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THE GREEK WORLD  
UNDER ROMAN SWAY



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FROM POLYBIUS TO PLUTARCH

BY

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London

MACMILLAN AND CO.

AND NEW YORK

1890

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1625

ARTHURO JACOBO BALFOUR  
QUEM NON  
IMPROBI CONVICIIS  
STULTI CONSILII  
ADVERSARII INSIDIIS  
AB INSTITUTIS, LITTERIS, LUDIS SUIS  
DETURBARE POTUERUNT  
D D D  
AMICUS SCRIPTOR

## PREFACE

THIS volume completes another stage in the social life and the civilisation of the Greeks, and pursues my subject from the subjugation of Hellenic lands by Rome down to the accession of Hadrian, when we may fairly say that Greece recovered her ascendancy. For from that day onward there was no distinction in honour between Greek and Latin ; in fact almost all our later histories of Roman affairs are in the Greek tongue. This then is one valid reason for halting about the year 120 A.D. Moreover the *Sophistical Revival* is set down by all the historians of later Greek literature as commencing with Hadrian, and with the state endowment of professional teaching which he systematised, though he did not originate it.

But more important than all these reasons for adopting my present limit is the fact that so far we may treat of Greek life without taking into account

the new religion which presently invades all the Hellenistic world. Christianity had indeed been born, and was being preached; but on the great Greek teachers of the first century it leaves hardly a trace, and so far we may discuss Hellenism without it. From the days of Hadrian onward, such abstraction is impossible; and indeed, if I resume the subject in a subsequent volume, it will be my duty to begin by overlapping the present book, and tracing the obscure beginnings of the new faith which, though alive, is of no import in the society here described. This seems to me the most orderly, and therefore profitable way of unravelling the complicated phenomena of the first century.

In deference to serious and friendly critics of my *Greek Life and Thought* (which may be regarded as the forerunner of the present work), I have given many more references to authorities than was my previous custom. This change is not made from any desire to justify myself against those who accused me of not knowing the newer sources, because I did not parade them; but in addition to the advice of competent friends, it seemed to me that the evidence for the facts brought together in this volume was so scattered, so fragmentary, so dependent on inscriptions and on little known texts, that fuller



references were due to the reader. He will find the abbreviations in my references fully explained in the Index. These materials have not been gathered or systematised by any previous historian; Hertzberg, for example, confines himself strictly to Greece proper under the Romans—a mere fraction of the history of later Hellenism, and Boissier, in his interesting book on Cicero and his friends, has never once considered the point of view taken in my Sixth Chapter on the same subject.

Indeed, since I wrote the opening of this Preface I have encountered a practical illustration of the difficulty there is in including all the evidence in such a history, and of the strong probability that the increased activity of antiquarians and travellers will furnish us constantly with new facts, or with corrections of our former deductions.

Mr. Flinders Petrie, in searching a small and insignificant necropolis at Kurob some six hours' ride from Medinet-el-Fayoum, found a number of mummies of the Ptolemaic epoch in cases of the usual appearance. They were all (he tells me) distinctly anterior in style to those of the Roman period. On examining these cases with care, he found that they were made of layers of papyrus glued together, in some cases only laid together,

and varnished within and without. Perceiving that much of this papyrus showed traces of writing, he took several cases to pieces, and thus gathered a large quantity of fragments, covered with Greek and demotic writing: the Greek fragments he kindly sent to Mr. Sayce, with whom I examined them in August 1890. We have identified fragments of the *Phædo* of Plato, written in a beautiful hand, and not posterior to 250 B.C., also a considerable passage from the lost *Antiopæ* of Euripides, and a passage on the duties of the comrade (*φιλέταιρος*), by some rhetor earlier than Alexander's time. These texts, which we shall presently publish in *Hermathena*, and which I need not now discuss, show that even under the second Ptolemy Greeks had settled in the country parts of Egypt, and had with them such plenty of books that some of them were used as waste paper. A large number of letters, dated in the reigns of the second and third Ptolemies (284-224 B.C.), and written in good Greek, but in a very difficult cursive script, attest the same conclusion perhaps even more strongly. Lastly, there were used among the waste paper what seem to be the records of the Græco-Egyptian Probate Court at Crocodilopolis, the capital of the nome or district called Arsinoë—drafts of wills, with the date, the name

