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PHAROS AND ROME

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Thirty years ago Louis Robert published an inscription from Stari Grad on the Adriatic island of Hvar dealing with, among other things, relations between the Greek city of Pharos and Rome.¹ The new text confirmed his brilliant analysis (and prompted further consideration) of another inscription, long-known, from Hvar, which he had republished a quarter-century earlier and shown to be in fact part of a transcribed decree of Paros.² Not surprisingly, his treatment of these texts leaves little to be desired. He did, however, explicitly regret not having been able to study the stone bearing the text published in 1960 itself; there are a few places where minor correction is desirable. More surprisingly, these texts—rather this text in its two parts—have not been much considered in discussions of Illyria and Rome over these three decades.³ It is imperative to do this, for at least one substantial conclusion must emerge: that Pharos had an alliance, *συμμαχία*, with Rome from some point in the third century BC. First, then, the text (with some brief notes on readings and restorations), and following that some of its implications, for Pharos and Rome and for Rome and the Greek cities of the Adriatic more generally.

I

The text given here is substantially that of Robert (n. 1); see also J. Bousquet, "Inscription hellénistique de Dalmatie," *BCH* 85 (1961) 589-600 (cf. *SEG* 23.489 and *Bull.* 1963, 129 [L.R.]). Differences of reading arising from autopsy or autophotography are few and are noted.⁴ Supplements, unless otherwise indicated, are those of Robert. There is an excellent photograph of fragment A in *Hellenica* XI/XII, Pl. XV (Pl. XVI.1 for a photograph of a squeeze of lines 1-20). Photographs of fragment B: Brunšmid (n. 2), p. 17; *BCH* 1935, Pl. XXXII (*OMS* I, Pl. VI); *Hellenica* XI/XII, Pl. XVI.2. See Pl. VII A for fragment B. 12-26

(A) [- - - - -] ΗΛΙΑ ἀπεστάλη
 [- - - - -]ου τοῦ Σκιουρίου
 vacat

¹ *Hellenica* XI/XII (Paris 1960) Ch. 24, 'Inscriptions hellénistiques de Dalmatie' (505-541).

² "Inscription hellénistique de Dalmatie," *Opera Minora Selecta* I 302-326 (*BCH* 1935). The text originated as *CIG* 1837b and had been republished by J. Brunšmid, *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, Abhandlungen der archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminare der Universität Wien XIII (Vienna 1898) 17-20, n° 4. Given Robert's renewed treatment of this in *Hellenica* XI/XII 528-537, the text in *IG* XII Suppl. 200 no longer comes into account.

³ It is mentioned briefly by J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme* (Rome 1988) 31 n. 101, but does not figure in the discussions of Roman alliances in E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley 1984) 13-53, 731-744, nor in, e.g. N.G.L. Hammond, "Illyris, Rome and Macedon in 229-205 B.C.," *JRS* 58 (1968) 1-21 or the generally very full treatment of Rome's Illyrian wars by S. Islami, "L'Etat illyrienne et ses guerres contre Rome," *Iliria* 3 (Tirana 1975) 5-48. The exception is L. Braccisi, *Grecità Adriatica* (Bologna² 1977) 322-337, noticed (in the first edition, 1971: the relevant pages are substantially the same) by Walbank, *Commentary* III 765 and J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique* (hereinafter *Bull.*) 1976, 349; see below n. 12.

⁴ In September 1975 I was able briefly to examine and to photograph fragment A in the lapidarium of the Dominican convent in Stari Grad (I am grateful to Mladen Nikolanci, then at the Centar za Zaštitu Kulturne Baštine in Hvar, for his assistance, and to the keeper of the lapidarium for his forbearance) and (less briefly) fragment B in the stores of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (my thanks to D. and A. Rendić-Miočević for, respectively, permission and assistance in this enterprise).

