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The Naval Expedition of Servilius Isauricus in Western Pamphylia: Conquest or Re-Conquest?

[SERVILIUS ISAURICUS'UN BATI PAMPHYLIA'DAKİ DENİZ SEFERİ: FETİH YA DA YENİDEN FETİH?]

Murat TOZAN

Anahtar Sözcükler

P. Servilius Isauricus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Korsanlık, Roma'nın Doğu Politikası

Keywords

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ÖZET

APamphylia bölgesi, Pergamon Kralı III. Attalos'un vasiyeti gereği Pergamon Krallığı toprakları üzerinde 129 yılında kurulan Asia Eyaleti'ne kuruluşundan itibaren dahildi. Ancak 100 yılında çıkarılan lex de provinciis praetoriis ile Pamphylia –ve muhtemelen bazı çevre bölgeler– Asia Eyaleti'nden ayrılarak yeni kurulan Cilicia Eyaleti'ne dahil edildi. I. Mithridates Savaşı'ndan sonra Cilicia Eyaleti'ne atanan valilerden P. Servilius Vatia, eyaletteki beş yıllık görev süresinin ilk iki yılında (yani İ.Ö. 78-77'de) eyaletinin batı bölümünde bir deniz sefer düzenledi. Servilius, bu seferinde korsan şefi Zeniketes'in elindeki Olympos ve Phaselis kentlerini ele geçirmişti. Bu deniz seferinin ardından eyaleti terk edeceği İ.Ö. 74 yılına kadar iç bölgedeki Isauria'ya bir kara seferi düzenleyen Servilius Vatia nihayetinde Isauricus agnomen'ini aldı. Birçok modern araştırmacı Olympos ve Phaselis'in Cilicia eyaletinin dışında olduğunu varsayarak Servilius Vatia'nın deniz seferini bir fetih olarak tanımlamaktadır. Ancak yayınlanan yeni epigrafik belgeler bu kentlerin Asia Eyaleti'nin kuruluşundan itibaren eyalete dahil olabileceklerini ortaya koymuşlardır. Bu makalede antik edebi kaynaklardaki bilgiler eldeki yeni kanıtlar ışığında değerlendirilerek Servilius Isauricus'un Batı Pamphylia'daki deniz seferi yeniden ele alınacaktır

ABSTRACT

Pamphylia was included in the province of Asia since its foundation in 129 BC on the territory of the Attalid Kingdom by the testament of Attalos III of Pergamon. According to the lex de provinciis praetoriis issued in 100 BC, however, the province of Cilicia was established on the southern shore of Asia Minor by the separation of Pamphylia –and probably some of its adjacent regions– from the province of Asia. P. Servilius Vatia, who was among the governors of Cilicia after the First Mithridatic War, conducted a large-scale naval expedition against the pirates in the first two years of his five-year tenure (i.e. in 78–77 BC) in the western part of his province. On this expedition Servilius captured the settlements Olympos and Phaselis, which were ruled by the pirate chieftain Zeniketes. After this naval expedition, Servilius Vatia conducted land operations in Isauria until 74, when he left his province and finally obtained the agnomen of Isauricus. Many modern scholars assume that Olympos and Phaselis were outside of the Cilician province and accordingly define Servilius Vatia's naval campaign as a conquest. New epigraphic evidence, however, has revealed that these cities may have been included in the province since its establishment. This paper aims to reconsider the naval expedition of Servilius Isauricus in Western Pamphylia by evaluating the information in the ancient literary sources in light of the new epigraphic data.

