person of those in the city and caused the disappearance of the publicans, so that their very death was not known.

1 Herakleia had been on friendly terms with Rome since the time of the Scipiones in 190 BC: Memnon, *FGHist* 434 F 18.

69 C. Salluvius Naso honored for his actions against Mithridates. 74–73 BC.

Inscription in Latin and Greek¹ on a marble column from the temple of Diana Nemorensis, Nemi.

CIL I² 743; *IGRR* I 401; *OGIS* 445; *ILS* 37; **ILLRP* 372.

Magie, *RRAM* I 327; II 1208, n. 15.

(Dedicated to) G[ai]us Salluvius, son of Gaius, Naso, | legate pro praetore,² (by) the Mysian | Abbaitai and Epikteteis, because he preserved
5 them | in the war against Mithridates, || on account of his bravery.

1 The Latin copy appears first, followed by the Greek, which is translated here.

2 He served under Lucullus: Broughton, *MRR* II 105 and 113. For the command 'pro praetore' see the Glossary *s.v.* Promagistrate.

70 Oropos and the publicans. 73 BC.

Stele of white marble from the Amphiarraion in Oropos in Boiotia.

SIG³ 747; FIRA I 36; *RDGE 23. Cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum* 3.49.

Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* II 748–9; Nicolet, *L'ordre* I 351–2; RDGE pp. 133–8; Badian, *Publicans* 95–6.

- M[arc]us Terentius, son of Marcus, Varro Lucullus and Gaius Cas-
 <s>ius, son of Luci[us, Lon]|ginus, consuls (73 BC), vv to the magis-
 trates, Boule and People of Oropos, greetings. If you are well, it is good.¹
 We wish you to know that we, in accordance with the decree of the senate
 passed in the consulship of [Luci]|us Licinius (Lucullus) and Marcus
 Aurelius (Cotta) (74 BC), have reached a decision concerning the dis-
 5 putes between || the god Amphiarraos and the publicans {reached a deci-
 sion}. vv On the day before the I[des] | of October (October 14) in the
 Basilica Porcia.² On our Advisory Board vv were Marcus Claudius, son of
 Marc[us,] | (of the tribe) Arnensis, Marcellus; vv Gaius Claudius, son of
 Gaius, (of the tribe) Arnensis, Glaber; | Marcus Cas<s>ius, son of
 Marcus, (of the tribe) Pomptina; vv Gaius Licinius, son of Gaius, | {(of the
 tribe) Pomptina, vv Gaius Licinius, son of Gaius, }³ (of the tribe) Stel-
 10 latina, Sacerdos; || Lucius Voluscius,⁴ son of Lucius, (of the tribe) Arnen-
 sis (?); vv Lucius Lartius, son of Lucius, | (of the tribe) P<a>piria; vv
 Gaius Annaeus, son of Gaius, (of the tribe) Clu<s>tumina; Marcus
 Tullius, son of Marcus, | (of the tribe) Cornelia, Cicero;⁵ v Quintus Axisus,
 son of Marcus, (of the tribe) Quirina; vv Quintus Pompeius, son of
 Quin|tus, (of the tribe) Ar[nen]sis, Rufus; Aulus Cascellius, son of {son
 of} Aulus, (of the tribe) Romilia; | Quintus Minucius, son of Quintus, (of
 15 the tribe) Teretina, Thermus; v Marcus Publicius, || son of Marcus, (of the
 tribe) Horatia, Scaeva; vv Titus Maenius, son of Titus, vv (of the tribe)
 Lemonia; v Lucius | Claudius, son of Lucius, (of the tribe) Lemonia. vv
 Whereas Hermodoros, son of Olympichos, priest | of Amphiarraos, who
 has previously been called ally by the senate,⁶ | and Alexidemos son of
 Theodoros, and Demainetos son of Theoteles, en|voys of Oropos, said: vv
 20 since in the law of the (state) contract⁷ those || lands have been exempted
 which Lucius Sulla for the protection of the immortal gods (and) of their
 sacred precincts | has granted (to a god) {have been exempted}, vv (and
 since) these reve|nues, which this dispute concerns, have been assigned
 by Lucius Sulla to the god Amphiarraos, | that they should not⁸ pay the tax
 on these lands to the publican; | and whereas Lucius Domitius Aheno-
 25 barbus⁹ vv said on behalf of the publicans that, || since in the law of the
 (state) contract those lands have been exempted | which Lucius Sulla for
 the protection of the sacred precincts of the immortal gods | has granted

- (to a god), *vv* and (since) Amphiaraios, to whom these lands are said to have been granted, | is not a god, the publicans should have permission to collect the taxes from these lands;¹⁰ *vv* according to the decision of our
- 30 Advisory Board we have made our dec||ision, which decision we will bring before the senate, *vv* and we have entered it also | into the book of our minutes: *vv* Concerning the land | of Oropos, about which there was a dispute with the publicans, according to the | law of the (state) contract this land is exempted, so that the publican | may not collect its taxes; we
- 35 have made our decision in accordance with the decree of the senate; || in the law of the (state) contract the exemption appears to run as follows: | 'except for those (lands)¹¹ or any (land) which a decree of the senate or a general or generals | of ours out of respect for the immortal gods and for the protection of their sacred precincts | have given or left to them to enjoy, *v* and except for those (lands) which Lucius | Cornelius Sulla imperator,
- 40 according to the decision of his Advisory Board, || for the protection of the immortal gods and of their sacred precincts, has given to them to enjoy, | and which (gift) has also been ratified by the senate and which has not afterwards by decree | of the senate been made invalid'. *v* Lucius Cornelius Sulla according to | the decision of his Advisory Board appears to have made his decision (as follows): *vv* 'For the sake of fulfilling a vow | I grant to the temple of Amphiaraios land everywhere in all directions for one
- 45 thousand feet, || in order that this land too may be inviolate.' Likewise to the god Amphiaraios | he appears to have consecrated of the city and the land and harbors of Oropos | all the revenues for the games and sacrifices which the Oropians | perform for the god Amphiaraios, as well as those also which afterwards | they might perform for the victory and leadership
- 50 of the People of the Romans, || except for the fields of Hermodoros son of Olympichos, priest of Amphiaraios, who | has constantly remained in the friendship of the People of the Romans. Concerning th|is matter a decree of the senate *v* when Lucius Sulla Epaphroditos | (and) Quintus Metellus Pius were consuls (80 BC) *v* appears to have been sanctioned, which the senate decreed {and} in the following words: 'Whatever to the god
- 55 || Amphiaraios and to his temple *v* Lucius Cornelius Sulla according to the decision of his Advisory Board | assigned and granted, these same (properties) the senate has deemed | to have been given and granted to the god.' On (Sulla's) Advisory Board were present | the same men (named) in Book One of (Senatorial) Proceedings, | page fourteen.¹² *v* This is the
- 60 decree of the senate that was passed: || On the seventeenth day before the Kalends of November (October 16) in the Comitium: (Witnesses) present at the writing were *v* Titus Maenius, son of Titus, (of the tribe) Lemonia; | Quintus Rancius, son of Quintus, (of the tribe) Claudia; Gaius V<i>sel-
lius, son of Gaius, | (of the tribe) Quirina, Varro.¹³ *vv* Whereas Marcus Lucullus and Gaius Cas<s>ius, the consuls (73 BC), have decided and

71 Roman naval actions during the Third Mithridatic War

65 reported that concerning the land of Oropos and the publicans they have made their decision, that also the Oropian land appears to have been exempted in accordance with the law of the (state) contract and that it appears the publicans may not collect the taxes on these lands – just as appeared to them to be in accordance with the best interest of the Republic and their own good faith, so it has been decreed. *vv*

- 1 This stereotyped formula begins in Greek letters of the Hellenistic period and then makes its appearance in official Roman letters. See *RDGE* p. 190.
- 2 Thus, ten months or more were required to reach a decision.
- 3 This entry is in part a repetition of the material in the preceding line.
- 4 Unknown elsewhere, but his name may be 'Volscius', since the Greeks spelled it 'Voluscus'. For examples see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1933) 523.
- 5 This Cicero is the famous orator, statesman and author.
- 6 The special treatment accorded him – see lines 50–1 – shows that he was still so considered by the senate. He may have acquired his status through loyalty to Rome in the war against Mithridates.
- 7 Contracts at Rome for public works and services were let out by the censors to private companies or groups for such things as army supplies and the collection of taxes in the provinces. See Badian, *Publicans* Chapter 1.
- 8 There is a mistake in the printing of the Greek text in *RDGE* at this point. The word for 'not' (*me*) was omitted inadvertently.
- 9 He was the consul of 54 BC, a bitter enemy of the dictator Caesar. He fell at Pharsalus in 48 BC.
- 10 The central point in the argument of the publicans is that Amphiaraios is not a god but, presumably, a hero and thus his precincts do not belong to the 'precincts of the immortal gods', making them taxable.
- 11 This seems to refer to lands previously listed as exempt.
- 12 This might refer to material on deposit in the state archives in Rome. However, as Badian suggests (*per litteras*), the reference to 'Book One' makes it difficult to ascribe the notation to the state archives. It may be a case of a reference to the minutes of meetings of Sulla's Advisory Board.
- 13 He was the cousin of the famous Cicero mentioned in lines 11–12, about the same age. For his career see H. Gundel in *RE s.v.* Visellius (no. 3), cols. 355–8.

71 Roman naval actions during the Third Mithridatic War. 72–69 BC.

Extracts from Memnon, and other sources.

A: Memnon (*FGrHist* 434 F 29.5). 72 BC. C. Valerius Triarius ordered to blockade the Hellespont. **B:** Memnon (*ibid.* F 33.1–2). 72 BC. Triarius defeats Mithridatic fleet off Tenedos. **C:** Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrHist* 257 F 12.13). 69 BC. Triarius builds a wall on Delos. **D:** *OGIS* 447; Durrbach, *Choix* 160; *ILS* 8774; **I. Délos* 1855. 69 BC. Base of white marble; at Delos Milesian combat crew makes a dedication to Triarius. **E:** Durrbach, *Choix* 159; *I. Délos* 1856; F. G. Maier, **Griechische Mauerbauinschriften I, Vestigia I* (Heidelberg 1959) no. 41, p. 167. Base of white marble, dedication of a wall to Triarius. Delos. **F:** *I. Délos* 1857; Maier, **op. cit.* no. 42, p. 168. 69 BC. Doric architrave of white marble; Smyrnaean combat crew makes a dedication to Triarius. Delos.

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T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* (Paris 1890) 318–76; Magie, *RRAM* I 321–50.

A. Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 29.5

Lucullus, Cotta, and Triarius,¹ the Roman generals in command, united their forces at Nikomedeia and prepared to invade Pontos. When the capture of Herakleia was announced to them, its betrayal was unknown and it was thought that the revolt was (the fault) of the whole city.² It was decided that Lucullus with the majority of the military forces should advance into Cappadocia through the interior of the country against Mithridates and his entire kingdom, Cotta should advance against Herakleia, and Triarius should take the naval forces and wait in ambush around the Hellespont and the Propontis for the return of the ships of Mithridates which had been sent off to Crete and Spain.³

B. Memnon, *ibid.* F 33.1–2

Shortly before, Triarius with the Roman fleet set out from Nikomedeia against the Pontic triremes which, as reported above, had been sent out to the waters around Crete and Spain. He learned that the remaining ships – for many of them had been sunk and lost in a storm and in a number of small naval battles – had returned to Pontus. He overtook these (ships that had returned to Pontus) and brought them to battle around Tenedos, having seventy triremes himself, while the Pontic forces were a little short of eighty. (2) When the battle began, the king's ships at first resisted, but later their rout was quite clear and the Romans won an overwhelming victory. Thus the whole naval force of Mithridates, which had sailed off on his side against Asia, was ruined.⁴

C. Phlegon of Tralles, *FGrHist* 257 F 12.13

The pirate Athenodoros enslaved the Delians and defaced the statues of their gods, but Gaius Triarius repaired the damage to the city and fortified Delos with a wall.⁵

D. 1. Délos 1855. Delos

5 To Gaius Valerius, son of Gaius, | Triarius, lega|te, the Milesians who campaign|ed with him on board || the bireme bearing the name | Parthenos (Virgin Goddess) made (this dedication).

E. Maier, *op. cit.* no. 41. Delos

To Gaius Valeri|us, son of Gaius, | Triarius, le|gate, the || Milesians who campaign|ed with him | on board the bireme | bearing the name

72 Antonian law concerning Termessus Maior

Athe|[n]a, the First Offic|er⁶ and the one in char|ge being Publi|us Iunius, Publi|us' son, (dedicate this wall).

F. Maier, *op. cit.* no. 42. Delos

To Gaius Valerius, son of Gaius, Triarius, legate, the Smyrnaeans who campaigne|d with him on board the bireme bearing the name | Athena, the Ship-Captain being Nikomachos (son) of Artemidoros, (dedicate) this tower.

- 1 After the death of Sulla in 78 BC Mithridates of Pontos began making preparations for another invasion of Asia Minor. At Rome Marcus Aurelius Cotta, the consul in 74 BC, was made governor of the new province of Bithynia, and his colleague in the consulship, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, received the command in Cilicia. Lucullus was later given orders to take command against Mithridates. Gaius Valerius Triarius was a legate of Lucullus. Late in 74 or early in 73 BC they arrived in Asia Minor, and in the spring of 73 Mithridates advanced into Bithynia, a huge fleet sailing along the Pontic coast in support.
- 2 See above, no. 68. Plutarch, *Lucullus* 11.5, gives a different name to the admiral of Mithridates: see Magie, *RRAM* I 325, and II 1206, n. 9.
- 3 Mithridates had sent ships to Spain to negotiate with the rebel Sertorius, promising him money and ships: see Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pomp.* 9; *Pro Murena* 32; Plutarch, *Sertorius* 23ff.; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 68 and 112. Cf. Magie, *RRAM* I 322–3. Before the ships could reach Spain, Sertorius was killed in 73 or 72 BC. The ships turned around and sailed back to the Hellespont.
- 4 Triarius was fighting under the auspices of Lucullus, however, and Lucullus was given credit for the victory.
- 5 Remains of this wall have been uncovered by the French excavations: P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (Paris 1916) 331–2, with a plan at the end of the volume. Cf. Laidlaw, *Delos* 267, and Maier, *op. cit.* pp. 166–70. There is a copy of the plan in Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* II 779, fig. 8. The pirates of the whole area had been actively supported and organized by Mithridates as part of his campaign in Asia Minor.
- 6 The Greek term (*epiplous*) is here taken to mean the officer who often takes command of a ship in place of the regular captain called the trierarch. See Maier, *op. cit.* p. 170 with references.

72 Antonian law concerning Termessus Maior in Pisidia. 72 or 68 BC.

Bronze tablet¹ with nail holes, Rome.

**CIL* I² 589; *ILS* 38; C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*⁷ (Tübingen 1909) no. 14; *FIRA* I 11; photograph in Degraffi, *Imagines* no. 388.

E. G. Hardy, *Six Roman Laws* (Oxford 1911) 94–101 (with a translation); Magie, *RRAM* I 295; II 1176–7, n. 34; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 66 (1976) 11–14; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* (Oxford 1979) II 557–65.

(Tablet) I. On Termessus Maior in Pisidia.² *vv* | (Heading) Gaius Antonius, son of Marcus, Gnaeus Corne[lius --, Quintus Marcius --, Lucius Hostilius --, Gaius Popilius --, Marcus Valerius --, Gaius Antius --, Quintus Caecilius --, Lucius V---,]³ | Gaius Fundanius, son of Gaius, tribunes of the plebs, in accordance with the decision of the senate, [---] the plebs; [--] | was the first man to vote.⁴ *vv* |

- (Col. I) Those who were citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia and those who | by the laws of Termessus Maior in Pisidia | before the Kalends of April, which occurred when Lucius Gellius and Gnaeus Lentulus were consuls (April 1, 72 BC), | were made citizens of Termessus Maior in
- 5 Pisidia and all those who || were (or) will be born of them, all | these and their descendants, citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia, | shall be free, friends, and allies of the Roman People, | and they shall enjoy their own laws to this extent, and they | all shall to this extent be permitted to enjoy
- 10 their own laws as citizens of Termessus Maior || in Pisidia in such manner as shall not be contrary to this law. | *vv* | Whatever lands, whatever places (and) buildings, public or private, | of Termessus Maior in Pisidia are within their borders | or were (within them) when Lucius Marcius
- 15 (Philippus) and Sextius Iulius (Caesar) were consuls (91 BC), || and whatever islands are theirs or were (theirs) when they | who were mentioned above were consuls, and whatever | of these possessions under these consuls they held, | occupied, *used*, [and enjoyed,] – those of these pos-
- 20 sessions which | have not been leased out [---;]⁵ and whatever || of these possessions [---] by this (law?) shall not | be leased out [---,] which has been passed | *in accordance with* [a? the? law? ---,] all these possessions | the citizens of Ter[messus Maior in Pisidia shall hold] and occupy. | And these same [possessions, places, fields, and buildings they shall use and]
- 25 *enjoy*, || just as *before* that [war against Mithridates which] came first | they held, [occupied, used,] and [enjoyed] them.⁶ |

- In regard to the citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia, | whatever places, fields, and buildings, public or private, except for those leased out, are theirs | or were theirs before the war against Mithridates which came first,
- 30 || and whatever of these possessions they | held, occupied, used, and enjoyed before that time, | whatever of (all) this they themselves by their own free will did not alienate from themselves, | all of these shall belong to the citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia just as they belong | or did belong to them, and in the same way (as now or at that time) all these pos-
- 35 sessions || they shall be permitted to hold, occupy, use, and enjoy. *vv* ||

Whatever free men or slaves the citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia | (Col. II) lost in the Mithridatic War, the magistrate or pro|magistrate, whose jurisdiction includes this matter and to whose | court the parties will go about this matter, shall in such a manner pronounce the law about

- 5 this matter | and shall set up trials and procedures for recovery as || to
enable them to recover them. *vv* |
No magistrate or promagistrate (or) legate or | anyone else shall introduce
soldiers into the town of Termessus Maior | in Pisidia or into the land of
10 Termessus Maior | in Pisidia for the sake of wintering over, nor || shall he
bring it about that anyone should introduce soldiers there or | that soldiers
should winter over there, unless the senate decrees with mention of the
(town's) name that | soldiers may be brought into winter quarters in Ter-
messus | Maior in Pisidia; no magistrate | or promagistrate (or) legate or
15 anyone else shall bring it about, || or give any order, that (the citizens)
should give or provide any more | or that more should be taken from them
than what in accordance with the Porcian Law⁷ | is or will be required of
them to give or provide. *vv* | Whatever laws, whatever right, whatever
custom existed, when Lucius Marcius | and Sextius Iulius were consuls
20 (91 BC), between citizens of Rome and citizens of Termessus || Maior in
Pisidia, the same laws and the same right | and the same custom shall exist
between citizens of Rome and | citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia;
and whatever | right over any possessions, places, lands, buildings, and
towns | belonged to the citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia, when those
25 men were consuls || who were named above, whatever of all this, except |
for those leased out, (in the way of) places, fields, and buildings they them-
selves of their own free will have not | alienated from themselves, this same
right over the same possessions, places, lands, | buildings, and towns shall
belong to the citizens of Termessus Maior in Pisidia; | and (no provision)
30 that these matters written in this chapter || may be, or may be made, any
less (applicable), is enacted (anywhere else) in this law. | Whatever law
for customs duties on (trade by) land and sea | the citizens of Termessus
Maior in Pisidia have established to be collected within their own | bor-
ders, that shall be the law for collecting those customs duties, | provided
35 that no duty is collected from those who for the public || revenues of the
Roman People will hold the contracts. Whatever | out of this revenue⁸ the
publicans will transport through their (the Termessians') borders | [---]

1 The original document consisted of several bronze tablets put up side by side, and the heading, in very large letters, went across all the tablets. Only the first tablet has survived. There are three lines to the heading. The first line begins with 'Gaius Antonius, son of Marcus, Gnaeus Corne' and there it breaks off, because the rest of that line would have appeared at the beginning of the next tablet nailed up to its right side. Similarly, the second line of the heading begins with 'Gaius Fundanius' and ends with 'plebs', while the rest of the line originally continued in the second line of the next tablet. Beneath this heading runs the text of the law itself, arranged in columns, two of them to each tablet. In order to hold the names of ten tribunes (see n. 3, below), at least three or four tablets would have been necessary. See the photograph in Degraffi, *loc. cit.*

2 This notice is not part of the heading. It stands on its own line in small letters just above 'Gaius Antonius'.

73 *Mesambria placed under a Roman officer*

- 3 The restored names are those of the seven other tribunes of the plebs known from another inscription (*CIL* I² 744) to have been in office with Antonius, Cornelius, and Fundanius.
- 4 Mommsen (in *CIL* and Bruns) restores: '[lawfully proposed to the] plebs [and the plebs lawfully voted in the -- on the -- day before --; the -- tribe was first (to vote); --] was the first man [in that tribe] to vote'. On the first man to vote see E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (Ithaca N.Y. 1972) 165–9, and C. Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome* (translated by P. S. Falla, London 1980) 283–5.
- 5 Mommsen (in Bruns): '[they shall hold and occupy as before;]'
- 6 The entire central portion of the text (lines 19–26) is damaged and illegible. All restorations in this section are conjectural.
- 7 Mentioned only here.
- 8 Apparently revenue in kind is meant: wheat, oil, etc.

73 Greek city of Mesambria in Thrace placed under a Roman officer. 71 BC.

Marble stele broken at the bottom and the left side, inscribed on both sides,¹ Mesambria.

**IG Bulg.* I² 314a. Cf. Livy, *Per.* 97; Appian, *Illyrian Wars* 30; Sallust, *Histories* 4.18 (Maurenbrecher).

G. Tibiletti, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere e Scienze morali e storiche* 86 (1953) 69–74 and 98 ff.; Chr. Danov in *ANRW* 2.7.1, 115–16.

- Decreed by the Boule and the People. Heraion (son) of Pasio|[n] made the motion: Since Gaius Cornelius, son of Gaius, | the Roman, appointed over
 5 our city as | [---]² by Marcus Terentius, son of Marcus, || [Lu]cullus
 imperator,³ has brought many gr|eat benefits to our *People* and | with (our)
embassies sent to the imperator | has co-operated in every way, and, as
 10 patron⁴ | of our city, when our en||voys testified to him about the assign|ment
 of winter quarters (for Roman troops) [to our city (?),] he exercised every
 | [---] zeal as (he?) foresaw [---|---]

1 The inscription on the reverse side is older than the present decree, its contents of an entirely different nature.

2 D. Dečev, in the original publication (*Izvestija na Bălgarskija arheologičeski institut* 17 (1950) 59ff.) suggested 'strategos', i.e. 'general', seeing only the last two letters of the word. Tibiletti preferred 'eparchos', the usual equivalent of the Roman *praefectus*. Mihailov now, in *IG Bulg.* I² (1970), after further study of the stone, believes that the traces of letters are not compatible with either suggestion, although he believes the sense requires *praefectus civitatis*, i.e. a Roman prefect in charge of a city or state.

3 He was proconsul in Macedonia in 72 and 71 BC: Broughton, *MRR* II 118–19.

4 'Patron' is simply transliterated from the Latin and made into a Greek participle.

74 Roman businessmen, Roman officials and the debts of a Greek city. 71 BC.

Marble stele with gable, Gytheion in Laconia.

IG V 1.1146; *SIG³ 748.

Hatzfeld, *Trafquants* 80–2; Larsen, *Greece* 372–3, 428, 430; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* II 951–5; Accame, *Dominio* 131–2.

Since Numerius and Marcus Cloatius, sons of Numerius, Romans, |
proxenoi and benefactors of our city, from the very beginning have con- |
tinued to act justly both toward our city and, privately, | toward those of
the citizens who approached them (with a request), omitting nothing of
5 zeal and ar|dor, because of which at appropriate tim|es the city gratefully
made public mention and voted *suit|able* honors for them, in the year of .
Lachares' | magistracy¹ when they were negotiating our release from the
obligations of the first loan; | and in the year of Phleinos' magistracy, when
10 concerning the second lo|an of 3965 drachmas, | which the city had
borrowed in the year of Damarmenos' | magistracy, they accepted the
People of Athens as arbitrator in the time of Marcilius² | and (then) after
being implored by the citizens, they permitted the | payment of what the
15 citizens persuaded them;³ and in the || year of Biadas' magistracy, when,
asking for (it as) a personal favor from | Publius Autronius (Paetus) and
Lucius Marcilius, who were their | guests⁴ whom they had put up at their
own expense, | they successfully pleaded for (the city) to be spared the
soldiers and other considerable burdens im|posed by them (the legates),
20 through which actions they brought relief to the city, || the aforemen-
tioned (legates) having done this entirely as a favor to them; | and they
have often brought into goodwill and sup|port for the city many of the
(Roman) leaders, the legate Gaius Iul|i|us (Caesar)⁵ and the legate
Publius Autronius (Paetus) and the legate Fulv|i|us, doing all these
25 things out of their goodwill toward the ci|lty and its citizens; and when
there had been imposed on our city | an order for grain by Gaius Gallius⁶
and for clothing by Quintus Ancharius⁷ according to (the requisition)
allot|ted to our city, they used all their zeal and ardor | and went to inter-
cede with them in order that our city might not have to contribute, but
might be exempt|ed; and in this they succeeded, and we did not have to
30 contribute; whoever of our citizens || has approached them with a private
request, or has had any need, they | have done everything for everybody,
making themselves available without evasion | in every critical situation;
and in the year of Timokrates' magistracy, | when Antonius had come
here⁸ and our city had need of ca|sh and nobody else was willing to enter
35 into a contract with us, they l||oaned us 4200 drachmas under contra|ct at

interest of four drachmas (per mina per month),⁹ and, being approached by the People in the year of Nikaretidas' magistracy with a request (to accept) simple interest, they granted us (instead) *interest* of two drachmas (per mina per month) and relieved | the city of payment of over 1500
 40 drachmas from the || money owed; *in consideration of* all the aforementioned it was decreed | by the People in a *full* meeting of our Assembly to praise Nume|rius and Marcus Cloatius, sons of Numerius, Romans, for | all the aforementioned things that they have done for the city and for those pri|vate individuals who have appealed to them, and for the goodwill
 45 which they have contin||ued to exercise toward our city; they shall have all the ho|nors and privileges that belong to the other proxenoi | and benefactors of our city; and whatever ephors¹⁰ happen | to be in office at the time shall invite them and their offspring to front-row seats | in all the
 50 games which our city might celebrate, || and they shall be permitted to sit with the ephors in the front | seats, so that it may be clear to all that our city honors wor|thy men. The ephors in Nikar|etidas' magistracy shall engrave the decree concerning these *privileges* on a stone stele | and erect it
 55 in the temple of Apollo in whatever lo||cation the priests may grant *them*, and the expenses | shall be borne by the city.

1 Lachares, Phleinos (line 9), Damarmenos (11), Biadas (15), Timokrates (32), and Nikaretidas (37 and 52–3) were eponymous magistrates, probably of the League of the Eleutherolakones (Free Laconians), to which Gytheion belonged, and holding the title of strategoi ('generals'). For the relationship of that league to the Lacedaemonian League see Accame, *Dominio* 124ff., and K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (Manchester 1949) 435ff.

