



THE ITALIAN INVOLVEMENT IN GREECE

FROM THE THIRD CENTURY TO 167 BC

VOL. II: NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY & CATALOGUE

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FOOTNOTES.

A. EARLY THIRD CENTURY TRAFFIC

(1). INTRODUCTION.

- (1). So variously Holleaux (1921.1).97-112, (1930).247-261 (= [1938-68].IV.9-25); De Sanctis (1907-64).III.1.295; Badian (1952.1); Walser (1954); Walbank (1957-79).I.153-167; Dell (1967); Hammond (1968).4-5; Derow (1973); Rich (1976).72-73; Errington *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup>.85-89.
- (2). Holleaux (1921.1).98 n.2; Gelzer (1933).142-147. cf. Bung (1950).184-6.
- (3). Ormerod (1924).166-167; Dell (1967); Hammond (1989).23.
- (4). Walbank (1957-79).I.159; Hammond (1968).4 n.15.
- (5). Gelzer (1933); Petzold (1971); Derow (1973).
- (6). Derow (1973).125 n.25 discusses the debate over whether this colony was on Issa or Lissos, from the difference between Diod. XV.13-4 and Skymnos, *Peripl.*413f.; see RE sv. 'Issa', suppl.V cols.346-347; De Sanctis (1907-64).III.1.295; Beaumont (1936).202-203; Holleaux *CAH* VII.825-826 (= [1938-68].IV.80); Wilkes (1969).9-10. So now also Derow (1991). For the trade route, Crawford (1969).nos.142, 145-6 for early Roman coins in Yugoslavia; Derow (1973).125-126.
- (7). Derow (1973).127 and n.38 on Sherk (1969).no.24.
- (8). Derow (1973).128.
- (9). Dell (1967).357-358.
- (10). Walbank (1957-79).I.158 recognises that Polybios is reciting the official Roman version suitably doctored by Fabius Pictor, but unnecessarily follows Schweighaeuser, *contra* Paton, in seeing the πλοῖζομενοι as traders from the Greek cities of Southern Italy rather than sea-farers in general; see also p.495.

(11). TRANS-ADRIATIC TRAFFIC: WHAT, WHERE, HOW AND WHY.

- (1). Casson (1974). 94; also Baslez (1984). 49-67.
- (2). Beaumont (1936); Dunbabin (1948); Bérard (1957). For the written evidence for Greeks in Italy in particular in a similar period, see Wiseman (1989). 131-132.
- (3). Thuc. I. 13. 4, 24. 2, 37. 4 on these seventh century foundations; also Thuc. I. 26. 2, Strabo VII. 316C and Skymnos *Peripl.* 438 for Apollonia as a Korinthian or Kerkyraian colony in the sixth century. Beaumont (1936). 183 notes that the route from Korinth to Sicily need not pass within fifty miles of Kerkyra.
- (4). Auct. *de vir. ill.* 138; Strabo VII. 317C; Ps.-Skylax 24. See also Head *HN<sup>2</sup>*. 317-318.
- (5). Beaumont (1936). 189, on the admittedly weak Pliny *NH* III. 18-19, which couples these two with Ancona around the same time. cf. Thuc. VI. 2. 4.
- (6). Pharos: Diod. XV. 13. 4 (early fourth century Parian foundation with Syracusan assistance; Strabo VII. 315C; Head *HN<sup>2</sup>*. 318. Melite: Tod (1948). no. 79. 1. 29 may refer to an inhabitant of the island.
- (7). Phokaia: Hdt. I. 163. cf. IV. 152, which suggests that the Phokaian priority was Spain, and Ps.-Skymnos 211. cf. Iustin. XLIII. 3. 4 on their interests around Massalia. Korinth: Beaumont (1936). 189-190 nn. 219, 221, especially at Ancona. See esp. Chevallier (1980). 70 n. 2 for a brief, but perceptive statement on the significance of this area.
- (8). Hdt. III. 115; Skymnos, *Peripl.* 392-393.
- (9). Beaumont (1936). 189 n. 216 for evidence for an Umbrian slave in Korinth around 600.
- (10). Strabo VI. 282C for Phalanthos at Brundisium.
- (11). Strabo XIV. 654C; Vitruv. I. 4. 12; Steph. Byz. sv 'Elpia'. Thuc. VI. 3. 3 attests to their foundation of Gela in Sicily; Diod. XIV. 97, L. V. 28 for their foundation on the Lipari Islands which intercepted the Roman embassy to Delphi in 394.
- (12). Beaumont (1936). 192-193.
- (13). *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 305 = Tod (1948). no. 200, an Athenian decree of 325/4 honouring Miltiades for his services to the colony at Adria, with specific references to the markets, the corn supply and the harbour. Beaumont (1936). 193 believes that this cannot refer to the Po Valley, since there was such confusion there in 325/4. Artas: Thuc. VII. 33. 4.
- (14). These are, more often than not, in terms of state requisitioning; so the *σιτόναι* of *SEG*. III. 92, *IG*. XII. 5. 817 etc. Those who serve in this capacity are generally traders or financiers themselves, e.g. Boulagoras of Samos (*SEG*. I. 366 = *Ath. Mitth.* XLIV. 1919. 25-29; Pouilloux [1960]. no. 3; Migeotte [1984]. no. 67) and Protogenes of Olbia (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 495 = *Rhein. Mus.* IV. 1836. 357-392, 571-597; Migeotte [1984]. no. 44). As for archaeological evidence, this can often be so slight as to be misleading; so Zaleskij (1984). 29 n. 48 linking amphorae marked ΔAZ with Dazos of Azetium, and Frederiksen (1959). 109 nn. 136, 138 supposes that the Oppius and Plinius on Delos were bronze workers from Capua, despite the wide dissemination of all three names.
- (15). So for example Hatzfeld (1919). 26 on the Delphian *proxenia* lists: "on a peine à croire que tous ces Italiens aient traversé l'Adriatique uniquement pour venir consulter l'oracle d'Apollon ou assister aux Pythia: ce sont vraisemblablement de simples *negotiatores*". Also above,

ch. 1 n. 10.

(16). Plut. *Aratos* XII; Hatzfeld (1919). 19-20; Walbank (1933). 39; Donati (1965). 7; Starr (1980). 31, (1989). 55.

(17). *ILLRP*. 245; Blinkenberg (1941). II. 315 no. 92; Pugliese-Caratelli (1946). 399; Forrest (1956); Cassola (1960. 1); Donati (1965). 5-6.

(18). *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>. 1652, 1660, 1919.

(19). Gomme (1933).

(20). Casson (1971) esp. 273-280 and 280 n. 43 on Cic. *ad Att.* 16. 6. 1, but generally 97-135 and 157-168 on the wide varieties of vessels, and 157 n. 1 on the versatility of the term *πλοῖον*; Hopkins in Garnsey and Whittaker (1983). 97-102.

(21). The extremes here are Hieron's *Syracusia*, designed in 240 by Moschion and Archimedes, described by Athenaeus V. 206d-209 and estimated at around 4000 tons' capacity: Casson (1971). 191-199; and the Illyrian or Liburnian racing lighter adopted by the Romans, described by Appian *Ill.* 3 and Lucan *III.* 534 and discussed by Panciera (1956).

(22). Hdt. *III.* 59; Plut. *Per.* XXVI. 3-4 on its dimensions and design by Polykrates in the sixth century.

(23). Rougé (1953). 295-297; Casson (1974). 151. Thuc. *III.* 77 demonstrates that the *Paralos* and *Salamina* doubled as state galleys and warships, whilst Appian *Ill.* 7 implies that a small flotilla accompanied the Coruncanii in 230; L. V. 28. 1-5 on the Roman embassy to Delphi of 394 who must have at least looked like pirates; L. XXIX. 11 on the five quinquiremes assigned to the embassy to Pergamon in 205 to convey an impression of dignity. Robert (1940-65). XI/XII. 505-541 publishes a decree exemplifying the personnel required on a diplomatic voyage.

(24). Casson (1974). 151; Rougé (1966). 85-97; Thuc. VI. 30, VII. 33 on Kerkyra's place on the crossing to Iapygia. On the sailing season in general, Casson (1971). 270-273.

(25). E.g. Plautus *Mercator* 11-12 for the two-year trading mission of Charinus.

(26). E.g. Cicero en route from Athens to Ephesos, covering only two hundred miles in two weeks with stops at Keos, Gyaros, Syros, Delos and Samos; *ad Att.* 5. 11. 4, 5. 12, 6. 8. 4, 6. 9. 1. cf. Pliny *Ep.* 10. 15-17 for the direct sailing from Rome.

(27). *Od.* II. 382-434, XII. 284-287, XIII. 35, XV. 296 for the antiquity of the science; Strabo II. 131-132C on the geographical astronomer Hipparchos, XVI. 757C on the Phoinikian mastery of the art; Thuc. II. 97 for the practice. Casson (1959). 38, 77-78, 127; Gomme (1933). 17 n. 6.

(28). Thuc. VII. 25; the majority of Syracusan ships made the longer, safer journey via Italy, but one took the swifter, more direct route to Sparta. Similarly, Lucretius in 171 crossed directly from Messina to Kephallenia in only five days: L. XLII. 48. 9. The route from Zakynthos to Aitna took up to sixteen days: Procop. *Bell. Vand.* I. 13. 22.

(29). Dell (1967). 350-351, (1970). 35-36 on the navigational hazards of the Adriatic; Diod. XV. 13. 1-3 on Dionysios' belief that control of Epiros meant control of the crossing to Greece; App. *Ill.* 3, Diod. XXI. 4. Tod (1948). no. 200. 223-5 on the various Illyrian, Iapygian and Etruscan pirates.

(30). Strabo VII. 317C.

(31). Thuc. 1. 36. 2; Xen. *HG.* VI. 2. 9.

(32). Leukas: Thuc. VII. 2. 1. Kephallenia and Zakynthos: Thuc. VII. 31. Gomme (1933). 22-23.

(33). An example comes from Oiantheia in Lokris in the form of a fifth century covenant with Chaleion that all passing traffic, barring that of each other, should be fair game: *IG IX.1.333*.

(34). Casson (1974).152. Compare the record run from Korinth to Puteoli of four and a half days: Philostr. *Vit.Ap.* VII.10. Also Epidamnos to Rome in four and a half days: Procop. *Bell.Goth.* III.18.4.

(35). See nn.26 (on Pliny *Ep.* 10.15-17) and 39. Also *IGRR IV.841*, the epitaph of a merchant, Flavius Zeuxis, who rounded Maleia 72 times on his way from Hierapolis in Asia Minor to Italy.

(36). Ormerod (1924).22; Casson (1959).155-156. Strabo VIII.378C for the cautionary proverb on rounding the cape; Hdt. VII.235, Arist. *Pol.*1271b, P. V.95, L. XXXIV.29 for its various infestations by pirates.

(37). Frederiksen and Ward Perkins (1957); Casson (1974).176-182; Cook (1979).152-153. To use Boiotia as an example, Paus. IX.32.1-2 for Kreusis as the port of Thespiai, whence Strabo VIII.380C, IX.404, 408, 412C speaks of the wide network of roads that would lead to the Euripos ports (e.g. Tanagra: Dikaiarchos of Messenia *FHG II.257* on its welcome for travellers) whence (Strabo IX.400C) one took ship to Egypt, Kypros, the islands, Makedon, Propontis and the Hellespont.

(38). Hammond (1931-2).139-147, (1967).37-38, (1972).19-175, maps 2, 5 & 18, (1989); Oost (1954).1-2; Cabanes (1976).map 2; Hammond and Walbank (1988).52-54, 459 n.1, 460.

(39). Casson (1974).151.

(40). Casson (1971).297-299. The African route was impassable for the first half of the third century under the terms of the treaties with Carthage: see below, n.71.

(41). Strabo IX.400C on the routes from the northern Euripos to Makedon, Propontis and the Hellespont, broken in contrast with the *συνέχων* route to Egypt, Kypros and the islands.

(42). See n.38.

(43). L. XXXVIII.44.4; also e.g. *IC IV.174.16-17*.

(44). Larsen (1968).270-272 on Akarnania, 281 on Epiros, for example. The former is concerned especially with the *πεντηχοστή* and other *τέλεα* to be collected during the Aktian games, there being a strict distinction between the dues from the festival, from manumissions and from harbours. See *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.582-3*; Habicht (1957.2); Pouilloux (1960).no.29. In general on the taxes of navigation, Velissaropoulos (1980).205-231.

(45). Velissaropoulos (1980).207-215, esp.210: "du fait que la *pentekoste* frappe le commerce maritime, il est permis de penser qu'elle est perçue à l'endroit même où les naoclères et les commerçants chargent ou déchargent les cargaisons, autrement dit dans le port". The best example comes from Kyparissia: *SIG<sup>3</sup>.952*, though others are cited in Velissaropoulos (1980).208 n.17.

(46). Bogaert (1968).315-331, exemplified in Bogaert (1976) nos.21-24; Crawford (1985).14-15 on the difference in systems of reckoning between N.W. and S.E. Italy, 37 on Roman and Greek issues circulating side by side in Italy until the Second Punic War, and 115 for Sicily as a melting pot for Roman and local currencies even after the Second Punic War on account of Roman business interests there.

(47). *IG XII.5.817* with Bogaert (1968).176-178; Homolle (1884).90; Reinach (1911).351; Hatzfeld (1919).197; Larsen (1938).360.

(48). See n.44.

- (49). Williams (1956-7), citing Pringsheim (1950).350-351; Schulz (1951).526-538; Talamanca (1953).53; Jolowicz and Nicholas (1972).279-304; Baslez (1984).158-160.
- (50). L. XXI.63: cargoes over 300 *amphorae*, the estimated quantity of the produce of one estate. Toynbee (1965).II.186-189; Alföldy (1984).36-37.
- (51). Velissaropoulos (1980).esp.34-37.
- (52). Knorringa (1926).46-47, 51-52, 96-98, 113-118; Hasebroek (1923).422-425, (1928).1-20; Baslez (1984).166-171.
- (53). Plut. *Cat. Mai.* XXI; Toynbee (1965).II.187-189, 249-250, 350 n.3 (on absence of middle-classes in 264).
- (54). Casson (1974).94; Garnsey and Whittaker (1983).4; also Velissaropoulos (1980).35-37; cf. Hopkins in Garnsey and Whittaker (1983).96-97.
- (55). Velissaropoulos (1980).29-34; Hopkins in Garnsey and Whittaker (1983).94-96.
- (56). *Geographical Handbook* (1944).II.302-303; also Kyparissia, Korinth, Navplion, Pílos, Stílís and Yíthion, by contrast with the major ports of Peiraiæus, Thessaloníki, Patrai, Volos, Kalámai, Kaválla, Alexandroúpolis, Lávrion, Katákolon and Préveza.
- (57). Strabo VIII.380C, IX.409C; Paus. IX.32.1-2.
- (58). Twelve of the twenty one extant plays are set in Athens. For the harbour as a business centre, *Merc.* 256, *St.* 366 etc.
- (59). Casson (1971).183-190 on the various tonnages of freighters, with a contrast between those operating out of Alexandria bound for the Western Mediterranean (e.g. the *Isis*: Lucian *Nav.*5, Casson [1950]) and those more modest vessels unearthed by maritime archaeology.
- (60). So Liddell and Scott sv. ἀγορά, ἐμπόριον, μάκελλον; OLD sv. 'emporium', 'forum', 'macellum'.
- (61). Torelli (1987); Greco and Theodorescu (1983).esp.70-71, (1987).esp.68-71; Gros and Torelli (1988).142-144; Greco (1980).23-36.
- (62). Gros and Torelli (1988).143-144.
- (63). *Amph.* 1009-1014.
- (64). So in the OLD, *emporium* is either a business quarter of a city (Varro *RR* 2.9.6, Cic. *ad Att.* 5.2.2, Vitruv. 1.7.1., L. XLI.27.8) or a small town attached to a larger centre (L. XXXII.17.3, Pliny *NH* V.60, VI.72). The *macellum* to Terence (*Eun.*255) was the home to *cuppedenarii*, *lanii*, *coqui*, *fartores* and *piscatores*.
- (65). *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.102, 107; schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 137.
- (66). Generally, Rudolph (1935); Bonnefond (1983); esp. Drerup (1976); Miller (1984).esp.15, 19. Mason (1974) ought to be scolded for omitting this topic from his enquiry.
- (67). Niese (1893-1903).I.65-66; Hatzfeld (1919).5, 18-19; Toynbee (1965).I.287-289; Starr (1980).28-29.
- (68). DH XIX.5; App. *Samn.* VII.2; Dio fr.39.6-8; Zon. VIII.2.
- (69). See above n.17, but note Cassola's opinion that Latin was used because it was better known in the Eastern Mediterranean than Oscan. *ID* 442B.138, 1450.116 for untranslated ῥωμαῖκα γράμματα.
- (70). Plut. *Cat. Mai.* XII; Astin (1978).160. Note Aemilius Paullus using Cn. Octavius as a translator at Amphipolis in 167: L. XLV.29.3.
- (71). Serv. *ad Aen.* IV.628, the infamous "Philius treaty" dismissed by P. III.26.3-5, by contrast with his three treaties of 508 (III.22.1-3), 348 (III.24.1-13) and 279/8 (III.25.1-5); Walbank (1957-79).I.337-355.

Diodoros recorded two treaties, in 348/7 and 279/8 (XVI.69.1, XXII.7.5). Livy recorded four by implication; he mentioned one in 348 (VII.27.2) which was "tertio renovatum" in 306 (IX.43.26) and "quarto...renovatum" in 279/8 (*Per.*XIII). Thus his third one is taken to accord with Servius', the Philinus treaty; his first one is referred to as "foederibus vetustis" in IX.19.13, presumably that of 508. The arguments for and against Philinus' treaty are marshalled in Hoyos (1985).92-93 n.6, to which we can add only Scullard *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.532-536. Although Hoyos himself militates against the treaty, it seems reasonable that there was some rapprochement between Rome and Carthage in 306, in much the same way as there was with Tarentum and Rhodes and also with Demetrios Poliorketes (Strabo V.232C). Formal or informal, the traditions relating to these rapprochements are strongly linked to the development of Roman seapower, acknowledged in 311 by the appointment of *duoviri navales* (L. IX.30.4); circumstance is surely a strong indication of fact. Rome and Corsica: Theophrastus *Hist. Pl.* V.8.2.

(72). App. *Samn.* VII.2. De Sanctis (1907-64).II.347; Cary (1920); Thiel (1954).20-26. Also with the disputed Romano-Rhodian compact, for which see below, ch.viii n.50.

(73). See above, n.71. cf. L. IX.38.2-3, 41.3; Thiel (1954).9-12.

(74). Ormerod (1924).ch.1 & 2, 159-160; Dell (1967).354-356.

(75). Thiel (1946).11-16, (1954).36-47.

(76). Thiel (1946).esp.31. For these treaties, Toynbee (1965).I.258-262.

(77). Crawford (1974).37-42, 615; Starr (1980).43-45. Neatby (1950), that this was facilitated by the supply of Egyptian silver, is contradicted by Crawford (1985).28-32.

(78). Dio fr.42; Val. Max. VI.6.5; Zon. VIII.7. cf. L. *Per.*XV.

(79). Vell. I.14.7-8; L. *Per.*XV; Eutrop. II.16; Salmon (1969).63-64 with n.87 on Firmum.

(80). Frank *CAH* VII.699.

(81). Salmon (1969).64.

(82). Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952) = *SEG* XII.370, 378-380.

(111). THE HONOURS.

- (1). Gschnitzer *RE* sv 'Proxenos' Suppl. XII (1973), cols. 629-730.
- (2). *Euergesia*: Gauthier (1985). 18-24, with comment on Francotte (1910). 194-202; Veyne (1976). 192, 215; also Wilhelm (1942). 21-23; Roesch (1982). 311-312; Baslez (1984). 122-125. *Proxenia*: Gauthier (1985). 134-149; also Francotte (1910). 169-190; Hasebroek (1928). 137; Schaefer (1932). 18-28; Perlman (1958); J. & L. Robert *BE* 1959. 350; Marek (1984); Baslez (1984). 39-40, 111-125, 314. For the dormant potential of *proxenia*, see *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 656 with Walbank (1957-79). III. 440; Edlund (1977); Gruen (1984). 166 n. 56; Braund (1989). Note L. V. 28. 4, with Ogilvie (1965). 690, for *hospitium* as the virtual Roman equivalent.
- (3). Gauthier (1985). 137-140 that the multiplication of *proxenoi* in the one state merely reflects the variety of services that might be required.
- (4). So Roesch (1982). 301-306, for example, on the cost of *proxenia* decrees to the Boiotian cities.
- (5). Sifakis (1967). 99-105; Nachtergaeel (1975). 313-315. *Promanteia*, *proedria* and *prodikia* to Isthmian and Nemeian guild: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 460 = *FD* III. 1 p. 85 n. 1. *Asylia*, *asphaleia* and *ateleia* to Athenian guild: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 399 = *FD* III. 2. 68. 61-94 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 1132. 1-39.
- (6). Nachtergaeel (1975). 314; his no. 19 (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 431) is the only decree to link explicitly the honours with the performance. Sifakis (1967). 104 and nn. 2-9 makes the distinction between guild actors and other artists or musicians who performed for the god free of charge. Aristarchos: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 488, *SGDI*. 2519. For those secular characters who crowded the sanctuary at festival time, Baslez (1984). 277. The consequent profitability of a successful festival: Strabo X. 486C; *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 695. 34-6; Welles (1934). 234, 286.
- (7). Robert (1951). 179-216 on *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 492; Gauthier (1984). 140-147. Flacelière (1937). 88 on the general uncertainty.
- (8). Baslez (1984). 229-233; Gauthier (1985). 39-53. P. V. 11. 6 on Philip II; P. XXVI. 10-11, L. XLI. 20. 5 on Antiochos IV; *FD* III. 3. 237 for Eumenes at Delphi, etc. *FD* III. 3. 157 for Hierokles of Syracuse adds to Gauthier on hellenistic monarchs never being directly honoured, but always by association.
- (9). P. II. 62. 1 on the disparity between public and private wealth. This is best illustrated by Migeotte (1984). nos. 40-42, wherein Istros as a city is in debt, most notably to Hephaestion of Kallatis, but still possesses individual citizens such as Diogenes and Dionysios capable of performing liturgies; although Hephaestion's honours are lost, they were probably "political" in the manner of Diogenes' and Dionysios', that is, *proxenia* and *euergesia*. See also Baslez (1984). 117-118 on Hyperides *contra Demosthenes* XXV.
- (10). Bogaert (1968). 106-116, 126-169 on the temple banks of Delphi and Delos; Athen. IV. 173, Migeotte (1984). no. 45 and Vial (1984). 210-215 on Delos. Thus the formula in honours reading πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰς πόλιος: *FD* III. 3. 157, *IG* XI. 4. 642, 757, 759 etc.
- (11). Daux (1949). 2; also (1936). 16, (1944-5). 103, (1967); Boesch (1908); Francotte (1910). 190-194; Nachtergaeel (1975). 345-355; Ziehen *RE* sv 'Theoros' vol. V. 2, cols. 2239-2244.
- (12). So the prosopography of *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 95. 39-86, esp. the Syracusans Dion and Herakleides (Diod. XVI. 9-20), Hiketas of Leontini (Diod. XVI. 67-69).

- 6) and Mamercus of Catana (Diod. XVI.69.4).
- (13). Francotte (1910).191; Plassart (1921).46-67; Manganaro (1964).422-439; Daux (1967). So the intent behind *FD* III.1.109; see below under Zopyros of Tarentum.
- (14). Gauthier (1985).22-23, 146 and esp. 135: "pourquoi briguer et accorder des privilèges sans valeur ?" cf. Francotte (1910).181-190, esp. 189: "ces privilèges...doivent rester lettre morte pour beaucoup de proxènes".
- (15). For Delphi at least, this applies only for the first half of the third century; after around 240, *proxenoi* are inscribed in block annual grants under standard formulae which cannot be interpreted.
- (16). Pečirka (1966); Francotte (1910).185; Larsen (1967).20; Roesch (1982).302-303 on the distinction between city and league grants; Baslez (1984).120-122. Toynbee (1965).I.199 n.2 translates this directly as the Latin *ius commercii*; this is plainly absurd.
- (17). Best exemplified by *FD* III.2.68 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.1132 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.399; Aitolian grants to similar effect are *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.175 = *FD* III.3.218B.5-8 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.507, for the Ionian and Hellespontine guilds; *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.192 = *FD* III.2.134A to Teios. Note that those such as the Abderitans who cannot guarantee it do not grant it (Avezou and Picard [1913].124-125 no.2); also the Delphoi for Megakles of Neapolis (*FD* III.2.177). Also the difference between these grants to people, and those to sanctuaries and cities; Robert (1930).330 n.2; Flacelière (1937).236 n.3, 263.
- (18). Francotte (1909).296, (1910).184-187; Larsen (1967).20.
- (19). Plautus *Mercator* 87-97; *Menaechmi* 24-28; *Bacchides* 235-238, with Barsby (1986).93-97.
- (20). Robert (1951).179-216 on *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.492; Baslez (1984).276; Roesch (1982).301-302 on the precise range of exemptions; Larsen (1967).277 is surely too hasty.
- (21). See above, ch.ii n.49 on the difference between Greek and Roman laws of contract.
- (22). Avezou and Picard (1913).124-126 nos.2 & 3.
- (23). Strabo IX.418-90; Baslez (1984).275-278; Roesch (1982).302 on the assumption that there must have been a federal tax on foreign nationals.
- (24). Strabo IX.400C.
- (25). Francotte (1910).186. *Proxenia* decrees: e.g. Avezou and Picard (1913).124-126 nos.2.20-23 and 3.19-22. Isthmian declaration: P. XVIII.44-46; L. XXXIII.30-33; Plut. *Flam* X-XII; App. *Mak*. IX.3-4; Iust. XXX.4.17-18; Val. Max. IV.8.5; Zon. IX.16.12. Perseus' amnesty: P. XXV.3.1-2 with Walbank (1957-79).III.275-276; Meloni (1953).74-77; Giovannini (1969).
- (26). Francotte (1910).184; Baslez (1984).117-118, esp. on Hyperides *contra Demosthenes* XXV; Gauthier (1972).137-138, 231-233, (1985).145-146. Note that this privilege is unheard of at Delphi and is qualified (μετά τὰ ἱερά) at Delos and Abdera; e.g. *IG* XI.4.642, Avezou and Picard (1913).124-125 no.2.18-20 (where it appears as *ephodos*).
- (27). *Promanteia*: Pouilloux (1952) for the pecking order involved in such grants.
- (28). Gauthier (1985).146:  
"en décernant la proxénie, toute communauté devait avoir conscience que, suivant les circonstances, l'étranger lui serait plus ou moins utile à l'avenir et qu'il aurait l'occasion, plus ou moins fréquemment, de jouir de ses privilèges. La proxénie ayant une

double valeur, les hasards de la destinée faisaient que tel ou tel aspect de l'institution prenait le pas sur l'autre."

(iv). DELPHI.

- (1). von Effenterre (1953). 168.
- (2). *SEG* XII. 218; Dunant (1951). 310 n. 2; Daux *BCH* LXXVII. 1953. 698.
- (3). Bourguet, *FD* III. 1. 135, notes the doubling of the consonant  $\chi$  in the patronymic, with the parallel of *BCH* XXVI. 1902. 93.
- (4). De Sanctis (1907-64). II. 291-343; Piganiol (1967). 187-191; Heurgon (1980). 327-333; Cornell *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>. 2. 372-377.
- (5). Bourguet (1919), Pouilloux (1952) for Tarentum's right of access and priority before all other Italiote Greeks.
- (6). Flacelière (1937). 425-426 App. II. 8; Daux (1943). F17. Bourguet under *FD* III. 1. 109 notes that the name Zopyros is too common for any attempt at attachment to an historical individual.
- (7). De Sanctis (1907-64). II. 351-368; Piganiol (1967). 191-193; Heurgon (1980). 33-334; Cornell *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>. 2. 379-381. Asklepios: L. X. 47. 6-7, *Per.* XI; Val. Max. I. 8. 2; Auct. de *Vir.* III. 22. 1; Ovid *Met.* XV. 622-744; Plut. *RQ* 94; Lact. *Inst. Div.* 2. 8.
- (8). Flacelière (1937). 50-77, (1968). 298 on Plut. *Dem.* XL. 7-8; Bousquet (1957). 494-495; Nachtergaele (1975). 196 n. 299, 297; Habicht (1979). 39-44.
- (9). The *theoria* departed some six months before the holding of the festival, by which time it would be clear that Demetrios had made alternative arrangements: Daux (1949). 1 n. 1; Rougemont (1973). 89-99; Nachtergaele (1975). 89-99. Our theory here, however, assumes that these arrangements were made by 293/2, so supporting Flacelière (1937). 72 on an early date for the rupture between Demetrios and Aitolia, in partnership with Boiotia and Kleonymos; Plut. *Dem.* XXXIX. 2; Beloch (1925-7). IV. 1. 225 n. 1.
- (10). See n. 5.
- (11). So Flacelière (1937). 57 assumes that the Pythia of 294 progressed as scheduled; also 88 on the continued juridical arrangements of Delphi signified by *FD* III. 1. 486; 220-226 in general.
- (12). Tarentum in 293/2: De Sanctis (1907-64). II. 369-374; Ciaceri (1932). III. 30-35; Wuilleumier (1939). 97-98; Franke *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>. 2. 458. Following Agathokles' intervention, the city was outwardly inactive, in which case Zopyros is our only source. The *a fortiori* links between a Delphic ally and Aitolia: Flacelière (1937). 88, 221. Pyrrhos' links with Delphi: Daux (1968). Pyrrhos' relations with Aitolia from 289: DH XX. 1; *SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 369; Flacelière (1937). 77-78, 189-190; Lévêque (1957). 142-147; Daux (1968). 298 n. 3; Garoufalas (1979). 39-42. The Tarentine appeal of 281: DH XIX. 7; Justin. XVIII. 1. 1; Zon. VIII. 2. 8-11; Oros. IV. 1. 4; Florus I. 18. 2; Plut. *Pyrr.* XV. 1; Front. I. 4. 1; Wuilleumier (1939). 107; Lévêque (1957). 280-284
- (13). Paus. X. 15. 2, 16. 4, 18. 7; Kallimachos *Hymn to Delos* 183-185; Flacelière (1937). 104-123; Nachtergaele (1975). 196-205, 202-203 n. 330 for the coinage established to celebrate the victory, 195-196, 262-273, 279-294 on their position in the Amphiktyony after 277.
- (14). Diod. XXII. 2. 2-4; Bérard (1957). 231-232. Diod. XXIII. 1. 2 for the Mamertine ravaging of Gela. On the ethnic, Kaibel *IG* XIV p. 42; Cic. *Verr.* III. 43. 103; Manganaro (1964). 415 n. 15.
- (15). Pyrrhos' campaigns in Sicily of 277, during which he brought the whole island under his control barring Lilybaeum: Plut. *Pyrr.* XXII. 6-12; Diod. XXII. 10. 2-4; Justin. XXIII. 3. 4; DH XX. 8; Oros. IV. 6. 33; Lévêque (1957). 475-487; Garoufalas (1979). 104-112.