Introduction

From the end of the second century to the campaign of Pompey the Great in 67, one of the most significant problems for the Roman rule in Asia Minor was the piracy occurring on the southern coast.[1] During this long period, some legal and administrative regulations were imposed by Rome as well as various military actions against piracy in the region. Publius Servilius Vatia, one of the consuls of 79, who was sent to the region

1 All the dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

as the governor of Cilicia with his powerful army and navy, was among the Roman commanders who acted against piracy on the southern coast of Asia Minor.[2] Servilius reached the province in 78, and after some preparations in his first year, conducted a naval expedition in the west of Pamphylia in 77-76.[3] After winning a great victory against the pirates at sea, he attacked their bases on land. As a result of this expedition, Servilius captured the cities of Olympos, Korykos and Phaselis, which were ruled by a pirate chief named Zeniketes.[4] After these achievements, Servilius moved to the interior, seized the region of Isauria, and captured the settlements in the region in 76-75.[5] After returning to Rome in 74, Servilius celebrated a triumph in which he conveyed many pirate chiefs and obtained the agnomen of Isauricus.[6]

Many modern scholars assuming the cities which captured by Servilius during his naval expedition were actually outside of his province and consequently define his seizures as addition of new territories to his province. For example David Magie uses the following expressions in his monumental work on the Roman Rule in Asia Minor: "Over them (i.e. Korykos and Phaselis), as well as over Olympus, he (i.e. Servilius) exercised all the generally accepted rights of a conqueror; for he plundered their treasures and incorporated their territories in the Roman province. Thus the western shore of the Gulf of Antalya was added to the dominions of Rome".[7] But new epigraphic evidence suggests that the cities in western Pamphylia might have been located within the borders of the Roman province since its foundation. Thus it is necessary to re-evaluate the naval campaign of Servilius Isauricus in light of this new evidence and define his campaign precisely on whether it was a conquest or re-conquest.

Historical Geography of Western Pamphylia

On this point it is appropriate to mention briefly the historical geography of Pamphylia, particularly its western part, as it existed before the expedition of Servilius Isauricus. Like many regions of ancient Asia Minor, Pamphylia is not a clearly defined geographical term. There are different opinions about the borders of the region in the works of several ancient authors from various periods. The northern borders of Pamphylia are marked predominantly by the Taurus range, while its eastern border has been considered to extend as far east as Side, at least, in the Roman period.[8] Ancient testimonies about the western border of the region are more complicated. Of course, it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss all the available evidence on this issue. Nevertheless, it can be said that in the time of the famous geographer Strabo, namely, at the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of 1st century AD, Cape Khelidonia was accepted as the border between Lykia and Pamphylia.[9] The mountains of Olympos and Solyma (today Musa Dağı and Tahtalı Dağları respectively), which extended to the north of Cape Khelidonia, were in fact natural borders that separated Lykia from Pamphylia (Fig. 1).[10] Accordingly, Olympos, Korykos and Phaselis, being located in the east of the Khelidonian Cape, were geographically in Pamphylia. The people of these cities, however, were considered Lykians.[11] This may be why ancient authors were in controversy about whether these cities were Lykian or Pamphylian.[12]

2 MRR 2.82, 2.87; Brennan 2000: 572.

3 Magie 1950: 287-288, 1167-1169 n. 17-19; Sherwin-White 1984: 154-155; Pohl 1993: 259-263; de Souza 1999: 128-129; Feld 2005: 66-68. Cf. Brennan 2000: 572. The evidence presented by Dmitriev (Dmitriev 2005: 99 with n. 146) about Servilius' presence in Korinthos and demanding ships from Rhodes and Byzantion is clearly not related to Isauricus but to the campaign of Marcus Antonius in 102 (for the campaign of Marcus Antonius against pirates, see below).

4 Strab. 14.5.7, 14.3.8; Cic. Verr. 2.1.56-57, 2.4.21; Sall. hist. 1.127-132; Eutr. 6.3.1; Flor. 1.41.4-5; Oros. 5.22-23; Schol. Bob. Verr. II lib. 1.56.

5 For the Isaurian Campaign of Servilius, see Ormerod 1924: 217-219; Magie 1950: 288-290; Liebmann-Frankfort 1969: 206-208; Sherwin-White 1984: 155-157; Feld 2005: 68-72.

6 MRR 2.99, 105; Brennan 2000: 572.

7 Magie 1950: 288. See also e.g. Liebmann-Frankfort 1969: 205-208; Feld 2005: 68.

8 On the borders of Pamphylia, see Ruge 1949: 354-361; Magie 1950, 260-261, 1132 n. 1-2; Brandt and Kolb 2005: 12-17. See also Fig. 1.