2 He ought to be the Lucius Marcilius of line 16, probably a legate under M. Antonius Creticus: Broughton, *MRR* II 105.

3 Apparently the citizens first went to arbitration. When they lost the case, they begged the Cloatii to let them off lightly, and the Cloatii acquiesced.

4 Even though the Cloatii would have been exempted from the burden of housing the two Romans, they seem to have gone to the expense in spite of that. That the two were actually legates appears highly probable. They may have been on the staff of M. Antonius Creticus and engaged in obtaining supplies for the projected campaign against Crete: Broughton, *MRR* II 112–13.

5 The future dictator also seems to have been on the staff of Antonius Creticus: Broughton, *MRR* II 115–16, n. 6; M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (Oxford 1968) 24–5. The legate Publius Autronius (Paetus) became consul designate in 65 BC but was convicted of bribery.

6 Probably the senator mentioned by Cicero, *Verr.* 3.65.152.

7 Despite Broughton (*MRR* II 112), Quintus Ancharius was probably the proquaestor of Macedonia mentioned in *I. Olympia* 328. See Schwertfeger, *Bund* 68 and 73–4.

8 The reference is to Marcus Antonius Creticus, father of the triumvir. For his command and campaign against the pirates see Magie, *RRAM* I 292–3, and, for the sources, Broughton, *MRR* II 101ff.

9 This is 4% interest per month, i.e. 48% per year, compounded monthly.

10 The ephors were the most important officials in Dorian cities, especially in Sparta. In

75 The Greek East honors Pompey the Great

the Hellenistic period they were elected by the assembly of the People and were thus a democratic institution. Details of their organization outside of Sparta are not well known.

75 The Greek East honors Pompey the Great. Between 67 and 62 BC.

Inscribed bases.

A: *IG* XII 2.202; **SIG*³ 751; *IGRR* IV 54; *ILS* 8776. Mytilene. **B:** *SIG*³ 749 A; Durrbach, **Choix* 162; *I. Délos* 1641. Delos. **C:** **ILS* 9459. Miletopolis in Asia Minor. **D:** **SEG* XVII 525. Magnesia near Mt Sipylus. **E:** **Milet* I 7.253. Miletus.

A. *SIG*³ 751, Mytilene

- 5 The People | (honor) their savior and founder¹ | Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, | the Great, imperator for the third time, who des||troyed those who had seized | the inhabited world by his wars on both | land and sea. | *vacat* | *vv* Dorotheos, (son) of Hegesandros, | of Olynthos made (the statue).²

B. Durrbach, *Choix* 162, Delos

The People of Athe[ns and the Society] | of Worshipers of Pompeius³ [in Delos (dedicate this statue of) Gnaeus] | Pompeius, [son of] Gna[eus, the Great,] imperator, [to Apollo.]

C. *ILS* 9459, Miletopolis in Asia Minor

- 5 The People | (honor) [G]naeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, | the Great, imperator | for the third time, savior and bene||factor of the People and | of all Asia, guar|dian of land and sea, | because of his excellence and | *goodwill* toward them.

D. *SEG* XVII 525, Magnesia near Mt Sipylus

(Of) Gnaeus Pompeius, the Great, | imperator, the People *dedi|cate* (this statue).

E. *Milet* I 7.253, Miletus

The People (honor) Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, the Great, imperator | for the third time, patron and benefactor.

For other dedications similar to those translated here see *I. Ilion* 74; *IG* IX 2.1134 (Demetrias in Greece); *IGRR* III 869 (Pompeiopolis in Cilicia).

1 The term was purely honorary. However, Pompey had restored the city's freedom, which it had lost because of its acceptance of Mithridates in 88 BC.

77 Letter to the conventus of Asia

- 2 The name of the sculptor Dorotheos seems to have been engraved in letters of the third century BC, so that one might suppose an older base had been used. However, occasionally sculptors had their own way of signing their names.
- 3 This was a cult society with social aspects: see M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History* (Oxford 1932) 71–93; Laidlaw, *Delos* 202–8.

76 Envoys from Tragurion in Dalmatia meet Julius Caesar in Aquileia. March 3, 56 BC.

Fragments of a limestone slab, letters of the first century, Salonae.

D. Rendić-Miočević, *Studi Aquileiesi offerti a Giovanni Brusin* (Aquileia 1953) 67–76 (+ photographs); *RDGE 24 A. Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 3.7 and 9.

RDGE pp. 139–42.

- In the consulship of Gn[ae]us Lentulus M[ar]cellinus and L[ucius] Marcius Phi[lip]pus (56 BC), on the *fifth day* before the Nones of Mar[ch] (March 3), [and in Issa] when the hieromnemon || was Zopy[ros] son of [---]on, of the month Ar[te]mitios on the [--- (day) from its] *beginning*, the en[voys from Traguri]on, Pamphilos son of P[am]philos, and Kleēm-
5 [por]os son of Tima[sio]n, and Philoxenos [son] of Dionysios || were in
10 Aquileia in the presence of Gaius Iuli[us] Cae[sar,] | imperator.¹ Gaius Gaveni[us, son of ---] | (of the tribe) Fabia spoke [about the] | *freedom* of the Issaians [and the friendship | of the Romans] and Issaians [---]

Issa, oldest and strongest of the Greek colonies on the island of the same name off the Dalmatian coast (modern Vis), had itself established colonies in the area, including Tragurion, west of Salonae on the mainland. After terms of peace had been agreed upon with the Illyrians in 228 BC (if not before), Issa came under the protection of Rome. In 167 BC Rome granted her freedom and immunity.

- 1 In the autumn of 57 BC Caesar, thinking that the pacification of Gaul was complete (*Bell. Gall.* 2.35), left for Illyricum to learn more about that part of his huge provincial command. In March of 56 he was at Aquileia and the next month he was at Luca in conference with Pompey and Crassus. Trouble in Gaul then caused him to hurry back to his troops in the north.

77 Letter of a Roman official to the conventus (judiciary centers) of the province of Asia. 51/50 BC (?) or c. 29 BC (?).

Fragmentary copies of the same letter found on building blocks in Priene and Miletus.

*RDGE 52, lines 37–60 (Miletus copy).¹

Magie, *RRAM* II 1059–61, nn. 41–2; RDGE pp. 274–6; G. W. Bowersock, *AJP* 91 (1970) 226–7; Chr. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 68–9 and 71; G. P. Burton, *JRS* 65 (1975) 92–3.

[--] of Quin[t]us T[---] for the cancellation of debts which *he (it?) had contracted*, [and,] meeting [Mar|cus] Cicer[o]² he expressed his thanks
 40 ||and carefully preserved the [arrangements made] by *me* [---] | Thus, how
 you have endured the shame|lessness of certain persons in [these mat-
 45 ters] amazes me. For these [reasons] | I have written to the Koinon of the
 Greeks,³ to | you,⁴ to Ephesus, Tralles, Alabanda, M[y|l]asa, Smyrna,
 Pergamum, Sardis, | Adramyttium in order that (each of) you to the |
 cities in your own judiciary district⁵ might dispatch (copies of this letter)
 50 and see to it that in the most conspic|uous place on a pilaster on | white
 stone there is engraved th|is letter, so that in common for all the province
 | justice might be established for all time,⁶ and that all the oth|er cities and
 peoples might do the same thing among themselves, | and that they might
 55 deposit (a copy of this letter) in the archives of the Nomophyla|kia and
 the Chrematisteria.⁷ The reason for which I wrote in Gre|ek, do not ask,
 since it was my intention | that nothing contrary to the (correct) interpre-
 tation of my let|ter could possibly be in your mind. This letter [I have
 given] | to [Ti]mokles (son) of Anaxagoras and to Sosikrates (son) of
 60 Py[thion,] | envoys from Magnesia on the [Maeon|der.] vv Farewell. vv

Since both the author of this letter and the exact nature of the information it communicated to the Koinon of Asia and the various cities in Asia are unknown to us because of the fragmentary condition of the stones, the problem of interpretation is very difficult. That it was an important matter is obvious from the provisions made for the distribution of the letter to all areas of the province and from the wording of lines 50–4.

- 1 The first 36 lines are too badly mutilated to extract much more than a few words with syntactical connections: 'in Ephesus', 'the laws', 'I was forced by', 'I wish you to know'.
- 2 If this is the famous orator M. Tullius Cicero, the date of the letter is likely to be 51–50 BC, when he was the governor of Cilicia and active in the affairs of the whole area. In that case the author of the letter might be Q. Minucius Thermus, the governor of Asia at that time. But Bowersock wants to date the letter to c. 29 BC, make Octavian the author, and identify 'Cicero' as the orator's son. The son was consul in 30 BC and then became governor of Asia.
- 3 See above, no. 58, n. 1.
- 4 The cities listed after this word were the centers of the Asian conventus (judiciary districts). Since Miletus is missing from the list and since this copy of the letter was found in Miletus, 'you' must be the Milesians.
- 5 The province of Asia, like others, was divided geographically into these districts, and each of them had a principal city in which the Roman governor held court once each year. See the works of Habicht and Burton.
- 6 The copy from Priene begins with this phrase and continues to the end, although in a far more fragmentary state than the present copy from Miletus.
- 7 A Nomophylakion (plural: Nomophylakia) was a building in which a Nomophylax ('Guardian of the Laws') had his office. Here the laws (and decrees) of a Greek city were preserved. Similar is the case with the Chrematisteria, although the precise nature of a Chrematistes in a Greek city in Asia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is contro-

78 *Dionysopolis, King Burebista, and the Romans*

versial. For the officials in charge of such archives see G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*³ Part 1 (Munich 1920) 489ff.

78 The city of Dionysopolis, King Burebista, and the Romans. 49 or 48 BC.

Marble slab broken at the top, on the right, and on the left, Dionysopolis in Thrace (modern Balčik in Bulgaria).

*SIG*³ 762; **IGBulg.* I² 13 (+ photographs, Pls. VI–VIII). Cf. Livy, *Per.* 103; Dio 38.10.2; Strabo 7.3.11.

A. Alföldi in *CAH* 11.81–3; E. Condurachi, *AAnt Hung* 26 (1978) 7–14; Chr. M. Danov in *ANRW* 2.7.1, 116–19.

- [--|--] he took up [--|--] Theodoros and Epi[--|--] at their own expense
 5 [--|--] fellow travelers *he departed* [--|--] to Argedauon¹ to [his (?)] father² |
 [--] *having arrived* and met with (him) at once [--|--] from him he won
 (him) over completely [and] | *released* his People from the (?) [--;] and
 10 having become priest || [- of the] *Great* [God³] the processions and sacri-
 fices he [per]formed magnificently and with the citizens he shared [the |
 meat (of the sacrifices),] and having been chosen priest of [Sar]apis by lot,
 in like manner at his own *expen|se* [he conducted himself] well and as one
 who loves goodness, and when the eponymous (god) | [of the city, Dion]y-
 15 sos, did not have a priest for many years, || [he was called upon] by the citi-
 zens and he devoted himself (to the priesthood), *and* [through|out the]
 wintering-over of [Gaius] Antonius⁴ he assumed | [the (priest's) crown]
 of the god and the processions and sacrifices [he per]formed well and
 sumptuously and with the citizens [he sha|red the] *meat* lavishly, and, in
 20 regard to the gods in Samothrace, || having assumed for life their (priest's)
 [crown,] their processions [and | sacrifices] he performed on behalf of the
*mystai*⁵ and the *ci|ty*; and when recently King Burebista had *become* first and
 [great|est] of the kings in Thrace and over all | [the (land)] *across* the river
 25 (Danube) and the (land) on the near side had gained possessio|n, also to
 him he became first and *great|est* friend and procured the greatest advan-
 tages for our city by spe|eches and advice of the best kind; and the goodwill
 of the *ki|ng* with respect to the safety of his city he urge|d, and in all other
 30 ways of himself unsparingly || did he give; the city's embassies with their
 dangers he under|took without hesitation to win in all respects | the
 advantage for his native city, and to Gnaeus Pompeius, Gnaeus' so|n,
 Roman emperor,⁶ he was sent by King Burabe[i]s|ta as an envoy, and
 35 meeting with him in the area of Macedonia || *around* [Her]aklea-in-Lynkos
 not only the negotiations on behalf of the *ki|ng* did he conduct, bringing

79 *Dedications of statues of Julius Caesar in the Greek East*

about the goodwill of the Romans | for the king, but also concerning his native city most fruitful | negotiations did he conduct; and in general throughout every situation of cri|sis he applied himself body and soul,
 40 expenses || being paid from his own means of livelihood; and, some of the material things of the city⁷ subsi|dizing by himself, he has exhibited the greatest zeal for the | safety of his native city: in order therefore that the People also might be seen honoring | fine and good men and those who benefit them (i.e. the People), *it is de|creed* by [the] Boule and the People for
 45 these services to praise Akornion || (son) of Dion[y]sios and to present to him at the Games of Dionysos a gold | crown and a bronze statue, and to crown him also in the *fu|ture* each year at the Games of Dionysos with a gold *cro|wn*, and for the erection of the statue to *give* him a pla|ce, the most conspicuous, in the agora. *vv*

- 1 A variant for Argedava which is mentioned by Ptolemaeus (3.8.4) in the form 'Argidaua' among the towns of Dacia. See Condurachi, *op. cit.* p. 7, for all details.
- 2 Not his own father, but the father of the person to whom 'he' has gone as an envoy.
- 3 A chthonic deity of the Thracians called Darzalas or Derzelas.
- 4 C. Antonius M.f. Hibrida, consul in 63 BC with Cicero and then proconsul of Macedonia the following year: Broughton, *MRR* II 175–6. His campaign against the Thracians of the north-east ended in disaster not far from Histria and he was forced into flight after abandoning the army standards to the Bastarnae.
- 5 Initiates in the Samothracian Mysteries. See above, no. 27.
- 6 Pompey was called imperator after the battle against Caesar at Dyrrachium in 49 BC: Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* 3.71.3.
- 7 Possible alternate translation: 'some of the city's public choruses'.

79 Statues of Julius Caesar dedicated in the Greek East after Pharsalus. Fall of 48 BC or soon afterwards.

Inscribed pedestals.¹

A: A. E. Raubitschek, **JRS* 44 (1954) 65–6, F (+ photograph); *SEG* XIV 121. Athens.
 B: **IGRR* IV 305. Pergamum. C: **IGRR* IV 928. Chios. D: **SIG*³ 760. Ephesus. E: **IG* XII 5.557. Karthaia on Keos.

Magie, *RRAM* I 405–15; Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 65–75; S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971) 296ff.

A. *JRS* 44 (1954) 65–6 F, Athens

[The People] | (dedicate this statue of) Gaius Iulius, [son] of Gaius, [Caesar, pontifex maximus and] | imperator [and] consul [for the second time (48 BC), savior] | and *benefactor*.²

B. IGRR IV 305, Pergamum

- The People | (dedicate this statue of) Gaius Iulius, son of Gaius, Caesar, |
imperator and pontifex maximus, consul for the second time, | their pat-
5 ron and benefactor, || savior and benefactor of all the Greeks, | because of
his piety and justice.

C. IGRR IV 928, Chios

- The Boule and the People | (dedicate this statue of) Gaius Iulius, son of
Gaius, Caesar, | pontifex maximus and imperator | and consul for the
5 second time, || patron of the city, because of his excellence, to the gods.

D. SIG³ 760, Ephesus

- The cities in Asia and the [peoples] | and the tribes³ (dedicate this
statue of) Gaius Iulius, son of | Gaius, Caesar, pontifex maximus and
5 imper|ator and consul for the | second time, (descendant) of Ares and
Aphrodite,⁴ | god manifest and common savior | of human life.

E. IG XII 5.557, Karthaia on Keos

- The People of Karthaia | dedicate (this statue of) the god and imperator |
and savior of the inhabited world, | Gaius Iulius Caesar, son of Gaius,
5 || Caesar.

1 Other pedestals with inscriptions similar to those translated here: *I. Délos* 1587 (Delos); *IG VII* 1835 as restored by Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 70–1, S (Thespiiai); Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 66, I (Demetrias in Greece); Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 67, L (Megara); Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 69, Q (Samos); L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 259 (Alabanda in Asia Minor); *ibid.* 257 (Phokaia in Asia Minor); Caesar mentions (*Bell. Civ.* 3.105.6) a statue of himself in Tralles in Asia Minor.

2 Raubitschek thinks this statue might be connected with the pardon which Caesar granted to Athens immediately after Pharsalus: Appian, *Civil Wars* 2.88.368; Dio 42.14.1–3.

3 Cf. no. 58, above, with n. 1. However, the wording of this phrase is different from the others. Whether the difference is significant is not known. T. Drew-Bear in *BCH* 96 (1972) 460ff. has examined all the evidence for the Koinon of the Greeks and concluded, in regard to the terminology, that in honorary inscriptions set up on the authorization of the Koinon the Koinon itself is designated by the enumeration of its constituent elements (p. 466). But the other known examples are different from the present one.

4 The family of Caesar had long prided itself on its descent from Aphrodite (Venus) through Aeneas: cf. no. 59 above and see Weinstock, *op. cit.* 15–18; 81–90. For the connection with Ares (Mars): Weinstock, *op. cit.* 128–32. Both gods together were revered as the ancestral gods of the Romans.

80 Julius Caesar makes concessions to Pergamum. After Pharsalus, 48–47 BC.

Various documents.

A: *RDGE 54. Letter of Julius Caesar to Pergamum. Fragment of a building block from the anta of the structure on which the senatorial decree concerning Pergamene land (above, no. 45) had been engraved, Smyrna. **B:** H. Hepding, *Athen. Mitt.* 34 (1909) 336–7; *IGRR* IV 1677; L. Robert, *Opera* I 614 B; A. E. Raubitschek, **JRS* 44 (1954) 68. Pergamum honors Julius Caesar. Base of white marble, Pergamum. **C:** Hepding, *op. cit.* p. 330; **IGRR* IV 1682; L. Robert, *Opera* I 614 A. Pergamum honors Mithridates, son of Menodotos, of Pergamum. Base of bluish marble in three fragments, damaged on the lower left and right, Pergamum.

Hepding, *op. cit.* 329–40; Magie, *RRAM* I 405–6; II 1258–9, nn. 3–4; *RDGE* pp. 281–4

A. RDGE 54, Smyrna

[Gaius Iulius Caesar] imperator, [pontifex maximus and dictator for the second time (October 48–October 47 BC) to the Pergamene magistrates, | Boule and People, greetings.] If you are well, [it is good. I with my army am in good health. | I have dispatched to you a copy] of the decision [made concerning the land marked off for you.] | Concerning what Mith[ridates
5 (son) of Menodotos, your citizen and my friend,¹ || has said,] concerning this [matter I have decided as follows: *vv* | the city of P]ergamum and [whatever of its] *land* [King Attalus (son) of King Eumenes marked off for the city,²] | except for the Royal [---]³

B. Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 68, Pergamum

[The People honored] their savior and benefactor | [Gaius] Iulius, son of Gaius, Caes[a]r, imperator and | *pontifex maximus* and dictator for the second time (October 48–October 47 BC), [because of] all his excellence, |
5 and because he has restored to the gods the city || [and the] land that is sacred [and inviolate and autonomous].⁴

C. IGRR IV 1682, Pergamum

vv The People honored *vv* | Mithridates (son) of Menodotos, hereditary high priest | and hereditary priest of Dionysos the Leader, | because he has
5 restored to the ancestral gods [the city] || and [the] land and has become after [Pergamos]⁵ | *vv* and Philetairos⁶ his native city's new founder. *vv*

1 Mithridates of Pergamum was one of the city's most prominent citizens who won the gratitude of Caesar by coming to his aid with an army when he was besieged in Alexandria (winter of 48–47 BC). Mithridates was rewarded with a principality in the Crimea. Some modern scholars (Hepding, Robert and others) think also that Caesar granted

82 Envoy from Chersonesos to Rome

Pergamum its freedom because of the good offices of Mithridates. But of this there is no solid evidence. See below, no. 81.

2 This appears to be a reference to the land originally left to Pergamum by Attalus III in his will (above, no. 39): see Segre in *Athenaeum* 16 (1938) 122ff.

3 Segre suggests 'Garden' or 'Park' or something similar. The inscription continues on for thirteen lines, each of which contains no more than one or two words, such as: 'People of the Romans', 'son of [King] Eumenes', 'inviolability'.

4 Other fragments seem to be part of a second copy of this text, assuring the restorations given here, except for the conclusion of the fifth line. Raubitschek believes that the fragments belong to the same inscription or that there were two identical copies.

5 The mythical founder of Pergamum: Hansen, *Attalids*² 7–8.

6 Founder of the Attalid dynasty: *ibid.* 14–21.

81 P. Servilius Isauricus restores to Pergamum its ancestral laws and its democracy. 46–44 BC.

Base of bluish marble, damaged on the upper left and lower right corners, found in the agora of Pergamum.

IGRR IV 433; *OGIS* 449; **ILS* 8779.

Magie, *RRAM* I 416–17; II 1270–1, n. 42; *RDGE* pp. 283–4.

5 *vv* The People honored *vv* | Publius Servilius, son of Publius, Isauri|cus, the proconsul (46–44 BC), for having become savior and | benefactor of the city and having restored to the || city its ancestral laws and its democra|*vv* cy unrestricted.¹ *vv*

1 Magie believes that it was Servilius Isauricus who restored freedom to Pergamum at this time rather than Julius Caesar back in 48–47 BC: see above, no. 80. But cf. *RDGE* pp. 283–4.

82 Envoy from the city of Chersonesos to Julius Caesar and the senate in Rome. 46 BC.

Stele of white marble broken on top, with the remains of a small fluted column on the right edge, Chersonesos in the Crimea.

**IOSPE* I² 691.

M. Rostovtzeff, *JRS* 7 (1917) 27–44.

5 [-- nomophylakes¹ -- | Lamachos son of Dem]e[t]rios, Apollonios | [son of Zethos,] and the director of finance Athe|[naios] son of Stratonikos made the motion: Since Ga||[ius Iu]lius, son of Th[eo]g[e]nes, Satyros had been made a citi|zen [in the time] of our fathers and has exercised his citizenship | in a manner worthy of this favor, having gone as en|voy to

83 Letter of Caesar and decree of the senate concerning Mytilene

Rome and to the Roman *sen|ate* and to Gaius Iulius Caesar,² consul for the third time || and [dictator] for the third time for [--|--] our [--]

1 The city magistrates.

2 Through personal friends and connections Satyros was given a grant of Roman citizenship about this time, perhaps even through the recommendation of Caesar himself. His new Roman citizenship is not in conflict with his local citizenship acquired long before (lines 5–6), perhaps even by his father.

83 A letter of Caesar with a copy of a decree of the senate concerning Mytilene. Between April 46 and January/February 45 BC. From the great monument in honor of Potamon, only some fragmentary marble blocks of which now remain, Mytilene.¹

IG XII 2.35, col. b, lines 6–36; *SIG*³ 764; *IGRR IV* 33, col. b, lines 6–36; **RDGE* 26, col. b, lines 6–36.

Magie, *RRAM I* 415–16; *II* 1269–70; *RDGE* pp. 146–55.

vv [Letter] of Caesar, god. *vv* | [Gaius Iulius Caesar] *imperator*, dictator for the *third* time (April 46 to January/February 45 BC), *desig|nate* [for the fourth time, to the magistrates,] *Boule* and People [of Mytilene] greetings and good health. I too [with | my army am well.² Wishing] to benefit your city and not *only* || [to safeguard the privileges which you acquired] through us but also to assist *in increasing* | [them ---] leadership, | I have sent to you the *copy of the decree* of friendship [which has been passed by us.] | (Line 13 erased)³ | [Whereas] the envoys of the Mytilenaians Potamon (son) of Lesbos, Phainias (son) of Phainias and (grandson) of Kalli[p|]pos, T[er]pheos (son) of Dies, Herodes (son) of Kleon, Dies, (son) of Matrokles, Demetrios (son) of Kleonymos, | Krinagoras (son) of Kallippos, and Zoilos (son) of Epigenes spoke, renewed goodwill, friendship and alli|ance, (and asked) that they be permitted to perform a sacrifice on the Capitolium and that whatever (privileges) to them | had formerly been conceded by the senate, those (privileges), written on a bronze tablet, | they be permitted to nail up (also on the Capitolium),
concerning this matter it was decreed as follows: || to renew goodwill, friendship and alliance, to address them as good men and (our) friends, | to permit them to perform a sacrifice on the Capitolium, and whatever privileges to them for|merly had been conceded by the senate, those (privileges), | written on a bronze tablet, to give them permission to nail them up (also on the Capitolium), whenever they wish; and that Gaius | Caesar *imperator*, if it seems best to him, should order the quaestor to let out a contract for quarters and supplies for them according || to the custom of our ancestors, just as may appear to him to be in keeping with the best

84 Greek cities honor Brutus the Tyrannicide

- interest of the Re|public and his own good faith. Decreed. *Since* | pre-
viously you met with me and I wrote to you, once again | [your envoys]
reminded me that *nobody* ought to be immune⁴ among you according to |
30 [your laws and the] privileges which you have had from us [for||merly and
those which] have been given to you [by this] decree to enable you [--|--
to enjoy] the revenues of your city and its territory *in peace*. | [Therefore, I
wish] to reply that I neither grant nor shall grant to anybody | [the right to
be immune among you.] Thus assured, be confident and enjoy [-|---]
35 *unhindered*, since I do this gladly [for || you and will try in] the future always
[to be] the author of some good | to you. *vv*

- 1 The fragments were found on the site of the old acropolis of Mytilene. Potamon son of Lesbonax was an orator of great repute in Mytilene and had benefitted his city in a great many ways in the last half of the century. The grateful city erected a huge monument in his honor, its base containing a record of his activities on behalf of the people and the city. Among the preserved documents from that monument are the following: a letter of Caesar soon after Pharsalus, transmitted to Mytilene through the envoys Potamon and his companions, assuring the city of his good intentions (col. a); the ve mutilated conclusion of a letter written by some unknown Roman official, perhaps Caesar again (col. b, lines 1–5); the present letter (col. b, lines 6–36); two decrees of the senate and a treaty with Mytilene (col. b, lines 36–43, and cols. c–d), for which see below, no. 97. Quite apart from these ‘Roman’ documents the monument also contained copies of the local decrees and honors which were passed by the city to show her appreciation of Potamon’s benefactions and accomplishments.
- 2 The formula ‘of health’ is more common in Greek private letters and does not appear in official Roman letters until the first half of the first century BC. The addition of the phrase ‘with my army’ is peculiar to Roman official letters. Cf. above, no. 80A.
- 3 The stonecutter may have started to engrave the prescript but then, perhaps deciding to omit it, erased the line he had begun. The prescript is missing.
- 4 ‘Immunity’ included freedom both from paying local taxes and from performing the local liturgies.

84 Greek cities honor Brutus the Tyrannicide. 44–43 BC.

A: A. E. Raubitschek, **Atti del III Congresso Internazionale de Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (Rome 1959) 15–18; *SEG* XVII 75. Fragment of a marble base, Athens. **B:** *IG* VII 383; Raubitschek, **op. cit.* 16; *SEG* XVII 209. White marble, Oropos in Boiotia. **C:** *ILS* 9460; *I. Délos* 1622; Raubitschek, **op. cit.* 17. Inscribed base, part of a large pedestal on which once rested four bases with statues. Cf. Dio 47.20.4; Plutarch, *Brutus* 24–5.

Raubitschek, *op. cit.* 15–21.