(16). P. III.25.2-5; L. *Per.* XII; Diod. XXII.7.5; Iustin. XVIII.2.1-3; Beloch (1925-7).IV.2.476-479; Willeumier (1939).125-131; Lévêque (1957).415-418; Walbank (1957-79).I.349-351; Garoufalas (1979).98-99 and n.10; Franke *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>.2.475-477.

(17). See n.12 above, esp. Flacelière (1937).189-190.

(18). Lévêque (1957).303-307; Garoufalas (1979).61 for those who invited Pyrrhos to Italy in 281, a Greek coalition of Tarentum, Thurii, Heraclea and Metapontum (cf. L. XXXI.7.11) alongside Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, Messapians and perhaps also Apulians. Pyrrhos' ready acceptance as king of Sicily: P. VII.4.5; Iustin. XXIII.3.1-3; Diod. XXII.8.4-5; Plut. *Pyrr.* XXII.6; Zon. VIII.5.10; DH XX.8; Lévêque (1957).459-464; Walbank (1957-79).II.35-36; Garoufalas (1979).102-104 n.46.

(19). Gauthier (1985).137-147.

(20). Neapolis' alliance with Rome: L. VIII.26.6; De Sanctis (1907-64).II.297-302; Napoli (1959).20; Piganiol (1967).188; Heurgon (1980).326-327. Date of Pyrrhos' retirement from the west: Plut. *Pyrr.* XXVI.1; Pliny *NH* XI.186; Zon. VIII.6.7; Iustin. XXV.3.3; Oros. IV.2.7; Polyæn. VI.6.1; Paus. I.13.1; Lévêque (1957).534-536; Garoufalas (1979).122 n.53. Rome's reduction of S. Italy: De Sanctis (1907-64).II.418-426; Ciaceri (1932).III.79-100; Calderone (1975); Heurgon (1980).342-343.

(21). P. I.20.14, VI.14.8; L. VIII.26.6, XXV.16, XXXVI.42; Vell. I.4; Strabo V.246C; Cic. *Balb.* 55; Zon. VIII.4; Sartori (1953).45; Heurgon (1980).327.

(22). See Section D ch.iii below for this in practice in the second century. Baslez (1984).273-278 for the *πανήγυρις* as a medium for communication and interchange; P. III.91 for Campania as a natural conduit for such communication in everyday terms, being the port for traffic *ἐκ τῆς πάσης οἰκουμένης*.

(23). Dittenberger *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.396; Homolle (1899).549; Beloch (1925-7).IV.2.282-283; Flacelière (1937).445; Walbank (1957-79).II.41-2.

(24). Iustin. XXIII.4.4-5; Zon. VIII.6; P. VII.8.1-9.8.

(25). Walbank (1957-79).I.53-57.

(26). Daux (1943).F28, *FD* III.3.157 for the latter two dates, attributed to Flacelière; Dinsmoor (1939).61 n.236.

(27). So Holleaux (1902).302-310, (1918.2).9-16 (= [1938-68].II.1-16); Gauthier (1985).45 n.113 and 209; also Hansen (1971).19 n.32, 105 n.114, especially on the parallel of the imposition of obligation on the sons of Attalos I before they reached power. This indirect solicitation of monarchs also took in their representatives, ambassadors or generals; e.g. *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.629, *IG IX*<sup>2</sup>.1.179 for the *theoroi* of Eumenes II in 182. Homolle's opinion ([1899].549: "le decret est antérieur à l'avènement de son fils...on ne voit pas d'ailleurs qu'il [Hierokles] ait joué sous la règne de son fils un rôle quelconque") is thus devalued.

(28). Bourguet *FD* III.1.131; Flacelière (1937).441-442 App. II.26; Daux (1943).G8. The fall of Tarentum: L. *Per.* XIV; Dio fr.43.1; Zon. VIII.6; Oros. IV.3.220; Ampel. 46.2; De Sanctis (1907-64).II.418-419; Ciaceri (1932).III.79-90; Willeumier (1939).137-141; Piganiol (1967).210, 212; Franke *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>.2.483-485.

(29). L. *Per.* XIV, XXIV.13.1, XXV.7.11; P. I.20.14, II.24.13, III.75.4, VIII.24.3; Strabo VI.280C; Zon. VIII.6; Willeumier (1939).139-140.

(30). The possibility must be admitted that these men were exiles fleeing the trouble in Tarentum: Baslez (1984).62-67; Gauthier (1985).

146.

(31). See n. 28.

(32). Diod. XX. 104. 3; L. X. 2, XXV. 15; De Sanctis (1907-64). II. 294, 346, 385, 421 n. 4; Ciaceri (1932). III. 12-13; Lepore (1974). 322-324; Cary *CAH* VII. 640-641. See n. 18 above.

(33). Hence the embassy from Alexandria in 273 (Eutrop. II. 15), out of a similar cautious curiosity at a similar juncture; Holleaux (1921. 1). 60-64, 81-82; Neatby (1950). 89-91. The eclecticism of epigraphy prevents us knowing whether there were more decrees from Delphi in particular to acknowledge these changes in the Italian status quo; since two of Pyrrhos' Italian allies feature thus, one would be surprised if the other two, Thurii and Heraclea, did not.

(34). Flacelière (1937). 446-447 App. II. 32; Daux (1943). G16; Dittenberger *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 488, after Pomtow.

(35). Robert (1951). 179-216 on *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 492. 21-23; Flacelière (1937). 191-198.

(36). Nikitsky, *Journal* March 1905. 122; Daux *FD* III. 3. 202.

(37). Nikitsky's case implies either Amphiktyonic unfamiliarity with Camerina, as suggested by our own ignorance of much of her history; or the reverse, an intimacy with Camerina and both Camerinum in the Umbrian Apennines and Cameria in Latium. For all three would produce similar ethnics in a Greek transcription and so need a mark of distinction. See *RE* sv 'Cameria', 'Camerinum' vol. III cols. 1428-1429, using esp. Festus 268L and Plut. *Mar.* XXVIII. 2; also Piganiol (1967). 189; Heurgon (1980). 332. That the Delphic *theoroi* ventured far enough north to know this is attested by *FD* III. 2. 177 above.

(38). Amphiktyonic grant: *FD* III. 2. 68. 61-94, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 1132. 1. 39, *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 399. Delphic grant: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 460, *FD* III. 1 p. 85 n. 1. Aitolian grants: *FD* III. 3. 218B. 5-8, *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>. 175, *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 507.

(39). Sifakis (1967). 137-139, esp. on *FD* III. 68. 79-80, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 1132. 21-2, *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 99, *IG* XII. 9. 207. 61-5, contracts prearranged between individual artists and city to guarantee their performance.

(40). Nachtergaele (1975). 315-328 and nos. 12-20, though note 314 for the rider on all but the explicit no. 19, different in that it was neither *proxenia* nor *euergesia*, but a gold crown, and awarded not by Delphi but by the Amphiktyony. Note also 269-270, Flacelière (1937). 165-167 for the fact that the *Soteria* were annual; the point that these *proxenoi* were honoured in their year of performance may be devalued if every year was a year of performance. Artists and performers as *euergetai*, *IG* XI. 4. 528, 544, 572, 573, 577, 618, 638 etc.; Sifakis (1967). 22-23. cf. Gauthier (1985). 12, 27 on the apparent evolution of *euergesia* out of the honours accorded agonistic victors.

(41). Manganaro (1964). 414-418 on P. I. 24. 12, Diod. XXIII. 9. 5, cf. P. I. 37. 1, Diod. XXIII. 18. 1, XXIV. 1. 9, Sil. Ital. XIV. 198, Pliny *NH* III. 92; also on Plassart (1921). 25, 66, col. IV. 103; Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952). 21 n. 12.

(42). Sifakis (1967). 99-103; Casson (1974). 136-137; Baslez (1984). 58-62. cf. Nikokles of Tarentum (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>. 3779) who won victories at Athens, Delphi, Argos, the Isthmia, Makedon, Alexandria, Rhodes, Lebadeia and Epidauros; his son, Aristokles, was a favourite of Antigonos Gonatas (Athen. XIII. 603e, Diog. Laert. VII. 13).

(43). Baslez (1984). 278-282 for international centres such as Delos and Delphi as media for cultural, intellectual and political exchange.

(44). Flacelière (1937).193-202, Hammond and Walbank (1988).288-289 on the Aitolian reaction to the fall of Athens in this year, the recognition of Athens' ally Ptolemy Philadelphos' Ptolemaieia, from *ISE* 2.75; Nachtergaele (1975).262-273 on the extra vote on the Amphiktyony snaffled by Aitolia during the war. Note that this is shortly after the Apolloniate embassy to Rome and around the time of the Aitolian *proxenia* grant to L. Volceius, both discussed in ch.viii below.

(45). The early years of the First Punic War: De Sanctis (1907-64).III. 1.91-123; Thiel (1954).144-170; Piganiol (1967).216-217; Scullard *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.545-548.

(46). Our scenario suggests that Aristarchos left for Greece in late 264 and did not return until after the Pythia early in 261; if that is so, then his outward journey would be unaffected by a war concentrated on the Straits of Messina and his return journey would arrive in Camerina with the war established further west in Agrigentum.

(47). Nachtergaele (1975).317-323, nos.2bis.4, 4.7, 5.9, 8.30-1, 15 and 15bis.

(48). Sifakis (1967).136-139; Nachtergaele (1975).301-304, 335-336.

(49). Nachtergaele (1975).no.4; Flacelière (1937).396 App.I.18; Dinsmoor (1939). Kallias is perhaps that comedian of *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup>.2325 col.VI.221 (Nachtergaele [1975].247-248), although this is unlikely. Kleitorios also appears in Nachtergaele (1975).nos.7.11, 8.10 and 10.8, dated between 260/59 and 253/2 (Flacelière [1937].397-399 App.I.20, 21 & 23, between 256 and 253).

(50). Chremonideian War: Flacelière (1937).198-202; Hammond and Walbank (1988).280-289; Walbank *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.236-243. First Punic War: De Sanctis (1907-64).III.1.123-142; Thiel (1954).171-205; Piganiol (1967).217-218; Scullard *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.545-554. Rome's alliance with Syracuse: P. I.16.9; Diod. XXIII.4.1; De Sanctis (1907-64).III.1.116-119; Thiel (1954).164-165; Walbank (1957-79).I.68-69; Scullard *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.546.

(51). Nachtergaele (1975).326-327 no.8, cf. Flacelière (1937).397-398 App.I.21; Daux (1943).G23; Brauer (1986).114.

(52). On Delos: *IG* XI.2.108.18, 161A.86; Nachtergaele (1975).243. Tarentum: Wuilleumier (1939).611-656; Beare (1940).13, (1950).25-26; Gow (1958), Gigante (1971).80-131 on Leonidas; Brauer (1986).98-101, 113-117 on Rhinthon and Leonidas.

(53). *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.1.31.82.

(54). First Punic War: De Sanctis (1907-64).III.1.143-165; Thiel (1954).206-241; Piganiol (1967).218-219; Scullard *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.554-557. Antigonos Gonatas: Hammond and Walbank (1988).290-295.

(55). Nachtergaele (1975).no.10; Flacelière (1937).458-459 App.II.45; Daux (1943).G25.

(56). Colin *FD* III.2.186; Pomtow (1907).432; Bourguet *FD* III.1.107, 170, 174. cf. Daux (1943).H7; Flacelière (1937).461 App.II.48.

(57). Daux (1943).F6, H1; Flacelière (1937).451 App.II.37 and n.2; Baunack *SGDI* 2840; Bourguet *FD* III.1.176. cf. Musti (1977).118.

(58). App. *Samn.* XII.5-6; Diod. XXVII.4.3; DH XX.9-10; Val. Max. I.1 ext.1; Dio fr.40, 48; Auct. *de Vir.* III. XXXV.9; Lévêque (1957).497-501; Walbank (1957-79).I.75; Garoufalas (1979).113-117. This incident is crucial in the role reversal between Rome and Pyrrhos as oppressor and liberator respectively of the Italiote Greeks.

(59). Crawford (1985).32-33; Pozzi Paolini (1977).262-263, 278.

(60). Huxley (1966).esp.151-152, using Aelian fr.47 and Schwyzer<sup>3</sup>.366;

- also Leaf (1914-6); Wilamowitz (1920).384; Momigliano (1945.1).49-53.
- (61). Huxley (1966).153-154; Musti (1977).138-146, App.B, 'Il Trattato con i Locresi di Grecia'; P. XII.5-10 with Walbank (1957-79).II.330-347.
- (62). Iustin. XXVIII.1.5-6; Suet. *Div. Claud.* XXV.3, both discussed below in ch.viii.
- (63). *RE* sv 'Lokroi' vol.XIII col.1339; Musti (1977).108-120.
- (64). *FD* III.1.437. cf. Flacelière (1937).220-226. Block grants: *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.1.17 (Aitolia, third century), *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.585 (Delphi, second century).
- (65). Bourguet *FD* III.1.444; Flacelière (1928.1).202-203, (1937).475-476 App.II.64; de la Coste Messelière (1925).67-68; Daux (1943).F36, K7. The fact that Iamblichos mentioned a Deinokrates in *Pyth.*36 does not seem helpful.
- (66). Amyntas, Androtimos, Euthyon and Nikaïdas: Flacelière (1937). App.II.51, 57, 58, 62; Daux (1943).H6, K3, K4, K25.
- (67). P. II.2.12; App. *III*.VII.
- (68). Bousquet (1959).188: "vers 240-220, la Messénie tient à rester en dehors des ligues et des alliances, malgré la pression de la ligue achéenne en particulier". Also the word *παλαιάν* could scarcely refer to a Messene settled on Mt. Ithome only since 369.
- (69). *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.95.78-80; Plassart (1921).24 col.IV.90, 66.
- (70). The Roman alliance: Cic. *Verr.* II.5.50-52; Thiel (1954).128-143; Badian (1958).34-43; Toynbee (1965).I.436-437; Gruen (1984).66-67; Errington *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup>.84-85.
- (71). Flacelière (1928.2).263 n.5, (1937).477-478 App.II.68; Daux (1943).K29; Pomtow (1918).44-45; Baunack *SGDI* 2609; Tarn (1925).106-107.
- (72). So e.g. the three Ephesians in *SGDI* 2803 in 284/3, or the Tarentine or Geloian brothers discussed above. Knidos and Delphi: *SGDI* 2516, 2516A, 2664 (271/0), 2750-54 (around 280) and 2758 (240/39).
- (73). *SGDI* 2606-7, grants of *ateleia* and *enktesis* to Menon and Teisimachos, both without ethnics, in 257/6; 2608, *proxenia* with full rights to Polykrates son of Lysimachos, also without ethnic, in 246/5.
- (74). P. II.5.1-2; Paus. IV.35.5-7; Plut. *Kleom.* X.6.

#### APPENDIX Tarantinos

- (1). It seems probable that the Mnasitheos of Daux (1943).L25 (174/3) or L29 (170/69) is son of the Tarantinos of K15 (c.200) or L2 (197/6) and father of the Tarantinos of L63 (c.130); however, connections with the unassigned Tarantinoi of C19 (c.338), C29 (325), G21 (257/6), H7 (3rd cen.) and L24 (175/4), or the Mnasitheoi of G6 (274/3), G18 (c.260), K14 (205/3) and L47 (2nd cen.) are conjectural. Note also Tarantinos son of Hagesilaos (D4: 323-311) and Hagesilaos son of Tarantinos (L51, L54: c.140); Tarantinos son of Xenokritos (L73, L78, L81, L90: late 2nd cen.) and Xenokritos son of Tarantinos (L59: 140/39); and Tarantinos son of Dromokleides (M23: late 1st cen.) and the unassigned Dromokleideis of L23 (176/5), L25 (174/3), L42 (157/6) and L46 (2nd cen.).
- (2). Meritt (1961).220-221 n.17 col.IV.22-3; *SEG* XXI.426. cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.2975, perhaps in connection with Poliorketes' seizure of the city in 294; Wuilleumier (1939).667.
- (3). *IG* XII.Suppl.235 col.III.21.
- (4). Diod. XIX.29.2, 5. Then at Gabiene in 316 (Diod. XIX.39.2) and Gaza in 312 (Diod. XIX.82.2); under Poliorketes at Athens in 294 (Polyaen. III.7.1); at Leuktra with Kleomenes in 227 (Plut. *Kleom.* VI.4); under

Phyllidas in 218 (P. IV.77.7), Philopoimen at Mantinea in 207 (P. XI. 12.6-7, Plut. *Philop.* X.4), Antiochos III at Panion in 200 (P. XVI.18.7), Philopoimen and Nabis in 192 (L. XXXV.28.8) and Antiochos III at Magnesia in 189 (L. XXXVIII.40.13). cf. Willeumier (1939).666-691; Launey (1987).I.601-604.  
(5). Polyæn. IV.2.1; Griffith (1935).246.  
(6). Griffith (1935).246-247.  
(7). Martin (1887).418-423.

(v). TRAFFIC FOR ASKLEPIOS.

- (1). Casson (1974). 94, 82-84, 130-136.
- (2). *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*. 95.24, 39-91.
- (3). Dion of Syracuse, expelled by Dionysios only to return in 357/6 from Korinth to overthrow the tyrant, whereafter he was killed in 354/3 (Diod. XVI. 6.3-5, 9-20, 31.7); Herakleides was the lieutenant of Dion (Diod. XVI. 6.4-5, 16.2, 17.3); Kallippos, the suggested restoration of 1.62, succeeded Dion for thirteen months (Diod. XVI.31.7); Hiketas was tyrant of Leontini from 342 to 339, having been driven there by Timoleon (Diod. XVI.72.2-4, 77.5, 82.4); Alkippos of Catana was the son of the tyrant Marcus (Diod. XVI.69.4; cf. Plut. *Timol.* XIII.1, *Nepos Timol.* II.4 for the Oscan form Mamercus). The link between the first four and Epidauros may have been the ten years that Dion spent at Korinth marshalling his forces; otherwise, the Epidaurians were quick on the draw in recognising what were fairly short periods of office. Note also Perdikkas of Makedon and Tharyps of Molossia in the list (11.9 & 31; cf. Thuc. II.80); cf. Manganaro (1964).418 nn.33-34.
- (4). *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*. 263.
- (5). Nikokles: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*.3779, Paus. I.37.2. Dazos: *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*.225. For this Messapian name, Schulze (1933).26 n.4 on ID 442B.53, Dazos son of Daziskos of Azetium; Mitsos (1952).177-179 nos.10 & 11, J. & L. Robert *BE* 1983.237 on the sons of Dazos from Daunia; *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.141 on Dazos the son of the *oikist* of Issa; *SGDI* 1339, C. Dazos Polphennius of Brundisium.
- (6). Canusium's links with the Greek world: *IG XI*.4.642, Bouzos on Delos; *SGDI* 2581.14, Blattus at Delphi. That it was bilingual suggests that, like neighbouring Argyrrippa, it had a Greek origin; Strabo VI.283-4C, Hor. *Sat.* I.10.30.
- (7). Strabo XII.567C; L. X.47.6-7, *Per.* XI; Val. Max. I.8.2; Pliny *NH* XXIX.16; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* XXII.1-3; Ovid *Met.* XV.622-744; Besnier (1902).152-175; Edelstein (1945).II.252-253 n.8; Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).145.
- (8). Fregellae: Crawford and Keppie (1984).24-32; Coarelli (1986). Paestum: Gros and Torelli (1988).143. Antium: L. XLIII.4.7; Ovid *Met.* XV.718-724; Val. Max. I.8.2; Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).149-150. Also Tarentum (Julian *contra Gal.* 200B); Croton (Iambl. *Pyth.* 27.126); Agrigentum (P. I.18.2; Cic. *Verr.* IV.43.93); and Syracuse (Polyaen. V.2.19). Note also the hot springs and spas of Sicily, especially Himera, Selinus and Segesta (Strabo VI.275C) and the Lipari islands (Diod. V.10.1).
- (9). *ILLRP*.35-41; Besnier (1902).208-209; Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).148-149.
- (10). So for example those from Fregellae, catalogued by Ferrea and Pinna in Coarelli (1986).89-144, esp. the conclusions of Pinna, 143-144.
- (11). Tomlinson (1983).16. Edelstein (1945).197 n.9 notes the view of Nilsson that *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*.40 refers to an annual festival; this no doubt took place, but, as with the Delphic Pythia, the major celebration was only once every four years.
- (12). *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*.102 for the great temple; *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*.103 for the *tholos*; also probably the Artemision, the Epidoteion, the Theatre, the Stadium, the Abaton, the Greek baths and the temple of Themis/Aphrodite. Robert (F.) (1935).21-37; Burford (1969).32-35, 53-81; Tomlinson (1983).28-29.
- (13). Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952); Welles (1934).nos.21, 25-28;

- Bengtson (1955); Sherwin-White (1973). 111-114.
- (14). Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).no. 1, dated a little earlier, before 246; Welles (1934).no.21 dates it prior to 250. Kos' relations with Ptolemy: Welles (1934).122 and n.14; Bengtson (1955).459-460; Sherwin-White (1973).90-131, esp.95-97.
- (15). Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).nos.3, 11-13.
- (16). Bengtson (1955).459, from Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).no.6.7; the festival was April/May 241.
- (17). Sokolowski (1969).no.159; cf. Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).nos.5A.15, 12.13, 13.30-33.
- (18). Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).9-11.
- (19). Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).10; Gauthier (1985).42-45; *I. v. Mag.* 18-19; Welles (1934).nos.31-32.
- (20). See esp. P. I. 16.10; Hieron's treaty obligations demanded an indemnity but no troops or compulsory provisions, and even this was cancelled on renewal in 248. Walbank's musings on whether he was denied an independent foreign policy hereafter ([1957-79].I.69) are unexplained.
- (21). P. V.88-89, esp. 88.5-8; Rostovtzeff (1959).I.230; Cordano (1980).261. Hieron and Ptolemy: Athen. V.209a-b and less certainly, Theokrit. *Id.* XVI, with Gow (1973).II.305-307, 326, Walbank (1957-79).I.54; Carcopino (1919).56-70, Head *HN<sup>2</sup>*.183-185 on the relation between Ptolemaic and Syracusan fiscal systems. Syracuse's commercial contacts: see above, ch.iv on the family of Herakleides at Delphi and below, ch.vii on Archippos at Histiaia.
- (22). Perhaps the end of the First Punic War was the dividing line between the two elements in P. I.16.10, Hieron's provisioning of the Romans and his pandering to the whims of the Greeks. Thus once he had fulfilled the former, he could meet the Koan objections by returning to the activities implied in the previous note.
- (23). Simias: Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).21. Bengtson (1955).459 believes that, since Epidauros was in Sicily in the company of Sosistratos, Simias and Philophron remained in Italy to drum up support and gather information in the aftermath of the Punic War; Manganaro (1964).416.
- (24). Bengtson (1955).457-462; cf. above on *FD* III.2.177, the Delphic honours to Megakles of Neapolis, apparently for a similar purpose.
- (25). Rome and Epidauros: above, n.7. Rome's Ilian connection now: Bengtson (1955).460-461 on Suet. *Div. Claud.* XXV.3, discussed in full below, ch.viii; see also above, ch.iv on restart of the Locrian tribute to Ilium around the mid-third century.
- (26). Mommsen (1871-88).III.841 n.2; Bengtson (1955).458; Mason (1974).121-123.
- (27). *RE* sv Σύγκλητος vol.IVA.2 col.1410; Liddell and Scott sv σύγκλητος. In Athens, of the army (Ps.Eurip. *IA* 301; Soph. *Ant.* 159) and of an assembly summoned by the strategos rather than the κυρία ἐκκλησία (Decret. *ap. Dem.* 238.2, cf. 249.12; *IG* II.5.441c). To Aristotle, a legislative assembly (*Pol.* 1275.b8). Syracuse in 205: *I. v. Mag.* 72.3, 7. Agrigentum and Melite, after 210: *IG* XIV.952.10, 953.8.
- (28). Letter of Philip to Larisa in 218: *IG* IX.2.517.10. Carthage: P. X. 18.1. Achaia: P. XXIX.24.6; Walbank (1957-79).III.399, 406-414. Diod. XII.9.4 on fifth century Croton is doubtless possessed of similar hindsight.

- (29). Sherwin-White (1978). 329-330 on the cult of *Homonoia* on Kos.
- (30). Plut. *Timol.* XXXV.2 (with the reading Kos rather than Keos); Diod. XVI.82.7; Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).22; Bengtson (1955).457; Manganaro (1964).416-417.
- (31). Diod. XXIII.9.5, 18.1, XXIV.1.9; P. I.24.12, 37.1; Pliny *NH* III.89, 92; Strabo VI.272C; Robert (1940-65).XI/XII.520 n.2; Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).22; Manganaro (1964).414-415.
- (32). Manganaro (1964).417-418; cf. Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952).no.12.27-29, no.13.27-38.
- (33). Walbank (1933).53-64, *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.255, 446-451; Flacelière (1937).239-253; Hammond and Walbank (1988).307-329.
- (34). Flacelière (1937).239-244; Larsen (1968).206-207.
- (35). Paus. IV.35.5-7; Ormerod (1924).170; Dell (1967).352-353; Errington *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup>.826.
- (36). Laidlaw (1933).109-114; Heinen *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.1.432-433, 443-445; Walbank *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.1.242-243.
- (37). Delos: *ID* 296B.48 (Quintus, c.244); Robert (1936).I.51 no.42 (Ogulnius, 273?): *IG* XI.4.642 (Bouzos of Canusium, 240-232); *IG* XI.2.108.18, 161A.86 (Drakon of Tarentum, c.279); *IG* XI.2.115.25 (Serdon, c.259); Schulhof (1908).81 n.5 (Roman state dedication?). Tenos: *IG* XII.Suppl.313. Caria: Plut. *Arat.* XII.2-4. Rhodes: *ILLRP*.245.
- (38). Paton and Hicks (1891).no.45.12-13.

(vi). AITOLIA.

- (1). *FD* III. 3. 218B. 5-8; *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 175; *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 507.
- (2). *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 17A. 51-2.
- (3). Forrest (1956). 170; Badian (1958). 44 n. 4; Walbank (1963). 3; Starr (1980). 31; *et al.*
- (4). Poseidippos of Pella, 1. 24: Weinreich (1918). Damonikos of Torthyne, 1. 37: *FD* III. 2. 193; Plassart (1921). 14 col. II. 123. Pantaleon of Sikyon, 1. 85: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 1246. Dromeas of Athens, 1. 90: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 676. Theodoros of Patrai, 1. 132: *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*. 73. That Poseidippos is a poet does not mean that he was honoured for his poetry; equally, that Pantaleon was grandson of a flautist does not mean that he too was a flautist.
- (5). Woodhead (1897). 46-52; Rostovtzeff (1959). I. 214; Larsen (1968). 210; Davies *CAH VII<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 288. This economy as the *raison d'être* of Aitolian piracy: Thuc. I. 5; Aristotle *Pol.* I. 1256a; Ormerod (1924). 67-69; Jameson in Garnsey and Whittaker (1983). 8-9.
- (6). De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 91-123; Thiel (1954). 144-170; Piganiol (1967). 216-217; Scullard *CAH VII<sup>2</sup>*. 2. 545-548.
- (7). *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 3A with Klaffenbach (1951); Flacelière (1937). 193-202; Hammond and Walbank (1988). 289; Walbank *CAH VII<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 238-240.
- (8). Schulze (1933). 378 believes rather Tarquinii, although the implications are the same. Vulci: Toynbee (1965). I. 131, 368; Harris (1965). 290-292, (1971). 82-83, 95-97; Heurgon (1980). 244-247. Servius Tullius: Festus 486L; Div. Claud. ap. *CIL XIII*. 1668.
- (9). *RE* sv 'Volcei' vol. IXA. 1 cols. 759-760; L. XXVII. 15. 2; Pliny *NH* III. 98; *CIL X*. 403, 407, 482.
- (10). Harris (1965). 291-292; Heurgon (1980). 345-346.
- (11). Dessau *ILS*. 400, 2097.
- (12). The Aitolian predominance within the Amphiktyony, increased between 265/4 and 262/1: Klaffenbach (1926). 68-81; Flacelière (1937). 197-198; Nachtergaeel (1975). 262-273; Hammond and Walbank (1988). 289.
- (13). Flacelière (1937). 380-383.
- (14). Weinreich (1918). 437; cf. Klaffenbach comm. on *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 18. 10, on *IG XII*. 8. 151 and *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 417, 418A.
- (15). Iambl. *Pyth.* 267. Leon: even within our own study there is a Lucanian mercenary (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 1956. 49); a Messanaean athlete (*BCH* LXXXIII. 1959. 185); a Tarentine in Histiaia (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 492. 20); a Thurian in Aitolia (*IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 31. c. 18); and the father of Neon of Syracuse (*Klio* XVII. 1923. 157-158 no. 142).
- (16). *RE* sv 'Metapontum' vol. XV cols. 1358-1366.
- (17). *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 424B, 431 (259/8); 444D (250/49); 509 (230/29).
- (18). Steph. Byz. sv 'Akragas'; also in Thrace, Euboeia and Kypros.
- (19). Dorimachos: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 31k. Agemachos: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 25d. 60; perhaps also *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 444A (255/4) or 499 (238/7).
- (20). *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 24b. 6, a. 14-15, b. 7-8, a. 15, a. 10.
- (21). Note the story in Iustin. XII. 2, recorded also by Lykophron (*Alex.* 1056-1066), that the Aitolians founded Brundisium under Diomedes, but were expelled by the Apulians; an embassy sent on command of Delphi to secure the restitution of the city was killed and buried in the city, to fulfil the oracle which said that they would "perpetuam ibi sedem habituros". That this story was current in the late fourth century and was respected by Alexander of Epiros, suggests that the Aitolians held very definite interests in the crossing from Greece to Italy.

