

# ROME AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES AT THE END OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

The so-called ' Piracy Law ' and a new inscription from Cnidos

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(Plates xi-xiv)

A new inscription discovered by some workmen at Cnidos during excavations conducted by Professor Iris Love preserves considerable portions of a Roman law in a Greek translation, in date and content closely related to (perhaps identical with) the text found at Delphi, commonly known as the ' Piracy Law '. We give below the Cnidos text and a revision of the Delphi text which is necessitated by the new information, together with a brief commentary designed to bring out what seem to us to be the major implications for Roman historians. The original transcription of the Cnidos text was made by Hassall, but all three authors have checked and improved the readings, both from photographs taken by him and by Professor Love, and from the stones; the revision of the Delphi text, begun by Hassall, is in the event largely the work of Crawford. Archaeological information is contributed by Hassall; to the commentary we have all three made our contributions. The final integration of these and of our concluding remarks is due to Crawford.

We must acknowledge generous help at Cnidos from Professor Love, together with much encouragement in the preparation of this publication, at Delphi from Professor Amandry, Monsieur Croissant and Mrs. Zaphiropoulou, and in Cambridge from a considerable number of colleagues who joined in discussion of the new text. Our debt is especially heavy to Mr. J. A. Crook, whose scepticism has been a healthy check on our enthusiasm. We also gratefully acknowledge financial help from the Faculty of Classics and Newnham College, Cambridge.

## INTRODUCTION

The three fine-grained limestone blocks, numbered 1, 2 and 3 in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 7), which carry the text of the Cnidos inscription, had originally formed part of a Hellenistic wall and were re-used in the walling of a small rectangular plunge bath, probably of the Byzantine period. This lies immediately to the West of the so-called Agora on the North side of the trireme harbour and was excavated in the summer of 1970.<sup>3</sup>

There are altogether the remains of five inscribed columns. Block 1 carries columns I, II and III and the left edge of column IV. It is c. 152 cm wide, was originally c. 85 cm high and is c. 30 cm thick. Block 2 is c. 115 cm wide, c. 85 cm high and c. 34 cm thick; it carries the rest of column IV and column V. Block 3 is c. 126 cm wide, c. 82 cm high and c. 33 cm thick. On it have been inscribed the ends of 7 lines (perhaps the ends of the last lines of column V) and along what is now its upper edge has been roughly pecked the name Artemidoros. The rest of the surface was never inscribed.

The lower part of the inscribed surface of Block 1 was found, on excavation, to be concealed by an external step which enabled the bather to step over Block 1 onto a corresponding step on the inside. Against the opposite wall of the bath was a second internal step, one of whose ends originally covered the bottom right-hand part of column V. The cement used to set these steps in position was extremely hard and after their removal proved difficult to clean from the inscribed surfaces. In addition the left-hand side and all the top of Block 1, and the top of Block 2 as well as the whole of its right-hand side were badly weathered.

### *The state of the text*

Column I. The lower half of this does not seem to have been inscribed; on the upper half only one or two letters can be discerned. In view of the gap at the bottom of the column it is clear that the text is not continuous with that on columns II-V, though it may be related to it. At Delphi, for instance, the ' Piracy Law ' proper is preceded by a letter of introduction.

Column II. The top of this column is badly worn. The lines are more or less the same length

<sup>1</sup> To the bibliography there cited (read H. Pomtow, *Klio* xvii, 1921, 171) add P. Foucart, *JSt* 1906, 569 (brief mention in connection with discussion of campaigns against pirates of 74-71); A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 1914, 98 (brief mention in connection with discussion of demands for military assistance by Rome); M. Cary, *CR* 1924, 60; J. Dobiás, *Listy Fil.* 1924, 13 and 94; 1925, 65 (see n. 25 below); J. Carcopino, ' Sur la loi romaine du monument de Paul Emile ', *Mélanges Glotz* (1932) i, 117; F. T.

Hinrichs, ' Die lateinische Tafel von Bantia und die " Lex de Piratis " ', *Hermes* 1970, 471.

<sup>2</sup> Column IV = pl. 15, fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The size of the blocks compares with those of the blocks forming the seaward wall of the magazine that flanks the trireme harbour on the North side and backs onto the Agora. There is a chance that the blocks were robbed from the upper course of this wall.

throughout, *c.* 48 cm long; they range from 26 to 34 letters per line, with an average of 29·5. There is probably a *vacat* below the last line transcribed.

Column III. The top of the column is again badly worn and the last four lines have also suffered. The lines are up to *c.* 51 cm long; ordinary lines (that is, not first and last lines of paragraphs) range from 29 to 37 letters per line, with an average of 33. The opening of each paragraph is marked by outspacing a couple of letters to the left. There is certainly a *vacat* below the last line transcribed.

Column IV. This is the best preserved of the columns. At the top is the lower part of a line of letters, the upper part of which must have been cut on a block lying above. The lines vary from up to *c.* 57 cm at the top of the stone to up to *c.* 61 cm at the bottom, as if the draftsman was trying to squeeze more of the text onto the stone towards the bottom of the column (compare on column V below). Ordinary lines range from 31 to 44 letters per line, with an average of 36·5 and with more letters per line towards the bottom of the column. The opening of each paragraph is marked by outspacing a couple of letters to the left.

Column V. The top and right-hand side of this column have been largely worn away. If column V is as wide as column IV it will have occupied all the space to the right edge of Block 2, some 60 cm from the beginnings of the lines. Of this 60 cm the last 11 cm or so can never be recovered because of damage to the end of the block (see Fig. 7); to the left of this area a thin strip is covered by the end of Block 3 and a few extra letters doubtless survive here. If the length of the lines in column V increases towards the bottom of the stone, as in column IV, the lower lines could overflow onto another block and in fact they appear to be represented by the ends of seven lines on Block 3. The longest line on column V would then be *c.* 68 cm.

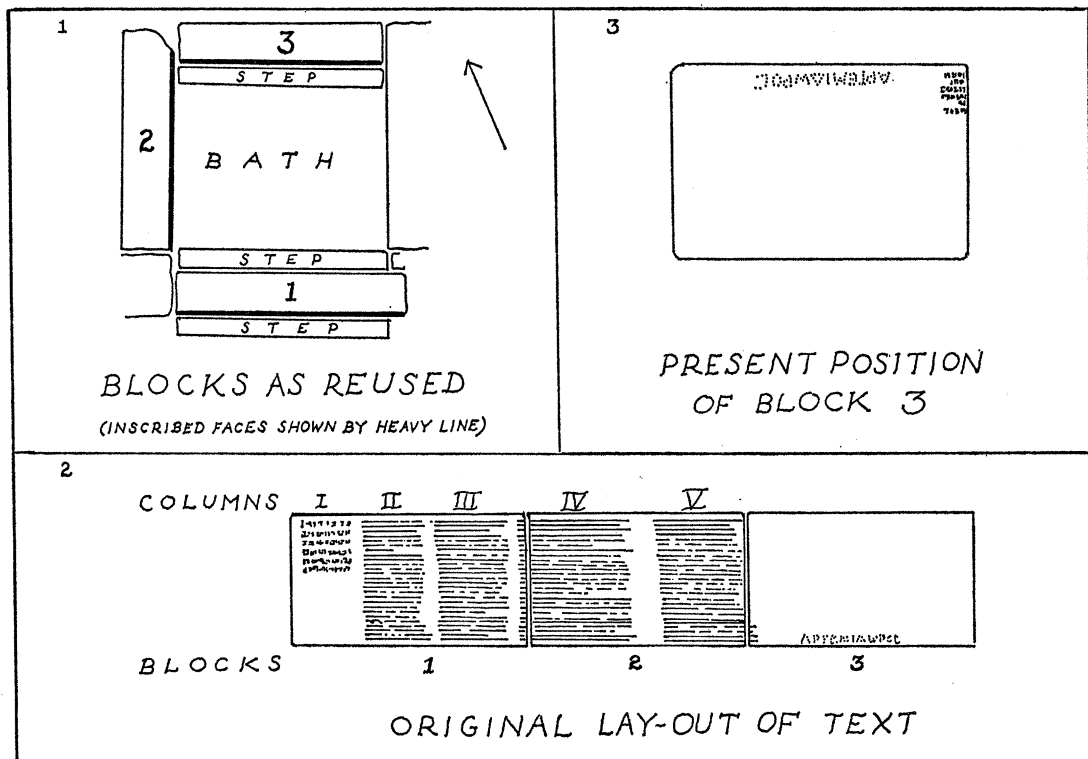


FIG. 7. THE CNIDUS INSCRIPTION: SKETCH SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF BLOCKS

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### Letter-forms

The letters have been cut without the aid of rule and compass and laid out in lines which often deviate from the horizontal. They vary from about 15 mm to about 19 mm in height, with the exception of Θ, O, and some examples of Ω, which are smaller than other letters, and Φ, which is often taller. They are set as close to one another as is practical, and letters like T or Y 'overlap' others such as A or Δ.

The text has been carelessly copied. There are omissions of individual letters (V, 29 μέχρ(ι), V, 33 λέγει(ν)) or words (II, 24 presumably (τούς) αἰτούς ὑπάτους). Conversely, superfluous

letters (III, 22 δ(ς)) or words (IV, 26 ἡ ἀνθύπατος <τε> δ<τε>) have sometimes been added. Letters in the original draft may be mistaken for others (IV, 42 ὦς for ὦι, V, 22 ἐκείλους for ἐκείνους). Μακεδονία is once spelt with an η instead of the ε (IV, 26). In some cases corrections have been made (III, 10 ἄς to ἦς; in the same line the genitive ἐπαρχείας has been corrected from an accusative). Similarly in III, 30 φαίνεται has been corrected to -ται and in V, 15 τριακοσιῶν to -ίων. In IV the ends of lines 25 to 43 have been totally erased and re-inscribed and there are similar though smaller erasures near the end of IV, 9 and the beginning of V, 18.

The letter forms themselves (for letter forms, see esp. W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* II, Book 2, with tables; and for a recent study M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* I, 368–390) in general fall into line with those introduced during the course of the third century B.C. (A) or second (Z), though there are a few reminiscences of forms which were current a couple of centuries earlier; so N occurs as well as N, e.g. twice at the beginning of V, 30, and Y is sometimes cut with the arms almost approaching the horizontal. Another feature, which had generally dropped out by the beginning of the third century and which is found sometimes here, is the angular form of O and of the loop of P. In the one case, however, where the second hasta of Π is short (II, 14 ἀνθύπατον), it is probably to be accounted for by the crowding of the letters. In conformity with the Hellenistic forms of the letters is the use of elaborate serifs and perhaps also the 'bowing' of some of the constituent straight strokes of letters, e.g. the lower arm of K which bows downwards in some examples. In V, 37 (πράγματος) the lower diagonal of the Σ bows upwards.

Other points about letter forms are conveniently dealt with in alphabetical order. The upright stroke of Γ is frequently carried higher than its junction with the horizontal stroke. The same is true of E. This letter always has a short central bar. Θ usually has a central bar stopping short of the sides of the letter and terminating normally, but not always, with serifs. Occasionally, however, a dot has definitely been used in preference to the bar, but it is sometimes difficult to make out the precise form of what was originally cut. The arms of K form a relatively acute angle with one another but do not extend to the base line or the full height of the letter. The first and last strokes of M depart from the vertical, sloping inward towards the top, and the middle of the letter does not extend to the base line. The absence of this last feature which is found on some inscriptions of the imperial period is hardly significant since it seems never to have been common. The right hand side of O is sometimes not joined, as in V, 42 ἀποκαταστήσάτω, and the letter itself, though it varies in size, is usually appreciably smaller than the adjacent letters. It is set slightly above the base line. The vertical hasta of the letter P is sometimes carried up above its junction with the top of the loop (compare Γ and E). The top and bottom strokes of Σ are generally horizontal, except for a few instances in IV (17 δημοσίαις second Σ, 21 ὦς, 33 ἀρχῆς) where they slope outwards slightly. In one place (III, 36 the second T of τοῦτο), the left hand end of the crossbar of T is ornamented not with the usual serif but with a small curved flourish. The form of Φ varies: the upright may be identical in height to the adjacent letters, but can be higher and can extend below the base line (II, 17 φρονίται). In this example the O of Φ has been cut carelessly resulting in a squashed and angular form, and even when the letter is rendered carefully the circle is noticeably flattened (II, 25 ψήφισμος). The form of Ω is distinctive: the single horizontal subscript bar is normally in contact with, and closes the O, but in at least one case (IV, 30 καθώς) the bottom of the O is open, and in another (IV, 32 ὦι) there is a clear space between the O and the bar. The serifs on the ends of the bar can be very exaggerated, and, when the surface of the stone is damaged, they can be very misleading.

The condition of the stone makes it difficult to say whether more than one hand was involved in cutting the inscription. The relatively good state of preservation of III and IV, however, makes some comparison at least possible. The impression is of a freer use of serifs in III. These are usually bifurcated whereas in IV the serifs sometimes seem to be formed by a short cross bar. But this impression is probably misleading since in III the skin of the stone is exceptionally well preserved from about lines 17 to 27, towards the left hand side of the column, while in IV, though the text is very clear over large areas, the actual skin of the stone is lost and it is often impossible to determine the exact original nature of the serifs. The occasional slightly anomalous form of the Σ in IV has already been commented upon. In this column, too, the two lines forming the broken bar of the A sometimes cross slightly, as do its two side members at the top. None of this really constitutes clear proof and the question must remain open.

### *Delphi and Cnidos*

It rapidly became obvious to Hassall, partly for the reason that both texts refer to themselves as either a *lex* or a *plebiscitum*, that the law from Cnidos was closely related to the 'Piracy Law' from Delphi; we believe that a case can be made for suggesting that the laws preserved in the two inscriptions are identical. In favour it can be argued:

(1) that the two documents must be contemporary or nearly so. The Cnidos text as it survives does not contain the names of the Consuls of 100 B.C., as does the Delphi text, but it refers to Latin allies,

which places it before the Social War; it also lists kings (III, 38–41) who are to receive letters, including the king of Cyrene, where there was no king after 96 B.C.; in describing the king of Cyprus as διακοτρέχων, it displays a precise awareness (unlike Delphi) of an abnormal situation in Cyprus which fits only, within this general period, 104/3 to 101/0 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The Cnidos law also refers to the conquests of T. Didius, as does the Delphi text.

(2) that much of the subject-matter of Cnidos, columns III and IV, coincides precisely with that of Delphi, block B, while we make below a case for a further small overlap between Cnidos, column IV and Delphi, block C. To suppose two contemporary laws with overlapping subject-matter seems odd and it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, by contrast, although the Delphi and Cnidos texts have much in common with the Lex repetundarum, the Lex Latina Tabulae Bantinae and the Fragmentum Tarentinum, precise and extensive overlaps do not occur with any of them.

(3) that the number of Roman laws of the appropriate date which are likely to have been inscribed in the Eastern provinces can hardly have been large; but we know that the Delphi law contained a provision for publication in those provinces. Other laws may of course have contained similar provisions. (There seems no reason other than such a provision for the bulk of the inscription at Cnidos.)

Against identification one must say:

(1) that despite the overlaps there are large areas of text at Cnidos to which nothing corresponds at Delphi and *vice versa*. Not all of these are significant: thus we know that we do not possess the beginning of the Cnidos text, so cannot expect to find at Cnidos anything that corresponds to what is preserved of Delphi, block A; we know that we have lost an unknown number of lines between each of the Cnidos columns (if the identity of the two texts is accepted this can be calculated as c. 60 lines), so there is nothing surprising in the existence of some areas of Delphi, blocks B and C to which nothing extant at Cnidos corresponds; the Delphi text too is incomplete, so the converse is also true.

The difficulty arises over Delphi, block C. This begins with a fragmentary clause on the face of it concerned with the powers of a provincial Quaestor between handing over his province and arriving back in Rome and if this is so corresponds to the end of Cnidos, column IV and the lost upper part of Cnidos, column V; after the section dealing with the Quaestor there follows the notorious *iusiurandum in legem* on the basis of which the Delphi law is normally referred to L. Appuleius Saturninus and/or an associate or associates. Of the *iusiurandum in legem* there is no trace at Cnidos, but we reckon that almost all of what appears on Delphi, block C could have been inscribed on the lost area of Cnidos, column V, given that the line length of this column is considerably longer than that of the other columns (itself suggesting that we are nearing the end of the law in this column). Delphi, block C ends with arrangements for the prosecution of those who break the provisions of the *iusiurandum in legem*; the content of Cnidos, column V is not absolutely clear, but it is certainly concerned with trial procedure, and it is therefore a reasonable conjecture that its content may have followed what we have at Delphi (for a possible tiny overlap see on C, 8 ff.). But Delphi, block C is rightly supposed to be at the bottom of the area available for the 'Piracy Law' on the monument of L. Aemilius Paullus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy X Alexander I left Cyprus for Alexandria in 107. Soon after, his brother Ptolemy IX Soter II passed through Cyprus on his way to Syria, but at least one Cypriot mint continued to strike for Ptolemy X down to 105/4, and no Cypriot mint started to strike for Ptolemy IX until 100/99. It seems to follow that Ptolemy IX, although he returned to Cyprus from Syria soon after 107, did not control the island until well after his Syrian adventure of 103–102 was over (see E. Will, *Histoire politique* ii, 370–1; 376–7); anyone mentioning the king of Cyprus between 104 and 100 might well have doubts about his identity and express them by the formula found in the Cnidos text. (We are grateful for the numismatic information to Dr. O. Mørkholm.)

