

The Early Hellenistic Peloponnese

Using all available evidence – literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological – this study offers a new analysis of the early Hellenistic Peloponnese. The conventional picture of the Macedonian kings as oppressors, and of the Peloponnese as ruined by warfare and tyranny, must be revised. The kings did not suppress freedom or exploit the peninsula economically, but generally presented themselves as patrons of Greek identity. Most of the regimes characterized as ‘tyrannies’ were probably, in reality, civic governorships, and the Macedonians did not seek to overturn tradition or build a new imperial order. Contrary to previous analyses, the evidence of field survey and architectural remains points to an active, even thriving civic culture and a healthy trading economy under elite patronage. Despite the rise of federalism, particularly in the form of the Achaean league, regional identity was never as strong as loyalty to one’s city-state (*polis*).

D. GRAHAM J. SHIPLEY is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Leicester and a leading Greek historian who has published extensively on Classical and Hellenistic Greece. His publications include *A History of Samos* (1987), major contributions to the British School at Athens *Laconia Survey* volumes (1996–2002), and the lead editorship of the *Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization* (Cambridge 2006). His *Pseudo-Skylax’s Periplus* (2011) offered the first fully revised text since the nineteenth century of an important work of Greek geography, and the first commentary and translation in English. He is best known, however, for his monograph *The Greek World after Alexander* (2000), which has become the standard one-volume survey of the Hellenistic period in English and was shortlisted for the Runciman Prize. He is a Fellow of a number of learned societies, including the Royal Historical Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London, as well as a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy.

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The Early Hellenistic Peloponnese

Politics, Economies, and Networks 338–197 BC

D. GRAHAM J. SHIPLEY

University of Leicester



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*for
my wife, Anne
and my children, Joseph and Dorothea*