(vii). OTHER TRAFFIC.

- (1). Griffith (1935). 1: "poverty, despair and love of adventure are...the motives most likely to induce a man to become a mercenary."
- (2). Launey (1987). I. 604.
- (3). Launey (1987). I. 609.
- (4). Launey (1987). I. 599, 601-604, 609.
- (5). Reinach (1911). 400-409, on Eutrop. III. 1.
- (6). Magius Decius: L. XXIII. 10.
- (7). Neatby (1950). 97-98; Launey (1987). 606.
- (8). The other was Nikokles of Tarentum: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 3779. 19-20. The Basileia was a comparatively recent institution, from 305/4, and so did not affect Hdt. III. 139 on the frequency and purpose of Greek visits to Egypt.
- (9). Robert (1951). 179-216.
- (10). Strabo IX. 400C.
- (11). Robert (1951). 190-191, (1946). 507; Plassart (1921). 17 (col. III. 48-49), 53.
- (12). Robert (1951). 195-196; although unable to find Histiaian currency in either Syracuse or Tarentum, he did find it on the Adriatic coast, at Phoinike, Dyrrhachion and in the Narenta valley, and also in the region of Massalia.
- (13). Reynolds (1977). 303 n. 15, for Dionysios, a Syracusan, in Apollonia in the Kyrenaika in the late fourth century. Similarly, Habicht (1957. 1). 197-198 no. 30, for Meniskos of Syracuse on Samos around 306.
- (14). Ciaceri (1932). III. 92-98; Willeumier (1939). 143-144; Brauer (1986). 169-179.
- (15). Robert (1951). 180-181; Flacelière (1937). 193, 391-394, 396-398 App. I. 13-16, 18-21, for the presence of a Histiaian *hieromnemon* on the Amphiktyony between 266 and 255 for as long as the town remained free from Antigonos.
- (16). Talaria: Pliny *NH* III. 91; Theopompos *FGrH* II. 577; *RE* sv 'Talaria' vol. IVA col. 2061.
- (17). Eckstein (1985). 206-209; Paus. VI. 12. 4 and VI. 15. 6, which Eckstein imagines might be this statue. The cause for the statue was doubtless reflected in P. VII. 8. 6, Hieron's generally good repute in all Sicily.
- (18). L. IX. 20. 1, 26. 7, 28. 2; Diod. XIX. 2. 1, 76. 3; Fast. Cap. *ad loc.* Cassola (1960. 1). 387-389 n. 5, that he is not Roman, but Volscian, with a homophonous Latinised gentilicium.
- (19). *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>. 1919 (Ripatranceo), 1652, 1660 (Pompeii). Later in the east: *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>. 2255 (Delos); Jacobsthal (1908). 398 no. 22. 7 (Pergamon).
- (20). Schulze (1933). 360; Cassola (1960. 1). 386-387, especially on the absence of the *f.* to render the gentilicium Folius; Degrassi *ILLRP*. 245 that the omission of the *f.* and the praenomen as patronymic were "Graecorum more"; Starr (1980). 30-31 n. 15.
- (21). Cassola (1960. 1). 388-390, 393 that his use of Latin belied his true identity as a Volscian, but reflected the greater spread of Latinity as opposed to his native tongue; Cassola supports this by supposing that the stone-mason in Rhodes must have had some familiarity with the Latin alphabet to perform the task. cf. *IG XI*. 2. 133. 81 for Agathodoros the ῥωμαίστης on Delos around 170 who, by comparison with App. *Hannib.* XLI was a speaker of Latin; *ID* 442B. 138, 1450. 116 for recognised but untranslated ῥωμαίτικα γράμματα.

- (22). *IG II<sup>2</sup>.2325.316* has no ethnic.
- (23). Timon: *IG XII.5.816-7*. Tenos: Rostovtzeff (1959).II.693, 702; *IG II<sup>2</sup>.466* (statement of friendship with Athens in 307/6). Étienne and Braun (1986).210-218 show how the Chremonideian War caused a hiatus in trade between 262 and 229, whereafter Campanian wares began to appear from 220; 233-258 show the place of especially Rhodes and Knidos in this trade, particularly before 240. *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.191*, Aitolia's grant of *asylia*, shows how her contacts extended into this sphere. Although this decree is more concerned with the festival of Poseidon and Amphitrite, established in 278 (Strabo X.487C, Tac. *Ann.* III.63) than with any trade connections, it was certainly no hindrance to Tenian commerce.
- (24). *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.95.42*, 47-8; Plassart (1921).24 col.IV.89.
- (25). De Sanctis (1907-64).II.395-396, 421-422; Ciaceri (1932).III.88-90; Heurgon (1942).203-4; Walbank (1957-79).I.52-53 (esp. on Zon. VIII.6, Hieron's role in the reduction of 270); Badian (1958).34-36; Toynbee (1965).I.101-102; Franke *CAH VII<sup>2</sup>.2.467-469*; Scullard *CAH VII<sup>2</sup>.2.539-540*. Beloch (1901-2) and Cassola (1962).171-178 on the expediency that guided the senate in their dealings with the Campanians.
- (26). De Sanctis (1907-64).II.412, 421; Ciaceri (1932).III.88-90; Lévêque (1957).511-512; Franke *CAH VII<sup>2</sup>.2.469, 480*. Florus II.6.11 on the 'vastatio' in Southern Italy following the war; L. XXIV.3.1-2 on Croton in particular. Note Zon. VIII.6, with Cassola (1962).170, that Roman motivation as regards Croton was affected by the ἐπιτήδαιοι of P. Cornelius Rufinus within the city; cf. Briscoe (1963); Harris (1979).62-63.
- (27). See n. 23.
- (28). Zafeiropoulou (1983).175-176; cf. *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.2.434.22*.

(viii). ROME: INFLUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS.

- (1). L. III.31.7-8; DH X.52.3 cf. 51.1-6; Lyd. *Magg.* I.34; Zon. VII.18. cf. also L. I.56 on the embassy of Titus, Arruns and L. Iunius Brutus in 510. Ogilvie (1965).449-450 makes discussion of the validity of these accounts.
- (2). L. V.15-16; DH XII.10; Plut. *Cam.* IV.4.
- (3). L. V.28.1-5; Diod. XIV.93.2-5; Val. Max. I.1 ext.4; Plut. *Cam.* VII-VIII; App. *Ital.* VIII; Zon. VII.21. cf. Gruen (1990).9 n.18.
- (4). Arrian *Anab.* VII.15.5-6; Kleitarchos *FGrH* 137 F31; Pliny *NH* III.57; Strabo V.232C.
- (5). Cassola (1962). *passim*; also Forrest (1956).170-171; Dorey (1959); Errington *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup>.256-257. cf. Holleaux (1921.1).94-95; Briscoe (1963); Walbank (1963).4-5; Gruen (1984).203-249.
- (6). L. X.47.7, *Per.* XI, XXIX.11.1; Val. Max. I.8.2; Ovid *Met.* XV.622-744; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* XXII.1-3; Strabo XII.567C; Oros. III.22.5; Lact. *Inst. Div.* II.7.13, 16.11; Altheim (1938).283; Edelstein (1945).I.431-452 nos.845-861; Latte (1960).225-227.
- (7). Besnier (1902).162-163.
- (8). Oros. III.22.5 includes a stone emblem of the god, disputed by Besnier (1902).156-157.
- (9). Val. Max. I.8.2; Ovid *Met.* XV.718-727; Besnier (1902).161-162, 169-170. cf. Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).149-150, that the Antiates may have picked up the cult during their piratical peregrinations and established it in the temple attested by L. XLIII.4.7.
- (10). Plut. *RQ* 94; Pliny *NH* XXIX.16-18 cf. L. XXIX.11; Fest. 98L; Besnier (1902).171-175; Roesch in Sabbah (1982).173-174; Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).146.
- (11). Plautus *Curc.* 61-62, 216-221, 246-247, 260-263, 470; Besnier (1902).203-207; Altheim (1938).283; Latte (1960).226-227; Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).146-147.
- (12). Frank *CAH* VII.639-640.
- (13). L. X.18.8, DH XVII.3 on Rome's intervention on Lucania's behalf in 296; L. *Per.* XI-XIV on the subsequent wars against Lucania; Salmon (1967).257-258, 280-282; Cornell *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.378-380.
- (14). *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.95.24, 39-91.
- (15). Ovid *Met.* XV.701-702.
- (16). App. *Samn.* VII.1; De Sanctis (1907-64).II.347; Cary (1920); Thiel (1954).20-26; Schmitt (1969).60 n.444.
- (17). Besnier (1902).171-174, esp. 173; Macrobian *Sat.* III.9.7-8; Fest. 300L.
- (18). *RE* sv 'Angitia' vol.I col.2191; Vetter (1953).nos.204-208, 211; Salmon (1967).169 n.2.
- (19). Virgil *Aen.* VII.756-760; Solin. II.28-29.
- (20). De Sanctis (1907-64).II.359-364; Pignaniol (1967).191-193; Salmon (1967).270-276; Heurgon (1980).333-334; Cornell *CAH* VII<sup>2</sup>.2.379-381.
- (21). Parke (1988).193-195.
- (22). L. IV.25.1 cf. III.63.5, XL.51.6; Gagé (1935).19-113; Latte (1960).221-223; Ogilvie (1965).512-513, 574.
- (23). L. V.13.6 with Ogilvie (1965).654-657; Latte (1960).242-244.
- (24). Degrassi in Coarelli (1986).145-146, 150-152.
- (25). *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.4960a; Aristoph. *Plout.* 620-621 with schol.; Edelstein (1945).II.245-246; Parke (1977).63-64, 135; Roesch in Sabbah (1982).171.

- (26). The political state of Greece in 292: Plut. *Dem.* XXXIX-XL.6; Flacelière (1937).68-75; Lévêque (1957).135-139; Hammond and Walbank (1988).219-222; Will *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>.1.105-107. Attention was focussed on Boiotia, in revolt from Makedon, with the support of Kleonymos of Sparta (supposed author of the Romano-Tarentine treaty), Aitolia and Pyrrhos.
- (27). Ovid. *Met.* XV.630-640; Besnier (1902).162-163; Edelstein (1945).I.252 n.8; Roesch in Sabbah (1982).172. cf. L. X.31.6 for a preliminary consultation of the books in 295, which may in fact be Ovid's plea to Apollo.
- (28). Plut. *Dem.* XL.7-8; Flacelière (1937).50-57; Nachtergael (1975).196 n.299; Hammond and Walbank (1988).223-224.
- (29). *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.399; *FD III*.2.68; *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.1132.2-6; Flacelière (1937).113-123; Nachtergael (1975).195-196.
- (30). Similarly Zopyros who, if Ovid was correct, would have been at Delphi at roughly the same time as the preliminary Roman embassy; the intimation that this line of communication took Tarentum to Pyrrhos in 282 should not be neglected.
- (31). See ch.V n.11.
- (32). The proximity of Italy and Greece in this respect: Lévêque (1957).264-266; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.84.
- (33). Oros. IV.5.6; August. *de Civ. D.* IV.17; Parke (1988).194-195.
- (34). Pliny *NH XXXIV*.32; L. *Per.* XI; Val. Max. I.8.6; App. *Samn.* VII.1; De Sanctis (1907-64).II.375-379; Willeumier (1939).100-101; Thiel (1954).24-25; Lévêque (1957).308; Cassola (1962).159-160; Salmon (1967).281-282; Garoufalias (1979).56-61; Franke *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>.2.456-457. Thurii at Epidauros: *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.95.43.
- (35). Thiel (1954).20-26; Lévêque (1957).245-248; Cassola (1962).159-163; Garoufalias (1979).57-58 n.9; Harris (1979).182. cf. L. VII.29.1; Heurgon (1942).283; Lévêque (1957).245-246; Lipovsky (1981).96-101 on the roll-on effect of every Roman involvement from 343 onwards which eventually led to the reduction of the peninsula in 272, and of Sicily by 241.
- (36). Pyrrhos as a second Achilles in a second Trojan War: App. *Samn.* VII.2; Paus. I.12.1; Perret (1942).409-434 cf. Lévêque (1957).251-258; Gruen (1990).12.
- (37). Homolle (1896); Bourguet (1919); *SGDI* 2676. Bourguet dates the decree c.344/3 when Tarentum was hamstrung by the Lucanians; but Daux (1943).B3 places it earlier, some time after 373. The Agathon who proposed the decree was probably that architect of Bourguet (1902).72 col.II.20-22, grandfather of the Agathon of *SGDI* 2522 (264/3: Daux [1943].G17). Compare Strabo VI.280C on the removal of the Italiote Greek festival from Tarentine Heraclea to Thurii by Alexander the Molossian; a further example of religious antipathy between the states.
- (38). Pouilloux (1952); Amandry (1939).183.
- (39). See n.29. Aitolia's relationship with Pyrrhos: DH XX.1; *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.369; Flacelière (1937).77-78, 189-190; Lévêque (1957).142-147; Daux (1968).298 n.3; Garoufalias (1979).39-42. The influence of these events on Delphi can surely be judged by Nachtergael (1975).297, that the Amphiktyonic grant of *asylia* to the Dionysiac guild of Athens in 278 was occasioned by poor attendance at the Pythia of 286/5 and 282/1.
- (40). Dio fr.40.6; Porphyry. *Hor. Art. Poet.* 403 p.117; Cic. *de Div.* II.56.116; *SGDI* 1567; Willeumier (1939).108 n.6; Lévêque (1957).270-274; Garoufalias (1979).66 n.53.

- (41). The Pyrrhic Wars as a socio-political struggle: Wuilleumier (1939). 183-184; Sartori (1953). 87; Lévêque (1957). 247, 308; Heurgon (1980). 338. cf. Niese (1893-1903). II. 28; Garoufalias (1979). 57 n. 9. Compare ch. III above on the inevitably high social status of those chosen by Delphi as her *proxenoi* and *theorodokoi*.
- (42). DH XX. 14; Eutrop. II. 15; Val. Max. IV. 3. 9; L. Per. XIV; Dio fr. 41; Zon. VIII. 6. 11; Iust. XVIII. 2. 9.
- (43). Neatby (1950). cf. Crawford (1985). 28-32. Also Colin (1905). 32-35; Holleaux (1921. 1). 60-83; Walek (1925). 134-138; Lehmann-Haupt (1927). 153; Manni (1949). 79-87; Toynbee (1965). I. 284; Starr (1980). 63-64; Gruen (1990). 14 n. 38. cf. ch. V n. 21 above for Syracuse and Egypt.
- (44). See ch. II n. 71 above.
- (45). Robert (1936). I. 51 n. 42.
- (46). Head *HN*<sup>2</sup>. 86-87.
- (47). Laidlaw (1933). 97-106; Bagnall (1976). 117-158, esp. 136-141; Sherwin-White (1978). 92-97; Shipley (1987). 185-186; Heinen *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>. 1. 415.
- (48). Holleaux (1921. 1). 81 nn. 1 & 2.
- (49). Holleaux (1921. 1). 30-36 on L. XXVI. 24. 4 ('[Aetoli] gentium transmarinarum in amicitiam primi') and XXIX. 11. 1 ('tamen memores Aesculapium quoque ex Graecia quondam haudum ullo foedere sociata valetudinis populi causa arcessitum'); De Sanctis (1935). 72-73; Manni (1956). 190; also Carcopino (1961). 68-105; Walbank (1963). 2-3. cf. Walbank (1957-79). III. 424; Musti (1965). 413-414.
- (50). Schmitt (1957). 3-49; De Sanctis (1907-64). II. 406 n. 114; Walek (1925). 138-140; McDonald (1958). 184-185; Fraser (1959). 64-65; Cassola (1962). 28-32, 41-45; Walbank (1957-79). III. 423-425; Harris (1979). 65 n. 8; Heurgon (1980). 337; Starr (1980). 63; Gruen (1984). 68-69 n. 74; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 84 n. 5.
- (51). cf. Walek (1925). 139 n. 1, that the circumstances of the speaker prompted this misrepresentation; see below, n. 57.
- (52). Schmitt (1957). 36 n. 2; Cordano (1980). 259 n. 1.
- (53). Xenagoras *FGrH* 240 F29.
- (54). Antium: L. VIII. 13-14; Pliny *NH* XXXIV. 20; Eutrop. II. 7. 3; Flor. I. 5. 10. Neapolis: L. VIII. 22-26. *Duoviri*: L. IX. 30. 4 cf. XL. 30. 4, XLI. 1. 2-3. Thiel (1954). 8-12; Starr (1980). 62-63.
- (55). Strabo V. 232C.
- (56). Cary (1920). 170-173; Schmitt (1957). 44-46, with *SIO*<sup>2</sup>. 1225; Cordano (1980). 255-266.
- (57). Walbank (1957-79). III. 425. McDonald (1958). 185 suggested that Polybios combined two ideas, of 140 years of association, and of some great deeds in partnership. The extension of this, to salvage the idea of the embassy of 273 visiting Rhodes, would be that Polybios did not use the standard rendition of πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν, i. e. "in addition to the one hundred years"; rather, he used πρὸς with the dative in a sense of engagement or employment (διατρέβειν πρὸς τινι: Soph. *OT*. 1169; Plato *Phd.* 84c; Arist. *Pol.* 1308b. 36; P. XV. 27. 7), or in a similar sense to περί with the genitive in a sense of geographical proximity (*Od.* XIV. 398; Soph. *Tr.* 371, *Ai.* 95, *OT*. 180; Thuc. VII. 34). Thus the sense was of an association of one hundred years, of which forty had seen great deeds; the relationship thus began around 267, sufficiently close to 273 to admit identification with the embassy. Possible though this is, it remains unlikely.

- (58). Dio fr. 42; Zon. VIII. 7. 3; Val. Max. VI. 6. 5; L. Per. XV; DH XX. 14.
- (59). De Sanctis (1907-64). II. 428; Holleaux (1921. 1). 1-5; Thiel (1954). 37 n. 96; Badian (1958). 33 n. 1; Cassola (1962). 38-39; Cabanes (1976). 83-85, (1988). 268-271; Gruen (1984). 63-64; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 83.
- (60). The appearance of a Fabius in this context is surprising, given the place of his family on the embassies of 398 and especially 273; there is, however, no allowing for the actions of a maverick in prosopographical schematisation. For the date, see Korn (1973).
- (61). P. I. 10. 1-11. 3; Diod. XXII. 13-XXIII. 2; Dio fr. 43. 1-10; Zon. VIII. 8. 1-9. 5; Walbank (1957-79). I. 57-58.
- (62). Diod. XXIII. 1. 3; De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 93-102; Thiel (1954). 128-143; Badian (1958). 33-36; Cassola (1962). 178-192; Rich (1976). 119-127; Harris (1979). 185-190; Gruen (1984). 66-67; Scullard *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>. 2. 537-543.
- (63). Diod. XXIII. 4. 1; P. I. 16. 5-10; Zon. VIII. 9; L. Per. XVI; Eutrop. II. 19; Oros. V. 7. 3; De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 114-117; Badian (1958). 36-43; Eckstein (1980). 183-203; Gruen (1984). 67-68; Scullard *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>. 2. 546-547.
- (64). Frank *CAH VII*. 669 on the First Punic War as an effort on behalf of the Southern Italians to prevent the Adriatic approaches to Greece becoming a Carthaginian 'mare clausum'; failure to do so would have created such discontent as to threaten Rome's settlement of the peninsula.
- (65). Eutrop. III. 1.
- (66). Heinen *ANRW I*. 1. 638-639 for bibliography. De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 276; Walek (1925). 125-129; Manni (1949). 90-91; Neatby (1950). 97-98. cf. Holleaux (1921. 1). 75-76, (1926). 218 n. 1; Gruen (1984). 62 n. 4, 613 n. 5, 676. Walek's comments on the inevitability of Rome taking Egypt's part in the struggle with Syria (127-128) are particularly apposite for our study, even though they exaggerate the deliberation behind it.
- (67). *ID 296B*. 48. cf. Schulhof (1908). 81 n. 5 for what appears to be an early state dedication by Rome, now untraceable.
- (68). Suet. *Div. Claud.* XXV. 3.
- (69). Gruen (1990). 12-13 nn. 33-34, esp. on the Trojan basis of the appeal of Segesta to Rome.
- (70). Date and discussions: De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 277; Holleaux (1921. 1). 46-53; Walek (1925). 119-124; Badian (1958). 44 n. 3; Gruen (1984). 64-65, (1990). 13-14.
- (71). During the Laodikeian War, Seleukos turned over all Asia Minor west of the Tauros to Antiochos, nominally as co-regent but effectively as independent king; Walbank (1957-79). I. 600; Will (1979-82). I. 227, 265-266; Heinen *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>. 1. 421.
- (72). Hence the discrepancy in Eutrop. III. 1, where the king of Syria is Antiochos, commonly assumed to be erroneous: Walek (1925). 126; Holleaux (1921. 1). 75-76 n. 2; Gruen (1984). 62 n. 42, 613 n. 5; etc. cf. Will (1979-82). I. 231-233 that the Ptolemaic gains in Pamphylia, Ionia and the Hellespont at the time must mean that Ptolemy was indeed fighting Antiochos in the latter years of the Laodikeian War.
- (73). Iustin. XXVIII. 1-2 cf. Strabo X. 462C, DH I. 51. 2, P. XXI. 32. 14 on subsequent Roman generosity to Akarnania in this context.
- (74). Holleaux (1921. 1). 5-22; Perret (1942). 64-66; Oost (1954). 92-97; Hammond (1967). 595; Walbank (1957-79). I. 166; Cabanes (1976). 95-97; Gruen

- (1984). 64 n. 53. cf. Colin (1905). 36-38; Walek (1925). 129-133; De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 278; Gelzer (1933). 144; Manni (1956). 179-190.
- (75). Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 85.
- (76). P. II. 45. 1, IX. 34. 7; Walbank (1957-79). I. 239-240; Hammond (1967). 589-590; Schmitt (1969). 156-157 no. 485; Cabanes (1976). 91-93.
- (77). Hammond and Walbank (1988). 323-324 on Strabo X. 451C; although this latter speaks of Demetrios Αἰτωλίκοις in action, this is deemed to be an epithet derived from Demetrios' consequent struggles with Aitolia. That it was Demetrios, not Rome, who ended Aitolia's advance, is shown by Iustinus XXVIII. 2. 14: "[Aetoli] sic dimissa legatione Romanorum... fines Epiri regni et Acarnaniae depopulantur."
- (78). Iustin. XXVIII. 3. 4; Hammond (1967). 590; Cabanes (1976). 98-99.
- (79). See below, section B, D. ch. ~~ii~~.
- (80). Gelzer (1933). 144; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 85.
- (81). P. II. 2. 5-4. 5; Cabanes (1988). 258-260; Hammond and Walbank (1988). 333-334.
- (82). P. II. 2-7. 11. 9-10; Dio fr. 49; Cabanes (1988). 265-268, 273-275; Oost (1954). 9-11.
- (83). P. II. 8. 3-13; App. *Ill.* VII. 1; Dio fr. 49. 1-2; Zon. VIII. 19. cf. L. *Per.* XX; Florus I. 21. 3; Oros. IV. 13. 2. Badian (1952. 1). 76-77; Rich (1976). 72-73; Oost (1954). 11 n. 70.
- (84). P. II. 11. 3-4.
- (85). P. II. 12. 7.
- (86). Walbank (1957-79). I. 165-167.
- (87). P. II. 12. 4-5.
- (88). P. II. 9. 8-9. Holleaux (1921. 1). 1-5, that this invalidates the démarche to Rome in 267, shows deep disregard of circumstance and context.
- (89). P. II. 12. 3.
- (90). Walbank (1957-79). I. 165.
- (91). Badian (1952. 1). 78-80; Hammond (1989). 23-25.
- (92). Zon. VIII. 19; De Sanctis (1907-64). III. 1. 303. This is perhaps the occasion on which A. Manlius Torquatus acquired the cognomen Atticus. Whether the Romans continued to attend these festivals is unknown, but the possibility should not be neglected.
- (93). Also Holleaux (1921. 1). 116-119.
- (94). Derow (1991) on Robert (1940-65). XI/XII. 505-541; cf. Braccisi (1977). 322-337; Ferrary (1988). 31 n. 101. Derow uses App. *Ill.* VII. 21 in contrast to P. III. 16. 2-4; Demetrios' possessions were Illyrian, whilst those states subject to Rome were Greek and so not in the charge of the Pharian. The restoration referred to in ll. 14-15 of the inscription is thus in the aftermath of the destruction of 219, recorded by P. III. 19. 12; that the Romans restore the alliance and friendship in the decree means that the establishment of that alliance pre-dates 219, the obvious date thus being 228/7.
- (95). Derow (1991), esp. on App. *Mak.* I. 3, Zon. IX. 4. 4. and L. XLII. 26. 2-7, also P. VII. 9. 13. This contradicts the various theories of Badian (1952. 1). 80-81; Walbank (1957-79). I. 162 (quoted); Gruen (1984). 17; and most recently Ferrary (1988). 24-43.
- (96). Epidamnos, Kerkyra and Apollonia: Thuc. I. 24. 2, 25. 3, 26. 2. Athens and Pharos: Accame (1940). 11. 5-6; Derow (1991) on 11. 11-12.
- (97). The difference between 227 and the major subsumptions of the Greeks of Southern Italy and Sicily in 272 and 262 is surely that the

Italiote Greeks were the prizes of war and the Sicilians dependent more on Hieron than on their ancient founders; in these cases, the general advertisements provided by the embassies to Egypt of 273 and 241 were sufficient rather than any greater courtesy.

(98). Ps.-Skymnos 413-414; cf. Diod. XV.13.4, 14.2; Beaumont (1936). 188-189, 202-203; Braccisi (1977).227-232.

(99). Strabo VIII.380C. There is no reason to believe that this was a late-developing use.

(100). Ferguson (1911).207-208, 231, 237-241 for the Athens which received Rome's envoys; freshly liberated from Makedon and so returned to Delphic circles, the new land-based regime of Eurykleides and Mikion was now subject to the approaches of Aratos to join the Achaian League, before choosing the alliance of Egypt in 225/4. This alignment accords well with the channels which brought Rome to Greece.

B. EARLY LATIN LITERATURE.

- (1). Kock *CAF* II.478-539, esp. 502 no. 84; Philemon also wrote the originals for Plautus' *Mercator* ("Εμπορος, p. 484) and *Trinummus* (Θησαυρός, p. 486) and for Naevius' *Ariolus* (p. 478 nos. 2 & 3). Generally, Gomara (1986).
- (2). Suet. *de gramm.* 1 on Rome the "rudi...ac bellicosam etiam tum civitate", before Greek letters; Hor. *Ep.* II.1.156, "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit"; Waszink (1960).21:  
"the evident conviction that artistic performances worthy of the name could only be effected by transferring to Rome the only fully developed art with which the Romans had been confronted, and of which they had come to realise the infinite superiority and the nearness during the first Punic war";  
Rawson *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.425-426 on Fabius Pictor's efforts to assimilate the *Iudi Romani* to a Greek original (*FGrH* 809.F13b).
- (3). Cic. *Brut.* 72, *Sen.* 50, *Tusc.* I.3; Gell. XVII.21.42.
- (4). L. VII.2; Duckworth (1952).3-17; Beare (1968).10-23.
- (5). Eutrop. III.1 on Hieron's attendance with a gift of grain in 239; Beare (1940).18, (1968).26; Waszink (1960).21-22; Gratwick *CHCL* II.79; Rawson *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.428; Gruen (1990).82-84.
- (6). Beare (1940) cf. Gruen (1990).83 n.15; Drury *CHCL* II.800-801. The dramatic traditions of Tarentum: see Section A ch. IV n.52.
- (7). Gratwick *CHCL* II.127-128; Gruen (1990).93-94 and n.63.
- (8). Gratwick *CHCL* II.93-94; Chambers (1965).23-29; Beare (1968).63-69.
- (9). Chambers (1965).37-47 on the comprehension and sympathies of a Plautine mob. The scholarly argument on the state of Greek literature within Rome before Livius is largely conjectural and of doubtful relevance: Skutsch (1954).252-254; Mariotti (1986).15-20, 42-51; Horsfall (1989).185 and works cited therein.
- (10). Livius: *Achilles, Aegisthus, Ajax Mastigophorus, Equos Troianus, Hermione* and *Teucer/Telamō*; also *Andromeda, Danae* and *Tereus*. Naevius: *Andromache, Equos Troianus, Hector Proficiscens, Hesiona* and *Iphigenia*; also *Danae* and *Lycurgus*.
- (11). Beare (1968).30; Sandbach (1977).107.
- (12). Strabo VI.254, 263-4, 284C; Bérard (1957).303-383; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).13.
- (13). Phillips (1953).53-66, esp. 55-56 on Hesiod *Theog.* 1011-16, 57-58 on DH I.72.2 (Hellanikos *FGrH* 4.F84) and 66 on DH I.72.5 (Xenagoras *FGrH* 240.F29); Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).15-16; Gruen (1990).11 n.24.
- (14). Gruen (1990).12-14.
- (15). *FGrH* 840.F6b, 8, 12, 14a, 18-19a, 20; Ogilvie (1965).32-34; Gruen (1990).11-12 with nn.; fuller discussions in Perret (1942), cf. Momigliano (1945.2).99-104; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).12-20.
- (16). *FGrH* 840.F7, 10-11; DH I.72.6, 73.4.
- (17). *FGrH* 560.F4; Fest. 326L. Greek accounts in general: Cornell (1975).16-27.
- (18). Weinstock (1960).114-118; Ogilvie (1965).37-40; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).16-19.
- (19). So the *figus Ruminalis*: L. I.4.5; Plut. *Rom.* IV.1; Ogilvie (1965).49. The *Asylum* L. I.8.5-7; Plut. *Rom.* IX.3; Ogilvie (1965).62-63; Cornell (1975).1-2.
- (20). Ogilvie (1965).32, 47; Classen (1963).447-457; Cornell (1975).28-

29.