9 Strab. 11.12.1, 14.2.1; cf. 14.3.8, 14.5.22.

10 Ruge 1949: 254; Magie 1950: 516, 1370 n. 2; Troxell 1982: 63-76; Kolb 2002: 210; Adak 2004: 36-38; Adak 2007: 270-271. Cf. Behrwald 2000: 107, 173-174 n. 64.

11 The people of Phaselis, for example, are defined Lykians by Cicero, Verr. 2.4.21.

12 Although Strabo too called Phaselis as Lykian, he

Among the three important settlements seized by Isauricus, the remains of Phaselis are located on a peninsula just north of Tekirova, a modern tourist center.[13] The locations of Olympos and Korykos, however, have been a source of dispute among both ancient and modern authors. Although Strabo mentioned the fortress of Zeniketes on the mountain of Olympos, modern researchers have located Olympos at the ruins of Deliktaş, a harbor settlement in Çıralı located about 15 km south of Phaselis according to the some literary and epigraphic evidence.[14] Accordingly, Korykos was located between Phaselis and Olympos, an area not suitable for a harbor.[15] However, as a result of field surveys conducted by a Turkish research team in the region at the beginning of the 2000s, we now have more precise information regarding the locations of Olympos and Korykos. The discovery of a relatively large Hellenistic settlement on Musa Mountain, about 4 km south of Çıralı, shed light on the problem concerning locations of these settlements.[16] Accordingly, the fortress of Zeniketes mentioned by Strabo is the Hellenistic settlement of Olympos on Musa Dağı, which is the ancient Mount of Olympos. Consequently Korykos was the harbor settlement in Çıralı, which probably belonged to the city of Olympos. Presumably, the city of Olympos on Musa Dağı fell into decline after the destruction by Servilius, and most of its population moved to its coastal settlement of Korykos which offered more trade opportunities, and so eventually Korykos began to be called Olympos.

Therefore, it is understandable why ancient sources began to call the coastal settlement in Çıralı Olympos since the 2nd century AD.[17]

Hellenistic Pamphylia before Roman Rule

It is also important to take a look at the history of Pamphylia leading up to the expedition of Servilius Isauricus. After the campaign of Alexander the Great, during the 3rd century, Pamphylia was constantly changing hands between the Seleukids and Ptolemies.[18] When the Ptolemaic rule on the southern coast of Asia Minor weakened because of internal problems at the end of the 3rd century, the Seleukid king Antiokhos III conducted a westward expedition in 197 and conquered all the coastal regions of southern Asia Minor along with Pamphylia.[19] The rule of Antiokhos, however, did not last long in the region. The Attalids of Pergamon and Rhodes, who were disturbed by the expedition of Antiokhos in western Asia Minor, asked for help from Rome. The Romans accepted their appeal and eventually sent an army to Asia Minor. The Roman-Attalid united army's victory against Antiokhos in the battle of Magnesia in 190 is an important turning point in the fate of the Hellenistic world.[20] In the Treaty of Apameia between Rome and Antiokhos in 188, the Taurus range was accepted as the border line, and Seleukid rule beyond the Taurus ceased to exist.[21] Rome, however, did not establish direct rule in Asia Minor after the treaty, but instead divided the former Seleukid lands beyond the Taurus between two allies, the Attalids of Pergamon and the island republic of Rhodes. According to the Roman settlement, Lykia and Karia south of the Meander were left to Rhodes, and the regions of Lydia, Phrygia, Lykaonia, Pisidia and Milyas were left to the Attalids of Pergamon.[22]

After the treaty, however, a question arose about whether Pamphylia is beyond the Taurus. When

was inclined to locate the city in Pamphylia in 14.3.9: ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ αὕτη ἡ πόλις Λυκιακή, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων ἱδρυμένη τῶν πρὸς Παμφυλίαν. In the Loeb edition the last phrase is translated "being situated on the borders towards Pamphylia". But if the word "ὅρων" is accepted "ὀρῶν" the following translation is also possible: "being situated near the mountains on the side of Pamphylia", see Kramer 1852: 150, n. 3. On the controversies in the ancient literary sources about locating these settlements in Lykia or Pamphylia, see Ruge 1938: 1882 (Phaselis); Ruge 1939: 319 (Olympos); Cohen 1995: 337-338 (Korykos).