<sup>5</sup> The Delphi law occupies three blocks of approximately equal size on the front face of the monument of L. Aemilius Paullus. It is in the highest degree improbable that it ever occupied more than this. The relevant layers of the monument, together with the corresponding blocks of the inscription, are as follows:

Layer V	Proxeny decree
Layer IV	Block A
Layer III	Block B
Layer II	Block C
Layer I	Proxeny decree

Of these layers, V, II and I are almost completely

preserved, with the bulk of the front face and the two side faces extant. The degree of taper of the monument appears to make it certain that no more than two layers ever intervened between Layer V and Layer II. Layer III = Block B was seen by Colin and others from its content to precede Layer II = Block C, and this is confirmed by the text from Cnidos. Layer IV = Block A presumably lay immediately above Layer III = Block B.

It is moreover impossible that any of the Delphi law ever lay below Layer II = Block C. The right-hand face of Layer II bears an inscription which continues down onto Layer I, the front face of which is occupied by two copies of a proxeny decree. (It is also relevant that there are two unscribed *lacunae* towards the bottom of Block C and a tendency towards crowding of the letters.) The left-hand face of Layer II is occupied by an inscription and both sides of Layer III are blank. The only place where any more of the Delphi law may be postulated is on the left-hand or right-hand face of Layer IV = Block A. But the date of the inscription on the front face of Layer I is later than the date of the law; if one is to invoke this inscription on Layer I to explain a placing of some of the law on the side of Layer IV, one has to suppose that the law was inscribed some time after it was passed, perhaps not a very plausible hypothesis.

If the two laws are identical, it is necessary to suppose that much was never inscribed at Delphi. (2) that where the two documents overlap the language is different in many respects, so that at the least we must suppose that we have two different translations. We must also make it clear that the differences are more than merely verbal (see n. 4 on the special knowledge displayed at Cnidos of the situation in Cyprus, p. 210 on the different ways of tackling *sc. dolo malo* at Delphi and Cnidos, p. 212 on a slightly different arrangement of two clauses).

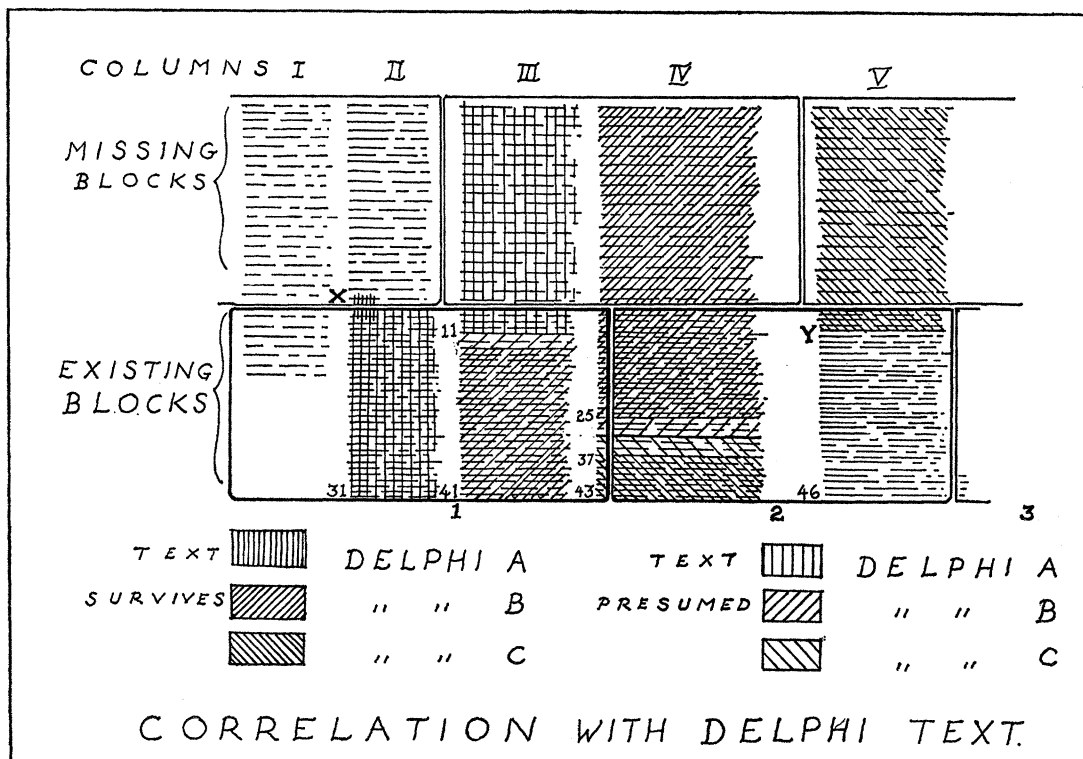


FIG. 8. PROPOSED COMBINATION OF CNIDOS AND DELPHI TEXTS

The correlation of the two texts has been calculated as follows:

- (1) Of the first 9 lines of Delphi, A, none can be represented on Cnidos, II; assuming that Delphi, A is two lines longer than B (B is three lines longer than C), then 27 of its lines are left to be accounted for.
- (2) Since 41 lines of Cnidos, IV are equal to about 12 lines of Delphi, B and C, 27 lines of Delphi, A will equal about 91 lines as long as those of Cnidos IV.
- (3) The 60 missing lines and 12 of the preserved lines of Cnidos, III correspond in length to 66 lines as long as those of Cnidos, IV; and the 31 preserved lines of Cnidos, II correspond in length to 25 lines as long as those of Cnidos, IV. The relevant parts of Cnidos, II and III thus will also total 91 lines of the stated length.
- (4) Since  $66 + 25 = 91$ , the preserved portion of Delphi, A (fragments of the first few lines) will end roughly where the preserved portion of Cnidos, II begins. Its position as indicated on the above diagram is no more than a guess.

Drawn by Mark Hassall. Copyright reserved

We are not of course at all well informed on Roman chancery procedure, but it has been natural to assume that this kind of document would be translated in Rome by public officials in the state archive.<sup>6</sup> If the identity of the Delphi and Cnidos documents is accepted we must therefore admit that this was not invariably the case.

Certainly where two or more copies of a SC or Epistula are demonstrably preserved, the wording is normally the same, although the amount of the text actually inscribed may vary: the *iudicium* following on the SC de agro Pergameno is introduced by a letter and mentioned in indirect speech

<sup>6</sup> R. K. Sherk, *Roman documents from the Greek East* (hereafter Sherk), pp. 18-19.

in the Adramyttium copy, but stands by itself in direct speech in the Smyrna copy<sup>7</sup>; but since the latter was inscribed much later, it is not surprising that the *iudicium* itself, perhaps sent for from Rome, was inscribed without a letter; otherwise the two texts are the same, apart from casual errors. Similarly the Phrygian copy (Sherk 13) of the SC Popillianum (Sherk 11) does not include the last sentence, perhaps because this appears to relate to Asia rather than to Phrygia;<sup>8</sup> otherwise the two copies are identical. The Priene and Miletus copies of the letter to the Koinon Asiae (Sherk 52) differ only in spelling and in the absence of the word ἐρωσθη at Priene. The letter of Paullus Fabius Maximus on the calendar (Sherk 65), on the other hand, although it occurs in copies verbally identical apart from small errors of engraving at Priene, Apameia and Maeonia, was not all inscribed at Priene; part of the letter, occurring in both the Latin version and the Greek version at Apameia, was omitted.<sup>9</sup> This letter is also interesting, in that it is likely that the Greek version was either the primary version, composed in Asia, or at the very least a translation made by a Greek, probably in Asia.<sup>10</sup>

Three points come to mind: in the first place, the Delphi law made specific provision for publication; in the second place, it is only known to have made provision for publication in Asia—the copy at Delphi itself perhaps was neither mandatory nor specially translated and (unsurprisingly, in view of what we have seen) did not include everything;<sup>11</sup> thirdly, if a governor's letter could be composed in Greek, why could not the law from Cnidos be translated in Asia? Some evidence suggests that both the Delphi and the Cnidos texts were prepared by Greeks (see p. 210 on the misunderstanding by both translators of *sc. dolo malo*), though it is a paradox that the Greek seems sometimes so inept.

What, then, if we can accept that we have two copies of the same law, is the relationship of the Delphi copy to the Cnidos copy? Of Delphi, block B, about one-half is represented at Cnidos, corresponding to about one and one-third columns, on columns III–IV. The missing text at Cnidos therefore doubtless covered about 60 lines per column, as opposed to a maximum of 46 lines preserved on any column; this missing text lay above the text which we now possess; for there is a *vacat* at the bottom of column III and, probably, column II, and the lower part of a line of letters at the top of column IV.

A text of the length of the Delphi text will have reached on the diagram above (Fig. 8) to the point marked X near the beginning of the preserved portion of the Cnidos text and to the point marked Y part of the way down column V of the Cnidos text. So far, so good. For nothing is preserved of Delphi, block A except for fragments of the first few lines, the correlate of which at Cnidos will have fallen outside the area where column II is legible; and the end of Delphi, block C corresponds to just about the point where column V of the Cnidos text becomes legible (for a possible tiny overlap see on C, 8 ff.). But in order to fill the lines missing above column II of the preserved Cnidos text, we must suppose the preamble of the law to have been inscribed at Cnidos (compare n. 16) and/or a long letter of introduction (if this is not to be sought on column I), possibly even a heading. At Delphi the preamble of the law does not appear and there is a short letter of introduction of about 5 lines, the equivalent of some 15 lines at Cnidos. We must also accept that there is a part of column V at Cnidos, for the correlate of which there is no obvious place at Delphi (see above).

#### THE TEXT

The text offered below is often uncertain, as we have shown by underdotting of letters, and at many points unsatisfactory. It is the result of much poring over the stones and over photographs (our squeezes were unsuccessful), which we have undertaken both individually and jointly. There is no doubt that some improvement is possible, but we do not think it proper to delay publication of so important a discovery. We have done our best, do not claim perfection and believe that by making our transcript available to others, with due warning of its shortcomings, we are taking the shortest route to the solution of its problems. We add that we believe advance to be made difficult by anomalies in the translation from Latin to Greek, demonstrable at some points (see pp. 210 and 213), and by carelessness in the transference of the text to the stones (see pp. 197 and 211 on cutting *in rasura*, which strongly suggests correction of errors). We have tried to resist the temptation to explain on these grounds what we have failed to understand; for although in some places such grounds must surely be invoked, we feel that it is only after more consideration by more scholars able to draw on different expertise that they *should* be invoked.

<sup>7</sup> Sherk 12 (an inadequate guide to the texts of the two copies).

<sup>8</sup> See T. Drew-Bear, *Historia* 1972, 85–6.

<sup>9</sup> See also U. Laffi, *Studi classici ed orientali* 1967, 5.

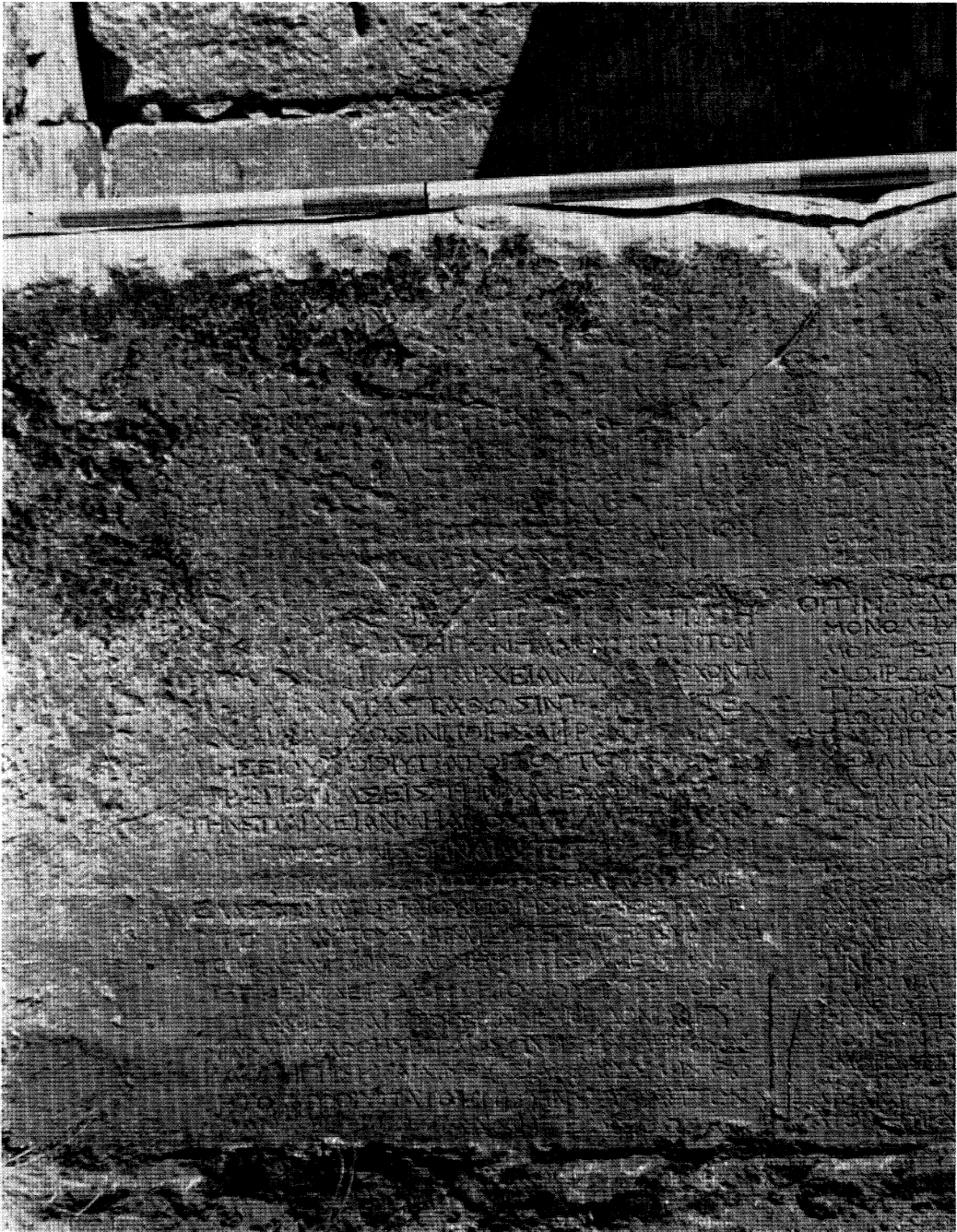
<sup>10</sup> R. K. Sherk, pp. 207–8.

<sup>11</sup> The part omitted relates to details of procedure

for trials; Delphi had much experience in inscribing Roman documents and doubtless saw little point in inscribing all this. We find it hard to think of any other principle of selection; local relevance cannot be invoked to explain what appears at Delphi or most of what appears at Cnidos (see above).

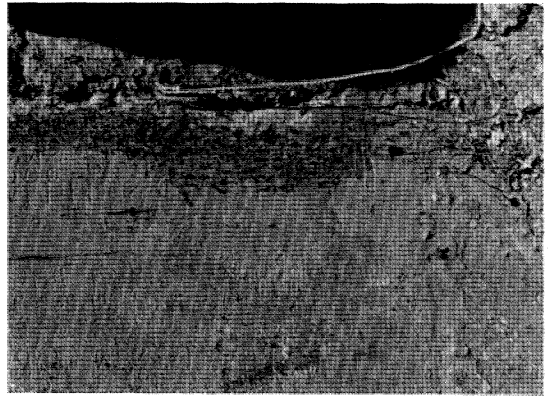
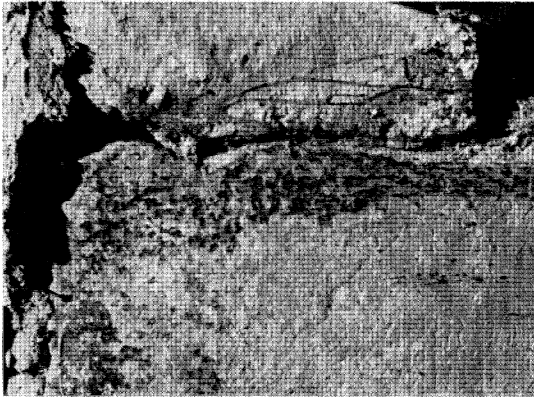


CNIDOS: VIEW OF PLUNGE-BATH, SHOWING COLUMNS II AND III OF THE INSCRIPTION (see p. 195)  
*Photograph by Mark Hassall. Copyright reserved*