(21). The statue: L. X.23.12; Cornell (1975).7 n.4, 10-11; Derow and Forrest (1982).86. Lykophron *Alex.* 1226-1235; the Egyptian connection may be pursued through the coin issue of 269 depicting the wolf and twins (Crawford [1974].I.no.20) which Neatby (1950).91-94 supposed to be minted on Alexandrian silver.

(22). Wiseman (1989).129-136 says much that is sensible on Rome's traditions in transmission prior to 240, by means other than literature.

(23). Iustin. XXVIII.1-2. See above, Section A ch.VIII n.74. Beare (1949) misses the point.

(24). Classen (1963).447-457; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).25-48.

(25). Gruen (1990).19-20, 33; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).48, that Rome's foundation legend was developed to rival that of Praeneste, is too limited, but along the right lines.

(26). Naevius in Fest. 334L. Note Gell. XVII.21.44-45, that his first drama was produced in 235, perhaps too late for Akarnania, but early enough to build a remedy.

(27). See generally Finley (1977) and Griffin (1980). Since this issue and that of the next note warrant theses of their own, the points will be reserved for discussion when they arise in the context of the *Odissia Latina*.

(28). Cornell (1975).23 (esp. n.2)-27; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).38, 44-45; Ogilvie (1965).51-52 on the *Lupercalia's* relation to the Greek as "a purely literary invention, dating from an age which wished to see Greek precedents for all things Roman".

(29). Bulloch *CHCL* II.606-607.

(30). L. VIII.40.4, XXVII.27.13; Cic. *Brut.* 62. cf. P. VI.53.1-2 with Walbank (1957-79).I.737-738.

(31). Williams *CHCL* II.58-59; Verrusio (1977).66-81; Mariotti (1986).55-63 all assume as much.

(32). Suet. *de gramm* 1; Jerome *ad ann.* 187; Hor. *Ep.* II.1.69-72.

(33). Beare (1940).17, 19, also (1968).27-28. cf. Gruen (1990).84-85.

(34). Williams *CHCL* II.57-59; Beare (1968).30-31.

(35). Phillips (1953).58, 60-61; Lykophron *Alex.* 1242-45. cf. Hellanikos *FGrH* 4.F4 (DH I.28.3) for Nanas.

(36). See above, n.9 for discussions of Homeric epic in Rome herself.

(37). Livius in Priscian. *GLK* II.305.8, 230.27K; *Od.* I.45, 64.

(38). Livius in Gell. XVIII.9.5 = *Od.* I.1; Williams *CHCL* II.58; Mariotti (1986).20, 29; Gruen (1990).88 n.39, 117-118. Pliny *NH* XXXIV.19 on the statue of Livius that he himself erected in the temple of the Camenae outside the *porta Capena* (L. I.21.3; Iuven. III.10; Latte [1960].77).

(39). Livius in Gell. III.16.11 = *Od.* II.99-100; Latte (1960).53; Williams *CHCL* II.58.

(40). Livius in Priscian. *GLK* II.198.6K = *Od.* VIII.322-3; Latte (1960).242-243 on the combination of Apollo and Latona in Greek ritual after Cannae in L. XXV.12.13 cf. Pliny *NH* XXXVI.34, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p.252, VI.32. The connection stretches back to the earliest *lectisternium* of 399: L. V.13.6.

(41). Phillips (1953).65-66 and n.132 reckoned that the form was Illyrian, brought across the Adriatic by the Messapians from the immediate environs of Ithaka; thus Livius assumed it from his native Tarentum. The heroic cults of Tarentum: Ps.-Arist. *de mir. aus.* 106; Wuilleumier (1939).505, 528-531.

- (42). Altheim (1938). 181-198; Salmon (1967). 167-177 give some impression of the contrasts with Greek religion. Note Livius in Priscian. *GLK* II.96.5K = *Od.* X.64 for the distinction between *inferi* and *superi*.
- (43). See n.40 above. Note that Naevius (Macrob. *Sat.* VI.5.8; fr.20 Strz.) in the *Bellum Punicum* describes Apollo as "pollens sagittis inclutus arquitebens".
- (44). Finley (1977). 18. cf Naevius in Cic. *Or.* 45.152, "quam numquam vobis Grai atque barbari".
- (45). *Od.* I.344; IV.726, 816; XI.496; XV.80.
- (46). Finley (1977). 79-94, 106-107.
- (47). cf Section A ch.V n.27 on Rome's use of the word σύγκλητος, borrowed from Neapolis; also Holleaux (1918.1). 123-130 on the preferred military context for Rome's magistrates.
- (48). Cf. n.9 above.
- (49). Cf. *Od.* XI.626 (Hermes and Athene); XIV.435 (Hermes and the nymphs).
- (50). *Od.* I.179-184; Phillips (1953).54, who admits the possibility that this is Tamasos in Kypros (n.12; Strabo XIV.684C). Note that Odysseus' false tale of XXIV.304-7 takes him to Alybas, interpreted by scholiasts as Metapontum; Phillips (1953).54 n.11, 57; Bérard (1957).307, 329-330.
- (51). *Od.* V.270-275; III.286-292; IV.514-517; IX.79-81; XIX.186-187.
- (52). Phillips (1953).61-64 on V. Bérard's "Les Navigations d'Ulysse" (Paris 1927-29).
- (53). Finley (1977).100-103; Vidal-Naquet (1981).80-94.
- (54). Although we do not know how these universals were translated, the altered state of μοῖρα by its substitution with Morta suggests that there may well have been a shift of emphasis; see above, n.39.
- (55). See above, Section A ch.ii nn.60-66 for the *agora qua forum*, if that was Livius' translation.
- (56). Plut. *Mark.* III.4 for 225; L. XXII.57.6 for 216. Altheim (1938). 286-287; Latte (1960).256-257.
- (57). Gruen (1990).84-85.
- (58). Griffin (1980).4.
- (59). Dodds (1951).1-27; Griffin (1980).144-204; Finley (1977).131-141.
- (60). Mattingly (1960).414-439 and Gruen (1990).92-106 form effective defences against the tradition of Naevius' imprisonment and exile in Cic. *Verr.* I.29 with Ps.-Ascon. *ad loc.*; Caesius Bassus *GLK* III.3.15; Jerome *ad ann.* 201; Plautus *MG* 209-212 with Fest. 32L. Jocelyn (1960) and Killeen (1973) earn reproach for remaining on the fence. cf. also Marmorale (1950).53-137; Scullard (1973).253-254.
- (61). Gell. I.24 implies that he was from a community "nominis Latini"; XVII.21.45 (fr. 44 Strz.) that he fought in the First Punic War; Marmorale (1950).15-26. Attested Naevii are the prefect of 214 at Apollonia, Q. Naevius Crista (L. XXIV.40.8-17; Plut. *Arat.* LI; Zon. IX.4); *triumvir colonis deducendis* in 194 and praetor in 184, Q. Naevius Matho (L. XXXIV.53.1-2, XXXV.40.6, XXXIX.41.5); tribune in 184, M. Naevius (L. XXXIX.52.3-5, XXXVIII.56.2, 5-6; Gell. IV.18.3-6); *quinquevir finibus cognoscendis statuendisque* in 168, L. Naevius Balbus (L. XLV.13.10-11).
- (62). Moretti (1952).298; Cornell (1975).4 n.1; Astin (1978).223-225; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).19-22; Gratwick *CHCL* II.149-151.
- (63). Serv. *ad Aen.* I.273; Naevius fr. 27 Strz.
- (64). Naevius in Nonius 474.5, 116.31 (frs. 23, 26 Strz.).

- (65). Two mentions in Serv. *ad Aen.* I.198 ('totus hic locus de Naevii Belli Punici libro translatus est', fr. 15 Strz.; cf. Macrob. *Sat.* VI. 2.31, fr. 14 Strz.) and IV.9 ('Anna soror cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido, Naevius dicit', fr. 21 Strz.) suggest that Virgil's account was entirely derivative; Marmorale (1950).177-179; Strzelecki (1964).15-16, 26. Dessau (1914).518-519 and Baehrens (1915).261-265 cancel each other out.
- (66). Lykophron *Alex.* 1226-80: Cornell (1975).20 n.1; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).20 and nn.96-97. Diokles: Plut. *Rom.* III.1, VIII.9 (*FGrH* 820.T2); Momigliano (1943).102; Cornell (1975).10 n.2; Gruen (1990).12. Timaios: Cornell (1975).23-24; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).19-22.
- (67). Naevius in Caesius Bassus *GLK* VI.265.30 (fr. 1 Strz.); Priscian. *GLK* II.351.25, 231.13 (frs. 10, 19 Strz.); Macrob. *Sat.* VI.5.8 (fr. 20 Strz.); Fest. 307L (fr. 18 Strz., reading 'quianam genus <od>isti?').
- (68). Probus *ad Virg. Ecl.* VI.31 (fr. 25 Strz.). Weinstock (1960).112-114; Latte (1960).89, 108; Lehmann (1959).79-88 for the definitive collection of source material.
- (69). Probus *ad Virg. Ecl.* VI.31 (fr. 25 Strz.); Priscian. *GLK* II.351.25 (fr. 10 Strz.); Nonius 197.12 (fr. 8 Strz.); Fest. 425L (fr. 2 Strz.); Nonius 76.3 (fr. 33 Strz.).
- (70). Fest. 418, 428L (frs. 46, 47, 50 Strz.).
- (71). Lact. *Inst. Div.* I.6.7 (fr. 12 Strz.); Serv. *ad Aen.* IX.712 (fr. 13 Strz.).
- (72). Varro *LL* V.43, 53 (frs. 28, 29 Strz.).
- (73). Nonius 90.24 (fr. 32 Strz.).
- (74). 273: DH XX.14; Val. Max. I.3.9; L. *Per.* XIV; Iustin. XVIII.2.9; Dio fr. 41; Zon. VIII.6. 241; Eutrop. III.1. cf. n.21 above.
- (75). Fabius Pictor: Bung (1950) *passim*; Badian (1966).2-7; Cornell (1975).4 n.3; Bremmer and Horsfall (1987).20-22.
- (76). This is loosened still further by Plut. *Rom.* VIII.9, that Diokles seems (δοκεῖ) to have been the first.
- (77). *IG* XII.8.640, a Peparethian decree dated after 197 and concerned with the restoration of the temple of Athene following its destruction by Philip in 200, offers to the Athenian honorand *prosodos* to *boule* and *demos* μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους. However, this surely reflects the immediate war-gratitude of Peparethos rather than the pre-existence of any channels down which information might have run between Diokles and Rome.
- (78). Beare (1940).14-15; Gruen (1990).82-83, 91-92; Broughton (1951-86).I *ad ann.*
- (79). Gruen (1990).83 n.17, 91 and nn.49-50.
- (80). Fest. 446L, L. XXVII.37, XXXI.12; Gruen (1990).85-90; Gratwick *CHCL* II.84.
- (81). Cassola (1962).408-419; Scullard (1970).28, 166, (1973).35-36; *RE* sv 'Livius' vol.XIII col.855 on C. Livius M. Aemiliani f. M.n. (no.14), consul in 147, therefore Salinator's adoptive grandson. It may not be beyond the bounds of reason to see the *Odissia* as a Scipionian epic. Thus the hero (Scipio) returns from western travels (Spain) to rid his own home of a siege conducted by foreigners and natives alike; the catalyst is the defeat of the Trojans (Trasimene, Cannae), whereafter the hero is guided by the divine (L. XXVI.19.3-9; Scullard [1970].235-237) and destroys the one-eyed monster (Hannibal Monophthalmos) on his road to success. That his election to the Spanish command coincided with

the context outlined above should also be noted; also the establishment of the *ludi Apollinares* in L. XXV.12, on the parallel of the feast-day of Apollo in *Od.* XX.275-8, XXI.258-9. Yet this should not be pressed too far.

(82). See above, n.60.

(83). Gruen (1990).92-106. The fragments are these: Fronto *Epp.* II.10 Vol.I p.138 Haines; Fest. 172-174, 306L; Cic. *Sen.* VI.60.

(84). See above, nn.6, 60; also Beare (1949).

(85). Porcius in Gell. XVII.21.45.

(86). L. XXV.1.6-12, 12.3.

(87). L. XXII.9.7-10.10; XXXIII.44.1-2.

(88). See above, n.56.

(89). L. XXII.57.5, XXIII.11.1-6; Plut. *Fab.* XVIII; App. *Hann.* XXVII; Zon. IX.2.

(90). L. XXV.1.11, 12.3; Broughton (1951-86).I.266-267 nn.2 & 3.

(91). Atilius: L. XXIII.21.7. Aemilius: L. XXVI.23.7.

(92). Scipio: L. XXXVII.33.7 cf. P. XXI.10.10. C. Livius: L. XXVI.23.7-8. M. Livius: see above, n.81.

(93). The Metaurus: P. XI.1-3; L. XXVII.43-51; Cic. *Brut.* 73; Hor. *Od.* IV.4.36-71; Val. Max. III.7.4, VII.4.4. Salinator: Ennius *Ann.* 302V; Suet. *Div. Tib.* III.1.

(94). Olympia in 208: L. XXVII.35.3-4, XXVIII.7.14. Delphi in 205: L. XXVIII.45.12. Pergamon in 205/4: Gruen (1990).5-33.

C. TRAFFIC DURING THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

- (1). Herakleides: *SGDI* 2609. Leon: Bousquet (1959).185-188. Also Leophron at Epidauros: *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*.263; Tarentines, Rhegians, Crotoniates and Syracusans on Tenos: *IG XII Suppl.* 313; the Tarentine son of Philokrates in Aitolia: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.24.12-13; Chresimos in Akarnania: Zafeiropoulou (1983).175-176; Protarchos on Kos: Paton and Hicks (1891).no.45.12-13.
- (2). Bourguet *FD III*.1.437.
- (3). Cabanes (1972).188-194, (1976).217-218, (1988).199-204; Derow (1991) gathers much related evidence in his n.27; Chevallier (1980).70 n.2.
- (4). Hammond and Walbank (1988).343-364. Note *Plut. Mark.* VIII.6 for Rome sending the spoils of Clastidium to Delphi in 222: Gruen (1990).9.
- (5). Dell (1970); *L. Per.* XX, XXI.16.4; *Eutrop.* III.7; *Oros.* IV.13.16; *App. Ill.* VIII; *Dio fr.* 53; *Zon.* VIII.20. cf. Holleaux (1921.1).130-139; Badian (1952.1).81-88; Oost (1954).21-23; Hammond (1968).10-12; Gruen (1984).368-373; Cabanes (1988).282-289.
- (6). *P.* III.16; Walbank (1957-79).I.324-327.
- (7). *P.* II.65.4 cf. 70.1, 6, III.16.3, IV.16.6, 29.2-7, V.4.3.
- (8). *P.* III.16.3, IV.16.6-10.
- (9). *CAH VIII<sup>2</sup>*.91-94.
- (10). *P.* III.16.3, IV.16.6: *παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας*. Walbank (1957-79).I.326. cf. Badian (1952.1).84-85.
- (11). Rich (1976).41-43 for comparative chronology. cf. Badian (1952.1).83.
- (12). Badian (1952.1).87; Hammond and Walbank (1988).371-384.
- (13). Derow (1991).
- (14). Triantphyllou (1983).414-447, with comparative studies gathered in Derow (1991) n.32.
- (15). *P.* III.18.1-2, *τῶν λοιπῶν πόλεων*, are thus at least partly identifiable with *τὰς... πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου ταπτομένας* in III.16.3; this is at least true of Pharos, where Demetrios made his stand (*P.* III.18.7-19.12; Derow [1991] argues that it had not been granted to Demetrios in 228). cf. Badian (1952.1).82-86, a defence of Demetrios which Walbank (1957-79).I.325 says "goes too far".
- (16). Cf. Cary (1920).170-173; Schmitt (1957).44-46; Cordano (1980).255-256 for this principle as the basis of Romano-Rhodian relations; *P.* IV.19.8 on Demetrios' return from the Kyklades, pursued by the Rhodians.
- (17). Hammond and Walbank (1988).345-354, esp.353.
- (18). Hammond and Walbank (1988).350; *P.* II.53.5 cf. 54.1 for Antigonos' possession of the Akrokorinth. Athens: Ferguson (1911).241-243, 248-250.
- (19). *P.* IV.16.6-11 for Demetrios' and Skerdilaidas' raid on Pylos (Achaian: *P.* IV.25.4) and Skerdilaidas' compact with Aitolia to raid Achaia; *P.* IV.19.7-10 for Demetrios and Taurion; Hammond and Walbank (1988).372.
- (20). Badian (1952.1).88 n.79; Holleaux (1921.1).145-150 muses with point on the possibility of a definite Romano-Aitolian rapprochement in 219.
- (21). *P.* IV.29.2-7; Walbank (1957-79).I.476-477; Hammond and Walbank (1988).374; Cabanes (1988).284-287.
- (22). *IG IX*.2.517.29-34; Walbank (1940).69 n.6.
- (23). *P.* III.19.12. For the date, see Habicht (1970).273-275, for ~~215~~; Burstein (1985).87-88 no.65, for ~~215~~ Aug 215 or 214, both for the second letter.

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- (24). L. XXI.63.3; Plaut. *Merc.* 73-78; Cic. *Verr.* II.5.45.
- (25). L. XXI.63.3-4; Cassola (1962).215-218; Scullard (1973).44-45.
- (26). L. XXII.57.5, XXIII.11.1-6; Plut. *Fab.* XVIII; App. *Hann.* XXVII; Zon. IX.2.
- (27). See Section B n.87.
- (28). See Section B n.56.
- (29). The assumption must be that he took ship from Rome and rounded the peninsula by sea, rather than travelling by land to an Adriatic port such as Brundisium; the latter was surely too hazardous, now that Hannibal had penetrated Apulia.
- (30). L. XXIV.2.8.
- (31). Campania: L. XXIII.1-9; P. VII.1.1-3. Neapolis and Nola: L. XXIII.1.5-10, 14.5-17.1.
- (32). Croton: L. XXIV.2.2-3.15. Locri: L. XXIV.1.2-13. Tarentum: L. XXV.7.10-11.20; P. VIII.24-34. Metapontum and Thurii: L. XXV.15.4-17.
- (33). L. XXIV.4.1-7.9, 21.1-39.13, XXV.23.1-41.7; P. VII.2-8, VIII.37.1-13.
- (34). Hammond and Walbank (1988).387-390 argue contrary to P. V.101.6-102.2 and Iustin. XXIX.2.1-6 that the news from Trasimene was the deciding factor in the Peace of Naupaktos; they believe rather that the time was ripe to end an expensive and unsatisfactory war. Gruen (1984).374-375, using L. XXIII.33.1-4, believes that it was not until after Cannae that Philip realised the potential of the west; Walbank (1940).70.
- (35). P. V.109-110: Badian (1952.1).88-89; Hammond (1968).15-17; Gruen (1984).375-377; Hammond and Walbank (1988).393-395; Cabanes (1988).291-295.
- (36). L. XXII.33.3.
- (37). P. VII.9.1-17; Walbank (1940).70-72, (1957-79).II.42-56; Hammond (1968).17; Gruen (1984).375-377; Rich (1984).126-127; Hammond and Walbank (1988).393-395.
- (38). P. VII.9.10-11.
- (39). P. VII.9.13-14.
- (40). L. XXIII.33.5, 34.4 cf.38.1-6; App. *Mak.* I; cf Walbank (1957-79).II.42.
- (41). L. XXIII.38.1-13.
- (42). Rich (1984).152-153 for a compromise between the annalists' 50 ships and Polybios' more sober 25 quinqueremes.
- (43). L. XXIV.40; Zon. IX.4.4; Plut. *Arat.* LI.2.
- (44). P. VIII.13-14; L. XXVII.30; Badian (1952.1).90 n.94; Walbank (1957-79).II.90-93; Hammond (1968).18; Rich (1984).127.
- (45). L. XXVI.24.1-15; *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.241; Klaffenbach (1954); McDonald (1956). Bibliography listed in Musti *ANRW* I.2.1146-1153 and Walbank (1957-79).II.162, plus Rich (1984).127-131; Gruen (1984).377-379; Errington *CAH VIII<sup>2</sup>*.99-101. The date: Rich (1984).155-157. The line we pursue here is that of Holleaux (1921.1).145-150, that Rome and Aitolia had been coming together for some time.
- (46). See below, n.97.
- (47). L. XXVI.24.8. Rich (1984).135 stresses the point of acquisition as his major difference from Holleaux; thus the Romans sought not only to stall Philip, but also to weaken him by the territorial gains of their allies.
- (48). Mitsos (1952).177-179 nos.10 & 11 and Woodhead on *SEG* XV.272-273

believed that their names implied a North-Western Greek origin, perhaps Alyzion in Akarnania. J. & L. Robert *BE* 1983.247 correct this according to the available letters for the ethnic and the presence of the names in Apulia.

(49). Sosibios: *IG* VII.507, 3166; P. V.35.7-39.5, 63.1-65.10, 83.3-87.8, VIII.15.2-8, XV.25.1-6; Plut. *Kleom* XXXIII; Walbank (1957-79).I.567; Holleaux (1912).370-376 (= [1938-68].III.47-54). Roller (1989).II.110 F58 dates the decree unnecessarily cautiously to 245-210.

(50). See n.58.

(51). Strabo IX.400C.

(52). E.g. *IG* VII.505, 507, 509 do include *isoteleia*; 504, 506, 508 do not.

(53). See above, n.31 and L. XXV.13-15, 18-20, 22.6-13.

(54). Roller (1989).I.99 for Tanagra as a centre of Roman support in the early second century; Dikaiarchos of Messenia, *FHG* II.257, attests to their welcome for strangers.

(55). Feyel (1942.1).154-163, 168, 170-180. Walbank (1957-79).II.178 notes L. XXIX.12.14 that Boiotia was included in the terms of the Peace of Phoinike and believes that the war simply did not touch Boiotia; cf. P. X.41.3 when it nearly did. The Makedonian alliance in popular conception: P. VII.11.7, IX.38.5.

(56). Feyel (1942.1).165-168; Holleaux (1895).190-192, (1897).48-49 (= [1938-68].I.82-83, 119-120).

(57). Feyel (1942.1).166-167; Ferguson (1911).241-243, 247-251, 254-256; *IG* VII.301-2, 304, 308, 310, 312, 314, 317, 319, 325, 329, 335, 339, 345-7, 353-4, 358, 371, 525, 531.

(58). The core study is Fossey (1984) for Tanagra.

(59). Oropos in the first half of the century: Athens (*IG* VII.247, 270, 273-4, 283, 294, 299); Euboia (236-243, 284); Olynthos (265); Amisenos (269); Rhodes (275); Halikarnassos (280); Mesembria (281); Dimallum (282); Samos (285); Selge (286); Aitolia (287); Phthiotic Thebes (288); Myrina (289); Delos (291); Messene (292); Lampsakos (293); Thessalonike (295); Zakyntos (296); Byzantion (298); Polyrrhenia (307). In the second half of the century: Athens (260; see n.57); Euboia (261, 324, 343, 368, 391); Thebes (262); Makedon (313, 316, 356); Parianon (318); Thessalonike (320); Soleion (321); Lampsakos (328); Kos (330, 333); Lakonia (337); Byzantion (339); Ephesos (340); Paros (341); Thasos (348); Rhodes (355); Lysimacheia (357); Kerkyra (368); Kianos (389); Smyrna (392). These numbers should be added to those of Fossey to create an overall impression.

(60). Feyel (1942.1).219-263. Ptoia: Roesch (1982).229-243; *IG* VII.4135-7. Agrionia: Roesch (1982).235 n.141. Mouseia: Roesch (1965.1).228-229; *IG* VII.1735. Coinage: Head *HN*<sup>2</sup>.353; the standard was that of Antigonos Dason, shared by Aitolia.

(61). L. XXVI.24.15; P. IX.39.2; Rich (1984).131 nn.58 & 59.

(62). L. XXVI.25.9-17; P. IX.40.4-6; Rich (1984).131 n.62 for the importance of Antikyra.

(63). Rich (1984).131-132.

(64). P. IX.42.5-8, XXII.8.10; Rich (1984).128-129, 132 nn.41, 72 & 90, which explains the failure to baulk Philip's fleet there in 208 (cf. L. XXVIII.8.11, "inter medias prope hostium classes").

(65). Any residual connections from 266 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>.492) between Rome and Histiaia via her allies were obviously considered redundant.

- (66). Rich (1984). 132-133.
- (67). P. IX.42.4 stresses the importance of the point during the siege of Echinus; Philip's ability to supply himself by sea was thus a major obstacle to the success of the Romans and Aitolians; Larsen (1967). 371. P. X.41.3 for Boiotian fear of the Roman fleet, perhaps in this context. cf. Rich (1984). 132 n. 70.
- (68). L. XXVIII.5.18-8.14, Philip's campaigns of 208, show his desire to obviate this situation.
- (69). L. XXVII.4.10 cf. XXXI.2.3-4; P. IX.11a; Neatby (1950).98; Walbank (1957-79).II.137; Gruen (1984).677.
- (70). Holleaux (1921.1).66-67 cf. Huss (1976).165-167; Gruen (1984).677 n.24. The request for grain also created an alternative market for Ptolemy should Rome have intended to blockade the SE Euripos.
- (71). P. VII.2.2 cf. L. XXIV.26.1-6 that these brothers and their uncle Zöippos were in fact voluntary exiles from the new regime; Holleaux (1921.1).74 n.2; Walbank (1957-79).II.32; Huss (1976).173-175; Gruen (1984).677 n.22.
- (72). Neatby (1950).98 notes that these recuperations rendered further grain shortages obsolete; yet one should add that they came too late to save Rome from this current crisis.
- (73). L. XXVI.24.9; Rich (1984).128. Attalos' association with Aitolia is best shown by his financing of the fortifications of Elaüs prior to 219: P. IV.65.6; McShane (1964).101 n.29; Allen (1983).70-71.
- (74). P. IX.42.5, XXII.8.10; Allen (1971), (1983).69; Gruen (1984).530; Rich (1984).129 n.41.
- (75). L. XXVII.29.10-30.1; McShane (1964).106-107; Allen (1971).1, (1983).69; Hansen (1971).46-47; Rich (1984).128 n.37; Gruen (1984).530, (1990).29. cf. Rawson *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.433-434, the suggestion that it was Scipio's idea.
- (76). L. XXXV.45.9; App. *Syr.* XII.46.
- (77). Gruen (1984).676-677 for Ptolemy's "benign neutrality" in the period after Raphia in 217.
- (78). This may explain the two year delay in ratification of the treaty (L. XXVI.24.14); this period allowed the senate to establish this secondary initiative independently of the Aitolian compact, which was consequently not ratified until the escape clause was completed. See below on the mediation.
- (79). Rich (1984).143-146.
- (80). L. XXVI.24.12-13.
- (81). L. XXVII.30.4-6, 10-15; P. X.25; Rich (1984).145.
- (82). L. XXVIII.5.13, 7.13-16; P. X.42.4; Front. *Strat.* I.4.6; Rich (1984).145-146.
- (83). App. *Mak.* III; Rich (1984).143-144, 147; Gruen (1984).531-532 n.9, "a peaceful resolution can hardly have been welcome to Rome, whose principle purpose was to keep Aitolia in the war in order to distract the energies of Philip".
- (84). App. *Mak.* III; P. IX.4-6; Rich (1984).140-144, 147-148.
- (85). Rich (1984).147-148 n.201; L. XXIX.12.1. Rich's specific term of reference is territorial considerations, yet it admits extension to cover all terms.
- (86). L. XXIX.12.1, 3.
- (87). L. XXVI.24.12.
- (88). See n.44.

- (89). The campaigns of 206 to the Peace of Phoinike: L. XXIX.12.
- (90). L. XXIX.12.5 cf. Rich (1984).148; Gruen (1984).380-381. It may well be that Livy's account is cast so as to put the Aitolians in the wrong for the future by misrepresenting the terms of Laetorius' approach.
- (91). L. XXIX.12.13-14; App. *Mak.* III cf. Rich (1984).148-150, "a humiliation for Rome".
- (92). P. XI.4.1-6.8; Walbank (1957-79).II.274-275, (1963).8-13; Rich (1984).143-144. cf. P. IX.32.3-39.7, esp. 37.5-39.7 for similar sentiments from Lykiskos of Akarnania at Sparta in 211.
- (93). Holleaux (1921.1).35-38; Rich (1984).135, 145 nn.111, 184; Gruen (1984).531-532 n.9. cf. Schmitt (1957).54-58, 193-211.
- (94). Rich (1984).145 n.187 on Ptolemaic coordination of the mediation from 209.
- (95). L. XXVI.24.2-8.
- (96). P. XI.5.2-8 cf. IX.37.5-6, 38.5-39.4.
- (97). Gruen (1984).396-397 n.214 on the rejection of the Aitolian appeal of 201 (App. *Mak.* IV, L. XXXI.29.4), 440-441; Walbank (1957-79).II.162, 599-600. The veiled reference of Thrasykrates to "true friends" (P. XI.6.7) is not without point.
- (98). Klaffenbach on *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.29, calculates Pyrrhias' first two magistracies as 223/2 and 216/5; the third, in 210/09, is corroborated by Livy's account of the Thessalian campaign (XXVII.30.1).
- (99). L. XXVI.40.1.
- (100). Laevinus and Skopas: L. XXVI.24.7.
- (101). L. XXVI.40.15-16.
- (102). *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.29.7-9.
- (103). P. IX.42.5, XXII.8.10; Allen (1971).
- (104). Allen (1971).4-6 for the Pergamene *epistates*, *strategos* and garrison.
- (105). L. XXVII.30.2.
- (106). Launey (1987).I.189-192, 199.
- (107). Discussion by Klaffenbach of *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.31k. Dorimachos is he of *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.24.10, son of Sosandros; also *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.31.84, 92. Phaineas: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.31.107, 119 (under generalship of Skopas cf. P. XIII.2.1, Walbank [1957-79].II.414). Alexander: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.95.1.
- (108). Nachtergaeel (1975).289-292 on his nos.66-68; see also nos.28, 43-48. Although 213/2 and 205/4 seem secure, it is by no means certain that a *theoria* was conducted for 209/8.
- (109). L. XXVII.35.3-4 cf. XXVIII.7.14 on Machanidas' threat against these games, averted by Philip; Walbank (1940).304-305; De Sanctis (1907-64).III.443.
- (110). L. XXVII.35.4, "quod maximo coetu Graeciae celebraretur".
- (111). Sherk (1969).nos.2.17-30, 3.1-8.
- (112). Strabo VIII.348C. Aitolia and the Peloponnese: P. XVI.13.3; Walbank (1957-79).II.516-517.
- (113). Nachtergaeel (1975).481 no.66, discussed in 289-292; Flacelière (1928.2).278-279, (1929).456-457 no.40, *FD III*.4.127, (1937).406 App. I.37.
- (114). Flacelière (1935).31 no.5, (1937).492 App. II.89; Daux (1943).K14.
- (115). Pomtow (1921).157-158 cf. no.157 for M. Caphranus M. f. Gallus Rhomaios from 91. cf. Daux (1936).586-587 n.2
- (116). Hatzfeld (1919).238-245 cf. Starr (1980).31 n.17.