13 See Ruge 1938: 1883; Magie 1950: 516, 1370-1371 n. 30; Brandt and Kolb 2005: 10, 60-65.

14 See e.g. Ruge 1939: 319; Magie 1950: 520, 1375-1376 n. 16.

15 See Adak 2004: 30-31.

16 Adak 2004: 34-35.

17 Adak 2004: 39-41.

18 Jones 1971: 127-128; Ruge 1949: 365-366; Cohen 1995: 54-55; Ma 1999: 40-44, 58-60; Brandt and Kolb 2005: 20.

19 Ma 1999: 82-85.

20 Magie 1950: 757 n. 54; McShane 1964: 143-146; Hansen 1971: 84-88.

21 For the terms of the Treaty of Apameia, see Polyb. 21.42; Liv. 38.38; McShane 1964: 150-152; Ma 1999: 282-283.

22 Hansen 1971: 92-97; Sherwin-White 1984: 18-27.

Antiokhos claimed that Pamphylia was not beyond the Taurus, Eumenes II of Pergamon opposed it.[23] Although both kings made some attempts before the Roman Senate to establish this border according to their own interests, the result is unknown from the existing sources.[24] The Attalid claim and influence on the region, however, continued.[25] According to inadequate information from sources for the later status of Pamphylia we only know that after a campaign to the region around 158, Attalos II, the successor of Eumenes, founded Attaleia, today called Antalya, and fortified a nearby Korykos.[26] Some modern researchers, assuming that the Korykos which Isauricus seized was in Lykia, suggest that there is another Korykos neighbor to Attaleia in Pamphylia.[27] There is not any evidence, however, in the existing sources to support this view. As mentioned earlier, however, Korykos at Çıralı was geographically located within the borders of Pamphylia. Accordingly, Korykos which was fortified by Attalos II of Pergamon was in all probability Korykos at Çıralı, the coastal settlement of Olympos. Strabo too, when mentioning the campaign of Isauricus, explicitly states that Korykos was in Pamphylia. He wrote: "To him (i.e. to Zeniketes) belonged also Korykos and Phaselis and many places in Pamphylia; but all were taken by Isauricus" (transl. Loeb).[28]

23 Polyb. 21.45.11; Liv. 38.39.17.

24 On the view that Pamphylia was declared free by the Senate, see Ruge 1949: 366-367; Magie 1950: 279-280, 1158-1159 n. 50; McShane 1964: 188; Sherwin-White 1976: 1. Cf. Hopp 1977: 104-105 n. 250. Jones (Jones 1937, 130), however, concluded that Pamphylia eventually was given to Eumenes by the Senate.

25 The cistophoric countermarks of the Attalid cities on the coins of the major Pamphylian cities, i.e. Phaselis, Perge, Aspendos, and Side, which dated to the Post-Apameian Period can be interpreted as evidence of Pergamene political influence over Pamphylia as well as an aspect of the Attalid monetary policy, see Troxell 1982: 68-69, 76; Bauslaugh 1990: 39-65; Meadows 2013: 170-173; de Callataÿ 2013: 218-231. On the political importance of the countermarks on the coins of the Pamphylian cities after Apameia, see Mattingly 2004: 52-56; cf. Psoma 2013: 276 n. 42.

26 Strab. 14.4.1; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀττάλεια; McShane 1964: 188; Hansen 1971: 178 suggests the date 188 for the foundation of Attaleia; Hopp 1977: 103-104; Cohen 1995: 337-338; Dmitriev 2005: 73.

27 See e.g. Hansen 1971: 178; cf. Cohen 1995: 227-338.

28 14.5.7: τούτου δ΄ ἦν καὶ ὁ Κώρυκος καὶ ἡ Φάσηλις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Παμφύλων χωρία· πάντα δ΄ εἶλεν ὁ Ἰσαυρικός.

