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978-0-521-27123-3 - Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus

Edited by Robert K. Sherk

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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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Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus

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

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



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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.

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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 (264–70 B.C.)</i> (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), II (1952), Supplement (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 IIe et au Ier 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)

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Ehrenberg, <i>State FGHRist</i>	V. Ehrenberg, <i>The Greek State</i> (Oxford 1960) F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden 1923–)
<i>FIRA</i>	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani I–III</i> (Rome 1941–3)
Fraser, <i>Samothece</i>	P. M. Fraser, <i>Samothece II.1: 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 Historia</i>	J. Hatzfeld, <i>Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique</i> (Paris 1919) <i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i>
Holleaux, <i>Études</i>	M. Holleaux, <i>Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques I–VI</i> (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 Gaertringen)
<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 IV</i> (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–II</i> (Princeton 1950)
Mellor, <i>Worship</i>	R. Mellor, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. <i>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–III</i> (Rome 1968–79)
Moretti, <i>ISE</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche I–II</i> (Florence 1967 and 1976)

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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>
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<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-Encyclopaedie 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>

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()	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.