- (117). Teios: *FD* III.2.134b = *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.564. Giovannini (1983).178-184 wrongly ascribes this to an Attalid initiative; Gruen (1990).16 n.57.
- (118). L. XXVIII.45.12, XXIX.10.6; Gruen (1990).10, 31.
- (119). L. XXIX.11.1-7; Val. Max. VIII.15.3; Dio LVII.61; Ovid *Fasti* IV.255-272; Gruen (1990).5-33, esp. 27-33. The precedent was that of Epidaurus in 292 (L. XXIX.11.1).
- (120). L. XXIX.11.4.
- (121). Gruen (1990).29. His n.117 relates well the senate's attitude to the religious outrages perpetrated by Q. Pleminius at Locri, with this conciliatory outlook.
- (122). See below, Section D ch.1.
- (123). Ferguson (1911).208 n.1 puts this in the context of Eurykleides' renewing friendly relations with various cities; Athens' links with Aiolian Kumai go back at least as far as the Delian League.
- (124). Vollgraff (1901).365-375 no.19. Xenarchos, 1.20 cf. *IG* VII.2817, 2823. Nikareta: *IG* VII.3172. cf. Feyel (1942.2).75-79; Étienne and Knoepfler (1976).246-250; Roesch (1982).293-294.
- (125). Holleaux (1906).469-481 (= [1938-68].I.131-142). Mnesarchos, 1.22 cf. *IG* VII.2871.2-4.
- (126). *IG* IX.1.78. Herakleides of Gortyn: P. XVIII.22.2; Walbank (1957-79).II.581.
- (127). P. XIII.4.1-8; Walbank (1957-79).II.417-419; Launey (1987).I.601 n.5.
- (128). L. XXXII.5.7; Diod. XXVIII.9.

D. THE SECOND CENTURY PRESENCE

(1). CAUSES OF THE SECOND MAKEDONIAN WAR.

- (1). For a full bibliography, see those sources cited in Gruen (1984). 382 n. 132.
- (2). Holleaux (1921.1). 306-322; McDonald and Walbank (1937). 182-187, 205-207.
- (3). App. *Mak.* IV. 24-25 cf. Iustin. XXX. 2. 8 that the Alexandrines told Rome. McDonald and Walbank (1937). 191 suggest that the Athenian abandonment of their Makedonian tribes was in the face of the threat from this pact; cf. McDonald (1963). 189.
- (4). App. *Mak.* IV. 1-2; Balsdon (1954). 37; Gruen (1984). 387 n. 165.
- (5). Magie (1939). 32-44; Balsdon (1954). 37 cf. McDonald (1963). 190-191.
- (6). Gruen (1984). 388.
- (7). P. XVI. 24. 1; McDonald and Walbank (1937). 187; Holleaux (1921.2). 207 (= [1938-68]. IV. 258); Gruen (1984). 388 cf. Walbank (1957-79). II. 529.
- (8). P. III. 2. 8, XV. 20. 2, XVI. 1. 8 cf. XVI. 10. 1, 24. 6; L. XXXI. 14. 5.
- (9). McDonald and Walbank (1937). 205-206; Harris (1979). 212-218 repeats and refines the theme.
- (10). Briscoe (1973). 45-46; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 256 cf. Gruen (1984). 390-391.
- (11). Holleaux (1921.1). 293-297; McDonald and Walbank (1937). 184-185; App. *Mak.* IV. 2; L. XXXI. 29. 4, "quid ad nos venitis, Aetoli, sine quorum auctoritate pacem cum Philippo fecistis"?
- (12). L. XXXI. 1. 9, "vacuos deinde pace Punica iam Romanos et infensos Philippo..."
- (13). L. XXXI. 6. 3-4, 13. 2-9; Gruen (1984). 390-392.
- (14). L. XXXI. 7. 2-15; Briscoe (1973). 45. Sulpicius' line, that war is inevitable and only the venue is at stake, seems both good oratory and firm conviction.
- (15). McDonald and Walbank (1937). 192-197. The envoys: L. XXXI. 2. 3-4. The envoys and Nikanor: P. XVI. 27. 1-3 cf. L. XXXI. 16. 1-2. The envoys at Abydos: P. XVI. 34. 1-7; L. XXXI. 18. 1-4; Diod. XXVIII. 6. The senatorial instructions: L. XXXI. 8. 4, confused with P. XVI. 34. 2, κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς.
- (16). Rich (1976). 73-87, esp. 82-87. The *senatus consultum* P. XVI. 34. 3.
- (17). Rich (1976). 85-86.
- (18). Rich (1976). 86-87, 128-137.
- (19). Derow (1991).
- (20). L. XXX. 26. 2-4 cf. Gruen (1984). 383 for a summation of the opposition, esp. McDonald (1963). 188-190.
- (21). L. XXX. 42. 1-10.
- (22). L. XXXI. 1. 9, 6. 1, 11. 9, 31. 2. See below, n. 49.
- (23). L. XXXI. 3. 1, 5. 8-9, 9. 4.
- (24). Derow (1991); see above, Section C n. 14-15.
- (25). L. XXX. 27. 4-10 (esp. 10), 41. 1-9 (esp. 9) for the troop dispositions in the years in question.
- (26). L. XXX. 42. 11, "cum hoc tam tristi responso dimissis Macedonibus".
- (27). So App. *Mak.* IV. 1, the campaigns against Samos, Chios, Pergamon, the Rhodian Peraia and Athens, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις προσηκόντων.
- (28). The campaigns: P. XV. 22-24, XVIII. 3. 11-12, 4. 5-7, 5. 4; L. XXXI. 31. 4. The appeal: App. *Mak.* IV. 2; L. XXXI. 29. 4.

- (29). McDonald and Walbank (1937).184-185, on P. XVI.27.4; L. XXXI.28.3, 29.1, 31.20 cf. Derow (1979).6-8; Gruen (1984).396-397 n.214; below, n.49. Kontorini (1983) suggests that this solicitation was at the instigation of the Rhodians, but this is far from certain.
- (30). See Section C n.45.
- (31). See Section C n.79-85; also n.90 on the possibility of a biased Livian account.
- (32). L. XXXI.2.1-4.
- (33). App. *Mak.* IV.2.
- (34). Iustin. XXX.2.8, 3.3-4 cf. Val. Max. VI.6.1; Tac. *Ann.* II.67.4; Huss (1976).168-170; Gruen (1984).680-682.
- (35). P. XVI.27.5; App. *Mak.* IV.2; Iustin. XXX.3.3 cf. L. XXXIII.20.8.
- (36). P. XVI.27.1-4. The states they visited describe a standard crossing of the Adriatic from the Sallentine promontory followed by a journey into the Gulf of Korinth to cross the Isthmus and continue thence via Athens into the Aigaian. The excursion inland to Athamania shows an advanced grasp of strategy and topography; Oost (1957).1-2. Thus they must have advertised their message at these places before reaching Athens. The role of Athens as mediator of and *adscriptus* to the Peace of Phoinike, and the embassy of Kephisodoros mentioned in Paus. I.36.6, give her a strong claim to consideration in the aetiology of the war. Although Rome made no specific claims on her behalf, it is likely that she played some part in the senate's deliberations; perhaps the meeting between the envoys and Attalos and the Rhodians at Athens was not entirely coincidental; McDonald and Walbank (1937).189-190; Balsdon (1954).40-41; McDonald (1963).189; Gruen (1984).385-386; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.257-258. Kephisodoros: Ferguson (1911).269-271; Meritt (1936).419-428.
- (37). P. XVI.34.1-4.
- (38). Rich (1976).86. He is half-right to assume that there was no communication between senate and envoys; a communiqué crossing Greece announcing the rejection and/or confirmation of the *rogatio* would have badly undermined the envoys' purpose and credibility. Yet the envoys surely did not have the authority to alter the terms of a *senatus consultum* whilst in transit.
- (39). *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.261.
- (40). L. XXVII.30.4, 10, 12; XXVIII.7.13-14; P. XI.4.1; App. *Mak.* III.
- (41). Gruen (1990).5-33, esp. 27-33; L. XXIX.11.1-8, especially for the publicity afforded by the five quinqueremes and the visit to Delphi.
- (42). Cf. P. XI.5.1-6.4 (speech of Thrasykrates); IX.37.7-10, 39.1-6 (speech of Lykiskos).
- (43). L. XXIX.12.14.
- (44). *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.244. P. XVI.35, which shows the envoys dissuading the Rhodians from coming to terms with Philip, does not imply that Rome was misrepresenting the interests of an otherwise conciliatory Rhodes; the envoys were merely ensuring that their carefully engineered "bellum iustum" was not wrecked by this ill-timed Achaian peace initiative and its threat against the validity of the appeal which they were answering.
- (45). Generally, Huss (1976).127-129; Gruen (1984).678-681; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.250-252.
- (46). P. XV.25-33, XVI.21-22.
- (47). P. XV.25.13-14.
- (48). L. XXXI.9.1-5. Since the Athenians had decided to make war on

Philip before the Roman envoys left them (P. XVI.26.8), the timing is right for an immediate appeal to Egypt to summon an immediate response which would meet the Roman envoys somewhere in the Aigaian, perhaps still at Athens or at Rhodes; if the Egyptian envoys did not meet them, the news they carried surely did, as it was disseminated en route.

(49). This owes much to Gruen (1984).397-398, although in a less belligerent manner; the issues of motivation and method outlined above are fundamentally unaltered by this enquiry, although the points of policy and propaganda must admit a change of emphasis. It is interesting to note that the only places outside Rome that the 203 breach of the Peace were stressed were Numidia, where Massanassa was concerned with the Makedonians sent to Africa; and Aitolia, where it was in Furius' interests to revive the old links via the protectorate allies to regain Aitolian support.

(11). T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS AND P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

- (1). See generally Cassola (1960.2); Badian (1970); Scullard (1970). 179-209; Ferrary (1988).111-112; Errington *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.277-279. On Flamininus, Eckstein (1976).119-142; on Scipio, McDonald (1938).154-161.
- (2). Scullard (1970).208-209.
- (3). Klaffenbach (1971).167-168, from L. XXXII.18.6. Klaffenbach also remarks on the use of the word ἄγνος, an "épithète appliquée à des hauts fonctionnaires" (J. & L. Robert *BE* 1949 no.216); on the absence of the ethnic; and on the restoration of the title στρατηγός ὕπατος, which would thus be the earliest use of the title as applied to a Roman magistrate. On this latter point, we must assume that the translation had been current coin for some time, since Rome and Greece began communicating at a high level; perhaps it evolved in an Italiote-Greek environment, as did the term σύγκλητος for the senate; see above, Section A ch.V n.27-28. cf. Holleaux (1918.1).27-28; Mason (1974).104, 158-159.
- (4). Bousquet (1964).607-609 is largely responsible for the restoration that renders this a statue erected by Aristainos, Philopoimen's major rival in the Achaian League; it is his hypothesis that dates it 196/5, in celebration of Aristainos' election to the generalship. For this honouring with statues, see App. *Mak.* IX.4. Note also Cic. *de or.* 262, the anecdote on Scipio's rejection of the proposal to dedicate a statue in his honour at Korinth on the grounds that the place was overcrowded with statues of generals.
- (5). Paton and Hicks (1891).XXXIV, 151 no.128.
- (6). So also Daux (1964).569-576 for the institution of a Titeia at Argos, a festival in celebration of Flamininus' liberation of the town from Spartan oppression. The general's effect on Achaia should only be judged in the light of his methods of winning their allegiance in 198/7, for which see the excellent Aymard (1938).79-102.
- (7). Aymard (1938).251-255; Gruen (1984).450-455; Ferrary (1988).88-95. Balsdon (1967) for Flamininus the dissembler in this context.
- (8). Plut. *Flam.* XVI. Gruen (1982).59-60; Ferrary (1988).72-81, esp. 76-77 n.110; Rich (1989).130-132 place the honours in the diplomatic context of *Pistis*; Crawford (1985).32-33 and Lévêque (1957).547-548 take that context right back to the Pyrrhic Wars. See below, n.50 for the significance of Zeus Sôter in connection with Flamininus, qua his self-parallel with the Dioskouroi.
- (9). See below, ch.iv.
- (10). L. XXXIV.51.4-6.
- (11). Briscoe (1967).3-20; cf. Passerini (1933).322-324; Gruen (1976.1).39.
- (12). Larsen (1968).284 called the settlement thoroughly Greek; yet elsewhere, (1966).127, he draws a contrast between Greek government and its limited tenure of office, and Italian or Latin government and its institutionalisation of magistrates. The distinction is clearly false, at least for Thessaly, where there is a combination of the principles.
- (13). Larsen (1968).281-294, citing Plut. *Moral.* 822E and *IG IX.2.107* as evidence; Helly (1973).104-113.
- (14). Larsen (1968).284; Armstrong and Walsh (1986).32-46.
- (15). Sherk (1969).213 no.33. cf. Badian (1958).69-83.
- (16). Armstrong and Walsh (1986).43; Ferrary (1988).112-117. Also

generally, Gruen (1984).172-184.

(17). On the general principle, see Braund (1989) and Rich (1989); also Edlund (1977).129-136.

(18). Badian (1970).55-57. The enduring nature of the settlement of Thessaly and the regard in which it was held by the Greeks: *IG IX.2.89b*, a reference back to it by NARTHAKION, Malis in a decree dating after 150.

(19). *ID 442B.85-6*, 178.

(20). The sources for these magistracies: Broughton (1951-86).I. *ad ann.*

(21). *L. XXXIV.48.2*.

(22). *L. XXXV.23.5*.

(23). Thus also the route chosen by the Scipiones en route to Asia Minor in 190: *L. XXXVII.6.1-2*, 7.7-16. This straight-line route had by 183 been facilitated by the opening of Ambrakia as a free conduit in 187: *L. XXXVIII.44.4*.

(24). *ID 442B.102-4*. Vial (1984).82-83 (Polybos); 240-241, 266-267, 298-299 (Tlepolemos); 270 (Xenokleides).

(25). *ID 442B.85*.

(26). Dittenberger comm. on *SIG<sup>3</sup>.588 n.42*; Holleaux (1918.1).153. cf. Homolle (1882).162, (1884).88, who abjured interpretation.

(27). Comm. on *ID 442B.85*, p.165.

(28). See Linders (1988); also Guarducci (1937).48. An illustration of the problems caused by the catalogues is the proximity of the third crown of Scipio Asiaticus to offerings made by L. Antonius, M. Quinctius and M. Sabinus in *ID 1429AII.16-21*, *1432AbI.42-7* and *1450A.90-1*. The former is found in the pre-167 lists whereas the latter three are not; can the three still be deemed synchronistic on the grounds of proximity of entry in the lists ?

(29). Compare *ID 442B.85-6*, 178 with *ID 1429A.21-2* and *ID 1449D.7*.

(30). *ID 442B.138*, *1450.116*.

(31). *Plut. Flam XII.6-7*. cf. Chamoux (1965) for a statue dated to a similar period.

(32). For these, see the series of articles by Walbank in *CQ XXXVI-XXXVIII (1942-4)* on Alcaeus of Messene, Philip V and Rome.

(33). Rawson *CAH VIII<sup>2</sup>.440*. cf. Badian (1970).54.

(34). *SIG<sup>3</sup>.585.7-8*.

(35). Flacelière (1937).354 n.2.

(36). The significance of Delphi's gesture towards Veturius and Blattus will be discussed in full below in ch.iii.

(37). So *ID 442A.61, 67, 209-219* (Glötz [1916]), B.3-6, 7, 10, 31, 33, 56, 61, 94-5, 139-140, 183-5 etc.; B.16-7, 28, 31, 35, 37-43, 70, 72, 75, 94-5, 97, 107, 109, 158, 162, 164, 178, 181, 225, 229, 234.

(38). A. Atilius Serranus is the only other Roman magistrate who undergoes a similar transition from mere praenomen to praenomen and gentilicial as the inventories change hands in 167; compare *ID 442B.86* with *ID 1429A.19-20*. All other magistrates are possessed of both names in both sets of inventories; does this imply that Atilius' dedication was marked by an ode similar to that of Flamininus ?

(39). Athens and Delphi: *SIG<sup>3</sup>.585.7, 73, 106, 205*; Daux (1936).568-583. Athens and Flamininus: *L. XXXV.32.7-8, 12-13*.

(40). The temples of Delos: Bruneau (1970).60-62.

(41). Toynebee (1965).II.429-430 n.4; also Guarducci (1937).42-44. Gruen (1984).167 n.65 and Ferrary (1988).558 n.39 fail to grasp this

relevance.

(42). See above, Section A ch.viii on Iustin. XXVIII.3.4.

(43). *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.591 (Dittenberger); Lolling (1881).96-103; Kumanudes 'Αθηναίων VI.1881.96; Wilhelm *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1900.95, (1953).80-88; Colin (1905).492; Bickermann (1932).277-299; Holleaux (1916).1-11 (= [1938-68].V.141-155); Ferrary (1988).133-141.

(44). This, an argument for Hegesias' embassy pre-dating Flaminius' dedications, must be qualified by the observation that Lampsakos left no evidence of attendance at either Delos or Delphi; thus, even if the dedications were in situ by the time of Hegesias' departure, he was unlikely to have seen them.

(45). Thus the sense of the word ἐντυχὼν in ll.16, 36; had the Lampsakenes sought congress with a Roman magistrate in the field, they would surely have picked out Titus, who was just round the corner in Boiotia (L. XXXIII.27-9; P. XVIII.43). ~~When Magistrate talks of being with~~  
~~παρὲς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδ. he must therefore mean that he was~~  
~~congressing with them.~~

(46). The restoration is unquestioned by later editors. Lolling, however, restored the line to read συγγένειαν ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ [προγόνων ὑπάρξει κλαί... This seems somewhat banal, since συγγένεια perforce arose from προγόνοι; Lolling's restoration is thus to state the obvious.

(47). On this undertaking, see Sherk (1969).nos.35 & 36, the Scipionian letters to Herakleia-Latmos and Kolophon. There the formulaic promise is the same; although the phrase is not exclusively Scipionian, its repetition may well tie in with Broughton's use of *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.1.p.194 to place Scipio Asiaticus' pendant quaestorship in 196, it being the only available year. The intriguing possibility is thus that Asiaticus is our ταμίᾱς here; he certainly had the requisite epistolary proclivities. The sites of both encounters are unknown; Wilhelm and Lolling presumed Kerkyra, whilst Colin presumed somewhere in Italy. The decree says only Ἑλλάς, l.15; the only parallel for this is in *I.v. Lampsakos* 24A, where it refers to Athens.

(48). L. XXXII.16.2; Bickermann (1932).295-296, with the extension of logic that Lucius included Lampsakos in his province, thus prefiguring the conflict with Antiochos.

(49). This leaves the problem of the second-hand dedication not being mentioned specifically in the inventories; this is not serious in consideration of the inconsistencies that can mention such a fact in one list (e.g. *ID* 442B.102 for Scipio Africanus) and omit it in another (*ID* 428.13-4).

(50). L. XXXIV.22-41; Plut. *Flam* XIII.1-3; Iustin. XXXI.3.1; Eutrop. IV.2; Auct. *de vir. ill.* LI; Oros. IV.20.2; Zon. IX.18; Guarducci (1937).43. cf. also Plut. *Flam* XVI for the association with Zeus Sôter at Chalkis. It is also possible that Flaminius' interest in the Dioskouroi stretched back to his stay in Sparta's colony, Tarentum: L. XXIX.13.6; Badian (1971).108-109; Ferrary (1988).107, 115. cf. Willeumier (1939).519-522.

(51). Theus Peyre (1962).445: "il semble bien qu'à Rome, (les étoiles) aient symbolisé l'intervention protectrice des Dioscures dans tous les périls, ceux des combats terrestres comme ceux des engagements navals". We have already seen how Flaminius was the first Roman magistrate to have a festival instituted in his name and the rites established for him at Chalkis; cf. *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.631, where the Alkesippeia at Delphi in 182 has

nothing to do with divine honours for Alkesippos. Further to these rites, we should note the religious awe he inspires in the Magnetes in 192 (L. XXXV.31.13) and the piety and ceremony mocked by the Aitolians (L. XXXV.48.13).

(52). Rome and the Dioskouroi: Mattingly and Robinson (1932).245-250; Momigliano (1942).53-64; Weinstock (1960).112-114. Attempts to equate the Dioskouroi with the Latin Penates at any given moment in history such as Masquelier (1966).88-89 are misdirected and fruitless; better to proceed as did Peyre (1962) with a view to identifying similarities in myth and influence which might delineate the direction and nature of the equation.

(53). *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.584, showing Delos' relationship with Nabis from 200-197, gives the precise force of Flamininus' gesture here. Contrast L. Aemilius Regillus' Latinisation of his triumph at Myonnesos with the dedication of a temple at Rome to the Lares Permarini (Macrob. *Sat.* I. 10.10).

(54). Perhaps the enthusiasm of the Athenians for this gesture can be gauged from the survival of the dedication well into the Athenian period; *ID* 1443BII.44, 1446.15, 1449D.7.

(55). Kephisodoros' tomb: Paus. I.36.6; Ferguson (1911).419-428. Athens' role in the origins of the Second Makedonian War: see Section D ch.i n.36.

(56). Cf. Section B n.40 above, for Apollo the son of Latona, and nn.42-3 for Livius Andronicus' anthropomorphised gods. Flamininus' use of *Ἀπολλῶδης* and *ἑκάεργος* as epithets of Apollo show his communication on Greek, rather than Latin terms.

(57). Sherk (1969).nos.1 & 38; see below, ch.iii n.22.

(58). Dittenberger comm. on *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.585.46; Daux (1936).593-594. cf. Chamoux (1965). See above on the itineraries of his magistracies in Greece. His long-running dispute with the Aitolians may also have been a factor prior to this time.

(59). Mastrokostas (1964).309-310.

(60). Daux (1965).301-303.

(61). Holleaux (1913.1).75-98 (= [1938-68].V.184-207). L. XXXIV.62.16-18; Zon. IX.18. The African embassy: App. *Lib.* LXVII. Sulpicius' embassy: L. XXXIV.59.8, XXXV.13-17. The supposed encounter with Hannibal: Acilius fr.5 Peter; L. XXXV.14.5-12; Plut. *Pyrrh.* VIII.2, *Flam* XXI.3; App. *Syr.* IX-X; Zon. IX.18.

(62). *ID* 442B.89-90.

(63). *IG* XI.4.712. See n.77 below for Asiaticus' dedications.

(64). Pliny *NH* XIX.3-4 shows that it was only two days run from Ostia to Africa; Diod. XIV.50.2, Himilco's crossing from Carthage to Selinus in 397, shows that with a fair wind, the return crossing need not take twenty-four hours; Procop. *Bell. Vand.* I.14.8 for the Carthage-Syracuse run in 2½ days.

(65). *ID* 442B.101-102.

(66). Durrbach, comm. on *ID* 442B.101, p.167-168 blatantly ignores this.

(67). *ID* 442B.89-91.

(68). For these Delians, see Vial (1984).334, 363 (Sosistratos); 61, 78 (Polyboulos); 67, 123 (Mnesikleides).

(69). Walsh (1965).157-158.

(70). *ID* 442A.100-104 (thus with a *terminus ante quem* of 179), a gift of grain to the sanctuary; Roussel and Hatzfeld (1909).484-489, a statue

erected in his honour by Nikomedes of Bithynia; *IG XI.4.1115-6*, statues erected by an Athenian and a Rhodian businessman, perhaps in association with the gift of grain (so Dittenberger, comm. on *SIG<sup>3</sup>.652*); Walsh (1965).154-155; Gauthier (1988). Camps (1960).197-199 includes his involvement with Greece as a supplier and supporter of the Roman campaigns of 200, 198 and 191; his n.642 details Massanassa's involvement in Rhodian trading circles some time between 200 and 180, but adds nothing to our criteria.

(71). L. XXXIV.57.1-3.

(72). Homolle (1884).84-88; *IG XI.4.756*. cf. Gruen (1984).82-83, 737-738.

(73). Homolle adduces further evidence that, after 193, Rome's allies can be seen making dedications at Delos where they were not before. The arguments above in n.28 concerning the impossibility of comparative dating from the catalogues reveal this as false.

(74). Vial (1984).99. Telemnestos' other decrees: *IG XI.4.751-782*, 784-796.

(75). P. XXI.18.1-2.

(76). L. XXXIV.44.4.

(77). The problem of Asiaticus' dedications is largely insoluble. The fact that he made two as praetor (*ID 442B.89-91*), yet only one of these was recorded in absentia, must surely be misleading. Equally, the fact that it was a chorus of Deliades who made the dedication on his behalf is mystifying, unless Sosistratos' previous career as a *choregos* has any significance. The only dedication that admits certainty is that made as consul (*ID 442B.100*), indubitably on the way back from Magnesia in 190/89. See Section E below.

(78). Durrbach and Jardé (1904).276-277; *IG XI.4.712*.

(79). *ID 442B.100*, 103-4; Holleaux (1913.1).94-95 (= [1938-68].V.203). Regillus made his dedication in absentia and so cannot have been with the Scipiones when they reached Delos; see below, Section E.

(80). Scullard (1970).207-208.

(81). L. XXXVII.60.3.

(82). L. XXXVII.60.4-6.

(83). Sherk (1969).nos.35 & 36.

(84). Memnon *FGrH 434F.18.6-9*.

(85). Ferrary (1988).151-158.

(86). Holleaux (1917).245-246, (1918.1).140-141, (1924.1).42 n.4; De Sanctis (1970-72).IV.71-77; Briscoe (1972).51-53; Scullard (1973).131-133. See Ferrary (1988).151-152, with nn.

(87). L. XXXVII.56.6.

(88). See esp. Sherk (1969).218 n.35.15 on the repayment of *χάρις* owed by the Scipiones. Gruen (1984).173 misses the point that this is reactive and not active *χάρις*.

(89). P. XXI.11.3-11. The examples used are Andobales and Colichas in Spain, Massanassa in Africa, Pleuratos in Illyria and Philip and Nabis in Greece.

(90). P. XXI.22.6-23, with Walbank (1957-79).III.114-116. cf. L. XXXVII.54 and its reworking of the script, for which see Briscoe (1981).379-381.

(91). Ferrary (1988).157-158. For the comparative role of Asiaticus in this settlement, see Balsdon (1972).224-234.

(92). Daux (1936).599-600; Pomtow (1921).153-155.

(93). P. XXI.4-5; L. XXXVII.6-7. The above reconstruction of Scipio's movements in 194/3 renders it impossible to date the dedication to that period.

(94). P. XXI.4.4-5.

(95). Laidlaw (1933).201-202.

(111). DELPHI.

- (1). Daux (1936). 585-586.
- (2). Rawson *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 450.
- (3). *SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 585; *SGDI*. 2581.
- (4). Chamoux (1965).
- (5). Flacelière (1937). 343-350, underlying Gruen (1984). 448-456. cf. Sacks (1975), Holleaux (1931). 193-208 (= [1938-68]. V. 86-103) for Livian misrepresentation of Polybian tones.
- (6). *SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 585. 8-11. cf. Plassart (1921). 23 col. IV. 64-7.
- (7). Diod. XIV. 93. 3; *SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 591; De Witt (1940). 609-613.
- (8). *Oalerios* and *Olkaios* respectively.
- (9). App. *Hann.* XLV-XLVII; Schulze (1933). 423, 519.
- (10). See above, ch. ii nn. 34-35.
- (11). Colin (1905). 264.
- (12). L. Veturius L. f. Post. n. Philo, cos. 220, dict. 217, cens. 210. L. Veturius L. f. L. n. Philo, leg. 207, 202, aed. cur. 210, pr. 209, propr. 208, cos. 206, mag. eq. 205. Ti. Veturius Philo, flam. mart. from 204. It is also possible that he was one of the Veturii Gemini Cicurini, prominent in the fifth century.
- (13). Starr (1980). 50 n. 45, with reference to Q. Publilius Philo.
- (14). *RE* sv 'Canusium' vol. III cols. 1501-1502.
- (15). For benign relations between Rome and the Italians in the first decade of the second century, Harris (1972). 640-642; Gruen (1990). 45 n. 47. McDonald (1944). 11-26 outlines the developments taking place behind this façade.
- (16). Foucart (1865). 205.
- (17). Flacelière (1937). 355.
- (18). Daux (1936). 3-4, also 225-233, 259-261; Roussel (1932); Sherk (1969). 221-224 no. 37; Gruen (1984). 152, 168; Ferrary (1988). 114.
- (19). Sherk (1969). no. 37A. 1. Ziebarth (1909) and Wace (1907). 39-41 no. 46 for that at Sparta some little time later, for which that at Delphi was obviously a prototype; Cartledge and Spawforth (1989). 94 n. 3.
- (20). Plut. *Sulla* XII; Guarducci (1937). 45. Daux (1936). 228 n. 2 corrects the errors of Pomtow and Dittenberger, who assumed that the general was also accorded *proxenia* and *thearodokeia*. Note Colin (1905). 263 on the reciprocity of the arrangement: "le sanctuaire avait sans doute reçu des dons de ces personnages, ou il sentait son intérêt à se concilier leur faveur".
- (21). Sherk (1969). 21-25 no. 1.
- (22). Sherk (1969). 225-228 no. 38; Holleaux (1930. 2). 1-41 (= [1938-68]. V. 249-286).
- (23). Sherk (1969). no. 38. 7; Daux (1936). 602; Gruen (1984). 177-179.
- (24). Ferrary (1988). 114.
- (25). Dittenberger, comm. on *SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 585. 65; Schulze (1933). 224.
- (26). Tagylis: *RE* sv 'Tagylis' vol. IVA cols. 2024-5. cf. *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>. 2433.
- (27). L. XXIV. 48. 9-13.
- (28). Cf. Larsen (1968). 284 for the supposed need for experts in such settlements.
- (29). Daux (1936). 265.
- (30). The chronology for this latter would be tight, but perhaps feasible. Glabrio left Greece in April 190, having effected his settlement and written his letter to the Delphoi; Sp. Postumius appears

to have written to the Delphoi after April 189, C. Livius some time between October 189 and February 188. Livius' letter is the genuine *terminus ante quem* for the festival, Glabrio's the probable *terminus post quem*; the fact that Postumius does not mention it is not significant given the dictates of his purpose. There was perhaps just time between Glabrio's settlement of 191/0 and the end of the period of office in which our characters were honoured (July 190) for an ad hoc festival to be conceived, advertised and completed.