- 4 [ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίων ἢ σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ δῆμος φί-
 [λοι ὑπάρχοντες καὶ εὖνους] τῇ πόλει τῇ Φαρίων
 [ἐκ προγόνων ἀποδεδωκότες] ἡμῖν τὴν τε πόλιν
 [ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ χώρας ἢ-
 [τις ὑπῆρχεν τῇ πόλει ἐν] τῇ νήσῳ ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν
 8 [- - - - - - - - - -] τεσσ[αράκοντα καὶ τὴν συμμα-
 [χίαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τᾶλλα] φιλάνθρωπα ἐποίησαν
 [κύρια, δεδόχθαι τῷ δή]μῳ· ἀποστείλαι πρέσ-
 [βεις πρὸς τοὺς οἰκιστὰς] Παρίους καὶ τοὺς συν-
 12 [- - - - - - - - - -]αίους τοὺς ἀνανε-
 [ωομένους τὴν προὑπάρχουσαν ἡ[μῶν]ν συγγένει-
 [αν καὶ παρακαλέοντας εἰ]ς τὸ [βο]η[θ]ῆσαι εἰς ἐπα-
 [νόρθωσιν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν κ]αθ' ὅσον ἄ[ν] ἐκάστη τῶν
 16 [πόλεων εὐκαιρῇ· ἀ]ναγράψαι [δ]ὲ τοῦ εἰσενε-
 [χθέντος δόγματος εἰς στή]λη[ν] λ[ι]θί[ν]ην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
 [εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν (?) τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὅ]πως καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομέ-
 [νοισι εἰς αἰεὶ διαμένῃ ἢ μ]νήμῃ τῶν βοηθησάντων
 20 [τῷ δήμῳ. ἡρέθησαν πρ]έσβεις Ἀθηναῖς Διονυσί[ι]-
 [ου, - - - τυλος Πολυχάρμου, Ἀντίπατρος Νικᾶ.
 [Παρίων. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ κα]ὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Τέλεσις
 [Δημο- - - - εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ] ὧν προεγράψαντο οἱ ἄρ-
 24 [χοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβευ]τῶν παρὰ Φαρίων, δεδό-
 [χθαι· τοὺς ἄρχοντας]θαι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον
 [- - - - - - - - - -] γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσ-
 [θαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμ]ον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ
 28 [τὸν δῆμον χρηματίσαι (?) πε]ρὶ τούτου. Τέλεσις Δημο-
 [- - - εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα] τὴν τῆς βουλῆς· ἐπει-
 [δὴ δὲ Φάριοι ἄποικοι ὄντες] τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως
 [ἐξαπέστειλαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς] γράμματα καὶ πρεσβευ-
 32 [τὰς Ἀθηναῖς Διονυσίου, - -]τυλον Πολυχάρμου, Ἀν-
 [τίπατρον Νικᾶ, οἵτινες ἀ]πολογίζονται τὰ περὶ
 [τὴν πόλιν γενόμενα συμ]πτόματα καὶ παρακαλ[έ]-
 [ουσιν ἡμᾶς βοηθῆσαι αὐτο]ῖς εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῆς
 36 [πόλεως καθ' ὅσον ἂν εὐκ]αιρῶμες, ἐπελθόντες
 [δὲ μετὰ τοῦ γραμματέως ἐπ]ί τε τὴν βουλὴν [καὶ τὸν]
 [δῆμον διελέγησαν ἀκολο]ύθως τοῖς ἐν τοῖς [γράμ]-
 [μασι κατακεχωρισμένο]ις, σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτι-
 40 [μίας οὐθὲν ἐλλείποντες· πε]ρὶ δὲ τούτων δεδόχθαι
 [τῷ δήμῳ· - - - - -]Ν...ΙΤΟΥΣΑΙ...ΑΜΗ
lacuna
 (B) [- - - ἄνδ]ρας τρεῖς· ταῦ[τα δὲ ἅπαντα εἶ]-
 [ναι εἰς φυ]λακὴν καὶ σωτηρ[ίαν τῆς τε ἡμετέ]-
 [ρας πόλεως] καὶ τῆς Φαρίων [καὶ - - - - - τῆς]

- 4 [πόλ]εωσ τῆσ Φαρίων· καλ[έσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺσ ἄρχον]-
[τασ] ἐπὶ τὰ [ί]ερά εἰσ τὸ πρυτ[ανείον τοὺσ πρεσβευ]-
[τὰ]σ καὶ τὸν γραμματῆ κα[ὶ τοὺσ ἤκοντασ μετ' αὐ]-
[τ]ῶν ἄνδρασ πάντα· ὁμο[ίωσ δὲ καὶ καλεῖν τοὺσ]
- 8 πρεσβευτάσ καὶ τὸν γραμμ[ατῆ καὶ ἐπὶ τᾶλλα ἱερά]
πάντα ἕωσ ἂν παρεπιδημ[ῶσιν ὅταν ἱερά ποιῆ (?)]
ὁ δῆμοσ· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ αὐτ[οὺσ ὅτι πεποιῆνται]
τὴν ἐνδημίαν ἐν τῇ πόλε[ι καλὴν καὶ εὐσχή]-
- 12 μονα καὶ ἀξίαν [ἀμφοτέ]ρω[ν τῶν πόλεων· φυλάσσειν]
δὲ καὶ τοὺσ ἄρχον[τασ τ]ὰ γρά[μματα τὰ ἐχ Φάρου ἐν]
τῶι δημοσίωι μετὰ [τοῦ] γραμ[ματέωσ. - - - - -]
νοὺσ εἶπεν· τ[ὰ] μὲν ἄλλα [καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ]
- 16 καὶ τῶι δῆμωι· ἐλέσθαι δὲ [καὶ θεοπρόπουσ ἐκ τῶν]
πολιτῶν ἄνδρασ {ασ} ἕξ ε[ἰσ Δελφοὺσ - - καὶ ἐξεῖ]-
ναι τῶι βουλομένωι κατ[
- 20 τασ πρεισβεῦσαι εἰσ Δελ[φοὺσ· ἐρωτᾶν δὲ τὸν θε]-
ὸν τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεᾶι θύων [ὁ Φαρίων δῆμοσ ἀβλα]-
βῆ τὴν τε πόλιν ἕξει κα[ὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ - - τό]
πων ἐφ' ἐτέρων καρπί[σ]ε[ται]
- Χρῆι [Θεόσ·]
- 24 Πραξιέπη πέμπειν Πά[ριον
πρὸσ δυσμὰ[σ - - πει Φ ΙΟΣ [
- - - - - ΩΜΟΥ[

NOTES

Fragment A

1. ΖΗΛΙΑ R[obert] : Ζηλία B[ousquet] (as genitive of a name). The traces at the damaged beginning of this line are extremely unclear.

