The portrayal of pirates from south-west Anatolia in Greco-Roman sources.

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Dissertation submitted for the Master's degree in Ancient History.

I certify that (i) any material in this dissertation which is not my own work is properly identified and acknowledged, (ii) the dissertation complies fully with the University of Liverpool regulations on academic integrity, (iii) no part of this dissertation has ever figured in material successfully submitted for the award of any other degree.

Abstract

Rome had been confronted with piracy for centuries prior to the Late Republic, yet it was the 'Cilician' pirates from the coasts of south-west Anatolia who were perceived as being responsible for problems including the ransoming of magistrates, plundering Roman allies, and forming an alliance with Mithridates. This dissertation provides an investigation of Greco-Roman literary accounts and epigraphy to ascertain the multifaceted portrayal of these pirate communities.

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Contents

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for ancient sources correspond with Eidinow, E., Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition (2012).

Excluding those listed here, abbreviations of journals and modern scholarship corresponds with L'Année Philologique.

CNG – Classical Numismatic Group.

FGrH – Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.

IG – Inscriptiones Graecae.

ILS – Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.

LSJ – Liddell, H.G., and Scott, R., 1940, *Greek - English Lexicon: with a revised supplement*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

MRR – Broughton, T.R.S., 1951, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, New York, American Philological Association.

SEG – Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

SIG – Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.

TLG – Pantelia, M., 2018, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

TLL – De Gruyter, W., 2018, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

List of Figures

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1: Introduction.

In around 70BCE Pamphylia and the neighbouring area of 'Rough' Cilicia on the coastline of south-west Anatolia was notorious as the homeland of pirates whose activities terrorised peoples across the Mediterranean.[1] The primary source for the description of pirates from south-west Anatolia is Strabo, whose account broadly characterised the Pamphylians and Cilicians:

"For the matter the nature of their territory is more or less the same as that of the Pamphylians and Rough Cilicians. But they (the Pamphylians and Rough Cilicians) made use of such places as bases for the practice of piracy, either being pirates themselves, or furnishing the pirates with markets for their plunder and docking facilities. At Side, at any rate, a city of Pamphylia, the docks were set up for the benefit of the Cilicians: they used to sell their captives there by auction, admitting they were free men."[2]

Contemporaneous sources from the Principate including Appian, Dio and Plutarch present an analogous portrayal of the Cilicians and Pamphylians as peoples who were inveterate pirates and supporters of this reprehensible practice.[3] There are numerous comparable events and Greco-Roman historiographical traditions which, when aligned carefully, can be used to explain why pirates from south-west Anatolia were presented antagonistically in Greco-Roman sources. Moreover, if anti-piracy campaigns are contextualised with the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* of 100BCE, it can be argued that the Romans justified military action against those whom they identified as pirates.[4] The *lex de provinciis praetoriis* was legislation employed as part of Roman foreign policy to determine those who were friends of Rome to join them in their action against pirates, with the clear implication that those who do not were either pirates, or the supporters of pirates.[5]

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[1] De Souza 1999: 97.
[2] Strab. 14.3.2.
[3] App. *Mith*. 92; Cass. Dio. 36:20 – 23; Plut. *Pomp*. 24.
[4] *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, for full text, commentary and translation, see Crawford 1996, 1.231 – 70. This Roman law will be examined further in Chapter 4.2.
[5] De Souza 2013: 49.

1.2: Literature review.

Despite the extensive socio-political and socio-economic impact of pirates on the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, modern historians have paid little attention to discussions regarding piracy in antiquity. Although, in the 20th century a few historians have compiled extensive scholarship on this overlooked subject.[6] The most notable study of ancient piracy is Ormerod's *Piracy in the Ancient World* (1924). Nearly a century after its publication, this account of piracy in the ancient Mediterranean remains an authoritative essay. Ormerod elucidated the depredations committed in the Mediterranean basin, the difficulty of distinguishing piracy in antiquity from other sea-based forms of violence, when pirates dominated the Mediterranean, and conversely, when it was restrained during the first two centuries of the Principate.[7] However, while Ormerod's essay deserves praise for providing historians with a coherent, chronological report on piracy in the ancient world, it should not be at the forefront of discussions on the subject. Ormerod's account delivers a comprehensive narrative which is easy to follow, but the analysis within the account cannot be considered exceptional.[8] The generalist nature of Ormerod's work is its greatest merit, however, *Piracy in the Ancient World* lacks thorough interpretation into the available sources on ancient piracy.

In de Souza's view, writers such as Sestier and Ormerod treated piracy as a fixed, straightforward occurrence, assuming, implicitly or explicitly, that the definition of pirate and piracy in the Greco-Roman world can be considered analogous with its modern term.[9] However, this is an inaccurate review of these scholars' studies, Ormerod discussed how the English word pirate derived through the Latin *pirata* and the Greek πειρατής and the difficulty of distinguishing between piracy and other forms of maritime violence.[10] Nonetheless, de Souza is an advance on Sestier and Ormerod as he provides a more analytical study of the phenomenon, aptly titled *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (1999).

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[6] Sestier (1880) and Ormerod (1924) wrote detailed, narrative accounts on piracy in the ancient Mediterranean.

[7] Gomme 1925: 127 – 8.

[8] Simonsen 2000.

[9] De Souza 1999: 2.

[10] Ormerod 1924: 59.

In this book de Souza employed an extensive amount of primary and secondary sources which are indicative of his significant engagement with the topic. De Souza displayed competence translating ancient inscriptions,[11] and integrating numerous contradictory sources into his account to substantiate reasonable arguments on piracy in the Greco-Roman world. The author's excellence stems from his interpretations of piracy in the context of political struggles and propaganda in the Greco-Roman world.[12] Whereas Ormerod's study concentrated on forming an efficient narrative of ancient piracy, de Souza's book is an exhaustive attempt at contextualisation of the socio-political effects of ancient piracy.

Studies such as *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* are very relevant to this dissertation because de Souza presents a historiographical interpretation of Greco-Roman texts relating to piracy and places emphasis on understanding the use of the labels 'pirate' and 'piracy' in their cultural and historical contexts.[13] However, whilst de Souza's conclusions are reasonable, with re-examination of the ancient sources it is possible to develop discourse on ancient pirates with alternate approaches. Firstly, despite their characterisation by Greco-Roman authors of being, as de Souza puts it "dyed-in the-wool pirates"[14], much of Anatolia was part of the Hellenistic East which was portrayed with ambivalence from mainland Greek and Roman authors. Secondly, although the concept of pirates as military antagonists had been discussed, the gradual progression of pirates from mere irritants to a large scale militaristic entity has not been fully investigated. The structure of both Ormerod and de Souza's discussions are broadly chronological in their construction of a narrative which flowed from one era to another in subsequent chapters. Arranging their essays in this format was a logical decision since they are suitable for narrative discussions. However, their methodological approaches are incompatible with this dissertation as it is focused on the portrayal of pirates of the south-west Anatolia during the Late Republic.

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[11] Culham 2001: 166.
[12] La'da 2003: 252 – 2.
[13] De Souza 1999: 2.
[14] De Souza 1999: 97.

1.3: Dissertation outline.

This dissertation has been divided into five chapters with subcategories outlining the corresponding topics within. Chapters 2.2 consists of two tripartite terminological discussions on the ancient Greek and Latin definitions for pirates, concluding with an elucidation of the close association between piracy and banditry. The discussion in Chapter 2.4 undertakes a post-colonial analysis of textual sources to establish what pirates' motivations were. The argument proceeds to an exploration into the ambiguity of privateering in the ancient world. Furthermore, after examining Greco-Roman textual sources I have identified criteria for what constituted being a pirate: antagonists in literature, antagonists in the historical narratives, political rivals, and hailing from Cilicia. Chapter 2 will demonstrate that it is possible to interpret that in textual sources the label 'pirate' developed from being solely a pejorative term into also being an ethnicised label for people from the amorphous region of Cilicia.

In Chapter 3 eastern ethnographic stereotypes will be examined and it will be discussed if they can be aligned with pirate communities from south-west Anatolia. Their presentation from Greco-Roman authors could have been influenced by Roman stereotypes towards 'Easterners'. Included in this discussion is the applicability of the Environmental determinism theory, followed by a comparison between the negative stereotypes of Hellenistic culture to pirates: monarchy, eastern vices, and obsession with luxury. Chapter 4 explores the characterisation of pirates within textual accounts of Roman campaigns against south-west Anatolian piracy. Rome's stance on piracy will be contextualised with discussions on the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* and the campaigns of Marcus Antonius because they suggest how pirates were presented in this period. Moreover, the reasoning behind Rome's decision to finally combat piracy will be explored to ascertain how the contemporary perception of pirates had developed. It has been mentioned that the Pontic king Mithridates enhanced the military capabilities of pirates from south-west Anatolia, outlining that these pirate bands were allied with Rome's nemesis. Therefore, these accounts will provide further insight into the antagonistic portrayal of pirates from Greco-Roman writers. In the penultimate paragraph of Chapter 4, Pompey's anti-piracy campaign will be analysed with

the intention of establishing how Greco-Roman authors portrayed pirates in this context. I utilise this approach to show that due to their defeat being commemorated, the perception of these pirate bands gradually developed from being nuisances to being considered among the upper echelon of military opponents, at least in the short term. The dissertation concludes with a final discussion on the observations made and potential alternate approaches to future studies on pirate communities in the ancient Mediterranean.

This dissertation synthesises an interpretive analysis of textual sources, epigraphy, and numismatics to ascertain the portrayal of pirates from south-west Anatolia. The portrayal of these pirate groups can be summarised in three hypotheses: firstly, the label 'pirate' became a designation for social groups whose operations conflicted with Greco-Roman cultural norms, a pejorative label for one's political enemies, and an ethnicised term for people from the coasts of south-west Anatolia. Secondly, although ethnically these pirate communities could be categorised as 'Easterners', pirates were perceived as external to this stereotypical grouping. Lastly, inconsistencies within textual sources indicate that pirate bands from south-west Anatolia were an antagonistic entity dissimilar from Rome's other enemies because they spread across the Mediterranean and caused socio-economic problems without defeating Rome in battle.

Chapter 2 – What is a pirate?

2.1: Introduction.

Ostensibly, piracy appears to be a simple act to define, but during the 21st century the term has come to be used to describe diverse activities such as illegally streaming popular television series or buying goods from the black market.[15] Thus, piracy is a term that a majority of people are familiar with, yet it is one that can be used to describe a variety of actions which are unrelated to seaborne plunderers.[16] Nonetheless, the definition which is of significance to this dissertation is that used to define the act of plundering or armed robbery involving the use of ships in the ancient Mediterranean. This definition emphasises the violent acquisitive nature of piracy and differentiates between pirates and bandits by highlighting the *modus operandi* of the former. Pirates' tendency to strike with little or no warning and capacity to operate across considerable distances enables them to have more extensive politico-economic ramifications than banditry, which tends to be a more localised phenomenon.[17] In terms of language, bandits, robbers, and pirates were more closely linked in the ancient world.[18] The close association between bandits and pirates is of importance; acts of banditry and piracy each constituted a form of violence which was not considered legal by the laws of many Greco-Roman states.[19]

Therefore, with the aim of synthesising a nuanced discussion of piratical terminology, it is important to consider how far the language associated with banditry and piracy overlap. The topic of this dissertation is the portrayal of pirates from the south-west Anatolia, but it is essential to examine the Greek and Latin terms for pirate carefully so it is clear what constituted piratical activity in literary evidence from the Archaic to the Roman period. The sources examined in this chapter are literary accounts and inscriptions, archaeological evidence of ancient pirates is scarce. The discussion in Chapter 2.2 is an

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[15] Rohrer 2015: 20.
[16] Rohrer 2015: 20.
[17] De Souza 2013: 43.
[18] De Souza 1999: 3.
[19] Reardon 1997: 5.

analysis of the Greek and Latin terms associated with pirates; this includes their earliest appearance in available (literary) evidence, the distribution of the terms, and how they have been used interchangeably to define people as bandits and/or pirates. In this section, two tripartite discussions of the major Greek and Latin terms used to define piracy elucidate the close association between terms used to describe banditry and piracy. Chapter 2.3 concludes this discussion with the terminological limitations to evidence of piratical terminology due to its close association with banditry and as Avidov puts it, the "solid Greco-Romanocentric slant of our sources."[20] This approach lays the foundation for the discussion in Chapter 2.4 which is an investigation into the criteria social groups had to meet to be considered a pirate. De Souza states that there are no contentious issues or significant controversies over the meaning of Latin terms associated with piracy.[21]It is clear that Ormerod concurs with this perspective since he also devoted very little attention to Latin terminology in his study. This is methodologically unacceptable for this dissertation since awareness of how Latin terminology is employed provides invaluable insights for why pirates were presented negatively in ancient sources for the Roman period.