(31). L. XXIV.45.1-47.11; P. III.88.6, 118.3; App. Hann. XXXI.

(32). Strabo VI.282-283C.

(33). For Orthon, cf. Nachtergaeel (1975).484-486 no.70, Delphic honours for Athanadas son of Zopyros of Rhegium, a *kitharôdos*, dated by Daux (1943).L53 to c.150; IG XIV.616, an unknown Rhegian, son of Orthon, as archon; SEG XXXIII.781 for the Rhegian brickmakers Orthon and Sannon.

(34). L. XXV.40.5-13; XXVI.21.15; 40-3-18, XXVII.5.6-7, 8.14-15. RE sv 'Myttones' vol.XVI cols.1428-1430.

(35). Comm. on SIG<sup>3</sup>.585.87-90; Daux (1936).591-592 n.2 notes that the date of his honours implies that he did not leave the siege of Amphissa at the same time as the Scipiones in May 190.

(36). Daux (1936).592. cf. Hatzfeld (1919).26:

"on a peine à croire que tous ces Italiens aient traverser l'Adriatique uniquement pour venir consulter l'oracle d'Apollon ou assister aux Pythia: ce sont vraisemblablement de simples *negotiatores*".

(37). E.g. to Epidauros: IG IV<sup>2</sup>.95.47-48. The Mamertines: Cassola (1962).171-178; Toynbee (1965).I.101-102.

(38). Rhegian loyalty and rewards: L. XXIII.30.9; Ciaceri (1932).III.215-216; Toynbee (1965).II.33 n.5.

(39). That pro-Romans governed Agrigentum now is a self-evident truth from L. XXVI.40.13-14, the wholesale murder and enslavement of the population who had sided with Hannibal in 210. cf. Manganaro (1964).425 on the revival which must have taken place by 190.

(40). See above, n.30.

(41). Pomtow (1921).158 no.143. cf. Sherk (1969).225-228 no.38.3-4. The restoration hinges on Demosthenes' patronymic, which is all that survives in Pomtow's decree; the restoration of Herys in the lacuna prior to that is somewhat hypothetical. cf. Daux (1936).594 who makes the identification "sans hésitation".

(42). Pomtow (1921).156 no.141.

(43). For his career and philhellenism, see Daux (1936).594; Rich (1976).128-137; Gruen (1984).680-682 (as regards Egypt); Ferrary (1988).531-532.

(44). Dittenberger, comm. on SIG<sup>3</sup>.585.117-123, with L. XXXVIII.43.1-44.1, XL.45.6-46.16. Given Delphi's obvious pleasure at liberation from Aitolia, it is perhaps unnecessary to adduce Lepidus' hostility to Fulvius as a reason for his honours; his status and attitude were quite sufficient.

(45). L. XXXVII.43.1-5; Iustin. XXXI.8.6; Zon. IX.20. cf. App. Syr. XXXVI.

(46). See ch.ii nn.73-79.

(47). Badian (1971).102-109, esp. 105 n.18. An Acilius was legate in Spain under Q. Fulvius Flaccus in 181: L. XL.30.4, 31.1-9, 32.5-8.

(48). The connection of the Acilii Balbi, nos.25 & 26 in RE sv 'Acilius'

vol. I cols. 251-260, to the other Acilii is less than obvious.

(49). L. XXV. 7. 10-11. 20, esp. 7. 11-13.

(50). See n. 32.

(51). *RE* sv 'Velia' vol. VIIIA. 2 cols. 2399-2405. Phokaian foundation: Strabo VI. 252; Hdt. I. 167; Skyl. XII. Head *HN*<sup>2</sup>. 90, on the latest coin issues from after 350, implies that there was a cult of Apollo in the town.

(52). *SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 613; Blum (1914); Roussel (1932). 26-31; Daux (1936). 280-292; Ferrary (1988). 161-163.

(53). Giovannini (1970), followed by Derow *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup>. 301-302.

(54). See above, ch. 11. Flamininus' own position in this is remarkable, in that he was *proxenos* of Delphi, but also patron of Thessaly by dint of his settlement there and establishment of mutual *χάρις*. How he voted here would be most interesting.

(55). See generally Scullard (1973). 145-152; De Sanctis (1907-64). IV. 1. 576-603 and Astin (1978). 59-73 in the context of Scipio and Cato. However, Gruen (1990). 56-57 records senatorial philhellenism as reflected in the Bacchanalian affair, before pointing out in 69-72 the backlash of corporate authority against the personality cults of individual magistrates that this represented. This is perhaps most important, and suggests rather that Delphi's patrons were outvoted than that they abstained.

(56). Sherk (1969). 229-232 no. 39; Blum (1914). 29; Roussel (1932). 32-36; Daux (1936). 675-678. Lucullus: L. XXXIX. 18. 1; Broughton (1951-86). I. 371. The envoys from the Amphiktyony were Mnasidamos, a Korinthian, secretary in 184 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 613. 2); and Aiakidas, possibly the Thessalian *strategos* of 191/0 (*IG* IX. 2. 24).

(57). So Badian (1958). 89-90. Gruen (1984). 481-496, on the supposed rift between the senate and her envoys over the Peloponnese, fails to realise this combination of indifference and interventionism.

(58). In 182, Delphi accepted Aitolian statues of Eumenes (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 628) and Prousius (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 632) and instituted games financed by the Aitolian Alkesippos (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 631); she also posted Aitolia's acceptance of the Pergamene Nikephoria (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 629, a notable contrast to the Amphiktyonic acceptance and its grovelling to Rome the common benefactor [*SIG*<sup>3</sup>. 630]). Daux (1936). 266-274 believes that Aitolia never really left Delphi in the geographical and economic sense.

(59). Plassart (1921). 23 col. IV. 68; 38.

(60). Nachtergaeel (1975). 347, 351.

(61). Daux (1944-5). 101-103 no. 11; Nachtergaeel (1975). 456-457 no. 35.

(62). Plassart (1921). 24-25 col. IV. 81-118; Manganaro (1964). 419-439; Nachtergaeel (1975). 345-353.

(63). Plassart (1921). 66 n. 3; Manganaro (1964). 423 n. 45.

(64). The Sicilian leg: Manganaro (1964). 431-438.

(65). Plassart (1921). 23 col. IV. 64-68; the order here is obviously not geographical, and this is obviously an appendix compiled in a different manner, perhaps by these men visiting Delphi rather than vice versa.

(66). Nachtergaeel (1975). 351. But cf. ch. vi n. 6 below for the intimation that Brundisian traffic did not touch Delphi after 187.

(67). Manganaro (1964). 423. cf. *RE* sv 'Metapontum' vol. XV cols. 1344-1345, and the allusive Paus. VI. 19. 11.

(68). L. XXXIV. 45. 3-5, 53. 1-2. cf. XXV. 9. 7-8; Salmon (1969). 97-100.

(69). Manganaro (1964). 425, 434. For the status of cities of Sicily, see

Derow (1990). 198-199, *contra* Ferrary.

(70). L. V. 28. 1-5.

(71). See below, ch. iv n. 15 for an alternative suggestion in development of this.

(72). *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 636; P. XXV. 3, XXII. 18. 4; L. XLI. 22-23, XLII. 40, 42; App. *Mak.* XI. Daux (1936). 303-317; Meloni (1953). 74-77, 94-104; Mendels (1978). 56-59, 69-70, esp. 56 n. 8 for discussions; Ferrary (1988). 165-166 n. 130; Hammond and Walbank (1988). 493-495; Derow *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 301-302. Gruen (1976. 1). 35-36 gives Aitolia's role in this.

(73). Dittenberger comm. on *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 279 notes that Nikandros is the start of an appendix to the general list, beginning two years after that list ended and including previously uncited formulae such as the grant of *enktesis* here.

(74). Meloni (1953). 150-176; Ferrary (1988). 170-165; Derow *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 306-308. For Perseus' "guilt" under these accusations, Mendels (1978).

(75). The pillars: P. XXX. 10. 2; L. XLV. 27; Plut. *Aem.* XXVII. 4. cf. *FD* II. 302, III. 4. 1. pp. 29-116. Daux (1936). 318-319; Guarducci (1937). 50-53; Ferrary (1988). 556-557. The Amphiktyony: Daux (1936). 304-315.

(76). The senate's rebuff to Rhodes in 178, occasioned by Rhodes' role in the marriage of Perseus: P. XXV. 4. 7-8; Derow *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 302. Makedon: 175, P. XXV. 6. 5-6, L. XLI. 19. 4; 174, L. XLI. 22. 3, XLII. 2. 1-2; 173, L. XLII. 6. 4-5 (also Egypt); 172, L. XLII. 25. 1-13. Aitolia: 174, L. XLI. 25. 5-6, 27. 4, XLII. 2. 1-2; 173, L. XLII. 5. 10-6. 2 (also Achaia). Krete: 174, L. XLI. 25. 7. Thessaly and Perrhaebia: 173, L. XLII. 5. 8-10. Rhodes, Asia and the islands: 172, L. XLII. 19. 7-8, 26. 7-9, P. XXVII. 3. 1-5, App. *Mak.* XI. 4. The embassy of 172: L. XLII. 37. 1-9; Walbank (1941).

(77). Passerini (1933). 325-332.

(78). P. XXII. 18. 5; L. XLII. 15-17; App. *Mak.* XI; Daux (1936). 317-318; Derow *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>. 307. Those accused were L. Rammius of Brundisium and Praxo of Delphi.

(79). Sherk (1969). 233-239 no. 40. cf. L. XLII. 11-14.

(80). Tauromenium and Delos go back to the fourth century: *BCH VIII*. 1884. 298-302 no. 9. 15 and *BCH X*. 1886. 461-475 11. 116-7. Her place in the Delphian *thearodokos* list: Plassart (1921). 25 col. IV. 24-5.

(81). Nachtergaeel (1975). 351.

(82). Pomtow (1921). 158-159; Nachtergaeel (1975). 353 n. 240.

(iv). THESSALY.

- (1). Hatzfeld (1919).23.
- (2). Arvanitopoulos (1910).344-349 no.3.
- (3). L. XXXVI.10.3-14, 13.1; App. Syr. XVI. A parallel context of 171 is suggested by L. XLII.53-62 and Hatzfeld (1919).24; this cannot be ruled out.
- (4). Arvanitopoulos (1910).348 n.1.
- (5). L. XXXV.20-12-13, 23.5, 24.7; XXXVI.1.7, 8.6, 10.10; App. Syr. XVI; Zon. IX.19.
- (6). Shackleton Bailey (1976).128; Crawford (1974).523.
- (7). Syme (1956).129 n.2.
- (8). L. XXXI.41.5.
- (9). L. XXXVI.13.4.
- (10). IG XIV.952-3.
- (11). RE sv 'Eleutheria' vol.V col.2347. cf. Dittenberger comm. on IG VII.48; Arvanitopoulos (1911).126.
- (12). L. XXXVI.14.6-10.
- (13). E.g. IG IX.2.526 numbers victors from Thasos, Kumai, Magnesia-Maiandros, Syracuse, Thebes, Metropolis, Kerkyra and Atrax.
- (14). L. XXXVIII.44.1-6; see above, ch.iii n.44.
- (15). Epiros and Akarnania: Oost (1954).1-2. Thessaly: Oost (1957).1-2. Italian traffic through the Krisaian Gulf: Strabo IX.418-9C; and at the Isthmus and Euripos: Strabo VIII.378C, IX.400C. Hatzfeld (1919).22 for the potential effect on traffic.
- (16). SIG<sup>3</sup>.585.113, 165. cf. Euseb. Chron. I.p.246.3 for the name Thrasymachos, commonly accepted as the same person.
- (17). P. XXII.6, XXIII.2.7; L. XXXIX.23.5-29.3; Paus. VII.8.6; Hammond and Walbank (1988).455-457.
- (18). L. XXXIX.25.7-10.
- (19). L. XXXIX.24.7; Gruen (1984).502-503.
- (20). See above, ch.iii n.53-55.
- (21). Helly (1973).II.48-49; Arvanitopoulos (1912).64.
- (22). Cf. IG IX.2.258 from Kierion, cited below; Hatzfeld (1919).11-12.
- (23). Schulze (1933).134, 315; cf. Plautus *Bacch.*1088.
- (24). Praeneste: *ILLRP* 658, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.164, 2461.
- (25). Helly (1973).I.114-115, II.70-99 nos.68-92.
- (26). Arvanitopoulos (1912).66-67 no.92. cf. Helly (1973).II.21-22 no.20; Holleaux (1918.1).27 n.1.
- (27). Arvanitopoulos (1912).67-68 no.93; Arvanitopoulos (Th.) (1939).30 n.52; Hatzfeld (1919).24 n.6.
- (28). Helly (1973).II.52 cf. I.107-110. Lysias son of Hermeias was the brother of the *tagos* Theophanes, who appears in Helly's nos.74-76.
- (29). Helly (1973).I.3-21.
- (30). L. XLIV.27.11, 30.11, 32.1-4; App. Mak. XVIII, III. IX; Plut. *Aem.* XIII.1-2.
- (31). Fougères (1899).400. cf. above, n.22.
- (32). Popillius himself was in Greece in 170/69: L. XLIII.22.2-3. He was also legate with Octavius in 169, for which see n.38 below; and envoy to Egypt in 168, for which see Swain (1944).2-4.
- (33). *ILLRP* 715 (Capua), 749 (Delos); *CIL* X.3778, 3785, 4270 (Capua), 8059 (Neapolis), 4796 (Teanum Sidicinum); Hatzfeld (1919).64; RE sv 'Pactumeius' vol.XVIII.1 cols.2153-2156.

- (34). Comm. on IG IX.2.258.
- (35). L. XLIII.9.6, 21.4-5, 23.1-6. His return to Rome does not mean that all his staff returned with him, although it is likely that they accompanied him out there in the first place.
- (36). L. XLII.5.8-10.
- (37). L. XLII.30.1-7. Mendels (1978).61-69 suggests that this was turned against Perseus by Roman propaganda; but there is no reason to suppose that Rome's magistrates did not themselves suspect such a division. Ferrary (1988).162-163 n.120 muses with point on the possibility of an early reconciliation between Perseus and Thessaly; Gruen (1976.1).39-40 points out that Pulcher's settlement did not favour the timocracy financially, yet the point is surely that they stayed in office and there was no revolution.
- (38). P. XXVIII.3-5; L. XLIII.17.2-9; Charneux (1957); Gruen (1984).169-170 n.78, 508 n.122; Ferrary (1988).177.
- (39). L. XLIV.30.1, XLV.5-6; Vell. I.9.5; Plut. *Aem.* XXVI.1-5; Iustin. XXXIII.2-5; Zon. IX.23.
- (40). Robert (1969).470-471.
- (41). Amphipolis: L. XLV.29.3; Ferrary (1988).558-559 n.42. Delos: *ID* 1429AI.11-12 (perhaps somewhat later, in 163). Olympia: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.650.
- (42). Sherk (1969).48 n.8.
- (43). *Contra Helly* (1973).I.115 n.9, who rigorously defends his subject from this possibility.

(v). AITOLIA.

(1). See above, ch.iii n.5.

(2). See above, ch.iii n.58. The poverty of Aitolia is notable for their sacking of Chyretiai in 200 "inopia praedae" (L. XXXI.41.5) and the subsequent debt crises (L. XLII.5.7; Diod. XXIX.33.1) which led to serious civil disorder (P. XXVIII.4.13, XXIX.7.5, XXX.11.1-6; L. XLIII.17.5).

(3). Klaffenbach, comm. on *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.31.18-19*. Pyrrhias was *praetor* c.223/2. cf. *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.29.1*; Section C n.98 above.

(4). See above, Section A ch.viii n.34.

(5). Klaffenbach, comm. on *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.33*. cf. *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.131*.

(6). See above, ch.iii n.52.

(7). Neapolis' absence from the *thearodokos* list of Delphi is probably not significant for Euthios; yet the geographical boundaries of the list tell a duplicitous story as regards continuing attendance at the sanctuary.

(8). See above, Section A ch.v n.26 for implied Neapolitan influence on Rome's approach to Greece as regards her terminology.

(9). *SIG<sup>3</sup>.629*.

(10). See above, Section C n.73.

(11). *SIG<sup>3</sup>.630*, esp. 11.4, 7-8, 18-19.

(12). Cf. Epigonos of Tarentum, ch.vii n.27 below.

(vi). THRACE.

- (1). See ch. iv n. 17 above.
- (2). Avezou and Picard (1913). 130-131. cf. P. XXI. 47; L. XXXVIII. 41 on the Roman army passing through Thrace on its way to and from the Hellespont. For the name, cf. Gaius IV. 25, an undated tribune or praetor, author of the *lex Vallia* that preceded the *leges Iuliae* in abolishing *manus iniectio*.
- (3). Philon: Avezou and Picard (1913). 123-124 no. 39. 1, 128-129.
- (4). Avezou and Picard (1913). 128.
- (5). *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 656; Robert (1935). 507-513; Hermann (1971). 72-77. Chiranky (1982). 470-481 attempts to prove that this decree dates some sixty years later; yet the key to his argument is that Abdera was, in 166, more favoured by Rome than was Kotys, as was shown by the restoration of liberty in 170 following Hortensius' depredations. Yet his argument in 461-470 is that Rome especially favoured Kotys in 167 because of his usefulness to them in Thrace; the balance thereby created between Kotys and Abdera in the minds of an already divided senate ruins his argument. P. XXX. 17. 1-4; L. XLV. 42. 6-11; Walbank (1957-79). III. 440; Magie (1950). II. 960-961 n. 76 provide the context. Braund (1989) *contra* Gruen (1984). 166 n. 56 on the political implications within Rome as regards patronage of foreign states; also Edlund (1977). 133 n. 19.
- (6). Abdera and Teŕos go back to the sixth century: Strabo XIV. 644C; Hdt. I. 168. Teŕos' relationship with Rome, based on Sherk (1969). 214-216 no. 34, is discussed in ch. vii below.
- (7). Avezou and Picard (1913). 123 l. 8.
- (8). Avezou and Picard (1913). 123 ll. 18-19. cf. 125 ll. 27-31.
- (9). Rostovtzeff (1959). 111-118. cf. Casson (1968). 31, 34-35, 56-57, 90-93.
- (10). Avezou and Picard (1913). 131. Rostovtzeff (1959). 762-764 goes so far as to pluralise the "Vallii" as a family resident in Abdera for commercial purposes.
- (11). Avezou and Picard (1913). 131. cf. 125-126 ll. 2-3, 5-6, 10-11, 14-15.
- (12). Avezou and Picard (1913). 131-132; L. XLIII. 4. 8-11. Hammond and Walbank (1988). 606, 611-612 emphasise that this attack by Hortensius on Abdera was unprovoked as Abdera had been declared free on the withdrawal of Philip in 183 (P. XXIII. 8. 1 cf. 3. 3) and was not in Perseus' possession during the war (cf. L. XLV. 29. 6; Diod. XXXI. 8. 8); Gruen (1984). 557-558, Ferrary (1988). 176 on Hortensius' thwarting Eumenes' ambitions in Abdera.
- (13). Avezou and Picard (1913). 126 ll. 35-38.
- (14). Cf. L. XLIII. 4. 12 on the despatch of C. Sempronius Blaesus and Sex. Iulius Caesar "ad restituendos in libertatem Abderitas". This does not mean that they were sent to Abdera, but rather to where the captive Abderitans were (see Section E below); but perhaps the Apustii were junior members of their staff who were sent to fulfil the Abderitan end of the operation. For the status of the Apustii, see the legate of Glabrio and Asiaticus in 200 and 190 respectively; L. XXXI. 27, XXXVII. 4. 2, 16. 12.
- (15). It is worth mentioning the conjectures of Rostovtzeff (1959). 759-762: "there is not the slightest doubt that (the Apustii) had had dealings with the city before, either of a commercial or of a banking

- character. The same Apustii had similar relations with Perinthus..." Not only is there no hint of commercialism in our decree; Seure (1912). 613-614 no. 72 turns out to be an actor, M. Apustius Agrippa, from a considerably later date. Similarly, the hypothesis of Holleaux (1914). 68-70, that they are *negotiatores* operating out of Thessalonike following the provincialisation of Makedon, fails to take account of the element of ἐλευθερία in l. 37, which suggests the crises of 169 and 166.
- (16). Avezou and Picard (1913). 127 ll. 3-4, 8-9, 12; 134-135. Holleaux (1914). 63-64 attempts to restore this as a separate decree for the son of C. Apustius; yet his restorations are on questionable pretexts, and his justification somewhat flimsy.
- (17). Fraser (1960). 74-75 no. 25. The legate of 185/4: L. XXXIX. 31. 4, 38. 4. After Pydna: L. XLIV. 45. 15, XLV. 5-6.
- (18). *ID* 442B. 138; *ILLRP*. 245.
- (19). See above, Section B n. 68, D ch. ii n. 52.
- (20). Plut. *Mark.* XXX. 4 does not necessarily imply that Marcellus himself made these dedications, but that there were statues and paintings from Syracuse in the sanctuary at Samothrace; Marcellus need not himself have put them there.
- (21). Schuler (1960). 94-96 on L. XLV. 29. 1. cf. Perdrizet (1894). 419 n. 2.

(vii). THE AIGAIAN.

- (1). These three were Paros, Kythnos and Andros: L. XXXI.15.8.
- (2). See above, Section A ch.ii n.47. Nymphodoros: *ID* 442A *passim*, in partnership with Herakleides son of Aristion of Tarentum (*ID* 1716; Zalesskij [1984].29 n.45); Bogaert (1968).179-181; Hatzfeld (1912).57, (1919).29.
- (3). Bogaert (1968).176-178; Manganaro (1964).429.
- (4). Bogaert (1968).192-193 explains the close links between the two islands, to the extent that Tenos held a deposit in the temple of Delian Apollo (*ID* 405.3, 461Aa.3-6); the banker Mantineus, originally a Tenian, moved to Delos to conduct his business (*IG* XI.4.763).
- (5). *ID* 399A.10, 17, 18, 25, 26, 28, 32; similarly in 190 and 188, *ID* 408.17, 405.17. Bogaert (1968).178.
- (6). See above, ch.ii nn.71-77.
- (7). *IG* XII.Suppl.313; see above, Section A ch.vii n.23.
- (8). See above, Section A ch.v n.21.
- (9). So Roussel's restoration of *IG* XI.4.759 to read, l.5, [καὶ νόν δι'ἐλιτῶν ἐπι[δημῶν] ἐν Δήλῳ; cf. Homolle (1884).90, [καὶ νόν διατρίβων] ἐν Δήλῳ; *contra* Hatzfeld (1919).29 n.2.
- (10). Sifakis (1967).139-142.
- (11). Magie (1950).II.943 n.39 lists other acceptances of this earlier initiative: Aitolia, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.563, *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.1.192, *FD* III.2.134a; Amphiktyony, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.564; Delphi, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.565; the Kretan cities, *SGDI* 5165-5180, *IC* I no.1\* p.292, II no.21\* p.161, no.3\* p.197. The acceptance of Amynder: Welles (1934).152-156 no.35; Braund (1982).350-352.
- (12). Holleaux (1913.2).156-159 (= [1938-68].IV.200-203). Menippos and Antiochos: L. XXXIV.57.6-59.8, Diod. XXVIII.15.2-4, App. Syr. VI.
- (13). L. XXXIV.59.4, for the senate following their hearing of Menippos and Hegesianax by calling "legationes universas Graeciae Asiaeque". cf. n.6 above for Delos.
- (14). L. XXXV.14.1-4, 15.1. cf. 14.5-12. This is the embassy which Scipio was supposed to have accompanied, but did not.
- (15). Sherk (1969).215 l.22-24; Gruen (1984).173.
- (16). See above, ch.vi n.5.
- (17). Chiranky (1982).474-476 details other examples, his earliest being Pomtow (1921).162-163 no.147, Delphic honours for Postumius Albinus, c.140. Yet his argument is that the inscriptions of the Third Makedonian War which honour Romans do not use the term, in which case it does not belong to the 160s; this fails to take into account the difference between these bald statements of honours and the discursive text of the Abderitans. At this stage, it seems unlikely that the Greeks would or could bestow upon Romans a status which was not born of their culture. cf. Edlund (1977).132-133.
- (18). Sherk (1969).216 remarks on the inclusion of the *demarchoi*/tribunes as a "very unusual feature"; the specification may well be significant.
- (19). Badian (1958).160 n.3 is somewhat disappointing, describing this only as a classic case of one Greek state using another as a medium of approach to Rome. Gruen (1984).166 n.56 dismisses it as late and perhaps unsuccessful, as the prelude to his dismissal of *clientela* between Romans and Greeks in general; he must surely be wrong. See also Braund (1989).137-138; Rich (1989).123-130.

- (20). Guarducci, comm. on *IC* II.3.5.
- (21). Merenda: L. XXXVII.55. P. XXI.42 and L. XXXVIII.37 say that the *decemviri* did not set out until the Scipiones and Regillus had returned to Italy; therefore they cannot have been on the island at the same time.
- (22). L. XXXVII.45.20, XXXVIII.3.1; *ID* 442B.100-101.
- (23). *ID* 442B.103-104.
- (24). See above, ch.ii n.82.
- (25). Petzl and Pleket (1979).73-74 ll.2, 5, 9, 17; 76-78.
- (26). Petzl and Pleket (1979).79-80; J. & L. Robert *BE* 1980 no.434.
- (27). See above, ch.v n.12.
- (28). Rawson (1975.2).36-38; Vitruv. VII *praef.* 15, 17; *ILLRP*.712; *IG* II-III<sup>2</sup>.4099, 10154; *I GLS* 825.
- (29). Rawson (1975.2).38-39; Hatzfeld (1912).30; *ID* 1738, 1739, 1767; *IG* XII.5.11; *IG* XII.Suppl.557.25; Hatzfeld (1919).107; *IGRRP* IV.1092.

(viii). BOIOTIA.

- (1). P. XVIII.43.1-12, XX.7.3-5; L. XXXIII.27.5-29.12, XXXVI.6.1-2; Briscoe (1967).10-11. For the date of the rapprochement with Antiochos, Walbank (1957-79).III.74.
- (2). P. XXII.4, XXVII.1.1-2.10, 5.1-8, XXXVIII.3.8-13; L. XLII.38.3-5, 43.4-44.6; Passerini (1933).320-322, 330-331; Meloni (1953).145-149, 197-199; Briscoe (1964).68; Gruen (1976.1).43-46, (1984).513-514; Roesch (1982).372-377.
- (3). Holleaux (1890).8-12 no.9. cf. Hatzfeld (1919).27 n.6 that it was to Akraiphiai that Flaminius' soldiers went *negotandi causa* in 196 (L. XXXIII.23.4-6), the connection with these honours left pendant. Note also the argument of Dittenberger, comm. on IG VII.4127, that the omission of the *demos* was not significant, but rather that this represented a *rogatio* or *senatus consultum*, thus it was either a partially passed decree or one issued by an executive with emergency powers.
- (4). Especially Cn. Octavius, the envoy to Greece in 192 (L. XXXV.23.2-5, XXXVI.12.9-10); and Cn. Octavius, the legate of 169 with C. Popillius (L. XLIII.17.2, P. XXVIII.3.1-2).
- (5). Badian (1971).106-107.
- (6). Shackleton Bailey (1976).59.
- (7). Perdrizet (1899).94; the date is by comparison with his no. IV, pp.94-96, from Haliartos, which must pre-date Haliartos' destruction in 171 (L. XLII.63.3-12; Roesch [1965.11.63]. Norceianus: CIL X.2781; Schulze (1933).180.
- (8). Hatzfeld (1919).27.
- (9). Strabo IX.410, 412C; Paus. IX.23. IG VII.4135-4142 are acceptance decrees of the inviolability of the sanctuary and its festival, established between 228 and 226; Feyel (1942.1).254-256; Roesch (1982).225-243.
- (10). Feyel (1955).421-422.
- (11). P. XXVII.2.12; L. XLII.37.1-9, 44.8, 49.9, 56.3. cf. L. XLII.47.12.
- (12). L. XLIV.18.8.
- (13). L. XLV.4.7.
- (14). Pappadakis (1923).239-256. cf. Feyel (1942.2).67-75.
- (15). See above, Section C n.124.
- (16). Vollgraff (1901).368 11.14-15. cf. Pappadakis (1923).239 11.4-5, 21, 23, 25, 27 (note the abbreviation to Λικιν in l.17). Holleaux (1906).475-476 (= [1938-68].I.137). cf. Dittenberger, comm. on IG VII.4147 for these criteria.
- (17). Münzer RE sv 'Licinius' vol.XIII cols.245-350 nos.69 & 72. cf. Scullard (1973).311.
- (18). *Lex Villia*: L. XL.44.1; Scullard (1973).173-174 n.4. Hopkins (1983).45-48, 99-101, 146-149 adds some useful criteria.
- (19). Marshall (1973) for the adoption of the second cognomen.
- (20). Münzer RE sv 'Licinius' vol.XIII cols.286-287 no.60; for his service in Greece, see Broughton (1951-86).I.416.
- (21). Münzer RE sv 'Licinius' vol.XIII cols.495-496 nos.174-175.
- (22). RE sv 'Cornelius' vol.IV cols.1279-1280 nos.92 & 93.
- (23). RE sv 'Cornelius' vol.IV col.1406 no.259; cols.1493-1494 no.348.
- (24). L. XLIII.1.4-12.