A. Raubitschek, **op. cit.* 15–18, Athens

[The People | (erected this statue of) Quintus Servili]us, [son] of Quintus,
|[Caepio] Brutus.¹

85 Letter of M. Antonius to the Koinon of Asia

B. Raubitschek, **op. cit.* 16, Oropos

- [The] People v of the Oro[pians] | (dedicated this statue of) Quintus
5 Caepio, son of Quin[tus,] | Brutus, their v own | savior and benefactor, || to
Amphiaraos.

C. Raubitschek, **op. cit.* 17, Delos

The People of the Athenians and those who live on the island | (dedicated
this statue of) Quintus Hortensius, son of Quintus,² uncle of Caepio
(Brutus), | because of Caepio's own benefactions to the city (of Athens), |
vv to Apollo. vv

- 1 Marcus Iunius Brutus was adopted by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio, whose name he
then took, retaining his own cognomen Brutus.
2 In 44–43 BC he was proconsul of Macedonia: Broughton, *MRR* II 345. In Macedonia
he rallied to the side of Brutus, and the senate extended his command. His father was
the famous orator Q. Hortensius Hortalus, who was consul in 69 BC.

**85 Letter of Marcus Antonius to the Koinon of Asia concerning
the Association of Victorious Athletes. 42–41 or 33–32 BC.**

Papyrus in the British Museum, found in Egypt.

F. G. Kenyon, *Classical Review* 7 (1893) 476–8; **RDGE* 57.

Magic, *RRAM* I 428–9; *RDGE* pp. 290–3.

- Marcus Antonius imperator, | triumvir for the Republic's | constitu-
5 tion, to the Koinon of the | Greeks from Asia, greetings.¹ || Earlier I was
met in Ephesus | by Marcus Antonius Artemidoros, | my friend and
(physical) trainer,² along with the e|ponymous priest of the Associa-
tion of | Worldwide Wreath-Wearing Victors in the Sacred Games,³
10 || Charopeinos of Ephesus, | in regard to the former privileges of the Asso-
cia|tion, that they may remain intact, and in regard to the | rest of what
it asked of me in the way of honors | and privileges, (namely) freedom
15 from military service || and immunity from every liturgy and free|dom
from billeting, and during the course of the festi|vals a truce, and invio-
lability, and | (the right of the) purple stripe,⁴ (asking) that I consent to
20 write | immediately to you (about them), and I did consent, || wishing
both because of my fri|end Artemidoros and for (the sake of) their epony|-
mous priest to do (them) this favor for the honor of the | Association and
25 for its growth. | And now again || Artemidoros has met me (and asked) that
| they be permitted to dedicate a bron|ze tablet and engrave on it | the
30 aforementioned privileges. | Preferring in no way to fa||il Artemidoros,

who about these matters | has come to me, I granted the de|dication of the tablet as he asked me. | I have written to you about these matters.

- 1 An inscription on stone originally found at Tralles in Asia and later brought to Smyrna contains the opening lines of this same document, with the addition of 'proedroi' in the salutation, a fact which seems to indicate that the papyrus translated here is an abbreviated version. The papyrus is unusual in that it is written on the *verso* of a medical papyrus (*P. Lond.* 137) originating in Egypt, while the contents of the letter relate to the province of Asia. In addition, the papyrus was apparently written in the second century AD, while the letter relates to events of the first century BC. The reason why the owner of the medical papyrus wished to preserve the old letter is unknown.
- 2 The Greek term shows that Artemidoros was the trainer in a gymnasium. His new name indicates that he had received Roman citizenship through the auspices of Marcus Antonius.
- 3 This was a professional organization, worldwide in scope, and the victors mentioned here could have been either athletes or dramatic performers. See C. A. Forbes, *CP* 50 (1955) 239–41.
- 4 This is not a reference to the purple border of the Roman toga, but to the right to wear purple decorations along with the golden ornaments which certain distinguished persons in Greek cities and organizations were permitted to add to their clothing on formal occasions. See F. Poland in *RE s.v.* Technitai, vol. V A 2, col. 2491.

86 Letters of Octavian concerning Seleukos of Rhosos. Between 42 and 30 BC.

Limestone tinged with blue, surface badly eroded, perhaps originally the left leaf of the double door to a tomb, Rhosos in Syria.

P. Roussel, *Syria* 15 (1934) 34–6; *FIRA* I 55 (text by Arangio-Ruiz); *IGLS* III 1.718; **RDGE* 58. Cf. the decree of the senate concerning Asklepiades, above, no. 66.

Roussel, *op. cit.* 36–74; F. de Visscher, *L'Antiquité Classique* 13 (1944) 11–35; *ibid.* 14 (1946) 29–59; *RDGE* pp. 294–307; Sherwin-White, *Citizenship*² 296–9.

- (Letter I) Year [--,] the month Apellaios [the -]¹ *vv* | *Imperator* Caesar, son of the god Julius, *imperator* for the fourth time (36–33 BC), *consul* | designate for the second and third time,² to the magistrates, Boule (and) People | of Rhosos, holy and inviolate and autonomous (city), greetings. I too
 5 with the army || [am in good health.³] The documents written below were extracted from a stele from the Capitolium in Rome, | [documents which I ask you] to enter into your public archives. And send a copy | [of them to] the Boule and People of Tarsus, the Boule and People of Antioch, | the Boule and People [of Seleukeia⁴] that they might enter it (into their archives). *vv* Farewell. |
 (Letter II) [- Caesar] *imperator*, triumvir for the constitution of the
 10 Repub||lic, [by virtue of the] Munatian and Aemilian Law conferred (Roman) citizenship and tax-exemption for all | present property on the

- following terms: *vv* | [Since Seleu]kos (son) of Theodotos of Rhosos has campaigned with us in the | [---] toward [---]⁵ under our command, has on our behalf suffered many great hard|ships, has faced danger without
 15 flinching from any terror in his steadfastness, || has exhibited [complete] affection and loyalty for the Republic, | has linked [his own] fortune to our safety, has undergone every suffering on behalf of the | *Republic* of the People of the [Rom]ans, and in our presence and absence | has been of service [to us,] *vv* |
 [to him and his] parents, his children, his descendants,⁶ the wife who
 20 [here||after] will be his [--] *we give* (Roman) citizenship and tax-exemption for his present proper|ty in the same way as [those] (Roman) citizens [who are] tax-exempt by the best law and the best legal right, | and [they are to have] *immunity* [from military service] and from every public | *liturgy*. *vv* |
 Let him (who is) *mentioned above*, [and his parents,] and *descendants* belong
 25 to the tribe Cornelia || [and let them cast their vote (?)] *there* [and ---] And if they while absent | *wish* [to be enrolled in the census -- and if] they wish to be [---] of Italy | [---]⁷ *vv* | [In the same measure as] the *aforementioned* [and his wife and parents,] *children* and [descendants,] before he became a [Roman] citizen, | tax-exempt, [had (?) ---,]⁸ once he had become a
 30 [Ro]man *citizen*, tax-exempt, || [---,] if he wishes to [enjoy (?) ---] priest-hoods[---] honors, privileges | and [property (?), he is permitted to hold and enjoy them by (?)] legal right [in the same way as anyone who] holds and [enjoys them by the best] *law* and the best legal | right. *vv* | [-- lines 33–46]⁹ | or [--] of the Romans they wish to take [--|] take [--] to him into the city or country of the provinces of Asia and Europe | [-- of the Re(?)] public
 50 [--] he may import or export for his own use || [from] the *city* or from the *country* [---] he may export from his own possessions and his cattle | *for his own need* [--] no government or | *publican* [shall levy on him] a tax for these things. *vv* |
 [If anyone] wishes to accuse them and to *introduce a complaint* and to set up a¹
 55 trial against them | and to join issue¹⁰ [--,] for all these procedures || [if] they wish *the case to be tried at home* by their own [laws or in] free [cities] or before our magistrates or pro|magistrates [---]¹¹ theirs shall be the choice, | [--] and no one otherwise [than is written] *herein shall act* or shall judge concerning them or shall declare his *opinion* after having referred | (the matter to another authority (?)¹²). [And if any trial] *takes place* [about them] *contrary* to these (regulations), it [shall not be] | legally binding. *vv*
 60 || [If any] one [wishes (?)] to accept (for trial) the name of the *aforemen-* tioned, his *parents* [his wife,] his children and their descendants | and to make a capital prejudgment¹³ [---] that they as envoys to *our* senate | and [to] *our* magistrates [and] *promagistrates* can come (themselves) and send envoys | [about] their own affairs, it pleases us that [the aforementioned

- people] shall have that power. Whatever *govern|ment* and [whatever] magistrate [does not do] the things [required by these (regulations), or contrary] to these (regulations) acts or investigates their case before a
- 65 tribunal || [or agrees to it (?)] or takes pledges from them and in bad faith prevents the aforementioned people from | *being able* [to enjoy] the [privileges] given to them, to the People of the Romans | *let them be liable* to pay (a fine of) one hundred thousand sesterces, and regarding this sum, | let [whoever wishes] have the right *to lay claim to it* and exact it, [whether] in the province before *our* magistrates [and] pro|magistrates or in Rome he
- 70 wishes to show cause and exact (the fine). And concerning these || [mat-ters] it pleases us that the prosecutor shall put up sufficient sureties.¹⁴ [That] these afore|mentioned (regulations) may be carried out let our *magistrates* [and promagistrates] who therein have juris|diction make the decisions and take particular care. *vv* |
- (Letter III) [Year -,] the month Dystros the 15th. Imperator Caesar, son of the god, imperator for the sixth time (31 BC), consul | for the *third* time, (consul) designate for the fourth time,¹⁵ [to the magistrates,] Boule (and)
- 75 People of Rhosos, holy and inviolate and autonomous (city), || greetings. If you are well, it is good. I myself too with the ar|my am *well*. The envoys sent by you, Seleukos my admiral, Heras (son) of Kalli|[-, --]eros, Sym-machos, good men from a good People, our friends and allies, | [having traveled] to Ephesus to me, spoke about the instructions which they had (from you). I accordingly | received the [men,] having found them to be
- 80 patriotic and good, and I have accepted the honors and the crown, || and I [will try,] when (or if) I come to your area, to be the author of some good to you and to watch over | [the privileges] (given) to your city, and all the more gladly will I do these things because of Seleukos my admiral who campaign|ed with me throughout the whole time of the war and distin-guished himself in every way and furnished every proof of his goodwill | [and his] *loyalty*, a man who has never lost an opportunity to come to me on your behalf and | who has *exercised* all his zeal and enthusiasm for your advantage. Farewell. *vv*
- 85 || (Letter IV) [Year -,] the month Apellaios the 9th. Imperator Caesar, son of the god, imperator for the sixth time, consul for the four|th time (30 BC), to the magistrates, Boule (and) People of Rhosos, holy and inviolate and autonomous (city), greetings. If you are well, | [it is] good. I myself too with the army am well. Seleukos, your citi|zen [and] *my* admiral who has campaign|ed with me in all the wars and has given many p|roofs of his
- 90 goodwill and loyalty and bravery, as was fitting || for [those who cam-paigned with] us and displayed valor in war, has been honored with privi-leges, | tax-immunity and (Roman) citizenship. I therefore commend him to you, for such men make more eager our goodwill toward their || [cities.] Thus I will do everything possible for you more glad|ly [because of Sel]eu-kos. Thus assured, send to me for whatever you wish. Farewell.

87 Letter of Octavian to Plarasa-Aphrodisias

- 1 This is the date on which Octavian's letter was entered into the archives at Rhosos. The era of Rhosos began in 42, 41 or 40 BC. Traces of '8' after 'Year' seem possible.
- 2 According to the arrangements made in 39 BC, Antonius and Octavian decided who would be the consuls for the next eight full years (Dio 48.35.1; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 5.73). Thus, Octavian was to be consul II in 33 BC and consul III with Antonius in 31 BC. See the remarks of M. P. Charlesworth in *CAH* 10.46, n. 1.
- 3 See above, no. 83 n. 2.
- 4 First suggested by de Visscher, basing it merely on the number of letters needed to fill the available space.
- 5 M. Guarducci, in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* (1938) 53ff., has 'in the [regions] toward [the east]'; G. Manganaro, in *Siculorum Gymnasium* (1958), 289ff., suggests 'in the [straits] toward [Italy]'; Roussel has 'toward [Thrace]' or 'toward [Sicily]'.
- 6 The phrase 'his descendants' was accidentally omitted in *RDGE*.
- 7 Arangio-Ruiz: '[of some city or colony] of Italy, [they are to have permission]'.
- 8 Arangio-Ruiz: 'was immune in his country'.
- 9 These lines are too mutilated to yield more than a few terms and phrases of importance: 'the worst of *war contributions* and the publican'; 'for the sake of furnishing military quarters nor *wintering over*'; 'marriage'; 'by the Atilian Law [and the] Julian [law]'.
- 10 The Greek here translates a Roman legal phrase (*litem contestari*) which indicates the moment when one party asserts his case and the other denies it: A. H. J. Greenidge, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* (Oxford 1901) 243–51.
- 11 E. Schönbauer in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 13 (1939) 177–209 adds here '[by Roman laws]' and argues that Seleukos and his family may choose between two kinds of laws rather than two jurisdictions.
- 12 The interpretation is controversial.
- 13 The Greek here translates a Roman legal phrase (*praeiudicium capitis*), meaning a preliminary to a trial involving the status of the person accused.
- 14 The reference is to the Roman legal procedure whereby the party who loses the case also loses the sureties, i.e. the amount of money, which he put up: Greenidge, *op. cit.* 185.
- 15 Octavian's fourth consulship was to begin on January 1, 30 BC. His sixth imperial acclamation was granted right after Actium (September 2, 31 BC). Therefore this third letter must have been written between those two dates, in the last four months of 31 BC.

87 Letter of Octavian to Plarasa-Aphrodisias concerning documents relevant to the city's status. Fall of 39 BC or 38 BC.

One marble fragment extant, the rest from an old copy,¹ Aphrodisias.

OGIS 453–4; *RDGE* 28 A; Reynolds, **Aphrodisias*, Document 6. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.62.

RDGE pp. 166–9; Reynolds 41–8.

- 5 [Imperator Caesar, (?) | son of the god (?) Iulius,² consul] designate for the second and [third time,³] || triumvir for the constitution of the
- 10 Republic, | to the Plarasa-Aphrodisian⁴ magistrates, || Boule and People, greetings. | If you are well, it is good. | I myself too am in good health, |
- 15 along with the ar|my.⁵ Solon || (son) of Demetrios, your | envoy, has given

20 most careful thought to the affairs of your city || and not only was content
 25 with the arrangements made but also asked us || to dispatch to you copies
 of the edict, the decree of the senate, the oath, and the law,⁶ all concerning
 30 you, || from our public | records (stop). For these actions I have prai|sed
 35 Solon and all the mo||re (gladly) received him, and have held him among
 40 my | acquaintances,⁷ | and to him I have assigned appropriate privi||leges,
 having considered him to be a man worthy of honor from us, and I rel|joice
 45 with you at your having || such a citizen. | Copies of the privileges granted
 50 to you are affixed below. || I wish you to register them in your public
 records. | *vv* Letter of Caesar (*leaf*)⁸ |

- 1 The newly found fragment (lines 31–40) was not available for use in establishing the text presented in *RDGE*. Reynolds (Pls. V–VI) gives a photograph of it along with photographs of the handwritten copy of the material that has never been recovered. This document appeared in the first place on the ‘archive wall’ at Aphrodisias, i.e. on the south wall of the north parodos of the theater. Because of the extreme brevity of the lines in this document line dividers are used only where such division seemed appropriate. The text ends with line 53.
- 2 The exact title given to Octavian here is not known. He called himself ‘Gaius Caesar’ as late as October 2, 39 BC (see Reynolds, pp. 75–6), and thus did not assume the title of ‘imperator’ until after that date, probably not until 38 BC.
- 3 See above, no. 86, n. 2.
- 4 For the double name see above, no. 59a, n. 1.
- 5 See above, no. 82, n. 2.
- 6 Substantial remains of these documents have been recovered recently from Aphrodisias: see Reynolds, *Aphrodisias*, Documents 7–9.
- 7 Thus, Octavian places Solon in a particular category of his associates. Gaius Gracchus is said to have been the first Roman noble to divide his friends into categories for the *salutatio* in the morning (Seneca, *Ben.* 6.34.2): see Reynolds, p. 46.
- 8 This letter of Caesar is lost, if the phrase is taken to mean that it is a heading of another document. Reynolds (pp. 47–8) tentatively suggests that it may mean a kind of authentication to introduce ‘a valediction in the writer’s own hand’. But the natural meaning is simply ‘letter’. The leaf was a common device to indicate separation or punctuation.

88 **Marcus Antonius gives foreign territory to Cleopatra, who commemorates the event by adopting a second era. 37–36 BC.**

Extract from the Armenian version of Eusebius.

Eusebius Arm. p. 79 Karst (Porphyrios, *FGrHist* 260 F 2.17). Cf. Plutarch, *Ant.* 36.2; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 15.4.1–4, and *Bell. Jud.* 1.18.5; Dio 49.32.

Magie, *RRAM* II 1287, n. 29; Samuel, *PC* 156–60; M. Grant, *Cleopatra* (London 1972) 141.

(Cleopatra’s) sixteenth year was also called her first, for after the death of Lysimachos, king of Chalkis in Syria, the emperor Marcus Antonius handed over Chalkis and the territory situated around it to Cleopatra.

89 Coinage of Antonius and Cleopatra

And from then the following years were described in the same way with the addition of (another) numeral, up to the twenty-second year, which was the end of Cleopatra, so that the twenty-second year of Cleopatra was also her seventh.¹

- 1 Cleopatra's years as queen began in 51 BC. Her second year ran from September of 51 to September of 50. Her sixteenth regnal year was 37/6, when she adopted the second era. She died on August 12, 30 BC, in the twenty-second year by the first reckoning, which was also the seventh.

89 Coinage of Antonius and Cleopatra. 34–33 BC (?).

A: Silver tetradrachm issued in Syria (probably Antioch), showing (obverse) Antonius bareheaded, with Greek inscription along the edge, and (reverse) Cleopatra wearing the diadem, earring, pearl necklace and dress embroidered with pearls, with Greek legend: W. Wroth, **Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* (London 1899, repr. Bologna 1964) p. 158, no. 53 (Plate XIX, 3). **B:** Denarius (silver, minted probably (?) in Antioch), showing (obverse) Antonius bareheaded but with a tiara beside his head, with Latin legend, and (reverse) Cleopatra wearing the diadem, a ship's prow at bottom of her portrait, with Latin inscription along the edge: E. A. Sydenham, **The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (revised edition, London 1952) p. 194, no. 1210; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974) p. 539, no. 543 (Plate LXIV, no. 543/1).

M. Grant, *Cleopatra* (London 1972) 168–70 (with photos of both coins between pp. 190 and 191, nos. 44 and 46).

A. Wroth, loc. cit.

(Obverse) Antonius imperator triumvir.

(Reverse) Queen Cleopatra, Neotera Goddess.¹

B. Sydenham, loc. cit.

(Obverse) Antonius. Armenia defeated.

(Reverse) Of Cleopatra, queen of kings (and) of her sons who are kings.²

- 1 Cleopatra Thea (i.e. 'Goddess') was a Ptolemaic princess who died in 121 BC, famous in Seleucid (Syrian) history, having married in succession three Seleucid monarchs, attesting to Ptolemaic–Seleucid unity at the dynastic level. Cleopatra, calling herself Neotera (i.e. 'Younger Goddess'), now looked upon herself as a similar unifying force. See Grant, *op. cit.* 168–9, for date and background; see T. V. Buttrey, 'Thea Neotera on Coins of Antony and Cleopatra', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 10 (1954) 95–109, for a different interpretation.

- 2 For the first time the portrait of a foreign woman appears on an official Roman coin containing a Latin inscription and intended for wide circulation. See Grant, *op. cit.* 169–70. Sydenham dates this coin to 32–31 BC, but Grant makes out a case for the Donations

91 Letter of Octavian to Mylasa

(of land) in 34 BC: pp. 162–5 and 168ff. Her title might illustrate ‘her superiority to her son and colleague, the King of Kings Ptolemy Caesar’ (Grant).

90 Worship of Isis by a Roman officer, his son and friends. March 28, 32 BC.

Three blocks of a huge pylon, rounded letters carefully engraved, island of Philae in the Nile.

OGIS 196; *IGRR* I 1300; Bernand, **Philae* I 63.

Bernand, *op. cit.* pp. 334–43.

I, Gaius Iulius Papius, prefect,¹ | have come and worshipped our La|dy
Isis, along with Iulius my son, and on | behalf of Gaion my younger son,
5 and || also with my friends and fell|ow travelers Symmachos, Eumenes, |
Apollonios (son) of Chares and his son Apellas, | and Apion [-- and -- and
10 the] | centurions Rufus, Demetrios, Niger, || Valerius, Labyon, Terentius,
| Nikanor (and) Baronas,² and (on behalf of) all | my young children. vv |
vacat | vv The twentieth year, which is also the fifth, on the thirtieth of
Phamenoth.³

1 Not, of course, prefect of Egypt. The first prefect of Egypt was C. Cornelius Gallus: below, no. 93.

2 A number of the centurions have Greek names, including Demetrios, Nikanor and Baronas. ‘Labyon’ is a Roman: Labeo.

3 The double era used by Cleopatra VII produces 33/2 BC: see above, no. 88. The thirtieth (not the first as in *OGIS*) of the Egyptian month Phamenoth is March 28. See the tables in T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Munich 1954).

91 Letter of Octavian to the city of Mylasa. 31 BC.

Two stone fragments (A–B) found at Mylasa in Karia.

*SIG*³ 768; **RDGE* 60.

Magie, *RRAM* I 431 and 442; II 1290, n. 39; *RDGE* pp. 310–12.

(A) Imperator Caesar, son of the god Iulius, | v designated (?) as consul
for the third time (31 BC), | to the Mylasan magistrates, Bou|le (and)
5 People, greetings. vv If you are well, it is || good. v I too with my | army am
in good health. v For|merly already concerning the misfortune that he|ld
you in its grip you sent (an embassy) to | me, v and now have come (to me)

92 Octavian dedicates his camp at Actium

- 10 your || envoys, *vv* Ouliad[es --] (B) [--] of the enemy to have fallen and
 your city overwhelmed, | *v* many of your citizens | lost as prisoners of war,
 5 *v* not a few were murder|ed, *v* and some burned together with the city, || as
 the savagery of the enemy *v* neither from the | shrines nor from the most
 sacred of temples was he|ld back; *v* they (the envoys) informed me of |
 your plundered land *vv* and your | farm-buildings that had been set afire,
 10 with the result that || you have fallen into every misfortune; *v* in regard to
 all of these I am *con|scious* that, [having suffered] this, you [are men worthy
 of] | every honor and favor *from* | [the Romans --]

Even before the Battle of Philippi (Fall, 42 BC) Q. Labienus, acting on behalf of Brutus and Cassius, had negotiated with King Orodes of Parthia to send aid to the cause of the Liberators. The king hesitated. Finally, in 40 BC, while M. Antonius was absent in Egypt and then in Italy, he sent a Parthian invasion army into Syria under the command of his son Pacorus. Labienus, with part of the Parthian forces, advanced into Asia Minor and entered Karia. It was then that Mylasa and other Karian cities were devastated. In 39 BC Antonius sent an army under P. Ventidius Bassus to recover Asia. Karia was then liberated and the Parthians thrust out of Asia Minor.

92 Octavian dedicates his camp overlooking the promontory of Actium. 29 BC.

Twenty-six blocks or fragments of blocks once part of his victory monument on a hill near Nikopolis.¹

J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 90 (1969) 180; J. M. Carter, **ZPE* 24 (1977) 229. Cf. Livy 1.19.3; Suetonius, *Aug.* 18; Dio 51.1.2-3.

Oliver, *op. cit.* 178-82; Carter, *op. cit.* 227-30.

To [Nep]tune [and Ma]rs, [Imperator Caesa]r, son of the god [Iulius, having won the] *victory at sea* [in the war] which he *waged* on behalf of the *Republic* in this region and having produced peace on land [and sea, has dedicated,] *while consul* [for the fifth time and] imperator for the *seventh* time (29 BC), the camp, [decorated] with the *spoils* (of war), [from] which *he marched forth to attack* [the enemy].

1 The main problem connected with the text of this inscription is the order of the blocks or fragments, for they are so small that often only a few letters of a word suggest its grammatical connection with other words or its place in the dedication. Thus there is no way to determine where one line ends and the next begins.

93 Dedication of C. Cornelius Gallus, first Roman prefect of Egypt. April 15, 29 BC.

Stele of rose-colored granite sawn in half vertically, curved at the top, engraved with hieroglyphics,¹ Latin and then Greek, island of Philae in the Nile.

CIL III 14147.5; *OGIS* 654; *IGRR* I 1293; *ILS* 8995; Bernand, **Philae* II 128, pp. 35–7. Cf. Strabo 17.1.53; Suetonius, *Aug.* 66; Dio 53.23–4.

J. G. C. Anderson, *CAH* 10.240–1; J.-P. Boucher, *Gaius Cornelius Gallus* (Paris 1966) 38–45; Bernand, *op. cit.* pp. 37–47; L. P. Kirwan, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 63 (1977) 13ff.

(Latin) Gaius Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, Gallu[s,] Roman knight, after the kings | had been defeated by Caesar, son of the god, first prefect of [Alex]andria and Egypt, | victor in [two] *battles* of the Thebaid revolt, conqueror of the enemy within 15 days, capturer of 5 cities, Bores|is, Coptus, Ceramic, Diospolis Mag[na, Op]hicion. Having carried off the
 5 leaders of these revolts, || he *led* his army beyond the cataract of the Nile to a place where | [arms] had never been carried before by either the Roman People or the kings of Egypt, subdued the Thebaid, common terror of all the kings, gave audience to the *envoys* of the king of the Ethiopians at Philae received the *same* | king under his protection, and set up a ruler over Triakontaschoinos within the frontier of Ethiopia. | He has given this gift to the
 10 ancestral gods and to Nil[e] the Helper. ||²

1 At the very top of the stele is the figure of a man on a horse striking a prostrate enemy. The hieroglyphics, although badly mutilated, contain the date.

2 Immediately following the Latin appeared a Greek translation which contains a few differences from the Latin: line 3, the Greek adds that 'some' of the five cities were captured 'at the first assault'; lines 6–7, the Greek says that the Thebaid 'had not submitted to the kings' instead of 'common terror of all the kings'.

94 Preparations in Egypt for a military expedition. A few years after the death of Cleopatra (30 BC).

Fragment of a papyrus roll,¹ Oxyrhynchus.

P. Oxy. 2820; N. Lewis, **GRBS* 16 (1975) 298–9.

M. Treu, *Chiron* 3 (1973) 221–33; Lewis, *op. cit.* 295–303.

[--] | he sent for [-] | to revolt, and because of | this he² forged [weapons]
 5 mo|re than sufficient, || *and* [the] | *fleet* of [Cleo]patra | (which) after *her* |
 10 death, as || was likely, had been neglec|ted, he again e|quipped, <and> he

set up | garrisons at | entrances to the country | and everything that per-
 15 tained to || war he made ready, | with the result that [-|--] | *having understood*
 20 that | [--] || the Egyptians around Thebes | were more war|like than the
 25 others, | he first urged them (to go) willing||ly on the expe|dition, but
 when they did not | [--]

1 The handwriting belongs to the first half of the second century AD.

2 Treu identified this individual as C. Cornelius Gallus, first prefect of Egypt (30–27 or 26 BC; above, no. 93), but Lewis, using new readings, attacks this interpretation and believes 'he' is Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt after Cornelius Gallus (26–24 BC). If Lewis is right, then the 'expedition' of the papyrus is that of Aelius Gallus into Arabia, on which see S. Jameson, *JRS* 58 (1968) 71ff.