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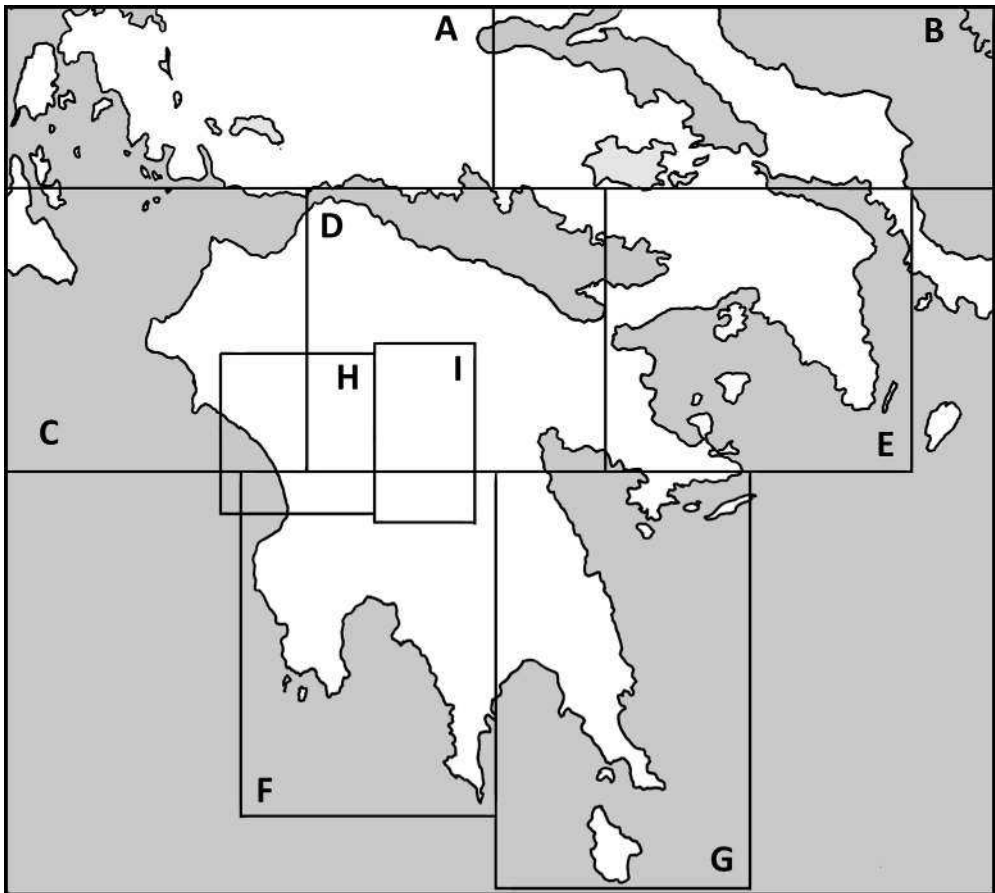
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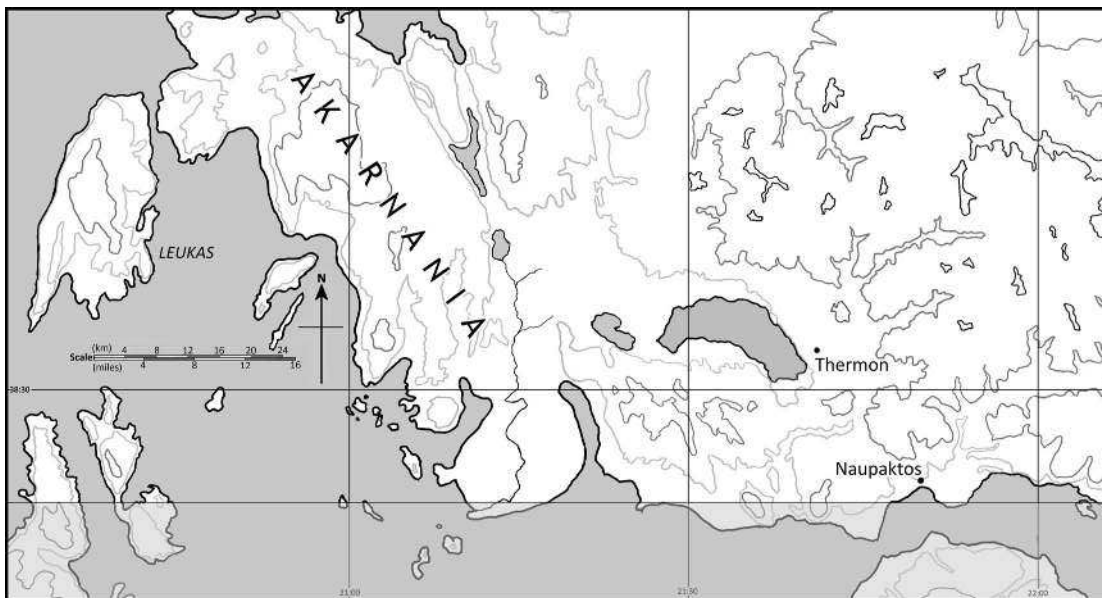
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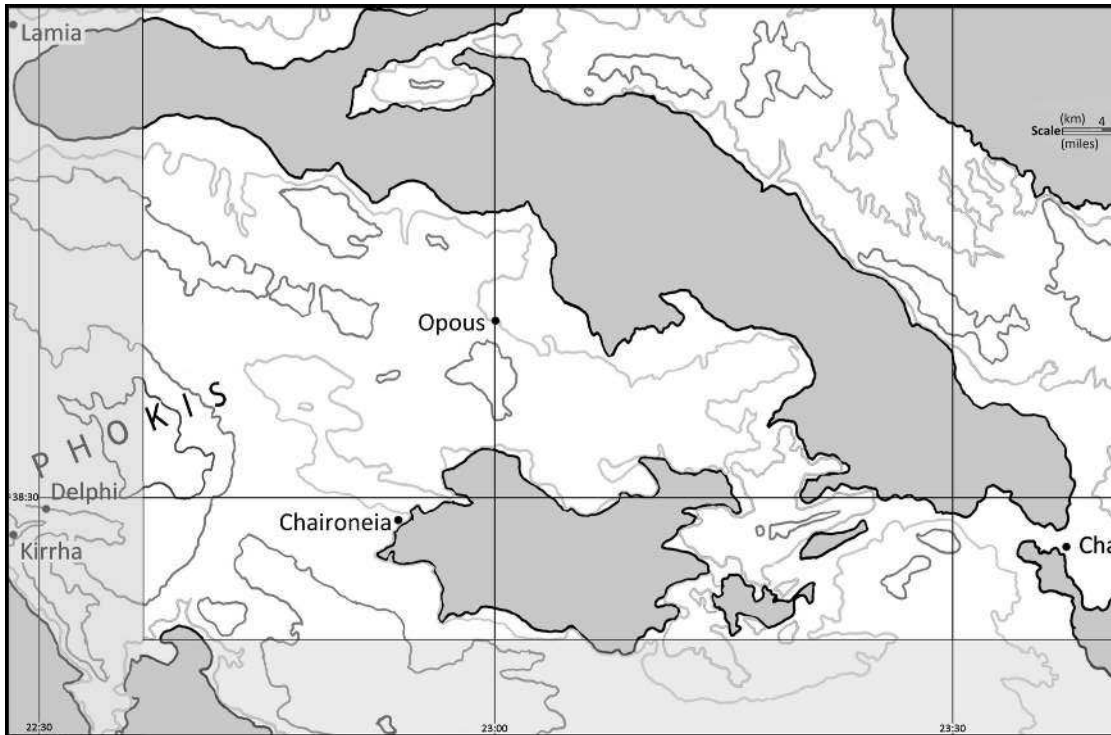
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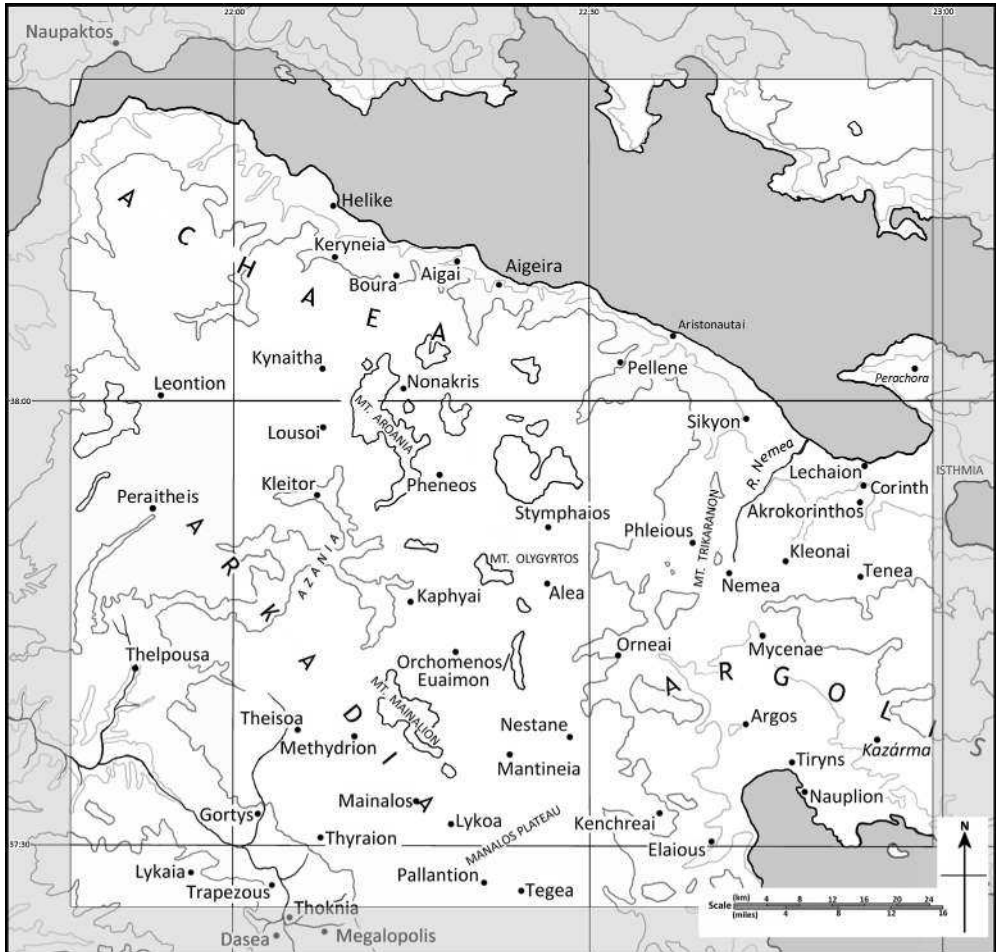
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Map B. East-central Greece