5. [ἀπὸ προγόνων, ἀπέδωκα]ν B. It is far from clear that the N remains.

6. As suggested by R., p. 511, followed by B. The restoration is, however, on the short side. If, as appears from what survives of the text not unlikely, we are dealing here with the response of the Senate and People to the surrender of Pharos (after Demetrius' flight, no doubt; see below, 264-266, a mention of buildings might be expected: perhaps [ἡμῶν καὶ τὰσ οἰκίασ καὶ το]ὺσ νόμουσ κτλ. Compare the 'tabula Alcantarensis' (R. López Melero, J.L. Sánchez Abal, S. García Jiménez, "El bronce de Alcántara. Una *deditio* del 104 a. C.," *Gerión* 2 [1984] 265-323; J.S. Richardson, *Hispaniae* [Cambridge 1986] 199-201), where *agros et aedificia leges cetefra omnia (?)* | *quae sua fuissent* . . . are to be returned (lines 8-9); for οἰκία, cf. Sherk, *RDGE* 33 (*Syll.*³ 593).9.

10. δῆ]μωι, rather than δῆ]μω R. Iota-adscript is present after ω here and in line 22, as noted by B. and visible in R., pl. XV.

12. The surviving beginning of the line is difficult, but R.'s]ατοὺσ seems very much better than B.'s]μαχοὺσ. For the whole, R. suggested (p. 515) κα]ὶ τοὺσ συν[γενεῖσ τῆσ πόλεωσ Ἀθην]αίουσ. For Athens as mother-city of Paros, and thereby grandmother-city of Pharos, see further (and esp.) the Athenian decree of 372 BC *ap.* S. Accame, *La lega ateniese* (Rome 1940), lines 5-6: - - - ἐπειδὴ [τ]υγχάνοσ[ι] ἄποικοι ὄ[ντεσ τ]οῦ δῆμου τὸ Ἀθηναίων; cf. *Staatsverträge* 268 and J. Cargill, *Second Athenian League*, 163 n. 5 (Thanks to Simon Hornblower for pointing this out to me.)

15. κ]αθὸς ἄ[ν] (?) ἐκάκτη R. : κ]αθ' ὄσον ἄν ἐκάκτη B., which accords better, on balance, with the traces and, certainly, with the spacing.

16. [πόλεων τούτων (?) δύνηται ἀ]ναγράψαι B. R. refrains from restoration. For the supplement adopted here, see below on line 36. [πόλεων τούτων εὐκαιρίαν ἔχη· ἀ]ναγράψαι would, at the price of introducing new wording, fill the available space.

17-18. -[χθέντος ἀργυρίου εἰς τήλ]ην λιθίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι | [τὸν λόγον (?) εἰς τήν ἀγορὰν (?). ὄ]πως κτλ. B. On which, see R., *Bull.* 1963, 129 (pp. 145-146): it is a question of more than restorations. See also, *Bull.* 1964, 238.

19. -[νοικ εἰς διαμνήν ἢ μ]νήμη B., accepted by R., *Bull.* 1963, 129 (p.145).

21. See below on line 32.

23. οἱ ἄρ- is visible at the end of the line; so rightly, B. [οἱ] | [ἄρχοντες] R.

24. -[χοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβευτῶ]ν τῶν παρὰ B. If anything is visible at the left-hand edge, traces of Y are perhaps more likely.

25-26. -[χθαι πρόκοδον μὲν δεδός]θαι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον | [πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά] B. The first part of the reading is not clear to me.

31. γράμματα B., which appears to be correct (γραμματῆ R.).

32.]τυλον R.:]τυλον B., which is safer. On the name, see B., and particularly R. in *Bull.* 1963, 129.

36. [πόλεως καθότι καὶ προ]αιρῶμεν R.: [πόλεως ca. 12-14]ΑΙΡΩΜΕΣ B., objecting to the partial element of Doricism. The sense, here and in line 16, is not in doubt. It would be achieved here by [πόλεως καθ' ὄσον ἄν εὐκ]αιρῶμεν (suggested by G. Klaffenbach: G. Daux, *BCH* 86 [1962] 978; cf. *Bull.* 1964, 238) and by the supplement adopted above for line 16. Εὐκαιρία and εὐκαιρέω are common enough in Polybius in this sense: see Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* s.vv.; and compare the phrase κατὰ τὰ εὐκαιρον in *OGIS* 762.4 (Cibrya, 180s [?]), *SEG* 35.823 (Maroneia, 160s).