2.2: Terminology.

Ancient Greek
ληστής (*leistes*)

In the available literary sources there are two common ancient Greek words which can be translated as pirate: ληστής (*leistes*) and πειρατής (*peirates*).[22] For the Archaic, and much of the Classical periods the most frequently employed word in literary and epigraphic sources to designate a pirate was ληστής.[23] According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, *leistes* is first attested in the Homeric epics, in the *Odyssey* the word is explicitly used in its epic form ληιστήρ,[24] but was also used consistently throughout the Classical period. This idea is supported by Thucydides, Herodotus, and a Teian inscription from the mid-5th

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[20] Avidov 1997:44.
[21] De Souza 1999:12 – 13.
[22] De Souza 1999: 3.
[23] Ferone 2008: 255.
[24] *Od*. 3.74, 9.254, 14.85, 17.425. See *TLG* (2018) s.v. ληιστήρ.

century BCE, in all of these accounts the Attic derivation of *leistes*, ληιστής is employed.[25] *Leistes* derives from the root λεία (*leis*), meaning 'booty or spoils', especially of war or hunting.[26] In other words, the Indo-European root *laF* or *lau*, and its meaning is an armed robber or plunderer, for which the common English terms can be bandit or pirate.[27] Passages in Thucydides can also be used to support a nuanced analysis of the term *leistes* and its derivations' contemporaneous meanings and implications.[28] In a maritime context, *leistes* means an armed robber, and a *leistes*' action can be described as *leisteia*, and the verb *leidzomai* can be used for the activity.[29]

However, there is a terminological limitation to *leistes* which provides analytical difficulties for modern scholars; the term does not explicitly differentiate between piratical activity and its land-based counterpart, banditry.[30] For example, Polybius used *leisteia* to describe the land based and maritime plundering of the Aitolians and Cretans, implying that ancient authors described these activities synonymously.[31] De Souza theorises that the authors' use of qualifying terms in front of *leistes* and other terms denotes the location of the activity.[32] The primary example which de Souza uses to substantiate this theory is Strabo's description of the Bosporan peoples: "These peoples live by robberies at sea"[33] which suggests that they were pirates because they committed maritime robberies for their livelihood. Rohrer concurs with de Souza's theory, suggesting that this enabled ancient writers the capability to distinguish between a land-based bandit and a pirate.[34] Although the terms and the location of the activities taking place provide a general differentiation, this perspective does not encapsulate how truly complex was the presentation of pirates, especially when compared to that of bandits. Establishing the presentation of pirates

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[25] Hdt. 6.17; Thuc. 2.32; *SIG* 37, 38. See *TLG* (2018) s.v. ληιστής.
[26] Beekes 2010: 842.
[27] De Souza 1999: 3.
[28] Thuc. 1.5.1 – 2, 1.5.3.
[29] De Souza 1992: 42.
[30] Rohrer 2015: 22. As *IG* XII.2.256 records, under the service of the tyrants who controlled the Lesbian city of Eresos in 324BCE were designated as *leistai*, though whether they were pirates is unclear.
[31] Polyb. (Aitolians) 4.9.10, (Cretans) 4.8.11.
[32] De Souza 1997: 180.
[33] Strab. 11.2.12. "ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ληστηρίων".
[34] Rohrer 2015: 22.

requires detailed analysis of extensive literary accounts that demonstrates the anomalous characterisation of pirates in the ancient Mediterranean.

πειρατής (*peirates*)

The second most common word is accepted as a later arrival in the vocabulary of ancient Greek literary accounts since it is absent from sources dated to the Archaic or Classical periods.[35] The derivation of *peirates* is probably from the word *peira (πεῖρα)*, meaning a trial or attempt on or against one,[36] and it may be linked with *peirao (πειράω)*, meaning to make an attempt at something.[37] The earliest datable use of a derivation of the term *peirates* (πειρατής) was found in a mid-third century BCE Attic inscription from Rhamnous, a well preserved coastal *polis* in Attica.[38] Part of the inscription is missing, but it can be interpreted as a *deme* decree in honour of the *strategos* Epichares who held responsibility for coastal defences during Peithidemos' archonship.[39] Epichares recovered the slaves and citizens who were snatched from their settlements by a marauding pirate band.[40]

Per the inscription:

"He also punished those who had introduced the pirates/bandits into the land, men from the city, arresting and interrogating them in a way that was fitting for what they did."[41]
"ἐκόλασε δὲ καὶ τοὺ- [ς κ]αθηγουμένους εἰς τ[ὴ]ν χώραν τοῖς πειραταῖς, λαβὼν καὶ ἐξετάσας αὐτούς, ὄν- [τα]ς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, [ἀξίω]ς ὧν ἔπραττον·"

The decree reports an exchange or ransoming of prisoners were who captured by *peiratai*, who had been brought into the area by people described as being 'from the city', probably in reference to Athens.[42] This military conflict occurred between Ptolemaic and Macedonian

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[35] De Souza 1999: 3; See *TLG* (2018) s.v. πειρατής.
[36] Beekes 2010: 1162; also attested by Soph. *Aj.* 2.
[37] Beekes 2010: 1162; also attested by the Homeric epics (il. 4.66; *Ody.* 2.316) and Herodotus (6:84)
[38] De Souza 1999: 3. The date of Peithidemos' archonship is contentious but Will (1969:223 – 4) and Meritt (1977: 174) suggest 265/4BCE for Peithidemos' archonship.
[39] Gabbert 1986: 160 – 1.
[40] Oliver 2007: 130.
[41] *SEG* 24 1968 no. 154, 21 – 3.
[42] De Souza 1999: 3.

armies, with a distinguishing inscription defining "*peirates*" as plunderers who undertook these activities by their own conviction.[43]

On the one hand, there is much to agree with de Souza and that the most logical interpretation of the use of *peirates* was that it was a pejorative term for a plunderer or raider.[44] On the other, in this example of the word's usage, and as with many others, whether this term should be translated as pirate or bandit is not clear. In this context Austin translates *peiratais* as pirates under the basis of Rhamnous being a coastal town.[45] However, as Figure 1 illustrates, Rhamnous was situated within striking range of bandits from the east in settlements such as Aphidna, Eitea, and Oinoe, and Trikorynthos to the south.[46] Moreover, the tenth century Byzantine lexicon *The Suda* was an attempt to distinguish *peirates* as meaning pirate and *leistes* meaning bandit.[47] Nonetheless, the synonymous terminological usage of these terms from authors such as Achilles Tatius, Polybius and Strabo illustrates that the practice of Greek authors did not correspond with The *Suda*.[48] Therefore, insufficient context provided by the ancient sources can lead modern scholars to make seemingly reasonable conclusions which must be re-examined so that a clearer differentiation between pirates and bandits can be established in ancient sources.

Katapontistes (καταποντιστής)

According to available literary accounts, in ancient Greek there is only one term employed exclusively for the description of pirates: *katapontistes* (καταποντιστής). *Katapontistes* is translated by *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* from its derivation, katapontídzo, which means "throw into the sea, plunge, or drown therein".[49]. Since *Katapontistes* means "one who throws into the sea", it is very rarely used to designate anything excluding pirates.[50] The earliest record of *katapontistes* occurs in Isocrates,[51] but Demosthenes used

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[43] Williams 2016.
[44] De Souza 1999: 4.
[45] Austin 1981: 50.
[46] See figure of Rhamnous. Since Boiotia is also close to Rhamnous bandits from further west could also have penetrated this coastal town by land (de Souza 1999: 4).
[47] *The Suda* 474, 1454.
[48] Ach. Tat. 2.17.3, 5.7.6; Polyb. 21.12; Strab 14.3.2; de Souza 1999: 7 – 9.
[49] *TLG* s.v. καταποντ-ίζω.
[50] *TLG* s.v. καταποντιστής. Pausanias (8.52.3) uses the word metaphorically, describing those who fought against Athens as 'wreckers' (de Souza 1992: 38). The fact that Pausanias uses this term as a negative description for Athens' enemies is indicative of the word's pejorative nature.
[51] Isoc. *Paneg*. 115; *Panath*. 12, 226.

the term along with *leistes* to describe the conditions on the island of Alopekonnesos.[52] Cassius Dio is the only author who made regular use of *katapontistes*, but also employed *leistes* while never using *peirates*. Dio employed *katapontistes* as a specific term for a pirate when he wanted to make an explicit distinction between sea and land activities. His utilisation of the term was centred on the discussion of Pompey's early career and the *lex Gabinia* of 67BCE.[53] The distinction between pirates and bandits is explicitly shown in Dio's account, Dio explained why, with the constant warfare providing both the opportunity and justification for many to turn to armed robbery or plundering, extensive piracy was Rome's greatest concern in the Late Republic:

"While the bandits' (*leistika*) plunderings on the land, being under the very eyes of the locals who could discover the injury nearby and apprehend them without much difficulty, were easily stopped, the plundering by sea (i.e. piracy) had increased dramatically. For while the Romans were occupied against their enemies, they (the pirates) were flourishing, sailing all over the place and all joining together as groups, so that some of them came to each other's aid like regular allies."[54]

Dio emphasises that while banditry could be suppressed with relative ease, the pirates' capacity to operate at long range made the suppression of piracy much more difficult than banditry. However, Dio does not use *katapontistes* to refer to pirates in this passage. Thus, Dio employed the term to show the explicit distinction between bandits and pirates. Once established that it is pirates who would be the subject of his narrative, he alternated it with *leistes*.[55] Therefore, it is evident that Dio was able to use a specific term for pirate, but did not always feel it was necessary to do so, allowing the context to elucidate whichever the author meant, and allowing him to decide on the significance of *leistes*.[56] However, the irregular use of *katapontistes* when compared to other terms associated with pirates exemplifies how closely associated these forms of criminality were viewed from an ancient perspective. In addition, it is demonstrative of the fact that ancient authors clearly understood the difference between them, and each term's associations with

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[52] Demos. 23.166; de Souza 1999: 10.
[53] Cass. Dio 36.20.1.
[54] Cass. Dio 36.20.3 – 4
[55] Cass. Dio 36.24.1; 36.36.4; de Souza 1999: 10.
[56] De Souza 1999: 10.

one another, but chose to let the context express whether bandits or pirates were being discussed.

Latin

Pirata

Numerous literary sources indicate that, akin to the Greek terminology, the Latin vocabulary for pirates is found in the common usage of two words: *praedo* and *pirata*. The English word pirate derives through the Latin *pirata* from the ancient Greek πειρατής (*peirates*).[57] The earliest use of this word occurs in Cicero's writings, most notably during his speeches against the magistrate Verres; Cicero obtained the strongest condemnation for his subject's actions by referring to Verres as *praedo* and *pirata*, both of which can be interpreted as a bandit or pirate.[58] In Livy's *Epitome* 68 it is stated "M. Antonius praetor in Ciliciam maritimos praedones (id est piratas) persecutus est."[59] The slight clarification is demonstrative of how describing pirates as "maritimos praedones", or bandits of the sea, subsequently vanished in favour of *pirata* for pirates since authors deemed it necessary to provide an explanation.[60] Examples of this are also found in the accounts of Eutropius, Festus, Horace, Quintillian, Seneca the Younger and Elder, Strabo, Valerius Maximus, and Velleius Paterculus.[61] The extensive usage of this wording suggests that there was previously a tendency to perceive pirates as bandits of the sea, since it was covered by the same terminology.[62]

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[57] Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1521) s.v. *pirata*; TLL s.v. *pirata*.

[58] Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.23; de Souza 1999: 152. How the term pirate is presented as a rhetorical technique to condemn a political enemy is discussed in Chapter 2 – Political enemies.

[59] Liv. *Ep*. 68. In addition, Livy also observes that three Roman gift-bearers had been sent to Delphi in 394BCE but were intercepted by Lipurnean pirates (*piratae*), whose custom was to divide the booty as if they were bandits, "Mos erat civitatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere." (5.28.3). Weissenborn and Müller 1881: 151.

[60] Reardon 1997: 24.

[61] Etur 3.7; Festus *Brev*. 12; Hor. *Epod*. 4; Quint. *Decl. Majores*. 6.4.1; 6.6.15, 9.4.5; Sen. *Ben*. 7.15.1; Sen. *Cont*. 1.2.8; Strab. 11.2.12, 14.5.6; Val**.** Max. 6.9.15, and Vel. Pat*.* 2.31.2.

[62] Reardon 1997: 25.