Map C. North-western Peloponnese



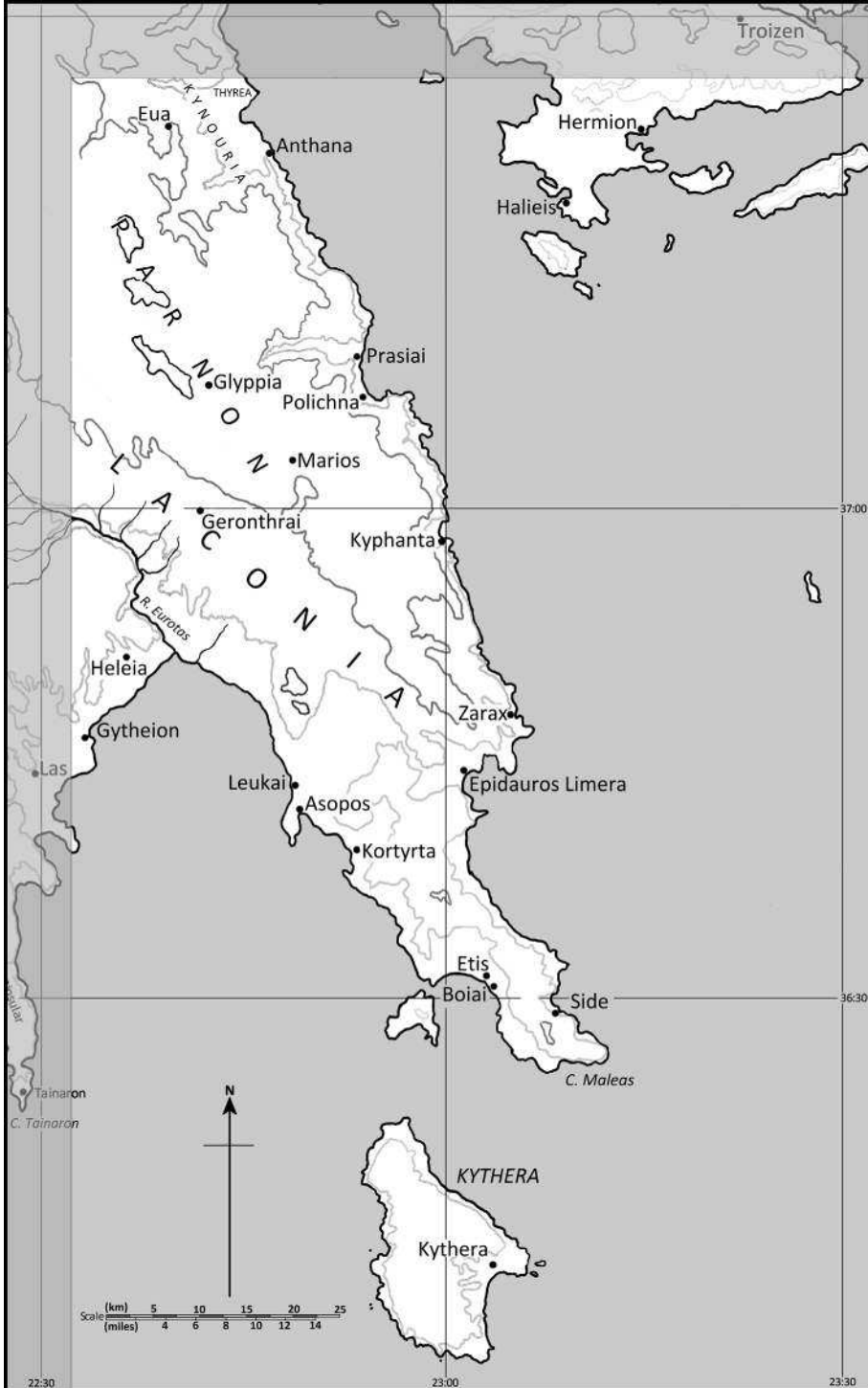
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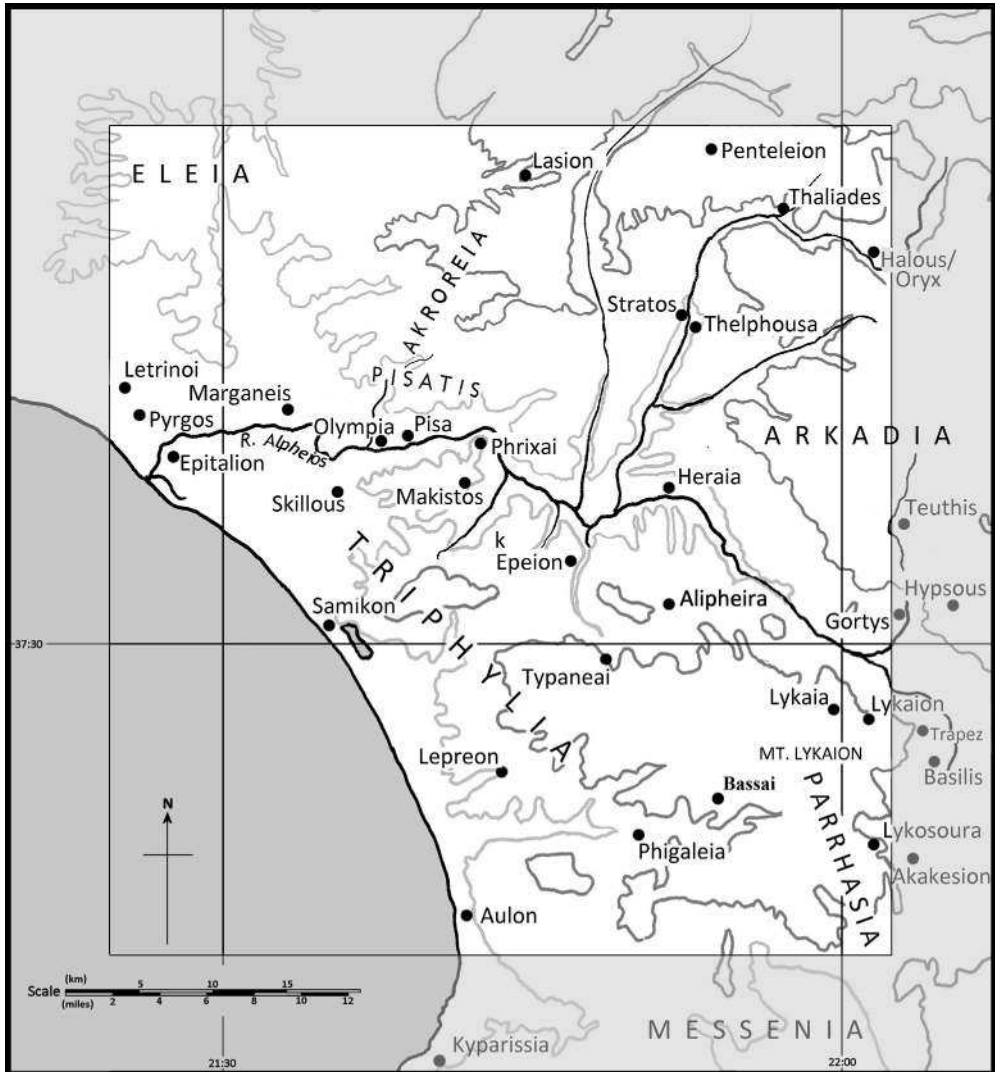