95 *Legal decision by Augustus and Agrippa, and a governor's letter to Kyme. 27 BC (for the legal decision).*

Marble stele broken at the bottom, damaged on the right and left, decorated with a festoon of ivy at the top, Kyme in Asia on the Aeolian coast. The inscription is in three parts: A (in Greek) is a legal decision by Augustus and M. Agrippa (27 BC); B (in Latin) is a letter (of unknown date but later than A) from the governor of Asia to the city of Kyme; C (in Greek) is a translation of the Latin letter of the governor.

H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions in the 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden' at Leyden* (Leiden 1958) no. 57 (+ photograph); *SEG* XVIII 555; **RDGE* 61; H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme* (Bonn 1976) pp. 46ff.

Pleket, *op. cit.* pp. 49–66; K. M. T. Atkinson, *RIDA* 7 (1960) 227–72 (+ photograph); V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Bullettino dell'Istituto del Diritto Romano* 64 (1961) 323–42; W. Kunkel, *Studi in Onore di Emilio Betti* II (Rome 1962) 591–620; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 115–22; *RDGE* pp. 315–20; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 317–18; N. Charbonnel, *RIDA* 26 (1979) 177–225.

A. Greek

Imperator Caesar, son of the god, Augustus [--]¹ | (and) [M]arcus
 Agrippa, son of Lucius, consuls v [--]² | If there are any public or sacred
 places in the cities [--]³ | of each city of the province (?),⁴ and if there are
 5 or will be *any* [dedica||tions]⁵ belonging to these places, [nobody] | is to
 remove or buy (them) or take them as [mortgaged property | or] gift.
 Whatever has been *taken away* from those places | [or] bought and given as
 a gift, [whoever may be in charge of the] | province is to see to it that these
 10 are restored to the *public* or sacred [account (?)]⁶ || of the city, and what-
 ever may have been given [as legal secur|ity,]⁷ he is not to use this in his
 administration of justice. vv |

B. Latin

- [⁸] Vinicius, proconsul, sends greetings to the magistrates of Cyme. Apollonides, son of Lucius, from No[⁹race, | your citizen,] came to me and showed that the temple of Liber Pater⁹ was by *title* | of sale possessed by
- 15 Lysias, son of Diogenes, of Tucalla, [your] citizen, || and that *when* the worshippers wished to restore to their god the sacred property, according to the order of Au[¹⁰gu[s]tus Caesar, by paying the price which is inscribed on the temple, | *it was withheld* (?) ¹⁰ by Lysias. I wish you to see to it that, if such is the case, Lysias | accepts the price which [has been] put on the temple and restores to the god the *tem|ple* and that there be inscribed on it
- 20 'Imperator Caesar, son of the god, Augustus rest||ored it'. But [if] Lysias denies what Apollonides *de|mands*, let him give sufficient bail (to appear) where I will be.¹¹ That Lysias *prom|ises* (bail) meets [more (?)] with my approval(?).¹¹

C. Greek

- In the prytany of Phanites,¹² *vv* [¹²] Vinicius sends greetings to the magistrates of Kyme. A[¹³pol|lonid]es (son) of Lucius of Norake, your citizen,
- 25 || [came to me] and showed that the temple of Dionysos was by *title* [of sale] possessed by Lysias (son) of Diogenes of [Tukal|la, your citizen,] and that when [the worshippers] *wished* | [---]

- 1 Perhaps uninscribed? Pleket: 'for the 7th time (?)', i.e. in his seventh consulship (27 BC). Augustus had been consul with Agrippa in both 28 and 27 BC. Atkinson: 'for the 7th time'. Charbonnel: 'imperator for the 7th time', which is too long for the space.
- 2 Pleket: '[ordered (or) wrote]'. Atkinson: '[wrote]', likewise Charbonnel. Oliver and *RDGE* leave blank, but note the possibilities of '[said]' or '[determined]' or '[ordained]' among others. Oliver and Kunkel believe some word had been used which pointed to a *lex data*, i.e. some kind of a charter.
- 3 Pleket: '[or in the surrounding area]' etc. Arangio-Ruiz: '[or throughout the] territory of each city', translating the word *eparcheia* as 'territory' instead of 'province'. Oliver: '[when] these localities fall [within the jurisdiction of the] prefecture [protecting] each city's [interests]', (his own translation). Charbonnel: 'in the cities [belonging to a religious guild or] to a city of each province'.
- 4 The Greek *eparcheia* would normally mean 'province', but Oliver equates it with 'prefecture' or 'domain': *GRBS* and *AJP* 93 (1972) 195. Arangio-Ruiz takes it loosely as 'territory', which is hardly possible. The word 'each' here is grammatically ambiguous, for it could govern either 'province' or 'city'.
- 5 Atkinson: '[properties]'. Kunkel: '[ornaments]'.
- 6 Pleket: '[places]', from which they had been taken.
- 7 Atkinson: '[in this manner]'.
- 8 Pleket: '[Lucius]', i.e. the consul of 33 BC who became the governor of Asia in 28–27 or 27–26 BC, approved by Syme in *JRS* 45 (1955) 159. Likewise Kunkel, Arangio-Ruiz, and Charbonnel. But Atkinson, with hesitation, believes he was Marcus Vinicius, the consul of 19 BC.
- 9 I.e. Dionysos.

96 *An earthquake at Tralles and help from Augustus*

- 10 First suggested by Oliver. Pleket punctuates and restores differently: 'and since the worshippers wanted to restore the sacred objects to the god, as Augustus Caesar has ordered, after having paid the price written on the temple of Liber Pater by Lysias, I wish that you see to it that', etc. (Pleket's translation).
- 11 In saying 'where I shall be' Vinicius refers to his annual circuit of Asia to hold court. At this point in the text there is disagreement about punctuation and restoration, although Pleket correctly saw the intent, explaining (p. 59) that 'whatever the exact wording of this part of the text may have been, its meaning seems to be fairly clear. Lysias must give security to Apollonides, if he opposes Apollonides' claim; afterwards the proconsul himself will devote his attention to settling the affair.' Pleket then suggests: 'But if Lysias opposes the claim which Apollonides makes, that Lysias promise bail to him, with guarantee that he will present himself where I shall be --.' Atkinson, with different punctuation and restoration: 'But [if] Lysias objects, let him hand over as security for his appearance in court the property which Apollonides demands. I approve [of your] sending Lysias to wherever I shall be (sc. holding the assize).' Kunkel added the restoration '[more]'.
12 This phrase introduces the Greek translation of the letter of Vinicius and, thus, uses the local method of dating.

96 *An earthquake at Tralles in Asia, and help from Augustus.* 26 BC.

Extract from Agathias.

*Agathias, *Historiae* 2.17 (ed. Keydell). Cf. Strabo 12.8.18.

T. R. S. Broughton, *TAPA* 66 (1935) 20–2; Magie, *RRAM* I 469; II 1331, n. 7; Bowersock, *Augustus* Appendix 3, 157–61.

The city of Tralles, situated in the land now called Asia near the river Maeander, which in ancient times was a settlement of the Pelasgians, was struck by an earthquake in the time of Augustus Caesar and completely ruined, and nothing of it was saved. (2) With the city thus lying in a most pitiful condition, they say that a certain peasant, one of the husbandmen by the name of Chairemon, was deeply touched in his heart by the incident, and, unable to endure it, accomplished something extraordinarily astonishing and unbelievable. (3) Fearing neither the length of the journey nor the importance of the embassy nor the fact that, in all likelihood, he would have to face very great dangers, and that all this was fraught with inscrutable fate, nor the separation from his family at home nor anything else of those things which men consider and then change their resolve, he not only arrived at Rome but actually in the land of the Cantabrians on the very shores of the Ocean, for Caesar at that time happened to be at war with one of the tribes.¹ (4) He told him what had happened and so touched the emperor that he immediately selected seven (ex-)consuls from among the noblest and wealthiest men of Rome and sent them with their escort to the settlement, and they, reaching the place as quickly as

possible, contributed the very greatest amount of money and with great speed rebuilt the city and brought it into the form it has preserved to the present.²

1 Augustus in person directed the campaigns against the Cantabrians in Spain in 26 and 25 BC: Sir Ronald Syme in *CAH* 10.342–4, *Roman Papers* II 825 ff.

2 Agathias of Myrina was born about AD 530. His narrative continues on to section 8 where he quotes an elegiac poem which he himself saw inscribed on an altar to honor Chairemon.

97 Two decrees of the senate and a treaty with Mytilene. 25 BC.

Fragments of marble blocks from the great monument in honor of Potamon, Mytilene.

IG XII 2.35, col. b, lines 36–43, and cols. c–d; *IGRR* IV 33, col. b, lines 36–43, and cols. c–d; **RDGE* 26, col. b, lines 36–43, and cols. c–d.

Magie, *RRAM* I 463; II 1330, n. 2; *RDGE* pp. 155–7.

- vv* Decrees of the senate concerning the treaty.¹ | *In the consulship* [of
Imperator Caesar] Augustus for the ninth time and Marcus (Iunius)
Silanus (25 BC) | [-- proposed (?)²] by *order* of Marcus Silanus in accor-
dance with a *decree* of the senate. | [---] of June³ in the Curia Iulia. (Wit-
40 nesses) *present* at the writing *were*: || [Paullus Aemilius,] son of [Lu]cius,
(of the tribe) Palatina, Lepidus; Gaius Asin[ius, son of Gnae]lus -- Pol-
lio;] Lucius Sempronius, son of Lucius, (of the tribe) Fal[erna, A]tra-
tinus; Marcus Teren[tius, son of Marcus, (of the tribe) Papiria, Varro;
Gaiu[s Iu]n[ius ---Si]lanus; Quintus Acutius, son of Quintus. (Col. c)
Whereas [Ma]rcus Silanus said that a letter [had been sent to Impera-
tor Caesar Augus]tus,⁴ his colleague (in the consulship), [and an
answer had arrived that,] | if it pleased the senate [that a treaty be
made] *with* [the Mytilenaians, | the authority] for this matter [should
5 be entrusted to Silanus] himself, [con||cerning] this matter [it was
decreed as follows: that Marcus Silanus,] | consul, if it seemed good to
him, [should see to it that the] treaty [be made with the Mytilenaians,
and any|thing] else such as may seem to be in accordance with the
interest [of the Republic and] *his own* [good faith.] | Decreed. *vv* On the
third day before the Kalends of Ju[ne] (or Ju[ly], May 30 or June 29),
10 [in the ---] (Witnesses) *present* [at the writing] *wel||re*: Gaius Norba[nus,
son of] Gai[us, (of the tribe) --, Flaccus; ---, son of Ap]pius, (of the
tribe) Pala[tina, ---; -- Marcus --, son of --, (of the tribe) --, | C]ensorinus
[---;] | Marcus Va[lerius ---; ---] | son of [--]cus, [--; --] son of [--,] (of
15 the tribe) Clustu||mina, L[--; Marcus Terentius, son of Marcus, (of the
tribe) Pap]iria, Varro; | Gaius C[---.] | Whereas M[arcus Silanus said

that as to the] decree [of the senate] | *given* to him, [(to wit) that, if it
seemed good to him,] he should see to it that [the treaty of the Myt]ile-
naians be ma|de [and anything else such as may seem to be in accor-
20 d|ance with the interest of the] *Republic* || and [his own] good faith, he had
obeyed (this decree) in every way and that it remained | [for the details
attendant upon] this [matter to be carried out,] concerning this | matter
[it was decreed as follows: that Marcus Silanus,] consul, if | it seemed
good to him, [should see to it that the treaty be sent to the Mytilenai]ans
as he had arranged | it to be made, [and that this (treaty) and the decrees
25 of the senate which had been passed] about this || *matter* should be engra-
ved [on a bronze tablet --] and | [set up] in a public place. [Decreed.] *vv*
In the consulship of Imperat[or Caesar Augustus for the ninth time
(and) Marc]us Silanus | [---]

(About 30 lines are here missing)

(Col. d: the treaty) The [People] of the Mytilenaians, in regard to the
rule [and the realm which they have up to the present (?),] | they shall
preserve them in the way in which any [rule is exercised over anything
with the best right and according to the best law.] | In regard to the
enemies of the People [of the Romans, the People of the Mytilenaians] |
shall not allow them [to pass through their own] rea|lm with public [con-
5 sent,] to make war upon [the People] || of the Romans or upon those ruled
by [them or upon the allies of the People of the Romans,] | nor [shall they
help] them (i.e. the enemies of the Romans) [with weapons, money, or
ships.] | The People of the Romans [shall not let] the *enemies* [of the People
of the Mytilenaians pass through their own] | land and their own realm
[with public consent, to make war] | upon the People of the Mytilenai]ans
10 or upon those ruled by them or upon the alli||es of the People of the Myti-
lenaians, --- nor shall they] *help* [them (i.e. the enemies of the Mytilen-
aians)] | with weapons, money, or ships. *vv* | If anyone takes the initiati^e
in *making* war [upon the People of the Mytilenaians or upon the People] |
of the Romans [and] the [allies of the People of the Romans, | the People of
the Romans shall help the People of the Mytilenaians, and the People of
15 the Mytilenai]ans (shall help) the People of the Romans and the allies of]
the People of the Romans | [---]⁵ and shall be steadfast. [There shall be]
peace | [for all time. *vv* | ---] it shall belong to them. Likewise, | [whatever
possessions --- the people of the Romans] have given to the People of
20 the Mytilenaians || [--] they shall belong to the People of the
Mytilenaians, | [and whatever possessions -- of the Mytilen]aians there
were on the island | [of Lesbos and whatever possessions --- on the --- day
before the Kal]ends of January, which | [---] there were to them either
25 (on) [this | island or any other ---,] as each of these || [---] they ruled over

98 *M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Julia in the Greek East*

and possessed | [---] all these they [shall] *poss|ess. vv* | [---] of the Mytilenaians they shall establish.

(27 lines are missing)⁶

- 1 Immediately preceding these words on the monument is a letter of Caesar the Dictator to Mytilene: above, no. 83, with n. 1, on the nature of Potamon's monument.
- 2 Arangio-Ruiz (*Acta Divi Augusti* Part 1 (Rome 1945) 232) proposes '[documents published]'. This passage, like the preceding line 36, must be a heading to introduce the senatorial decrees and the treaty.
- 3 The date may have been a given number of days (up to 16 by our count or 17 by theirs) '[before the Kalends] of June', in which case the date would have fallen in the month of May. Otherwise, the date would have been in June, but before the Ides (13th). The date is probably between May 16 and June 12, with June 1 and June 5 excluded.
- 4 In 25 BC Augustus was in Spain conducting the war against the Cantabrians. This entire section, down to line 7, contains a large amount of conjectural restorations, and should not be accepted without that in mind.
- 5 Arangio-Ruiz restores: '[as may seem to be appropriate to each of them in accordance with the treaty]'.
- 6 After these missing lines col. e concludes the long dossier of documents. Only tiny fragments of it remain, treating of matters, according to Arangio-Ruiz, concerned with the use of local law and the guarantee of Mytilenaian privileges.

98 *M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Julia in the Greek East. 16–13 BC.*

A: *IG II² 4122. Inscribed base of huge size that once supported a statue of Agrippa in a chariot drawn by four horses, Athens. Cf. Day, *Athens* 140. **B:** *IG XII 2.204; *IGRR* IV 64. Marble base, Mytilene. **C:** Nikolaos of Damascus (**FGH* Hist 90 F 134). Extract from his Autobiography. Cf. Dio 54.24; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 16.26. **D:** *SIG*³ 776; *IGRR* IV 204; **I. Ilium* 86, p. 186. Inscribed base, Ilium. **E:** **RDGE* 63. Letter of Agrippa to the Argive Gerousia, stele from Argos. Cf. *RDGE* pp. 323–4. **F:** *SIG*³ 1065; *IGRR* IV 1064; L. Moretti, **Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche* (Rome 1953) 60. Greek athletic contest named after Agrippa: translated below, no. 109, from Cos.

M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, N.Y. 1933) 106–23; Magic, *RRAM* I 477–8.

A. *IG* II² 4122, Athens

- [The] People | (dedicated this statue of) M[arcus] Agrippa, | son of
5 Lu[cius,] | *consul* for the third time (27 BC), their || *benefactor*.

B. *IG* XII 2.204, Mytilene

- The People (dedicated this statue of) | Iulia, daughter of Imperator Caesar | god Augustus, wife of Marcus Agrippa, | our benefactress, because of
5 her excellence in every way || and her goodwill toward our city.

C. Nikolaos of Damascus: *FGrHist* 90 F 134

The citizens of Ilium did not know that Iulia, daughter of Caesar and wife of Agrippa, had arrived among them at night when the Skamandros (River) was running high, swollen from much rain, and that she was in danger of losing her life in crossing it, along with the household slaves who escorted her. Agrippa became furious at this, because the citizens of Ilium did not help her, and he fined them one hundred thousand silver (drachmai). They were destitute. They had not foreseen the storm, nor the fact that the young lady was coming in it, but they did not dare to say anything to Agrippa. When Nikolaos arrived, they begged him to acquire for them the help and protection of Herodes (the Great). Nikolaos very eagerly gave his support to them because of the city's fame. He entreated the king and described the situation for him, that it was unjust for Agrippa to be angry at them, since he had not told them beforehand that he was sending his wife to them and since they had been wholly unaware of her arrival at night. Finally Herodes took up their protection and obtained release for them from the fine. And since they had already departed because of their despair over deliverance, Herodes gave the letter about this turn of events to Nikolaos who was sailing to Chios and Rhodes, where his sons were, for Herodes himself was going on to Paphlagonia with Agrippa. Nikolaos sailed from Amisos to Byzantium and from there to the Troad, and he went to Ilium. When he delivered the letter of release from the fine, both he and even more the king were greatly honored by the citizens of Ilium.

D. *I. Iliion* 86, p. 186, Ilium

(This statue of) Marcus Agrippa, kinsman¹ | and patron of our city and | benefactor, (has been dedicated) for his | piety toward the goddess
 5 (Athena) and his || goodwill toward our People.

E. *RDGE* 63, Argos

Of the Elder Citizens. | Agrippa to the Argive Elder Citizens | Descended from Danaos and Hypermetra,² greetings. | For the continuation of your
 5 organization || and the protection of its ancient prestige | I am conscious of my responsibility, | and also for the return to you | of many of your lost
 10 rights, and for | the future I intend [zealously] to provide for you || and [--]

F. Greek athletic contest named after Agrippa

For translation see below, no. 109, line 13.

99 Funeral oration given by Augustus for Agrippa

For other honors paid to Agrippa and Iulia in the Greek East see *IG* V 1.374: inscribed base, Sparta, to Agrippa; *IG* VII 349: marble base, Oropos, to Agrippa; *SEG* I 385: marble base, Samos, to Iulia.

It was in the spring of 16 BC that Agrippa with Iulia and their two little sons set out for the Greek East. He had been formally granted the tribunician power (see below, no. 99) and a proconsular command over the eastern provinces. He returned to Italy in 13 BC and died there the following year.

- 1 Agrippa is called 'kinsman' because of his marriage to Iulia, which gave him a relationship with the Iulian clan. The Iulian clan traced its lineage back via Aeneas to the Trojans and the Troad.
- 2 This social organization, called a Gerousia, had its own officials and funds. Because of the prestige and age of its members, it often made its influence felt in public affairs. The members, 'Elder Citizens', sometimes traced their origin back to the mythical past.

99 Greek translation of funeral oration given by Augustus for Agrippa. 12 BC.

Small fragment of a Greek papyrus of the first century BC, from the Fayum in Egypt, now in Cologne.

L. Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 226 (+ photograph); **P. Köln* 10. Cf. Dio 54.28.1–5.

Koenen, *op. cit.* 217–83; *idem*, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 239–43; E. W. Gray, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 227–38; M. W. Haslam, *CJ* 75 (1979–80) 193–9; E. Badian, *CJ* 76 (1980–1) 97–109; R. K. Sherk, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 67–9.

- [--] the tribunician power for fi|ve years in accordance with¹ a decree of the senate | was given to you when the Lenti² were consuls (18 BC);
- 5 and | again this (power) for another five-year period³ || was granted when the consuls were Tiberius (Claudius) Nero⁴ | and (Publius) Quin<ti>lius Varus (13 BC), your sons-in-law. | And into whatever | provinces the
- 10 Republic of the Ro|mans should ever summon you, || it had been sanctioned in a law that your power <was to be> not less than (that of) any (other magistrate) in th|ose (provinces).⁵ *Having been considered worthy* of the *supreme* | height (of power)⁶ and [becoming a colleague] in our [rule,] | by your own <excellent qualities> and [accomplishments⁷ | you surpassed] all men.

- 1 Koenen, *op. cit.* 274, believed that the tribunician power had been given to Agrippa 'by a decree of the senate alone, but the Greek phrase is a translation of the Latin *ex senatus consulto* and means simply 'in accordance with a decree of the senate'. Thus, as Badian (*op. cit.* 99–101) has argued, the further action was taken by some other body than the senate. He believes that further action could only have been the vote of the Roman People.
- 2 P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
- 3 The Greek translator used the word 'Olympiad', no doubt in an attempt to translate the Latin *lustrum* or *quinquennium*.
- 4 He is the future emperor Tiberius.

- 5 Koenen argues that this means *imperium maius*, but Gray thinks of it as *imperium aequum*. *Imperium* was the supreme administrative power in the Republican government in both the military and the judicial field, duly conferred by law upon a Roman magistrate or ex-magistrate and confined to a certain sphere of activity called *provincia*. One magistrate's *imperium* was neither lesser nor greater than that possessed by another magistrate within the same rank and it is called *aequum* ('equal') for that reason. Even M. Antonius in 74 BC and Cn. Pompeius in 67 BC possessed *imperium aequum*. In 43 BC, however, a special grant of *imperium maius*, i.e. 'greater' *imperium*, was given by the senate to Brutus and Cassius, and in 23 BC a similar grant was given to Augustus. See H. Last, *JRS* 37 (1947) 157–64, and E. Badian, *op. cit.* 105–6, who rightly follows Gray.
- 6 The 'supreme height of power' is the tribunician power: cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.56.
- 7 The copyist wrote 'own' twice in line 13. Sherck: 'and [accomplishments]'. Previous editors: 'and [benefactions]'.

100 Letter of Augustus to the Alexandrians and the proceedings of an embassy. 10 or 9 BC.

Papyrus of the early first century AD from Egypt, Oxyrhynchus.

*P. Oxy. 3020.

P. J. Parsons in *P. Oxy.* pp. 69–74.

(Col. 1) Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, | holder of the tribunician power for the fourteenth time (10/9 BC), imperator | for [the] *twelfth* time, to the People¹ of Alexandria, greetings. Those | envoys, whom you have sent, came to Gaul || to me² and gave me your injunctions, | and the things which seem to have distressed you | in previous *years* they revealed to me | [---] formerly if ou|r [---]

(Col. 2) The exegetes:³ 'Caesar, unconquered hero, these [are(?)] | envoys of Alexandria, and us | [---] we divided up the embassy | [---] each one of us is able [---|] Theodoros concerning Egypt [---] | (and) Ha[rp(?)]o-krates concerning the Idios Logos⁴ [---|] (and) I concerning the city [---| we have come (?)] not to defend ourselves but [---]'

1 The absence of any reference to a Boule or to magistrates is noteworthy. Dio (51.17.2–3) says that Augustus ordered the Alexandrians to conduct their city government without a Boule. For a summary of the controversy concerning the Alexandrian Boule see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I 94–5 with the notes. Cf. H. I. Bell, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 173–84.

2 In the period 12–9 BC Roman arms pushed beyond the Rhine River all the way to the Elbe under the command of Drusus, stepson of Augustus. Augustus himself, as Dio (54.36.3–4) informs us, spent the years 10–9 BC in Gaul to keep watch on the area. Cf. Orosius 6.21.22.

3 In Alexandria he was the spokesman for the community.

4 In Ptolemaic times this was the 'private account' of the kings, but in the Roman period it was the private account of Augustus and the subsequent emperors. Its administrator was also called Idios Logos and he was appointed directly by the emperor.

101 A new calendar for the province of Asia in honor of Augustus. 9 BC.

Various documents assembled from copies published in different cities of Asia.

Arrangement of the documents:¹

IV. Edict of the governor of Asia (Greek): lines 1–30 = Pr; lines 4–14 = Ap Gr 1 + 2a; line 8–20 = Maion; lines 15–25 = Ap Gr 2b; lines 26–30 = Ap Gr 3a, lines 1–6.

V. Appendix to the governor's edict (Greek): lines 1–8 = Ap Gr 3a, lines 6–13; lines 9–10 = Ap Gr 3b, lines 1–2.

VI. First decree of the Koinon of Asia (Greek): lines 30–77 = Pr; lines 30–6 = Ap Gr 3b, lines 3–9; lines 40–51 = Ap Gr 4; lines 51–62 = Ap Gr 5; lines 54–67 = Eum.

VII. Second decree of the Koinon of Asia (Greek): lines 78–84 = Pr.

OGIS 458; *RDGE* 65; U. Laffi, **Studi Classici e Orientali* 16 (1967) 18–23 (+ photographs).

RDGE pp. 328–37; Laffi, *op. cit.* 5–98; Samuel, *GRC* 181–2.