- (25). L. XLII.6.4-5. cf. Strabo IX.400C. Meloni (1953).149-150; Gruen (1984).687; Hammond and Walbank (1988).498.
- (26). Plassart (1921).15 col.II.146.
- (27). Münzer *RE* sv 'Licinius' vol.XIII cols.333-334, 348 nos.70, 71 & 75.
- (28). Lauffer (1976).17-18. cf. Sherk (1969).27-31 no.2.15.
- (29). L. XLII.58.13, 67.9.
- (30). L. XLII.58.12.
- (31). Walbank (1941); Meloni (1953).176-191; Briscoe (1967); Gruen (1984).411-417; Hammond and Walbank (1988).506-510.
- (32). L. XLII.38.5.
- (33). P. XXVII.1.1-5; L. XLII.43.4-6; Walbank (1957-79).III.290-292.
- (34). P. XXVII.1.7-2.9; L. XLII.44.3-6; Roesch (1982).373-377.
- (35). P. XXVII.2.10.
- (36). Roesch (1965.1).69-71 and Étienne and Knoepfler (1976).342-347 are the best resumés of the arguments on both sides; add now Ferrary (1988).325-326 n.198.
- (37). Roesch (1965.1).71, based on Paus. VII.16.10.
- (38). Roesch (1982).294, (1965.1).71-72.
- (39). Schol. Pindar *Ol.* VII.153; Diod. XV.53.4.
- (40). Paus. IX.39.4. The date of the construction is queried by Étienne and Knoepfler (1976).337-342, without full conviction. cf. Roesch (1982).392.
- (41). Roussel *BE* 1926.268-269; Vollgraff (1901).372 n.3; Feyel (1942.2).78 cf. Pappadakis (1923).248. The logical implication is that the *agonothesia* ran for the full period between festivals, rather than for one year.
- (42). Feyel (1942.2).71-75 considered that the *koinon* was represented by the *naopoioi* to whom Prokles complained, whilst the letter of Thespiiai to Lebadeia was merely a courtesy to the town who hosted the festival; by dint of this hospitality, Lebadeia had some say in the choice of agonothete. Vollgraff (1901).368 ll.36-37 implies that the choice of agonothete was the subject of lot, with one city being given responsibility for the office. Yet this inscription may come from a period of a similarly emasculated *koinon* and so cannot be held as representative; was it always thus, or was this the result of the decentralisation of 172/1? Even if it was the norm for one city to choose the agonothete, why was there no letter informing the *naopoioi* of the change?
- (43). Compare Vollgraff (1901).368 ll.20-37 for the *apologia* of a successful agonothete; his col.C, however, suggests that problems existed here too. cf. Étienne and Knoepfler (1976).246-250.
- (44). *IG* VII.3073.156-159 record the importation of red earth from Sinope; a not inexpensive exercise. cf. Roux (1960).
- (45). Cf. P. XXVII.1.6-7, 2.3.
- (46). P. XXVII.1.6, 13, 2.1, 5 on the exiles, eventually recalled by Philippus. The prevailing attitude in Plataia is not known, yet it seems to have been a crisis for individuals rather than unified towns.
- (47). Feyel (1942.2).75 assumes his death; μεταλλάχεναι is generally used thus, with τὸν βίον taken as read.
- (48). Compare Lykos of Tarentum above (ch.iii n.49), who seems similarly to have seen the error of his father's defection.
- (49). The chronology of Philippus' embassy is provided by Briscoe

- (1964). 68, who has him leave Rome in September. Prokles' letter was written in the month of Pamboiotios and he died in the month of Panamos, the tenth and ninth months respectively of the Boiotian calendar (Roesch [1982]. 37-41); thus there was almost a year between them, and Prokles' letter coincided with the date of the alliance with Perseus and the election of Ismenias (Walbank [1957-79]. III. 292; Meloni [1953]. 145-148). Thebangelos' accession coincided with the arrival of Philippus, and the festival, scheduled for Panamos, was held twelve months later: Meritt (1935). 562-565 no. 40; Feyel (1942. 2). 74-75; Roesch (1982). 41 n. 35.
- (50). L. XLII. 63. 3-12 details the campaigns of the summer; Sherk (1969). 28 n. 1 records the correction of the "Thebas" of 43. 11 to read "Thisbas". The fall of Koroneia followed some short time later: L. XLII. 67. 12, XLIII. 4. 11; Zon. IX. 22. 6.
- (51). Sherk (1969). 26-33 nos. 2 & 3; L. XLII. 63. 12 for the fate of Thisbai in this context.
- (52). L. XLII. 67. 12.
- (53). In the ninth month, Panamos; see n. 49 above.
- (54). J. & L. Robert *BE* 1964 no. 227; L. XLII. 58. 14, 59. 4, 60. 10 for their lauded role in the battle.
- (55). L. XLII. 17. 1-9; App. *Mak.* XI. 7-8. See above, n. 25.
- (56). Meloni (1953). 149 n. 4 assumes that Mammula and company were those legates who reported back to the senate that they had met Eumenes, Antiochos and Ptolemy in L. XLII. 26. 7-8; Broughton (1951-86). I. 412, however, takes these to be Ti. Claudius Nero and M. Decimius, sent to Asia in L. XLII. 19. 7-8. However, Broughton does acknowledge the hint of confusion with L. XLII. 45. 1-7, based on P. XXVII. 3. 1-5, where the mission was duplicated by Ti. Claudius, Sp. Postumius and M. Iunius; it would seem a very tight schedule for Nero and Decimius to return to Rome so soon, in which case Meloni may indeed be correct.
- (57). Sherk (1969). 32-33 no. 3. 3-10. cf. 27 no. 2. 25-31. Olympichos: P. XXVII. 1. 9; *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 210, 250.
- (58). The Rhodian connection might be deemed the least probable: Briscoe (1964). 69.
- (59). Scullard (1973). 185.
- (60). Marshall (1973), esp. concerning Pliny *NH* XXI. 6, Gell. I. 13. 10, Cic. *Rep.* III. 17 on the fabulous wealth of Mucianus; Shatzman (1975). 253-254.
- (61). L. XLII. 58. 12-13, 67. 9.
- (62). Broughton (1951-86). I *ad ann.*; Shatzman (1975). 154.
- (63). The reflection of those arguments on Vollgraff's inscription is somewhat limited. The goodwill gestures made by Rome in 205 to Delphi and Pergamon may well have provided a circumstance for an agonistic presence in Greece; the mention of an archon in col. C. 28-29 gives a hint of an operative *koinon*; the mention of Ptolemy Philopator adds further weight to the probability. Yet the prosopographical arguments adduced by Étienne and Knoepfler (1976). 245-250 cancel much of these out; they are not conclusive, however, and the question must remain in the balance.
- (64). Hatzfeld (1919). 26-27. Pandusinus Junior: *IG* XII. 5. 917.
- (65). Hatzfeld (1919). 218-219.
- (66). Pandosia: Strabo VI. 256C; L. VIII. 24, XXIX. 38. 1.
- (67). Mommsen (1913). 289, 295-296, based on Iustin. *Dig.* XVII. 2. 52. 2. cf. Pollux VII. 151.
- (68). Nicolet (1966). 348.

(69). The secession and fate of Thisbai: P. XXVII.5.3-4; L. XLII.63.12 (reading "Thisbas", not "Thebas").

(70). The situation and geography of Thisbai: Paus. IX.32.2-3; Strabo IX.410C; Roesch (1965.1).53-54. Pausanias' mention of farmland obviously facilitated the loan of grain by Kapon of Thisbai to Chorsiai in the early second century: Roesch (1965.2).256-261; Migeotte (1984).41-44 no.10 cf. 45-48 no.11. Kapon appears to have been responsible for the farming of his own land.

(71). The legal side is covered by Jolowicz and Nicholas (1972).279-304, 319-320; McDonald (1944).14-17 shows the nebulous nature of *perduellio* at this time.

(72). The guarantors of the *senatus consultum* were P. Mucius Scaevola, M. Claudius M. f. (perhaps either Lepidus or Marcellus) and M'. Sergius M'. f. (perhaps the legate of 164: P. XXXI.1.6-8, 6.1-6; Diod. XXXI.7.2; Paus. VII.11.1-3). Their connections with Pandusinus could only be conjectural.

(73). IG VII.2873.

(74). Dittenberger, comm. on IG VII.2871.

(75). See above, nn.50, 57.

(76). Hostilius: P. XXVIII.3.1; L. XLIII.17.9, XLIV.1.5-8. Popillius and Octavius: P. XXVIII.3-5; L. XLIII.17.2-9.

(77). Feyel (1942.2).58-63; Roesch (1965.1).70, 93-94; Étienne and Knoepfler (1976).343 all assume a later date.

(78). There were only eleven events, split between victors from Rome, Orchomenos, Thebes and Thespias; strangely small for a Pamboiotia.

(ix). MISCELLANEOUS.

- (1). See above, Section C n.123 for Athens and Kumai.
- (2). Cabanes (1976).555-557 no.33 *contra* Münzer *RE* sv 'Herennius' vol. XIII col.662 no.1. The Pulfennii: Dessau *ILS* 5327, 6748, 8263; Schulze (1933).216, 306.
- (3). Antinoos: P. XXVII.15.7; Cabanes (1976).288-297, 557; Hammond (1967).627, 648.
- (4). Cabanes (1976).557; Hammond (1967).649.
- (5). Hatzfeld (1919).22-23.
- (6). See ch.iii n.66 above.
- (7). Holleaux (1924.2).381-398 (= [1938-68].V.433-447); Sherk (1969).34-36 no.4.
- (8). Holleaux (1924.2).388 (= [1938-68].V.438) on *IG IX*.1.690.
- (9). L. XXXVIII.44.1-6; Oost (1957).1-2. Gruen (1984).107-108 n.54, 519 for the general principle of delegated arbitration.
- (10). Plassart (1921).14-15 col.II.134, 136, 140, 146; 44-46, for the duplication. Also Daux (1949).2-4, (1967).294-297; Manganaro (1964).422-423. See ch.ii, viii above.
- (11). P. XXI.32; L. XXXVIII.28.5-29; Zon. IX.21; Walbank (1957-79).III.129.
- (12). P. XXVII.7.1; L. XLII.35.3, 48.5.
- (13). *RE* sv 'Cornelius' vol.IV col.1280 no.93.
- (14). Plassart (1921).27 col.V.14.
- (15). L. XXXVI.31.10-32.9; Errington (1969).127-128.
- (16). *RE* sv 'Volusius' vol.IXA.1 cols.898-906. Delos: *CIL I<sup>2</sup>*.2249; Hatzfeld (1912).93.
- (17). P. XXVIII.3-5; L. XLIII.17.2-9; above, ch.iv n.38.
- (18). P. XXVIII.3.3-4.
- (19). P. XXVIII.3.7-9.
- (20). P. XXVIII.6.6.
- (21). P. XXVIII.3.5-6 shows that this approach was not guaranteed success.
- (22). Charneux (1957).188-189; Gruen (1984).508 n.122.
- (23). L. XLV.29.3; Ferrary (1988).558-559 n.42.
- (24). Cf. Gruen (1976.2).81-83, (1984).269 n.113, 664 on the contradictions that subsequently led to his death as a result of his ferocity on an embassy to Syria in 163: P. XXXI.2.7-14, 11.1; Zon. IX.25; App. Syr. XLVI; Cic. *Phil.* IX.4.
- (25). P. XXVIII.13.3-7. See discussions cited in Walbank (1957-79).III.345; also Gruen (1984).508-510.
- (26). P. XXVIII.13.8.
- (27). P. XXVIII.13.11-13.
- (28). P. XXIX.25.2; Briscoe (1964).70; Gruen (1984).655-659.
- (29). Cf. his treatment of the Rhodians (P. XXVIII.16-17) and his dedication at Delos (*ID* 1429A.31-32, 1450A.69); his censorship of 164 and statue to *Concordia* (Cic. *Dom.* 130); his supposed embassy to Egypt in 163 (P. XXXI.10.1-5; L. *Per.* XLVI. cf. Walbank [1957-79].III.475). Briscoe (1964).71-73.

E. DELOS.

- (1). Homolle (1884).80-83, 88-89; Durrbach, comm. on *ID* 372-509 pp. 109, 168; Roussel (1987).76. cf. Colin (1905).246: "parmi les Romains qui y sont cités on rencontre à la fois des personnages officiels et de simples trafiquants, La distinction n'est pas toujours sûre entre eux..."
- (2). Hatzfeld (1919).34-37, specifically concerned with traffic after 167.
- (3). Laidlaw (1933).201-202.
- (4). Zaleskij (1984).21-31.
- (5). Esp. Linders (1988); also above, Section D ch.ii n.28. Note that all numbers cited hereafter refer to the "Inscriptions de Délos", unless otherwise stated.
- (6). E.g. 439A.77-78; 442B.86, 89, which record only praenomina; comparison with later catalogues reveal these to be T. Quinctius Flaminius and A. Atilius Serranus. The problems of Lucius in 439A.77, as aforementioned, have not been resolved.
- (7). Vial (1984).66-67.
- (8). See above, Section D ch.ii n.28. Cf. Holleaux (1918.1).152-153 who assumed this Titus to be Flaminius.
- (9). Robert (1936).51 n.42; above, Section A ch.viii n.45.
- (10). See above, Section A ch.viii n.67.
- (11). Durrbach and Roussel, comm. on 1432AbI.34.
- (12). Compare the three offerings of Scipio Asiaticus, all different in form: 427.12, 442B.89-91, 100.
- (13). Zaleskij (1984).28-29 n.41, following Homolle (1883).83, saw Satyros as the slave or freedman of an Aulus; this is plainly mistaken.
- (14). See above, Section D ch.ii nn.26, 49.
- (15). Hatzfeld (1919).91.
- (16). L. XXVII.15.3; Schulze (1933).102, 425. Note the difference of recording the initial 'v' from that at Delphi, with Veturius, Valerius and Volceius; see above, Section D ch.iii n.8.
- (17). 442B.142; Vial (1984).197 (not to be confused with the archon of 188), 206 n.41 (stressing that, although it appears that these vases were dedicated during the archonship of Telesarchides, it is possible that they were merely handed on by him).
- (18). Durrbach, comm. on 442B.147-8; Hatzfeld (1912).80.
- (19). Schulhof (1908).78 no.19.5.
- (20). Frederiksen (1984).270, cf.305 n.136, "a fairly common Oscan (name)".
- (21). Frederiksen (1959).109 nn.136, 138.
- (22). L. XXXII.28.3-8; Durrbach, comm. on 442B.148.
- (23). Durrbach, comm. on 442B.53; Hatzfeld (1912).32. Azetium: RE vol.II col.2642.
- (24). Zaleskij (1984).29 n.48.
- (25). See above, Section A ch.ii n.47; Section D ch.vii nn.2-9.
- (26). Durrbach, comm. on *IG* XI.2.115.25. cf. App. *Hann.* XLVIII; L. XXV.21.1, XXVII.1.3; Strabo VI.282C; Sil. Ital. VIII.569.
- (27). Agathodoros *Rhomaistes*; *IG* XI.2.133.81. Since the first Latin dramas were not performed in Rome until 240, Agathodoros can only have been performing those Etruscan sketches which comprised the *ludi Romani* before that year; see above, Section B nn.4 & 5.
- (28). Hatzfeld (1912).55-56; *ILLRP* 719, 739, 824; *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.899, 1120. cf. also *IG* IV.894, a catalogue of casualties from the Isthmus in 146, including as an Achaian Ζώπυρος Νουΐου.
- (29). Homolle (1884).82, "par la comparaison de l'écriture avec celle des

comptes et inventaires sacrés...on place ainsi la proxénie de Bouzos entre les archontats d'Acridion et de Polyxénos".

- (30). Zaleskij (1984).28, "fils d'Orteiros", is not acceptable.
- (31). Restored by Roussel (IG XI.4.808) as Tlepolemos; cf. Vial (1984).412 for a choice of eleven. On Sotion's ethnic, Hatzfeld (1912).133 n.6 remarks that, were he a citizen, he would surely have adopted a Roman name to accord with his status; he therefore concludes either that it was expedient for Sotion to project himself as Roman, or that the Delians considered that Italian automatically meant Roman. Yet this latter does not explain why Bouzos and M. Sextius retain their proper ethnics; the former point is weakened by the fact that Minatus styled himself a *Rhomaïos* from Cumae, thereby forfeiting the capital from the direct association with Rome. Neon son of Leon *Syrakosios Rhomaïos* and Nikandros son of Menekrates *Rhomaïos* at Delphi have been earmarked as genuine citizens above, with specific point; there is little reason to believe that Sotion was not similarly a citizen, and he surely represents a definite stage in the development of relations between Rome, Italy and Greece.
- (32). Hatzfeld (1912).197-198 nos.1-3. Numpsius: IG XIV.726, 894; Schulze (1933).164.
- (33). 372A.120, 130; 442B.155, 102-3; Vial (1984).82.
- (34). Homolle (1884).94; Durrbach and Jardé (1904).278.
- (35). 442B.146; Vial (1984).353 records a Teisikles son of Satyros in 366A.97 from 207, who may well be our man.
- (36). The decree is proposed by Telemnestos, for whom see Section D ch.ii n.74.
- (37). Strabo X.486C; Homolle (1884).79-80; Hatzfeld (1919).31-37; Wilson (1966).100; Zaleskij (1984).26-27.
- (38). See above, Section A ch.iii n.16.
- (39). Schulhof (1908).81-82 n.5. From the parallel of 442B.15-16, the restoration should be ἀνάθημα Ῥωμαίων and so a state dedication; otherwise a personal name would have preceded the ethnic.
- (40). Eutrop. III.1 and Suet. *Div. Claud.* XXV.3, discussed above in Section A ch.viii, provide a potential context for the dedication.
- (41). Tenos: Hatzfeld (1919).28-29, 37-38; Wilson (1966).120. IG XII.Suppl. 313 for the intimation of contacts with Rhegium, Croton, Syracuse and Tarentum. See above, Section A ch.vii n.23.
- (42). Minatus was thus roughly contemporaneous with Demetrios of Pharos' raid on the Kyklades and his being flushed out by the Rhodians (P. IV.16.6-8, 19.8); also with the aftermath of the Rhodian earthquake (P. V.88-89).
- (43). See above, Section D ch.ii.
- (44). Homolle (1884).85.
- (45). Holleaux (1913.1).94-95 (= [1938-68].V.203).
- (46). This at least is true of Asiaticus, who travelled overland through Thrace (L. XXXVII.7.7-16) and returned by sea through the islands (IC II.3.5). The same might not be true of Vulso, since although he did have an army to take to Asia Minor (L. XXXVII.50.2-3), he did not have to pick it up from Greece; thus his quickest route would probably have been by sea across the Aigaian. The question of Asiaticus' two earlier offerings made during his praetorship has been addressed above: Section D ch.ii n.77.
- (47). 442B.102-104: ἄλλος στεφανος χρυσους δαφνης ὃν παρεδωκεν Πολυβος Μενυλλου... ἄλλος στεφανος δαφνης ὃν ἐπιμεληται Τλεπολεμος και Ξενοκλειδης... As aforementioned, the latter implies that Regillus teamed up with the Scipiones somewhere between Delos and Krete, where he was honoured with them (IC II.3.5), rather than travelling all the way back

from Magnesia with them. Vial (1984).298-299, 270 lists three Tlepolemoi active in the 190s (cf. n.31 above, the proposer of Sotion's decree) and a Xenokleides son of Andromenes as treasurer 197 and *hieropoios* 193. As for Labeo, there were two generations of Polyboi: the first between 224 and 198, the second *choregos* 170 and secretary 169 (Vial [1984].82-83), of which the former is more probable. In his offering he is styled *strategos* in 442B.103, but *strategos hypatos* after 166 in 1429A.19; Broughton (1951-86).I.361 assumed two offerings, the second following his consulship in 183, but this does not seem to be the case. It is possible that the Athenians updated the offering when they assumed responsibility for the catalogues, but more probable that Labeo himself updated it as *decemvir* in 167 (L. XLV 31.14) in the same spirit of ambition and vanity that saw him seek an undeserved triumph in 188 (L. XXXVII.60.6, XXXVIII.47.5). cf. Holleaux (1918.1).154-156 who presumed the *hypatos* to be an error.

(48). That both Vulso and Labeo made these last offerings after the victory implies either that they had left Rome armed with dedications before the scale of the triumph was known in summer of 189 (P. XXI.18.1, ὅτι ἤδη τῆς θερείας μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Ῥωμαίων); or that they were sufficiently vain to want to make their mark alongside their forerunners. Holleaux (1918.1).156-157 remarks that 442B.99-100 erroneously describes Vulso as *strategos*, not *strategos hypatos*.

(49). See above, Section D ch.ii nn.72 & 75.

(50). Homolle (1884).88.

(51). 189 was the year in which Capua recovered her citizenship; thus unless Oppius and Plinius had joined the loyalist Minatus in exile, their ethnics *Rhomaioi* make this a *terminus post quem* for this appearance: L. XXXVIII.28.4, 36.5-6; Frederiksen (1984).269-270, Gruen (1990).68. The commercial activity of the year was highlighted by L. XXXVIII.35.5, aedilician measures against grain speculators: Garnsey (1988).194. Zaleskij (1984).26-27 n.27, that commerce with the east began around 194 and developed after 189, is based on misread evidence and insecure milestones.

(52). Zaleskij (1984).21-27; more exhaustively, Toynbee (1965).II.155-213. It is an interesting observation that Puteoli's original purpose was as a defensive foundation: L. XXXIV.45.1-2; Salmon (1970).97-98.

(53). See above, Section D ch.ix n.17; Broughton (1951-86).I.428. Although the legateship was land-bound, his operations with the fleet were to the east of the land mass and so within striking distance of Delos: L. XLIV.30.1 (at Histiaia Oreus), 32.5-6, 35.8, 13 (Thessalonike), 46.3 (Meliboia), XLV.5-6 (Samothece).

(54). P. XXXI.2.9-14, 8.4-8; Cic. *Phil.* IX.4; App. *Syr.* XLVI; Holleaux (1918.1).157-158; Roussel (1987).396.

(55). Holleaux (1918.1).157; Broughton (1951-86).I.423. Philippus and Rhodes: P. XXVIII.16-17; Briscoe (1964).69-70; cf. Gruen (1975).71-74. His movements can be followed by L. XLIII.12.1, 15.3, XLIV.1-9; P. XXIX.25.2-5. The decemviral commission of 167: Broughton (1951-86).I.436 n.4, though he is not included in L. XLV.17.2.

(56). L. XLII.19.7-8, 26.7-9 cf.45.1-7, based on P. XXVII.3.1-5, 6.1. cf. App. *Mak.* XI.4. Walbank (1957-79).III.294-295; Broughton (1951-86).I.415 n.4.

(57). See also L. Decimius to Illyria in 172 (L. XLII.37.1-2, 45.8); C. Decimius to Krete in 171 (L. XLII.35.7), *praetor peregrinus* in 169 (L. XLIV.16.7) and to Egypt in 168 (L. XLIV.19.13). Also C?. Decimius the prefect of 46 and the Caii Decimii Flavi, tribune in 209 and praetor in

184.

(58). L. XLII.35.7.

(59). L. XLV.6.9. The bizarre nature of his dedication admits no obvious explanation.

(60). See above, Section D ch. ix n. 17.

(61). P. XXIX.2.1-4, 27; L. XLIV.19.13, 29.1-5, XLV.10.1-12.8, 13.1; Swain (1944).89-94.

(62). Lucretius: L. XLII.35.3, 48.5-10, 56.1-7, 63.3-12. Hortensius: L. XLIII.4.8-13, 7.5-8.7. It is improbable that he was the Brundisian *proxenos* at Delphi in 168 (see above, Section D ch. iii n.82); also that he can be restored as the subject of the Athenian honours of IG II<sup>2</sup>.907. cf. Ferguson (1911).313-314.

(63). Perseus' announcement at Delos of his amnesty for debtors and alliance with Boiotia: P. XXV.23; L. XLII.12.6. A Delian statue to his wife Laodike: IG XI.4.1074. Dedication in the sanctuary: 442B.56. The fleet there: L. XLIV.29.

(64). See above, Section D ch. iii n.79 on the senate's letter to the Amphiktyony.

(65). Gruen (1984).145-156 for the development of the Roman theme of *eleutheria* in Greece; Ferrary (1988).117-132, 141-158 for elaboration of this with specifics.

(66). Ferrary (1988).158-186 plots the transition period for *eleutheria* between 189 and 167. P. XXIV.8-10 gives the Kallikratic version of the political situation in Greece; 10.3-5 for Rome's exacerbation of it. cf. Badian (1958).90-91; Errington (1969).202-205. Gruen (1976.1) provides a valid exploration of this schematisation, echoed in (1984).496-500.

(67). P. XXV.3.4, XXVII.9.1, 10.1-4 for Perseus' support in Greece: Meloni (1953).153; Gruen (1984).404-406. Mendels (1976) analyses the misrepresentation in L. XLII.5.1-2, 5-6.

(68). Generally, Rich (1973).88-99; Harris (1979).227-233; Derow *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup>.303-308; Gruen (1984).403-414 mistakes diplomatic manoeuvring for inactivity.

(69). See above, n.64.

(70). See above, n.62. Note that C. Lucretius was similarly tried and condemned: L. XLIII.8.9-10.

(71). Ziolkowski (1986). P. XXX.15; L. XLV.34.6; Strabo VII.322C. cf. App. III. IX; Eutrop. IV.8.1; Pliny *NH* IV.39; Plut. *Aem* XXIX.1-3. cf. Scullard (1945).58-64; Oost (1954).84-86; Gruen (1984).298-299, 516-517.

(72). L. XLI.21.5-6; Obseq. X. Six priests also fell victim and L. XLIII.14.2-10 records a difficulty in raising the levy for Greece, which may not be unrelated.

(73). Popillius: L. XLII.7.3-9.6, 10,9-15, 21-22. Cassius: L. XLIII.1.4-12, 5.1-10. Also the resettlement of the Apuani in 180 and of the Friniates, Garuli, Lopicini and Hergates in 175: L. XL.38.1-7, XLI.18.6-19.2.

(74). Varro *RR* I.17.5 on the dissemination of the Molossi throughout Italy. The importance of the slave to the Italian economy: App. *BC* I.7; Toynbee (1965).II.165-174; White (1967).77-78; Rathbone (1981).21-22; Badian (1982).167; Rich (1983).269-297 and n.44 for bibliography; Alföldy (1985).56-59, and works cited in Ziolkowski (1986).73 n.27.

(75). Strabo X.486C, XIV.668C.

(76). Laidlaw (1933).266. Ziolkowski (1986).75 makes the freeing of the port in 166 the cause of the rise in piracy and so of the slave mart. The chicken and egg are undifferentiated.

(77). Strabo IX.400C for the route from the Southern Euripos to Egypt and

the islands.

(78). See above, Section D ch. vi n. 14, that the Apustii were honoured in Abdera for services performed during those reparations; perhaps, then, the legates in charge, C. Sempronius Blaesus and Sex. Iulius Caesar, were performing their duties, "ad restituendos in libertatem Abderitas", in the slave mart on Delos.

(79). The dates of these three honours accord to this picture: Lucretius was honoured in the archonship of Theodoros, 171 (460d'. 4, 7; Vial [1984]. 46 n. 112, 189 n. 149, 255); Hortensius was honoured in the archonship of Amphikles II, 169 (461Aa. 1), probably early in the year before his crimes could overtake him; the crowns to Rome were granted apparently in the treasurership of Lampron, 171 (Durrbach and Roussel, comm. on 465c. 15, p. 283).

(80). Ziolkowski (1986). 78.

(81). Ziolkowski (1986). 80.

(82). P. XXX. 20. 1-9, 31. 10; Strabo X. 486C.

(83). Ferguson (1911). 330-333; Laidlaw (1933). 130-134; Meloni (1953). 353 n. 2; Rostovtzeff (1959). 738-742, 777-778; Gruen (1975). 77, 80, (1984). 299, with specific reference to our chicken and egg, and 311-312 n. 124 for bibliography; Will (1979-82). II. 300-301; Zaleskij (1984). 30-31 n. 56; Roussel (1987). 7-9.

(84). P. XXX. 20. 1-9.

(85). L. XLIV. 28. 16-29. 5; IG XI. 4. 666, 679, 1095-1102. See above, n. 63.

(86). P. XXX. 31. 10-12 for the dramatic decline in Rhodian revenues by 165. Gruen (1975) offers full discussion of the Rhodian question, but his desire to absolve Rhodes from all responsibility obscures the boundary between Rome's treatment of her as opposed to Prousius and Ptolemy; also (1984). 569-572 and n. 4.

(87). Zaleskij (1984). 31 n. 56 has this point as seminal; yet given the fact that this commercialism was perforce covert, the point can never ascend above the status of Garnsey and Whittaker's "controversial question" ([1983]. 4). D'Arms (1981). 20-47 acknowledges that evidence is sparse.

(88). L. XLIII. 4. 12; those sent to ransom the Abderitans were C. Sempronius Blaesus and Sex. Iulius Caesar.

(89). See above, n. 75.

(90). P. XXV. 6. 5-6; L. XLI. 19. 4; App. *Mak.* XI. 1.

(91). The decemvirate: L. XLII. 10. 6. Degrassi (1949). 67 summarises the archaeological developments surrounding the duovirate; *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>. 804 is the inscription from the altar to Verminus.

(92) ~~61973~~. Broughton (1951-86). I. 436 nn. 3 & 4 notes that although neither is listed in L. XLV. 17. 2, Labeo's brief to Lesbos made him a certain member (L. XLV. 31. 13-14) whilst Philippus was the most probable candidate for restoration into the vacant position.

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EPIGRAPHICAL COMPENDIUM

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-**M<sup>r</sup>. Acilius Glabrio** (i) Honoured with a statue at Delphi, 191: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.607. (ii) Author of letter to the Delphoi, 191: Sherk (1969).no.37. Section D ch.iii p.245.