Praedo

The most frequently found Latin term associated with pirate is *praedo*,[63] derived from the Greek *praeda* which translates to booty or plunder.[64] Similarly to the Greek terms *leistes* and *peirates*, according to the Oxford Latin Dictionary *praedo* translates to 'a person who lives by robbery', a brigand or pirate.[65] The derivation is used in two legal ways in Latin: one is a legal term used to describe someone who seized another person's property without the legal grounds to do so.[66] The second usage is the more commonly attested bandit or plunderer meaning. The non-legal use of *praedo* can refer to both bandits and pirates, further emphasising that writers in Latin closely associated bandits and pirates, which is also implied by the lack of law dealing with the punishment of pirates explicitly, in a few ways they were judged as bandits.[67] Dual usage of this term provides further difficulties in determining whether the author is referring to bandits or pirates, though some modern scholars suggest that the context can make it clear. In the *Digest*, within an edict concerning fire, destruction, or a ship being taken by force, Ulpian used the derivation *praedonibus* to describe attacks on maritime vessels.[68] Reardon believes that this use of *praedonibus* is clearly in reference to pirates, a view which this study agrees with in this context.[69] In addition to *pirata*, when mentioning pirates in his speeches against the magistrate Verres, Cicero often used *praedo*, indicating that the term has a general sense meaning 'robber'. Cicero refers to inland farmers who never fear a seafaring pirate "..qui nomen numquam timuissent maritimi praedonis..."[70] Moreover, this suggests that Cicero considered *praedo* a better term to suit his rhetoric, carrying the negative associations with the term 'bandit'

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[63] Cic. *Ver*. 2.29; Caes. *Gal*. 7.46.5; Sal. *Jug*. 91.4; Liv. 22.31.3, 29.26.1; Tac. *Ag*. 29.2; Suet. *Dom*. 12.1; Plaut. *Rud*. 1242, 1316; Cic. *Ver*. 1.130, 2.46, 3.182, *Off*. 3.72; Liv. 6.41.11; Sen. *Oed*. 557; Hor. *Ep*. 2.2.55; Vl. Fl. 4.429, Tac. *Ann*. 12.49. Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v. *praedo* 2012: 1572; TLL s.v. *praedo*.

[64] See Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1570) s.v. *praeda*; TLL s.v. *praeda*.

[65] See Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1572); Per Vagg (1995: 65) "Despite the variety of acts encompassed by definitions of piracy, it is reasonable to suggest that most piracy is simply robbery or banditry made distinctive only by the fact that it occurs on water." Hobsbawm (1969: 26) makes similar observations on piracy in Asia.

[66] Berger 1953: 642.

[67] Braund 1993: 205 – 6; Reardon 1997: 22.

[68] Ulp. *Dig*. 47.9.3.1.

[69] Ulp. *Dig*. 47.9.3.1 "Expugnare videtur, qui in ipso quasi proelio et pugna adversus navem et ratem aliquid rapit, sive expugnet sive praedonibus expugnantibus rapiat." However, neither Scott's (1932) nor Watson's (1985) translations of Ulpian's *Digest* use 'pirates' for *praedonibus*; they translate the term as robbers or brigands.

[70] Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.70; Reardon 1997:23.

more effectively than *pirata*. Cicero's selective use of *praedo* when referring to pirates alludes to the explicitly negative portrayal of pirates in the Late Republic.[71]

Latro

The first meaning of *latro* is defined by the Oxford Latin Dictionary as a 'hired soldier, mercenary.'[72] Etymologically, *latro* is probably a derivation from the Greek root λάτρων.[73] According to Grünewald, the substantive *latreia* means 'services performed for reward'; the verb *latreuein* correspondingly translates as 'to perform services for reward.'[74] There is an abundance of literary evidence indicative of *latro*'s initial meaning in the accounts of Ennius, Plautus, Varro and Festus and which allude to the word's association with mercenaries.[75] Varro suggests that *latrones* were originally men employed to be at the side of a ruler, and playwrights referred to soldiers as *latrones* on occasion.[76] The earliest accounts which utilise the term *latrones* reflect a distinctive suspicion that was more explicit in the later meaning of 'bandit'. This distrust was based on the experiences that those in the Greco-Roman world had with plundering mercenaries from the 4th century BCE: undisciplined soldiers for hire and so greedy for booty, who turned to autonomous expeditions when their missions for which they had been hired concluded.[77] By the 1st century BCE the *latrō*'s morally ambiguous meaning had developed into a long standing derogatory association with criminality.[78] In Varro's view, *latrō* became interchangeable with bandit because they are similar to soldiers in that they also use swords, or because they utilised ambushes on their opponents.[79] The mercenary aspect of banditry and piracy at times played a significant part in the pirates' and bandits' operations, particularly the piracy encountered by the Romans in the Late Republic. Varro's comparison appears overly simplistic since swords were a

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[71] After Pompey's successful campaign against the pirates, in 66BCE Cicero delivered the speech *De Imp*. Cn. *Pompei* with the intention of supporting Manilius' law to give Pompey command in the war against Mithridates. In this speech, Cicero refers to the pirates with *praedo* or its derivation a total of 14 times in sections 31, 32, 33, 35, 52, 55, 63 (Reardon 1997: 22).

[72] The Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1109) s.v. *latro*; TLL s.v. *latro*.

[73] The Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1109) s.v. *latro*.

[74] Grünewald 2004: 5.

[75] Enn. *Ann*. 538; Plaut. *Mil*. 949; Varro *Ling*. Lat. 7.52; Fest. 412.

[76] Varro *Ling*. 7.52; Plaut. *Mil*. 74, 949, *Poen*. 663, 666, in *Bacchides* frag. 7 a *latro* is described as a man who exchanges his life for gold "...(*latrō*) suam qui auro vitam venditat...". Reardon 1997: 6 – 7.

[77] Grünewald 2004: 5.

[78] Reardon 1997: 7

[79] Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 7.52.

standard tool of weaponry at the time. Nonetheless, by the time of Cicero in the 1st century BCE, analogous to the Greek *leistes*, *latrō* became synonymous with both pirate and bandit.[80] The term provides complications because many of the accounts which mention *latro* or its derivations discuss land based banditry or mercenaries. Therefore, the word being synonymous with *praedo* means that general context and qualifying terms must be explored to ascertain which form of criminality or service was being discussed. The term shares negative overtones with the other Greek and Latin terminology which indicate the gradual development of pirates from being viewed as a human equivalent of natural phenomena to being vilified, leading to the Roman's extensive military-politico policy against pirates.[81]

2.3: Conclusion.

This review has provided an extensive literary analysis of Greek and Latin terms associated with pirates, including observations of their overlap with descriptions of bandits. Nonetheless, it must be stated that there are two major issues with terminological evidence of pirates which have not been addressed by modern scholars. As previously mentioned, there are limitations to the terminology since without context the words do not explicitly differentiate pirates from their land based counterparts, bandits.[82] It is commonly accepted that the use of a qualifying term in front of *leistes* denotes the location of the activity.[83] Rohrer argued that this enables authors the capability to distinguish between a land-based bandit and a pirate who engaged in theft and kidnapping, actions which are generally considered piratical.[84] However, there are a few issues with this perspective which overlook crucial similarities between pirates and bandits. This approach neglects the evidence of bandits victimising the inhabitants of coastal areas. Strabo's account indicates the activities of bandits and pirates in coastal areas such as Berytus[85] and the Sharon plain,[86] regions inhabited by Jews and Syrians. Quoting the Hasmonean Hyrcanus, Josephus accuses his enemy Aristobulus of being a person who "instigated raids against neighbouring peoples

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[80] Cic. *Tul*. 50, *Catil*. 2.7, *Mil*. 55; Caes. *Gal*. 3.17.4; Liv. 3.58.2; Phaed. 5.2.1; Tac. *Ann*. 3.73. *TLL* s.v. *latro*.
[81] Shaw 1984: 8 – 9.
[82] Rohrer 2015: 22.
[83] De Souza 1997: 180.
[84] Rohrer 2015: 22.
[85] Strab. 16.2.18.
[86] Strab. 16.2.28.

and acts of piracy at sea" before Pompey's conquest.[87] These accounts demonstrate how closely associated these forms of criminality were, and that acts of banditry occurred in coastal areas also, undermining de Souza's idea. Additionally, as Appian mentions, these were terms which pirates themselves scorned.[88] Pejorative terms in the literary sources are as much a representation of the groups being presented as they are of those who are conveying their own contemporary political invective.[89] It can be supposed from Appian's account that these people did not see themselves as pirates, nor feel pride towards the negative overtones which these labels possessed. With the aim of establishing a social reality for what constituted a pirate in the Greco-Roman world, we must explore the inconsistencies and superfluities within Greco-Roman literary traditions, doing so can lead to original ideas on pirates in the ancient world.

2.4: The criteria for what constitutes a pirate.

The way that the ancient sources describe pirates is almost totally negative. However, to encapsulate the distinct presentation of pirates we must investigate the multiple facets of their portrayal within Greco-Roman writing traditions. Therefore, this discussion begins with a post-colonial re-examination of the sources to provide a more nuanced understanding of what the motivations for pirating were. This will lead to a discussion of the concept of privateering in the ancient world. Whether it was considered an act of privateering or piracy was dependent on the cultural norms of the recipients and victims. In many areas of the ancient world privateering was considered a cultural norm, so the laws of certain Greco-Roman states were markedly dissimilar. Corresponding with their multifaceted presentation in ancient sources, the structure of this section is a thematic discussion of the different criteria a person or social group had to meet to be considered a pirate. The criteria I have identified in Greco-Roman literary traditions are those of antagonists in literature and in the historical narratives, political rivals, and hailing from Cilicia. In this chapter, it will be shown that it is possible to show that in literary evidence the

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[87] Joseph. *AJ*. 14.3.2. Isaac (1984) provides further discussion into banditry in Judaea and Arabia.
[88] App. *Mith*. 92.
[89] De Souza 2013: 45.

term 'pirate' became more than just a pejorative term: it developed into an ethnicised label for people from certain areas of the Mediterranean basin. To substantiate this hypothesis, the evidence includes epigraphy, historical accounts, epic poetry, and comedies all which mention the activities of pirates. The vessel commonly associated with pirates were the *lembi*[90] and *liburnai*[91], two smaller ships known for their speed and manoeuvrability.[92] Appian stated that during the Mithridatic Wars pirates gradually gave up their smaller *myoprarones* and *hemioliai* for larger biremes and triremes.[93] However, Appian must be viewed with caution. The use of particular types of ships does not necessarily infer that the crew aboard them were pirates, and therefore cannot be used as a criterion in this section.

In this section, this chapter takes a post-colonial approach when appropriate. Per Munshi:

"…(post-colonial theory) focuses on hybrid spaces of organization and organizing created in the encounters between the colonizer and the colonized, amplifies voices marginalized by dominant organizational discourses, and points to the ways in which indigenous forms of knowing, being, and speaking can inform understandings of organization in a multicultural world."[94]

This approach is suitable for this discussion because post-colonial theory places emphasis on the "small voice of history", including migrants, peasants, and subaltern peoples.[95] A post-colonial approach works here for two reasons, firstly because our sources depict pirates to be from areas associated with poverty, and due to their activities were considered unlawful by many states in the Mediterranean world. In short, they were clearly a marginalised group. Secondly, in the ancient Mediterranean it appears that pirates were predominantly vernacular since there are no literary accounts from contemporary pirates. Although, it can be argued that despite their explicit categorisation and the antagonistic portrayal made by ancient authors, some viewed their activities as being within the lawful parameters of their state, not acts of piracy.

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[90] It is argued that Cilician, Cretan and Illyrian pirates primarily used these light rowed galleys, where the rowers could fluctuate between 16 and 50 (Meijer 1986: 167).
[91] Adapted from the piratical minded Liburnians, the *liburnian* was a speedy, two-banked ship (Casson 1995: 141). For further discussion on the *liburnian* see Panciera (1956: 130 – 156).
[92] Casson 1995: 141 – 2.
[93] App. *Mith*. 92.
[94] Munshi 2017: 1886 – 1896.
[95] Chandra 2013: 481.

It must be stated however, that there are inherent problems with applying a post-colonial approach to a society which left no explicit textual evidence of its own. Although this method takes the perspective of the subaltern, in this case people categorised as pirates, the only evidence available is from Greco-Roman authors: in other words, from those who propagated the terms in the first place. Aside from there being evidence of pirate chieftains in the historical record,[96] there is no evidence from the pirates about their social structures which would provide insight into their *modus operandi*. Stemming once again from a lack of evidence, we can say very little about the thoughts of these communities and how they felt towards Roman imperialism which was justified through their suppression. Placing emphasis on the thoughts and feelings of marginalised groups has grown in relevance over the past decade, but applying this approach to an ancient society is not without issues. Malkin argues that applying post-colonial concepts and terms such as 'colonizer' or 'colonized' to the ancient world is an example of the discipline over-extending itself; it must be questioned whether modern scholars project these terms onto antiquity so that ancient societies may provide further historical depth to the modern post-colonial phenomenon.[97] Nonetheless, there is evidence from enough different authors to discern an inconsistency in how pirates are presented in antiquity, and therefore through this a post-colonial approach can offer new ideas into how pirates saw themselves and what were their motivations.