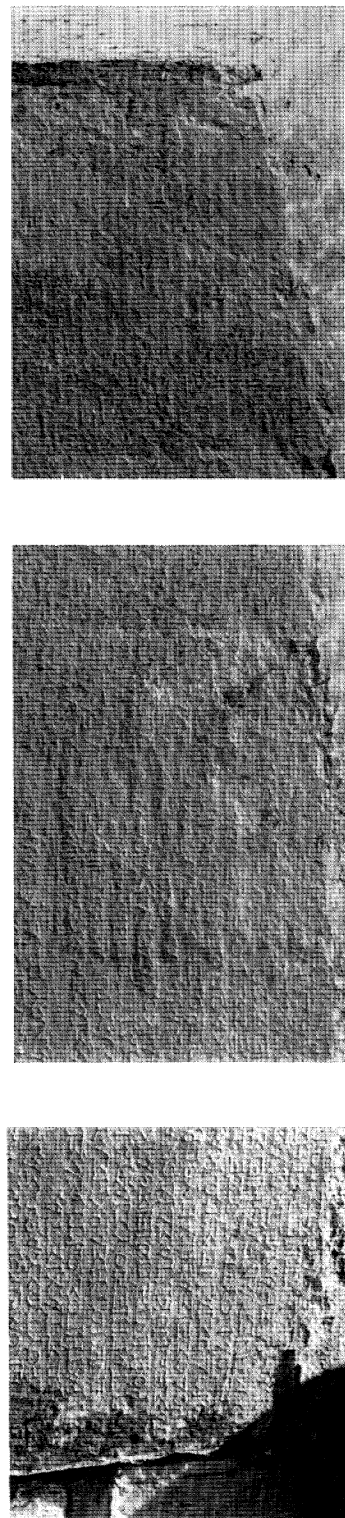
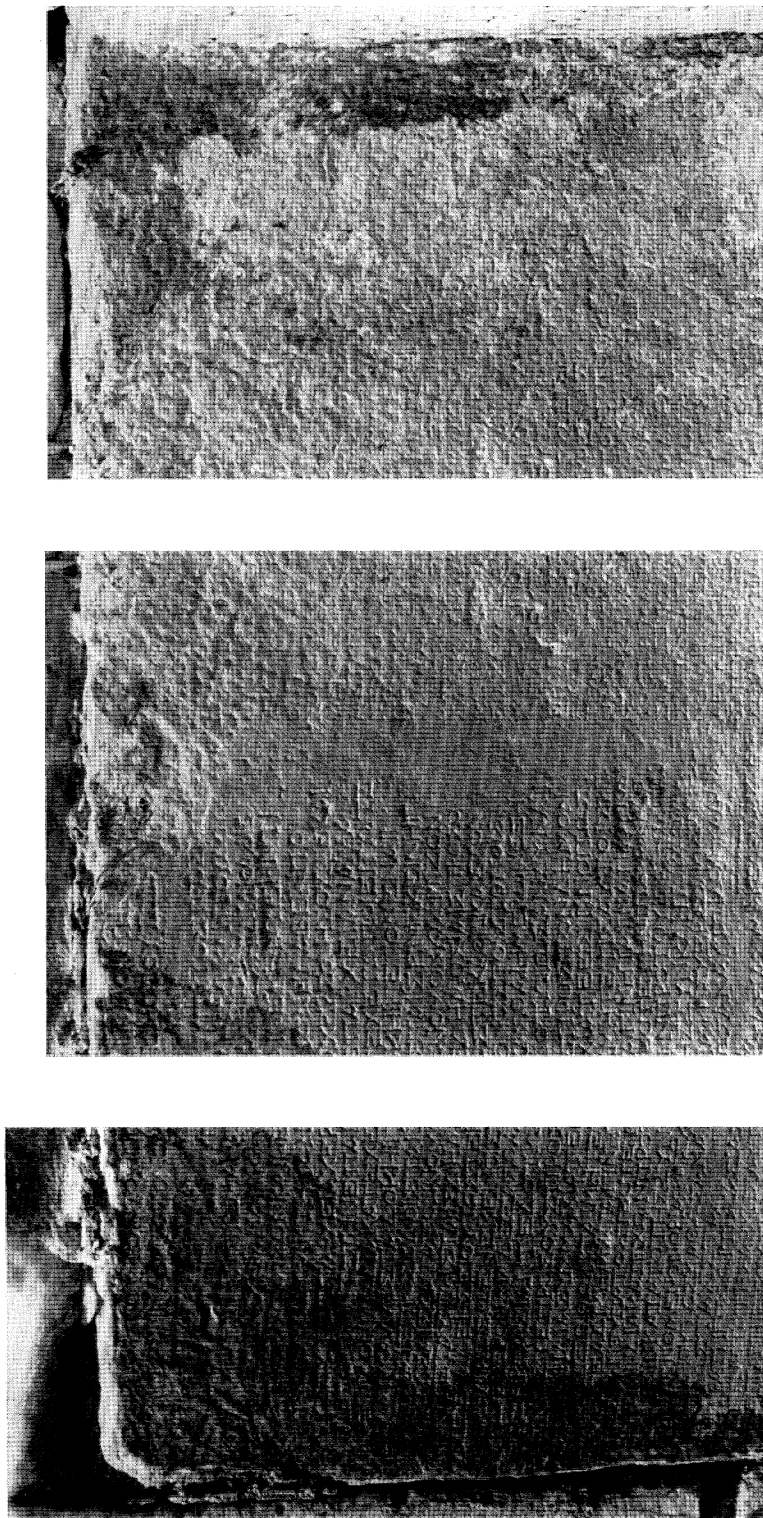
CNIDOS INSCRIPTION: COLUMN II (see p. 201)  
*Photograph by Mark Hassall. Copyright reserved*





CNIDOS INSCRIPTION: COLUMN III AND RIGHT EDGE OF COLUMN IV (ON LEFT) AND LEFT EDGE OF COLUMN IV (ON RIGHT) (see pp. 201 ff.)

*Photographs by Mark Hassall. Copyright reserved*



CNIDOS INSCRIPTION: COLUMN IV, CENTRAL PART (ON LEFT); COLUMN IV, RIGHT EDGE, AND COLUMN V, LEFT EDGE (IN CENTRE); COLUMN V, RIGHT EDGE (ON RIGHT)  
(see pp. 204, 206)

*Photographs by Mark Hassall. Copyright reserved*

## DELPHI COPY, A

[.....κ]οινὸν *vac.*  
 [.....πρὸς τὸν δῆ-  
 [μον.....]ἵνα ἐγνω-  
 [κέναι ? εἰδῆτε.....]τοῦ δήμου γν-  
 5 [ώμη.....] τούτων αὐτῶ  
 [.....Π]αμφυλία καὶ ΛΥ-  
 [.....]ΑΙ εἶτε [α]ὐτὸν κατα  
 [.....σ]τρατηγὸν διαδε-  
 10 [χόμενον.....]νόμος ἔστω ὥσπε[ρ]  
 [.....]ΣΑΝ ὁ ἄν ΑΥΤ[.....]  
 [.....ἔλ]ασσο[ν.....]  
 [.....]Π[.....]

## CNIDOS COPY, COLUMN II

(Two lines completely illegible)

[.]Α[... ..]δῆ [μου] 'Ρωμαί-  
 [ών..]Α[... ..]τὰς τῶν  
 [..c. 4..]Μ [... ..]ΝΕΠΟ  
 [... ..]ΗΤΑ! ἐκτὸς  
 5 ἀπεδίδοτο [.. c. 7.. ]ΘΛΛ[.]ΠΑΛΛΙΘ [..]  
 [..]προιεῖν ἄνευ δόλου πονηροῦ [οἱ τε] πο-  
 λιῖται 'Ρω[μ]αίων [οἱ] τε σύ[μμ]αχοι ὀνόμα-  
 τ[ο]ς Λατ[ίνου] ὁμοί[ως] τε τῶν ἐθνέων οἵτι-  
 νες ἐν φιλίαι δήμου 'Ρωμαίων εἰσίν  
 10 ὅπως μετ' ἄ[σ]φ[α]λείας πλοί[ζεσθαι] δύνων-  
 ται καὶ τῶ[ν] δ[ικ]αίων τυγχάνωσιν *vac.*  
 ὕπατοι ἄρχο[ν]τες οὓς στρατιώτας κατὰ  
 νό[μ]ον ἢ ψήφισμα πρὸς τὸν στρατη-  
 γὸν [ἢ ἀ]ντι[σ]τράτηγον ἢ ἀνθύπατον τὸν  
 15 τὴν Μ[ακε]δονίας ἐπαρχείαν διακατέχοντα  
 ὅπ[ως] ἀποκατασταθῶσιν τούτῳ τε  
 ἴν[α] παραδ[ο]θῶσιν ποιῆσαι φροντίσαι δεῖ ἢ  
 δεήσει οὗτοι οἱ ὕπατοι τούτους τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν εἰς  
 20 τὴν ἐπαρχείαν μὴ ἀποστελλέτωσαν  
 μήτε ἀποκομισθῆναι μήτε παραδοθῆναι  
 φροντισάτωσαν τοῦτό τε αὐτοῖς ἄνευ  
 ἑλασσώματος ἰδίου ποιῆσαι ἐξέστω πε-  
 ρί τε ὧν ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὴν σύνκλη-  
 25 τον κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ ψήφισμα ἐπανε-  
 νεγκεῖν δεῖ ἢ δεήσει ὁ τούτοις τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίαι οὖ-  
 σιν σίτου δοθήσεται ὅσον ἢ σύνκλητος δι-  
 καιον ἡγήσεται μισθῶσαι ὅπως μισθῶ-  
 30 θη τοῦτο οἱ ὕπατοι ἐπὶ τὴν σύνκλητον  
 μὴ ἀναφερέτωσαν μήτε μισθῶσαι

## COLUMN III

- [φροντισάτωσαν ... ..]
- [Perhaps c. 60 lines lost]
- [...c. 8..] ΕΙΑΣ βασιλέως ἔθνων ΤΕΟ[...c. 4..]  
 ...c. 4..] εἰς τε ἕκαστον Γ[.....] ΓΝΩΛ [...c. 6..]  
 [...] ΜΗΙ ΗΙΣΤΟΥ[.] ΟΣΤΙΚ[.] ΜΑΣΙΝ Π[...c. 6..]  
 ΕΩΣΤΟΙ ΣΣΕΙ[...] ΕΙ!!! Λ και Μάρκος !! [...c. 6..]
- 5 Κάτων στρατηγός ἐκύρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρων γ' νών-  
 ων Φεβραίων ἐκτὸς τῆς [ἐ]παρχείας ἕκαστο-  
 ς Ε[.] Ω ΥΠ[...]. Ν[...c. 5..] Ε[...c. 4..] μήτε ποιείτω [...]  
 [...] ΓΗΣΑΥ[...c. 9..] ΧΙΡΗΑΖΙΕΙ εἰδὼς δόλωι  
 πονηρῶι [...] ἐκ [...c. 15..] ΝΗΑΙΟ[.] Ο[...c. 3.]
- 10 ἐκτὸς τ[ῆς] ἐπαρχείας ἧς αὐτὸν ἐπαρχείας κ-  
 ατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον εἶναι δεῖ ἢ δεήσει  
 εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ συγκλήτου γνώμης πορεύεσ-  
 θαι μήτε προαγέτω εἰ μὴ διαπορείας ἐνε-  
 κεν ἢ δημοσίων χάριν πραγμάτων τούς τε ἐ-
- 15 αὐτοῦ κωλυέτω εἰδὼς ἄνευ δόλου πονήρου  
 οἵτινες δῆμοι ἅ τε ἔθνη ὅταν τοῦτον τὸν νό-  
 μον ὁ δῆμος κυρώσῃ βασιλεῖ βασιλεῦσιν δῆ-  
 μοις τε πρὸς οὓς φιλία συμμαχία τῶι δῆ-  
 μωι Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν φόρους προσόδους
- 20 τε στρατιώτας τε τελῶσιν ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῶι νόμῳ οὐκ ἠρώτηται *vac.*
- στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος τε ὁ(ς) τὴν Ῥασίαν ἐπαρ-  
 χείαν διακατέχων οὗτος ὧι ἔλασσον Λυ-  
 καονίαν διακατέχει ὧι τε ἔλασσον τούτου
- 25 ἢ ἐπαρχεία Λυκαονία καθὼς καὶ πρ(ὸ)το(ῦ) τοῦ-  
 τον τὸν νόμον κυρωθῆναι ὑπηρχεν ἐν  
 τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ οὐκ ἠρώτηται *vac.*
- ὑπατος ὁ πρῶτος γενόμενος γράμματα  
 πρὸς τοὺς δῆμους πολιτείας τε πρὸς οὓς
- 30 ἂν αὐτῶι φαίνεται ἀποστελλέτω τὸν δῆ-  
 μον τὸν Ῥωμαίων ΕΝΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΙΑΙ ὥστε τοὺς  
 πολίτας Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους Λα-  
 τίνους τε τῶν τε ἐκτὸς ἔθνων οἵτινες ἐν  
 τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ δῆμου Ῥωμαίων εἰσὶν μετὰ ἀσ-
- 35 φαλείας πλοίξεσθαι δύνωνται *v.* τὴν τε Κιλι- *sic.*  
 κίαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νό-  
 μον ἐπαρχείαν στρατηγικὴν πεποιοῦσθαι  
 ὁμοίως τε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐν Κύπρ[ωι] δι-  
 ακατέχοντα καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρι-
- 40 αι καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύοντα καὶ πρὸς [β]ασιλέ-  
 α τὸν ἐπὶ Κυρήνῃ βασιλεύοντα καὶ πρὸς βασι-  
*vac. vac. vac.*

## DELPHI COPY, B

[..... ἢ δημο]σίωγ χάρ[ιν πραγμάτων.....]

[..... συμμαχία καὶ φιλία ἐστὶν τῶι [δῆμωι τῶι Ῥωμαίων.....]

[..... ἐν τούτῳ]ι τῶ νόμῳ οὐθὲν Η[.....]

[..... διακατέ]χει, ὧι  
 ἔλασσον αὐτῶι ἐ[παρχεία Λ]υκαονίας ἔσται καθ[ώς.....]

- 5 [..... — “Υ]πατος, ὃς ἂν  
 πρῶτος γένητ[αι, γράμμ]ατα πρὸς τοὺς δήμους π[ολιτείας τε, . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] ΣΕΙ ὅπως πολίται Ῥωμαίων σ[ύμμαχοι] τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λατίνοι τὰ τ[ε]  
 ἔθνη. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] κατὰ θ]άλασσαν ἀσφαλῶς πλεῖν δύνω[νται,] τὴν τε Κιλικίαν διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας  
 [. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] καὶ π[ρ]ὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐν [τῇ ν]ήσῳ Κύπρῳ βασιλεύοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
 βασιλ[έα τὸν ἐν Ἄλε-]  
 ξανδρείᾳ καὶ Αἰγύ[πτῳ] βασιλεύοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐν Κυ[ρ]ήνῃ βασιλεύοντα  
 καὶ πρ[ὸς] τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλεύον[τας, οἷς πᾶσι]  
 10 φιλία καὶ συμμαχία ἐ[στί] πρὸς τὸν δήμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων, γράφας διασαφισά]τω καὶ ὅτι  
 δίκαιόν ἐ[στί]ν αὐ]τοὺς φροντίσαι μὴ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτ[ῶν μήτε] τῆ[ς]  
 χώρας ἢ ὀρίων πειρατῆ[ς μηδεὶς ὀρμήση, μηδὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἢ φρουραρχοὶ οὐς κ]αταστή-  
 σουσιν τ[οὺς] πειρατὰς ὑποδέχωνται, καὶ φροντίσαι, ὅσον [ἐν αὐ]τοῖς ἐσ[τι]  
 τοῦτο, ὃ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίω[ν ἴν]’ εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν συνέργους ἔχη προθύμους.]  
 Γράμματα [πρὸς τ]οὺς βασιλεῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἀποστελ[λόμ]ενα τοῖς ἀ[πὸ]  
 [Ῥο]δίῳ πρεσβευτ[αῖς], [. . . . .] ἀποδότω.  
 — Ὑπατο]ς ὁ περὶ τούτων ἔχων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν φροντίση [τῆ]ς ἀσφαλεία[ς αὐ]-  
 [τῶν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ δι]καίῳ [ἀκο]λοῦθως. Εἰ δὲ. . . . .  
 καταστ]αθήσονται, καὶ δεήσει ὡς ἂν προαιρῶνται, πρὸς τῆ[ν] σύγκλητον ὠ[σαύ]-  
 15 [τως ἐ]κφερέτω, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητ[ος καθὼς ἂν αὐτῇ δοκῆ] εἶναι ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πραγ-  
 μάτων π[ί]στεύς τε ἰδίας βουλευέσθω· ὅσα τε ὑπὲρ τούτου [τ]οῦ πράγματος ἢ [σύγ]-  
 κλητος [δ]ογματίση, ἄρχων ἢ ἀντ[άρ]χων πᾶς φροντιζέτω διδότη τε ἐργασίαν ἐκ τοῦ  
 δοκοῦντ]ος εἶναι ὅπως οὕτως γένηται. — Ὑπατος, ὧι ἂν γένηται ὃς ἂν τ[ε] ἀπαι-]  
 τῆ ὅπως οὕτως ταῖς πρεσβε[ῖαις ἀποκρίνηται, τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ δή]μου  
 τοῦ Ῥοδίων, οἵτινες ἀ(ν) ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὦσιν, σύγκλητο(ν) ἐκτὸ[ς τῆς]  
 συντάξεως δότω· τούτους [τε τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς. . . . .]  
 ἐκτ]ὸς τῆς συν[τ]άξεως εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εισαγέτω, [τ]ῆς τε συ[γκλήτου]  
 δόγμα φροντισάτω ἵνα γένη[ται ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, εἴτε νό](μ)ος  
 ἐστὶν εἴτε δῆμος γνώμη ἐστίν, εισαγειοχῶς ἢ · τοῦ[τ]ό τε ἀ[ζ]ημίω αὐτῶ]  
 20 [ἐ]ξέστω ποιήσαι. — Στρατ[ηγὸς ἀντιστράτηγος ἢ ἀνθύπατος, ὧτινι εἰ]ς Ἀσίαν  
 ἐπαρχείαν, Γαίῳ Μαρίῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ [ὑπάτοις,] ἐπα[ρχ]εῖα ἐ[γέ]-  
 νετο, γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς δήμο[υς πολιτείας τε(?)]εὐθύς ἀποστειλάτω καὶ πρὸς] τοὺς  
 βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐπάνω γεγραμμένους, ὁμοίω[ς δὲ πρὸς οὐς κ]αὶ ὁ ὑπατος κατ[ὰ]  
 τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράφειν κα[θὼς ἂν αὐτῶ] δοκῆ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀξιῶσει. Καὶ τούτου τοῦ  
 νόμου ἀντίγραφον ἀποστειλάτω πρὸς τε τὰς πόλει[ς καὶ πολ]ιτείας πρὸς οὐς κατὰ  
 τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἀποστέλλει[ν δεῖ γράμματα, ἐπιστροφὴν ποιούμενος, ὅσον ἂν ἐ]ν  
 δυνατῶ ἦ, ὅπως, ὅσ’ ἂν γράμματα κατὰ τοῦτον τ[ὸν νό]μον πρὸς οὐς ἂν ἀποστελεῖ, ὅ-  
 πως ἀποδοθῆ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τ[οῦτον] · καὶ, ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐκάστων ἐπιτηδε]ύμασιν,  
 πρὸς οὐς ἂν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράμ[ματα ἀπε]σταλμένα ἦ, εἰς δ[έλ]τον χαλ-  
 25 κῆν γράμματα ἐνκεχαραγμέ[να ἔστω, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν λίθῳ μαρμαρίνῳ ἢ κ]αὶ ἐν λευκώματι,  
 ὅπως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἔκκε[ίμενα ἦ ἐν ἱερῶ] ἢ ἀγοραῖ φανερώς, ὅθεν δυνή-  
 σονται ἐστ[η]κότες ἀναγινώσκειν ἰσόπεδοι οἱ βουλούμενοι. Καὶ μὴ ἄλλ]ως ἢ οὕτως  
 γραψάτω ἵνα ταῦτ’ ἀ[πὸ τοῦ ἴσ]ου [βασιλεῖς καὶ δῆμ]οι οἷς ἂν ἄρχωσιν ταῦτα πο[ησά]-  
 τωσαν. Ὅσοι ἂν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν [νόμον τὴν ἐπαρχείαν ἔχωσιν, ἵνα οὕτως γένη]ται  
 φροντισάτωσαν. Στρ[ατηγὸς ἀντιστράτηγος ἢ ἀνθύ]πατος, οἵτινες κατὰ τοῦτο[ν]  
 τὸν νόμον, εἴτε δήμου γνώμη εἴη(ι) [εἴτε νόμος, ἢ κατὰ συγκλήτου δόγμα ἐν Μα]κεδονίᾳ  
 ἐπαρχείαν ἔξει, εὐ[θύς πρὸς Χερσόνησον Καίνε]ικὴν, ἧς Τίτος Δεῖδιος ἠγούμενο[ς]  
 ἐκράτησεν, πορευθήτω · τοῦ τε ἐπαρ[χ]εῖα . . . . . ἔσ]τω· ταύτην τε  
 τὴν ἐπαρχ[εῖαν] . . . . . ποιεῖ]τω τε, καθὼς ἂν αὐτῶι δοκῆ κα-  
 30 λῶς ἔχειν, ὅπως τὰς δημοσίας προ[σόδους αἰ] ἂν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐπαρχε]ῖᾳ ὦσιν καρπεύωντ-  
 [αί. . . . .] δ]εήσει · οὕτως τε ἐκάστου ἐνιαυ-  
 τοῦ μὴ ἔλασσον ἡμερῶν ἐξ[ήκοντα. . . . .] τόποι]ς πρὸ τοῦ  
 ἄλ[λων. . . . .], ὅσον ἂν [δυνατὸς ἦ,] ὅπως αὐτο[ί]