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and description of the testator, and the names and descriptions of the witnesses. In two of three cases the details of the bequests are to be made out, though in lacerated fragments. This series of documents, in good Greek, and written in all sorts of hands, presents us with formulæ constantly recurring, but still varied both in their place and even in their expression, so proving that they were not the work of lawyers composing them for ignorant people, but the dictation of educated men. Pending my publication of these texts, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* I cannot enter into further detail; but this I must say, that they modify considerably the estimate I had formed of the depth and breadth of Greek influences in Egypt. As the reader will see in the note to p. 202, I was already beginning to doubt the ancient view which confines Greek life (outside Alexandria) to Ptolemais and Arsinoë; now that view seems to me completely exploded. Indeed *Arsinoë*, which is commonly understood to mean a town, was used as the name of a district.

As I am writing these words there comes to me the just published exhaustive monograph of M. Th. Reinach on Mithridates, which I should have gladly used in discussing that king.

These sudden additions to our evidence and to the sifting of it are the delight and the despair of historians—the delight of those who are ready to abandon accepted views and popular prejudices, the despair of those who cling to them, who pretend to give a final judgment on things but partially known, regarding a correction as merely a demonstration that they were wrong, not as the means of escape from a cherished error, and an enlargement of our common knowledge. The present scholarship both of Germany and of England has been positively vitiated by the fashion among its Professors of taking criticism as an act of hostility, and pursuing the critic with such rancour, that no quiet man thinks it worth his while to set his neighbour right, or expose, however gently, a piece of literary imposture, at the cost of being annoyed and maligned for the rest of his life.

As I have now acknowledged my obligations to Mr. Petrie and his important discovery, so I trust I have nowhere omitted to acknowledge my conscious obligations to previous authors; it is impossible to do so adequately to those colleagues—Mr. Louis Purser and Mr. Bury—who have helped me with advice and correction all through the book. To appropriate the work of a colleague, or to utilise

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it with that scanty acknowledgment which amounts to deliberate reticence, is a form of vice not the less odious, because the culprit generally escapes with impunity.

My friend Mr. Sayce has also corrected the sheets, and has made many important suggestions.

OXFORD, *October* 1890.

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APPENDIX A. (cf. p. 257)

THE INSCRIPTION OF ACRÆPHIÆ CONTAINING NERO'S  
SPEECH-

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ λέγει· “Τῆς εἰς με εὐνοίας  
αὐτῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀ[μ]είψασθαι θέλων τὴν εὐγε-  
νεστάτην Ἑλλάδα, κελεύω, πλείστους καθ’ ὁ[σ]ο[ν]  
ἐνδέχεται ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐπαρχείας παρῖναι  
ἰς Κόρινθον τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν δε-  
κεμβρίων.”

Συνελθόντων τῶν ὄχλων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσεφώ-  
νησεν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα·

“Ἀπροσδόκητον ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, δωρεάν,  
εἰ καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης  
ἀνέλπιστον, χαρίζομαι, τοσαύτην ὄσσην οὐκ ἐχωρή-  
σατε αἰτεῖσθαι. Πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν ἕως  
νῦν Πελοπόννησον κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες  
λάβετε(ε) ἐλευθερίαν ἀνισφορίαν ἣν οὐδ’ ἐν τοῖς εὐτυ-  
χεστάτοις ὑμῶν πάντες χρόνοις ἔσχετε,  
ἧ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἐδουλεύσατε.  
Εἴθε μὲν οὖν ἀκμαζούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρειχθό-  
μην ταύτην τὴν δωρεάν ἵνα μου πλείονες ἀπο-  
λα[ύ]σωσι τῆς χάριτος, διὸ καὶ μέμφομαι τὸν αἰῶνα  
προδαπανήσαντά μου τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χάριτος.  
Καὶ νῦν δὲ οὐ δι’ ἕλεον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ δι’ εὐνοίαν εὐερ-

γερῶ, ἀμείβομαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν ὧν καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάττης αἰεὶ μου προνοομένων πεπείραμαι ὅτι μοι τηλικαῦτα εὐεργετεῖν παρέσχον. Πόλεις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἡλευθέρωσαν ἡγεμόνες, [Νέρων δὲ ὄλην τὴν] ἐπαρχείαν."

Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου καὶ Νέρονος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδας Ἐπαμεινώνδου εἶπεν· προβεβουλευμένον εἶναι τῷ εἶναι πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἐπιδὴ ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος Νέρων αὐτοκράτωρ μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρίσι καὶ δέκατον ἀποδεδειγμένος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, νέος Ἥλιος ἐπιλάμψας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, προειρημένος εὐεργετεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀμειβόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐσεβῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν παριστανομένους αὐτῷ πάντοτε ἐπὶ προνοίᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ, τὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος αὐθιγενῆ καὶ αὐτόχθονα ἑλευθερίαν πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς καὶ μόνος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοκράτωρ μέγιστος φιλέλλην γενόμενος [Νέρων] Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος ἔδωκεν, ἐχαρίσατο, ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῆς αὐτονομίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας προσθεὶς τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ δωρεᾷ καὶ ἀνεωφορίαν, ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν πρότερον Σεβαστῶν ὀλοτελῆ ἔδωκεν· δι' ἃ δὴ πάντα δεδογμένον εἶναι τοῖς τε ἀρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθιερωσῆαι μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τὸν πρὸς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι βωμόν, ἐπιγράφοντας· Διὶ Ἐλευθερίῳ [Νέρωνι] εἰς αἰῶνα, καὶ ἀλάγματα ἐν τῷ νάφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωίου συνακαθεδρύνοντας τοῖς [ἡμῖν] πατριῶσι θεοῖς [Νέρωνός τε] Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου καὶ θεᾶς Σεβαστῆς [Μεσσαλίνης ἱ], ἵνα τούτων οὕτως τελεσθέντων καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις φαίνεται πάσαν τειμῆν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐκπεπληρω-



κνία εἰς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ [Νέρωνος . . . ],  
 εἶναι δὲ ἐν ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ψήφισμα παρά τε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σω-  
 τῆρι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν στήλῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλω-  
 νος τοῦ Πτωίου.

## APPENDIX B

## AUGUSTUS'S LETTER TO THE CNIDIANS (p. 357)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς  
 ὑπάτος τὸ δωδέκατον ἀποδεδειγμένος  
 καὶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον  
 Κνιδίων ἀρχονσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ πρεσ-  
 -βεις ὑμῶν Διονυσίος β̄ καὶ Διονυσίος β̄ τοῦ Διου-  
 -σίου ἐνέτυχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ μοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀποδόντες  
 κατηγορήσαν Εὐβούλου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδα τεθνε-  
 -ῶτος ἤδη, Τρυφέρας δὲ τῆς γύναικος αὐτοῦ παρουύσης  
 περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Εὐβούλου τοῦ Χρυσίππου· ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ἐξετάσαι προστάξας Γάλλῳ Ἀσινίῳ τῷ ἐμῷ φίλῳ  
 τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐνφερομένους τῇ αἰτία διὰ βα-  
 -σάνων, ἔγγων Φιλεῖνον τὸν Χρυσίππου τρεῖς νύ-  
 -κτας συνεχῶς ἐπεληλυθότα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Εὐβου-  
 -λου καὶ Τρυφέρας μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ τρόπῳ τινὶ πολ-  
 -ιορκίας, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ συνεπηγμένον καὶ τὸν ἀδελ-  
 -φὸν Εὐβουλον, τοὺς δὲ τῆς οἰκίας δεσπότης Εὐβου-  
 -λον καὶ Τρυφέραν, ὡς οὔτε χρηματίζοντες πρὸς  
 τὸν Φαλεῖνον οὔτε ἀντιφραττόμενοι ταῖς προσ-  
 -βολαῖς ἀσφαλείας ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν οἰκίᾳ τυχεῖν ἠδυνά-  
 -το, προστεταχότας ἐνὶ των οἰκέτων οὐκ ἀποκτεῖ-  
 -ναι, ὡ[s ἰ]σως ἂν τις ὑπ' ὀργῆς οὐκ ἀδίκου προήχθη, ἀλ-  
 -λὰ ἀνέρξαι ἀνασκεδάσαντα τὰ κόπρια αὐτων, τὸν  
 δὲ οἰκέτην σὺν τοῖς καταχεομένοις εἶτε ἐκόντα  
 εἶτε ἄκοντα, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνέμεινεν ἀρνούμενο[s],  
 ἀφεῖναι τὴν γάστραν [καὶ] Εὐβουλον ὑποπεσεῖν, δικαίῳ