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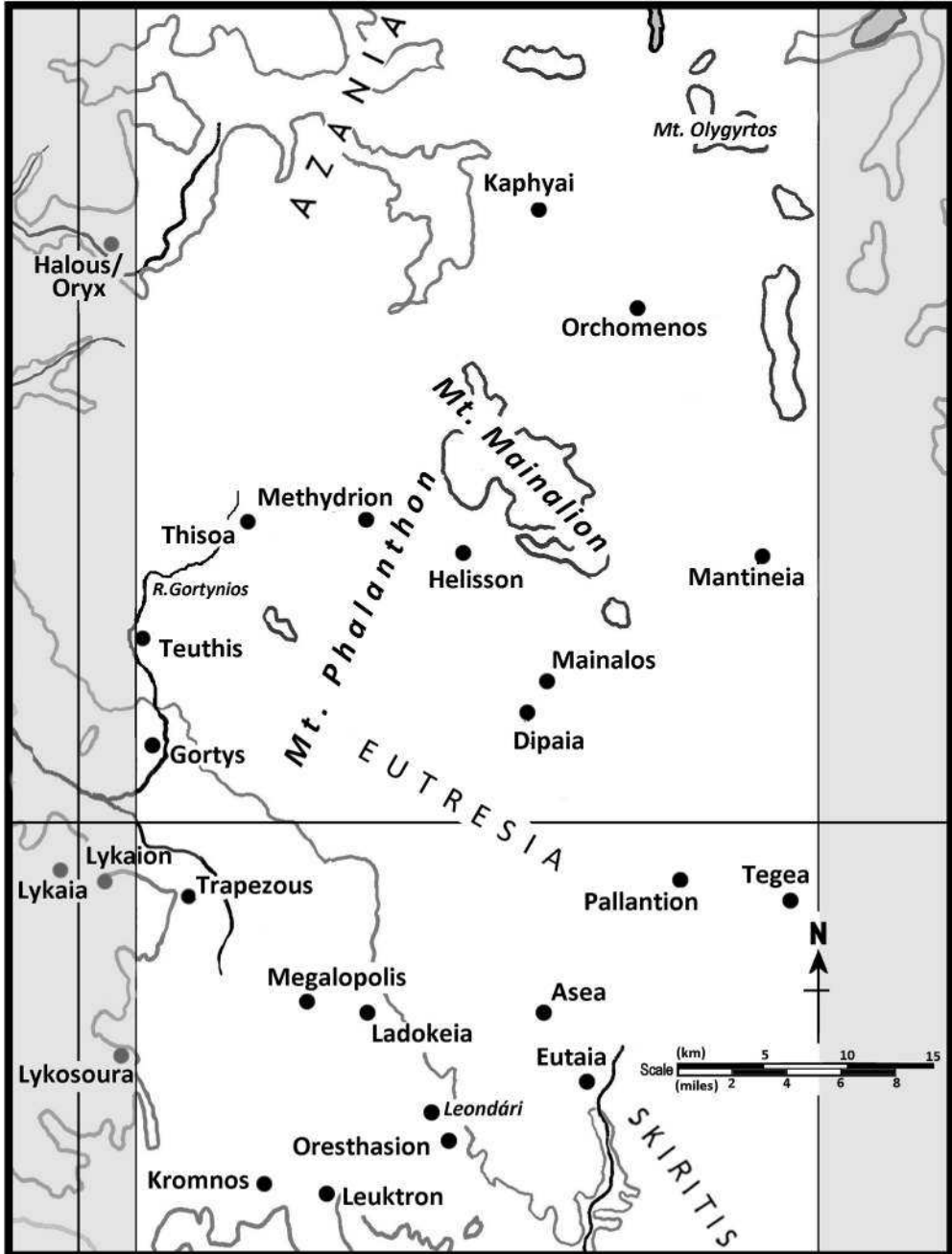
Map F. South-western Peloponnese