Early Roman Rule in Pamphylia

Attalos III, successor of Attalos II, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, and the Roman province of Asia was founded on the territory of the Attalid kingdom in 129.[29] Formerly, the prevailing opinion among scholars was that Pamphylia was not included in the province of Asia by its founder Manius Aquilius, but instead was left to client kings.[30] The discovery of a milestone of Aquilius near Side in the beginning of the 1990s, however, proved that Pamphylia was included in the province of Asia since its foundation.[31]

Further evidence that Pamphylia was under Roman rule since the foundation of the Asian province is the presence of Pamphylian ports among the list of custom stations in the inscription containing the customs law of Asia, which is also known as *Lex Portorii Asiae*, found in Ephesos. The ports of Lykia, which were later declared free from the Rhodian rule by Rome, are evidently not included in this list, and after a missing part of the inscription, Perge, Magydos, Phaselis and Side are listed as Pamphylian ports without being sorted geographically.[32] In the missing part, Korykos should also be listed beside Attaleia and Aspendos.[33] The dating of the beginning part of the law which contains the custom stations to the initial years of the Asian province by Stephen Mitchell makes this inscription even more important for our subject.[34] Thus it is evident that Phaselis and probably Korykos and their surroundings inherited from the Attalids to Rome were part of the Roman province of Asia from its beginning.

It is necessary to take a look at subsequent circumstances in Pamphylia under Roman rule in order to understand: How did these cities, which

29 For the testament of Attalos III and the initial territorial organization of the Asian province, see recently Daubner 2006: 19-33, 191-202. Cf. Dmitriev 2005: 72-83; Mitchell 2008: 169-172.

30 See e.g. Jones 1971: 131; cf. Ruge 1949: 367; Sherwin-White 1984: 91.

31 Nollé 1993/2001: 68-69, 497 no. 175. See also Ferrary 2000: 169; Daubner 2006: 198-199; Mitchell 2008: 188-192. Cf. Sherwin-White 1976: 3.

32 Cottier et al. 2008: 36 l. 26. See also Mitchell 2008: 188-192.

33 Cf. Cottier et al. 2008: 36 l. 26, 111; Mitchell 2008: 188.

34 Mitchell 2008: 198-201.

initially belonged to the Roman province, pass into the hands of Zeniketes? Because of the power vacuum in the Eastern Mediterranean as a result of Roman policy, Cilician piracy began to damage the interests of both Rome and her allies in the region in the last decades of the 2nd century.[35] In this period Olympos and Phaselis became members of the Lykian League presumably in order to obtain a protection against the growing threat of piracy.[36] Finally, at the end of the second century, a wide range of military and legal measures against piracy in southern Asia Minor was taken by Rome. M. Antonius, one of the praetors of 102, fought against the Cilician pirates between 102 and 100.[37] In 100 when M. Antonius was back, Rome issued a wide-ranging law about the East. In the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, which is also called the "Piracy Law", the foundation of Cilicia as a praetorian province was declared in order to protect the interests and security of Rome and her allies in the eastern Mediterranean.[38] Although the name of the newly established province was Cilicia, the province actually included no territory in Kilikia. The nucleus of the province was in fact Pamphylia, which was separated from the province of Asia.[39] Nevertheless, by naming the province Cilicia, it was emphasized the purpose of the foundation of the province: to fight against Cilician piracy.[40]

With the outbreak of the First Mithridatic War in 89, however, Roman rule in Asia Minor suddenly ceased. One of the policies of Mithridates VI of Pontos during the war was promoting Cilician piracy in order to damage the Romans who fought him and, more generally, weaken Roman rule in the Eastern Mediterranean.[41] With the treaty of Dardanos in 85, even though King Mithridates withdrew from the occupied territories, piracy had spread from Cilicia as far as the Aegean islands and continued to be a danger.[42]

In this historical framework, it is quite plausible to say that Zeniketes captured Olympos, Korykos and Phaselis during the First Mithridatic War, in which the king supported the pirates.[43] Zeniketes either conquered the region as a Cilician pirate or was an inhabitant of the region.[44] Interestingly, the name of Zeniketes was engraved with the title of "king" on the handle of an iron strigilis from Dodona in Epeiros.[45]