Motivations

In Thucydides' account, it is expressed that acts of piracy were once perceived as a legitimate way of life.[98] Despite Thucydides' later describing piracy as disgraceful,[99] for centuries subsequent to the Classical period this necessity was still felt by pirates. The primary motivations behind piratical activity appear to have been private gain and maintenance of dependents within a clan or tribe.[100] The estimates provided by ancient

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[96] Cicero mentions the necessity for pirate chiefs to give their crew a fair share of the loot, otherwise they would be abandoned or even killed by their subordinates (*Off*. 2.40).
[97] Malkin 2004: 342.
[98] Thuc. 1.5.
[99] Thuc. 1.5.
[100] Ormerod 1924: 69.

authors state that at their peak during the Late Republic pirate fleets boasted over 1000 ships and had over 400 cities under their control.[101] If these estimates are correct, then there must have been a pirate 'population' of hundreds of thousands if it includes women, children and the elderly.[102] The idea of pirates having dependents is corroborated by Thucydides and Plutarch,[103] and to sustain such large numbers of dependents and vessels, the volume of income the pirates needed to acquire must have been gigantic.[104] Plutarch's account mentions the women, children and "useless folk", presumably disabled and elderly. The sentiment expressed by the historiographic tradition is that pirates were part of a virus allowed to run rampant across the seas. However, Plutarch's remarks suggest that a motivation for pirate bands was to financially support these people. The fact that piracy spread across the Mediterranean despite the seas gradually becoming regarded as Roman 'territory' emphasises that pirates saw this way of life as essential. In order to maintain a source of income large enough to support their dependents, plundering new territories provided a fresh supply of slaves, booty, and possibly wealthy aristocrats who could be ransomed. After all, piracy was a livelihood, and raiding the same areas would eventually deplete its profitability if the settlements were raided repeatedly and even lead to conflict with other pirate bands. Pirate bands can be seen as functioning similarly to land-based hunter-gatherers, this entails groups splitting when a certain geographic area has maximised its carrying capacity, or there are disputes over resources.[105]

Analogous to 'honest' ventures such as agriculture or metallurgy, fundamentally, piracy should also be considered a means of support that needed to remain cost effective for the pirates themselves. Unless profitability continually expanded, piracy would eventually reach a point of parasitic counter-productivity: no economic system can sustain profitability if its expenditures on plundering outweighed the proceeds from these

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[101] The estimates are from Plutarch (*Pomp.* 245), while Strabo suggested that the number of ships was slightly larger, at around 1, 300 (Strabo 14.3.3). Appian's estimation of tens of thousands is slightly wilder (*Mith*. 93).
[102] Plutarch explicitly mentions 'women and children' (*Pomp*. 27.4), then mentions 'their families and belongings and useless folk (*Pomp*. 28.1).
[103] Thuc. 1.5; Plut. *Pomp*. 27.4, 28.1.
[104] Avidov 1997: 17.
[105] Haviland *et al*. 2011: 241; Hitchcock & Maeir 2014: 633.

expedition.[106] There is no evidence of the pirate bands' payment structure, but it can be suggested that since there were pirate kings and chiefs, they used a substantial share of the booty for the bands' payment and upkeep. As evident in the accounts of numerous writers and epigraphically, the main source of income for pirates came from plundering coastal settlements, by ransoming wealthy aristocrats, and from slaving.[107] The same manner of acquiring profits was also found in the Early Modern period, loosely under the authority of the Papacy, Rhodian pirates maintained an uncompromising piratical influence in the eastern Mediterranean through plundering sea lanes to harass passing traffic for cargoes of food supplies and spices from Arabia including dried fish, wine, and silk.[108] Their activities led to their conflict with the Barbary pirates, who were notorious for their plundering of states in the western Mediterranean including the Italian, French, and Spanish coasts. Similarly to the Cilician pirates, literary sources indicate that a substantial part of both the Barbary pirates' and the Rhodian corsairs' income was through enslavement of their captives.[109] Quantifying what the most profitable expedition is, without an extensive list of profits from each pirate band, impossible. The numerous references to pirates as slavers suggest that slaving was what pirates profited from the most.[110] Despite the influx of slaves piracy provided Rome during its Mediterranean conquest, still the presentation of pirates was consistently negative. Strabo remarks on Cilician pirates "pretending to be slave

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[106] Avidov 1997: 17; Horden & Purcell 2000: 387 – 388.

[107] A decree of Thera was made following a raid from pirates (*IG* 12.3.1291). Strabo believed that the exponential growth of Cilician piracy was due to their connection with the slave trade (Strab. 14.5.2). Antium and Ostia were exposed to maritime raids from Greek pirates in around 349BCE (Liv. 7.25.4), and coastal settlements such as Caieta, Misenum, and Ostia were attacked by pirates in the Late Republic (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 12.33). Literary evidence indicates that ransoming of prisoners had occurred for centuries as it is mentioned by Herodotus (5.7.33), Thucydides (3.70.1, 7.83.2), Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.* 1134b), and Plutarch (*Mor.* 849e). This continued with the pirates of the Roman era. A young Julius Caesar was held captive by pirates who intended to ransom him for 20 talents. Outraged at this underselling, Caesar persuaded the pirates to increase the ransom to 50 talents (Plut. *Mor.* 206a; Suet. *Div. Jul.* 4). An inscription from Teos outlines that pirates demanded 10% of the *polis'* income. It can be assumed from this inscription that pirates could negotiate with states trying to dissuade them from harming their inhabitants if they agreed to the pirates' demands (*SEG.* 44.949).

[108] Crowley 2008: 13 – 14.

[109] Crowley 2008: 14. See Clissold (1977) and Davis (2004) for discussion the lives of corsairs, their captives, and the religious differences between them spanning roughly 500 years.

[110] Of the Cilician pirates, Strabo states that they sold a 'myriad' of slaves daily (14.5.2). Modern scholars, including Meijer (1986: 191), Marasco (1987: 122 – 146), Ormerod (1924: 206 – 7), and Pohl (1993: 186 – 90), use this hyperbolic passage to substantiate their theses that Rome did not suppress piracy sooner because the pirates provided a substantial number of slaves. However, as will be explained in Chapter 4, I find this view unconvincing.

dealers."[111] During their conquest of the Mediterranean, the Roman Republic enslaved a large amount of people, [112] and it is not treated as being an abnormal practice by contemporary writers. Yet, the expansion of the Cilician pirates, which was in part substantiated by the enslavement of their captives, was portrayed as a pretence to conceal their villainous ways.

Privateers

In the words of Thompson: "(t)he distinction between a privateer and a pirate is that the former acts under the authority of a state that accepts or is charged with responsibility for his acts, while the latter acts in his own interests and on his own authority."[113] There is enough evidence to confirm that, along with piracy, privateering was a long established fixture of ancient warfare. The terminology associated with pirates is easily identified, but the nomenclature alone does not draw a clear distinction between the ancient privateer and the pirate. The major difference between what was considered a pirate and a privateer is their presentation in the literary sources. In the ancient world, privateering was plundering under the authorisation provided by a state to the owners of maritime vessels to undertake acts of war.[114] Privateers in the 18th century also operated under the authorisation of the state, this authorisation was documented into what is known as a "letter of marque", a license for seafarers to plunder enemy ships or raid foreign settlements en route to their destination. [115] During the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739 – 1748) privateers from both the British Royal Naval troops and American colonial forces on one side, and the Spanish privateers on the other attacked each other constantly. Colonial privateering's popularity is understandable, privateering offered American sailors prize shares averaging around double the monthly wages provided by the merchant service and were approximately six times the Royal Navy's monthly rate.[116] In 347 – 346BCE, during the Sacred War between Athens and

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[111] Strab. 14.5.2.
[112] Bradley 2011: 246.
[113] Thompson 1994: 22.
[114] In the Archaic period the Ionian poleis Samos and Miletus had a history of naval raids against one another (Carty 2015: 13), since the elite of Samos in this period established their own value-system of plunder and ransom (Brulé 1978: 159), this could be reasonably interpreted as privateering in this period.
[115] Chadman 1909: 216; Williams 2004: xvii – xviii.
[116] Swanson 1985: 382.

Macedon, Philip commanded privateers to attack a number of Athens' Aegean colonies, even capturing an Athenian citizen named Phrynon who the privateers intended to ransom.[117] Contrarily, there is also evidence of Athenian privateers harassing Macedonian vessels and supplies.[118] Furthermore, it can be proposed that during the First Punic War Rome employed privateers, men who would borrow ships from the Roman navy, but were allowed to keep any booty or plunder which they acquired during their expedition.[119] In Cassius Dio's account is a reference to a sea raid undertaken by Roman privateers in the 3rd century BCE when Romans "…sailed to Hippo, an African city, and there burned up all the boats and many of the buildings."[120] Roman privateering as it occurred in this instance was not an isolated affair. Florus speaks of a Roman victory over a Punic fleet which provided Rome with a large amount of booty.[121] Cassius Dio describes them as "private citizens." In fact, Cassius Dio notes that it was the inspiration drawn from these men's successes that Romans stopped neglecting seafaring.[122] Therefore, based solely on the Roman perspective, the major difference between a privateer and a pirate was that a privateer was authorised to plunder, whereas a pirate acted on their own. Dissimilarly to the modern perspective of privateering, there is no direct evidence of the state's legal documents providing authorisation for the privateers discussed here. This is problematic because, as Ormerod puts it, "it is often difficult to distinguish privateering on the part of a belligerent state from the continuous piracy of a more backward community."[123]

However, the idea of authorisation from a state being the clear differentiator between the presentation of pirates and privateers is inconsistent since most contemporary sources which document Roman relations with piracy do not correspond with this idea. Illyrian sailors received authorisation to plunder under the basis of Illyrian traditions,[124] thus could be considered privateers in principle. Yet, in contrast to the sympathetic presentation of Roman privateers recorded by Dio, Polybius depicts the Illyrians as barbaric and

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[117] Aeschin. 2.72; Cawkwell 1978: 92; Buckley 1996: 476; Gabriel 2010: 159.
[118] Green 2013: 68.
[119] Lazenby 1996: 146 – 7.
[120] Cass.Dio 12.8.16.
[121] Flor. 1.18.30 – 32.
[122] Cass.Dio. 12.8.16.
[123] Ormerod 1921: 108.
[124] Polyb. 2.8.8 – 9.

predatory for their plundering of Italian traders, despite knowing that it was the custom of these people.[125] Thus, while it can be argued that the Illyrians were privateers, still they were portrayed as a common enemy of Greeks and Romans alike. Their authorisation from Queen Teuta to plunder freely was not accepted by the Roman Senate, hence their portrayal as pirates by Polybius. In the ancient world, whether an individual or a group were privateers or pirates was a matter of perspective. If plundering was under the authority of a belligerent state it appears that they were considered privateers by the aggressors, but if a state was the recipient of attacks from maritime vessels, authorised by an enemy state or not, then the group committing the attack were pirates. Indeed, through manipulation of military propaganda, militaristic antagonism towards Rome was used to differentiate between a pirate and a privateer, ally and enemy.

Pirates in literature

According to Jowitt, often when they appear in literature pirates are presented as unruly, antagonistic figures.[126] Although Jowitt's study focused on pirates in the Early Modern period, a parallel can be drawn with the depiction of pirates over a millennia earlier. However, the earliest evidence of pirates in the literature showed antagonistic aspects as well as honourable traits. Odysseus claimed with pride to have been a pirate during his *nostos*, while the cyclops Polyphemus perceived those who sailed around as pirates did as troublemakers.[127] Novelists including Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Heliodorus, Lucian, Longus, Petronius and Xenophon of Ephesus all depict pirates as antagonists in their novels.[128] In many of these texts, the pirates were driven by financial gain and often captured civilians, particularly young women in this context, whom they sought to sell into slavery, as in *Callirhoe* when the pirate Theron sought to sell Callirhoe in Ionia for a large

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[125] Polyb. 2.8.1 – 3.
[126] Jowitt 2007: 3.
[127] *Ody*. 9.255, 14.199.
[128] Achilles Tatius *Leucippe and Clitophon*; Chariton *Callirhoe*; Heliodorus *An Ethiopian Tale*; Longus *Daphnis and Chloe*; Petronius *Satyricon*; Plautus *Rudens* and *Miles Glorious*; Xenophon of Ephesus *The Ephesian Story*. Lucian *The True Story* is another example, although in line with the narrative, Lucian's portrayal of pirates is not to be taken as a realistic representation: the pirates assault a ship riding dolphins and fling squid eyes and cuttlefish at Greek sailors who repulse the attack without consequence (Lucian. *TS* 104 – 105).

profit.[129] These events are explicitly fictionalised, and were often not contemporaneous with when piracy was at its zenith in the Late Republic. Moreover, the comedic aspects of certain episodes are clearly intended as farcical scenes for the audiences' amusement rather than as realistic portrayals of pirates. The idea that pirates were frequently portrayed as antagonists suggests that they are a phenomenon with which the authors' audiences were not unfamiliar; the authors must have believed that their audiences, often aristocratic Greeks, would be aware of the threat which pirates posed to 'civilised' Greeks.[130] Additionally, in the majority of these tales the pirates rarely escaped after committing their crimes, best exemplified by Theron being executed for his abduction of Callirhoe.[131] The common nature of this trope can be interpreted as a general vindication of the authors' beliefs that because of their crimes pirates were enemies of the state and their treatment was appropriate.