[πρ]ὸς οὓς ἂν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ [ι Ῥωμαίων. . . . .] Σ οὔτος [ὁ στ-]  
 [ρα]τη[γός. . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]

## CNIDOS COPY, COLUMN IV

- [λείς τοὺς ἐν Συρία βασιλεύοντας. . . . .]  
 [*Perhaps c. 60 lines lost*]  
 ΘΑ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]!ΟΙ!![. . . c. 4. . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον τὴν [. . . c. 4. . .]  
 [. . . c. 5. . . κατέ]χῳσιν ἵνα οὔτος ὁ νόμος οὔτως [γέν-]  
 5 ητα[ι κύρι]ον φροντίζειν ἔστω *vac.*  
 Στρατη[γός ἀντιστρά]τηγος ἀνθύπατος ὅς τε ἄ[ν]  
 κατὰ[τοῦτον τὸν ν]όμον ἢ ψήφισμα ἢ συνκλήτου δό-  
 [γμα Μακεδονί]αν ἐπαρχίαν διακατέχει διακαθέ-  
 ξ[ηι εὐθύ]ς [εἰς] Χερσονήσον Καινεϊκήν τε ἦν Τί-  
 10 το[ς Δείδιος] πολεμῶν δορίκτητον ἔλαβεν πο-  
 [ρευέσθ]ω · οὐ τε ἐπαρχία Χερσονήσός τε Και-  
 ν[εική ἔστ]ω, ταύτην τε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἅμα  
 με[τὰ τῆς] Μακεδονίας διακατεχέτω ποιείτω τε  
 ὅπως [αὐ]τῷ ἂν κάλλιστα δόκηι γεγονέναι ἵ-  
 15 να ταῖς δημοσίαις προσόδοις ταῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ  
 τῇ [χ]ώραι οὔσαις κατὰ τὸν νόμον καρπίζον-  
 ται ὅν ποτε ταύταις ταῖς δημοσίαις προσό-  
 δοις κα[ρπ]ίζεσθαι δεήσει οὔτος τε καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἐνιαυ[τ]ὸν μὴ ἐλάσσῳ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις  
 20 πρὸ το[ῦ] αὐτῷ ἕτερον διαδέξασθαι ἡμέρων ἐξή-  
 κοντα ἔστω ἐργασίαν τε δότω ὡς ἂν δύνα-  
 τος ἦ ποιεῖν ὥστε πρὸς οὓς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον  
 τὸν Ῥωμαίων φιλία συμμαχία τέ ἐστίν ὅπως  
 τῶν ὁ[ρ]ίων μὴ ἐξωθῶνται μήτε τις αὐτοῖς ἐν-  
 25 ποδῶς μήτε ἀδικήματα γίνηται ἵνα τε οὔτος  
 ὁ στρα[τηγός] ἢ ἀνθύπατός τε ὁ τε τὴν τῆς Μακεδο-  
 νίας ἐ[π]αρχίαν διακατέχων πρὸ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρ-  
 χείας [ε]κχωρεῖν κατὰ τὸ τῆς συνκλήτου δόγμα  
 τὸ ἐ[π]αὐτὸν γενόμενον ὅρια τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς  
 30 Καινε[ι]κῆς ἢ (>) οὔτως καθὼς ἂν αὐτῷ δόκη(1) κάλλισ-  
 τα γεγ[ο]νέναι ὡς τάχιστα *vac.*  
 Ἐὰν οὐτ[ος] ὁ στρατηγός ᾧ τῆς Ἀσίας Μακεδονίας τε  
 ἐπαρ[χεί]α ἐγένετο τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἀπείπη-  
 ται Ν[. . . c. 4. ]Ν ἐπιτάγῃ ἐξουσία πάντων πραγμά- *vac.*  
 35 των [ἐπι]ιστροφήν τε ποιεῖσθαι κολλάζειν δικαιοδοτεῖν  
 κρεῖν[ειν κ]ριτὰς ξενοκριτὰς διδόναι ἀναδοχῶν κτημά-  
 των [. . . c. 6. . .]ΕΑΡΟΔΟΣΕΙΣ ἀπελευθερώσεις ὡσαύτως κα-  
 τὰ τὴν [δ]ικαιοδοσίαν ἔστω καθὼς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπῆρ-  
 χεν ο[ὔ]τός τε ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἕως τούτου ἕως ἂν  
 40 εἰς τὴν [Ῥ]ώμην ἐπανέλθῃ ἔστω *vac.*  
 Ἐὰν οὔτος ὁ ταμίης ἢ ἀνιταμίης ᾧ(1) τῆς Ἀσίας Μακεδ[ο-]  
 νίας τε[ταμ]εῖα ἐγένετο τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἀπείπη(1)  
 ἢ ἀπ[είπη]τα[ι] ὁμοίως τῶν χρημάτων τῶν δη-

## DELPHI COPY, C

- [.....]  
 [.....]  
 [.....]IAN κα[θώς.....] EIN ἀναφέρει[ν.....]  
 [.....]ἕως εἰς Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθε. [Ταμί-  
 [ας ἢ ἀντι]ταμίας, ᾧ ἢ Ἀσία Μακεδο[νία τε ταμεία ἐγένετο,.....]  
 φροντιζέτω τῶν δημο[σίων]
- 5 [χρημ]άτων, καὶ ζημιούτω παρ[α.....]Γ[.....]  
 [θυνος] ἔστω ἕως ἂν εἰς Ῥώμην εἰσέλθῃ.....]N Σ[.....]  
 ..... Ὅσα κα[τὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον δεῖ π[οι-]  
 [εῖν] ποεῖτω, μήτε τις ἀρχῶν [μήτε τις ἀντάρχων αὐτὸν] κα[τακωλυέτω, ᾧ, ἐφ'οὔ  
 τα]ῦτα κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦ-  
 [τον] δεῖ γείνεσθαι, ἔλασον ὃ ἐστὶ [ τεταγμένον γένηται]i. Στρατ[ηγὸς (ἀντιστράτης)  
 ἢ ἀνθύπατος, ᾧ] ἢ Ἀσία ἢ Μακεδονία ἐπαρχεῖα ἐστίν,  
 [ὄδ' ἐ]ν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἔγγιστα, αἷς ἂν γν[ωρίση τοῦτον τ]ὸν νόμον τ[ῶι δῆμωι  
 κευρωσθαι ἐ]ν τῇ ἐκκλησίαι, ὀμνέτω ὅτι ὄσ'
- 10 [ἂ]ν ἐν τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ κελεύει ποιεῖν πάντα ποιεῖτω, οὔτε ὑπενα[ντίον τι τούτοις,  
 ἄνευ δ]όλου πονηροῦ. Ἄρχοντες, οἵτινες  
 [νῦ]ν εἰσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἐπαρχῶν, οὔτοι ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε [ταῖς ἔγγιστα αἷς  
 ἂν] ὃ δῆμος τοῦτον τὸν νόμον κυρώσῃ, ὅσοι μετὰ  
 [ταῦτ]α ἀρχὴν ἔξουσι ἐκτὸς ἐπαρχῶν, οὔτοι ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε ταῖς ἔγγιστα [ὁμοσάτω,  
 αἷς ἂ]ν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἴσεται, οἵτινες τε αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥώμ[η]  
 [εἰσίν] ὁμοσάτω τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατριώεις ποιήσιν ὅσα ἐν τούτῳ τῶι  
 νόμῳ κατακεχώρισται πάντα <ποιήσιν>, καὶ φροντίσαι ὅπως γέ-  
 [νητα]i, μήτε ὑπεναντίον τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ ποιήσιν, μήτε ποιήσιν ὧι τις ἄλλος ποιήσῃ,  
 μήτε ἄλλως ποιήσιν ἢ ἐν τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ ἐστίν ὅπως γένη-
- 15 [ται.] — Ὑπεναντίον τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ μή τις ποεῖτω ἄνευ δόλου πονηροῦ · ὅσα τέ τινες  
 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον δεῖ ποεῖν, ποεῖτ(ω) · μήτε τις ποεῖτω ᾧ ο[ὔ-]  
 [τ]ος ὁ νόμος κατὰ παρεύρεσιν ἀκυρωθῆ ἄνευ δόλου πονηροῦ, μήτε τις ποεῖτω μήτε  
 ἐπικρινάτω ᾧ ἔλασον ὅσα δεῖ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γέν[η]ται · κα[ί]  
 οὗς δεῖ ποεῖν, ὀμνέτωσιν καὶ ὀμνέτωσαν ἢ ὧι ἔλασον ἢ ἄλλως τι γένηται  
 <ἄλλως> ἢ ἐν τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ γεγραμμένον ἐστίν · τῶι τε ὑ-  
 πεναντίον τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ ποιοῦντι ἢ ἐπικρίναντι, ὅσα τε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον μὴ  
 ποήσῃ ἢ μὴ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὁμόσῃ, ὅπως αὐτῶι  
 [ἀ]ζημίωι μὴ ἐξῆ εἶναι, μήτε ἔλασον (ἐάν τις) αὐτὸν κρίναι βούληται ἐξέστω. — Ἐάν τις  
 ὑπεναντίον τῶι νόμῳ τούτῳ [τ]ι ποιήσῃ, εἴτε τι οὗς δεῖ κατ[ὰ]
- 20 [το]ῦτον τὸν νόμον τι ποιήσῃ (ὁμόσαι) μὴ ποιήσῃ ἢ μὴ ὁμόσῃ, ἐάν τε τις τούτῳ τῶι  
 νόμῳ ἔλασον ποιήσῃ, ἢ ἄλλως ὑπενα[ντί]ον ποιήσῃ ἢ ἐν τούτῳ τῶι ν[ό-]  
 [μῳ]i γεγραμμένον ἐστίν, ποιήσῃ ἢ ἐπικρίνη ἢ παρανομήσῃ δόλωι πονηρῶι, οὔτος  
 νόμῳ(ν) σηστερτίω(ν) μυριάδας εἴκο[σι] (ζημιούσθω) κ[αθ'] ἕκαστον εἶδος ὃ ἂν  
 παρανομή-  
 σῃ· καὶ ἐάν τι μὴ ποιήσῃ ἄλλως ἢ ἐν τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶ[ν], καὶ ὃ ἂν  
 ἄ[λλ]ως ποιήσῃ (ἢ) ἐν τῶι νόμῳ[i] τούτῳ κατ[ὰ]κεχώρισται, τῶι δῆμῳι τοῦτ[ο]  
 τὸ χρῆμα ὀφειλέτω δοῦναι · ταῦτά τε τὰ χρήματα ὃ βουλόμενος, ὅστις ἐ[ν] ταύτῃ τῇ  
 πολιτείαι γ[ε]γεννημένος ἐστίν ἐλεύθερος, ὅσοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νό-  
 μον χρήματα ἐναίτησει(ν) καὶ κρίνεσθαι ἐξῆ, οὔτοι ἀγέτωσαν καὶ κρινάτωσαν, τό τε  
 ὄνομα καταφερέτωσαν πρὸς τὸν περὶ τούτων · μήτε τις ἀρχῶν μήτε [τις]
- 25 ἀντάρχων ποεῖτω ὧι ἔλασον κριθῆ, μήτε κωλυέτω ὧι ἔλασον ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα εἰς  
 ἀποκατασταθῆ τὰ χρήματα · Ὅς ἂν ὑπεναντίον τούτων τι ποιήσῃ ἢ κωλύσῃ ἢ ἐπικρίνη,  
 ὁμοίως καὶ οὔτος καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος ζημιού[σθ]ω ὧ[σπερ]  
 εἰ ὑπεναντίον τούτῳ τῶι νόμῳ ἢι πεποιηκώς, ἢ ὡσπερ εἴ τι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον  
 ἔδει ποεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἦι πεποιηκώς · ὁμοίως καὶ οὔτος ζημιούσθω κ[α-]

θότι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται. — “Ὅσα χρήματα κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἀπαιτηθῆ, ἐὰν ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα, ὅταν ἀπαιτηθῆ, ὅθεν ἂν ἀπαιτηθῆ, μ[ὴ λυθῆ, ὁ αὐ-]  
 τὸς στρ[ατη]γός, πρὸς ὃν περὶ τοῦτου πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν προσαχθῆ, [κριτὴν ἢ] κριτήριον  
 οὐ[τως δό]τω, ὅσον ἂν [αὐτῷ φαί]νηται, τοῦ]τον παρ’ οὗ ἂν ἀπαιτ[ηθῆ κατὰ τοῦ-]  
 30 [τον] τὸν νόμον τῷ δήμῳ δ[ιαλύσει]ν ἀπροφασίστ[ως]· οὗτός τ[ε].....  
 .....]ΟΤΟΠΡΑ[.....]κριτῶν[....]ΑΝΤ[.....]  
 [.....]ΤΟ[.....]ΤΗΣ[.....]  
 .....

## CNIDOS COPY, COLUMN V

[μοσίων . . .

[Perhaps c. 60 lines lost]

(One line quite illegible)

...] Ε [...