37. [δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσβευταὶ πρός] R. [δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ἐπὶ B., comparing the Parian decree (*Syll.*³ 562.12-13) quoted by R. B.'s ἐπὶ is preferable, but οἱ πρεσβευταὶ does not fit comfortably with the construction after οὔτινες in line 33 (I owe this observation to Ludwig Koenen.) For the γραμματεὺς who accompanied the envoys from Pharos and shared in the hospitality offered them by the Parians, see B. 4-10. (Note that it is not impossible that line 36 should end with [δὲ] and line 37 begin with [μετὰ. . . .])

41 . ΟΦ COYCAITHT . HMA R.: ΟΦΙΑ . COYCAITHT . HMH B. Traces are minimal.

Fragment B

12. [ἀναγράψαι] R.: [φυλάσσειν] Klaffenbach (see *Bull.* 1961, 377).

15. From here to the end lines begin one space to the left.

18. και[R.

19. πρειζβεῦσαι R. See below p. 266.

23. Χρηῖθ[εός] R.: Χρηῖθ[εός] B. (*ad* A. 10)

25. Φάριος[read on the stone by G. Daux: *Bull.* 1940, 93.

Robert's appreciation of the situation in which the Pharians found themselves was exact:

Le document maintenant recomposé en partie par le rapprochement des deux fragments montre la situation que j'avais dégagée de l'analyse du fragment B: si Pharos a recours à sa métropole, c'est que la ville est dans une crise grave. J'ai cherché la cause de la catastrophe dans l'activité des pirates illyriens.⁵ Le fragment A nous fait connaître l'intervention des Romains. Certainement il y a eu guerre. A l'issue de cette guerre Pharos se voit rendre ses propriétés et ses droits; l'alliance avec Rome est re-

⁵ In *BCH* 1935.

nouvelée; ainsi la ville ne subit pas de dommage politique et juridique. Mais les dégâts matériels sont lourds, puisque la ville a besoin d'une ἐπανόρθωσις, qu'elle va demander de l'aide jusque dans les Cyclades et à Athènes et qu'elle reçoit de nouveaux colons. Il me paraît découler de là que Pharos a été entraînée dans les événements d'une guerre contre les Romains. Il lui est pardonné ou elle n'est pas tenue pour responsable; mais elle a souffert gravement.⁶ ... Cette situation [viz., the aftermath of the capture and destruction of Pharos during the Roman campaign against Demetrius of Pharos in 219] correspondrait bien à celle qui apparaît dans l'inscription; c'est Démétrios que combattait les Romains, la ville était victime; aussi la ville a-t-elle pu souffrir, et l'ἐπανόρθωσις serait le relèvement après la κατασκαφή, mais les Romains ont pu ne pas la châtier après la prise d'assaut et, au contraire, lui donner un statut libéral.⁷

Two considerations, however, persuaded him to reject this context, of which the first involves a matter of substance. "Ce qui ferait difficulté, c'est la mention d'une «alliance» antérieure avec les Romains qui est renouvelée.⁸ Car c'est en 218 que Pharos eut pour la première fois un lien direct avec Rome. En 229 elle fut laissée à Démétrios."⁹ This last is by no means clear. On the eve of the first Illyrian war Demetrius, ὁ Φάριος, was in command of the Illyrian garrison on Corcyra. Somehow at odds with Queen Teuta, he was communicating with the Romans, ἐπαγγελλόμενος τήν τε πόλιν ἐγχειριεῖν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα παραδῶσειν, ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς κύριος (Pol. 2.11.4). Polybius goes on to relate the surrender to Rome of the Corcyraeans μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Δημητρίου γνώμης (2.11.5). Appian fills out the picture: Δημήτριος δ', ὁ Φάρου ἡγούμενος τῷ Ἄγρωνι (Φάρου τε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦρχε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆδε Κερκύρα), παρέδωκεν ἄμφω Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπλέουσιν ἐκ προδοσίας (III. 7.19). So the Romans came into possession of both Pharos and Corcyra in the same way in 229, and when Teuta offered to negotiate after the campaign, the Romans replied Κέρκυραν μὲν καὶ Φάρον καὶ Ἴσσαν καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον - - - ἦδε Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους εἶναι (Appian, III. 7.21). Pharos had not been in Demetrius' private possession. Nor is there any reason to think that it became so. Polybius and Appian diverge on Roman's treatment of Demetrius after the war against Teuta, but neither has the Romans handing Pharos over to him. Δημητρίῳ δ' ἔστιν ἄχωρία μισθὸν ἔδοσαν τῆς προδοσίας, and that in a limited way (Appian, III. 8.22), whilst for Polybius τῷ Δημητρίῳ τοὺς πλείστους ὑποτάξαντες τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ περιθέντες δυναστείαν (2.11.7). That Polybius magnifies the gift in order to magnify Demetrius' ingratitude later on (3.16.2, 4) is likely enough,¹⁰ but more important for the moment is his emphasis upon τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν; Pharos was a Greek city. In 219, to be sure, Demetrius had fortified himself in Pharos, but he did this starting from elsewhere with 6000 troops hand-picked ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων (Pol. 3.18. 2); these were Illyrians (Pol. 3.19.5-6); cf. Appian, III. 8.23). Pharos was punished in

⁶ *Hellenica* XI/XII 537-538.