Military antagonists

Although the sources mentioned above are fictionalised and often intended as entertainment, the sentiment of pirates as antagonists stems from their portrayal in numerous historical accounts and inscriptions. The most explicit evidence of this began in the Classical period. For example, a Teian inscription dated to 470BCE equates pirates with treason:

"Whoever in the future commits treason or brigandage, or takes brigands under his protection or commits piracy, or takes pirates under his protection, with full knowledge, (men) who from the territory of Teos or from the sea bear off plunder."[132]

This text clearly differentiates bandits from pirates and is indicative of the constant plundering which the island faced and their negative perception of pirates. However, once again, this was a matter of perspective. In the case of many Classical Greek states, when they or their allies engaged in plundering, it was considered a legitimate conduct of warfare,

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[129] Chari. 1.7.10.
[130] Beek 2006: 65.
[131] Analogously, once Julius Caesar was freed from his pirate captors he returned to crucify them all (Plut. *Mor*. 206a; Suet. *Div. Jul*. 4). Pirates receiving harsh punishment for their crimes was clearly a reality in this period.
[132] *SIG*. 37, 38. Meiggs & Lewis 1988 no. 30; translation from Fornara 1983 no. 63.

but when they were the recipients of such activities it was piracy.[133] Modern scholars such as Ormerod and Hornblower suggest that subservience to Athens offered weaker states protection from piracy.[134] However, this view is supported only by fragmentary inscriptions which records a treaty between Mytilene and Athens (427 – 424BCE). Included in the inscription is a clause which demanded that the Mytileneans swore not to side with pirates or practice piracy.[135] Yet, there is substantial evidence of Athenians themselves as both perpetrators and victims of this same kind of piracy.[136] Therefore, those who committed piratical actions were unburdened by a negative connotation as long as the victims were the appropriate people. Irrespective of the identity or political alignments of the perpetrators, from the standpoint of the individuals and groups who were the recipients of these frequent attacks the most appropriate designation for these people were 'pirates.'[137] From a Roman perspective, pirates were presented as irritants from when Rome was merely a nominal Italian power in the Classical period. Although centuries later in the Late Republic, pirates are portrayed as significantly detrimental to Rome even after its Mediterranean conquest. Despite the Greco-Roman-centric nature of our sources, the tendency to label one's antagonists as pirates was not exclusive to Romans and mainland Greeks. In a quote from Sallust which he attributed to Mithridates VI, the Romans are described as "The race of pirates who plundered the globe."[138] The authenticity of this quote can be questioned, since there is no other evidence to substantiate it. Authenticity aside, the quote is indicative of how many states external to the Greco-Roman sphere of influence employed the label of pirate as a pejorative label to invalidate the legitimacy behind the actions of their military and political antagonists.

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[133] De Souza 2013: 45.

[134] Hornblower 1991: 30 – 1; Ormerod 1924: 110.

[135] *IG*. 1 no. 67.

[136] "And the Athenians from Pylos took a lot of booty from the Spartans. Yet even this did not make the Spartans abandon the treaty and go to war with them, but they announced, for any of their own people who wanted to, plundering against the Athenians" (Thuc. 5.115.2). In Thucydides' account, it is said that there will be Spartan raids in retaliation to the Athenian attacks.

[137] De Souza 2013: 45.

[138] Sall. *Hist*. fr. IV 69M; in Adler's view Sallust uses the quote by Mithridates to express his own criticisms of Roman foreign policy (2006). However, there is no further evidence to substantiate this claim.

Political enemies

So far this dissertation has ascertained that the majority of the time when the term pirate is used it is to describe a plunderer who operates using a maritime vessel. However, due to the pejorative nature of the word's meaning it was used significantly by Cicero in a political context to condemn his political rivals. Best exemplifying this is Cicero's *Verrines Orations*, wherein Cicero frequently references pirates and piracy with the intention of presenting Verres in the worst possible light.[139]

"He has stolen from the treasury, harassed Asia and Pamphylia, presided over the city like a pirate (*praedonem*), and was like a plague of devastation in the province of Sicily."[140]

Cicero's terminology to condemn Verres is noteworthy; excluding the last book of the *actio secunda*, Verres is not only referred to as *praedo* in every book,[141] he is also called *pirata* [142] and his *latrocinium* is mentioned several times.[143] The *Verrines* are indicative of the fact, as proconsul, Verres' duty was to defend Sicily against piracy.[144] Therefore, Cicero's presentation demonstrates that Verres abused his power and made a profit from neglecting his responsibility as a magistrate.[145] Cicero's decision to characterise Verres as a pirate was calculated, choosing to exploit the topical theme of piracy roused the anger of his audience against Verres and emphasised his guilt.[146] Cicero's usage of terms associated with piracy as a political condemnation is demonstrative of the pejorative nature of these words, and how they could be used to serve as an ethical juxtaposition between a noble Roman magistrate, and the villainous pirate.

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[139] De Souza 1999: 151.
[140] Cic *Verr*. 1.1.2.
[141] Cic *Verr*. 2.1.46, 154; 2.141: 2.3.76; 2.4.23, 80.
[142] Cic *Verr.* 2.1.90, 154.
[143] Cic *Verr*. 2.157, 89, 129, 130; 2.2.18; 2.4.24. De Souza 1999: 153. See TLL s.v. *latrōcinium*. This term is often used to describe a person's acts of robbery.
[144] Bringman 2007: 216.
[145] Cic *Verr*. 1.1.13, 2.1.89, 2.1.90, 2.4.104, 2.5.60 – 2.
[146] Vasaly 2002: 100.

Cilician

The final criterion I have identified for what constituted a pirate is that the concept of a pirate in our ancient sources was as much about the piratical action of a person or group as it was about the person's ethnic identity. Beek proposes that many pieces of literature which depict pirates characterised them as being from certain areas and so indirectly provides a social commentary against the people of that race, often they are Cretan, Cilician, Greek, or Phoenician. As such they also reflect the author's awareness of contemporary prejudices between certain groups.[147] Beek's proposal is certainly true for literature wherein pirates are presented antagonistically, but it is possible to apply his theory to historical texts also, and to Cilicia specifically. Although there were other areas in the Mediterranean associated with piracy, such as the Balearic isles, Illyria, and Crete,[148] people from these areas were not so ethnicised as pirates as were those from Cilicia. Perhaps stemming from the extensive nature of Cilician piracy in this period, by the 1st century BCE in the Roman mind the term 'Cilician' became a synonym for pirate.[149] This tendency was perpetuated in the vocabulary of later writers,[150] most notably in Lucan's *Pharsalia* wherein the characterised Julius Caesar ostracises Pompey for resettling defeated Cilicians in Italy "(o)r will the pirates be better colonists, Magnus?"[151] The second instance is when the Cilicians are mentioned as supporters of Pompey "(a)nd the Cilician, no longer now a pirate, sets out in a legitimate vessel."[152] The implication of these quotes is clear: it can be inferred that the audience of Lucan's era would identify Cilicians as pirates. Thus, from these sources it can be stated that the pejorative label of pirate became an ethnicisation term for people from Cilicia.[153]

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[147] Beek 2006: 61.

[148] For discussion into the development of Cretan piracy see Brulé (1978), Ormerod (1924:138), de Souza (1999), and Willets (2007: 143).

[149] App. *Mith*. 21; Zollschan 2017: 267.

[150] According to Plutarch (*Crass*. 10) Cilicians agreed to help Spartacus escape to Sicily, but betrayed him. There is no guarantee that these pirates were actual Cilicians, or merely called Cilician because of the perpetuated stereotype that all Cilicians were pirates.

[151] Luc. 1.346.

[152] Luc. 3.228.

[153] An alternate approach to this ethnicisation is made by Rauh, who proposes that rather than accepting the sources at face value that all these bands were Cilician, the title of 'Cilician' "provided numerous Mediterranean pirate bands with a consciousness of kind and enabled them to forge a psychological solidarity against a common foe (Rauh 1997: 279)." An intriguing idea, that I consider analogous to the black community

2.5: Conclusion.

This chapter provides an alternate examination of those ancient sources who discuss pirates and emphasises the importance of examining literary evidence exhaustively; this entails adopting a methodological approach which does not simply accept the sentiments perpetuated by Greco-Roman authors. As explained in chapter 2.3, there is clear overlap between descriptions of bandits, since without contextualisation the terms are not clearly differentiated pirates from bandits. Therefore, to provide a more detailed analysis of pirates' presentation which corresponds with the sentiment expressed in sources, this study divided how pirates are presented into criteria to establish several aspects of this characterisation. Although Cicero and later authors depict the development of piracy as the spread of villainy, by utilising an approach similar to the post-colonial theory, this study proposes that pirates had two primary motivations. The first, arguably more in line with the writing tradition, was to ensure that piracy remained a profitable business venture for each member of the band. The second, highlighted by an inconsistency in the writing traditions, suggests that a primary motivation was to secure finances substantial enough to support their dependents. Privateering was evidently perceived as a legitimate facet of ancient warfare, yet based on the ambiguity of the label, privateers and pirates appear to have been much more closely linked in the ancient world. When the plundering of a neutral or hostile territory was authorised by the state, it was considered an act of privateering. The way that Cicero employs a vocabulary associated with pirates as political condemnation emphasises how many Greco-Romans understood the pejorative nature of these terms.

However, the designation of one's enemies as a pirate should not be perceived as a designation used solely by from mainland Greek or Roman authors. Pirates' overwhelmingly negative portrayal in literature is another example of this: pirates as antagonistic

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appropriating the legacy behind the n word and utilising it as a symbol of fellowship, despite it being a historically de-humanising term. Cf. Kelley (1994: 198 – 201); Low (2007: 147 – 160).
Intriguing parallels to contentious racial discourse aside, there is little evidence to substantiate Rauh's idea.

emphasises that audiences in the Greco-Roman world were aware of the threat pirates posed and this portrayal was an encapsulation of how pirates were perceived as a phenomenon on the periphery of Greco-Roman communities, allowing for their antagonization. Although if a state was the victim of a comparable form of warfare, even if the attackers were given legal authorisation, they were 'pirates'. The biased nature of this categorisation indicates that the label of 'pirate' was pejorative, and pirates were perceived as enemies of many ancient Mediterranean states. The last identifiable criterion this chapter has established is ethnic identity. This ethnicisation is certainly most explicit concerning the Cilicians, where the word for Cilician became synonymous with pirate. It is also indicative that in the Greco-Roman mind a pirate was defined as much by their piratical operations as their ethnic identity.

Chapter 3 – Were pirates from the coast of south-western Anatolia considered 'Easterners' by Greco-Roman authors?

3.1: Introduction.