Asian and Cilician Governors after the First Mithridatic War

Why was there not any action taken against Zeniketes after the recovery of the province in 85 up to the campaign of Servilius Isauricus in 77? In order to answer this question, one must consider the activities of Asian and Cilician governors after the First Mithridatic War. Sulla, the conqueror of Mithridates, after his settlement in Asia, immediately sailed to Italy in 84 to fight with his rivals in Rome and left behind Murena as the sole governor of all the Roman territory in Asia Minor.[46] Therefore, like the previous situation before 100, the provinces of Asia and Cilicia were again incorporated into a single province.[47] Murena, despite his some initiatives, had not achieved a conclusive result against piracy and during much of his five year tenure he was mainly interested in the military operations against Mithridates.[48] With Murena's return to Rome in 81, the province was divided again and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, one of the praetors of that year, was appointed to Cilicia as governor.[49] After Dolabella reached his province in 80, the

35 Ormerod 1924: 203-208; Magie 1950: 282-283; Pohl 1993: 208-211; de Souza 1999: 97-101.

36 Strab. 14.3.3; Troxell 1982: 63-76, 87-95; Behrwald 2000: 108-109, 174-175; Adak 2007: 271-272.

37 Ormerod 1924: 208-209; Pohl 1993: 208-216; de Souza 1999: 102-108. Cf. MRR 1.568-570; Brennan 2000: 357.

38 For the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, see Crawford 1996: 231-270, no. 12. See also de Souza 1999: 108-115; Dmitriev 2005: 94-95.

39 Syme 1979: 120-126; Magie 1950: 285, 1165-1166, n. 15; Sherwin-White 1984: 97-98; Ferrary 2000: 168-170.

40 See Syme 1979: 126; Sherwin-White 1984: 98-99; Ferrary 2000: 167-168; Dmitriev 2005: 95-96.

41 Ormerod 1924: 209-212; Pohl 1993: 140-141 n. 234; de Souza 1999: 116-120, cf. 125-128.

42 App. Mithr. 63, 92-93; Flor. 1.41.1-3; Plut. Pomp. 24.

43 See Ormerod 1924: 213, 216-217. Cf. de Souza 1999: 129-130; Adak 2007: 272.

44 Ormerod 1924: 216-217; de Souza 1999: 129-130, 137.

45 Peek 1978: 247-248.

46 MRR 2.61, 3.123; Magie 1950: 240-245; Sherwin-White 1984: 149-152; Brennan 2000: 556-557.

47 See Ferrary 2000: 180-181; Dmitriev 2005: 92.

48 Magie 1950: 243-245; Sherwin-White 1984: 149-152; Brennan 2000: 556.

49 MRR 2.76; 80; Brennan 2000: 572.

main task during his two-year tenure was to fight against piracy according to the reason of existence of the Cilician province.[50] However, as stated by Cicero in his famous speech against crimes of the Dolabella's notorious legate Verres, the aim of Dolabella and Verres was to increase their personal wealth rather than fight against the piracy.[51] The Senate finally took a decisive step by assigning P. Servilius Vatia, one of the consuls in 79, as the governor of Cilicia and commissioned him to fight against piracy with a strong army on the southern coast of Asia Minor. Servilius Vatia, in contrast to Dolabella and Verres, was called by Cicero an honest statesman and good soldier.[52] Servilius ultimately conducted naval and land expeditions against the sources of piracy in his province during his five-year tenure, and finally recovered the lost regions of his province.[53]

Conclusions

To summarize, the following conclusions have been reached after discussion of the available information. Olympos, Korykos and Phaselis were geographically located in Pamphylia, although they had some socio-cultural ties with Lykia. After the Treaty of Apameia, Pamphylia was conquered by Attalos II of Pergamon around the middle of the second century. The Attalid colonies of Attaleia and Korykos are the clearest evidence of Attalid rule in the region. The mention of Phaselis in the Customs Law of Asia proves that western Pamphylia was included in the province of Asia since its foundation and the region was later contained within the province of Cilicia, which was separated from Asia. The cities of Western Pamphylia were captured by Zeniketes during the confusion of the First Mithridatic War. Because the governors of Asia and Cilicia focused on other priorities after the First Mithridatic War, the region did not take back the Roman province until the campaign of Servilius Isauricus in 77-76. Therefore, it is evident that the naval expedition of Servilius Isauricus was not a conquest, but a re-conquest.