IV. Edict of the governor of Asia, in Greek

- [--] | from our ancestors (?) we have received [--|] goodwill of the gods and [--| whether] more pleasant or *more beneficial* is the most divine Caesar's birthday, which we might justly *consider* equal to the beginning of all things. | If not exact from the point of view of the natural order of things, at least from the point of view of the useful, if there is nothing which has fallen to pieces and to an unfortunate condition has been changed which he has not restored, he has given to the whole | world a different appearance, (a world) which would have met its ruin with the greatest pleasure, if as the common good | fortune of everyone Caesar had not been born. Therefore (perhaps) each person would justly consider that this (event) has
5 been for himself || the beginning of life and of living, which is the limit and end of regret at having been born. And since from no day both for | public and for private advantage could each person receive luckier | beginnings than from the one which has been lucky for everyone, and (since), roughly speaking, it happens that | the cities in Asia have the same time for the
10 entrance (of magistrates) into public office, || an arrangement clearly thus preordained according to some divine will, | in order that it should be a beginning of honor for Augustus, and since it is difficult to return for his many great benefactions thanks in equal measure, | unless for each of them we think of some manner of repayment, | and more joyfully would
15 men celebrate a birthday common to everyone || if some particular pleasure through (his? their?) magistracy should come to them, it seems good to me | that one and the same New Year's day for all states should be | the birthday of the most divine Caesar and that on that day all men | should
20

enter into their public office, (the day) which is the ninth day before the Kalends of October (September 23), in order that | in an even more extraordinary manner the day may be honored by acquiring in addition from
 25 without a certain religious observance and || (thus) may become better known to everyone. I think this (observance) will render the greatest service | to the province. A decree by the Koinon of Asia will ha|ve to be written to include all his excellent qualities, in order that the plan formu|lated by us for the honor of Augustus may remain forever. I will ordain | that the decree, engraved on the stele, be erected in the temple (of Roma and Augustus in Pergamum), pre||ceded by my edict written in both languages.²
 30

V. Appendix to the governor's edict, in Greek

[--] the | [--] the number | [--] from the | [ninth day before the Kalends of October, and the birthday] of Caesar as || [--|--|--|--] | and it will not be a single day, with an interval of two [years] || according to the Roman practice.³

VI. First decree of the Koinon of Asia, in Greek

It has been decreed by the Greeks of Asia | on the motion of the high-priest Apollonios (son) of Menophilos the Aizanian: | since Providence, which has divinely disposed our lives, having employed zeal | and ardor, has arranged the most perfect (culmination) for life | by producing Augustus,
 35 whom for the benefit of mankind she has fill|led with excellence, as if [she had sent him as a savior] for us and our descendants, | (a savior) who brought war to an end and set [all things] in order; [and (since) with his appearance] | Caesar *exceeded* the hopes of [all] those who received [glad tidings] before us, | not only *surpassing* those who had been [benefactors] before him, | but not even [leaving any] hope [of surpassing him] for those
 40 who are to come in the future; || and (since) the beginning of glad tidings on his account for the world was [the birthday] | of the god, and since Asia decreed in Smyrna, when the proconsul | was Lucius Volcacius Tullus⁴ and the secretary was Pap[ion] from Dios Hieron, | that the person who found the greatest honors for the god should have a crown, | and Paulus
 45 Fabius Maximus⁵ the proconsul, as benefactor of the province || having been sent from that (god's) right hand and mind together with the other | men through whom he bestowed benefits on the province, the size of which benefits no speech | would be adequate to relate, has found something unknown until now to the Gre|eks for the honor of Augustus, that from Augustus' birth|day should begin the time for life – for this reason,
 50 with good luck and for (our) salvation, it has been de||creed by the Greeks in Asia that the New Year's first month shall begin for all | the cities on the ninth day before the Kalends of October (September 23), which is the

- birth|day of Augustus; in order that each time the day might correspond in ea|ch city, (the Greeks) shall use the Greek day along with the Roman; | they shall make the first month – (called) ‘Caesar’, as previously decreed –
 55 be|gin with the ninth day before the Kalends of October, the birthday | of Caesar; and the crown decreed for the one who found the greatest | honors for Caesar shall be given to Maximus the proconsul, and he shall each time | be publicly proclaimed (as having won it), at the gymnastic festival in Pergamum (held in honor) of Roma (and) | Augustus, (as follows):
 60 ‘Asia crowns Paulus Fabius Maximus who found the most pi|lous manner of honoring Caesar’; there shall be a similar proclamation | at the festivals for Caesar in the individual cities; | the message written by the proconsul and the decree of Asia shall be engraved | on a stele of white marble, which shall be set up in the precinct of Roma and | Augustus; and the ekdikoi⁶ of
 65 this year shall see to it that || in the cities at the head of the judicial districts⁷ on stelai of white marble the message of Maximus and the decree of Asia be engraved, | and that these stelai be set up in the temples of Caesar. The computation | of the months shall be as follows: Caesar, 31 days; Apellaios, 30 days; | Audnaios, 31 days; Peritios, 31 days; Dystros, 28;
 70 Xandikos, 31; || Artemision, 30 days; Daisios, 31; Panemos, 30; Loos, 31; Gorpiaios, 31; | Hyperberetaios, 30. Total of days: 365. For this year, because of the intercalated day, | Xandikos shall be computed at 32 days. In order that from the present there may be a correspondence | of months and days, the current month of Peritios shall be counted up to the | 14th, but on the ninth day before the Kalends of February (January 24) we shall
 75 count the first day of the month || of Dystros, and for each month the beginning of the new month shall be the ninth day | before the Kalends. The intercalated day shall always be that of the intercalated Ka|lends of the month of Xandikos, with an interval of two years (between intercalations). |

VII. Second decree of the Koinon, in Greek

- Decreed by the Greeks in Asia on the motion of the high-priest Apollonios (son) of | Menophilos the Aizanian: since the New Year’s day always
 80 ought to fall on the same (day) || for everyone for the entrance into public office according to the edict of Paulus Fabius Maximus the pro|consul and the decree of Asia, and since (this) arrangement of time causes difficulties | over the announcement of the results of the elections, the procedures connected with the election of magistrates shall take place | in the tenth month, as has been laid down in the Cornelian Law,⁸ within | the first ten days (of the month).

This series of documents deals with the introduction into the province of Asia of a solar calendar of twelve months, of which seven had 31 days, four had 30, and one had only 28.

102 *Edicts of Augustus and a decree of the senate*

There was a periodic intercalation of one day. The first day of the year for this calendar was to be on September 23, the birthday of Augustus.

- 1 The text here translated is a composite text assembled from fragments of copies which originally had been set up in many different cities of Asia: Priene (Pr): the largest fragment, containing eighty-four lines in Greek, on two blocks; 2. Apamea Kibotos (Ap Lat and Ap Gr 1, 2a–b, 3a–b, 4, 5): fragments of marble blocks, one of which (Ap Lat) contains four lines in Latin with a fifth in Greek, while the others (Ap Gr 1–5) contain fragments of Greek text; 3. Dorylaion: two small fragments in Latin; 4. Maionia (Maion): one fragment of a marble block, text in Greek, corresponding to lines 8–20 of Pr; 5. Eumeneia (Eum): one fragment, text in Greek, corresponding to lines 54–67 of Pr. In his publication of these fragments Laffi has arranged them in the order I–VII. The first (I) is the edict in Latin of the governor of Asia, Paulus Fabius Maximus; the second (II) is an appendix in Latin to the governor's edict; the third (III) is a preface to the Greek redaction of the documents. These three exist only in fragments, and the longest of them (nine lines of Latin of the governor's edict) is full of both small and large errors because of the Greek engraver's unfamiliarity with Latin. They are omitted in the present translation. For a comparison of the Latin of the governor's edict and the corresponding redaction into Greek see *RDGE* pp. 207–9.
- 2 The author of this edict is, of course, Paulus Fabius Maximus: document VI, line 44, and VII, line 80.
- 3 The restoration of '[years]' is assured by line 77. A two-year interval between intercalations (i.e. a leap-year every third year instead of every fourth) was an error committed by the Roman pontifices between 42 and 9 BC. Corrective measures were then taken by Augustus. See *RDGE* pp. 335–6 and Samuel, *GRC* 155–8.
- 4 He was consul in 33 BC and governor of Asia in either 30/29 or 29/28 BC, according to Laffi, *op. cit.* 59–62. Atkinson, *Historia* 312–14, placed his governorship in 26/5 BC.
- 5 The date of his governorship of Asia depends on the fact that after 9 BC intercalations in the calendar were no longer made in the erroneous manner of every third year, as described in these documents, and on the fact that he had been consul in 11 BC. Laffi, *op. cit.* 27–34, fixes his governorship to 10/9 BC.
- 6 These were annually elected 'advocates' who represented the Koinon of Asia in its negotiations with the emperor or other high dignitaries and magistrates.
- 7 See above, no. 77, n. 5.
- 8 This seems to be some law concerning Asia that is unknown to us, but perhaps of Augustan date.

102 **Five edicts of Augustus and a decree of the senate. 7/6 and 4 BC.**

Marble stele over two meters high, complete on all sides, in the agora of Cyrene.

SEG IX 8; F. de Visscher, **Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène* (Louvain-Paris 1940) 16–26 (+ photograph); *FIRA* I 68; *RDGE* 31 (Edict V and the decree).

De Visscher, *op. cit.* 31–210 (full commentary); *RDGE* pp. 174–82.

EDICT I

- Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician | power for the seventeenth time (7/6 BC), imperator for the fourteenth time, | *vv* **DECLARES**¹ *vv* | Since I find that all the Romans in the province
- 5 of Cyrene || are two hundred and fifteen of every age *v* | who have a census valuation of twenty-five hundred denarii or more, | from whom the judges are (chosen), and that there are conspiracies among these (Romans) | – so the embassies of the cities from the province have complained – which have oppre|ssed the Greeks in capital cases,² the same people taking turns
- 10 as ac|cusers and as witnesses for each other, and (since) I myself have found that some in|nocent people in this way have been oppressed and brought to the ulti|mate penalty, until the senate may decide about this | or I myself may find something better, *vv* the fair and appropriate course of action, it seems to me, | would be for those who govern the province of
- 15 Crete and Cyrene to set up (a list) in the || province of Cyrene of Greek judges of the highest census valuati|on, equal in number to the Roman (judges), none of them younger than twenty-five years, Roman | or Greek, with a census valuation and property, if there is a sufficient number of such m|en, of no less than seventy-five hundred denarii, or, if in this way |
- 20 the number of judges which ought to be listed cannot be filled, || they shall list those people who have half and no less than half of this census valuation to be judges in | capital cases of the Greeks. *vv* If a Greek is on tri|al, one day before the accuser begins to speak he shall be given the pow|er (to decide) whether he wishes his judges to be Romans or | half of them Greeks. If he chooses half Greeks, then, after the balls have been
- 25 weighed³ || and the names inscribed on them, from the one ur|n the names of the Romans, and from the other the names of the Greeks shall be drawn by lot, | until in each group twenty-five have been selected. Of these names | the accuser, if he wishes, shall reject one from each group, but the defend-
ant (may reject) three of all the names, | *vv* on condition that he reject
- 30 neither all Romans nor all Greeks. Then || all the others shall be sent to cast their votes and they shall cast their votes, | the Romans separately into one basket, the Greeks separately into another. Then, when the counting has been finished sep|arately for the votes in each group, what-
ever the majority of all shall have | decided the praetor (i.e. governor) shall declare publicly (as the verdict). And since unjust deaths, for | the most part, the relatives of victims do not allow to go unavenged, and it is likely
- 35 that || Greek accusers will not be lacking in procuring justice for the guilty on behalf of their murdered | relatives or (fellow) citizens, *vv* the correct and appropriate course of action, it seems to me, wou|ld be if the future governors of Crete and Cyrene, | in the province of Cyrene, would not permit a Roman to be the accuser of a Greek in a case of the murder of a Greek

man or woman, | except that someone who has been honored with Roman citizenship may go to court on behalf of the death of one of his relatives or
 40 (fellow) citizens. || vv

EDICT II

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pon|tifex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the seventeenth time (7/6 BC) v DECLARES:¹ v Ill-will and blame | ought not be (directed) to(ward) Publius Sextius Scaeva⁴ because he saw to it that Aulus Stlaccius, son of Lu|cius, Maximus and Lucius Stlaccius, son of Lucius, Macedo and Publi|us Lacutanius, freedman of
 45 Publius, Phileros, vv when they || said that they knew and wished to tell something that pertained to my safety and to the Republic, | were sent in chains to me from the Cyrenaica, | for in this Sextius acted properly and with vi|gilance. v Moreover, since they know nothing of matters that pertain to me and the Republic | and stated and made it clear⁵ to me that this,
 50 which they said in the province, had been a fal|lbrication and a falsehood, I have set them free | and released them from custody. vv But (as for) Aulus Stlaccius | Maximus, whom envoys of the Cyreneans accuse of removing statues from | public places, among them being the one beneath which the city has inscribed my name, until | I have formed an opinion about this
 55 matter, I forbid him to leave (Rome) without my order. || vv

EDICT III

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power | for the seventeenth time (7/6 BC) vv DECLARES:¹ vv If any people from the Cyrenaican provin|ce have been honored with (Roman) citizenship, I order them to perform the personal (?)⁶ liturgies, nevertheless, in their role⁷ | as Greeks, vv with the exception of those to whom in accordance with a law or decree of the senate | (or) decree of my father or of myself, immunity from taxation has been granted along with the citi-
 60 zenship. || And it pleases me that these men to whom immunity has been given vv shall have exemption only for that prop|erty which they had at the time (of the grant). For all newly acquired property | they shall pay the taxes. vv

EDICT IV

Imperator Caesar Augustus, ponti|fex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the seventeenth time (7/6 BC) vv declares: vv Whatever | disputes shall arise between Greeks in the Cyrenaican province, || except for those who are liable for capital offenses, in whose case the one who governs the province | has the duty of conducting the investigation and rendering

judgments himself or establishing a list of judges, | – for all other matters
 it pleases me that Greek judges be granted to them, unless some | defen-
 dant or accused wishes to have Roman citizens for judges. For the parties
 | to whom Greek judges will be given in consequence of this decree of mine,
 70 it pleases me that no judge should be given || from that city from which the
 plaintiff or accuser comes, or th|vve defendant or accused. vv | vacat |

EDICT V

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, | holding the tribunician
 power for the vv 19th time (5/4 BC) vv declares:¹ | A decree of the senate
 was passed in the consulship of Gaius Calvisius (Sabinus) and Lucius
 75 || Passienus (4 BC). I was present and par|ticipated in its writing, and since
 it pertains to the security of the allies of the People | of the Romans, in
 order that it might be known | to all those under our care I have decided to
 send it to the provinces and | to append it to this, my edict, from which it
 80 will be clear to all || inhabitants of the provinces how much concern | I and
 the senate have that no one of our sub|jects may suffer unduly any harm or
 extortion. vv | vv DECREE OF THE SENATE vv | Whereas Gaius Cal-
 85 visius Sabinus and Lucius Passie||nus Rufus, consuls, spoke about mat-
 ters which vv Imperator Caesar vv Augustus, our Princeps,⁸ | after con-
 sultation with the Advisory Board which he had drawn by lot from the
 senate,⁹ | wished to be introduced to the senate by us because they pertain
 to | the security of the allies of the People of the Romans, it has been
 90 de||creed by the senate: vv Our ancestors have passed laws for legal action
 | in the recovery of money¹⁰ in order that our allies | more easily might be
 able to begin proceedings for the wrongs done to them and to recover the
 money of which they have been de|prived. But because the form of such
 court ac|tions sometimes is very burdensome and disagreeable to those
 95 very people for whom the law was writ||ten, poor people and those weak
 with illness or old age | being dragged from far-off provinces as witnesses,
 it plea|ses the senate: If any of our allies after the passage of this | decree
 of the senate either publicly or as individuals have been deprived of mone
 and wish to reco|ver it, without introducing a capital charge against the
 100 extorter,¹¹ and if they present themselves about || these matters and
 declare them to any one of our magistrates who has the power to con|vene
 the senate, the magistrate shall introduce these people as quickly as pos-
 sible into the senate | and give them an advocate who will speak on their
 behalf before the senate, any | (advocate) they might ask for, but no one
 shall unwillingly serve as advocate to whom in accordance with our laws |
 an exemption from this public duty has been given. vv In order that the
 105 (trials) may be heard (?) || for those people who may bring charges in the

senate,¹² whatever magistrate gives them access to the senate shall, on the same day in the presence of the senate with no less than two hundred being present, draw by lot four of all the consulars who are either in Rome itself [or] within twenty miles of the city; likewise three of all the praetorians who are in Rome itself or within twenty miles of the city; likewise two of the rest of the senators or of all those who have the right to express their opinion before the senate, who may then be either in Rome or within twenty miles of the city. Nobody shall be chosen who is seventy or more years old or who holds a magistracy or is in an official position¹³ or is a president of a court or is in charge of the grain supply or is a person whom illness prevents from performing this public duty and who so swears before the senate and produces three members of the senate to swear to it, or who is a person who is related by kinship or marriage to him (i.e. the accused) so that by the Julian Judiciary Law¹⁴ he may not be forced to testify as a witness against his will in a public court, or is a person who the accused swears before the senate is hostile toward him; but he shall not reject on oath more than three. Of the nine men drawn by lot in this way the magistrate who does the drawing shall see to it that within two days those seeking recovery of money and the person from whom they seek it take turns in rejection, until five are left. Whoever of these judges may die before the case is decided or if any other reason prevents him from deciding and his excuse is approved by five men under oath from the senate, then the magistrate, in the presence of the judges and those seeking recovery of money and the person from whom they are seeking it, shall draw by lot a substitute from (among) those men who are the same rank and have held the same magistracies as that man happened to hold into whose place they are being assigned by lot as a substitute, on condition that he does not assign a man who cannot be assigned against the accused by this decree of the senate. *v* Those who have been chosen as judges shall only about those matters hear and render decisions concerning which someone is accused of having, at the expense of the public or of an individual, appropriated (funds), *vv* and whatever sum of money his accusers may show has been taken from them privately or publicly, just so much shall they order to be restored, on the condition that the judges render their decision within thirty days.¹⁵ Those (judges) who must decide about these cases and pronounce their decision, until they do decide and pronounce their decision, shall be relieved of every public liturgy except public worship. *vv* And it pleases the senate that the magistrate who has conducted the drawing by lot of the judges or, if he is unable, the consul who has priority,¹⁶ shall preside over this investigation and for the summoning of witnesses who are in Italy shall grant power, on condition that to a man seeking recovery as a private individual (it shall be) no more

than five (witnesses), and to those in a public capacity no more than ten (that) he shall give permission to summon. | Likewise it pleases the senate that the judges who are chosen by lot in accordance with this <decree of the senate> | shall pronounce openly what each of them has decided, *vv* | and whatever the majority pronounces shall stand (as the decision).

- 1 In extra large letters on the stone. Cf. lines 41 and 56. In line 73 the letters merely have more space between them.
- 2 I.e., in cases involving the death penalty and not the loss of civil rights.
- 3 They must all weigh the same to prevent a particular name from being singled out in the selection process.
- 4 Governor of Crete-Cyrene.
- 5 Textual observations made by J. H. Oliver in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 19 (1949) 107–8, are followed here.
- 6 This is a celebrated crux, and the solution given by A. Wilhelm in *Wiener Anzeiger* 80 (1943) 2–10 and accepted later by many others is followed here. De Visscher has a text which means: 'I order that they, nevertheless, following their turn, should hold the personal liturgies of the Greeks'. Oliver, in *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 324–5, felt an addition was necessary: '<financial and> personal liturgies'. But K. M. T. Atkinson, *Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday* (Oxford 1966) 21–36, believes that no emendation of the text or additions to it are necessary, and instead of 'personal' liturgies she sees a more specific reference to military service. See also Sherwin-White, *Citizenship*² 334–6, for further discussion.
- 7 A. Wilhelm (above, n. 6) thus interprets this difficult phrase. De Visscher and others have accepted his view. It is a question of double citizenship: see Sherwin-White, *Citizenship*² 295–306.
- 8 Augustus speaks of himself as *princeps* three times in his *Res Gestae* (13; 30; 32).
- 9 The existence of such an imperial Advisory Board to be used by Augustus is known from Dio (53.21.4) and Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 35.3). See J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge 1955) 8ff. See the Glossary *s.v.* Advisory Board.
- 10 For these earlier laws: de Visscher, *op. cit.* 156–83; A. N. Sherwin-White, *PBSR* 17 (1949) 5–25; P. A. Brunt, *Historia* 10 (1961) 189–99.
- 11 A controversy exists over this phrase. Was extortion in itself a capital offense in previous legislation? What if the accuser does wish to introduce a capital charge? See the works cited above, n. 10.
- 12 There are textual and grammatical difficulties in this clause, although the general meaning is clear enough. Oliver, *op. cit.* above, n. 5, 109–13, follows the word order on the stone: 'In order that <there might be judges> for these (trials) to be heard for those who bring charges in the senate'. De Visscher and others have inverted two words of the original.
- 13 The Greek contains a word that might render the Latin *potestas*, i.e. 'power'. See de Visscher, *op. cit.* 145–6.
- 14 It is not known whether the reference is to legislation of Julius Caesar or of Augustus.
- 15 This is not an exclusionary clause. The judges are expected to give their decision within thirty days.
- 16 Explained by de Visscher as the consul who has the fasces at that particular time: see Aulus Gellius 2.15.4ff., and de Visscher, *op. cit.* 149, and cf. J.-L. Ferrary in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 89 (1977) 647–52. Cf. above, no. 55 A, B5.

103 Letter of Augustus to Knidos. Last half of 6 BC.

Marble stele broken on lower right side and bottom, found at Astypalaia.¹

IG XII 3.174; SIG³ 780; IGRR IV 1031; FIRA III 185; *RDGE 67.

RDGE pp. 343–5; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 443.

[When] Kairogenes (son) of Leu[ka]theos (?) was the [demi]orgos.² |
 Imperator Caesar, son of the god, Augustus, pontifex maximus, | consul
 designate for the twelfth time³ | and holding the tribunician power for the
 5 eighteenth time (6 BC)⁴ || to the magistrates, Boule and People of Knidos,
 greetings. Your en|voys Dionysios {II} and Dionysios II (sons) of Diony|
 sios met me in Rome, gave me your decree, | and accused Euboulos (son)
 10 of Anaxandridas, now de|ad, and his wife Tryphera, present here, || of the
 murder of Euboulos (son) of Chrysippos. I | ordered my friend Asinius
 Gallus⁵ to interrogate | those of the household slaves who were involved in
 the accusation under | torture, and I learned that Phileinos (son) of
 Chrysippos for three ni|ghts in succession had attacked the house of
 15 Eubou||los and Tryphera with violence and in the manner of a sie|ge; that
 on the third night he also brought his bro|ther Euboulos along with him;
 and that the owners of the house, Eubou|los and Tryphera, neither by
 20 negotiating with | Phileinos nor by erecting barricades against his atta|cks
 were able to find safety in their own house; | and they gave instructions to
 one of their household slaves not to ki||ll them, as perhaps one might be
 driven to do out of justifiable anger, | but rather to drive them off by scat-
 tering their (the household's) excrement over them; and that the | slave,
 25 along with what he poured over them – either intentionally || or uninten-
 tionally, for he himself remained steadfast in his denial – | let go of the
 chamber pot, and Euboulos fell down under it. It would have been more
 ju|st for him to have been saved than his brother. I have sent you also the |
 interrogation reports themselves. I would have been amazed at how much
 | the interrogation of their slaves in your city was feared by the defen-
 30 ||dants, if you had not seemed to be toward them excessively | harsh and
 to be turning your hatred of crime in the wrong direction (?), since at
 those who deserved to suffer every punishment, who had attacked
 another's | house three times at night with violence and force | and were
 destroying the common security of all of you, (at those people) you did
 not become angry || but (rather) at those who had suffered misfortune
 35 even when | they defended themselves and had committed no crime at
 all. | But now you would seem to me to act correctly, if to my decision
 [in this | matter] you paid attention and made the records in your public
 | archives agree (with it). vv Farewell.

104 *Gaius, son of Augustus, honored at Sardis*

- 1 On the same stele is engraved a letter of Hadrian to the Astypalaiaans.
- 2 He was the eponymous magistrate at Astypalaia.
- 3 Augustus held his twelfth consulship in 5 BC, from January until the end of April.
- 4 It spans the period July 1 of 6 BC to June 30 of 5 BC.
- 5 C. Asinius Gallus was the son of C. Asinius Pollio (consul in 40 BC), one of the leading personalities of the Augustan age. Gallus himself became consul in 8 BC and governor of Asia two years later. His wife was Vipsania, whom he married after Tiberius was forced to divorce her in 12. See *RDGE* pp. 344–5 and A. B. Bosworth, *AJAH* 2 (1977) 173–92.

104 **Gaius, son of Augustus, is honored at Sardis. 5 BC.**

Huge stele of bluish marble with pediment, within which the first five lines are inscribed, complete at top and bottom and damaged near the middle of the right side, with a break across the face near the bottom. The stele contains twelve documents listing honors for the prominent Sardian citizen Menogenes. Found near the temple of Artemis in Sardis.

A: The first document: the Koinon of Asia and the city of Sardis decree that the day on which Gaius assumed the toga of manhood is to be an annual holiday: *IGRR* IV 1756, lines 1–21; W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, **Sardis* VII 1 (Leiden 1932) no. 8, lines 1–21 (+ photograph of the whole stele). **B:** The second document: a letter of Augustus to Sardis: *IGRR* IV 1756, lines 22–7; Buckler-Robinson, **op. cit.* no. 8, lines 22–7; *RDGE* 68.

Magie, *RRAM* I 481; *RDGE* p. 347.

A. Sardis VII 1, no. 8, lines 1–21

- The Koinon | of the Greeks in Asia | and the People of the Sardi|ans and
5 the Elder Citizens¹ honored Menoge||nes (son) of Isidoros (grandson) of
Menogenes by what is written below. | Metrodoros (son) of Konon, Klei-
nias, Mousaios, and Dionysios, the strategoi,² introduced the motion: |
Whereas Gaius Iulius Caesar, the eldest of the sons of Augustus, | has put
on the toga most earnestly prayed for (and) radiant with every decoration,
in place of the one with purple border,³ and there is joy among all | men to
see the prayers that have been awakened everywhere (by this event) to
10 Augustus on behalf of his sons, and o||ur city on the occasion of such great
good fortune has decided that the day which completed his transition from
boy to man | shall be a holy day, on which each year all our people in their
brightest clothing shall wear wreaths, and (on which) sacri|fices shall be
performed by the strategoi of the year to the gods, and prayers offered
through the | sacred heralds for his (i.e. Gaius') safety, and (on which) his
image shall be jointly consecrated and set up in his father's | temple, and
on that (day) on which our city received the glad tidings and this decree
15 was passed, on that day too wr||eaths shall be worn and most splendid

105 Oath of loyalty to Augustus in Paphlagonia

sacrifices performed to the gods; and (whereas our city has decided) that an embassy | concerning these things be sent to go to Rome and to congratulate him and Au|gustus, it is decreed by the Boule and the People to send forth envoys selected from among the foremost me|n to carry greetings from our city and to give him a copy of this de|cree sealed with the public seal, and to speak with Au||gustus about matters of common interest to Asia and our city. Chosen as envoys were Iollas (son) of Metrodoros | and Menogenes (son) of Isidoros (grandson) of Menogenes. | *vv*

B. Sardis VII 1, no. 8, lines 22–7

Imperator Caesar, son of the god, Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the 19th time (5 BC) | to the Sardian magistrates, Boule (and) People, greetings. Your envoys, Iollas (son) of Metrodoros and | Menogenes (son) of Isidoros (grandson) of Menogenes, met with me in Rome and || gave me the decree from you by means of which you disclosed what had been decreed by you concerning yourselves and rejoiced with me at the trans|ition to manhood of the elder of my sons. I praise your zeal | in showing your gratitude to me and all my (family) for the benefits given (to you) by me.⁴ Farewell.

Gaius Iulius Caesar was the eldest son of Agrippa and Iulia, daughter of Augustus. He was born in 20 BC and adopted by Augustus as his son in 17 BC. He died in AD 4.

1 This association of Elder Citizens (Gerousia) was essentially social in nature: see above, no. 98 E.

2 These were annually elected magistrates in Sardis forming a board with civil functions.

3 The *toga praetexta* (purple-bordered toga) was put aside by boys for the *toga virilis* (toga of manhood) in a solemn ceremony, normally at age 15.

4 One expects this sentence to be followed by the usual statement that the writer, in this case Augustus, will be the author of some good for the city in the future. Its omission is noteworthy.

105 Oath of loyalty sworn in Paphlagonia to Augustus and his descendants. March 6, 3 BC.

Stele of sandstone, Phazimon.

IGRR III 137; *OGIS* 532; *ILS* 8781; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* III no. 66; P. Herrmann, **Der Römische Kaisereid*, *Hypomnemata* 20 (Göttingen 1968) no. 4, pp. 123–4.