Map G. South-eastern Peloponnese



Map H. Detail of west-central Peloponnese



Map I. Detail of central Arkadia

Preface and Acknowledgements

Writing this book has been engrossing yet also (as Charlie says of looking after Lola) a Hard Job. The early hellenistic Peloponnese, despite its relative neglect as an entity in scholarship, is the subject of a vast and varied body of primary data; hence the predominance of studies of particular sites, states, events, and regions. An attempt to integrate them into a convincing account of, and explanation for, historical development requires the researcher to clarify a number of explanatory frameworks even before beginning an analysis, and readers may have reasons to question those; while the interpretation of particular or general sets of evidence will itself prompt questions or doubts in readers more expert than I in the particular domain of evidence.

The project began as a study of Macedonian power and its impact, but now has broader aims (see I.1.a below). It has its distant origins in 1982, in an invitation from the late Dr Hector Catling, CBE, to take part in the Laconia Survey (1983–9). That experience led me in 1985 to the notion of a ‘survey of surveys’ bringing together the new hellenistic landscape data for Greece. Other responsibilities supervened, notably co-writing and co-editing the Laconia Survey (Cavanagh *et al.* 2002; 1996); but active progress resumed in 1999 with the aid of a grant from the Arts & Humanities Research Board (now the Arts & Humanities Research Council) under its Research Leave Scheme, augmented by the award of a Visiting Fellowship at the British School at Athens and generous funding from the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Among the outcomes were a study of Spartan territory in the hellenistic period (Shipley 2000a), an overview of the Laconia Survey results (Shipley 2002c), a brief synthesis of hellenistic survey data for the Peloponnese (Shipley 2002a), and a study of the Laconian and Messenian *poleis* (Shipley 2004a). It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generosity of the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust in awarding me a Senior Research Fellowship for 2004–5, when the main phase of data-gathering took place; of the University of Leicester in granting me additional leave to enable me to use the above awards, as well as a semester’s research leave in 2013; and of successive heads of the School of Archaeology and Ancient History in allowing me some relief from administrative duties thereafter.

Accordingly, I must also thank those colleagues in the School of Archaeology and Ancient History who shouldered extra burdens as a result.

I am grateful above all to those who commented, at various levels of detail, on drafts of the present book and related writings; especially CUP's anonymous readers of the original book proposal and subsequent drafts; David Mattingly for frequent wise advice and sustained encouragement; Colin Haselgrove for perceptive comments on structure; and above all John Salmon, who read an entire draft closely and saved me from many errors and infelicities, and John Davies, who made important suggestions about Chapter 4. Additional comments on plans, outlines, and drafts were gratefully received from Colin Adams, Jane Ainsworth, Patricia Baker, Duncan Campbell, Neil Christie, Michael Dixon, Richard J. G. Evans, Louise Füchs, Myles Harman, Pauline Hire, Mark McLeod, Anne Sackett, Sarah Scott, Dan Stewart, John Tully, and Charlotte Van Regenmortel. I have benefited from technical advice given by Ralph Hancock, Christopher Pelling, Michael Tully, and especially John Waś.

Mogens Hansen and Thomas Nielsen generously allowed me advance access to data collected for what became the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Hansen and Nielsen 2004b). The editors of *Leidschrift* (Leiden) gave permission to reuse material from Shipley 2006b. All translations are mine.