⁷ *Hellenica* XI/XII 539.

⁸ "L'article τὴν συμμαχίαν est décisif, même si l'on voulait ne pas tenir compte de la restitution" (*ibid.* n. 3).

⁹ *Ibid.* for this fate of Pharos he cites Holleaux, *Etudes* IV 89-91 (translated into *CAH* VII 834-836) and Polaschek, *RE* 'Pharos,' 1863-1964, both of whom simply assume it, as have many others since. Errington, *CAH* VIII² 89-90, is more cautious.

¹⁰ 3.16.4 for ἀχαριετία, on which see Ferrary, *Phyllhellenisme* (see n. 3) 119.

219 after Demetrius fled to Philip V. The destruction visited upon the city was the work of the Roman general in the field, L. Aemilius Paullus, who τὴν - - - Φάρον εὐθέως ἐξ ἐφόδου παραλαβὼν κατέσκαψε (Pol. 3.19.12);¹¹ Appian provides what was no doubt the stated reason: τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ [sc. τῷ Δημητρίῳ] Φάρον συναμαρτοῦσαν (Ill. 8.24). Robert's suggestion seems, again, admirably judged: "Le κατέσκαψε indique pourtant un châtement. Mais il aurait pu être immédiat, venant du général romain qui mena l'assaut, et le Sénat aurait pu ensuite, dans un acte de compréhension généreuse et de politique, redonner à Pharos un statut, des privilèges et l'alliance," (*Hellenica* XI/XII 539 n. 1).

Considerations of fact do not militate against locating the text from Pharos in the context offered, but then rejected, by Robert. His other objection was of a different kind. "D'autre part, je crois que l'écriture s'oppose à une datation au III^e siècle, même vers la fin," (*ibid.* 539). He reckoned that it could not, in fact, be dated before the middle years of the second century BC. (*ibid.* 540). Arguments based upon letter forms are particularly hazardous when the place in question offers nothing by way of dated texts for comparison, but an apparent discrepancy of some 60-70 years requires to be addressed by at least a little more than this caveat. In 1960 Robert focussed upon the following points. "Notamment la forme récente du *zeta* [viz. Z] n'est pas possible avant cette date. D'autre part, le nouveau fragment a multiplié les cas où l'*iota* n'a pas été adscrit, non seulement après *eta*, mais aussi après *omega*" (*ibid.*). To take the second point first. As mentioned above (note on A. 10), *iota* is regularly adscript after *omega* in fragment A, and indeed throughout the whole text. So it is after *alpha* (B. 19), but not after *eta* (with the possible exception of B. 23, to my eye, as to Robert's, although apparently not to Bousquet's). The last few decades of the third century are not yet excluded. As to *zeta*, there are in fact no examples on either stone. The top left-hand corner of fragment A is too damaged to permit anything to be read at the beginning of line 1, and the word inscribed in B. 19 is πρεῖςβεῦσαι, not πρεῖςβεῦσαι. Surface damage has produced the effect of Z in the photographs: what appears to be top horizontal of Z is a deep but adventitious scratch cutting through a visible *sigma* (see pl. VII A). This is what must have been apparent to Brunšmid (*op. cit.* [see n. 2]), who studied this inscription in particular detail, whose text has πρεῖςβεῦσαι, but whose published photograph appears to show a *zeta* (as do Robert's: is it always the same photograph?). Other considerations advanced by Robert in 1935 were: *pi* with equal legs and a horizontal extending beyond them, *epsilon* with more or less equal branches (and, sometimes, an overextending vertical), oval *theta* crossed by a bar, broken-barred *alpha*, *lambda* as in B. 15, 17, 19, 21 (*OMS* I 318-319 [*BCH* 1935, 505-506]). These indications on their own will not be compelling, and certainly not in default of comparative material. Still, it is worth remarking that by no means all the examples of these letters are as described; *alpha*, most notably, is present with straight and curved bars as well. Further, *omicron* and *omega* are often, in varying degrees, smaller and elevated; the right-hand side of *nu* is sometimes elevated; the top and bottom strokes of *sigma* are sometimes gently splayed. These indications push one back in time. "Assez rapide et négligé" in appearance is probably the best comment on the script (*OMS* 1318), and it reduces further the temptation to place a great deal of emphasis upon the forms of the letters.

¹¹ It is, of course, not impossible that M. Livius Salinator was also there; he is excluded throughout from Polybius's account but certainly shared the command in Illyria: *MRR* I 219 BC.