- [....]ΡΕ[.....]Ε[...  
 ΕΠΙΔ[.....]ΟΠΕΙΤ[... .. περι τοῦ-  
 5 του τοῦ πρά[γ]ματος ΝΕ[.]ΟΥ[.....]Α[.]Ο[.]Ν[...  
 ΤΟΥΤΟ[...  
 ΟΥΤΕ[.]Ο[...  
 ἐκ τῶν χ[ρ]ημάτων[...  
 ΟΙΠ[...  
 10 ΣΟΜΕΝ[.....]ΤΙΝΟΣΤΕ[.]ΟΥ[...  
 ΜΕΝΟΣ[.]ΤΟΝΗ[.]ΟΙ[.]Α[... c.10 ..]ΤΤΕ[...  
 ΜΕΤΑΕΠ[.....]ΠΡΟΣΑΧΘΕΙ[...  
 ΝΕΙΧΘΕ[... c.5 ..]χρ]ηματος ἑκασ[τ- ...  
 ΠΑΡ[.]ΡΟ[.]ΟΙΠΡΑΛΛ[.] τεσσαράκοντα πέν[τε...  
 15 τριακοσίων ἐκείνου ὧι τοῦτου ΚΑΤ[...  
 Α[.]ΩΣΙΝΕΚΟΥΛΕΡΑΤ[.]Ζ[.]ΕΙ[.]ΟΕΙΤΗΑΚΟΝ[... .. τεσ]-  
 σαράκοντα πέντε ΠΙ[.]ΟΤ[.]ΤΟΥ ἑκαστος [...  
 ΜΕΡΑΕΔΕΗΚΙ ἕνα ἑκαστος ἐκ τούτ[ων]? ...  
 ἕως οἱ δεκαπέντε λοιποὶ ΣΕΩ[.]ΧΗΟΙ[...  
 20 ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἄρχων ὃν ἀνθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἑκασ[τος] ...  
 μέχρι τοῦτου ἕως ΤΕΚ[.]ΕΙΡΗ[.]Ε[... .. περι τοῦτου τοῦ]  
 πράγματος εἰς ΕΚΕΙΛΟΥΣ δεδωκεν[.]ΙΣΕ[...  
 ἐκείνοι κρείνωσιν ὁμομοκό[τ]ες [.....]Δ[...  
 ΤΕΟΥ ὡς τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα Ε[.]ΗΜ[.....]Α[...  
 25 ΝΑΙΣ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ πράγματος Ι[...  
 κρίθη καὶ καθὼς ἐκείνῳ τὸ πλεόν μέρος περ[ὶ] τοῦτου]  
 τοῦ πράγματος γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο ΠΕ[...  
 ΣΑΙ ποιείτω εἰς τε τοῦτο πράγμα [.]ΤΟΝ[.]ΟΝ[...  
 ΣΙΝ προσαγγεῖλαι μέχρι(1) εἴκοσι δοθήτω ΕΞΟΥ[...  
 30 ΝΟΝ μὴ ἄλλως οἷς τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα μαρτυ[ρίαν]...  
 λέγειν ἢ ὡς καθὼς ἂν εἰ ἐκείνου ὄνομα πε[...  
 ΤΑ πορευθησόμενον προσπεφωνημένον[...  
 ΔΟΥ μαρτυρίαν τε ἕξι λέγει(ν) ὅστις κατὰ τοῦτ[ον] τὸν νόμον]  
 λελυμένος ἔσται ὥστε προκρίματος ΑΔΙΚ[...  
 35 ΝΑΙ περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ πράγματος ἐφ’ οὗ οὔτω[ς] ...  
 ἔσται κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον μὴ ἔνοχος ἔστ[ω] ...  
 περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ πράγματος κατὰ τοῦτον τ[ὸ]ν ν[όμον]...  
 μὴ ἔστω δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον [.]ΗΚ[.....]ΡΣ[...]  
 ἑκαστος αὐτῶν χρημάτων ὅθεν[.]ΤΗ[.]ΤΟΥΤ[... .. κατὰ τοῦ-]  
 40 τον τὸν νόμον κατάκριτος ἔσται τὸ τοῦτο χρῆ[μα]... ..]τοῦτο  
 τὸ κριτήριον διήκουσεν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων [... ..]! vac.  
 εἰσοδιασάτω ἀποκαταστησάτω [... ..]οὔ-





of the Senate [is passed when] he has brought them, in accordance with this law, whether it is a law or plebiscite; and this he may do without [fear of punishment].

The Praetor, [Propraetor or Proconsul to whom] the province of Asia [falls] in the consulship of C. Marius and L. Valerius [is to send] letters to the peoples [and states and] kings named above and equally [to those to whom] the Consul [asks him] to write in accordance with this law [as he thinks best]. He is to send a copy of this law to the cities and states to whom [he is required] to send in accordance with this law [letters, taking care, as far as] he is able, that whatever letters he sends in accordance with this law, and to whomsoever he sends them, they are delivered in accordance with this law. [According to the customs of each of those] to whom letters are sent in accordance with this law the letters [are to be] engraved on a bronze plaque [or else on a marble slab or] on a whitened board, in order that they may be clearly exposed in the cities [in a temple] or market place, (in a position) in which [anyone who wishes] may stand and read [at eye-level]. He is to write in this way [and no other] in order that [the kings and the peoples] over whom they rule may carry out these instructions. Whoever [governs the province] in accordance with this law is to take thought that [this is put into effect].

(Ll. 27-34 overlap Col. IV, ll. 6-25.)

**Col. IV, l. 5.** . . . The Praetor, Propraetor or Proconsul who governs or [shall] govern the province of Macedonia in accordance with law or plebiscite or by decree of the Senate is to go, as quickly as possible, to the Caeneic Chersonnese which Ti[tus Didius] took by force in his campaign and, the Caeneic Chersonnese being his province, he is to govern this province together with Macedonia and is to act as seems best to him in order that whoever shall be required to collect the public revenues in this area shall, in accordance with this law, collect them. He is to be in these parts each year for not less than sixty days before his successor takes over from him and he is to take steps as best he may be able in order that those who have friendship and alliance with the Roman People may not be expelled from their territories, that no one may be an obstacle to them and that they may suffer no wrong and in order that this Praetor or Proconsul who governs the province of Macedonia may, before leaving his province in accordance with the decree of the Senate relating to him (?confirm) the boundaries of the Caeneic Chersonnese or (?) as seems best to him, as quickly as possible.

If the Praetor to whom the province of Asia or Macedonia has fallen resigns from or [. . . ? . .] his province ?legally [. . . ? . .] he is to have power in all matters, *animadversionem facere*, to punish, to hold court, to judge, ?to assign arbitrators and foreign judges, (to ?authorise) [. . . ? . .] of sureties and property, and manumissions in the same way as when he exercised jurisdiction in his office as governor; and this Proconsul is [not to be liable to be called to account] until he returns to Rome.

If the Quaestor or Proquaestor to whom the province of Asia or Macedonia has fallen resigns or [. . . ? . .] his office [he is ?to take thought for] public monies equally [. . .

**C, l. 5** (ll. 1-4, overlap Col. IV, ll. 36-42). . .] and fine [. . . ? . . as] when he was in office; and he is not to be liable to be called to account until he returns to Rome. [. . . ? . .] He is to do whatever he is required to do in accordance with this law and no magistrate [or promagistrate may intervene in such a way that] what is [laid down] does not [take place ?in those circumstances in which] it should take place in accordance with this law.

The Praetor [or Proconsul who] has either Asia or Macedonia as his province shall, within the ten days immediately after he learns that this law [has been confirmed by the People] in the assembly, take an oath to do everything that he is required to do in this law and shall not do anything contrary [to its provisions] with malice or ill-will.

The magistrates now in office, excepting the tribunes and governors, shall take an oath within the five days [immediately after] the confirmation of this law by the People and all who shall subsequently hold a magistracy except governors shall, those of them who are in Rome, [take an oath] within the five days immediately after they take up office, swearing by Jupiter and the Ancestral Gods to do all the things that have been laid down in this law and to see to it that they are put into effect and not to do anything contrary to this law nor to act so that anyone else does so nor to act otherwise than as prescribed in this law in order that it may be put into effect. No-one is to do anything contrary to this law with malice or ill-will; whatever anyone is required to do in accordance with this law, let him do it. Let no one act in such a way that this law is fraudulently not enforced with malice or ill-will, and let no one act or issue an edict so that what is required in accordance with this law does not take place. Those who are required to act or swear, let them act and swear so that nothing takes place to a lesser extent or otherwise than is prescribed in this law; anyone who acts or issues an edict contrary to this law, whatever he does not do in accordance with this law or if he does not swear in accordance with this law, let it not be possible for him to go [un]punished and let there be no hindrance if anyone wishes to indict him. If anyone does anything contrary to this law, whether someone is required to do something or to swear in accordance with this law and fails to act or swear, or if anyone diminishes the effect of this law or acts contrary to it except as is prescribed in this law, whether he acts or issues an edict or breaks the law (in any other way) with malice or ill-will, let him be fined 200,000 sesterii for each offence; and if anyone fails to do something except as is

prescribed in this law (or does something) otherwise than (is prescribed in this law) and whatever anyone does otherwise than is laid down in this law, he must pay this sum to the people. As for this sum, anyone who wishes, who is a free born member of this state, let him institute proceedings against and bring to court those against whom it is allowed in accordance with this law to propose a fine and whom it is possible to bring to court, and let him register the name with the man who is responsible for these matters. And no magistrate or pro-magistrate is so to act that the matter does not come to court nor is he to prevent this sum being made the subject of legal proceedings and being sued for, nor is he to prevent the court from sitting and the sum from being paid over. If anyone does anything contrary to this (procedure) or hinders it or issues an edict (against it), he is likewise to be fined for each offence as if he had acted contrary to this law or as if he was required to do something in accordance with this law and failed to do it; and he is to be fined in the same way as is prescribed for the other cases. Whatever sum is sued for in accordance with this law, if this sum, when it is sued for, from whomsoever it is sued for, is not [paid], the same Praetor, to whom the case was brought in the beginning, is to assign [a *iudex* or] *iudicium*, for as much [as seems right to him to be paid forthwith] to the people in accordance with this law from whomsoever it is sued for; and he [ . . . ] matter [ . . . ] *iudices* [ . . . ]

**Col. V, l. 5.** . . . concerning] this matter [ . . . ] this [ . . . ] neither [ . . . ] of the things [ . . . ] of each thing [ . . . ] forty-five [ . . . ] of three hundred, of that man to whom of this [ . . . ] thirty [ . . . ] forty-five [ . . . ] each man [ . . . ] one man each from these (this) [ . . . ] until the fifteen remaining [ . . . ] on behalf of that man the magistrate whom in his place each man [ . . . ] up to this point until [ . . . ] concerning this] matter to those men has given [ . . . ] those men may judge under oath [ . . . ] in order that this matter [ . . . ] to him concerning this matter [ . . . ] it (he) may be judged and just as to him the majority concerning this matter has announced its judgment [ . . . ] let him make in regard to this matter [ . . . ] to summon up to twenty let [power] be given [ . . . ] not otherwise those to whom [ . . . ] to witness this matter than as just as if the name of that man [ . . . ] about to be going, having been announced [ . . . ] and he may be allowed to give evidence whoever in accordance with this law shall have been acquitted so as to be [ . . . ] from a preliminary judgment concerning injustice [ . . . ] concerning this matter in respect of which thus [ . . . ] he shall be in accordance with this law he is not to be liable [ . . . ] concerning this matter in accordance with this law [ . . . ] and he is not to be in accordance with this law [ . . . ] each man, of these things, whence [ . . . ] this [ . . . ] in accordance with this law he shall be condemned (in relation to) this thing [ . . . ] the court has completed this trial, out of the things belonging (being) [ . . . ] he is to collect, hand over [ . . . ] thus he has collected or handed over, he is to hand over the half of this property to the Treasury, to the Quaestor, [ . . . ] and the other half to [ . . . ] to whom it is to be given or restored [ . . . ]

COMMENTARY<sup>12</sup>

A, 1, κ[οινόν], Colin 1930, not noting *vacat*; ΟΙΔΙΟΝ, Cuq, *CRAI* 1924, 285.

4-5, τ[οῦ δήμου γν[ώ]/[μῆ], Colin 1930.

5, αὐτῶ[ν], Colin 1930.

6, Pamphylia, appearing here, throws a rather interesting light on the mention by Posidonius (*FGH* 87, fr. 36 = Edelstein-Kidd, fr. 253) of Q. Oppius as στρατηγός of Pamphylia, given the clear statement in III, 22-7 that Lycaonia was by the time of this law a Roman province; Pamphylia was perhaps also under Roman rule by now. Λυ/[καονία] should perhaps be restored here rather than Λυ/[κία], (so all hitherto); the indiscriminate ravages of C. Verres cannot be taken as evidence that Lycia or any other place was under Roman rule, *contra* S. Jameson, *RE* Supp. xiii, 277.

8-9, compare the reference to the supersession of a governor in IV, 26-8.

11, some part of πρόσσειν is also possible.

12, not noted by Colin.

II, 1-11. These constitute the end of a paragraph containing material some of which we learn later (III, 31-5) is to be mentioned in a consular letter to selected peoples and states. It is clearly relevant to the Cilician situation, and we suggest therefore that we have the end of a paragraph concerned with the annexation of the area of Cilicia recently conquered by M. Antonius and its organization as a province. Since the paragraph contains a provision for safe transit by sea, it is reasonable to suppose that the fragmentary and lost lines immediately preceding line 6 contained regulations for the military and especially naval protection of the area against pirates. We can offer no convincing restoration of lines 1-5; the reading thereafter is aided by the correspondence with III, 31-5.

<sup>12</sup> The Delphi text is hereafter referred to by the notation A, 1 (= Block A, line 1) and so on, the Cnidos text by II, 1 (= Column II, line 1) and so on.

6, the translation at Delphi and Cnidos of the Latin phrase *sc(iens) dolo malo* leaves much to be desired;<sup>13</sup> at C, 10, 15 and 16 the translator has apparently taken *sc(iens)* as *s(in)e* and translated accordingly; at III, 15 he has apparently had a marginal note to say that *sc.* is to be read as *sciens*, but has translated both *sciens* and *s(in)e*. At III, 8–9 the translation is correct, at C, 21 correct but incomplete. What has happened here? If *sc. dolo malo* stood in the Latin text, a negative is presumably needed for ποιεῖν.

7–8, for explicit mention of Latins, but not Italian allies, see H. Stuart Jones, *JRS* 1926, 168–9, following Colin.

11, for τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν compare Sherk 18, lines 64 and 120.

12, here begins a new clause, what follows shows that the subject is now Macedonian affairs. It appears to be envisaged that a law or plebiscite requires certain Consuls to send soldiers to Macedonia (presumably reinforcements voted before the Thracian victory of T. Didius, perhaps men originally diverted for another campaign such as the Cimbric War; on legions in this period, see P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* 430–1), to initiate debate in the Senate on the amount of food that must be provided for them, and to let out the contract for its provision (the Censors of 102 will have left office in mid-101). The paragraph under discussion abolishes this whole procedure; that perhaps implies the possibility of discharging veterans, which will doubtless have been welcome, despite perhaps exacerbating problems of settlement (on which see M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican coinage* ii, 629–30).

The Greek is awkward throughout; our understanding of it is expressed in our translation.

13, both the Delphi and the Cnidos texts persistently refer to themselves as laws, and that is clearly what they are (with III, 16–17, 25–6 and C, 11 compare *FIRA* i, 6, line 23; 7, line 12); but the Cnidos text at two points (here and line 25 below) refers to another law as a *lex plebisve scitum*, and the Delphi text at two points, and the Cnidos text at one point, refer to themselves in the same way (B, 19; B, 27–8 = IV, 6). After the Lex Hortensia, a *lex* and a *plebiscitum* had equal force, and there appears to be no significance in the variations of terminology (compare *FIRA* i, 7, line 74, *ex lege, quam L. Calpurnius L.f. tr. pl. rogavit*, with 8, line 6, *ex] lege plebisve scito, quod C. Sempronius Ti. f. tr. pl. rog(avit)*; note also the random terminology in the Lex Latina Tabulae Bantinae, *FIRA* 6).

Translations of gubernatorial titlature are erratic; the full formula should doubtless be στρατηγός, ἀντιστρατηγός ἢ ἀνθύπατος (II, 14–15—Macedonia; B, 20 (restored)—Asia; B, 25 = IV, 5—Macedonia); but στρατηγός ἢ ἀνθύπατος occurs (III, 22—Asia; IV, 25—Macedonia; either ἀντιστρατηγός or ἀνθύπατος is missing from C, 8—Asia and Macedonia); στρατηγός occurs alone at IV, 31—Asia and Macedonia. (In III, 5 and C, 29 the στρατηγός is apparently urban; A, 8 is fragmentary.)

22–3, ἀνευ ἐλασσώματος ἰδίου seems to correspond to *sine fraude sua*, new in this sense, as far as we know.

28–31, our text provides a remarkably clear statement of the procedure for letting contracts for military supplies, cf. Cl. Nicolet, *Ordre équestre* 320.

III, 1, before ]εῖς not much survives except a bottom serif, so that the letter could incorporate an upright or a slanting stroke; [πολι]τεῖς is tempting, but there are technically other possibilities; we are puzzled by the apparent succession of two genitive singulars and a genitive plural.

2, some part of γνώμη seems possible at the end.

4–5, we are convinced that the first letter of the *nomen* incorporates two uprights and the whole is presumably M. Porcius Cato; he appears to be a Praetor. The various possibilities are: (i) an unattested son called Marcus of C. Porcius Cato, *cos.* 114 (*RE* Porcius 5)—very unlikely; (ii) M. Porcius Cato Salonianus (*RE* Porcius 15), praetor in an uncertain year—unlikely (his son, father of Uticensis, died *praeturam petens* before 91); (iii) M. Porcius Cato (*RE* Porcius 11), Praetor in an uncertain year (Gellius xiii, 20 (19), 12—incidentally providing no evidence that Cato went on to govern Transalpine Gaul), son of M. Porcius Cato, *cos.* 118.

5–6, the date, 3rd February, has to us no general significance; nor is it immediately clear whether it relates to what goes before or to what follows. Since there is no outspacing until line 16, we have presumably a single paragraph; the end of it contains general regulations forbidding any governor of a province according to this law to leave that province except with the permission of the Senate, and to lead troops out of it except for transit or *rei publicae causa*; it also instructs him to see that the same regulations apply to his subordinates. An imperative, e.g. ἐξέστω, or ὥστε is needed before πορεύεσθαι. We have in fact here one of the *plurimae leges veteres* of Cicero, *in Pis.* 50, which forbade among other things *exire de provincia, educere exercitum* before the Lex Cornelia (see also *II Verr.* i, 72–3; *ad fam.* xv, 1, 1; *D.* i, 17, 15; for a governor's powers on his way back to Rome see on IV, 31–9 below). It perhaps follows that the date, 3rd February, relates to action by M. Porcius Cato.