These results also allow for some important conclusions to be drawn about Roman policy in the East. Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus show that even in the 70s, two important legal documents providing a legal basis of Roman rule in Asia Minor that is the Treaty of Apameia and the Testament of Attalos were still in force and legally binding to the Roman magistrates in the region. About seven years after Servilius Isauricus, Pompey the Great would overcome these two legal documents and after completely suppressing the piracy, would go on to engage in great conquests in the East. From this point of view, it is much better understood why a new episode in Roman policy in the East began with the Pompeian settlement.

50 Sherwin-White 1976: 11; Sherwin-White 1984: 153-154; Pohl 1993: 260; de Souza 1999: 124; Dmitriev 2005: 98.

51 Cic. Verr. 2.1.44-102.

52 See Cic. Verr. 2.1.56-57; cf. Pohl 1993: 260 n. 216.

53 Note that his Isaurian campaign was also a re-conquest of a lost Roman territory which passed to Rome by the bequest of Attalos III, see Sherwin-White 1984: 155.

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MURAT TOZAN

Orcid ID: 0000-0002-5709-9318

Ege University, Faculty of Letters,
Department of History, 35100
Bornova-IZMIR.

murat.tozan@ege.edu.tr

tozan.murat@gmail.com

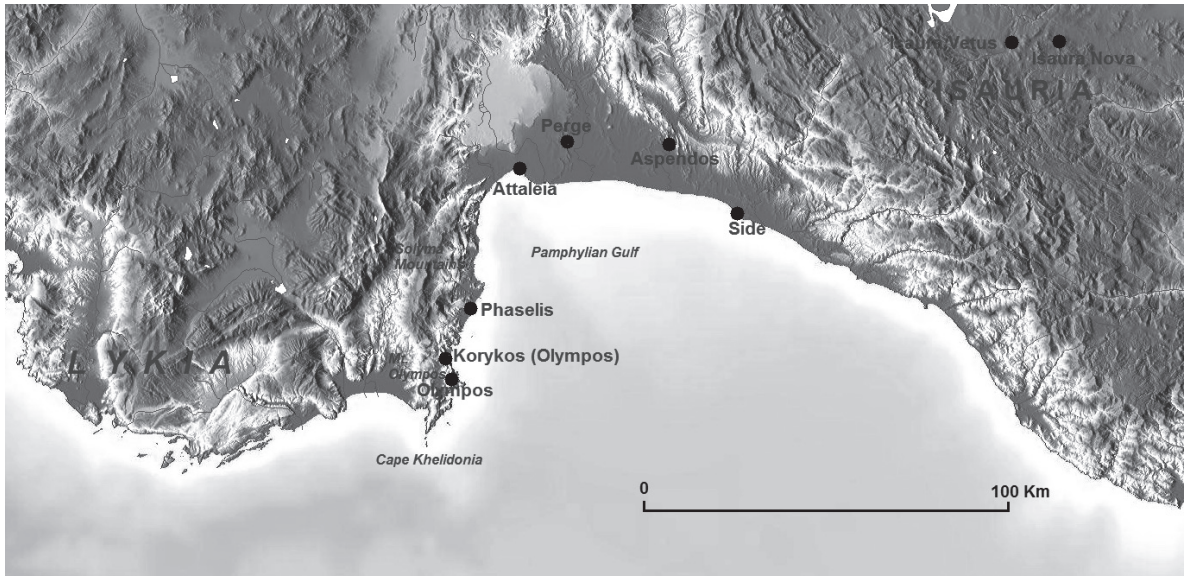


Fig. 1: Pamphylia and its surroundings.