There is, at the end of the day, no reason to abandon the eminently suitable context for this inscription that was adumbrated by Robert in 1960. On account of its unwilling participation in the rebellion of Demetrius, Pharos was punished by the Roman forces in the field in 219, but was allowed to resume its former status by the Senate and People.¹² That status, and the alliance with Rome that was part of it, must go back to the time of the first Illyrian war and its immediate aftermath.

II

Given that Pharos had an alliance with Rome, it is natural to ask whether other Greek cities in the area did so too. The first Illyrian war brought Rome into contact with, besides Pharos, Apollonia, Corcyra, Epidamnos, and Issa. No one has doubted that some kind of tie was created between Rome and these cities, but the idea, present in antiquity, that the tie (with three of them at least) was one of *συμμαχία* or *societas* has been much rejected since then.

Apollonia and Corcyra and, to a lesser extent, Epidamnos (or Dyrrachium, as it always is in Livy) served regularly as landing and staging points during Rome's wars against Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus.¹³ Apollonia, Epidamnos, and Issa contributed ships or auxiliaries to these Roman ventures.¹⁴ This has been remarked upon before, but not taken to indicate formal alliance.¹⁵ One may question this. They may not be called allies on these occasions, but it is surely worth asking whether anyone who was not allied to Rome so participated in these wars.¹⁶

As mentioned, three of these cities are elsewhere called allies of Rome. After the capture in Italy of the Macedonian and Carthaginian envoys in 216, Philip V, vexed at this untoward development, attacked Corcyra ἢ Ῥωμαίοις *συνεμάχει* (Appian, *Mac.* 1.3).¹⁷ Two years later, after M. Valerius Laevinus had sailed across to Corcyra, Philip εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων

¹² Braccisi (n. 3, above) sought to locate the Pharian appeal to Paros during the first Macedonian war. With his inference thence that the alliance between Pharos and Rome goes back to the aftermath of the first Illyrian war I am in complete agreement. He does not, however, deal with the epigraphical problems (as seen heretofore), which renders his case weaker than it might otherwise be, and I am led, as indicated here, to prefer a date nearer to 219 itself. Commenting on this section of Braccisi's book, J. and L. Robert remarked (n. 3, above): "Il discute sur la date [viz., of the inscription from Pharos] qu'il situerait entre 215 et 205; cette question ne nous paraît pas actuellement susceptible d'une solution." I hope that it might do so now.

¹³ This accounts for most of the numerous references in Livy 24-40.

¹⁴ Apollonia: Livy 33.3.10, 42.55.9, 44.30.10; Epidamnos: 42.48.8, 44.30.10; Issa: 31.45.10, 32.21.27, 37.16.8, 43.9.5.

¹⁵ Not (necessarily) indicating a treaty: Ferrary, *Philhellénisme* (see n. 3) 31 n. 101.

¹⁶ During the second Macedonian war the Aetolians fought alongside the Romans in the belief that they had an alliance with Rome, as did the Achaeans pending the ratification of their alliance. The Rhodians are the exception. They had long co-operated with the Romans, but they did not, prior to 166, have an alliance with them. Their behaviour in this respect was regarded as noteworthy (Pol. 30.5.6ff.).

¹⁷ Gruen, *Hellenistic World* (see n. 3) 56 n. 11, remarks on this: "[Appian] designates [Corcyra] as Ῥωμαίοις *συνεμάχει*: Appian *Mac.* 1. Not to be taken as a loose or ignorant designation. Collaboration in war was equivalent to *φιλία*." This is not obvious, and there was in 216 no war on between Philip and the Romans. The involvement of Corcyra in Romes eastern activities extended to providing a mint for Roman victoriati during the first Macedonian war (Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* [Cambridge 1974] 21, 192); on the ἄρχων ὁ ἐν τῇ Κερκύρα in 189 (Pol. 21.32.6; cf. Livy 38.11.5), see Walbank, *Commentary ad loc.* The freedom bestowed upon Corcyra by the Romans (cf. Appian, *Ill.* 8.22) was proverbial: ἐλευθέρᾳ Κόρκυρα, χέζ' ὄπου θέλει (Strabo 7, fr. 8).

συμμάχους ὄρμηξε: he captured Orikos and laid siege to Apollonia (Zonaras 9.4.4).¹⁸ In 172 envoys from Issa complained at Rome about depredations by king Genthius.¹⁹ They are called *socii* of the Romans, and a much later inscription attests to a *συμμαχία* between Issa and Rome in 56 BC (Sherk, *RDGE* 24 B). Of Epidamnos, apart from the military assistance already adverted to, we know no more on this score than that L. Postumius Albinus raised troops there in winter 229/8 (Pol. 2.11.7, 12.2).