<sup>13</sup> For *sc(iens)* taken as *s(in)e* see *SEG* iii, p. 82, n.; the observation on the translation of *sciens* and *s(in)e* is due to Professor H. B. Mattingly.

10, two letters have been over-cut, H rather badly over A in the word we have interpreted as ἤσ and Σ over N in the second appearance of ἐπαρχείας. The versions we have printed seem to us the final ones, even though the sense they give is very awkward, 'outside the province of which province he is or shall be required to be (governor) in accordance with this law'. αὐτόν is most naturally taken as the governor, we think.

16-21, though awkwardly phrased, these lines seem to preserve the rights of allied peoples and kings over their dependants, presumably in the areas newly annexed or in the areas nearby (for the possibility of an area owing allegiance to more than one king, compare the reference to kings of Syria in B, 9). Lines 20-1 appear to translate *eius hac lege nihilum est rogatum*.

22-7, even more awkwardly phrased, these lines are designed to clarify the position of Lycaonia in relation to Asia—it is itself described as an ἐπαρχεία, but it is to belong in the future as before to whoever has the ἐπαρχεία of Asia (the dual use of ἐπαρχεία seems to reflect the ambiguity which has emerged in Latin by this date between the original sense of *provincia* as a sphere of activity and the later territorial sense; a part of a province, here described as an ἐπαρχεία, is later called a διοίκησις—for Lycaonia see Cicero. *ad Att.* v, 21, 9). The provision is presumably included as a result of a certain vagueness in the (lost) territorial description of the new province of Cilicia, which could as a result have been held to include all or part of Lycaonia.

That Lycaonia had been annexed by the time of this law was not previously known; it was given along with Cilicia to the sons of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia as a reward for his giving his life in the war against Aristonicus (Justin xxxvii, 1, 2); it was perhaps removed by Rome when the last surviving son (Ariarathes VI—the other five were murdered by their mother) was murdered by Mithridates VI; if this is so, the parallel of Phrygia Maior, given to Mithridates V and removed on his death, is instructive; it begins to look as if Rome regarded such gifts as limited to the lifetime of the beneficiary, and a rather new light is thrown on Roman attitudes to empire in the late second century. Lycaonia is not otherwise attested as under Roman rule until 57 (D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* 376 and 383-4; but note Sall., *Hist.* v, 14 M). It is not clear what happened to Cilicia between the death of Ariarathes VI and the date of this law.

22, ΟΣ for Ο is clearly a careless slip.

25, ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, *lapis*; understand ὑπάρχει before καθώς.

28-41, here begin the instructions to a Consul who is ὁ πρῶτος γινόμενος (obviously corresponding to δὲ ἂν πρῶτος γένηται in B, 5), the senior Consul, who is to write to such allies as he thinks fit to explain the Roman will to end piracy and the creation of Cilicia as a praetorian province, and to a list of specified kings demanding co-operation against the pirates. One problem is whether the senior Consul is the one who holds the *fasces* when the law is passed or the one who holds the *fasces* first in the year after the law is passed; the former view, that of Colin 1930 (abandoning his earlier view in *BCH* 1924, 74), is perhaps preferable, since there is some evidence that in the pre-Sullan period, as later, the Consul elected first held the *fasces* first (L. R. Taylor and T. R. S. Broughton, 'The order of the two Consuls' names in the yearly lists', *MAAR* 1949, 7-9; id., 'The order of the Consuls' names in official Republican lists', *Historia* 1968, 167). If we are right in supposing that the law was passed in late 101 after the elections of the Consuls for 100, the man who was to hold the *fasces* first would have been known. Colin's argument, that there was no point in waiting for the new year, is in any case a strong one.

31, a past infinitive expressing decision seems to be needed and ἐννενοητέον is a natural word to expect, but it is not what was cut; since the stone is badly encrusted at this point most letters are obscure and several may have been corrected by over-cutting.

31-5, see above on II, 6-11.

35-7 are relevant to the longstanding controversy over the date of annexation of Cilicia (the problem is well posed by R. Syme, *Anatolian Studies presented to Buckler* 299 f.). In one sense it can be argued that a praetorian province of Cilicia (compare Strabo xiv, 684) was created in 102 when the praetor Marcus Antonius was sent out against pirates with Cilicia as his sphere of operations (Cic., *de Orat.* i, 18, 82; Livy, *Ep.* lxxviii). Under II, 1-11 we have suggested that a section near the beginning of this law was concerned with Cilicia; and under III, 22-7 that the assertion of Lycaonia's continued control by the governor of Asia implies a lost territorial description of Cilicia, vague in respect of the status of Lycaonia; here we have a statement that the Romans have created a praetorian province of Cilicia 'for this reason (i.e. to keep the seas safe) by this law'. At first sight that seems to mean fresh action since 102, and, plausibly, the territorial annexation of Cilicia by this law; but the deduction, though very attractive, is not, we believe, absolutely imposed. Antonius did not return to Rome before late 100 (see n. 32) and the arrangements known to have been made by this law could, in theory, all be referred to his sphere of operations, though this may have been newly defined. This regrettably negative conclusion is perhaps favoured by the specific limitation of the reference to the powers of retiring governors and quaestors in IV, 32 ff. to officials who have served in Asia and Macedonia; but it is equally possible that a section dealing specifically with Cilicia, to which III, 35-7 must refer back, conferred certain powers on its governor, which were then extended to governors of

Asia or Macedonia in IV, 32 ff.; it is also possible that when M. Antonius was given Cilicia in 102 he was also given the powers in question.

38-41, the list of kings is the same as far as it goes as that in Delphi, B, 8-9; the Cnidos translator possesses special knowledge of conditions in Cyprus, see p. 198.

B, 1-9, here and elsewhere where Delphi and Cnidos overlap, we have printed only minimal restorations for Delphi.

1, ΣΚΩΞΤΕΑΥ, Pomtow; ΣΚΩ. ΣΑΙ, Colin 1924; ΣΚΩ. ΣΑ, Colin 1930; traces visible are compatible with reading adopted, for which see III, 13-14.

3, [τούτω] τῷ νόμῳ οὐθὲν [...], Colin 1930; a slight variation in order between Delphi and Cnidos must be supposed here—at Delphi the phrase ὅταν τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὁ δῆμος κυρώσῃ or its equivalent doubtless falls, and helps to fill the gap, before ἐν τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ κτλ.

4, τῶι δεῖ, Pomtow; δεῖ, Colin; Χ ΕΙ, *lapis*, though the preceding traces of letters seem compatible with διακατέχει; this reading can now be seen to be necessary.

ἐ[παρχεία Λ]υκαονίας, Pomtow, derided by Colin; this reading is clearly right.

6, ΣΕΙ, Pomtow and Colin, rightly; we have perhaps ὅτι with a future indicative.

8, . . . Ε, Pomtow, perhaps rightly (see III, 37 for ἐπαρχείαν).

11, ὑποδέχονται, Pomtow, rightly; ὑποδέξονται, Colin.

12-13, Colin raises the possibility that the Rhodians are being used as messengers, rather than receiving copies of the consular letters for their own information.

13, perhaps [ἀποδότη]ω - ὕ[πρασ]; ΟΥ, Pomtow. Unlike Colin, we do not restore what precedes.

14-30, the general sense of these lines seems to be that if the letter-writing process comes up (again), the Senate is to deal with it; every magistrate and promagistrate is to co-operate. In the future, a Consul is to give priority in access to the Senate to the Rhodians. Our understanding of the whole passage is expressed in the translation; some detailed comments follow.

14-15, we confess to being baffled by δεήσει ὡς ἂν προαιρῶνται and worried by the absence of a near-by subject for ἐκφερέτω; a possibility might be something like, ' [If ???ambassadors about this matter???] are presented and it is necessary (to ???) as they choose, etc.'

15, [προε]κφερέτω, Colin. Too long.

16-18, ὧι ἂν γέ[ν]ηται ὄσα [τ]ε [ἂν (ὁ καιρὸς) αἰ]/τῆ, Colin 1930; AM, *lapis*; 'Ρώμη, Colin 1924, rightly; 'Ρώμη, Colin 1930; σύγκλητος, *lapis*. ἐκτὸ[ς τῆς] is some three letters short for line 17.

At the end of line 16 Pomtow prints ΟΣΑΑΓ, Colin ΟΣΑ.Ε; the stone bears ΟΣΑΝΤΕ; it is hard to see what can follow except a verb to govern ὅπως, and it appears that the subject of this verb cannot be the same as οὗτος. We might translate (though with considerable unease), 'The Consul, to whom (the *relatio*) falls, whoever asks that he . . .' For embassies *extra ordinem* see n. 27.

19, ἵνα γένη[ται] διεγνωσμένον, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς πρεσβευτάς, εἴτε, Colin; but see lines 27-8 below. [.]ΝΟΣ, *lapis*; τοῦ[τ]ό τε ΑΤ, *lapis*, apparently (so Colin, from an old squeeze and an old copy; ΟΤ. Τ is now visible); note I for Z.

20, we restore here the full range of possible governors (see on II, 13); the view of Colin 1924 that Στρατ[ηγὸς] ἀνθύπατος, ὃς ἂν ἀποδειχθῆ εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς Ἄσίαν ἐπαρχείαν, Γαίῳ Μαρτίῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ [εἰ μὴ ἔκει] ἐπαρχεία ἐ[γέ]/νετο envisages the possibility of Marius or Valerius governing Asia is contestable on other grounds (see E. Cuq, *CRAI* 1924, 290-1, going on to reject also the date of 101 for the law) and abandoned by Colin 1930 (though revived by J. Carcopino, *Mél. Glotz* i, 127-8). The whole line is remarkably hard to restore; there is room in the main gap for some 33 letters (H. Stuart-Jones, *JRS* 1926, 160), hence for some 5 letters between ἀνθύπατος and εἰς; one possibility is to print ὅστις and assume anacoluthon: confronted by 'Praetor prove praetor prove consule qui in Asiam provinciam C. Mario L. Valerio coss. designatus est', the translator attempted to convey the sense of *designatus* by ἐπαρχεία ἐγένετο, but forgot that his relative particle was in the wrong case; a much better possibility is to print φῆτι, which makes sense at the expense of elegance (not in any case a concern of our translator), [φῆτι] εἰς Ἄσίαν ἐπαρχείαν. . . . ἐπαρχεία ἐ[γέ] νετο (a solution adumbrated by F. T. Hinrichs, *Hermes* 1970, 488, n. 1). The restoration of J. Carcopino, l.c. 129 deserves record, (ΚΑΙΩ)ΓΑΙΩΜΑΡΙΩ, though no satisfactory companion for the main gap can be found. Στρατ[ηγὸς] ὑπάτος ἢ ἀνθύπατος, ὃς ἂν πορεύηται εἰς Ἄσίαν. . . . (ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῆ) ἐπαρχείῃ, Colin 1930.

20-7, we have here provisions for the publication of the law in Asia; the governor is to write to the states and kings mentioned above (III, 29-30; 38-41; cf. B, 5-6; 8-10) and to anyone else the Consul mentioned in III, 28 = B, 5 thinks fit, apparently acting as universal postman for him, and, in the case of the kings, perhaps reduplicating the efforts of the Rhodians (see on 12-13); he is to enclose a copy of the law which the recipients are to display. The object of all this is to see to the enforcement of the law, to which future governors of the province also are to attend.

21, δῆμο[ς] φίλους καὶ συμμάχους. . .], Colin.

23-4, ἀποστέλλειν δεῖ, φροντίζων καί, Colin; but an object is needed for ἀποστέλλειν, and we suggest γράμματα; one ὅπως is otiose.

25, ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἐκ[τέθη], Pomtow.

26, [καὶ ἀλλ]ως, Colin—we are unable to understand how the resulting sentence can make sense; ταῦτα [. . . .] ΣΟΥ, Colin 1924; ταῦτα [. . . .]ΟΥ, Colin 1930; the ταῦτα following is otiose.

26, for the provisions for publication, see Valerius Probus 10; Sherk 16, lines 12–14; *FIRA* i, 7, line 66; *Frag. Tar. (Epigraphica)* 1947, 3), line 14; *FIRA* i, 13, line 17; 24, chs. 51 and 63; 25, line 3; *CIL* xiv, 2795 *offering*. Contrast Suetonius, *Cal.* 41.

27, ὄσοι, Colin (*adding* no restoration of the following gap); for the significance of our text see p. 219; Στρ[ατηγὸς δ' ὡσαύτως ὑπάτος ἦ. . .], Colin.

28, ΕΙΗΙ, *lapis* [. . . τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐτῶν ἐν Μακ[εδονίαι, Colin; ]ΝΙΚΗΝ, Pomtow; [. . . Θρα]κίην, Colin; [. . . Καί]νικην should perhaps be read.

29, τοῦ τε ἐπάν[ω, no restoration thereafter, Colin; no restoration, then φροντιστέ]ω τε, Colin.

30, καρπεύων Τ[, Colin.

31–2, [δυνατὸν ἦ] ὅπως αὐτὸ[ς] [ὄπ]όσους, Colin.

IV, 1–4, we have here something which appears to correspond to B, 26–7, the conclusion of the regulations for the inscription of the document in the area under the jurisdiction of the governor of Asia; at Cnidos (in Asia) the text is more expansive than at Delphi. For lines 1–2 we might hazard [ταῦτα] προη[σάτω]/[σαν] and continue with [καὶ ὄσοι ἀν] κατὰ. . . . τήν [ἐπαρ]/[χρεια]ν κατέ[χ]ωσιν; κύριον is squeezed. (We should like to thank Dr. A. W. Bulloch for help here.) Supplements for the rest of the column seem to us required by the sense more or less as offered; for the significance of our text in lines 1–4 (= B, 27) see p. 219.

5–30, the document moves on to Macedonian affairs and specifically the newly annexed Thracian conquests of T. Didius (δορκτητός is originally a literary word, but a technical term in the Hellenistic period, *Pol.* xviii, 51, 4; *Diod.* xix, 105, 4; for the dual use of ἐπαρχία see on III, 22–7 above); of the name of T. Didius little survives, but the territories mentioned can be located only in the area in which he operated. The Caeni (Kainoi in *RE*) are located in Thrace by Pliny, *NH* iv, 40 and 47 and Ptolemy, *Geogr.* iii, 11, 6, in eastern Thrace by their attack on Vulso (*Livy*, xxxviii, 40, 7). They were defeated by Attalus II, but were a recurring nuisance (Apollodorus, *FGH* 244, fr. 18 with commentary of F. Jacoby; E. V. Hansen, *Attalids* (Cornell, 1971), 139–40; 154, n. 124; 155, nn. 130–1; *OGIS* 330; 339, line 12; *IGRR* iv, 134, lines 7–10 (where the appeal by besieged Cyzicus to the governor of Macedonia makes it very likely that the besiegers are Thracians)). In the 50's eastern Thrace was part of Macedonia (*contra* U. Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der thrak. Chers.* 50; see Cicero, *in Pis.* 86; *de prov. cons.* 3–4), land there was known in the 60's as *Attalici agri* (*de leg. agr.* ii, 50). The Caineic Chersonese is presumably the peninsula running down to the Bosphorus.

The translator has inserted a gratuitous τε in lines 8, 10 (twice), 11 and 25 (twice).

Note that the governor of Asia, like the governor of Macedonia a few lines above, is envisaged as holding his position in virtue of this law (see p. 219) or in virtue of a SC (see n. 29). The first item in the catalogue of the governor's tasks is to organize the taxation of the new territory, an interesting indication (to which there are obvious parallels) of Roman priorities; there is perhaps a suggestion that *publicani* are to be entrusted with the collection of taxes (compare καρπίζεσθαι in the SC de Amphiarao, Sherk 23, lines 28, 34 and 67). It is remarkable that καρπίζεσθαι governs the dative here (clearly influenced by the Latin *frui*); the indicative καρπίζονται is an error, the singular ὄνποτε is perhaps awkward.

The governor is also instructed to spend not less than 60 days of his governorship in the new territory, a piece of legislative interference with his apportionment of his time, to take special care for the rights of allies in the area and to give his attention to ensuring their territorial security; he is finally bidden to take action with regard to the boundaries of the Caeneic Chersonese.

The grammar of lines 21–2, with ὥστε and ὅπως, is confused; the verb governed by ἴνα in line 24 has dropped out, and the position of ὡς τάχιστα in line 30 is most odd.

27–8, the SC described as τὸ ἐ[π' αὐ]τὸν γεγόμενον relates presumably to the governor's departure from his province, and we suppose it to be the decree arranging for his successor according to the Lex Sempronia (the terminology is less than crystal clear); if we may suppose that the Lex Sempronia provided for a SC which in turn provided that a governor was to depart when his successor arrived, we have here an anticipation of what has been thought to be a feature of Sullan legislation (Cicero, *ad fam.* iii, 6, 3; see on III, 5–6 for another anticipation of the Lex Cornelia; note also the phrase *decedere ex s.c.* in *ad fam.* ii, 13, 3). Lines 31–39 define the powers which a governor (here referred to simply as a Praetor rather than by the full range of possible titles, see on II, 13) of Asia or Macedonia retains between the moment of resignation and his arrival back in Rome. The grammar of this passage is often difficult to follow, the meaning of a number of words is obscure; it seems certain that something has fallen out, perhaps more than we can guess. In line 33 we suggest ν[όμω]ν ἐπιταγῆι, perhaps translating *iure* (compare *Diod.* i, 70, νόμων ἐπιταγῆς); we do not see the significance of the middle as well as the active aorist subjunctive in the phrase ἀπέιπη ἀπέιπηται. In any case a governor who has resigned, in transit to Rome, retains ἐξουσία πάντων πραγμάτων. The list of powers

which follows is the nearest thing which has been preserved from the Republican period to a formal definition of the powers of a governor; it contains a number of points which call for comment.