In the accounts of numerous Greco-Roman writers pirates faced a distinctly multifaceted characterisation, particularly those within close proximity to the amorphous region of 'Rough' Cilicia. Rough Cilicia (on the south-western coast of modern Turkey) was referred to in antiquity as Cilicia Tracheia and constituted the western sector of Cilicia.[154] The region is characterised by its rugged territory and the high mountains which, combined with the rocky coast, fostered the extensive piracy that developed in the late Hellenistic period and brought much infamy to the area.[155] Archaeological finds have also shown that a substantial part of the region was prosperous, with grapes, wine, timber, and slaves forming the main part of the Cilician maritime economy.[156] After Pompey's campaign against the Cilician pirates in 64BCE, Cilicia became a Roman province, the first time when the Roman Republic was in direct contact with the region.[157] In an examination of Greco-Roman imperialism, Isaac points out the long-standing ambivalence shown by Greco-Romans to the effect of contact with foreign peoples and its consequences.[158] This point is supported by the numerous accounts wherein the idea of Rome being corrupted by negative foreign influences are stressed. Although there are certainly inconsistencies, foreigners including Greeks, Egyptians, and Syrians are believed to have had the potential to corrupt Roman culture.[159] In the view of men such as Cicero, Seneca, and Lucan foreigners had imported their corruptive vices and ill-practices, lowering the standards of Roman life.[160] Geographically, since the coast of south-western Anatolia is the area where numerous

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[154] Hoff & Townsend 2013: vii. Figure 1 is a map of southern Anatolia.
[155] Hoff & Townsend 2013: vii.
[156] De Souza 2008: 81; Rauh 1999; Tomaschitz 2013: 55 – 58.
[157] This campaign will be discussed further in Chapter 4.
[158] Isaac 2009: 37. Cf. Gruen 2011: 352 – 357.
[159] Pliny states that "The Greeks are the fathers of all vices" (*HN* 29.7). Seneca warned that one "…should avoid contact with the Greeks, for it is they who introduce and encourage vice" (*Ep*. 123.8); Florus asserted that it was the conquest of Syria which led to the corruption of the Roman state (47.7 – 9). Goldenberg 2009: 88; La Piana 1927: 228 – 230.
[160] Cicero refers to the foreigners as the 'dregs of the urban population' (Cic. *Att*. 1.19) while the *Pharsalia* calls the foreign Rome's foreign population 'swarms with the refuse of mankind' (Lucan 7.404 – 407). The lives of foreigners living in Rome is discussed in depth by Noy (2000).

'Cilician' pirate bands were associated, it would be reasonable to suggest that the Greco-Roman stereotypes towards easterners could have encompassed them also.

This chapter is a comparative analysis of the ethnographic stereotypes towards 'Easterners' and if they can be reasonably aligned to the pirates from south-west Anatolia. With the aim of identifying how people from the coast of south western Anatolia were depicted, the discussion begins with an investigation into why Cilicia, Lycia, and Pamphylia were portrayed as piratical and barbarous. The environmental determinism theory and the suitability of its application to an examination of pirate bands from this region is analysed. I have identified three aspects of Hellenistic culture and stereotypes which have drawn the ire of Roman authors. These are the monarchic government, the alleged corruptive nature of eastern vices, and obsession with luxury and extravagance. There is enough evidence on pirates' social structure to state that some pirate bands used a monarchical structure similar to that of the Hellenistic kingdoms. In the mind of many Roman authors, these rulers were perceived as despotic,[161] thus, there are some similarities in the way pirates were presented because they subscribed to a system of rule which Rome loathed in this period. A stereotype commonly expressed by Greco-Roman writers is that easterners were obsessed with luxury, and as Plutarch notes, in the Late Republican period pirates were known to extravagantly express their wealth.[162] There is currently no evidence of these pirates self-identifying as 'Eastern', i.e non Greek; yet this approach incorporates the Greco-Roman stereotypes faced by those considered easterners and ascertains whether they demonstrate that these pirates' presentation was linked to their geographic situation in Asia Minor. A thematic approach is suitable for this chapter because it employs a perspective on the portrayal of pirates which has not been taken before. Authors such as Rauh, Ormerod, Avidov, and de Souza have approached this social group as pirates, but none have taken particular notice of the environment from which the pirates came and to what degree Greco-Roman stereotypes could have affected their presentation. I hypothesise that while some of these stereotypes towards easterners can encompass these pirates, despite the pirates' geographic situation, their pejorative depiction is primarily due to their association with

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[161] Coleman 2013: 7 – 9; McCloskey and Phinney Jr. 1968: 82 – 83; Strootman 1968: 253.
[162] Plut. *Pomp*. 24.

criminality which, in turn, became a way to categorise people from this area more explicitly than eastern stereotypes.

3.2: Barbarians.

The earliest surviving Greek ethnographic account is Herodotus' *Histories* which dates to around the 5th century BCE. It was at this time, in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, that the concept of 'barbarian' was established in literary form.[163] Ideas originating from Herodotus and later authors can be used to identify different types of barbarian. There were the nomadic barbarians such as the Massagetae and Scythians,[164] the northern barbarians including the Gallic and German tribes,[165] and the luxurious, cowardly easterner, as first claimed by Isocrates but was perpetuated into the Roman period.[166] Shaw argues that the people from the coast of south-western Anatolia were categorised with other barbarians by writers of the period. They were considered 'undominated' peoples on the frontiers of the empire and received the stigmatised pejorative marks appropriate for barbarians.[167] I agree with Shaw's argument, since it is well evidenced that in the Roman mind this region was considered barbarous.[168] In Strabo's description of it, he records that the Cilicians and the Pamphylians were pirates or associated with them, while juxtaposing to the Lycians, who he depicted as more civilised and lawful than their neighbours.[169] However, there are contradictions which suggest that a good number of the Lycians were engaged in piracy also. Cicero refers to the city of Phaselis in eastern Lycia as 'a city of Cilician pirates',[170] moreover, Olympos and Korykos were cities under the dominion of the pirate chief

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[163] Hall 1989.

[164] Hdt 1.216. See Hartog (1988) for an analysis of how Herodotus represents the cultural differences between Greeks and other peoples.

[165] Polybius writes: "These are the names of the principal tribes that settled in the district. They lived in unwalled villages, without any superfluous furniture; for as they slept on beds of leaves and fed on meat and were exclusively occupied with war and agriculture, their lives were very simple, and they had no knowledge whatever of any art or science." (2.17.9 – 10). Polybius minimizes the sophistication of Gallic culture (Mattern 1999: 172 – 173).

[166] Isaac 2004: 305.

[167] Shaw 1990: 233.

[168] Cic. *Har. resp*. 42; Philostr. *Vita Apoll*. 1.8, 1.12, 1.14; Mart. 7.30. This poem is a personal attack on a whore who accepted the lowest forms of humanity to her bed, in other words, 'barbarians', Cilicians are on this list (Shaw 1990: 233).

[169] Strabo 14.3.2.

[170] Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.21.

Zeniketos until they were captured by the Roman consul Isauricus.[171] Nonetheless, the perceived barbarity of this amorphous region meant pirates were clearly an anomaly among those considered 'barbarians'. Setting the pirates apart from 'Easterners' such as the Persians or Syrians, these piratical communities were not just considered barbarous because they are geographically situated in the east; pirates were considered barbarous because of their association with a cultural livelihood to which Rome and its allies were opposed. There is a contradiction within their representation here because even though geographically and climatically these pirates are from an area which is said to produce soft men: they displayed the aggressive nature of those from the northern, harsh climates.

3.3: Environmental determinism.

Environmental determinism theory states that the intelligence, culture, and moral constitution of people are given positive or negative effects by the climate of the region where they are based and additional characteristics of human habitation.[172] This theory with its Aristotelian origins is of importance here because Aristotle's moral assessment of people foreign to Achaea was on the basis of their complexion. The climate from where they hailed often dictated this. Aristotle's *De Physiognogmonia* contains stereotypes and value judgements based on contemporary physiological and medical thought.[173] As Aristotle's *De Physiognogmonia* states "Too dark a skin makes a coward" and "those living in the south are cowardly"[174]; cowardice deriving from a swarthy complexion is attributed explicitly to both the Egyptians and the Ethiopians who were geographically situated in the south, and whose inhabitants have a darker skin tone than those in the northern Mediterranean. While this approach is well evidenced for discussing ethnic identities with marked dissimilarities to Greco-Romans, for pirates this approach does not work so well. There is not enough evidence to support examining pirates from a physiognomic perspective since their physical appearance is not mentioned by the ancient sources. The concept provides an overly simplistic moral dichotomy factored by the climate of a person's environment and their

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[171] Straob 14.5.7.
[172] Lethwaite 1966: 1 – 20. The importance of this concept is also emphasised by Stoler 1997: 183 – 255.
[173] Isaac 2004: 151.
[174] Aristot. *Physiog*. 806b – 812b.

physical characteristics, it also disregards the autonomous nature of human beings.[175] For example, Sertorius was born in Sabine territory, the mountainous area north of Rome, yet towards the end of his life he was associated with the 'Cilician' pirates. Furthermore, this theoretical approach is not suitable for an ethnographic analysis of pirates because there was not just one area from which piracy spawned, pirate bands existed across the ancient Mediterranean, even on the Greek and Italian mainlands. Therefore, to best ascertain stereotypes and prejudices towards pirates we must ignore arguments on climate and physiognomy and focus on the stereotypes and prejudices easterners and pirates faced to establish where they align and diverge.

3.4: Monarchy.

It has been accepted by some scholars that, historically, pirate communities were largely egalitarian multi-ethnic entities.[176] I agree that pirate communities were composed of groups of diverse ethnicities; however, there are numerous literary sources outlining the names of several pirate chieftains whose exploits must have been notorious for near contemporary historians to have felt it necessary to record them.[177] The concept of pirate leaders is best encapsulated by a quote from Appian who discusses the 'Cilician' pirate leaders:

"..being elated by their gains and having given up all thought of changing their mode of life, now likened themselves to kings (*basileus*)[178] and tyrants (*tyrannoi*) and thought that if they should all unite they would be invincible."[179]

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[175] Isaac 2009: 42.

[176] Pennell 1994: 273; Hitchcock & Maeir 2014: 626.

[177] The following pirate chieftains are mentioned in the historical record:
Andron, commanded by Demetrius to protect Ephesus, but who betrayed the city after Lycus bribed him (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 5.19); Kleochares (Memnon, *FGrHist.* 434 fr. 1.53); Nico (Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.77, 79) who escaped from Servilius but was recaptured, and who was perhaps an associate of Zeniketos; Tryphon was credited by Strabo as the one whose actions became the origins of Cilician piracy (Strabo 14.5.2); Zeniketos, a pirate leader who controlled much of coastal Lycia (Strabo 14.5.7). Rauh 1997: 277.
Although slightly later than the pirates we are discussing, Sextus Pompey is also depicted as a pirate leader in numerous literary accounts. It seems ironic that the son of the Roman who is credited with eradicating piracy was portrayed as a pirate himself. App. *B Civ.* 5.3.25, 5.9.77, 5.9.80; Hor. *Ep.* 4.19; Liv. *Per.* 123, 128; *RG* 25. Braund 1993: 195 – 212. Shelley 1983: 11.

[178] See *LSJ* (1940) s.v. basileus (βᾰσῐλεύς) is generally used to define a king, lord, or master.

[179] App. *Mith.* 92, 117.

In Appian's view, due to their successful operations the leaders of pirates had become audacious enough to see themselves as rightful kings of their respective bands. Moreover, Appian's use of the terms *basileis* and *tyrannoi* possess dual significance. Ironically for a state which in its earliest stages possessed a monarchy for over two centuries (753–509BCE),[180] the Romans' intense hatred of kings is substantiated by numerous accounts.[181] Secondly, although the term *tyrannoi* and its derivations were not always pejorative,[182] but by the Roman period the word was used pejoratively to designate Hellenistic kings because their reigns were often considered illegitimate as were those of Ptolemy, Mithridates, and even Julius Caesar.[183] Therefore, Appian employing this term to describe the social structure of the pirates infers that pirates being ruled in a manner analogous to the Hellenistic kings was perceived as pirates emulating a system of government Rome was fundamentally opposed to in this period.

3.5: Corruption.

Central to *romanitas* was believed to have been the moral distinction of the Romans when compared with foreigners.[184] The *mos maiorum* was the essence of Roman-ness, traditional Italian values and a rural Roman mentality which include *integritas* (honesty), *industria* (diligence) *frugalitas* (frugality), *pudor* (humility), and *virtus* (virtue).[185] In a complete juxtaposition, Greco-Roman authors present 'eastern-ness' as excessive luxury, ostentatious display, and effeminacy as corruptive vices which spread to Rome after its conquest of Asia. However, I argue that in the mind of many Romans, the corruptive vices from the east did more than badly influence the morality of Romans, it was believed that

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[180] The first king, Romulus' reign is traditionally accepted as being from 753 – 717BCE, however, Romulus' biography is an intricate combination of legend, anachronisms, and political propaganda (Cornell 1995: 119 – 21).

[181] Cic. *Rep*. 2.52; Liv. 1.46.3, 2.1.9, 2.2.5, 2.8.2, 2.9.7. During Porsenna's besieging of Rome, the Roman delegates informed Porsenna that the Romans would rather an enemy to enter their city than a king (2.15.3). However, Livy's writes after the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44BCE, thus is influenced by the murder and the resulting justificatory propaganda (Erskine 1991:106 – 107). Drummond 1990:178 – 9; Scullard 1975:56.

[182] 'Many Greek poleis, and in certain cases for long periods of time, were ruled by a very peculiar sort of absolute ruler that the Greeks themselves called tyrannos (plur. tyrannoi) – from which our word ''tyrant'' derives, via the Latin tyrannus' (Luraghi 2013:131).

[183] Luraghi 2013: 131.

[184] Isaac 2004: 305.