Magie, *RRAM* I 465; Herrmann, *op. cit. passim*.

Of Imperator Caes[ar,] | son of the god, Augustus the twelfth consulship (5–3 BC), | third year (of the province, 3 BC),¹ on the day before | the Nones

- 5 of March (March 6) in Gangra in [camp (?),]² the *oath* completed by the
inhabitants of [Pa]phlagonia [and the] R[omans] *who do business among* |
 them: *v* | I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, all the gods [and] *god|desses*, and
 10 Augus[t]us himself that I will be favorably disposed toward [Cae]sar
 Augustus and his *children and descendants* | all the time of my [life] in *wo|rd*
 and deed and thought, considering as *friends* | those whom they may con-
 sider (friends) and *holding* as enemies | those whom they may judge to be
 15 (enemies), and for things that are of interest *to them* || I will spare neither
 my body [nor] | my soul nor my life nor my children, but in *every* | way for
 the things that *affect* them | I will undergo every danger; and whatever I
 20 might *perceive* | or hear against them being *sa|id* or plotted or done, | I will
 report it and *I will be* an enemy to *the* | person saying or plotting or doing
 [any of] *the|se* things; and whomever they may judge to be their enemies,
 25 *the|se*, on land and sea, with arms and || steel will I pursue and ward off. | If
 I do anything contrary to this [oath] | or anything not in agreement with
 what I have *sw|orn*, I pray that there may come upon myself, my *bod|y* and
 30 soul and life, my *chil|dren* and all my *family* | and whatever is of use to us,
 destruction, total *destructio|n* till the end of all *my* line [and] | of all my des-
 cendants, and may neither the [bodies] | of my family or of my descen-
 35 dants by earth or [se|a] be received, nor may (earth or sea) bear fruit [for
 them.] | In the same words was this oath sworn by all the [inhabitants of
 the land] | in the *tem|ples* of Augustus throughout the districts (of the pro-
 vince) by the altars [of Augustus.] | And likewise the Phazimonians living
 40 in what is [now] called [Neapo]lis [swore the oath,] | all of them, in the
 temple of Augustus by the [altar of] | Augustus. *v*

Other examples of loyalty oaths from the Greek East are to be found in: Assos in the Troad (*IGRR* IV 251; *SIG*³ 797); Samos (*Athen. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 70ff.); Palaipaphos on Cyprus (*JRS* 50 (1960) 75; *SEG* XVIII 578). All of these can also be examined in Herrmann, *op. cit.* pp. 123–6.

1 The provincial era of Paphlagonia began when Paphlagonia was attached to the province of Galatia, in 6/5 BC.

2 Cumont has 'in [camp]', but Dittenberger (in *SIG*³) and Dessau (in *ILS*) have 'in the [agora]'.

106 Roman legionaries guard the government grain during its transportation down the Nile to Alexandria. 2 BC.

Text on a terracotta jar, Oxyrhynchus in Egypt.

O. Guéraud, **Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 4 (1950) 106–11 (+ photograph); *SB* 9223; S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto* (Milan 1964) no. 66.

Guéraud, *loc. cit.*

- From the Ox(yrhynchite) nome.¹ *vv* | Ammonios (son) of Ammonios, pilot of a public boat whose emblem is [--,] through the agency of marine escort Lucius Oclatius, soldier | of the legion XXII (Deiotariana), cohort II, century of Maximus Stoltius, and Hermias (son) of Petalos, pil(ot) of another boat | whose emblem is Egypt, through the agency of marine escort Lucius Castricius, soldier of the legion XXII
- 5 (Deiotariana), cohort IV, century of || Titus Pompeius. This is a sample² of what we have put on board from the prod(uce) of the 28th (year) of Caesar (3 BC): Ammonios, (loaded) up to the bulwarks | with 433¹/₄ (artabai)³ (of wheat), and Hermias likewise with 433¹/₄ (artabai) (of wheat), all together, loaded through the agency of Leonidas and Apollonios the sito(logoi)⁴ of the east(ern) | part of the lower toparchy,¹ 866¹/₂ (artabai) (of wheat), and we made an additional measurement of ¹/₂ (artabe) (of wheat) per hundred artab(ai) (as tax). The loading was do|ne by us from the 2nd of Hathyr to the 4th of the sam(e) month, and we have sealed (this jar) with bo(th) of our seals, that of Ammo(nios) | whose figure is Ammon, and that of Hermias whose figure is Harpokrates.
- 10 (Year) 29 of Caesar (2 BC), Hathyr 4. || (Second hand) We, Hermias and A<m>moni<o>s, have sealed the samples. (Year) <29> of Caesar, Hathyr 19.

In documentary texts of this nature many abbreviations and symbols are used. An attempt is made in this translation to indicate the abbreviations by means of round () brackets, except that the following are additions by the translator: (Deiotariana), (son), (loaded), (as tax), (this jar), (Second hand), (3 BC), (2 BC). '(Year)' is the translation of a special symbol.

- 1 Egypt was divided into many administrative districts called nomes, which in turn were divided into toparchies.
- 2 The jar itself contained this sample of wheat from the Oxyrhynchite nome, to be opened and compared with the cargo at Alexandria to ensure its purity.
- 3 An artabe was an Egyptian measure of capacity, containing about 40 liters. See Wilcken, *Grundzüge* pp. LXVIIIff., and J. Shelton in *ZPE* 42 (1981) 99–106.
- 4 The sitologos in Egypt was the collector of the grain tax at the local granary.

107 Restoration of sacred writings to the archives of Nysa. 1 BC. A copy made from a stone long lost, Nysa on the Maeander.

SIG³ 781 I; *RDGE 69 I.

RDGE pp. 348–50.

(I) [--] | when the priest of Roma and of Imperator Caesar Augustus was [Hera|kl]eides (son) of Herakleides from Mastaura, when the stephane-phoros | was Diom[e]des (son) of Athenagoras (son) of Diom[e]des, (who

was) priest | of Jupiter Capitolinus for life, in the month of Gorpiaios the
 5 nine||teenth, on the day before the Ides of August (August 12), in the
 consulship of Cossus [C]o[r]nelius Lentulus | and Lucius (Calpurnius)
 Piso (1 BC), when the secretary of the People was Heli|odoros (son) of
 Maiandrios (son) of Theodotos, who was priest of Tiberius Clau|dius
 Nero¹ for life, Artemidoros, (son) of Demetrios, Papas | (member) of the
 10 city's (board) of generals cared for the restora||tion to the archives of the
 holy writings concerned with the gods | and their inviolability and (their
 right of receiving) suppliants and the tax-exempt status for their tem|ple,²
after he had reported this to <G>naeus Lentulus Augur the procon|sul³ and
 returned the attached letter.⁴ |

1 It should be noted that at this early date there is already a cult of the future emperor Tiberius in the Greek East.

2 This was the temple of Pluto and Kore. Nearby was a sacred cave in which miraculous cures were often experienced by the sick: Strabo 14.1.44.

3 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur had been consul in 14 BC, but did not become governor of Asia until 2/1 BC: Atkinson, *Historia* 327–8.

4 There follows, in the copy of the inscription, the beginning of this letter by Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur to Nysa, but only the salutation and a few mutilated phrases survive.

108 Letter of a governor of Asia concerning a point of law. About AD 4/5 or soon afterwards.

Stone found in Chios.

SIG³ 785, IGRR IV 943; SEG XXII 507; *RDGE 70; cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 46–7; 61.

RDGE pp. 351–3; A. J. Marshall, *GRBS* 10 (1969) 255–71.

[--] hē having been *petitioned* by A[--] | of Staphylos, [--] to the Chian
 envoys (and) read alo|ud a letter of Antistius Vetus,¹ my predecessor as
 5 proconsul, | a most distinguished man. Following my general proce||dure
 of preserving the written files of my predecessors in the proconsulship, to
 keep | safe also the letter of Vetus, which had been produced concerning
 this case, | I considered sensible. And later each party in oppo|sition
 concerning their claims met with me separately, and I lis|tened to them,
 and according to my usual practice requested from each party more
 10 care||fully written memoranda. When I received [these,] I appro|pria-
 tely fixed my attention on them and the oldest (document) I found, in
 order of time, was a sealed copy of a decree of the senate passed when
 Lucius Sulla was consul for the se|cond time (80 BC), in which, after the
 Chians had testified to the actions that they on behalf of the Romans had
 ta|ken bravely against Mithridates and to their suffering at his hands,

109 Greek athletic contests named in honor of Augustus

- 15 the sen||ate specifically confirmed that they were to enjoy the laws and customs and rights | which they had when they entered into friendship with the Romans, and that they should not be subject to any ruling whatsoever | of (Roman) magistrates or promagistrates, and that the Romans among them | should obey Chian laws.² And a letter of Imperator, son of the god, Au|gustus, consul for the eighth time (26 BC), written
20 to the Chians [--||--] the *freedom* for the city | [--]

1 C. Antistius Vetus, consul in 6 BC and governor of Asia about AD 2/3 or 3/4: Atkinson, *Historia* 328.

2 This is a striking point, that resident Romans should be subject to local Chian laws: see Marshall, *loc. cit.* And unfortunately the present letter is incomplete, making it impossible to know the exact nature of the case brought before the unknown governor who wrote this letter. It may have concerned an infringement of the city's freedom or it may have involved a Roman citizen who refused to recognize the jurisdiction of a Chian court.

109 Greek athletic contests named in honor of Augustus and his family. About AD 5.

Base of gray marble, Cos.

SIG³ 1065; IGRR IV 1064; L. Moretti, **Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche* (Rome 1953) no. 60.

Moretti, *op. cit.* pp. 156–9.

- [--] |¹ *victor* at the Nem[ean Games] in the men's | pentathlon; | [at the] Great [Ac]tian Games² of the Imperial family (victor) in the young |
5 men's pentathlon, first of the Coans to do so; || at the Games of [R]oma and Augustus established by | the Koinon of Asia in Pergamum³ | (victor) in the Pythian boys'⁴ pentathlon; | at the Great Games of Asklepios (victor)
10 in the Isthmian boys' | pentathlon; at the Games of the Im||perial family established for Gaius Cae|sar (victor) in the Isthmian boys' stadi|on-race⁵ and pentathlon on the same da|y; at the games of Agrippa⁶ (victor) in the Isthmian (boys') penta|thlon; at the Games of Apollo in Myndos (victor)
15 in the Isthmian bo||ys' stadion-race; at the Dorian Games | in Knidos (victor) in the Pythian boys' | pankration;⁷ at the Games of the Imperial family in Hali|karnassos (victor) in the Isthmian boys' | pentathlon; at
20 the Games of Herakles in Iasos || (victor) in the Isthmian boys' pentath- lon; at the Games of Dionysos in Teos (victor) in the Pythian (boys') pen|tathlon; at the Games of the Imperial family in Sardis | (victor) in the Isthmian boys' pentathlon.

1 In one of the preceding lines would have appeared the name of the athlete being honored by his native city of Cos.

2 These were games established by Augustus, perhaps in 28 or 27 BC, to celebrate his

110 Roman organization of mines and quarries in Egypt

victory at Actium over Antonius and Cleopatra: see Dio 51.1 and Suetonius, *Aug.* 18. For the date of these games see Moretti, *op. cit.* pp. 205–6.

- 3 The worship of Augustus was simply associated with the older cult of the goddess Roma: see above, no. 18.
- 4 'Pythian' and 'Isthmian' in this context refer to age-groups of the athletes. Youngest were the 'Pythian boys' from 12 to 14 years, then the 'Isthmian boys' 14–17 years, and the 'young men' of 17–20. Those who were older were simply 'men'.
- 5 A foot-race the length of the Greek stadium, either half a lap or a full lap.
- 6 I.e. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who was well known to the Greeks because of his proconsular command over the eastern provinces in 16–13 BC: see above, no. 98.
- 7 The pankration was personal combat similar to wrestling: cf. H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1972), 25–6.

110 Early Roman organization of mines and quarries in Egypt. AD 11.

Rectangular stone block over four feet high, decorated with a representation of the Egyptian god Mîn (called Pan by the Greeks) on the upper right side, Wadi Semna in the eastern desert of Egypt.

AE (1910) 207; L. A. Tregenza, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University* (Cairo) 13 (1951–2) p. 40 (+ drawing and photograph); *SB* 10123; **SEG* XX 670, lines 1–22. Cf. Strabo 17.1.45.

J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo 1918) 239–43, 427ff.; Tregenza, *op. cit.* 41–6; M. G. Raschke in *ANRW* 2.9.2, 648–9.

- In the 40th year of Caesar (AD 11), Payni 1. | With good luck. When
- 5 Publius | Iuventius Rufus (was) tribu|ne of the Third Le|gion (Cyrenaica)
 - and prefect of Berenike¹ | and chief superintendent | of the emerald and
 - 10 to|paz mines and the pearls and | all the mines || of Egypt, there was dedi-
 - cated | a temple in Ophiates | to Pan the greatest god | by (?)² Publius
 - 15 Iuventius | Agathopous, *his* freedman, || (on behalf of?)² himself, procur-
 - tor and super|visor and benefactor | of all the mines | of Egypt. *vv* The act
 - 20 of adoration of Ptolemai||os,³ curator of the cohort of Flo|rus, of the cen-
 - tury of Bassus,⁴ who also | set up (the work).⁵

- 1 This prefect was in charge of the whole area between Koptos on the Nile and the Red Sea.
- 2 The Greek grammar in this whole section is confused. The translation here is of only one possibility for what may have been meant. It is not clear who actually set up the inscription, although it would appear to be the freedman Agathapous. There is even a good possibility that Ptolemaios (lines 19–20) set it up.
- 3 His name is spelled 'Tholemaios' on the stone.
- 4 Each Roman legion was composed of ten infantry cohorts, and each cohort was organized into six centuries. Each of the legion's sixty centuries was under the command of a centurion. Thus, Ptolemaios was not the permanent commander of a cohort, since, as 'curator', he was only in temporary command in the absence of Florus. Ptolemaios was

111 *Augustus receives envoys from Alexandria*

merely a simple legionary soldier in the century commanded by the centurion Bassus, but at the present time he was acting-commander of a cohort.

- 5 The 'acts of adoration' of two other men follow this one. They are called 'architects who set up the work'.

111 Minutes of an audience in Rome given by Augustus with his Advisory Board to envoys from Alexandria. First half of AD 13.

Verso of a papyrus of the early first century AD,¹ Oxyrhynchus in Egypt.

**P. Oxy.* 2435, lines 29–61 (+ photograph).

E. G. Turner on *P. Oxy.* 2435, pp. 102–12; A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 154.

- 30 [Roll no. -,]² column 80. Year 42 of Caesar (AD 13), || (month of) [--] the
4th (or 24th), the 9th hour. Au[gustus] sat | in the temple of Apollo | [in
the R]oman Library and *lis|tened* to the envoys of the Alexan[|drians,]
35 and seated with him were Tib[e]rius || [Caesar] and D[r]usus the (son)
of Caesar,³ | [and Va]l[e]rius Messalinus Corvinus⁴ | [--]us and
Ti[--]us Den(?)[--]tor, | [--]us Ma[s]o[ni]us, Titus [--]inus | [--]o,⁵
40 Marcus Avidius Organius,⁶ || [--]sianus (?) T[--.] Alexandros
gave (him) the | *decrees* and said, | ('--' my city sent me | [--] to present to
45 you | [--] and to deliver the decrees || [--] and of Livia | [--] and [of
50 Tib]e[r]ius (?) [Caes]a[r --|--] | *envoys* between [--||] whose *justice* you
decided, we as|k you [--] victory [--|--] v Augustus (said), 'I have seen
it.' | (Shouts)⁷ 'Good luck! Good luck!' After | [this] Timoxenos the
55 orator (said), 'As much || [--] as you grant to the [--|--] lord Augustus,
just so mu|ch also we beg you to grant to *your* A[l]exandrians | today, for
(although) in a manner of speaking | we are here to make a request of
60 you, the truth is || that with all zeal [our city] is worshipping your most
sacred | [Fortune] and [--']

1 The recto of this papyrus contains a speech, punctuated by applause, of an unnamed 'imperator' to the citizens of Alexandria. He is almost certainly Germanicus Caesar, adopted son of Tiberius.

2 The present document was merely one of very many others included in a papyrus roll, which was itself one of a large collection of such rolls.

3 These two are the future emperor Tiberius and his natural son Drusus.

4 This is the consul of 3 BC, the son of the famous orator M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (consul in 31 BC) who had fought at Philippi on the side of Brutus and Cassius but had later joined Octavian. The son, after his consulship, became governor of Illyricum and campaigned with Tiberius against King Maroboduus, winning the *ornamenta triumphalia* ('triumphal decorations').

5 All names in lines 37–8 are uncertain.

6 The editors decided to treat the papyrus reading 'Organios' as an error for 'Orgolanios',

making him the father or brother of the Urgulania in Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.34; 4.21–2) who was an intimate of the Imperial family.

- 7 Perhaps from the envoys or, more likely, from bystanders. These shouts are familiar from the later so-called Acts of the pagan martyrs: see H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford 1954).

112 Augustus sets up the final report of his accomplishments in the Greek East. Composed AD 12–14.

Extract from his *Res Gestae*.

J. Gagé, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*³ (Paris 1977) (+ photographs); H. Volkmann, **Res Gestae Divi Augusti*³ (Berlin 1969) Chapters 26–33.

- (Col. 5, lines 18ff.; chapter 26, section 5) By my order and under my auspices there were led | [two]¹ armies at almost the same time into
 20 Aethiopia and Ar[a]bia, which is ca||lled Blessed, and *great forces* of the enemy from both nations | were cut down in battle and *many* towns were captured: in Aethiopia it was as far as the *to|wn* of Nabata that they advanced, next to which is Meroe.² In Arabia it was as far | as the frontier of the Sabaei, to the town of Mariba that the army marched.³ | (27, 1) I added Egypt to the empire of the [Ro]man People. (27, 2) Greater Armenia, at
 25 the assassi||nation of its king Artaxes, *when* I could have made it a province, I preferred, | following the example of our ancestors, to hand it over as a kingdom to Tigranes, son of King Artavasdes and grandson | of King Tigranes, acting through T[iberius Ne]ro,¹ who was at that time my stepson.⁴ | This same nation when it later revolted and rebelled, but was pacified by Gaius, | my son, I handed over to King Ariobarzanes, son of
 30 King Artabazus of the Medes, to be ru||led (by him) and after his death by his son Artavasdes. When he was assassinated, I sent Tig[ra]|nes,¹ who was sprung from the royal family of the Armenians, into that kingdom.⁵ (27, 3) The pro|vinces, all those which lie to the east across the Hadriatic Sea, as well as Cyre|ne, with kings possessing them for the most part, and even earlier Sicily and | Sardinia, which had been seized in the Slave War,
 35 (all these) I recovered. || (28, 1) I established colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, [M]acedonia, the two Spains, Achai[a,] Asia, S[y]ria, | Gallia Narbonensis, and Pi[si]dia. (28, 2) And Italy has 28 *coloni|es* which have become very much frequented and populous during my lifetime, (all) by my [authority]¹ | established. | (29, 1) Very many military standards,
 40 *lost* by other commanders, I *recovered*, after defeating the enemy, || from Spain and [Gaul and the Dalm]atians.¹ (29, 2) I forced the Parthians to *return* three Roman armies' | spoils and standards⁶ to me and to beg as suppliants for the friendship of the Roman People. | And these standards to the inner shrine, which is in the temple of Mars the Avenger, | I restored. | (30, 1) The tribes of the Pannonians, whom before me as leader of

- 45 the Roman People an army⁷ had ne||ver approached, were conquered (by me) through Tiberius [Ne]ro, who was at that time my stepson and legate, | and I added them to the empire of the Roman People and extended the frontier of Illyricum to the bank of the River | Danube.⁸ (30, 2) When an army of [D]a[cians]¹ crossed to this side of that (river), under my *auspices* it was defeated and utterly destroy|ed, and later my *army* crossed the Dan[u]be and [forced]¹ the Da[cian] | tribes [to submit to]¹
- 50 the commands of the R[oman]¹ P[eo]ple.⁹ || (31, 1) To me [embassies of kings were often sent]¹ from In[di]a, not seen before this]¹ *age* | in the presence of *any commander* of the R[omans].¹ (31, 2) Our *friendship* was *sought* | through envoys by the B[a]starnians and [Scythians]¹ and by kings of the Sarmatians, who live [on this side of]¹ the River | Tanais (Don) [and] beyond it, and by the king of the [Alba]nians¹ and of the Iberians *and* [of the Medes.]¹ | (32, 1) To me kings fled as suppliants: of the Parthians, Tirida[te]s and later Phrat[es,] || (Col. 6) son of King Phrate[s;] of the Medes, Ar[tavasdes; of the Adiabeni]ans,¹ A[r]taxa[re]s; of the Britons, Dumnobellaunus and Tin[commius; of the Sugambr]ians,¹ | Maelo; of the Mar[c]omanian Suebians, [--rus.]¹ (32, 2) To [me the] king of the Parthians, | Phrates son of Orodes, sent all his sons [and]
- 5 grandsons into Italy, not || (because he was) conquered in war, but because he sought our friendship through the pledges | of his *children*.¹⁰ (32, 3) And very many other nations made *trial* of the good faith [of the Roman People,]¹ under me as their lea|der, for which earlier [there had existed no]¹ exchange with the Roman People of embassies | and friendship. | (33, 1) From me the nations of the Parthians and Medes, [through
- 10 envoys]¹ (composed of) the leading men of their na||tions, received their kings when they asked for them: the Par[thians, Vonones]¹ son of [King Ph]rates,¹ | grandson of King Orodes; the Medes, Arioba[rzanes]¹ son of King Artavazdes, | grandson of King Ariobarzanes. |

When Augustus died on September 19, AD 14, at Nola in Campania at the age of 76, a meeting of the senate was called by Tiberius, and various papers written by Augustus were read aloud. These included, among several other items, an account of his *Res Gestae* ('Accomplishments'): Suetonius, *Aug.* 101; Dio 56.33. In these papers Augustus specified that his *Res Gestae* were to be engraved on bronze tablets and set up before his mausoleum. These tablets have never been found, but copies of the text have come to light in the province of Galatia. The fullest of these copies was discovered in the sixteenth century at Ancyra, and it included the Latin along with a translation into Greek. Further fragments since then have been found at Pisidian Antioch (Latin only, very fragmentary) and at Apollonia, also in Pisidia (Greek only, very fragmentary). The translation given here was made from the Latin copy found at Ancyra, which extended over six columns of text engraved on the inside wall of the pronaos of the temple of Roma and Augustus. The Greek translation was engraved on the outside of the right temple wall. Only those chapters are presented here which pertain to the Greek East, but there are thirty-five chapters in all. Modern citation is regularly by chapter and section rather than by column and line

number, but both methods are employed here. The best modern commentary is the one by Gagé. The edition of the Latin with translation and short commentary by P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Oxford 1967)) should be used with great caution because of the authors' failure to present a proper text.

- 1 The restoration is assured by the remains of the Greek translation.
- 2 This is the campaign of C. Petronius, while prefect of Egypt, in 24–22 BC: Strabo 17.1.54; Dio 54.4ff.
- 3 This is the campaign of Aelius Gallus, prefect in Egypt, in 25–24 BC: Strabo 16.4.22–4; Dio 53.29.3ff.
- 4 Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.3; Suetonius, *Tib.* 9; Dio 54.9.4ff.
- 5 Suetonius, *Aug.* 21; Dio 55.10a.4–8; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.4.
- 6 These were lost in 53 BC with the defeat of Crassus, in 40 BC with the death of Decidius Saxa, and in 36 BC with the retreat of Marcus Antonius.
- 7 Alternate translation: 'no army of the Roman People before me as leader', but see L. W. Wickert in *ANRW* 2.1.16–25.
- 8 The first Pannonian campaign of 12–9 BC which brought the *ornamenta triumphalia* ('triumphal decorations') to Tiberius: Velleius Paterculus 2.96.3; Suetonius, *Tib.* 9.2; Dio 54.31.4; and 55.2.4.
- 9 Dio 54.36.2; Strabo 7.3.11; Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.1; Suetonius, *Tib.* 7; Florus 2.28.19.
- 10 Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.3; 43.4; Strabo 6.4.2; 16.1.28; Velleius Paterculus 2.94.4; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.1.

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Advisory Board. Roman magistrates regularly sought the advice of the senate before making important public decisions. Thus, the senate acted as a *consilium publicum* ('Public Advisory Board'). Magistrates away from Rome and promagistrates formed smaller boards from the members of their staff and entourage. Sometimes the senate itself supplied a magistrate with such a board for use on a particular occasion. Augustus also instituted a different kind of Advisory Board for his own use, consisting of senators who served as a standing committee for six months and whose main business was the preparation of agenda for presentation to the senate. This latter type of board was discontinued under Tiberius. See J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge 1965).

Agora. The open square at the heart of a Greek city, where people could gather for political or commercial activity. In it were located the main public buildings.

Amphictiones ('Those dwelling around'). These were religious associations or unions connected with temples and their cults. Largest and most important politically was the Amphictionic League, the council of which, composed of representatives from various Greek states, met at Delphi. See Ehrenberg, *State* 108–12.

Bireme. A Greek ship (Greek *dikrotos*) with two banks of oarsmen. See J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Oxford 1968) 194 and 310.

Boule ('Council'). Best known is the one at Athens, which in classical times consisted of 500 members selected by lot from the demes, each of the ten tribes being represented by 50 men in the Boule. Its chief task was to prepare the agenda for the Ekklesia ('Assembly'). The increase in the number of Athenian tribes to twelve in 307/6 BC raised the membership to 600. At that time a few other administrative changes were made, but the basic mechanism of the Boule working with the Ekklesia was retained. In 83 BC Sulla caused a change to be made in the government, which permitted the Boule to take decisions unilaterally without final approval by the Ekklesia. Outside Athens most of the Greek cities had a Boule or an equivalent institution as long as they remained democratic. The duties and functions were similar to those of the Athenian Boule, although the number of members, the length of their tenure, and other details varied considerably. For Athens: P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972), and D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, *Hesperia*, Supplement XII (Princeton 1967); for outside Athens: Busolt, *Staatskunde* I 465ff.

Capitulum. One of the hills of Rome, with two summits. On one of them, overlooking the Tiber to the west and the Forum to the east, was the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. It was the very heart and soul of Rome, where the consuls took their vows, and triumphal generals climbed its heights to approach the temple. On its northern summit was the temple of Juno Moneta with an adjoining building that served as the mint.

Censor. These magistrates relieved the consuls of taking the census, which came to include control over the moral life of the Roman people. The two censors held office for eighteen months, with an interval of four or, later, normally five years before the next election. Re-election was forbidden. After taking the census, they saw to the

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proper registration of all citizens in their tribes and centuries. They also compiled the lists of senators and equites and could remove men from those lists for reasons stated. Another of their important functions was to let out state contracts with the publicans for public works and the collection of public revenue. Eventually the office became one of even greater dignity than the consulship itself, and, with hardly any exceptions, was held only by ex-consuls. See Greenidge, *Public Life* 115–16; Meyer, *Staat* 71–2, 164–70, 183–5; J. Suolahti, *The Roman Censors* (Helsinki 1963).

Centurion. Each Roman legion had sixty non-commissioned officers called centurions, their relative rank depending on their position in the legion's ten cohorts and on their own seniority.

Cognomen. See Appendix on Roman names.