τερον ἄν σωθέντα [τοῦ ἄ]δελφοῦ·πέπονθα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ α[ὐ-  
 τ]ὰς τὰς ἀνακρίσεις. ἐθαύμαζον δ' ἄν, πῶς εἰς τόσον  
 ἔδεισαν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐξετασίαν τῶν δούλων οἱ φ[εύ-]  
 γοντες τὴν δίκην, εἰ μὴ μοι σφόδρα ἐδόξ[ατε]  
 χαλεποὶ γεγονέναι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία μισοπότη[ροι],  
 μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων πᾶν ὀτιοῦν παθεῖν ἐπ' ἄλλο[τρίαν]  
 οἰκίαν νύκτωρ μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ βίας τρίς ἐπεληλ[υθό-]  
 των, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν ἀσφάλει[αν ἀναι-]  
 ρούντων ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν καὶ [ὄτε ἦ-]  
 μύνοντο ἠτυχηκότων, ἠδικηκότων δὲ οὐδέ[ν].  
 ἀλλὰ νῦν ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖτε ποιῆσαι τῆ ἐμῆ π[ερὶ τού-]  
 των γνώμῃ προνοήσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δημ[οσίοις]  
 ὑμῶν ὁμολογεῖν γράμματα. ἔρρωσθε.

### APPENDIX C. (Cf. p. 379)

#### (MELEAGER ON SPRING)

Χείματος ἠνεμόεντος ἀπ' αἰθέρος οἰχομένοιο,  
 πορφυρῆ μείδησε φερανθέος εἴαρος ὤρη·  
 Γαῖα δὲ κτανέη χλοερῆν ἐστέψατο ποίην,  
 καὶ φντὰ θηλήσαντα νέοις ἐκόμησε πετήλοισ.  
 Οἱ δ' ἀπαλὴν πίνοντες ἀξιφύτου δρόσον Ἴου  
 λειμῶνες γελώσιν, ἀνοιγομένοιο ῥόδοιο.  
 Χαίρει καὶ σύριγγι νομείς ἐν ὄρεσσι λιγαίνων,  
 καὶ πολιοῖς ἐρίφοις ἐπιτέρπεται αἰπόλος αἰγῶν.  
 Ἦδη δὲ πλώουσιν ἐπ' εὐρέα κύματα ναῦται  
 πνοῆ ἀπημάντῃ Ζεφύρου λῖνα κολπώσαντος.  
 Ἦδη δ' εὐάζουσι φερεσταφύλῃ Διονύσῃ,  
 ἀνθεῖ βοτρυνέντος ἐρεψάμενοι τρίχα κισσοῦ.  
 Ἔργα δὲ τεχνήεντα βοηγενέεσσι μελίσσαις  
 καλὰ μέλει, καὶ σίμβλῳ ἐφήμεναι ἐργάζονται

λευκὰ πολυτρήτοιο νεόρρυτα κάλλεα κηροῦ.  
 Πάντη δ' ὀρνίθων γενεῇ λιγύφωνον αἶδει,  
 ἀλκύνες περὶ κῦμα, χελιδόνες ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα.  
 κύκνος ἐπ' ὄχθαισιν ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὑπ' ἄλσος ἀηδῶν.  
 Εἰ δὲ φυτῶν χαίρουσι κόμαι, καὶ γαῖα τέθηλεν,  
 συρίζει δὲ νομεύς, καὶ τέρπεται εὐκομα μῆλα,  
 καὶ ναῦται πλώουσι, Διώνυσος δὲ χορεύει,  
 καὶ μέλπει πετεινά, καὶ ὠδίνουσι μέλισσαι,  
 πῶς οὐ χρῆ καὶ αἰοῖδον ἐν εἴαρι καλὸν αἶσαι;

*Anthology*, ix. No. 363.