These cities behaved as allies of Rome. Three of the four are called allies at one point or another during the period of Rome's eastern wars. Pharos is unambiguously attested as having had an alliance with Rome prior to 219. Of all this there is one straightforward reading: a sequel of the Roman campaign in the Adriatic in 229/8 was the conclusion of alliances between Rome and Pharos, Issa, Epidamnos, Corcyra, and Apollonia. This need occasion no surprise. Rome was concerned with the Adriatic and had been since the first Roman and Latin colonies were planted on (or near) its western shore decades earlier:²⁰ alliances with the lead-ing Greek maritime cities of the region contributed to safeguarding this interest. In the treaty of 215 between Philip and Hannibal it was intended that the Romans should cease to be κύριοι of Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnos, Pharos, Dimale, the Parthini and the Atintani,²¹ and Polybius, on 220/219 BC, refers simply to τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ταπτομένας (3.16.3). These notices do not, of course, militate for or against the existence of Roman alliances with these places, but they do indicate, at least as importantly, how the connection was perceived by others.²²

¹⁸ Cf. Livy 24.40. It appears that Apollonia was connected with Rome in a way that Orikos was not (40.7).

¹⁹ Livy 42.26.2-7 (a passage of Polybian origin according to Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen* 264-265, 271; cf. H. Tränkle, *Livius und Polybios* [Basel 1977] 28). At issue were Issa's mainland dependencies: Pol. 32.9.2.

²⁰ Sena Gallia, Hadria, and Castrum Novum go back to the 280s, followed by Ariminum (268), Firmum (264), and, far the most southerly, Brundisium (244); cf. E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (London 1969) 62-64. The rôle of Roman activity in northeastern Italy and Cisalpine Gaul in generating Roman concern with the Adriatic can scarcely be overestimated, as I shall argue elsewhere in a study of the Roman conquest of Greece (O.U.P.). Note the brief but very perceptive statement in R. Chevallier, *La romanisation de la celtique du Pô I: Les données géographiques* (Paris 1980) 70 with n. 2 (cf. pp. 67-74 on the coasts and currents of, esp., the northern Adriatic [on Gallic matters I am grateful to Jonathan Williams], and Strabo 7.317C on the relative inhospitability of the Italian coast as compared to the Dalmatian coast opposite). For purposes of observation and control Issa, the most westerly of the Dalmatian islands (for its rôle in the start of the first Illyrian war. see *Phoenix* 27 [1973] 118-134; cf. Errington, *CAH VIII*². 86-88), and Pharos with its system of watch-towers were particularly well suited. (Another watch-tower, to match the great 'Tor' above Jelsa, has recently been discovered at Maslinovik on Hvar; it was built in the 4th or 3rd century BC: see B. Kirigin and P. Popović, "Maslinovik. A Greek watchtower in the chora of Pharos," in J.C. Chapman *et al.*, eds, *Recent Developments in Yugoslav Archaeology* [Oxford 1988: BAR International Series 431] 177-189. I am grateful to John Lloyd for this reference.)

²¹ Pol. 7.9.13. The omission of Issa from this list has never been adequately accounted for. (Note that it is not Issa, but Lissos, that figures in Livy's account of the dispersal by Rome of Genthius' realm at 45.26. 13; Ferrary, *Philhellénisme* [see n. 3] 31 n. 101.) I am not concerned here to establish whether or not the Parthini and Atintani had become allies as well. Both had a chequered history of relations with Rome that is not made any clearer by problems of identification (on the Atintani and Atintanes, see N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* [Oxford 1967] 599-600; on Parthos and the Parthini, cf. Walbank, *Commentary* on Pol. 18.47.12). A question that must remain open is that of when the Bassanitae (of Bassania, some four and a half miles distant from Lissos) became *socii* of the Romans (Livy 44.30.7-8, 13).

²² Cf. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme* (see n. 3) 27-28 (on which see my remarks in *JRS* 80 [1990] 198-99) Ferrary does not believe that treaties of alliance were concluded with any of these places (*Philhellénisme* 29-31;

These considerations are not without implications for the treatment of succeeding events. Two of these may be briefly noted here. It has lately been remarked that the treaty between Rome and the Aetolian League of 211 (or 212) BC does not provide by name for the Greek cities of the Adriatic, and suggested that they are included in a clause of that treaty: *si Aetoli pacem cum Philippo facerent, foederi adsciberent ita ratam fore pacem si Philippus arma ab Romanis sociisque quique eorum dicionis essent abstinuisset* (Livy 26.24.12). For Ferrary the Greek cities are placed in the category *quique eorum* [*sc. Romanorum*] *dicionis essent*.²³ Where they belong is directly under the rubric of *socii*. And it is surely from these (or some of them), the Greek cities of the Adriatic allied to Rome, that there came to Rome late in 203 BC the *legati sociarum urbium ex Graecia* noticed by Livy (30.26.2).²⁴ Equally clearly, it was not in any sense *because* of these cities that Rome went to war with Philip V of Macedon in 200 BC, but that is another story.