[185] Cic. *Verr*. 2.3.7; Arno 2012: 25 – 26; Gruen 1992: 56; Kenty 2016: 429.

the ineptitude of the eastern despots which allowed the manifestation and spread of pirates from the east. The spread of pirates from southern Anatolia is presented as symptomatic of the rule of the Hellenistic kings; the investigations of Scipio Aemilianus and others found that the growth of piracy was due to the monarchs.[186] De Souza argues that the Hellenistic kings of the Ptolemies of Egypt and Cyprus and the Seleucid dynasty, did little to suppress the pirates since it would weaken their rivals.[187] Although, it can be also suggested that, akin to Rome, piracy in southern Anatolia had not yet developed enough to significantly affect the Hellenistic states. Moreover, Strabo states that the Romans cannot be blamed for the growth of piracy in this region because the Republic had other concerns. Yet, while the 'corruptive' Hellenistic kings also had other concerns in this period,[188] it was the Romans who weakened Rhodes as a maritime power in 167BCE[189] and did not implement an effective navy to suppress piracy as the Rhodians' replacement. Therefore, Strabo carefully manipulated the neglectful nature of the ancient Mediterranean powers to present piracy as being permeated solely through the corruptive ineptitude of the Hellenistic kings. In reality, this is an example of Strabo's attempt to legitimise Rome's conquest of the East by suggesting that pirates were a product of the corruptive Hellenistic rule which Roman imperialism would alleviate.

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[186] Strabo 14.5.2;
[187] Strabo 14.5.2; de Souza 1999: 99.
[188] During the dissipation of the Republic of Rhodes as an independent naval power (164BCE) both the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties were experiencing internal struggles. Ptolemy VI was expelled from the throne by his younger brother Ptolemy VII until his power was restored by Rome (Aneni 2016: 156). Meanwhile, after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes the throne is passed to his 9 year old son Antiochus V Eupator and his regent Lysias, until the rightful king Demetrius I Soter arrives and executes them both (App. *Syr*. 8.46 – 7; 1 Macc. 6.16, 7.1; Losch 2008: 385). In this same year, the Seleucid army loses control of Jerusalem after being defeated by the Maccabean rebels during the Maccabean Revolt (Collins 2016: 189 – 204). Therefore, it would be difficult to imagine either of these states constructing anti-pirate forces while undergoing potential civil wars over their respective thrones.
[189] Gruen 1975: 77; Maggie 1950: 282. Cf. Gabrielsen 1999.

3.6: Luxury.

In the literary evidence, stereotypes are designed and perpetuated to serve a particular purpose and express the agendas and perspectives of those who employ them.[190] The stereotypes ascribed to those from the East such as Asiatic Greeks and Syrians are that they are soft, obsessed with luxury and ostentatiousness, effeminate, overindulgent, and devoid of morality. Of particular significance here is the stereotype of easterners being obsessed with displays of extravagance, which pirates from Cilicia are characterised as exhibiting also in Plutarch.

> "...more annoying than the fear which they inspired was the odious extravagance of their equipment, with their gilded sails, and purple awnings, and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their iniquity and plumed themselves upon it."[191]

This passage expresses that in the Late Republic, the traditional Roman stereotype of easterners being obsessed with extravagant displays of their wealth was placed on to pirates from Cilicia. In the ancient Mediterranean, the colour purple became strongly associated with nobility, since this colour was worn by priests, magistrates, and monarchs.[192] In the early Imperial period, when Plutarch was writing, purple was associated with the Roman emperors. Thus, for the pirates to present purple awnings indicates that, in the view of Plutarch and other authors, they were so enamoured with ostentatious displays that they had the audacity to demonstrate a colour associated with royalty, despite their position as lowly pirates. Although this highlights a similarity with the Roman stereotype commonly associated with easterners, in this context, they are not referred to as easterners, just pirates. Therefore, this could also be interpreted as Plutarch displaying the greed and audacity of pirates rather than emphasising that these pirate communities were

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[190] Woolf 2011: 260.
[191] Plut. *Pomp*. 24.
[192] Liv. 10.7.7 – 10, 30.15.11, 31.11.11. The purple *chlamys* was worn by Hellenistic kings during special ceremonies to symbolise their royal status (Rocca 2008: 70). The statue of Jupiter wore a purple toga embroidered with gold (*toga picta, palmata*), which developed special symbolic connotations for signifiers of ancient priesthoods and Roman magistrates who adopted this clothing as an insignia of both divine and military power (Warren 1970: 62). For a discussion on the mythologised history of Roman dress, see Vout (1996).

perceived as easterners. This further places this group outside of the east – west Roman stereotype dichotomy and into the periphery of the 'other'; pirates are not considered obsessed with luxury because they hailed from the east, they are presented as audacious pirates who have been allowed to amass more wealth than they should.

3.7: Conclusion.

This chapter has shown that despite the similar stereotypes which pirates from southern Anatolia shared with 'Easterners', it cannot be stated that their negative portrayal was only because of this. Although geographically situated in the east, the evidence indicates that pirates were perceived an entity separate from peoples in the Hellenistic East and not as 'Easterners' in the traditional Greco-Roman sense. Under the dominion of the Persian Empires from the East and subsequent Macedonian Empire from the West, over the course of a millennium the coastal areas of southern Anatolia experienced an amalgamated form of cultural influence from Asia and Greece. This is emphasised by the coins of the Classical and Hellenistic period which transitioned from images reflecting native Luwian culture to images of the Greco-Macedonian pantheon and even Alexander himself.[193] The significance of these images is that they suggest that the rulers of the coastal settlements in southern Anatolia felt it necessary to express either their subservience to, or assimilation of Hellenistic culture. In this sense, it can be argued that Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia experienced a noticeable Hellenization. However, the coins with images associated with Hellenic culture do not show that the region was accepted as part of the Hellenistic East. Unlike those from the Hellenistic East including Asiatic Greeks and Syrians, the pirate societies discussed in this dissertation were categorised as barbarians primarily because of their livelihood conflicting with the cultural norms of the Greco-Roman states; they were a different kind of barbarian than that of the luxurious, soft easterner. Therefore, applying theoretical approaches such as the environmental determinism which focus on climate and physiognomy lack the nuance to encapsulate the presentation of pirates. Pirates' social

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[193] Figures 3 – 8 show how the aristocracy of Cilicia, Lycia, and Pamphylia abandoned the coins reflecting their native culture and assimilated this Hellenistic tradition soon after the region was conquered by Alexander and ruled by the Seleucid Empire following his death.

structures could have been monarchical, akin to that of the Hellenistic kings. However, this does not show that these pirate bands were seen as part of the Hellenistic East. Instead of being perceived as part of the Hellenistic East, these pirate communities were portrayed as an external socio-political consequence caused by the ineffectiveness of an outdated Hellenistic monarchy.

Chapter 4 – Pirates as military antagonists.

4.1: Introduction.

Before Rome's domination of the Mediterranean, piracy was held back by the Seleucid navies based out of Syria. Rhodes kept a control over the pirate strongholds of Crete, while the Egyptian navy operated from Egypt, Cyprus, and the Libyan coast of Cyrenaica. However, all of their naval control in their respective regions was increasingly undermined in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE by Roman imperialism and internal political struggles.[194] The Roman Republic had a history of sporadic military responses to piracy. These included operations against Illyria, the Balearic isles, and Liguria. The First Illyrian War (229/228BCE) is presented by Appian and Polybius as a campaign undertaken by Rome in retaliation for the ill- treatment of Italian traders, and to protect the Greek cities.[195] Rome's conquest of the Balearic isles (123BCE) is presented as an effort to suppress piracy in the western Mediterranean.[196] Rome's methods against piracy in Illyria and Balearics were strikingly effective. We hear nothing about piracy recurring in these areas in this period. The Ligurians were also notorious for their associations with piracy, as shown by numerous campaigns against them, from 197BCE and well into next century.[197] The portrayal of the 'Cilician' pirates in Rome's campaigns against them indicates how their spread across the Mediterranean was much more difficult to suppress and caused extensive socio-economic

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[194] Appian (*Mith*. 24 – 26), Diodorus (37.28), and Florus 1.41.8 mention the Rhodian fleets activities in the 1st century BCE. For the Rhodian suppression of pirates from Crete see Ormerod (1924: 137) and Sherwin-White (1976: 3). Seleucid and Ptolemaic internal issues are discussed in a footnote within Chapter 3 - Corruption. For Rhodes' maritime prominence being undermined by Rome see Fairbank (2008) and Rauh (1999).

[195] App. *Ill*. 7; Polyb. 2.12.6. Both accounts of the events of 229/8BCE differ markedly from one another, in Appian's version King Agron was alive during the Illyrian invasion of Corcyra, Epidaros, Pharos, and parts of Epirus prior to his siege of Issa (de Souza 1999: 78). Although Appian wrote his account in the 2nd century BCE, his reliability as a source exceeds Polybius in this instance due to the less rhetorical nature of his account of the event. Derow (1973) provides a convincing discussion on Polybius' restraint in discussing the strategic implications of the Illyrian War. Goldman (1988) also provides reasonable conclusions on the reliability of Appian for this episode.

[196] Liv. *Per*. 60; Flor. 1:43:1 – 2; Oro. 5:13:1. Morgan 1969: 231 concludes that the influx of pirates into the Balearics was caused by the Roman campaigns in Transalpine Gaul and Sardinia. However, this thesis is tenous since as Diodorus' account indicates, pirates had been on the island long prior to 123BCE. (5:17:3).

[197] Liv. 37.57.1–2, 40.18.3 – 4, 28.7. Rome's anti-piracy campaigns against the Ligurians (Liv. 40.26 – 28); Strabo discusses the plentiful resources available in Liguria (4.6.2); Dewitt 1940: 611; Dyson 1987: 87; Harris 1989: 114 – 188; de Souza 1999: 92.

ramifications, necessitating a campaign to root out piracy not just from one sector, but across the entire Mediterranean.

This chapter investigates how pirates are portrayed in Roman campaigns against south-west Anatolian piracy in the Late Republic. In order to contextualise these campaigns, we must first investigate the legislation associated with Rome's anti-pirate sentiment, the *lex de provinciis* praetoriis, to ascertain Rome's policy against piracy in this period. What finally caused Rome to take action against piracy after decades of indifference is a matter of contention which must be explored to establish what made Rome see piracy as more than just an irritant. This leads to a discussion on the earliest evidence of military action by Rome against the Cilician pirates, the campaign of Marcus Antonius 'the Orator' (102BCE), and how pirates were presented during this campaign. I will not consider the campaigns of Murena and Isauricus because, while there is enough evidence to prove that they probably combated against piracy, the presentation of pirates in Antonius' and Pompey's campaigns are more significant. As stated by Appian and Plutarch, it was the Pontic king Mithridates who provided the Cilician pirates with enhanced naval power.[198] An established school of thought utilises these accounts to suggest an alliance between the Mithridates and the Cilician pirates against Rome, I will offer an examination of this perspective. In the penultimate discussion, Pompey's famous campaign against piracy in the Mediterranean is explored to understand how contemporary and later writers depicted pirates in this campaign. From a military standpoint, south-west Anatolian pirates' portrayal in literary sources developed gradually from being criminals to antagonists in the same league as Roman nemeses including Hannibal, Spartacus, Mithridates, and Pyrrhus because their defeat was commemorated similarly. However, this is primarily due to their blocking of Rome's precious grain supply, once the grain supply was recovered discussions of their military defeats were only mentioned cursorily.

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[198] App. *Mith*. 92, 119; Plut. *Pomp*. 24.

4.2: The *Lex de provinciis praetoriis*.