Thanks are due to a number of editors and conference organizers. Early thoughts were presented in my inaugural lecture at Leicester in 2003, revised for publication as Shipley 2005b and given a wider landscape focus in Shipley 2006b. They were taken further at the 2005 Tours conference organized by Catherine Grandjean and Camille Prieux (Shipley 2008a), at the Classical Association conference in Newcastle upon Tyne in 2006, and at a Royal Irish Academy Colloquium on ancient imperialism in Dublin in the same year. Ideas about the Spartan kings were presented at the 2005 APA–AIA meeting in Boston (Shipley 2005a; see now Shipley 2017a); I am grateful to my department for financial support on that and other occasions, and to my panel co-organizer, Ellen Millender; our co-panellists, Paul Cartledge, Joost Crowel, Liz Langridge-Noti, Olga Palagia, and Mieke Prent; and our respondent, Thomas Figueira, for their perceptive comments. I returned to the topic of hellenistic Laconia in a paper for a meeting organized by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (USA) at New York in 2007 (Shipley 2009); I thank Professor Nikolaos Kaltsas and HE Loucas Tsilas for the invitation to participate.

Important advice, guidance, or information was received from the participants in the 2005 Tours conference (Grandjean 2008b), the 2011 Hellenistic Networks conference at Cologne and Bonn (Fenn and

Römer-Strehl 2013), and the 2012 Scientific Meeting on Hellenistic Pottery at Thessaloniki (*9th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* 2018); and from many other colleagues. Besides many of those already mentioned, they include Elizabeth Bollen, Graeme Bourke, Kostas Buraselis, Charles Crowther, †Peter Derow, John Ellis Jones (especially with reference to the Peneios Valley Survey), Lin Foxhall, John Goodwin, Erich Gruen, Meg Harris Williams, Noreen Humble, Lars Karlsson, Sandra Karlsson, John Lund, Jane Masségliá, Robert Morstein-Marx, Maria Pretzler, Gillian Ramsey, Peter Rhodes, Susan Rotroff, Christopher Smith, Maria Stamatopoulou, and Marijke van der Veen. Discussions with present and former postgraduates at Leicester, including (besides those already named) Crysta Kaczmarek, Manolis Pagkalos, Andrea Scarpato, Dorothea Stavrou, Alexander Thomas, and Mark van der Enden, have helped me understand hellenistic history better. I apologize sincerely for any omissions, which will be made good in future reprints once I am aware of them.

At a late stage I was alerted to the important studies of Bresson 2016, Cartledge 2016, and Kralli 2017; the last arrived as the text was being finalized. It has not been possible to engage with them beyond adding a number of citations and brief remarks. In Kralli's book the reader will find a nuanced study of political relations between the Peloponnesian states from 371 to 146 BC, including detailed treatments of certain episodes treated briefly in Chapter II below. It is my confident hope that the appearance of her work and the present study at almost the same time will encourage further analysis of the Peloponnese in this period.

Numerous colleagues generously gave copies of published work relevant to this project, or allowed me to read unpublished work; their contribution cannot be overstated, even if not all the works are cited in the text. In addition to many already named, they include Susan Alcock, John Bintliff, David Blackman, Olympia Bobou, Sebastiaan Bommeljé, Duncan Campbell, Christy Constantakopoulou, Stella Drougou, Daniela Dueck, Andrew Erskine, Evangelia Eleftheriou (with Nektarios Skagkos), Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Björn Forsén, Jeanette Forsén, Klaus Freitag, Peter Funke, Masato Furuyama, Vincent Gabrielsen, Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Olivier Gengler, Henrik Gerding, Stephen Hodkinson, Kerstin Höghammar, Alan Johnston, Madeleine Jost, Nigel Kennell, Zoï Kotitsa, Eleni Kourinou-Pikoula, Ioanna Kralli, Christos Kremmydas, Ergün Laflı, Robin Lane Fox, Franziska Lang, Nino Luraghi, John Ma, Will Mack, Marie-Christine Marcellesi, Angelos Matthaıou, Ben Millis, Henrıque Modanez de Sant'Anna, Silke Müth, Graham Oliver, Kostas Papagiannopoulos, Yanis Pikoulas, Jeroen Poblome, Anton Powell,

Jonathan Prag, Mieke Prent, Selene Psoma, Gary Reger, Ellen Rice, John Rich, Nicolas Richer, Joseph Rife, Athanasios Rizakis, Jim Roy, Andrea Scarpato, Lucijana Šešelj, Peter Stone, Kathryn Tempest, Nassos Themou, Peter Thonemann, Ioannis Touratsoglou, Conor Trainor, Hans van Wees, Kostas Vlassopoulos, Joanita Vroom, Malcolm Wagstaff, †Jennifer Warren (Cargill-Thompson), David Whitehead, Hans-Ulrich Wiemer, Josef Wiesehöfer, Elena Zavvou; many other contributors to Fenn and Römer-Strehl 2013; and the editors of *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.

Besides several people already named, Andrew Burnett, Basil C. Demetriadi, Amedeo Giampaglia, Emily Mackil, Katerina Panagopoulou, Phaidon Theodorou, and Alan Walker generously helped me locate numismatic publications.

None of those named is responsible for any view expressed in the book (not least because I have not always taken their advice).

Particular thanks are due to the administrative staff of the School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, and the staff of the Research Support Office, University of Leicester, particularly Juliet Bailey; and to the library staffs of the University of Leicester (especially Evelyn Cornell and her successor Jackie Hanes), the British School at Athens (especially Penny Wilson-Zarganis and Sandra Pepelasi), and the Institute of Classical Studies (especially Sue Willetts and, in 2004–5, Charlotte Swire). A great classical resource not often acknowledged is Andromeda Books (Athens); I am happy to do so here. I also thank Holly Morton of the School of Law, University of Leicester, for facilitating my use of the Harry Peach Library, a haven for quiet reflection.

A profound debt is owed to Michael Sharp of the Press, for his endless patience and wise advice.

The inspiration of AKUS, HCC, JRRT, and AP is acknowledged, as well as the support of individuals unnamed.