III

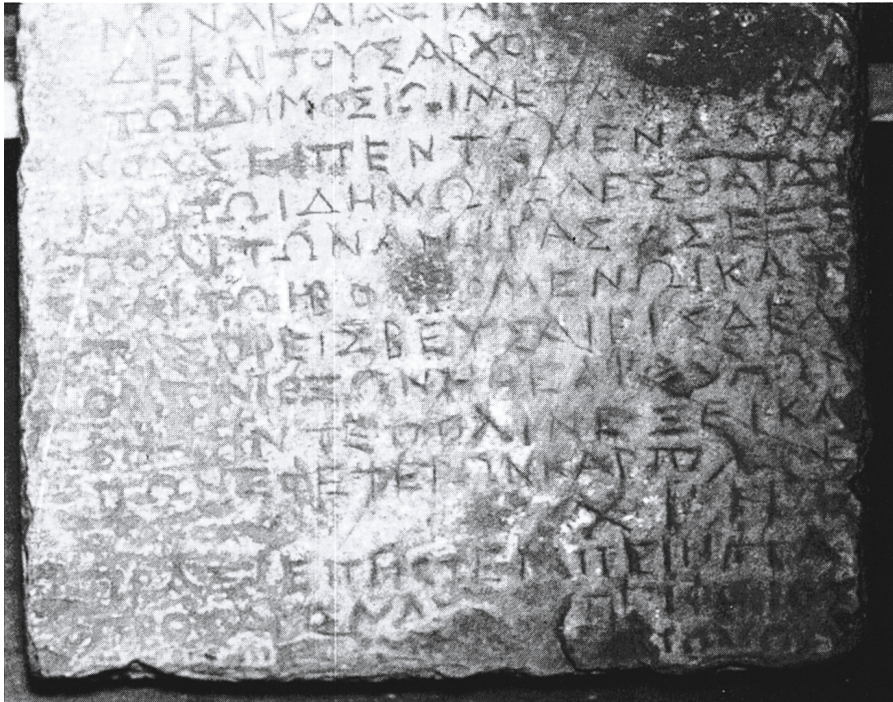
One further question remains to be raised here: what sort of *συμμαχία* did Pharos and the others have? The answer, I would suggest, is that it was an alliance of the kind that was evidently standard in Roman dealings with Greek states and of which we now have a complete example in the splendid text from Maroneia recently published.²⁵ The alliance consists of fully reciprocal undertakings by each party whereby each is obliged not to assist the enemies of the other but not strictly obliged to render assistance in case of attack. The undertakings of Maroneia are as follows (those of Rome are, *mutatis mutandis*, identical):

and cf. below and next note) but (rightly) sees no evidence as telling against this. The specific claim of Gruen, that during the period from the Illyrian wars to the war against Antiochus "Rome framed only a single formal alliance, that with the Aetolians in 212/11" (*Hellenistic World* (see n. 3) 25, cf. p. 17) seems to me, on the basis of the considerations presented here, wrong. He is at pains to show that "[treaty relations] never served as a principal apparatus for expansion or imperialism" (*op. cit.* 51). That is one thing, and surely no one would see them as "a principal apparatus" (cf. p. 95 for an analogous man of straw: "It [φιλία] was never an implement fashioned or reforged by senatorial diplomats to convert Greece into a compliant appendage of Rome's dominions.") But to deny the very existence of treaties in the later third and early second century is something quite else.

²³ *Philhellenisme* (see n. 3) 24-33. A measure of unclarity arises from his remarks on this passage, which he reckons enables one "to distinguish amongst the *socii* those who were *in dicione populi Romani* and those who were not" (p. 32). There would seem to be just two possible translations of the clause *si ... abstinuisset*, the only uncertainty being about *eorum*. De Sélincourt's Penguin version captures the ambiguity: "if Philip abstained from attacking the Romans or their allies or those who were under their control," but identity of the possessives may be intended. The Loeb of F.G. Moore is clearly committed: "in case Philip should refrain from war with the Romans and their allies and those who were subject to the latter."

²⁴ Livy's notice has been variously received since Holleaux so stylishly condemned it (*Rome, la Grèce...* 278 n. 1). Gruen (*Hellenistic World* [see n. 3] 21 n. 42) begins by stating that it is 'not to be taken seriously,' but goes on to say that "[t]he account is either sheer fabrication or the places referred to are Illyrian." Badian (*Studies* 22-23 [PBSR 1952], with notes) and Briscoe (*Commentary on Livy XXXI-XXXIV* 54-55) were rather less hostile, as is Errington, *CAH VIII*², 245. But the cities are not 'Illyrian'; they are Greek and they are allies.

²⁵ D. Triantafyllos, "Συμμαχία Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μαρωνιτῶν," ΘΡΑΚΙΚΗ ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΣ 4 (1983) 414-447; cf. (on context and date) M.B. Hatzopoulos and L.D. Loukopoulou, *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography*, Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 3 (Athens 1987) Appendix, 101-110; see *SEG* 35.823. The terms of the treaty are introduced (lines 10-12): φιλία καὶ συμμαχία καλῆ ἔστω καὶ κατὰ ἰγῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἰ πόλεμος δὲ μὴ ἔστω, and the written agreement is called ἡ συμμαχία (37, 40, 41; it may be as well to recall here that the Pharians referred to ἡ συμμαχία). In the extract below, <πόλεμον> is supplied in line 30 from the parallel phrase in lines 33-34.



A)

A) Inscription from Pharos (SEG 23.489), fr. B, lines 12-26