Comitium. An open area for political assembly in Republican Rome, located just north of the Forum proper. One of its central features was the Rostra, i.e. the Speaker's Platform.

Consul. The highest regularly elected magistrates of the Roman Republic. Two were elected annually by the People, giving their names to the year. The minimum age, fixed by the Villian Law of 180 BC, was forty-two, and in the late Republic a ten-year interval was required before the office could be held a second time. Their imperium (military and civil authority) in the field was unrestricted, but in the city of Rome it was defined or limited by specific statutes and in practice by the assignment of special functions to other magistrates. After Sulla (81 BC) the consuls usually remained in Rome or Italy, and the foreign commands were usually given to promagistrates. See Greenidge, *Public Life* 196–202; Meyer, *Staat* 156–8.

Demes. These were townships in Attica or wards within the city of Athens and its suburbs. By the Hellenistic period the number of Attic demes reached about 170. Since membership in a deme was necessary for citizenship, the deme was included in a citizen's full name (cf. no. 23, lines 12–13). Although best known at Athens, the institution existed elsewhere in the Greek world, especially in the Ionian cities. See Busolt, *Staatskunde* I 262–72; J. S. Traill, *Political Organization of Attica, Hesperia*, Supplement XIV (Princeton 1975).

Denarius. A Roman silver coin which in the course of the second century BC came to be regarded as equivalent to the Attic drachma. It became the standard silver piece of Republican Rome and weighed about one-seventh of an ounce (3.90 grams).

Dictator. In the early and middle Republic he was a magistrate superior to the consuls, appointed in emergencies or for a special and limited purpose, and never in office for more than six months. The dictatorship was weakened in 217 BC when it was granted by election instead of by consular appointment, and after 202 BC no dictator in the old sense was ever appointed. By a bill introduced into the Roman Assembly Sulla was made dictator with special powers to reorganize the Roman constitution: 81–79 BC. After Caesar's march on Rome and down to his death (49–44 BC) the dictatorship was given to Caesar four times, the fourth dictatorship for life. He made it the foundation of his arbitrary power to control the state. After his assassination the dictatorship was banned forever. See H. Last in *CAH* 9.282–4 (Sulla); F. E. Adcock in *CAH* 9.731–5 (Caesar); E. S. Staveley, *Historia* 5 (1956) 101ff.

Dionysiac Artists. These were professional actors and musical performers who presented the great dramas and comedies in Athens at the various religious festivals. In the Hellenistic age they organized themselves into a guild called the Synodos of Dionysiac Artists in Athens. They traveled over all Attica and elsewhere in central Greece to perform at the festivals. Similar guilds or associations developed quickly alongside the Athenian, including one in Egypt and another in Asia Minor. Each had its own headquarters in a Greek city, and all of them enjoyed a wide variety of privileges and immu-

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nities. Since they lived in or side by side with Greek cities, each was a kind of state within a state. See Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford 1968), Chapter 7.

Drachma A standard of weight as well as of silver coinage. The smallest unit of weight and coinage was the obol (on the Attic-Euboic standard about 0.72 grams), and there were six obols to a drachma, 100 drachmas to a mina, and 60 minas to a talent. Its value in the Hellenistic age varied greatly from place to place and time to time. The drachma came to be regarded as equivalent to the Roman denarius.

Ekklesia ('Assembly'). The sovereign body of a Greek democratic state, best known to us at Athens. It acted upon the agenda placed before it by committeemen (prytaneis) from the Boule, approving, amending or rejecting the proposals. In the Hellenistic age it was still the sovereign body, but after Sulla's measures in 83 BC meetings of the Athenian Ekklesia were no longer necessary until 48 BC, since the Boule in that period could make decisions on its own. Caesar restored democratic government, but Antonius suppressed it. Outside of Athens the institution existed in all Greek democratic states, although each city had its own development, its own nomenclature, and its own procedures, often different from the model in Athens. See P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) *passim*, and D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution After Sulla, Hesperia*, Supplement XI (Princeton 1967); for outside of Athens see Busolt, *Staatskunde* I 442ff.

Ephebes. Young men (18–20) of citizen families in a Greek city, undergoing organized military and gymnastic training. In Athens this training began about 335 BC. In the Hellenistic age this Athenian institution was gradually transformed into a peacetime school of a single year's duration, in which the sons of wealthy citizens received their physical and intellectual education. From Athens it spread quickly to other Greek states. The central feature was the gymnasium, the director of which was called the *kosmetes* in Athens but the gymnasiarch in most other cities. The gymnasiarch was generally one of the wealthiest citizens of the city, for the position came to require the expenditure of private funds for the school and was, thus, a liturgy. The school itself was sometimes called a palaestra ('wrestling ground'), but more often simply the gymnasium. Alongside this institution there were also young men's clubs called *Neoi*, which had their own schools. See C. A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education* (New York 1929); *idem*, *Neoi, A Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations* (New York 1933); H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Toronto 1956) 151–64; J. Delorme, *Gymnasion: Études sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris 1960).

Equites ('Knights'). The old Republican order of Equites was an elite body of 1800 cavalrymen recruited from the aristocratic families. By the second century their military role had been reduced largely to ceremony, but the social prestige remained. The growth of non-senatorial wealth caused the emergence of a middle class whose members called themselves Equites, although they did not belong to the 1800. Many of them were publicans or negotiators ('businessmen'), but others simply lived as country gentlemen, while still others entered politics and became senators. In the late Republic they were almost equal to the senators in social prestige, and Augustus found a place for them in the new political structure. See H. Hill, *The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period* (Oxford 1952); C. Nicolet, *L'ordre I–II*; Badian, *Publicans* 82ff.

Forum. The main public square in Rome, surrounded by the great public buildings and temples, bounded on the south by the Palatine Hill and on the west by the Capitoline.

Gymnasiarch. See under Ephebes.

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Hieromnemon. A religious official with various functions in different parts of the Greek world. He was usually one of a group such as those who represented their cities at meetings of the Amphictionic League at Delphi. In some cities he seems to have been an eponymous magistrate.

Ides. See Appendix on Greek and Roman chronology.

Imperator. A generic title for Roman commanders which became a special title of honor. After a victory in the field, the general was hailed as imperator by his soldiers, and he held the title until the end of his magistracy or until his triumph in Rome. Occasionally the senate seems to have given or confirmed the title. The growing power of the army in the late Republic made the title a symbol of military authority. Caesar was the first to use it permanently, and Augustus adopted it as a praenomen. Later it became part of the nomenclature of every Roman emperor. See R. Syme, *Historia* 7 (1958) 172–88 (*Roman Papers* I 361–77); R. Combès, *Imperator: Recherches sur l'emploi et la signification du titre d'Imperator dans la Rome républicaine* (Paris 1966).

Kalends. See Appendix on Greek and Roman chronology.

Koinon. A general term (pl. *koina*) for almost any kind of association, public or private.

When used to describe a government or a federal state it means 'Commonwealth'.

Often it conveys the notion of 'Confederacy' or 'League'. The term implies an organization of size with provisions for meetings, regular officials, secretaries, etc. Of particular importance were the provincial *koina*, which were assemblies of delegates from the constituent cities or tribes within a Roman province (such as Asia) or of several associated provinces which earlier had belonged to independent kingdoms or states (such as Bithynia or Lycia). The nature and function of such provincial *koina* varied from province to province, but their delegates ordinarily met once a year in some central city and their primary function in the late Republic came to be the worship of the goddess Roma (cf. no. 18) and finally of Roma and Augustus. Games and festivals were often associated with the religious ceremonies. These provincial *koina* also played a political and diplomatic role, serving as avenues of communication between Rome and the provinces. See J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley 1955) 23–5; Ehrenberg, *State* 110, 121–4; J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1965).

Legate. The Republican *legati* ('ambassadors' of the senate and the Roman People) were regularly senators not in office who accompanied provincial governors or generals in the field and who often had personal connections with them. Various kinds of duty – military, judicial or administrative – were delegated to them by their superior. An innovation took place in 67 BC when, under the Gabinian Law, Pompey was entitled to appoint *legati pro praetore* (legates with praetorian imperium) for his campaign against the pirates. See B. Schleussner, *Die Legaten der römischen Republik*, Vestigia 26 (Munich 1978).

Liturgy. Liturgies were public services performed by the wealthy citizens in Greek cities. They were compulsory and often very expensive, the incumbents defraying the costs out of their own funds. But ambitious politicians often volunteered to perform them out of turn. They varied from city to city, but could include choregoi to pay for the training of choruses for musical and dramatic festivals, envoys to represent the cities on missions to foreign states, gymnasiarchs to employ and pay trainers for the gymnasium, etc. The number of these liturgies grew larger in the course of the Hellenistic age. See H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece*² (Cambridge 1957) 375ff.; Magie, *RRAM* I 61–2, 651–8.

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Nomen. See Appendix on Roman names.

Nones. See Appendix on Greek and Roman chronology.

Palaestra See under Ephebes.

Patron. From Rome's early history the weak or deprived turned to the strong or wealthy for protection. When such a 'client' found such a 'patron' to satisfy his needs, a series of strong mutual duties bound them together, each pledged to help the other in his own way. One of the most common ways of forming this relationship was the freeing of slaves by their master, the *liberti* ('freedmen') then becoming the legal clients of their former master. The relationship was hereditary. The duties, based on moral ties, included mutual trust, protection, friendship, and support in the world of politics and law. This patron-client relationship played an important role in the means by which the aristocratic nobles gained and held political power. During the last two centuries of the Republic the institution spread over the provinces, when Roman senators became patrons of whole cities or communities as well as of individuals outside of Italy and especially in the Greek East. The Roman ruling class was very successful in exploiting these foreign connections to its own advantage. Cf. Dion. Hal. 2.9-11; Twelve Tables 8.21; Terence, *Andria* 924ff., and *Eunuchus* 1039ff. See M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility*, trans. R. Seager (Oxford 1969) 62ff.; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) *passim*; Badian, *FC* 1ff.; Bowersock, *Augustus* 1ff.

People. See under Ekklesia.

Pontifex Maximus. The chief priest of the Roman state religion, elected (in the late Republic) by tribal vote for life. Among his other duties, he presided over the college of pontifices, chose the Vestal Virgins, and presided over the Curiate Assembly. He had an office in the Regia, on the traditional site of the house of the Roman kings, at the eastern end of the Roman Forum. Both Caesar and Augustus were elected to the office, and thereafter it was held by each of the emperors until Christianity became the state religion. See Lily Ross Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley 1961) 90-7.

Praenomen. See Appendix on Roman names.

Praetor. Originally the name given to the two eponymous Roman magistrates who were later (perhaps toward the end of the fourth century BC) officially called consuls. In 366 BC a further praetor (*praetor urbanus*, i.e. 'city praetor') was first elected who was not eponymous and he was made responsible for the administration of justice in Rome. He also possessed and sometimes used the right of military command; he could summon the Roman People to Assembly and initiate legislation; he could summon the senate to a meeting and also supervise the defense of Rome in the absence of the consuls. About 242 BC a second praetor (*praetor peregrinus*, i.e. 'peregrine praetor') was created to handle lawsuits involving foreigners. Both of them were elected annually by the People. Because of the acquisition of overseas provinces the activities of the praetors were expanded, so that in 227 BC their number was increased from two to four, to provide for the government of Sicily and Sardinia, and to six in 197 BC, to govern Spain. The Villian Law of 180 BC fixed their minimum age at 39. By exercising the supreme authority in the provinces, the praetors once more became military magistrates, and gradually the difference of power between them and the consuls decreased, although they always remained subordinate to the consuls. Sulla increased their number to eight and made all of them stay in Rome, permitting them to become provincial governors only as promagistrates after the expiration of their year in office. His reform was abolished in the age of Augustus. See Greenidge, *Public Law* 120-1 and 202-8; Meyer, *Staat* 86-8 and 161-4; E. S. Staveley, *Historia* 5 (1956) 90ff.

Principes. A term used to describe a leading personage within the Roman Republican ruling class. Augustus adopted the term to describe his own role within the constitution, i.e. as 'first man' or 'Leader', distinguishing him from any ordinary magistrate in

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office. See M. Hammond, *The Augustan Principate* (Cambridge, Mass. 1933); L. Wickert in *RE s.v.* Princeps, cols. 1998ff., and in *ANRW* 2.1.3ff.

Proconsul. See under Promagistrate.

Procurator. Literally 'manager' or 'deputy in charge', the term designated an individual given a wide variety of functions or duties by and on behalf of another or others. As the emperor's property and business began to coalesce with the State's, the procurators came to be appointed for some public posts and their numbers and duties increased steadily. Cf. no. 110. See A. N. Sherwin-White in *PBSR* 1939, 11ff.; H. G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres* (Paris 1950); for their careers, as far as then known, see the same author's *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (4 vols., Paris 1960-1); A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (New York 1960) 19ff.

Promagistrate. The use of promagistrates was a device which allowed the Romans to increase the number of qualified men in military commands without adding to the number of annually elected magistrates in office. By a legal fiction an ex-magistrate was originally given the power to act as if he were a consul or praetor or quaestor in office. As proconsul or propraeitor or proquaestor his services were used in a variety of ways, usually in some military command. The practice began in 326 BC and was used thereafter whenever necessary for military purposes and it became routine for the senate alone to approve it. After 146 BC, when the number of provinces was greatly increased, some provincial governors were either proconsuls or praetors. In 52 BC Pompey saw to the passage of a law which required that between a magistracy and a promagisterial command an interval of time had to elapse, perhaps as long as five years (Dio 40.46). This had the result of making the promagistracy virtually independent of the magistracy itself, a condition similar to what happened in 210 BC when the young P. Cornelius Scipio (later Africanus) was elected proconsul, although previously he had never held any office higher than that of aedile. Caesar claimed that Pompey's move was unconstitutional, but Augustus adapted Pompey's idea to his own system of senatorial provinces administered by proconsuls, whether they were of praetorian or consular rank. See W. F. Jashemski, *The Origins and History of the Proconsular and Propraetorian Imperium* (Chicago 1950).

Proxenos. A citizen of a Greek city could be made proxenos ('public friend' or state 'guest') to represent the interests of a foreign state in his own city. He would be chosen to act as proxenos by the foreign state and would usually be granted certain honors and privileges in return. It was a status much respected in the fifth and fourth centuries throughout the Greek world, but already in the fourth century it had begun to lose some of its original significance. In Hellenistic times it gradually degenerated into a reward for previous actions, often only as a conventional honor granted to important foreigners, although occasionally it was still felt to exist for its original purpose. See F. Gschnitzer in *RE s.v.* Proxenos, Supplement XIII (1973) cols. 629-730.

Prytany. See Appendix on Greek and Roman chronology.

Publicans. Non-senatorial citizens who bought the state contracts for public works and for collecting the revenues. With the great profits made (especially) in the overseas provinces they formed a large part of the new middle class in Roman society and in the first century BC called themselves Equites. By re-investing their profits they became extremely wealthy and by the second century BC had already begun to exert political pressure. In the first century they were the most powerful pressure group outside the senate. They formed companies and expanded their operations to almost all areas of the Republican empire. See G. Ürögdi in *RE s.v.* Publicani, Supplement XI (1968) cols. 1846ff.; Badian, *Publicans*.

Quaestor. Roman magistrates elected annually by the People. Originally two, they were gradually increased until Sulla raised the number to twenty. Caesar raised it to forty,

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but Augustus returned it to twenty. They were basically in charge of finance, the two urban quaestors in Rome being in charge of the aerarium ('treasury'), but they could be given other duties of a civil, military or judicial nature. With the acquisition of overseas provinces their services were required to handle the provincial funds. Although normally lacking the military power of imperium, a quaestor was sometimes endowed with it as quaestor pro praetore and left in a position of authority, in case of the death or early departure of a provincial governor, until his successor could arrive. See Greenidge, *Public Life* 80–1, 212–16, 369; Meyer, *Staat* 38–9, 87–8, 177–8.

Savior and Benefactor. Originally applied to the gods by the Greeks, the word *soter* ('savior') was later used to describe men who were thought to have saved or delivered their city or people from some danger. In Hellenistic times it was most often used of the kings in Ptolemaic Egypt and elsewhere in the Greek East. Although it was used to honor these kings, it did not imply divinity in and of itself. It was often coupled with the word *euergetes* ('benefactor') to add still greater honor. With the advance of Rome and the end of the Hellenistic monarchies, these same words were given by the Greeks to their new masters: men like T. Quinctius Flamininus (no. 6), Pompey (no. 75), Julius Caesar (no. 79), and Augustus. See A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World II*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) 720–35.

Senate. The Republican senate was a council of 300 members down to the time of Sulla, who increased it to 600. Caesar added 300 more, but Augustus again reduced it to 600. Entrance was regulated by the consuls and later by the censors, but from the time of Sulla the holding of the quaestorship brought with it a seat in the senate. Meetings were called by a consul, praetor or dictator who then became the presiding officer. As an advisory body, the senate voted on whatever proposals the presiding officer brought before it. Its decision was called a *senatus consultum* ('decree of the senate'). In strict law, such decrees were not binding, but because of the senate's prestige, they were felt to be binding and were acted upon as if they were. The senate thus gave advice to the magistrates about all important matters such as foreign and domestic policy, religion, finance and legislation to be proposed to the People. Foreign envoys were brought before it to lodge complaints or to make requests. It appointed special commissions to organize new territorial acquisitions or to arbitrate between cities or groups foreign and domestic. It made the practical decisions of war and peace, even though formal declarations of war and the ratification of treaties belonged to the People. Meetings were in private, but the doors were open. Freedom of speech was unlimited, but a strict order of speaking was followed according to the rank of the senators. Voting was done by the division of members into two bodies, one for and one against the proposal. Each decree was carefully recorded and deposited in the state archives, the aerarium Saturni. As the body from which the candidates were selected for the holding of all the higher magistracies, the senate thus occupied a position of great power and authority over almost all branches of the government. See Greenidge, *Public Life* 261ff., 377ff.; O'Brian Moore in *RE s.v. Senatus*, Supplement VI (1935) cols. 660ff.; Meyer, *Staat* 202–15.

Sestertius. A Roman silver coin and unit of account, four of which were equal to the denarius.

Stele. A square or rectangular slab of stone, placed in an upright position for public viewing, with a smooth front surface for the engraving of epitaphs, decrees, laws or other material of a public or private nature. A stone stele containing an important text often reproduces in miniature the architrave of a temple with acroteria, pediment and molding, and may contain engraved reliefs of various kinds. Like the lettering itself, these stelai show patterns of style and development along geographical and

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chronological lines. See J. Kirchner, *Imagines inscriptionum Atticarum*² (Berlin 1948), and, for the archaeological criteria, Möbius in *RE* s.v. Stele, cols. 2307–20.

Stephanephoros ('wreath-wearer'). This official was an eponymous magistrate in the Greek East, especially common in the Ionian cities of the western parts of Asia Minor and on the islands of the Aegean. He is best known to us at Miletus, where the inscriptional remains are sufficient to allow some chronological deductions. See Magie, *RRAM* II 836–9, n. 23; A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Milet 3) (Berlin and Leipzig 1914) 241ff.

Stoichedon. A style of Greek engraving in which the letters are in both vertical and horizontal alignment and are placed at equal intervals along their alignment, with each line falling letter by letter underneath the line above, as on a typewritten page. It survived well into the third century, although after c. 200 BC only isolated examples occur, most of them outside Athens. See R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1938), and the additional observations of M. J. Osborne in *ZPE* 10 (1973) 249–70.

Strategoi. From the very early times the strategos ('general') was a most important official in almost every Greek city-state, and in Athens during the fifth century he had political as well as military power. In the Hellenistic age many Greek cities, especially in Asia Minor, had a board of strategoi, originally in charge of military affairs but gradually transformed into civil officials whose duties differed from city to city. Apart from these city strategoi, the Hellenistic monarchs also appointed strategoi with a wide range of duties. The heads of Greek leagues were often called strategoi. And the word was also used to translate into Greek the Latin 'praetor'. See Hignett, *Athenian Constitution* 244–51; D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution After Sulla, Hesperia*, Supplement XII (Princeton 1967) 18–31; H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der Hellenistischen Zeit* I–III (Munich 1937–52).

Tetradrachma. A four-drachma silver coin, the most common silver coin in the Hellenistic age.

Tribes. The Roman tribes were territorial divisions of the citizens, four of them (Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, Palatina) in the city of Rome itself and the remaining thirty-one originally in the rest of Italy. The number of thirty-five was reached in 241 BC and was never increased. The territorial expansion of the Republican empire in Italy and then overseas simply resulted in an extension of already existing tribal territories, often without regard for contiguity. Each citizen had to belong to a tribe (cf. no. 86, line 24), and the tribal designation was part of his full name, placed before the cognomen. It was through the tribal organization that voting and other civic duties were performed: the tribes were used for census, taxation and the military draft. See W. Kubitschek, *De Romanorum tribuum origine ac propagatione* (Vienna 1882); Lily Ross Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*, American Academy in Rome: Papers and Monographs XX (Rome 1960).

Tribune of the Plebs. These were officials elected annually by the Roman plebeians, originally to defend them and to help them obtain civic rights. Ten in number, they enjoyed personal inviolability, had the right of veto against any act of the state or its magistrates with the exception of the dictator, and had the power of enforcing their actions on behalf of the plebeians. They summoned plebeians to their assemblies and presided over them, passing most Roman routine legislation. In the third century they acquired the right to convene the senate, and by the late second century election to the tribunate qualified the holder to become a member of the senate (cf. no. 16, lines 1–2). Because of the power of their veto and their control over legislation they were regularly courted or abused by the contending factions in Roman politics from the time of

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the Gracchi to the end of the Republic. See Greenidge, *Public Life* 93ff.; Meyer, *Staat, Index, s.v.*; J. Bleicken, *Das Volkstribunat der klassischen Republik*² (Munich 1968).

Tribune of the Soldiers. In the Republican army each legion had six military tribunes, officers elected annually by the People, whose duties were primarily administrative and who rarely ever commanded troops in the field. In the Caesarian period these tribunes were mainly of equestrian origin, and only the tribunes of the four *legiones urbanae* ('city legions') were elected by the People, the remainder being appointed by the various commanders. Their importance declined with the growing use of legionary legates.

Tribunician Power. The 'power of the (plebeian) tribune' included all the rights enjoyed by the tribunes of the plebs (see above). Augustus, who (as a Patrician) could not be tribune of the plebs, recognized its political potential within the structure of his new order, and in 23 BC his possession of it became annual by a law of the People (*Res Gestae* 10.1). Thereafter it was found to be a convenient way of dating documents and coins. In 18 BC Augustus used the tribunician power to introduce a series of Julian Laws, and in that same year caused the senate to grant it to Agrippa. It was later conferred on Tiberius as his designated successor. Subsequent emperors held and used it as a means to express their imperial position and to date the years of their reign. See W. K. Lacey, *JRS* 69 (1979) 28–34.

Tireme. A Greek warship (Greek *trieres*), light in weight, with slim lines, about 115–120 feet long and 16–20 feet wide, drawing less than four feet of water, so called because there were three oarsmen to each rowing station. See J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge 1968).

Triumviri ('Board of Three'). The title was given by the Romans to various boards of three men who held certain public positions, such as those in charge of the mint or those in charge of the assignment of particular areas of land. But in November of 43 BC a new use of the old title appeared, when M. Antonius, M. Lepidus and Octavian were appointed triumvirs for five years 'for the constitution of the Republic' by a bill passed into law by the People. This gave each of them the absolute power of a dictator such as Sulla and Caesar, and it was later renewed for a second term of five years, although by then Lepidus had *de facto* dropped out. These years are usually called the Triumviral period. Cf. Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1 and 7; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 4.2–3; Dio 46.54–6; Livy, *Per.* 120. See T. Rice Holmes, *Architect of the Roman Empire* I (Oxford 1928) 72ff., 231ff.; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 188ff.; F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973) 50–4.

APPENDIX I

Roman names

A Roman citizen's official name by the late Republic normally had five parts, arranged in a particular order: praenomen, nomen, filiation, tribe, and cognomen. The praenomen was given to infants by their parents on the ninth day after birth, and there were not very many of these praenomina to choose from. Among the Roman ruling class only the following were in common use:

A. = Aulus	M. = Marcus	Sex. = Sextus
Ap. = Appius	M' = Manius	Sp. = Spurius
C. = Gaius	Mam. = Mamercus	T. = Titus
Cn. = Gnaeus	P. = Publius	Ti. = Tiberius
D. = Decimus	Q. = Quintus	
L. = Lucius	Ser. = Servius	

This praenomen, regularly abbreviated in official documents, was followed by the nomen, which was the clan name. The clan (gens) was a group of families linked together by a common name and their belief in a common ancestor. Since the clan formed the basis for the organization of political life in the Republic, the nomen is perhaps the single most important part of a Roman citizen's nomenclature.

After the nomen comes the filiation, always abbreviated in official documents: f(ilius) = 'son' and sometimes n(epos) = 'grandson'. Thus: L.f.(L.n.) = 'son of Lucius, (grandson of Lucius)'. In the case of a freedman, the word lib(ertus) = 'freedman' was preceded by the praenomen of the patron, who had freed him: e.g., C. lib. = 'freedman of Gaius'.

Since every Roman citizen had to belong to a tribe, the tribal affiliation regularly became part of his official name, and stood at this point in it. For the tribes see the Glossary.

The fifth and last part of a Roman's normal official name was the cognomen. Some Romans, in the period covered in this volume, never had cognomina. Others, who did have them, did not include them in official documents on a regular basis. Their inclusion in such documents does not become common until the first century BC. They were personal names and had specific meanings, concerned with physical peculiarities (e.g. Laevinus = 'left-handed'), individual characteristics (Cato = 'sagacious'), occupations (Pictor = 'painter'), etc. These were normally, but not always, hereditary. To these cognomina members of the ruling class sometimes added a 'triumphal' name, such as Asiaticus or Africanus, when a man's accomplishments were thought to warrant it. These too could become hereditary. In the cases of adoption, when a man received his adoptive father's name, he officially added his old nomen in an adjectival form after his new cognomen. E.g., when C. Octavius was adopted by the dictator C. Iulius Caesar in Caesar's testament, he became officially C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus.

The full use of these names in the prescribed form was the hallmark of a Roman citizen. Non-citizens who acquired the citizenship had to conform to the official usage: see Badian, *FC* 253ff., for details on this point.

In the late Republic members of the ruling class sometimes introduced deliberate variations into this official structure of a Roman name, to stress their distinction. See R. Syme in *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-88 (*Roman Papers* I 361-77).

Appendix II. Roman consuls

APPENDIX II

Roman consuls

The standard work on the chronology of the consuls and the other magistrates during the Republic is T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, Vol. I (1951), Vol. II (1952), Supplement (1960). For the period of the Empire it is A. Degraasi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero romano* (Rome 1952).

When a consul in office died, another consul was appointed to take his place. This new consul was called a 'consul suffectus' and his name could not be used to date the year in official records, even though he would be entered on the official list of consuls. During the period of the triumvirate and then (from the last part of Augustus' reign) under the Empire the suffect consulship became a regular institution. The first pair of consuls were then called *ordinarii*, who might hold office for only a few months and then be replaced by another pair.

The following is a list of consuls covering the period 200 BC–AD 14, reproduced from Broughton down to 31 BC and from Degraasi from 30 BC to AD 14. After 30 BC the list covers only the *ordinarii*. A few corrections have been inserted.