34, [ἐπι]ιστροφήν ποιείσθαι = *animadvertere*, not so far as we know previously attested (but compare Plutarch, *Mor.* 55b, where ἐπιστροφή = rebuke); it seems to us possible that κολάζειν does not translate a word in the Latin version of the law, but is inserted to explain *animadvertere* (compare p. 198 for the independence of mind shown by the Greek translator of the law).

δικαιοδοτεῖν seems to translate *ius dicere* (for which in a provincial context see Cicero, *ad Att.* v, 15, 1; 21, 6; vi, 1, 15), compare Josephus, *AJ* xvi, 172; Sherck 61, line 11; δικαιοδοσία in line 37 below. The governor is also evidently able *iudicare* (compare Cicero, *ad fam.* iii, 6, 4).

35, the governor is able to assign κριταὶ and ξενοκρίται (for διδόναι compare Sherck 2, lines 55–6; 7, line 49 with line 59). It seems likely to us that ξενοκρίται here means foreign judges, its certain meaning in one of the two parallels known to us (*ABSA* xxvi, 1923–25, 163, no. A 10 = *SEG* xi, 491; cf. *Bull. Epig.* 1926, p. 267), its probable meaning in the other (*IGRR* iii, 681 = *TAM* ii, 508), rather than judges for foreigners (*contra* LSJ; D. Magie, *Roman rule* 1383 on *TAM* ii, 508; with J. A. O. Larsen, *CP* 1943, 253 on *TAM* ii, 508; LSJ Supp.; for the two types of judges see T. Thalheim, *RE* v, 573; A. Plassart, *BCH* 1914, 142–3; for foreign judges see most recently L. Robert in *Xenion P. I. Zepos* (Athens, Fribourg, Cologne, 1973), 765). The Romans were accustomed to the idea of using foreign judges; see, for instance, Pausanias vii, 9, 5 (the affairs of Sparta and Achaëa) and *IG* xii, 5, 722 (Adramyttium honours two Andrians for judging τὰ ἀναπεμφθέντα κριτήρια ὑπὸ Γναίου Αὐφιδίου Γναίου υἱοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου). The word ξενοκρίται betrays the influence of Rome; for the Greeks normally talk of (μετάπειπτοι) δικασταὶ with or without γραμματεῖς. The problem then arises of the identity of the κριταὶ—correctly translating arbitrators (compare Polybius ix, 33, 12; xviii, 6, 1; Sherck 2 and 7, cited above) or *iudices* for Roman citizens (see J. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Akten VI Kongr. Epigr.*, 172 on κριτήριον and *iudicium*) or incorrectly used for δικασταὶ? We do not regard the involvement of a governor with the trial of a Greek by his fellow-citizens as very likely (note Cicero, *II Verr.* iv, 100) and prefer one of the first two possibilities, perhaps the first possibility in view of the link with ξενοκρίται.

It appears from Cicero, *ad Att.* vi, 1, 15; 2, 4, that Cicero's predecessor (or predecessors) in Cilicia had prevented the inhabitants from using their own laws and *iudicia* (used to translate δικαστήρια) and that the result of this was to prevent the use of *peregrini iudices* (= ξενοκρίται), see J. A. O. Larsen, 'Foreign judges in Cicero, *ad Atticum* vi, 1, 15' *CP* 1948, 187. See

35–6, ἀναδοχῶν presumably means sureties, though it is not clear whether we have the genitive plural of ἀναδόχος or ἀναδοχή; κτήματα might correspond to *bona*; after the break, ἸΑΡΟΔΟΣΕΙΣ is sure; but we are unable to restore or make sense of the whole phrase; ἀπελευθερώσεις, meaning manumissions, follows.

After it, an infinitive is surely needed; at a point in the Delphi text which appears to correspond there stands ἸΕΙΝ ἀναφέρειν—two infinitives, the second unhelpful.

38, ἀνυπεύθυνος is needed here, perhaps simply to be substituted for ὁ ἀνθύπατος; or perhaps the whole phrase οὗτος τε ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀντιστρατήγος ἢ ἀνθύπατος ἀνυπεύθυνος... ἔστω is to be regarded as having been intended here.

It seems that a Republican governor *en route* from his province to Rome (and, doubtless, *vice versa*) possessed, surprisingly, powers of a quite different order from those possessed by a governor in a similar position in the regulated world of the Empire, despite the difficulties one might suppose to exist over clashes of *imperium*; the governor under the Empire possessed *iurisdictio non contentiosa, sed voluntaria*, the right to preside over manumissions (*D* i, 16, 2 pr.; xl, 2, 17 (see Th. Mommsen, *SR.* i, 190, n. 2, arguing that where *eius* now stands, making nonsense of the passage, *Augusti provinciae* once stood); Pliny, *Ep.* vii, 16, 3–4; 32, 1), emancipations (*D* i, 7, 36; 16, 2 pr.) and adoptions (ibid.), deal with *tutela* (*D* i, 18, 17, by implication; compare xxvi, 1, 6, 2), and so on (compare *D* ii, 1, 4); for the general principle under the Empire see also *D* i, 18, 3 and note ii, 7, 20, *extra territorium ius dicenti impune non paretur*; for the retention of *imperium* after resignation by a *legatus Caesaris* see *D* i, 18, 20—possession of *imperium* here doubtless means retention of the *fasces* and *voluntaria iurisdictio*, compare Dio liiii, 13, 4 with Th. Mommsen, *SR.* ii, 257.

This law grants a Republican governor, despite resignation, ἐξουσία πάντων πραγμάτων, defined in the confused list discussed above; for activity in transit in normal circumstances compare Cicero, *II Verr.* i, 44, where Cicero describes Verres' *animadversio* in Achaëa on his way to serve as Legate in Cilicia as *improbum, sed non inauditum* (compare ibid., 70, a hypothetical case at Lampsacus; 88, Dolabella at Miletus; we do not understand what Ap. Pulcher or Cicero are doing with *mercennarii testes* in Asia, Cicero, *ad fam.* iii, 11, 3); also Suetonius, *Aug.* 3, where C. Octavius is assigned military activity on his way to his province, Macedonia.

40, we have the beginning of a section dealing with the powers of a quaestor of Asia or Macedonia in the case of resignation; he is to take thought for public moneys (so far IV, 40–2 = (apparently) C, 4–5), to have certain powers of levying fines, to be ἀνυπεύθυνος until his return to Rome (with the



mis-spelling of ἀνυπεύθυνος compare IV, 38), and perhaps present accounts in the Senate (C, 5-6).  
 ὡς, *lapis*.

C, 1 ff., we give first a number of comments on points of detail, then consider lines 8-31 as a whole.  
 2-3, ἀναφέρει[ν]/[τὸν ταμ]ίαν, Colin; perhaps ἀναφέρει[ν κατὰ]/[δικαιοδοσ]ίαν.

3-4, restoration suggested by IV, 39-40; see Colin 1924, app. crit., for the space available at the end of line 3; εἰσῆλθε[ν]/[—Τ]αμίς, Colin 1924 and 1930.

4, restoration suggested by IV, 40-1.

5, ἦρχει, *lapis*; οὗτός τε ANT [...], *lapis*.

6, [ἔ]ν σ[υγκλήτῳ], Colin 1924, a possible suggestion, see n. 29; ]N σ[υμβόλαια...κα]τὰ, Colin 1930, without merit.

6-8, the last section before the *iusiurandum in legem* appears to enjoin on a provincial quaestor the performance of all his duties according to this law and to forbid any magistrate or promagistrate to hinder him.

7, κα[τακωλυέτω ὅπως (but see III, 23-5) ἐν οἷς τα]ῦτα, Colin.

8, the gap in the second part of the line is of some 18 letters and an accidental omission must be supposed, see on II, 13; Στρατ[ηγός ὕπατος ἢ ἀνθύπατος], Colin.

10, δὲ δῆμος can be understood as the subject of κελεύει, *SEG* iii, p. 82, n.; ποιείτω (after ὅτι) and οὔτε remain odd; but large-scale re-writing should be avoided.

no division before Ἄρχοντες, *contra* Colin.

15, ποεῖτε, *lapis*.

16, the first half of this line appears to forbid fraudulent non-enforcement of the law, not *abrogatio*, *contra* E. Cuq, *CRAI* 1923, 146, compare *Frag. Tar.*, line 25; *FIRA* i, 18, line 30.

19, ἐάν τις is a necessary minimum insertion, as also ἁπόσαι in line 20, ζῆμιούσθω in line 21, ἦ in line 22, ν in line 24.

21, νόμοι σῆσπερτίωι, *lapis*.

29, the letters after ὄσον ἄν were never in fact inscribed, see Colin 1924, app. crit.

8 ff., this part of the law is much illuminated by a comparison with the *Lex Latina Tabulae Bantinae*,<sup>14</sup> a comparison best set out in tabular form:

*Delphi*

*Bantia*

- 8-10 Existing governor of Asia and Macedonia to swear to law within ten days of hearing of law
- 10-11 Magistrates except tribunes and governors<sup>15</sup> to swear to law within five days of passing of law<sup>16</sup>
- 11-13 Future magistrates except governors<sup>17</sup> to swear to law within five days of entering office
- 13-15 Oath by Jupiter and Penates

- 13-15 Magistrates to swear to law within five days of hearing of law<sup>18</sup>
- 15-17 Future magistrates to swear to law within five days of entering office or *imperium*
- 17-19 Oath by Jupiter and Penates

<sup>14</sup> The importance of the comparison is emphasized by G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 91; J. Carcopino, *Mélanges Glotz* i, 123; also F. T. Hinrichs, *Hermes* 1970, 471; all hold that the law from Delphi was designed to provide for a great command for Marius (see n. 28).

For the text of the *Lex Bantina* see *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>, 582; *FIRA* i, 6. For a reflection on the coinage of the climate of opinion that exalted the *iusiurandum in legem* see M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* ii, 605.

<sup>15</sup> Presumably the correct translation of ἑπαρχοί, in view of the consistent use of ἑπαρχεία to translate *provincia* (so G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 91; H. Stuart Jones, *JRS* 1926, 171-2, misunderstood by J. Carcopino, *Mélanges Glotz* i, 123), compare *IGRR* iii, 714. Latin possesses no word for 'provincial governor' in the Republican period, compare the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*FIRA* i, 11, II, line 6), and we assume that in the Latin text there stood here something like (*magistratus*) *qui provincius praesunt*, rather than (with Colin) the normal sequence of titles (see on II, 13), *praetor prope praetore prope consule*, of which the first element is ambiguous.

<sup>16</sup> The first exclusion in this paragraph perhaps

reflects the fact that all tribunes of the year were in its favour (so H. Stuart Jones, *JRS* 1926, 172-3); contrast lines 11-13 and 26-28. If this is right, two points are worth making: one can calculate that the beginning of Delphi A is likely to correspond to a point on Cnidos II somewhat above the point at which our text begins; if the whole preamble of the law, including the names of ten tribunes, was inscribed at Cnidos (the preamble was not inscribed at Delphi), that would account for much of the space remaining to be filled at the top of the lost portion of Cnidos II (see p. 200). Secondly, the year 100 appears to be ruled out for the law; for Saturninus was elected only when one successful candidate had been immediately murdered and certainly ended the year in total isolation from his tribunician colleagues.

The second exclusion is doubtless to be explained by the supposition that it was not thought worth while getting an oath from current governors not immediately involved with the subject of the law.

<sup>17</sup> Doubtless covered already as ex-magistrates (for the terminology see n. 15).

<sup>18</sup> We do not understand how F. T. Hinrichs, *Hermes* 1970, 475 can equate this clause with C, 8-10.

*Delphi**Bantia*

15-19 Law to be obeyed

19-23 Penalty to be 200,000 HS

23-24 Anyone who wishes who is free, to εὔειν καὶ κρῖνειν and register name with person responsible<sup>21</sup>

24-26 No magistrate to hinder procedure

26-28 Penalty to be same

28-30 Praetor to provide for trial in case of non-payment

30-31 ???

19-20 Non-jurors to be excluded from public life<sup>19</sup>20-22 Jurors to be recorded<sup>20</sup>

22-30 Senators to swear to law

31-32 ???

7-9 Penalty to be ? HS

9 Any magistrate to demand it

9-10 Praetor to provide for trial

10-11 Confiscation to follow in case of non-payment

11-13 Any magistrate entitled to propose higher fine, but not more than half of man's property

Two points require attention: despite the different orders of the two documents, it is clear that they are in the passages tabulated doing much the same thing; the Delphi law imposes an oath on the current governors of Asia and Macedonia (not surprising in a law designed to bring about urgent changes in precisely those two provinces) and deals with the possibility of magistrates obstructing the law (an otiose provision, one might think, in view of the rest of the law), the Bantia law deals with the recording of jurors (a sensible addition if the law is later) and imposes an oath on Senators (attested as a unique feature of the Lex Appuleia agraria and providing strong grounds which convince us, as they have others, that the Bantia law is a copy of a Lex Appuleia);<sup>22</sup> a further small difference is that the Delphi law imposes its penalty on anyone, the Bantia law only on those in public life.<sup>23</sup> What then of Delphi C, lines 30-31? We suspect that they bore a provision similar to that of Bantia, lines 11-13 and, what is more, that it recurs on Cnidos V, lines 1-8; a purely mechanical calculation<sup>24</sup> suggests that, if a text corresponding to the latter part of Delphi C was inscribed on Cnidos V, the

<sup>19</sup> These very specific provisions appear to correspond to the rather vague provision at Delphi that anyone who disobeys the law or fails to swear is not to be unpunished.

<sup>20</sup> Reading *iouraverit* in line 20 for the *iudicaverit* of the bronze.

<sup>21</sup> We are more puzzled by this paragraph than earlier commentators; in particular, we are not happy with the idea of taking δοῖς and δοῖς to refer to the same category (with Colin and Naber (in his translation in *SEG* iii, pp. 84-5)). Apart from the change from singular to plural, there is also a change from indicative to imperative; we also suspect that the difference of voice between κρῖνεσθαι and κρινάτωσαν is significant, and find it very difficult to see how a law can have started by identifying a possible prosecutor as 'anyone who wishes who is free', but have gone on to exclude people by talking of entitlement according to the law; in any case, if we are right in supposing that Cnidos V follows on from Delphi C, it is not clear where the provision concerning such an entitlement can have stood. We prefer to suppose that δοῖς refers to those who may be prosecuted, and that the whole clause represents something like *quibus multam irrogare* (= ἐπιτιθεῖν, with G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 93, n. 2) *quos in iudicio sisti liceat*; influenced by the plural, the translator has then placed ἐξέρωσαν and the other remaining verbs in the plural, although the subject is strictly speaking the same δοῖς. The Latin is perhaps here *hic agat sistat nomen deferat* and so on. The existence of judicial proceedings in our law before *nominis delatio* presupposes the existence of the procedure of *divinatio*, on which see A. H. M. Jones, *Criminal Courts* 54 and 63-4.

With the right of any citizen to prosecute compare *FIRA* i, 18, line 35; 21, ch. 61.

<sup>22</sup> Arguments summarized by F. T. Hinrichs, *Hermes* 1970, 473-86; erratic bibliography on p. 475, n. 4. J. Carcopino, *Autour des Gracques* 211, objects that the appearance of tribunes in the law shows them not yet to have had the automatic right to a place in the Senate which they had acquired by 102; but since in the only passage of the law which is not restored they appear in the company of every other magistrate from the dictator downwards, we do not see the force of this objection.

<sup>23</sup> The Fragmentum Tarentinum (*Epigraphica* 1947, 3) appears to contain provisions corresponding to lines 13-15, 19-20 and 20-22 of the Lex Bantina, followed by provisions for promulgation of the law (which perhaps correspond to lines 31-32 of the Lex Bantina) and then by a prohibition on fraudulent non-enforcement of the law (which recalls part of B, 15-19 at Delphi) and the formula *s.s.s.e.q.n.i.s.r.e.h.l.n.r.* (on which see R. Bartoccini, *Epigraphica* 1947, 13, n. 4).

We are not convinced by the suggestion that the Fragmentum Tarentinum bears part of the Lex repetundarum of the Tabula Bembina (H. B. Mattingly, 'The extortion law of the Tabula Bembina', *JRS* 1970, 154; half-accepted by A. N. Sherwin-White, 'The date of the Lex repetundarum and its consequences', *JRS* 1972, 83, esp. 91-2 and 99).

<sup>24</sup> 41 lines of Cnidos IV correspond to 12 lines at Delphi (bottom of B and top of C), bearing in mind that there must be one blank line at the bottom of Delphi B; the 27 remaining lines of Delphi C are then the equivalent of 92 lines of the same length as those of Cnidos IV, but 69 lines of the length of those of Cnidos V (which are either side of a third as long again); of these 69 lines some 60 may be ascribed to the missing top part of the column (see p. 200).

end of Delphi C, line 31 is likely to correspond to the end of Cnidus V, line 9; we note that ΟΤΟΠΡΑ, surely to be restored as τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα, occurs towards the end of Delphi C, line 30; and that [τού]του τοῦ πρά[γ]ματος occurs in Cnidus V, line 5; that ἐκ τῶν χ[ρ]ημάτων in Cnidus V, line 8 is a plausible part of a translation of ' [dum minoris] partus familias taxsat ' of Bantia, line 12 (for the phrase compare also the Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae, *FIRA* i 16, lines 12, 18 and 27).