-L. **Aemilius Regillus** (i) Dedicant at Delos, 190/89: *ID* 442B.103-4; (ii) *Proxenos* and *euergetes* at Aptera, Krete, 190/89: *IC* II.3.5; (iii) ?Dedicant at Delphi?: Pomtow (1921).156 no.141. Section D ch.ii p.251; ch.vii p.293; Section E p.329.

-**M. Aemilius Lepidus** (i) *Proxenos* at Delphi, 188: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.585.122; (ii) ?Dedicant at Delphi?: Pomtow (1921).156 no.141. Section D ch.iii p.251.

-**Agatharchos son of Menon of Tauromenium Proxenos** at Delphi, 168: *SGDI* 2610. Section D ch.iii p.263.

-**Agathon son of Numpsius of Petelia** Dedicant of altar to Egyptian deities at Delos, late third century: Hatzfeld (1912).197-199 nos.1-3. Section E p.335

-**Agemachos son of Deinokrates of Tarentum Proxenos** at Delphi, third century: *FD* III.1.444. Section A ch.iv p.57.

-?**Amphikleides of Naxos, Sicily** Dedicant at Delos, pre-179: *ID* 442B.53. Section E p.333.

-**Andronikos son of Philippos of Tarentum Proxenos** at Delphi, 205/4: Flacelière (1935).31 no.5. Section C p.186.

-**C. Apustius M. f. Rhomaios** Honoured at Abdera, c.168: Avezou & Picard (1913).125-126 no.39.3; Holleaux (1914).63-70. Section D ch.vi p.285.

-**M. Apustius C. f. Rhomaios** As above

-**Archippos son of Euxenos of Syracuse Proxenos** at Histiaia Oreus, 266: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.492.16; Robert (1951).179-216. Section A ch.vii p.88.

-**Aristarchos son of Silenos of Camerina** Honoured by the Amphiktyony at Delphi, 264/3: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.488. Section A ch.iv p.50.

-**Ariston of Syracuse** Competitor in the Dionysia, Athens, 256: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.2325. 316 cf. L. XXIV.24. Section A ch.vii p.92.

-**Aristophamos son of Lykon of Tarentum Proxenos** at Thermon, Aitolia, late third century: *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>.1.31k.82-3. Section C p.183.

- Aulus Leno** at Bouthrotos, post-232: Cabanes (1972). 155 no. XXV. 3 Section C p. 156
- A. Atilius Serranus** Dedicant at Delos, 192: *ID* 442B. 86. Section E p. 328.
- Trebius Bibius Rhomaios** (i) Dedicant at Delos, pre-179: *ID* 442B. 130 cf. 1432AbII. 17-8; (ii) Supplier of building materials on Delos: *ID* 440A. 87. Section E p. 331.
- Blattus son of Maturus of Canusium Proxenos** at Delphi, 194: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 14. Section D ch. iii p. 242.
- Bouzos Orteira of Canusium Proxenos** and *evergetes* on Delos, 240-232: *IG* XI. 4. 642. Section E p. 334.
- A. Castricius A. f. Victor** in Pamboiotia, second century: *IG* VII. 2871. 14. Section D ch. viii p. 315.
- Charopinas son of Antallos of Velia Proxenos** at Delphi, 188: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 129. Section D ch. iii p. 254.
- Chresimos the Italiote** Funerary stele from Amphiloichian Argos, mid-late third century: Zaphiropoulou (1983). 175-176. Section A ch. vii p. 92.
- L. Cornelius P. f. Scipio Asiaticus** (i) Author of three dedications at Delos, 193 & 190/89: *ID* 442B. 89-91, 100; (ii) *Proxenos* and *evergetes* at Aptera, Krete, 190/89: *IC* II. 3. 5; (iii) Co-author of letters to Kolophon and Herakleia-Latmos, 190/89: Sherk (1969). nos. 35 & 36. Section D ch. ii p. 235; ch. vii p. 293; Section E p. 329.
- Cn. Cornelius Hispallus Proxenos** and *evergetes* at Aptera and Polyrrenia, Krete, 190/89: *IC* II. 3. 5, 23. 13. Section D ch. ii p. 237, vii p. 293.
- M. Cornelius C. f. Thearodokos** for Delphi at Same, Kephallenia, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. II. 145. Section D ch. ix p. 320.
- P. Cornelius P. f. Blasio** Author of letter to Kerkyra, 175-160: Sherk (1969). no. 4. Section D ch. ix p. 319.
- P. Cornelius Lentulus** Honoured at Akraiphiai, 171/67: Feyel (1955). 419-422. Section D ch. viii p. 299.
- P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio Africanus** (i) a. *Proxenos* and *evergetes* at Delos, 194/3: *IG* XI. 4. 712; b. dedicant at Delos, 194/3: *ID* 442B. 102; c. honoured with gold crown at Delos, 190/89: *IG* XI. 4. 712; (ii) dedicant of statue at Delphi, 190: Pomtow (1921). 153-155 nos. 138-9; (iii) *proxenos* and *evergetes* at Aptera, Krete, 190/89: *IC* II. 3. 5; (iv) co-author of letters to Kolophon and Herakleia-Latmos, 190/89: Sherk (1969). nos. 35 & 36. Section D ch. ii p. 230.
- Cornelius M. f. Victor** in the Basileia, Lebadeia, second century: Pappadakis (1923). 239-256 cf. Feyel (1942. 2). 67-75. Section D ch. viii p. 300.

- Deknos Cossutius P. f. Rhomaios** Architect at Athens, 175-164: Vitruv. VII. praef. 15, 17; *IG* II-III<sup>2</sup>. 4099, 10154; Rawson (1975.2). 36-38. Section D ch. vii p. 295.
- Dazos son of Daziskos of Azetium** Dedicant at Delos, pre-179: *ID* 442B. 53. Section E p. 333.
- Dazos son of Dazos of Canusium** Dedicant at Epidauros, second century: *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. 225. Section A ch. v p. 67; Section D ch. ix p. 322.
- C. Dazos Polphennios of Brundisium Proxenos** at Dodona, Epiros, 175-170: *SGDI* 1339. Section D ch. ix p. 318.
- M. Decimius** Dedicant at Delos, 172: *ID* 1427. 3. Section E p. 342.
- Demarchos son of Philotas of Hipponium, Locri Proxenos** at Delphi, mid-third century: *FD* III. 1. 176. Section A ch. iv p. 55.
- Demetrios son of Herakleides of Syracuse Proxenos** at Delphi, c. 230/29: *SGDI* 2609. Section A ch. iv p. 60.
- Demetrios son of Demetrios of Syracuse** Victor in the Eleutheria, Larisa, c. 189: *IG* IX. 2. 526. 7. Section D ch. iv p. 269.
- Dionysios of Syracuse** Stele from Apollonia, Kyrenaika, late fourth century: Reynolds (1977). 303 no. 15. Section A ch. vii n. 13.
- Dionysios son of Legetes of Velia Proxenos and thearodokos** at Delphi, 179: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585, Daux (1944-5). 101-103 n. 11; Plassart (1921). col. IV. 68. Section D ch. iii p. 257.
- Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus Evergetes** at Amphipolis, 167: Schuler (1960). 94-96. Section D ch. vi p. 288.
- ?Drakon son of Charilaos of Akragas Proxenos** at Thermon, Aitolia, c. 262: *IG* IX<sup>2</sup>. 17A. 93-5. Section A ch. vi p. 84.
- Drakon son of Lykon of Tarentum** (i) Performer and dedicant at Delos, 279: *IG* XI. 2. 108. 18, 161A. 86; (ii) Participant in Soteria, Delphi, 255/4: Nachtergaele (1975). no. 8. 50. Section A ch. iv p. 54. Section E p. 334.
- Elpis daughter of Caius** Funerary stele from Zakynthos, second century: Klaffenbach (1964). no. 8. Section D ch. ix p. 321.
- Epigonos son of Damokrates of Tarentum Proxenos** at Aiolian Kumai, late-third or mid-second century: Petzl & Pleket (1979). 73-81. Section D ch. vii p. 294.
- Euandros of Tarentum Proxenos** at Delphi, 272/1: *FD* III. 1. 131. Section A ch. iv p. 48.
- Eudoxos son of Zofilos of Gela Proxenos and thearodokos** at Delphi, 277/6: *FD* III. 1. 125. Section A ch. iv p. 43.

- Eudoxos son of Aischrion of Velia *Proxenos* at Delphi, 188: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.585.132. Section D ch.iii p.254.
- Euthios son of Euthios of Neapolis *Proxenos* at Thermon, Aitolia, 186/5: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.33. Section D ch.v p.279.
- Euthyneides of Tarentum *Proxenos* at Delphi, 272/1: *FD III*.1.131. Section A ch.iv p.48.
- Q. Fabius Q.f. Labeo Dedicant on Delos, 189: *ID 442B*.102-3. Section E p.329.
- C. Flavius C.f. Apollonius *Proxenos* at Gonnoi, 180-160: Helly (1973).II.47-49 no.42. Section D ch.iv p.273.
- C. Flavius C.f. Bucco As above
- L. Mr. Folius Dedicant at Lindos, Rhodes, c.260: *ILLRP 245*. Section A ch.vii p.90.
- Hephaistion son of Demeas of Tarentum Victor at Egyptian Basileia, 267: Heinen (1979).397-400. Section A ch.vii p.88.
- Herakleides son of Herakleides of Syracuse *Proxenos* at Delphi, c.230/29: *SGDI 2609*. Section A ch.iv p.60.
- Herakleides son of Lykon of Syracuse As above
- Herakleides of Tarentum Mercenary in service of Philip V: *IG IX*.1.78. Section C p.190.
- Herakleitos son of Nikodemos of Tarentum Participant in Soteria, Delphi, 257/6-253/2: Nachtergaeel (1975).no.10.46. Section A ch.iv p.55.
- Hierokles son of Hieron of Syracuse *Proxenos* and *evergetes* at Delphi, 279-269: *FD III*.3.157. Section A ch.iv p.46.
- Hieron son of Timokrates of Syracuse Honoured at Karthaia, Kos, for service under Ptolemy Philadelphos, c.265: *IG XII*.5.1061.
- ?Hiketas son of Tharrydamos of Akragas *Proxenos* at Thermon, Aitolia, c.262: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.17A.93-5. Section A ch.v p.84.
- Hippis son of Echphantos of Tarentum *Proxenos* and *evergetes* at Delphi, 318-305: *FD III*.1.135. Section A ch.iv p.41.
- L. Hortensius Granted gold crown at Delos, 170/69: *ID 461Aa*.83. Section E p.343.
- L. Hortensius of Brundisium *Proxenos* and *thearodokos* at Delphi, 168: Nachtergaeel (1975).no.37. Section D ch.iii p.264.
- L. Iuventius Thalna Initiate in the mysteries of Samothrace, second century: Fraser (1960).no.25. Section D ch.vi p.286.

- Kallias son of Archetimos of Syracuse** Participant in the Soteria, Delphi, 261/59: Nachtergaeel (1975).no. 4. 13. Section A ch. iv p. 54.
- Leon son of Antallos of Thurii Proxenos** at Thermon, Aitolia, 196/5: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 31c. 1. Section C p. 278.
- Leon son of Antileon of Metapontum Proxenos** at Thermon, Aitolia, c. 262: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 17A. 75. Section A ch. vi p. 83.
- Leon son of Leonidas of Messana** Victor in Pythia, Delphi, 238-222: Bousquet (1959). 185-188. Section A ch. iv p. 59.
- Leon son of Pantaleon of Tarentum Proxenos** at Histiaia Oreus, 266: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 492. 20; Robert (1951). 179-216. Section A ch. vii p. 88.
- Leontis son of Sosikrates of Agrigentum Proxenos** at Delphi, 190: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 91. Section D ch. iii p. 249.
- Leophron of Metapontum** Dedicant at Epidauros, third century: *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*. 263. Section A ch. v p. 67.
- Leptinas of Catana Thearodokos** for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 98. Section D ch. iii p. 258.
- P. Licinius P. f. Victor** at Basileia, Lebadeia, second century: Pappadakis (1923). 239-256 cf. Feyel (1942. 2). 67-75. Section D ch. viii p. 300.
- Licinius M. f.** Author of letter to Amphiktyony, c. 186: Sherk (1969).no. 39. Section D ch. iii p. 257.
- C. Livius M. f. Salinator** (i) Author of letter to Delphi, 189/8: Sherk (1969).no. 38; (ii) dedicant at Delos, 191: *ID 442B*. 86. Section D ch. iii p. 246; Section E p. 329.
- C. Lucretius Gallus** Honoured at Delos, 171: *ID 460e*. 19. Section E p. 343.
- Lucius C. f. Rhomaios** Ptolemaic commander on Krete, 216-206: *IC IV*. 18. Section C p. 190.
- Lucius Leno** at Bouthrotos, post-232: Cabanes (1972). 128 no. IX. 13-4. Section C p. 156.
- Lucius** (i) Debtor of temple sanctuary at Delos, pre-179: *ID 442A*. 8; (ii) dedicant at Delos, pre-179: *ID 442B*. 61-2. Section E p. 331.
- Lykos son of Phileas of Tarentum Proxenos** at Delphi, 188: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 125. Section D ch. iii p. 251.
- Lysis son of Philikos of Syracuse** Epitaph from Athens, fourth/third century: Meritt (1954). 274 no. 126.
- Cn. Manlius Vulso** Dedicant at Delos, 189: *ID 442B*. 99-100. Section E p. 329.

-**Q. Marcius Philippus** (i) Honoured with statue by Achaian League at Olympia, 168: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.649; (ii) Dedicant at Delos, 167: *ID* 1429A.31-2. Section D ch. ix p.324; Section E p.342.

-**Marcus Leno** at Bouthrotos, post-232: Cabanes (1972).125 no.VIII.9-11, 140 no.XVII.48. Section C p.156.

-**Marcus P. f. Rhomaios Proxenos** and *evergetes* at Delos, early second century: *IG* XI.4.809. Section E p.335.

-**Megakles son of Sosipater of Neapolis Thearodokos** and *proxenos* at Delphi, 275/4: *FD* III.2.177. Section A ch. iv p.45.

-**Meniskos of Syracuse** Honoured at Samos, c.306: Habicht (1957.1).197-198 no.30. Section A ch. vii n.13.

-**Titus Mentius** Dedicant at Delos, pre-179: *ID* 427.11, 443Bb.16. Section E p.330.

-**Mikion son of Nikeratos of Syracuse** Sculptor of statue at Olympia, 263-241: Eckstein (1958).205-209. Section A ch. vii p.90.

-**P. Mucius Scaevola** Honoured at Koroneia, 171-167: Lauffer (1976).17-18 no.9. Section D ch. viii p.300.

-**Muiskos of Rhegium Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV.89. Section D ch. iii p.258.

-?**Neon son of Andron of Syracuse Proxenos** at Delphi, fourth/third century: von Effenterre (1953).168 cf. Dunant (1951).310 n.2. Section A ch. iv p.41.

-**Neon son of Leon Syrakosios Rhomaios Proxenos** at Delphi, 205/4: Pomtow (1921).157-158 no.142. Section C p.186.

-**Nikandros son of Menekrates Rhomaios Proxenos** at Delphi, 172: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.585.279. Section D ch. iii p.260.

-**Nikokles son of Aristokles of Tarentum** Artist in the Greek festivals, mid-third century: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.3779. Section B p.124.

-**Nikostratos son of Sotikos of Ancona Proxenos** and *thearodokos* at Delphi, 167: Nachtergaele (1975).no.38. Section D ch. iii p.264.

-**M. Norcinus L. f. Rhomaios Proxenos** and *evergetes* at Akraiphiai, early second century: Perdrizet (1899).93 no.III.7.25-29. Section D ch. viii p.298.

-**Novius** Artisan working for sanctuary at Delos, c.250: *IG* XI.2.287A.58. Section E p.334.

-**Novius** Didaskalic notice from Athens, third/second century: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.2325.34.

- Nymphodoros of Aetna** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col. IV.96. Section D ch.iii p.258.
- C. Octavius T.f. Rhomaios Proxenos** and *euergetes* at Akraiphiai, 200-175: IG VII.4127. Section D ch.viii p.297.
- Cn. Octavius Cn.f.** (i) *Proxenos* and *euergetes* at Argos, 170/69: Charneux (1957).181-202; (ii) honoured with statue at Elis, 170/69: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.650; (iii) honoured with statue at Echinus, 168/7: Robert (1969).470-471; (iv) dedicant at Delos, 163: *ID* 1429AI.11-2. Section D ch.iv p.276; ch.ix p.322; Section E p.342.
- L. Octavius** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, perhaps in Thessaly, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.V.14. Section D ch.ix p.321.
- Ofallius of Petelia** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV.86. Section D ch.iii p.258.
- Q. Ogulnius** Dedicant at Delos, 273: Robert (1936).51 no.42. Section A ch.viii p.105.
- L. "Olkaios" L.f. Rhomaios Proxenos** at Thermon, Aitolia, c.262: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*.1.17A.51. Section A ch.vi p.79; ch.viii p.110.
- L. Oppius** Dedicant at Delos, 181: *ID* 442B.148. Section E p.332.
- Sex. Orfidienus M.f. Proxenos** at Chyretiai, 191: Arvanitopoulos (1917).2-7. Section D ch.iv p.268.
- Ortheas son of Damon of Locri Proxenos** at Delphi, c.250: *FD III*.2.186. Section A ch.iv p.55.
- Orthon son of Zopyros of Rhegium Proxenos** at Delphi, 190: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*.585.82. Section D ch.iii p.249.
- Q. Pactumeius Proxenos** at Kierion, 170: *IG IX*.2.258. Section D ch.iv p.275.
- Palikion of Hybla** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV.105. Section D ch.iii p.258.
- Cn. Pandusinus** Holder of *χοιρώνια* with Thisbai, 170: Sherk (1969).no.2.53-6. Section D ch.viii p.313.
- ?Paseas of Cumae** Diplomat at Athens, late-third century: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*.859. Section C p.188.
- Pasion of Camerina** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV.103. Section D ch.iii p.258.
- Pelops son of Dexias of Neapolis Proxenos** and *euergetes* at Oropos and Tanagra, 220-205: *IG VII*.342, 505. Section C p.168.

- M. Perpenna L. f. Rhomaios Proxenos at Kierion, 170: IG IX.2.258. Section D ch. iv p. 275.
- Perses son of Dionysios of Syracuse Theoros of Eumenes made proxenos and euergetes at Thermon, Aitolia, 182: IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.179.29. Section D ch. v p. 280.
- Philemon of Syracuse Playwright in Athens, 251/0: Meritt (1938).116-118 no. 22. 11. Section B p. 124.
- Philippides son of ?Hippas of Tarentum Proxenos at Delphi, 205/4: Flacelière (1931).31 no. 5. Section C p. 186.
- Philodamos of Helorus Thearodokos for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col. IV.100. Section D ch. iii p. 258.
- ?Philokrates son of Pythios of Cumae Victor in Panathenaia, Athens, after 180: IG II<sup>2</sup>.2315.16. Section D ch. ix p. 318.
- Philostratos son of Sosistratos of Syracuse Participant in Soteria, Delphi, 262/1: Nachtergaeel (1975).no. 3. 18. Section A ch. iv p. 53.
- Platyrus son of Dazos Proxenos at Oropos, 220-205: Mitsos (1952).177-179 no. 11 cf. J. & L. Robert BE 1983.247. Section C p. 169.
- Q. Plinius Dedicant at Delos, 181: ID 442B.148. Section E p. 332.
- ?Popillius Dedicant at Delos, c.170: ID 1439AbcII.45. Section E p. 343.
- M. Popillius L. f. Rhomaios Proxenos at Kierion, 170: IG IX.2.258. Section D ch. iv p. 275.
- A. Postumius Dedicant at Delos, 171: ID 1450A.116. Section E p. 343.
- C. Postumius Dedicant at Delos, 168: ID 1450A.136. Section E p. 343.
- Sp. Postumius L. f. Rhomaios Author of letter to Delphi, 189: Sherk (1969). no. 1. Section D ch. iii p. 246.
- Protarchos of Tauromenium Victor in Dionysia, Kos, mid-third century: Paton & Hicks (1891).no. 45.12-3. Section A ch. v p. 77.
- Publius Rhomaios Honoured at Abdera, early second century: Avezou & Picard (1913).127 no. 39. 4. Section D ch. vi p. 286.
- Publius Dedicant at Delos, pre-179: ID 442B.61-2. Section E p. 330.
- Pyllos son of Dazos Proxenos at Oropos, 220-205: Mitsos (1952).177-179 no. 10 cf. J. & L. Robert BE 1983.247. Section C p. 169.
- T. Quinctius Flamininus (i) a. Dedicant of crown and shield at Delphi, 195/4; b. proxenos and recipient of statue at Delphi, 188: Plut. Flam. XII.6-7, SIG<sup>3</sup>.585.116, Chamoux (1965); (ii) honoured with statue at Panopeus, Phokis, 198/7: Klaffenbach (1971).167-168; (iii) honoured with statue at Korinth, 196/5: Bousquet (1964).607-609; (iv) honoured with

statue on Kos, c. 196/5: Paton & Hicks (1891).no. 128; (v) honoured with statue at Gytheion, 195: IG V. 1. 1165; (vi) author of letter to Chyretiai, 195/4: Sherk (1969).no. 33; (vii) honoured with inscription, gymnasium, paian and Delphinion at Chalkis, 191: IG XII. 9. 233; (viii) honoured with statue at Skotoussa, 189/8: Mastrokostas (1964).309-310; (ix) perhaps *proxenos* at Gonnoi, early second century: Helly (1973).II. 21-22 no. 20; (x) perhaps subject of an inscription from Megara, early second century: IG VII. 46; (xi) dedicant at Delos, 195/4: ID 442B. 85-6, 178. Section D ch. ii p. 209; Section E p. 328.

-L. **Quinctius Flaminius** (i) Mentioned in Lampsakene inscription, 196: SIG<sup>3</sup>. 591; (ii) ?dedicant at Delos?: ID 442B. 85. Section D ch. ii pp. 218, 224.

-**Quinctus T. f. Rhomaios Proxenos** at Larisa, 191: Arvanitopoulos (1910). 344-349 no. 3. Section D ch. iv p. 267.

-**Quintus Rhomaios** (i) Dedicant at Delos, c. 244: ID 296B. 48; (ii) dedicant at Delos, pre-179: ID 442B. 33-4. Section E p. 330.

-**Salsius Tagyllius son of Tagylos of Argyrippa Proxenos** at Delphi, 190: SIG<sup>3</sup>. 585. 65-6. Section D ch. iii p. 247.

-**Secunda Nona** Funerary stele from Zakynthos, second century: Klaffenbach (1964).no. 8. Section D ch. ix p. 321.

-**Serdon Rhomaios Thaumatoποιος** on Delos, c. 259: IG XI. 2. 115. 25. Section E p. 334.

-**P. Sextilius** Author of letter to Trikkala, second century: Sherk (1969). no. 8. Section D ch. iv p. 277.

-**M. Sextius M. f. of Fregellae Proxenos** and *evergetes* at Delos, c. 180: IG XI. 4. 757. Section E p. 336.

-**Sokrates son of Molon of Metapontum Proxenos** at Delphi, 272/1: FD III. 2. 178. Section A ch. iv p. 49.

-**Sopolis son of Noumenios of Syracuse** Victor in Soteria, Delphi, 225-205/4: Nachtergaeel (1975).no. 66. 10. Section C p. 186.

-**Sosikles son of Sosios of Syracuse Proxenos** at Delphi, c. 230/29: SGDI 2609. Section A ch. iv p. 60.

-**Sotion son of Theodoros Rhomaios Proxenos** at Delos, hellenistic period: IG XI. 4. 808. Section E p. 335.

-**Minatus Staius Snr.** Dedicant at Delos, c. 220: Schulhof (1908). 78 no. 19. 5. Section E p. 332 n. 19.

-**Minatus Staius Jnr.** Dedicant at Delos, 181: ID 442B. 147-8. Section E p. 332

-**C. Statorius C. f. of Brundisium Proxenos** at Delphi, 190: SIG<sup>3</sup>. 585. 70. Section D ch. iii p. 247.

- Stertina** L. f. **Rhomaia** Funerary stele from Zakynthos, second century: Klaffenbach (1964).no. 9. Section D ch. ix p. 321.
- Theodoros** son of **Neostratos** of **Syracuse** *Proxenos* at Thermon, Aitolia, 210/09: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 29. 19-20. Section C p. 181.
- Theodoros** son of **Pasikles** of **Metapontum** *Proxenos* at Thermon, Aitolia, c. 262: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>*. 1. 17A. 74-6. Section A ch. vi p. 83.
- Timagoras** son of **Zöilos** of **Gela** *Proxenos* and *thearodokos* at Delphi, 277/6: *FD III*. 1. 125. Section A ch. iv p. 43.
- Timon** son of **Nymphodoros** of **Syracuse** (i) *Proxenos* and *euergetes* at Tenos, late-third century: *IG XII*. 5. 816; (ii) *proxenos* of Nesiotic League, c. 188: *IG XII*. 5. 817; (iii) a. honoured at Delos, c. 180: *IG XI*. 4. 759; b. banker at Delos: *ID 399A*. 10-64; c. dedicant at Delos: *ID 442B*. 74. Section D ch. vii p. 289; Section E p. 333.
- M. Valerius** M. f. **Messalla** Author of letter to **Tefos**, 193: Sherk (1969). no. 34. Section D ch. vii p. 291.
- M. Valerius** **Muttines** and his sons **Publius**, **Caius**, **Marcus** and **Quintus** *Proxenoí* at Delphi, 190: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 86-87. Section D ch. iii p. 249.
- M. Vallius** M. f. **Rhomaíos** Honoured at Abdera, c. 189: Avezou & Picard (1913). 124-125 no. 39. 2. Section D ch. vi p. 282.
- Q. Veturius** Q. f. **Rhomaíos** *Proxenos* at Delphi, 194: *SIG<sup>3</sup>*. 585. 17. Section D ch. iii p. 242.
- P. Volusius** C. f. **Rhomaíos** Funerary stele from Zakynthos, second century: Klaffenbach (1964).no. 7. Section D ch. ix p. 321.
- Xeneas** son of **Xenaithos** of **Tarentum** *Proxenos* at Delphi, 234/3: *FD III*. 1. 443. Section A ch. iv p. 57.
- Zopyros** son of **Lykiskos** of **Tarentum** *Proxenos* and *thearodokos* at Delphi, 293/2: *FD III*. 1. 109. Section A ch. iv p. 42.
- Zopyros** of **Syracuse** Contributor to Athenian ἐπίδοσις, c. 232: *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. 791d. 17.
- INCOMPLETE/FRAGMENTARY:
- Ara**— of **Abacaenum** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921).col. IV. 92. Section D ch. iii p. 258.
- of **Assoros** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921).col. IV. 110. Section D ch. iii p. 258.
- of **Centuripa** *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921).col. IV. 97. Section D ch. iii p. 258.
- Crotoniates** *Proxenoí* at Tenos, mid-third century: *IG XII*. Suppl. 313.

Section A ch. vii p. 92.

-Pyth-- of Ergetium *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 106. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

-Dio-- of Halaesa *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 115. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

-Hera--- of Heraclea *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 84. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

-Ar--- of Lipara *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 117. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

-Philo-- of Locri *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 87. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

-Laron-- of Messana *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 90. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

----- of Neapolis *Proxenos* and *euergetes* at Tanagra, 225-205: IG VII. 516. Section C p. 168.

-Sosist-- of Noai *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 108. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

-Rhegians *Proxeni* at Tenos, mid-third century: IG XII. Suppl. 313. Section A ch. vii p. 92.

-L. Plau.? Rhomaios *Proxenos* at Kierion, 170: IG IX. 2. 258. Section D ch. iv p. 275.

-----ius L. f. Rhomaios Victor in Basileia, Lebadeia, third/second century: Vollgraff (1901). 365-375 no. 19 cf. Feyel (1942. 2). 75-79. Section C p. 189.

-?Galeius/Ataleius? Rhomaios Honoured at Gonnoi, 180-160: Helly (1973). II. 51-52 no. 47. Section D ch. iv p. 274.

-----Rhomaios (Flamininus ?) Honoured at Gonnoi, early second century: Helly (1973). II. 21-22 no. 20. Section D ch. ii p. 210, ch. iv p. 274.

-Rhomaioi Established in κατάλυμα at Sparta, post-184: IG V. 1. 7.

-The--- of Syracuse *Thearodokos* for Delphi, c. 175: Plassart (1921). col. IV. 99. Section D ch. iii p. 258.

----- son of ----anax of Syracuse *Proxenos* at Delphi, c. 250: FD III. 1. 347. Section A ch. iv p. 57.

----- son of Eiramenes of Syracuse *Proxenos* at Thermon, Aitolia, c. 262: IG IX<sup>2</sup>. 1. 17A. 67-68. Section A ch. vi p. 82.

----- of Syracuse Victor in Soteria, Delphi, 225-205/4: Nachtergaeel (1975). no. 66. 12. Section C p. 186.

-**Syracusans Proxenoí** at Tenos, mid-third century: *IG XII.Suppl.313*. Section A ch.vii p.92.

-**Skomb---** of **Taisiai Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV. 88. Section D ch.iii p.258.

-----**los of Tarentum Proxenos** at Delphi, 272/1: *FD III.1.131*. Section A ch.iv p.48.

----- **son of Dexiobatos of Tarentum** Honoured at Delos, third/second century: *IG XI.4.810*. Section E p.335.

-**Neo---** of **Tarentum Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV. 83. Section D ch.iii p.258.

----- **sons of Philokrates of Tarentum Proxenoí** at Thermon, Aitolia, mid-late third century: *IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1.24.12*. Section A ch.vi p.84.

-**Tarentines Proxenoí** at Tenos, mid-third century: *IG XII.Suppl.313*. Section A ch.vii p.92.

----- of **Tauromenium Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV. 94. Section D ch.iii p.258.

-**Ny----** of **Thermum Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV. 116. Section D ch.iii p.258.

-**Cho---** of **Tyndaris Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV. 93. Section D ch.iii p.258.

-**Herakl---** of **Tyracium Thearodokos** for Delphi, c.175: Plassart (1921).col.IV.101. Section D ch.iii p.258.