BC

200	P. Sulpicius Ser. f. P. n. Galba Maximus	C. Aurelius C. f. C. n. Cotta
	II	
199	L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Lentulus	P. Villius Ti. f. Ti. n. Tappulus
198	Sex. Aelius Q. f. P. n. Paetus Catus	T. Quinctius T. f. L. n. Flaminius
197	C. Cornelius L. f. M. n. Cethegus	Q. Minucius C. f. C. n. Rufus
196	L. Furius Sp. f. Sp. n. Purpurio	M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus
195	L. Valerius P. f. L. n. Flaccus	M. Porcius M. f. Cato
194	P. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Scipio Africanus	Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. C. n. Longus
	II	
193	L. Cornelius L. f. Merula	Q. Minucius Q. f. L. n. Thermus
192	L. Quinctius T. f. L. n. Flaminius	Cn. Domitius L. f. L. n. Ahenobarbus
191	P. Cornelius Cn. f. L. n. Scipio Nasica	M'. Acilius C. f. L. n. Glabrio
190	L. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Scipio Asiaticus	C. Laelius C. f. C. n.
189	M. Fulvius M. f. Ser. n. Nobilior	Cn. Manlius Cn. f. L. n. Vulso
188	M. Valerius M. f. M'. n. Messalla	C. Livius M. f. M. n. Salinator
187	M. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Lepidus	C. Flaminius C. f. C. n.
186	Sp. Postumius L. f. A. n. Albinus	Q. Marcius L. f. Q. n. Philippus
185	Ap. Claudius Ap. f. P. n. Pulcher	M. Sempronius M. f. C. n. Tuditanus
184	P. Claudius Ap. f. P. n. Pulcher	L. Porcius L. f. M. n. Licinus
183	M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus	Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Labeo
182	Cn. Baebius Q. f. Cn. n. Tamphilus	L. Aemilius L. f. M. n. Paullus
181	P. Cornelius L. f. P. n. Cethegus	M. Baebius Q. f. Cn. n. Tamphilus
180	A. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus Luscus	C. Calpurnius C. f. C. n. Piso
	Q. Fulvius Cn. f. M. n. Flaccus suff.	
179	Q. Fulvius Q. f. M. n. Flaccus	L. Manlius L. f. L. n. Acidinus Fulvianus
178	M. Iunius M. f. L. n. Brutus	A. Manlius Cn. f. L. n. Vulso
177	C. Claudius Ap. f. P. n. Pulcher	Ti. Sempronius P. f. Ti. n. Graccus
176	Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. L. n. Scipio His-	Q. Petillius C. f. Q. n. Spurius
	pallus	

Appendix II. Roman consuls

- C. Valerius M. f. P. n. Laevinus* suff.
 175 P. Mucius Q. f. P. n. Scaevola
 174 Sp. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus Paul-
 lulus
 173 L. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus
 172 C. Popillius P. f. P. n. Laenas
 171 P. Licinius C. f. P. n. Crassus
 170 A. Hostilius L. f. A. n. Mancinus
 169 Q. Marcius L. f. Q. n. Philippus II
 168 L. Aemilius L. f. M. n. Paullus II
 167 Q. Aelius P. f. Q. n. Paetus
 166 M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus
 165 T. Manlius A. f. T. n. Torquatus
 164 A. Manlius A. f. T. n. Torquatus
 163 Ti. Sempronius P. f. Ti. n. Gracchus II
 162 P. Cornelius P. f. Cn. n. Scipio Nasica
 (Corculum)
P. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Lentulus suff.
 161 M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Messalla
 160 L. Anicius L. f. L. n. Gallus
 159 Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Cn. n. Dolabella
 158 M. Aemilius M'. f. M'. n. Lepidus
 157 Sex. Iulius Sex. f. L. n. Caesar
 156 L. Cornelius Cn. f. L. n. Lentulus Lupus
 155 P. Cornelius P. f. Cn. n. Scipio Nasica
 (Corculum) II
 154 Q. Opimius Q. f. Q. n
 153 Q. Fulvius M. f. M. n. Nobilior
 152 M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus III
 151 L. Licinius Lucullus
 150 T. Quinctius T. f. T. n. Flamininus
 149 L. Marcius C. f. C. n. Censorinus
 148 Sp. Postumius Sp. f. Sp. n. Albinus
 Magnus
 147 P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Africanus
 Aemilianus
 146 Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. L. n. Lentulus
 145 Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Aemi-
 lianus
 144 Ser. Sulpicius Ser. f. P. n. Galba
 143 Ap. Claudius C. f. Ap. n. Pulcher
 142 L. Caecilius Q. f. L. n. Metullus Calvus
 141 Cn. Servilius Cn. f. Cn. n. Caepio
 140 C. Laelius C. f. C. n. (Sapiens)
 139 Cn. Calpurnius Piso
 138 P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Nasica
 Serapio
 137 M. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Lepidus Porcina
 136 L. Furius Philus
 M. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Lepidus II
 Q. Mucius Q. f. P. n. Scaevola
 M. Popillius P. f. P. n. Laenas
 P. Aelius P. f. P. n. Ligus
 C. Cassius C. f. C. n. Longinus
 A. Atilius C. f. C. n. Serranus
 Cn. Servilius Cn. f. Cn. n. Caepio
 C. Licinius C. f. P. n. Crassus
 M. Iunius M. f. M. n. Pennus
 C. Sulpicius C. f. C. n. Galus
 Cn. Octavius Cn. f. Cn. n.
 Q. Cassius L. f. Q. n. Longinus
 M'. Iuventius T. f. T. n. Thalna
 C. Marcius C. f. Q. n. Figulus
Cn. Domitius Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarbus suff.
 C. Fannius C. f. C. n. Strabo
 M. Cornelius C. f. C. n. Cethegus
 M. Fulvius M. f. M. n. Nobilior
 C. Popillius P. f. P. n. Laenas II
 L. Aurelius L. f. L. n. Orestes
 C. Marcius C. f. Q. n. Figulus
 M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus II
 L. Postumius Sp. f. L. n. Albinus
 M'. Acilius M'. f. C. n. Glabrio suff.
 T. Annius T. f. Luscus
 L. Valerius L. f. P. n. Flaccus
 A. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus
 M'. Acilius L. f. K. n. Balbus
 M'. (M.?) Manilius P. f. P. n.
 L. Calpurnius C. f. C. n. Piso
 Caesoninus
 C. Livius M. Aemiliani f. M. n. Drusus
 L. Mummius L. f. L. n.
 L. Hostilius L. f. L. n. Mancinus
 L. Aurelius L. f. C. n. Cotta
 Q. Caecilius Q. f. L. n. Metellus
 Macedonicus
 Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Ser-
 vilianus
 Q. Pompeius A. f.
 Q. Servilius Cn. f. Cn. n. Caepio
 M. Popillius M. f. P. n. Laenas
 D. Iunius M. f. M. n. Brutus (Callai-
 cus)
 C. Hostilius A. f. L. n. Mancinus
 Sex. Atilius M. f. C. n. Serranus

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- 135 Ser. Fulvius Q. f. Flaccus
 134 P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Africanus
 Aemilianus II
 133 P. Mucius P. f. Q. n. Scaevola
 132 P. Popillius C. f. P. n. Laenas
 131 P. Licinius P. f. P. n. Crassus Dives
 Mucianus
 130 L. Cornelius Lentulus
 129 C. Sempronius C. f. C. n. Tuditanus
 128 Cn. Octavius Cn. f. Cn. n.
 127 L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla
 126 M. Aemilius Lepidus
 125 M. Plautius Hypsaecus
 124 C. Cassius Longinus
 123 Q. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus
 (Baliaricus)
 122 Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus
 121 L. Opimius Q. f. Q. n.

 120 P. Manilius P. f. f.
 119 L. Caecilius L. f. Q. n. Metellus (Del-
 maticus)
 118 M. Porcius M. f. M. n. Cato
 117 L. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Dia-
 dematus
 116 C. Licinius P. f. Geta

 115 M. Aemilius M. f. L. n. Scaurus
 114 M'. Acilius M'. f. L. n. Balbus
 113 C. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Cap-
 rarius
 112 M. Livius C. f. M. Aemiliani n. Drusus
 111 P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Nasica
 Serapio
 110 M. Minucius Q. f. Rufus
 109 Q. Caecilius L. f. Q. n. Metellus
 (Numidicus)
 108 Ser. Sulpicius Ser. f. Ser. n. Galba

 107 L. Cassius L. f. Longinus
 106 Q. Servilius Cn. f. Cn. n. Caepio
 105 P. Rutilius P. f. Rufus
 104 C. Marius C. f. C. n. II
 103 C. Marius C. f. C. n. III
 102 C. Marius C. f. C. n. IV
 101 C. Marius C. f. C. n. V
 100 C. Marius C. f. C. n. VI
 99 M. Antonius M. f. M. n.
 98 Q. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Nepos
 97 Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Cn. n. Lentulus
 96 Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus

 Q. Calpurnius C. f. C. n. Piso
 C. Fulvius Q. f. Cn. n. Flaccus

 L. Calpurnius L. f. C. n. Piso Frugi
 P. Rupilius P. f. P. n.
 L. Valerius L. f. L. n. Flaccus

 M. Perperna M. f. L. n.
 M'. Aquillius M'. f. M'. n.
 T. Annius T. f. T. n. Rufus
 L. Cornelius L. f. Cinna
 L. Aurelius L. f. L. n. Orestes
 M. Fulvius M. f. Q. n. Flaccus
 C. Sextius C. f. C. n. Calvinus
 T. Quinctius T. f. T. n. Flamininus

 C. Fannius M. f. C. n.
 Q. Fabius Q. Aemiliani f. Q. n. Maxi-
 mus (Allobrogicus)
 C. Papirius C. f. Carbo
 L. Aurelius Cotta

 Q. Marcius Q. f. Q. n. Rex
 Q. Mucius Q. f. Q. n. Scaevola (Augur)

 Q. Fabius (Q. Serviliani f. Q. n.?)
 Maximus Eburnus
 M. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus
 C. Porcius M. f. M. n. Cato
 Cn. Papirius C. f. Carbo

 L. Calpurnius (L. f. C. n.?) Piso Caeso-
 ninus
 L. Calpurnius Bestia

 Sp. Postumius Albinus
 M. Iunius D. f. D. n. Silanus

 L. (Q.?) Hortensius
 M. Aurelius Scaurus suff.
 C. Marius C. f. C. n.
 C. Atilius Serranus
 Cn. Mallius Cn. f. Maximus
 C. Flavivius C. f. Fimbria
 L. Aurelius L. f. L. n. Orestes
 Q. Lutatius Q. f. Catulus
 M'. Aquillius M'. f. M'. n.
 L. Valerius L. f. L. n. Flaccus
 A. Postumius Albinus
 T. Didius T. f. Sex. n.
 P. Licinius M. f. P. n. Crassus
 C. Cassius L. f. Longinus

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- 95 L. Licinius L. f. C. n. Crassus
 94 C. Coelius C. f. C. n. Calvus
 93 C. Valerius C. f. L. n. Flaccus
 92 C. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Pulcher
 91 L. Marcus Q. f. Q. n. Philippus
 90 L. Iulius L. f. Sex. n. Caesar
 89 Cn. Pompeius Sex. f. Cn. n. Strabo
 88 L. Cornelius L. f. P. n. Sulla (Felix)
 87 Cn. Octavius Cn. f. C. n.
- 86 L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Cinna II
- 85 L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Cinna III
 84 Cn. Papirius Cn. f. C. n. Carbo II
 83 L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Scipio Asiaticus
 (Asiagenus)
 82 C. Marius C. f. C. n.
 81 M. Tullius M. f. A. n. Decula
 80 L. Cornelius L. f. P. n. Sulla Felix
 79 P. Servilius C. f. M. n. Vatia (Isauricus)
 78 M. Aemilius Q. f. M. n. Lepidus
 77 D. Iunius D. f. M. n. Brutus
- 76 Cn. Octavius M. f. Cn. n.
 75 L. Octavius Cn. f. C. n.
 74 L. Licinius L. f. L. n. Lucullus
 73 M. Terentius M. f. Varro Lucullus
 72 L. Gellius L. f. L. n. Publicola
 71 P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Lentulus Sura
 70 Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Sex. n. Magnus
 69 Q. Hortensius L. f. Hortalus
- 68 L. Caecilius C. f. Q. n. Metellus
 (Servilius) Vatia suff.
 67 C. Calpurnius Piso
 66 M'. Aemilius M'. f. Lepidus
 65 L. Aurelius M. f. Cotta
 (Both elected after conviction for bribery of consuls designate P. Cornelius P. f. f.
 L. n. Sulla and P. Autronius L. f. Paetus)
- 64 L. Iulius L. f. L. n. Caesar
 63 M. Tullius M. f. M. n. Cicero
 62 D. Iunius M. f. Silanus
 61 M. Pupius M. f. Piso Frugi Calpurnianus
 60 Q. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Celer
 59 C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar
 58 L. Calpurnius L. f. L. n. Piso Caesoninus
 57 P. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Lentulus Spinther
 56 Cn. Cornelius P. f. Lentulus Marcellinus
 55 Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Sex. n. Magnus II
 54 L. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus
- Q. Mucius P. f. P. n. Scaevola
 L. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus
 M. Herennius M. f.
 M. Perperna M. f. M. n.
 Sex. Iulius C. f. L. n. Caesar
 P. Rutilius L. f. L. n. Lupus
 L. Porcius M. f. M. n. Cato
 Q. Pompeius Q. f. A. n. Rufus
 L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Cinna
 L. Cornelius Merula suff.
 C. Marius C. f. C. n. VII
 L. Valerius C. f. L. n. Flaccus suff.
 Cn. Papirius Cn. = Cn. f. C. n. Carbo
 L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Cinna IV
 C. Norbanus
- Cn. Papirius Cn. f. C. n. Carbo III
 Cn. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Dolabella
 Q. Caecilius Q. f. L. n. Metellus Pius
 Ap. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Pulcher
 Q. Lutatius Q. f. Q. n. Catulus
 Mam. Aemilius Mam. f. Lepidus
 Livianus
 C. Scribonius C. f. Curio
 C. Aurelius M. f. Cotta
 M. Aurelius M. f. Cotta
 C. Cassius L. f. Longinus
 Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus Clodianus
 Cn. Aufidius Cn. f. Orestes
 M. Licinius P. f. M. n. Crassus
 Q. Caecilius C. f. Q. n. Metellus (Creticus)
 Q. Marcus Q. f. Q. n. Rex
- M'. Acilius M'. f. M'. n. Glabrio
 L. Volcacius Tullus
 L. Manlius L. f. Torquatus
- C. Marius C. f. C. n. Figulus
 C. Antonius M. f. M. n. (Hibrida)
 L. Licinius L. f. L. n. Murena
 M. Valerius M. f. M'. n. Messalla (Niger)
 L. Afranius A. f.
 M. Calpurnius C. f. Bibulus
 A. Gabinius A. f.
 Q. Caecilius P. f. Q. n. Metellus Nepos
- L. Marcus L. f. Q. n. Philippus
 M. Licinius P. f. M. n. Crassus II
 Ap. Claudius Ap. f. Ap. n. Pulcher

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- 53 Cn. Domitius M. f. M. n. Calvinus
 52 Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Sex. n. Magnus III
- 51 Ser. Sulpicius Q. f. Rufus
 50 L. Aemilius M. f. Q. n. Lepidus Paullus
 49 C. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus
 48 C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar II
 47 Q. Fufius Q. f. C. n. Calenus
 46 C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar III
 45 C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar IV
 Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus suff.
 C. Caninius C. f. C. n. Rebilus suff.
 44 C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar V
 P. Cornelius P. f. L. ? n. Dolabella suff.
 43 C. Vibius C. f. C. n. Pansa Caetronianus
 C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar suff.
 P. Ventidius P. f. Bassus suff.
 42 M. Aemilius M. f. Q. n. Lepidus
 41 L. Antonius M. f. M. n. (Pietas)
 40 Cn. Domitius M. f. M. n. Calvinus
 L. Cornelius L. f. Balbus suff.
 39 L. Marcius L. f. C. n. Censorinus
 C. Cocceius Balbus suff.
 38 Ap. Claudius C. f. Ap. n. Pulcher
 L. Cornelius Lentulus suff.
 37 M. (Vipsanius) Agrippa L. f.
- 36 L. Gellius L. f. L. n. Publicola
 L. Nonius L. f. T. ? Asprenas suff.
 35 Sex. Pompeius Sex. f. Sex. ? n.
 P. Cornelius P. ? f. Scipio ? suff.
 34 M. Antonius M. f. M. n. II
 L. Sempronius L. f. L. n. Atratinus suff.
 Paullus Aemilius L. f. M. n. Lepidus
 C. Memmius C. f. L. n.
 M. Herennius (M. ? f. T. ? n. Picens ?)
 33 Imp. Caesar Divi f. II
 L. Antonius P. f. L. n. Paetus suff.
 L. Flavius
 C. Fonteius C. f. Capito
 M. Acilius M. ? f. Glabrio
 L. Vinicius M. f.
 Q. Laronius
 32 Cn. Domitius L. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus
 L. Cornelius Cinna suff.
 M. Valerius Messalla
 31 M. Antonius M. f. M. n. III (design.)
 M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Messalla Corvinus
 suff.
 M. Titius L. f.
 Cn. Pompeius Q. f.
 (From 30 BC, only ordinary consuls are listed here, without filiation)
- M. Valerius Messalla (Rufus)
 Q. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Pius
 Scipio Nasica
 M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus
 C. Claudius C. f. M. n. Marcellus
 L. Cornelius P. f. Lentulus Crus
 P. Servilius P. f. C. n. Isauricus
 P. Vatinius P. f.
 M. Aemilius M. f. Q. n. Lepidus
 no colleague
 C. Trebonius C. f. suff.
 M. Antonius M. f. M. n.
- A. Hirtius A. f.
 Q. Pedius M. f. suff.
 C. Carrinas C. f. suff.
 L. Munatius L. f. L. n. Plancus
 P. Servilius P. f. C. n. Isauricus
 C. Asinius Cn. F. Pollio
 P. Canidius P. f. Crassus suff.
 C. Calvisius C. f. Sabinus
 P. Alfenus P. f. Varus suff.
 C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus
 L. Marcius L. f. L. n. Philippus suff.
 L. Caninius L. f. Gallus
 T. Statilius T. f. Taurus suff.
 M. Cocceius Nerva
 -*Marcus*- suff.
 L. Cornificius L. f.
 T. Peducaeus suff.
 L. Scribonius L. f. Libo
- L. Volcacius L. f. Tullus
- C. Sosius C. f. T. n.
- Imp. Caesar Divi f. III

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- 30 Imp. Caesar Divi f. IV
- 29 Imp. Caesar Divi f. V
- 28 Imp. Caesar Divi f. VI
- 27 Imp. Caesar Divi f. VII
- 26 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus VIII
- 25 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus IX
- 24 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus X
- 23 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus XI
- 22 M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus
- 21 M. Lollius
- 20 M. Appuleius
- 19 C. Sentius Saturninus
- 18 P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus
- 17 C. Furnius
- 16 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus
- 15 M. Livius Drusus Libo
- 14 M. Licinius Crassus Frugi
- 13 Ti. Claudius Nero
- 12 M. Valerius Messalla Barbatus
Appianus
- 11 Q. Aelius Tubero
- 10 Africanus Fabius Maximus
- 9 Nero Claudius Drusus
- 8 C. Marcius Censorinus
- 7 Ti. Claudius Nero II
- 6 D. Laelius Balbus
- 5 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus XII
- 4 C. Calvisius Sabinus
- 3 L. Cornelius Lentulus
- 2 Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus XIII
- 1 Cossus Cornelius Lentulus

AD

- 1 C. Caesar
- 2 P. Vinicius
- 3 L. Aelius Lamia
- 4 Sex. Aelius Catus
- 5 L. Valerius Messalla Volesus
- 6 M. Aemilius Lepidus
- 7 Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus
- 8 M. Furius Camillus
- 9 C. Poppaeus Sabinus
- 10 P. Cornelius Dolabella
- 11 M'. Aemilius Lepidus
- 12 Germanicus Caesar
- 13 C. Silius A. Caecina Largus
- 14 Sex. Pompeius

- M. Licinius Crassus
- Sex. Appuleius
- M. (Vipsanius) Agrippa II
- M. (Vipsanius) Agrippa III
- T. Statilius Taurus II
- M. Iunius Silanus
- C. Norbanus Flaccus
- A. Terentius Varro Murena
- L. Arruntius
- Q. Aemilius Lepidus
- P. Silius Nerva
- Q. Lucretius (Cinna?) Vespillo
- Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
- C. Iunius Silanus
- P. Cornelius Scipio
- L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (Pontifex)
- Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (Augur)
- P. Quinctilius Varus
- P. Sulpicius Quirinius
- Paullus Fabius Maximus
- Iullus Antonius
- T. Quinctius Crispinus (Sulpicianus)
- C. Asinius Gallus
- Cn. Calpurnius Piso
- C. Antistius Vetus
- L. Cornelius Sulla
- L. Passienus Rufus
- M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus
- M. Plautius Silvanus
- L. Calpurnius Piso (Augur)

- L. Aemilius Paullus
- P. Alfenus Varus
- M. Servilius
- C. Sentius Saturninus
- Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus
- L. Arruntius
- A. Licinius Nerva Silianus
- Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus
- Q. Sulpicius Camerinus
- C. Iunius Silanus
- T. Statilius Taurus
- C. Fonteius Capito
- L. Munatius Plancus
- Sex. Appuleius

Appendix III. Greek and Roman chronology

APPENDIX III

Greek and Roman chronology

A. The Greeks. For the reckoning of time year by year all the Greek states in the Hellenistic age continued to use the old method of eponymous magistrates, i.e. annually elected magistrates after whom the year was named. There was no uniformity in the title of such magistrates, however: in many cities he was called the archon; in others the stephanephoros; in still others the prytanis; and in some he was a priest. The duties of these magistrates or priests had been diluted in the passage of time until they were merely ceremonial in most cases, and the real political power lay elsewhere. Lists of these magistrates were kept locally, but the only one known to us with any fullness is the archon list of Athens to the end of the fourth century BC. In the Hellenistic age that list in some parts is fragmentary and bristling with problems. Some parts of other lists, like those of Delphi and Miletus, can be put together only for short stretches of time.

The only Greek calendar known in some detail is the Athenian. It normally had twelve months of 29 or 30 days each. Their official sequence was:

Hekatombaion	Gamelion
Metageitnion	Anthesterion
Boedromion	Elaphebolion
Pyanopsion	Mounychion
Maimakterion	Thargelion
Poseideon	Skirophorion

This so-called Archon's calendar (or 'calendar according to the goddess') was based on a lunar year of only 354 days, the addition (intercalation) of an extra month being required every few years to keep the months in line with the seasons. The new year (Hekatombaion 1) began in the evening of the first observed new moon after the summer solstice (i.e. after June 22).

For Athenian administrative purposes there was a second way of dividing the year, not based on the moon's phases, but on the time periods (called prytanies) during which committees (called by the same term) of the Boule took turns, in an order determined by lot, preparing and administering the business that came before it. In the period of the ten Athenian tribes (down to 307/6 BC) there were ten prytanies to the year, each committee composed of fifty men from one of the tribes. The official order of the tribes was:

I Erechtheis	VI Oineis
II Aigeis	VII Kekropis
III Pandionis	VIII Hippothontis
IV Leontis	IX Aiantis
V Akamantis	X Antiochis

In the Hellenistic age tribes were sometimes added or abolished for political reasons. In 307/6 BC two tribes were added, Antigonis and Demetrias, which were given places in that order at the head of the list. In 224/3 BC a thirteenth tribe, Ptolemais, was added and placed between Leontis and Akamantis. In 201–200 BC the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished, but almost immediately another tribe called Attalis (cf. no. 24) was created (200 BC). It was placed at the end of the list, and thereafter no changes were made until the second century AD.

Outside of Attica our knowledge of Hellenistic Greek calendars is often nothing more

Appendix III. Greek and Roman chronology

than (at best) the names of the months. The calendar in widest use was the Macedonian, i.e. the Seleucid, which consisted of the following months, in order:

Artemisios	Dios
Daisios	Apellaios
Panemos	Audnaios
Loios (Loos)	Peritios
Gorpiaios	Dystros
Hyperberetaios	Xandikos

The search for precise equivalents of ancient dates in modern terms is controversial and risky.

In Egypt a unique situation developed when the Greeks under Ptolemy I consolidated their control of the country. The Egyptian civil calendar was solar and had a year of 365 days, but the Egyptians never corrected for the extra one-fourth of a day by means of intercalation. Over long stretches of time this caused gradual rotation of the months through the seasons. But since that rotation was regular and predictable, modern tables can be constructed to account for it, and modern dates can be determined for Egyptian dates. The Greeks in control of Egypt accepted this Egyptian solar year, although for a long time they tried to apply the Macedonian system to it, month by month. Beginning with the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy V (205–180 BC), however, they no longer did this. Thereafter the Macedonian month names in Egypt were simply alternative names for the Egyptian months. Down to 119/8 BC the equations were:

Dystros = Thoth	Gorpiaios = Phamenoth
Xandikos = Phaophi	Hyperberetaios = Pharmouthi
Artemisios = Hathyr	Dios = Pachon
Daisios = Choiach	Apellaios = Payni
Panemos = Tybi	Audnaios = Epeiph
Loios = Mecheir	Peritios = Mesore

But in 119/18 BC the equivalents were changed:

Dios = Thoth	Artemisios = Phamenoth
Apellaios = Phaophi	Daisios = Pharmouthi
Audnaios = Hathyr	Panemos = Pachon
Peritios = Choiach	Loios = Payni
Dystros = Tybi	Gorpiaios = Epeiph
Xandikos = Mecheir	Hyperberetaios = Mesore

This system, with the first day of Thoth the beginning of the Egyptian year, continued in use into the Roman period. See Samuel, *GRC* and *PC*, as well as E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1980). Tables for the conversion of Egyptian dates into modern equivalents will be found in T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Munich 1954).

B. The Romans. The pre-Julian calendar, i.e. the one before the reforms of Julius Caesar, was lunar with a total of 355 days: March, May, July, and October had 31 days each, while February had 28 and all the rest 29 days each. To keep the months in line with the seasons it had been the practice to add (intercalate) an extra month during February every few years, but the Romans, like the Greeks, never did this with regularity. Each month was divided into three parts by means of special days called the Kalends, Nones and Ides. Since the frame of reference was always one of looking forward to the arrival of these days, each of the other days was given a number reflecting how many days had to pass before they did arrive. The Kalends were always the first day of each month, the Nones were

Appendix III. Greek and Roman chronology

either the seventh day (of March, May, July, and October) or the fifth (of all the rest), while the Ides were either the fifteenth day (of March, May, July, and October) or the thirteenth (of all the rest). The Roman method of counting these days was inclusive. Thus, e.g., the Roman date 'on the third day before the Ides of January' is by our method of counting actually the second day before the Ides of that month (January 11).

This calendar was changed by Julius Caesar in 45 BC to one based on the sun, following the Egyptian model, but with proper intercalation. Thereafter the number of days in the months were: September, April, June, and November had 30 days; February had 28; all the rest had 31. The rules governing the days on which the Kalends, Nones, and Ides fell remained the same. This Julian year had 365 days, with one intercalated day to be added in February every fourth year. See Samuel, *GRC*; Bickerman, *op. cit.*; and A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967).

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