V, 1-19, these lines are either badly corroded or obscured by a lime deposit, so that we have not been able to read much in them, and the letters that we seem to see rarely fall into intelligible groups.

Line 12 may contain the aorist passive participle of προσάγω, for the active of which LSJ offer 'bring into court as defendant or witness' and for the middle 'cite as witness', both of which would be relevant to what follows; the first sense is perhaps preferable, since we seem here to be at the beginning of the procedure to be adopted for a trial. Line 13 starts with an Ionic form of the aorist passive of φέρω (ἠνείχθην) or with the end of a compound thereof, while in the middle of the line πράγματος or χρήματος seems likely. Lines 14 ff. contain a number of figures which suggest in the context that a jury of 15 (line 19) is being selected from a larger panel by a process of elimination; if the end of line 14 and the beginning of line 15 are correctly read, it could be supposed that a magistrate was instructed to select 45 names from a list of 300 (compare the Lex repetundarum, lines 12-19, for the annual compilation of a list of 450 men—the absence in our law of comparable complicated regulations for the compilation of the list is perhaps a measure of progress in judicial administration since that law); while line 16, where τριάκοντα is a possible reading towards the end, followed by τεσσαράκοντα πέντε again in lines 16-17, suggests that a further 30 names are to be eliminated from the 45, perhaps by a process in which each party to a trial rejects in turn (but [ἐν] μέρει or [κατὰ] μέρη is not easily read at the beginning of line 18), each side one (ἕνα ἕκαστος ἐκ τούτ[ων]) until the fifteen remaining . . . (compare the Lex repetundarum, lines 19-27, again much more complex, where the defendant eliminates from the 450 any related to or associated with him, the plaintiff then chooses 100, the defendant then chooses 50; Cicero, *pro Plancio* 41).

In line 20 the subject seems to have changed, apparently to a substitute who might be appointed in his place by each of certain persons; since the substitute is described as ἄρχων, he should, we suppose, be a magistrate, so that ἕκαστος can hardly refer to the same persons as are so denoted in line 17 (where they are presumably defendant and claimant) or to the jurors (as the proximity to the fifteen of line 19 might suggest). Line 21 clearly defines a limit of time for the service of the ἄρχων; it is a possibility, but not a certainty, that κρείνειν should be read in the middle of the line, in which case the sense is perhaps 'until he has completed the trial' (compare the Lex repetundarum, lines 27-8).

In line 22 there is presumably an error for ἐκείνους, who are presumably the jurors, to whom the text has patently returned in line 23; δέδωκεν or δεδωκέναι follows. It may be that ὁμωμοκότες in line 23 is followed by a statement of what the jurors are to swear (compare the Lex repetundarum, lines 36-8 and 44-5; Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae, line 9).

The reference to a majority (τὸ πλεον μέρος) in line 26 sounds like part of a regulation concerning a verdict (note γνώμην ἀπερήνυτο in line 27 and compare the complex regulations for arriving at a verdict in the Lex repetundarum, lines 46-56).

By line 30 at the latest, however, the subject has changed to witnesses and this change has perhaps occurred earlier, since line 29 could perhaps refer to an announcement that witnesses up to the number of 20 should be allowed to give evidence ([ἰ]μάρτυ]σιν προσαγγεῖλαι μέχρι εἴκοσι, compare the Lex repetundarum, lines 32-3, for a limitation on numbers of witnesses). δοθήτω is a passive imperative and needs a subject, for which reason ἐξου[σία] seems preferable to ἐξ οὐ towards the end of the line ('let power be given . . .'). The actual regulations for the witnesses seem too defective even for guessing; in lines 31-2 a compound of πορευθισόμενον (with κατὰ or μετά) is possible, perhaps agreeing with δνομα, but the connection of sense with προσπεφωνημένον is obscure.

In lines 33 ff. it is apparently stated that a man may give evidence, who has been freed from something, perhaps so that he is not condemned for an offence (ἀδικ[τία] or ἀδικ[ου]), which could constitute a *praeiudicium* (πρόκριμα; compare Sherk 26, e, line 6; 58, line 61; *IG* v, 1, 21, Col II, line 6).

The formulas of lines 36-39 are distinctly uninformative (though it would be possible to restore a clause analogous to that of the Lex repetundarum, lines 56-7, *De eadem re ne bis agatur*); by line 40 we appear to have reached provisions for the confiscation of a penalty from a condemned person and for the payment of half to the treasury and half to a person whose identity is not now recoverable (compare the long section of the Lex repetundarum, lines 57-69).

It emerges that there is little of the substance of the Lex repetundarum which relates to trial procedure that does not occur (in a much more summary form) in our law; the order is also broadly the same, except for the displacement of the section relating to witnesses.

Lines 28-9 of the Lex repetundarum, in any case obscure (relating to Equites who receive money

under the law and, perhaps, to their registration), find no place in our law, doubtless because irrelevant; lines 29–30 of the *Lex repetundarum*, relating to procedure in case of death or exile of the defendant before the completion of the trial, are apparently missing from our law, perhaps by now covered by general rules; lines 30–2 are apparently a distinctive aspect of *repetundae* procedure (*contra* A. H. M. Jones, *Criminal Courts* 130, n. 138; there is no *inquisitio* at Cicero, *in Vat.* 33; Asconius 59C; the word is metaphorical at Cicero, *pro Mur.* 44). Lines 33–4, dealing with the *inrogatio* of a fine, are covered much earlier in our law, lines 34–6 and 38–9 are again perhaps concerned with procedural matters now covered by general rules. Lines 39–44 relate to a part of *repetundae* procedure superseded by the date of our law (A. N. Sherwin-White, 'The date of the *Lex repetundarum*', *JRS* 1972, 87); lines 45–6 are again most obscure, but perhaps relate to the penalty for a juror who infringes the rule in lines 44–5. Lines 69–72 are covered earlier in our law, lines 72–3 are again perhaps by now covered by general rules.

Only in the regulations for witnesses, envisaging *inter alia* the possibility of a *praeiudicium*, is our law fuller than the *Lex repetundarum*.

## DISCUSSION

If a single law can be accepted, what is its date? The arguments of Colin for 101 (end) or 100 (beginning) seem to us to be decisive and not to require repetition (but note that the Cnidos text falls between the conquests of T. Didius and 101/0, p. 197 f. above)<sup>25</sup>; within this period we opt for late 101, after the elections of the Consuls for 100. In view of the state of the text of B, 20, it is impossible to assert with Hinrichs that the governor of Asia during the consulship of C. Marius and L. Valerius, 100, is actually functioning;<sup>26</sup> the passage dealing with the Rhodian ambassadors appears to us to be quite general and not to imply that the month is now February, when a hearing according to the *σύνταξις* would be possible.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, we have argued that the terms of the *iusiurandum in legem* imply the tribunician college of a year other than 100.

Ever since the discovery of the law, most of those who have accepted a date of 101 or 100 have argued or assumed that the law was intended to provide for a great command for Marius.<sup>28</sup> The argument has always depended more on indirect inference than on explicit evidence; thus Colin noted the 'popularis' tone of the law, linked it then with Saturninus and went on to draw attention to Saturninus' brush with Mithridates in 103 and Mithridates' embassy to the Cimbri, the links between Saturninus and Marius and the latter's wish for a great command in the 80's. The argument has sometimes also depended on a necessarily uncertain restoration of the text (see our comment on B, 20); but the new portions of the law now available offer no comfort to the traditional hypotheses and it is perhaps desirable to make a fresh start.<sup>29</sup>

At Rome in the late second century it perhaps seemed that the concern attributed to Tiberius Gracchus,<sup>30</sup> that Rome might not achieve total supremacy, was becoming a real one; in the West,

<sup>25</sup> G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 63; *FD* iii, 4, pp. 47–50; E. Cuq, *CRAI* 1923, 130–1, argues that a law on piracy is inappropriate to the period during or after the campaign of M. Antonius, and that the mention of C. Marius and L. Valerius does not necessarily provide the date of the law, since it is not in the preamble (see also n. 16 above); but it seems to us impossible to see B, 20–2 except as a command to the governor of Asia during the consulship of C. Marius and L. Valerius. Cuq is followed in his negative arguments by J. Dobiáš, *Listy Fil.* 1924, 13 and 94; 1925, 65, who goes on to argue for a date of 99–96 (we are indebted to Dr. M. Teich for help with these articles).

<sup>26</sup> *Hermes* 1970, 488, n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> For conventions governing the reception of foreign embassies in the Senate, attested by this law and by Sherk 18, line 66, attested as assigning the month of February by Cicero, *II Verr.* i, 90; cf. ii, 76; Pseudo-Asconius 244 St., see G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 72; *FD* iii, 4, pp. 48–9; H. Stuart Jones, *JRS* 1926, 169; J. Carcopino, *Mél. Glotz* i, 120; given the mention of February in 70, it seems to us preferable to attribute the whole set of rules to A. Gabinius, *Tr. Pl.* 139, rather than to allow A. Gabinius, *Tr. Pl.* 67 a hand (*contra*, M. Griffin, *JRS* 1973, 210, n. 134; note Sherk 10, B, a decree of the Senate passed on 9th February, 135 in response to envoys from Samos; Josephus, *AJ* xiii, 260, 6th February, 126 (?), T. R. S. Broughton, *MRRP* i, 509, n. 2).

Against Hinrichs (490, n. 3), it also seems clear to

us that B, 28 is quite general in its application and does not refer to a particular year.

<sup>28</sup> G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 76; *FD* iii, 4, 50–2; J. Carcopino, *Mél. Glotz* i, 117 and 130–2; W. Schur, 'Das sechste Consulat des Marius', *Klio* 1938, 313 (of little interest); F. T. Hinrichs, *Hermes* 1970, 471, noting on p. 496 the later hostility of Marius to Antonius, and arguing a wish to outdo him now; *contra*, A. Passerini, *Athenaeum* 1934, 134–7 = *Studi su Gaio Mario* 87; *Athenaeum* 1939, 62–4 = *Studi* 207–9 (Passerini's own interpretation of the law as hostile to T. Didius and designed to help the Equites does not seem to us to have any more support from the text).

<sup>29</sup> That part of the Cnidos text which corresponds to B, 27–8 now shows that Macedonia is not being removed from the normal senatorial allotment of provinces, *contra* J. Carcopino, *Mél. Glotz* i, 125–6. Note that our law, like the *Lex Sempronia*, while 'popularis' in tone, preserves a role for the Senate, *IV*, 6–7 and 27–8; *C*, 6 (?).

T. J. Luce, 'Marius and the Mithridatic command', *Historia* 1970, 167–8, while taking the same view of the law of 101 as ourselves, has nonetheless persuaded himself that Marius' journey to the East was designed to secure a command in the East (how?), and that the measures taken by Rome with regard to the Eastern provinces in the 90's, of which he mentions a few, were designed to thwart Marius.

<sup>30</sup> Appian, *BC* i, 45.

Jugurtha had snapped his fingers at Rome, the Cimbri and Teutones had annihilated a Roman army; in the East, piracy was growing, a succession of generals had been quite unable to protect Macedonia from marauders from the North, Mithridates had coolly partitioned Paphlagonia with Nicomedes and had himself annexed Galatia,<sup>31</sup> to the ineffective protests of a Roman embassy. At the same time, the unfolding drama of the Roman revolution doubtless distracted attention from the provinces. The last years of the century, however, saw an improvement; not only Jugurtha, but also the Cimbri and Teutones were defeated; M. Antonius tried to deal with the pirates—no doubt ultimately unsuccessful, he nonetheless made a serious attempt; he was *pr.* 102, but returned to Rome only late in 100;<sup>32</sup> T. Didius dealt with the problem of the northern marauders—he added, as the law before us says, eastern Thrace to Roman territory.

The law itself both presupposes Roman recovery and is intended to aid it; it also falls into a pattern of similar activity. This pattern is very striking; the SC de agro Pergameno has recently been re-attributed to 101,<sup>33</sup> and, if this is right, shows Rome prepared now to listen to the complaints of her subjects over the conduct of the *publicani*; in any case, the similar successful appeal of Ephesus belongs in this period;<sup>34</sup> the help given to Priene and Ilium belongs in the 90's and 80's.<sup>35</sup> Marius went on a tour of inspection of the East, recalling that of Aemilianus a generation earlier; in the course of it he made an attempt, admittedly crude, to put pressure on Mithridates.<sup>36</sup> Rome was in any case able to insist that Mithridates keep his hands off Cappadocia.<sup>37</sup> The mission of Scaevola and Rufus to Asia followed, a mission which culminated in the offering of cult to the former;<sup>38</sup> this cult perhaps reflects a provincial view of Scaevola as a new founder of the province.<sup>39</sup> Certainly the administration of Scaevola and his legate Rufus went down in history as a model of provincial government, the latter's conviction as an example of unjust condemnation.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, at Rome, a SC attempted to deal with a serious source of abuse by limiting loans to foreign envoys.<sup>41</sup> Mithridates was in the end still able to trade on considerable hatred of Rome, but Rome was not wholly negligent of the threat.

Our law (if it is a single law) begins with a reference to Pamphylia and Ly[caonia?] (Delphi A); it then bears a programmatic reference to the need to abolish piracy and secure the rights of all, followed by a description of administrative arrangements in Macedonia, presumably consequential on the victory of T. Didius (Cnidos II). There follow (Cnidos III) measures to protect the inhabitants of the provinces, a definition of the status of Lycania and provision for sending letters to publicize and request help for the Roman intention to deal with piracy, notably by means of the creation of the province of Cilicia; Rhodes is closely involved with all this. Copies of the law are to be distributed in Asia (Delphi B). The substantive part of the law then closes with the imposition of a special concern with the area conquered by T. Didius on the governor of Macedonia, and a definition of the procedure to be followed in the event of the resignation of a governor or quaestor of Asia or Macedonia.

The range of the law stands out even more clearly than it did from the Delphi text alone.<sup>42</sup> It underwrites the arrangements made by the two architects of Rome's improved position in the East, M. Antonius and T. Didius, foreshadows the concern of the 90's with the protection of provincials, and regulates some aspects of a governor's status. 'Popularis' the law undoubtedly is—note the absence of any trace of senatorial legates in the settlement of the area conquered by T. Didius, the imposition of specific functions on a provincial governor, the existence of governors 'according to this law' (B, 27 and IV, 6), the definition of the main powers and duties of a governor or quaestor; the whole is redolent of government *by* the people, in the tradition of C. Gracchus, perhaps suggesting C. Servilius Glaucia, *tr. pl.* 101. There is also the *iusiurandum in legem*, and the law undoubtedly smacks of *satura*, despite an overall concern with Rome's eastern provinces; but it is a serious piece of legislation, again to be expected of the author of the Lex Servilia Glauciae repetundarum. If a prime mover of the law is to be named, he is perhaps the best candidate.

<sup>31</sup> Justin, xxxvii, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Cicero, *pro Rab. perd.* 26 with T. R. S. Broughton, *TAPA* 1946, 35.

<sup>33</sup> H. B. Mattingly, 'The date of the SC de agro Pergameno,' *AJP* 1972, 412; we remain certain that Asia was taxed from 129 and that Appian, *BC*, v, 4 is worthless as evidence to the contrary.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo xiv, 642; the ambassador Artemidorus *floruit* 104–100, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i, 566, 31.

<sup>35</sup> *I. Priene* 111 and 117; *OGIS* 440 = *ILS* 8870 = *IGRR* iv, 194; note also that 91 is a point of reference in the Lex Antonia de Termessibus with regard to land held by the city.

<sup>36</sup> Plutarch, *Marius* 31; Cicero, *ad Brut.* i, 5, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Justin xxxviii, 1; Strabo xii, 540; M. Aemilius Scaurus perhaps went on the embassy involved, E. Badian, *Athenaeum* 1956, 120. Rome later

instructed Sulla to place Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, see E. Badian, *Studies* 157.

<sup>38</sup> *OGIS* 437, line 5 with commentary; compare the government of Sicily by (?) L. Asellio, Diodorus xxxvii, 8, and the activity of C. Claudius Pulcher, *pr.* 95.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Crawford hopes to return to the problem of cults of Roman magistrates during the Republic.

<sup>40</sup> Dio xxviii, fr. 97, 3, incidentally, provides evidence only for marginal involvement of Marius in the conviction, and is perhaps to be discounted altogether, in view of the silence of the other sources, notably Cicero (so, in part, E. S. Gruen, *Historia* 1966, 54–5).

<sup>41</sup> Asconius 57C.

<sup>42</sup> G. Colin, *BCH* 1924, 75–6.

*Addendum* (see p. 214). Mr. J. A. Crook has drawn our attention to *P.Oxy.* 3016 (A.D. 148), just published, where ζυνοκρίται means *recuperatores*; we think that our inscription at iv, 36 may also be talking of *recuperatores*; if so, κριται must mean *indices* for Roman citizens.

## POSTSCRIPT

The Delphi text was checked by Crawford in the summer of 1974 (he would like to pay tribute to the skill and accuracy with which Colin handled an extraordinarily difficult inscription). The monument of Paulus was dismantled when the museum was renovated in 1959-61; the disposition of the stones is as follows:

Inv. 434 is on shelf 65

Inv. 3457 is on shelf 59

Inv. 3571 could not be found

Inv. 3586 + 700 + 3588 + 3439 are outside in the

'stathmos'

Inv. 890 is outside in the 'stathmos'.

For the Cnidos text we had planned a thorough re-reading in August, 1974, but because of the Cyprus war it was only possible to manage one hour working on the stones (for Crawford and Reynolds). It is possible that more could be read, for both last year and this year we found that the photographs had been deceptive in some places. We are very grateful to the Turkish authorities for the help they gave us in a difficult situation.