Special thanks are due to Duncan Campbell for the maps; Jane Robson for her expert copy-editing; Carla Brain for assistance with the indexes; and Amanda Kay for her eagle-eyed proofreading.

My greatest debt is to my family and above all to Anne, whose love and support have sustained me throughout the long evolution of this book.

Note on Dates

Centuries are abbreviated according to Copenhagen Polis Project conventions: e.g. C5 = fifth century BC; C4f/s = first/second half of fourth century BC; C3e/m/l = early/mid-/late third century BC; C2a/b/c/d = quarters of second century BC.

Dates are BC unless AD is specified. I intend no Western presumption if I persist in using BC and AD, even though they are derived from a Christian era (and an inaccurate one at that). The usual alternatives in anglophone scholarship, BCE and CE, are easily confused with one another and are by no means as 'common' as they pretend to be, being based on the same Western, Christian era which is not the default in other major cultures (cf. Holford-Strevens 2005, [xiii]).

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Note on Spellings

Spellings in quotations are unchanged. Otherwise, for ancient Greek names I retain some familiar anglicizations (e.g. Antipater not Antipatros, Athens, Cassander not Kassandros, Corinth, Delphi, Peloponnese, Piraeus, Thucydides). I use Alexander for kings, Alexandros for other men; Achaea for the region, Achaean league for the *koinon*, Achaia only for the Roman province. Other names are made Greeklike if easily recognized (e.g. Aigion, Aitolia, Aratos, Argolis, Boiotia, Kleomenes, Lakedaimonians, Polybios, Sikyon). Note that ‘Areus’ (Ἀρεύς) is correct and Greeklike (with two syllables, not three); ‘Areos’ is a false form (despite e.g. Hoover 2011, 138–43 *passim*).

Greek terms are transliterated if familiar in anglophone scholarship (e.g. *polis*, *epiteichismos*); some long vowels are marked (e.g. *dēmos*, *chōra*). Terms less likely to be encountered in transliteration elsewhere are left in Greek (e.g. κατέφθαρτο) but translated.

The Modern Greek distinction between polytonic and monotonic is maintained, e.g. in the list of Works Cited. Placenames follow the Laconia Survey spelling rules (Cavanagh *et al.* 2002, xxiv) but are italicized with the stress marked (e.g. *Áno Mazaráki*, *Geráki*).

In the list of Works Cited, authors’ names and initials are generally standardized on one form; this is important to note where a deuteronymous (D. G. J. Shipley), tritonymous (J. N. D. Hibler, or even tetartonymous (J. P. V. D. Balsdon) author may have been cited elsewhere with varying initials. Greek authors’ names follow the same transliteration system as Modern Greek place-names, unless they have published regularly under another form (so Buraselis not Bourazelis; Steinhauer not Stainchaouer).

Like N. G. L. Hammond, I write ‘Macedonia’ rather than ‘Macedon’. Consistently with the treatment of other seas (e.g. ‘Aegean sea’), I follow Royal Navy 1969 in writing ‘Black sea’ unless the context requires capitalization.

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Special Abbreviations

Abbreviations normally follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Others:

- 1st Arkadian Congress* Πρακτικά τοῦ Α΄ συνεδρίου ἀρκαδικῶν σπουδῶν (Τρίπολις 14–15 Δεκεμβρίου 1974) (Πελοποννησιακά, 12 (1976–7), παράρτημα = Πελοποννησιακά, παραρτήματα, 3). Athens: Etaireia Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 1976–7
- 1st Argolic Congress* Πρακτικά τοῦ Α΄ συνεδρίου ἀργολικῶν σπουδῶν (Ναύπλιον 4–6 Δεκεμβρίου 1976) (Πελοποννησιακά, 13 (1978–9), παράρτημα = Πελοποννησιακά, παραρτήματα, 4). Athens: Etaireia Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 1978
- 1st Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* Α΄ συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική [sic] ([Ιωάννινα], Δεκέμβρης 1986). 1st edn, Ioannina: Panepistimio Ioanninon, Tomeas Archaialogias, 1989; 2nd edition, titled Α΄ συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική [sic] (Ιωάννινα, 6 Δεκεμβρίου [sic] 1986), Rhodes: Archaialogiko Institutouto Dodekanisou, 2000
- 1st Laconian Treatises Congress* Πρακτικά τοῦ Α΄ τοπικοῦ συνεδρίου λακωνικῶν μελετῶν (Μολάοι 5–7 Ἰουνίου 1982) (Πελοποννησιακά, παραρτήματα, 9). Athens: Etaireia Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 1982–3 [distinct from *1st Laconian Studies Congress* = Πρακτικά τοῦ Α΄ συνεδρίου λακωνικῶν σπουδῶν. Σπάρτη–Γύθειον 7–11 Ὀκτωβρίου 1977. (Λακωνικαὶ σπουδαί, 4–5). Athens: Etaireia Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 1979]
- 2nd Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* Β΄ επιστημονικὴ συνάντηση για την ελληνιστικὴ κεραμική: χρονολογικά προβλήματα της ελληνιστικῆς κεραμικῆς (Ρόδος 22–25 Μαρτίου 1989). Πρακτικά. Athens: KB΄ Ephoreia Proistorikon kai Klassikon Archaioiton, Rodos/

- Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon/
 Nomarchia Dodekanisou, Dimos Rodou, 1990
- 3rd Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* Γ΄ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική
 κεραμική: χρονολογημένα σύνολα – εργαστήρια
 (24–27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1991 Θεσσαλονίκη).
 Πρακτικά. (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις
 Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας, 137.) 2 vols. Athens:
 Archaialogiki Etaireia, 1994
- 4th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* Δ΄ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική
 κεραμική: χρονολογικά προβλήματα – κλειστά
 σύνολα – εργαστήρια (Μυτιλήνη, Μάρτιος 1994).
 Πρακτικά. 2 vols. Athens: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού,
 Κ΄ Ephoreia Proïstorikon kai Klasikon
 Archaiotiton, 1997
- 4th Peloponnesian Congress* Πρακτικά τοῦ Δ΄ διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου
 πελοποννησιακῶν σπουδῶν (Κόρινθος, 9–
 16 Σεπτεμβρίου 1990) (Πελοποννησιακά,
 παραρτήματα, 19). Athens: Etaireia
 Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 1992
- 5th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* Ε΄ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική
 κεραμική: χρονολογικά προβλήματα – κλειστά
 σύνολα – εργαστήρια [Χανιά, 1997]. Πρακτικά.
 2 vols. Athens: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού,
 ΚΕ΄ Ephoreia Proïstorikon kai Klasikon
 Archaiotiton/Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai
 Apallotrioseon, 2000
- 5th Peloponnesian Congress* Πρακτικά τοῦ Ε΄ διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου
 πελοποννησιακῶν σπουδῶν (Ἄργος–Ναύπλιον,
 6–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995) (Πελοποννησιακά,
 παραρτήματα, 22). Athens: Etaireia
 Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 1996–7
- 6th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting* ΣΤ΄ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική
 κεραμική: προβλήματα χρονολόγησης – κλειστά
 σύνολα – εργαστήρια (Βόλος, 17–23 Απριλίου
 2000). Πρακτικά. Athens: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού,
 ΙΓ΄ Ephoreia Proïstorikon kai Klasikon
 Archaiotiton/Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai
 Apallotrioseon, 2004
- 6th Peloponnesian Congress* Πρακτικά ΣΤ΄ διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου
 πελοποννησιακῶν σπουδῶν (Τρίπολις
 24–29 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000) (Πελοποννησιακά,
 παραρτήματα, 24). Athens: Etaireia
 Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 2001–2

<i>7th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting</i>	<i>Z' επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική: χρονολογικά προβλήματα – κλειστά σύνολα – εργαστήρια (Αίγιο, 4–9 Απριλίου 2005). Πρακτικά. Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou kai Tourismou/Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon/ST' Ephoreia Proistorikon kai Klasikon Archaioiton, 2011</i>
<i>7th Peloponnesian Congress</i>	<i>Πρακτικά τοῦ Ζ' διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου πελοποννησιακῶν σπουδῶν (Πύργος–Γαστούνη–Άμαλιάδα 11–17 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005). (Πελοποννησιακά, παραρτήματα, 27.) Athens: Etaireia Peloponnisiakon Spoudon, 2006–7</i>
<i>8th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting</i>	<i>Η' επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική (Ιωάννινα, 5–9 Μαΐου 2009). Πρακτικά. Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou, IB' Ephoreia Proistorikon kai Klasikon Archaioiton/Archaialogiko Institutouto Ipeirotikon Spoudon/Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 2014</i>
<i>9th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting</i>	<i>Θ' επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική (Θεσσαλονίκη, 5–9 Δεκεμβρίου 2012). Πρακτικά. Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou kai Athlitisou/Aristoteleio Panepistimio Thessalonikis/Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 2018</i>
<i>12th Classical Archaeology Congress</i>	<i>Πρακτικά τοῦ XII διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου κλασικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας (Αθήνα, 4–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983). Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou, Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 1988</i>
AE	bronze
Ag.–Kl. (but AK in Chapter II)	(Plutarch), <i>Agis and Kleomenes</i> , here numbered continuously; for the second part, on Kleomenes, which some editions number separately, the alternative chapter no. may be found by subtracting 21
AGOnline	<i>Archaeology in Greece Online</i> (www.chronique.efa.fr)
AK	see Ag.–Kl.

Ar	archaic (period)
AR	silver
Austin ²	M. M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation</i> (Cambridge University Press), 2nd edn 2006
C4, C3, C2, etc.	fourth, third, second (etc.) century BC (see 'Note on Dates')
Chr.	Χρονικά section of <i>Αρχαιολογικόν δελτίον</i> (when not part of German abbreviation v.Chr.)
Cl	classical (period)
EHL	early hellenistic
EImp	early Imperial
f.	father of; formerly
G	Geometric (period)
Hl	hellenistic
ID#	entry in <i>Archaeology in Greece Online</i> (www.chronique.efa.fr)
Imp	Imperial (period)
<i>Inv.</i> #	(with no. in italic) entry in M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> . Oxford University Press, 2004
<i>IPArk</i> #	G. Thür and H. Taeuber, <i>Prozeßrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien</i> . Vienna: Kommission für antike Rechtsgeschichte, 1994
<i>ISE</i> #	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche, i: Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia</i> . Florence: Nuova Italia, 1967
<i>KP</i>	W. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer (eds), <i>Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike</i> . 5 vols, Munich: Druckenmüller/Artemis, 1964–75; repr. Munich: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979
L. (in Chapter II)	Livy
LCl	late classical
LHl	late hellenistic
lit.	literally
LN	D. Leekley and R. Noyes, <i>Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece</i> . Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1976
LR	late Roman
Mel.	Μελέτες section of <i>Αρχαιολογικόν δελτίον</i>
OS	Ordnance Survey
P. (in Chapter II)	Polybios (otherwise Polyb.)
R	Roman (period)