#### APPENDIX D. (Cf. p. 381)

(ON THE DOMESTICATED ELEPHANTS OF ROME)

Specimens from Philip of Thessalonica's Epigrams

Οὐκέτι πυργωθεὶς ὁ φαλαγγομάχας ἐπὶ δῆριν  
 ἄσχετος ὀρμαίνει μυριόδου εἰλέφας.  
 ἀλλὰ φόβῳ στείλας βαθὴν αὐχένα πρὸς ζυγοδέσμους,  
 ἄντυγα διφρουλκεὶ Καίσαρος οὐρανίου.  
 Ἐγνώ δ' εἰρήνης καὶ θῆρ χάριν ὄργανα ρίψας  
 Ἄρεος, εὐνομίης ἀντανάγει πατέρα.

*Anthol.* ix. No. 285.

(ON AGRIPPA'S MOLE AT PUTEOLI)

Ἐξευξ' Ἐλλήσποντον ὁ βάρβαρος ἄφρονι τόλμῃ,  
 τοὺς δὲ τόσους καμάτους πάντας ἔλυσε χρόνος·  
 ἀλλὰ Δικαιάρχεια διηπείρωσε θάλασσαν,  
 καὶ βυθὸν εἰς χέρσου σχῆμα μετεπλάσατο·

λᾶα, βαθύ στήριγμα, κατερρίψωσε πέλωρον,  
 χερσὶ Γιγαντείαις δ' ἔστασε νέρθεν ὕδωρ.  
 Ἦν ἄλ' αἰὲ πλώειν διοδομένην δ' ὑπὸ ναύταις  
 ἄστατος, εἰς πεζοὺς ὠμολόγησε μένειν.

*Anthol.* ix. No. 708.

(RIDICULE OF PEDANTS)

Γραμματικοὶ Μώμου στυγίου τέκνα, σῆτες ἀκανθῶν,  
 τελχίνες βίβλων, Ζηνοδότου σκύλακες,  
 Καλλιμάχου στρατιῶται, ὃν ὡς ὄπλον ἔκτανίσαιτες,  
 οὐδ' αὐτοῦ κείνου γλώσσαν ἀποστρέφετε,  
 συνδέσμων λυγρῶν θηρήτορες, οἷς τὸ "μῖν" ἢ "σφίν"  
 εὔαδε, καὶ, ζητεῖν εἰ κίνας εἶχε Κύκλωψ,  
 τρίβοισθ' εἰς αἰῶνα κατατρίζοντες ἀλιτροὶ  
 ἄλλων ἐς δ' ἡμᾶς ἰὸν ἀποσβέσατε.

*Anthol.* xi. No. 321.

(RIDICULE OF PEDANTS)

Χαίροιθ' οἱ περὶ κόσμον αἰεὶ πεπλανηκότες ὄμμα,  
 οἱ τ' ἀπ' Ἀριστάρχου σῆτες ἀκανθολόγοι.  
 Ποῖ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζητεῖν τίνας εἴραπεν ἠλιος οἴμοις,  
 καὶ τίος ἦν Πρωτεῖς, καὶ τίς ὁ Πυγμαλίων;  
 Γινώσκωμ' ὅσα λευκὸν ἔχει στίχον· ἢ δὲ μέλαινα  
 ἰστορίη τήκοι τοῖς Περικαλλιμάχοις.

*Anthol.* xi. No. 347.

(ON HERAS THE ATHLETE)

Ἴσως με λείσσων, ξεινε, ταινρογάστορα  
 καὶ στερρόγυιον, ὡς Ἄτλαντα δεύτερον,

---

θαμβεῖς, ἀπιστῶν εἰ βρότειος ἢ φύσις.  
Ἄλλ' ἔσθι μ' Ἡρᾶν Λαδικῆα πάμμαχον,  
ὄν Σμύρνα καὶ δρῦς Περγάμου κατέστεφεν,  
Δελφοί, Κόρινθος, Ἥλις, Ἄργος, Ἄκτιον·  
λοιπῶν δ' ἀέθλων ἦν ἐρευνήσης κράτος,  
καὶ τὴν Δίβυσσαν ἐξαριθμήσεις κόνιν.

*Anthol.* xiii. No. 321.

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