Between 1893 and 1896 archaeologists discovered three blocks which formed three courses of a monument dedicated to Lucius Aemilius Paulus in Delphi.[199] The inscription on this monument was known as *lex de piratis* or *lex de piratis persequendis* (or Piracy Law) because of a passage stating that piracy must be combated to guarantee common safety on the seas.[200] In 1970 excavators discovered a similar Greek inscription in Cnidus, which led to the editors identifying the text in Cnidus as an identical translation of the inscription in Delphi.[201] Preceding Marcus Antonius' campaign to suppress piracy in Cilicia (102BCE), Rome sought to enlist military aid from various regional powers to clear the seas, as documented by inscriptions of the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*.[202] The necessity for Rome outlining a more aggressive stance on piracy was partly a consequence of the major weakening of the Rhodian navy, which was well known to have kept piracy at least under control. While it cannot be argued that Rhodes was the sole suppressors of piracy emanating from the eastern Mediterranean, Rome seeking aid and presenting pirates as universal enemies suggests that pirates were perceived as a major threat. The precise date for when the law was enacted is a matter of contention, with the date ranging between late 101 and 99BCE,[203] though February 100BCE appears to be the most reasonable suggestion. A crucial section of the law outlines that citizens of Rome, their allies, Latins, and those of foreign nations on good terms with Rome may sail safely.[204] In the Delphic translation, it is stated that the Hellenistic kings should not allow pirates to use their territories as bases of operations, since by fighting piracy the Roman Republic were "contributors to the safety of all."[205] These lines express that with this law Rome presented a philanthropic position against piracy which contrasted all pirate bands as legitimate enemies of Rome and their allies: in other words, civilised peoples. The message broadcasted to those in the eastern Mediterranean, namely the Hellenistic monarchs, was overt: ally with Rome, or be grouped

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[199] For further discussion on the artistic and archaeological context see Gruber 1995: 81 – 85.
[200] Geelhaar 2002: 109.
[201] Hassall, Crawford & Reynolds 1974: 195 – 220.
[202] Tröster 2009: 21.
[203] De Souza 1999: 108. Giovannini & Grzybek (1978: 33 – 47) and Hassall *et al*. (1974) suggest late 101BCE, whereas Lintott (1978) and Sumner (1978) argue that the date was 99BCE. However, more convincing arguments are made by Crawford (1996: 231 – 70) and Ferrary (1977) for the date being February 100BCE.
[204] *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, Cnidus 3.28 – 37; Crawford 1996: 254.
[205] *lex de provinciis praetoriis,* Delphic B 8 – 14; Crawford 1996: 254.

with pirates and targets of justified military action.[206] The *lex de provinciis praetoriis* is a clear example of Rome broadly presenting pirate communities from south-west Anatolia as disrupters of peace and external enemies of all who supported Rome and its dedication to this law.

4.3: Analysis of the hypotheses behind Rome's lack of intervention towards piracy.

In the Middle to Late Republic Rome expanded as a Mediterranean power and while expeditions to suppress piracy were undertaken in certain areas (i.e Balearic isles and Illyria), the phenomenon was not treated as a significant threat until the Late Republic. Why it took Rome centuries to engage in anti-piracy campaigns is a subject of contention with two schools of thought. On the one side, scholars including Marasco, Meijer, Ormerod and Pohl pay close attention to a quote from Strabo where it is mentioned that at the market on Delos "a myriad" of slaves were sold daily,[207] and the Romans were avid customers. Thus, Rome did not want to suppress piracy sooner because they would lose an important source of the slaves captured by Cilician pirates.[208] On the other hand Avidov, de Souza and Scheidel argue that while Cilician pirates did provide Rome with a large number of slaves, there is no evidence that Rome provided the Cilician pirates with any special treatment as slavers since Rome was quick to act against the pirates after they sacked Delos and enslaved its population.[209] I favour the latter argument, and suggest that it was the pirates impeding Rome's grain supplies which led to Rome taking military action against Cilician pirates. Pirate bands had obstructed Rome's essential grain supply since 102BCE;[210] the same year that Rome took military action against the Cilician pirates, with the campaign of Marcus Antonius Orator.[211] Appian, Cicero, and Livy emphasised the pirates' interrupting the grain supply as the trigger for Rome to finally act seriously against piracy.[212] The sentiments expressed in

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[206] De Souza 2013: 49.

[207] Strab. 14.5.2.

[208] Marasco 1987: 122 – 146; Meijer 1986: 191; Ormerod 1924: 206 – 7; Pohl 1993: 186 – 90.

[209] Phlegon 12 – 13 = *FGrH* II 257, 1163 – 1164; Avidov 1997: 26; Scheidel 2011: 297; de Souza 1999: 99 – 100.

[210] Fairbank 2008: 87.

[211] Liv. *Ep*. 68; Obseq. *Prodig*. 44;

[212] App. *Mith*. 93; Liv. *Per*. 99; Cic. *Leg*. *Man*. 12:34.

these accounts indicate that pirates had developed from a recurring nuisance into socio-economic disrupters. Therefore, in the Late Republic, preceding the military campaigns of Marcus Antonius and Pompey, pirates were portrayed as an antagonistic entity effecting Rome in a manner unlike any other antagonist in their history. Pirates were not presented as a force which gave Rome disastrous military defeats such as Cannae, but as a threat socio-economically detrimental to Rome at her core, and which left uncontrolled could lead to civil unrest and famine in Rome.

4.4: Marcus Antonius the Orator.

The earliest evidence of a Roman military campaign against the Cilician pirates is that of Marcus Antonius the Orator in 102BCE.[213] Unlike Pompey's later campaign when the nature of his command was clear,[214] the nature of Antonius' command has been an issue.[215] How the Cilician pirates were presented in this campaign has not been explored thoroughly, probably because the campaign is not well evidenced. De Souza argues that irrespective of the piracy problem in the region, the main objective of Antonius' campaign was to increase his chances of becoming consul by gaining a triumph.[216] This would imply that Cilician pirates were perceived as a militarily significant enemy of Rome and the magistrate who defeated them could use this victory to legitimise his political advancement. However, there is an inconsistency within our two primary sources for this campaign. Livy writes that "Marcus Antonius, praetor, pursued the pirates into Cilicia",[217] while Obsequens, writing centuries later, records the "pirates of Cilicia were destroyed by the Romans."[218] Obsequens' remark is clearly exaggerated, since these pirate communities remained active until Pompey's campaign (75BCE), while Livy implies that the pirates were pushed back to Cilicia by Antonius, not that they were eliminated in that region. Within this inconsistency it

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[213] De Souza 1999: 102. An attempt has been made by Ferrary that there was an earlier campaign in 103BCE led by the same Marcus Antonius (1977: 657). However this hypothesis is tenuous since Obsequens states that the campaign took place during the consulship of Gaius Marius and Quintus Lutatius (*Prodig*. 44)

[214]Cass. Dio (36.21 – 37), Plutarch (*Pomp*. 25 – 7) Appian (*Mith*. 92 – 6) discuss the contentious nature of the Gabinian law.

[215] *MRR* II 568 – 70; *MRR* III 19.

[216] De Souza 1999: 104.

[217] Liv. *Ep*. 68.

[218] Obseq. *Prodig*. 44.

is possible to identify how these pirates were presented in this campaign; the sources suggest that Rome saw the pirate communities as an annoyance, but not worthy of a full-scale campaign which would eradicate them at their source. Since *the lex de provinciis praetoriis* was enacted around a year after Antonius' campaign, it can be safely stated that whatever the objective of his campaign was, it was not successful. The implication here is that the Senate acknowledged the threat posed by these pirate communities from the eastern Mediterranean but was not yet ready to raise a naval contingent precisely for their suppression.

4.5: Mithridates.

The Pontic king Mithridates VI Eupator (120 – 63BCE), was one of Rome's most dangerous opponents of the Republican period. Mithridates was a monarch of Greco-Persian heritage who boldly claimed that both Alexander and Darius the Great were his ancestors.[219] He is an intriguing character for the mythos constructed in the ancient sources and later plays, poems, novels and for his military resistance to Roman imperialism in a series of wars against Rome from 88BCE until his death.[220] In his account of the Mithridatic Wars, Appian assigns a speech to Sulla wherein the various ways that the Asian communities were suffering under Mithridates' dominion were compiled.[221] The complaints pertinent to this study are "piracy all over the land and sea".[222] In the following discussion it is stated that when Mithridates was ruining Asia, the pirates were established on the seas during his reign.[223] A similar idea that Mithridates enhanced the military capabilities of the pirates is found in Plutarch and Appian, again later in the same work.[224] These statements have been used to substantiate modern scholars' hypotheses on the role of pirates from south-western

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[219] Justinus (38.7.1) Sallust (*Hist*. 2.85), and Tacitus (*Ann*. 12.18.2) all assert that the Pontic monarchy possessed Achaemenid lineage since they were descendants of both Cyrus and Darius, however this is propaganda since the Pontic dynasty originated from Artabazes, not the Achaemenid line (Flor. 1.40.1). Bosworth & Wheatley 1998: 155; McGing 1986: 113; O'Braitis 2016: 4.
[220] Racine's play *Mithridate* (1985) is based on the demise of Mithridates Eupator. The Pontic King is also the protagonist of Crawford's historical novel The Last King (2007). We know very little about Mithridates' early life, our only source is Justin's *Epitome* 37, however this account is centuries after the Pontic king's death.
[221] App. *Mith*. 62; de Souza 1999: 116.
[222] App. *Mith*. 62.
[223] App. *Mith*. 63; Arslan 2003: 202.
[224] App. *Mith*. 92, 119; Plut. *Pomp*. 24.

Anatolia in the Mithridatic Wars. Maróti provides a detailed discussion on the alliance between the Cilician pirates and Mithridates, and this view has been accepted and perpetuated through the works of numerous modern scholars.[225] The accepted perspective is that Mithridates provided pirates freedom to operate in exchange for military service which entailed harassing Roman maritime vessels and supply ships.[226]

At first glance, the established perspective seems reasonable, but when the evidence used to substantiate it is examined further it lacks nuance. On the one hand, pirate bands certainly *could* have worked for Mithridates as privateers, which would make them pirates from the perspective of contemporary Roman writers. On the other, the idea of giving pirates free rein implies that Mithridates had control over the seas at this time. Although there is little that he could do to prevent pirates from harassing Pontic ships and settlements also.[227] Furthermore, it can be argued that Appian and Plutarch were reflecting the imperialist propaganda of earlier writers with the intention of blaming Mithridates for the piracy of the time: the theme of being a supporter of pirates was an established tool in political invective.[228] Pirate bands were not one unified, homogenous entity as observers such as Appian and Plutarch imply, despite their categorisation as 'Cilician' pirates. Their accounts do however, indicate how negatively perceived pirates were in this period. They suggest that Mithridates was an illegitimate ruler for promoting piracy in Asia and stooping so low as to bolster his military with pirates, portraying pirates as a military force against the free, and Rome as saviours of the Mediterranean from a despot and his villainous force.

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[225] Arslan 2003: 203 – 204; Garlan 1989: 193 – 3; Jackson 1973: 243; Maróti 1970; Mattingly 1980; Mayor 2011: 116; McGing 1986: 139; Ormerod 1924: 210 – 12; Pohl 1993: 140 – 6; Sherwin-White 1984: 160.

[226] Maróti 1970: 485.

[227] A similar idea has been made by de Souza (1999: 117).

[228] Arslan 2003: 202. Arguably, this could be considered a propagandistic ploy by Pompey's supporters to exaggerate the threat posed by pirates through the implication of the existence of an anti-Roman alliance between the pirates and Rome's enemies such as Mithridates, Sertorius, and Spartacus (Avidov 1997: 39 – 40).

4.6: Context to Pompey's campaign.

By around 70BCE it is apparent that the permeation of piracy from the eastern Mediterranean had finally received the attention of the Roman Senate. The abduction of Julius Caesar a few years earlier demonstrated that coastal settlements and sea traders were not the pirates' only targets, even a Roman magistrate could fall victim to them.[229] Moreover, there is evidence that in around 69BCE several Aegean islands and coastal states in the eastern Mediterranean were all attacked by pirates.[230] However, despite the professed altruistic sentiment expressed by Rome in the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, it was the attacks on Italian and Sicilian cities, and socio-economic disruption which drove Rome to engage piracy more seriously.

In praising Pompey for his successful campaign, Cicero, arguably, juxtaposed the maritime peace of the past with the contemporary tumultuous period.[231] Greco-Roman writers observed that Italian communities such as Brundisium, Caieta, Campania, Cosa, Etruria, Misenum, Ostia, and Sicily were all attacked by pirates, and where particular emphasis is placed on the event which led to the burning of the Roman fleet of Ostia by pirates.[232] In conjunction with the pirates impeding the grain supply, Rome could tolerate the pirates no longer.[233] This is unsurprising, since as the population of Rome in the Late Republic was approximately 1,000,000,[234] it needed a huge, constant grain supply from across the Mediterranean including Egypt and North Africa.[235] Grain shortages caused by pirates led to famine for a large number of Roman citizens and eventually riots in 75BCE.[236] The urgency is exemplified by the tribune Gabinius commissioned Pompey to eradicate piracy in the Mediterranean (67BCE). Pompey was provided with *imperium* and an enormous amount of resources. He spent 40 days suppressing the pirate bands in the

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[229] Plutarch mentions two praetors, Sextilius and Bellinus, who were abducted by pirates (*Pomp*. 24).
[230] Aigina (*IG* IV.2. 9 – 14); Delos (*FGrHist* 257 fr.12.13; *ILS* 8774); Knidos, Kolophon, and Samos (Cic. *Leg*. *Man*. 31 – 3, 55); Tenos (*IG* XII.5.860).
[231] Cic. *Leg*. *Man*. 55.
[232] Cass. Dio. 36.22.2; Cic. *Leg*. *Man* 33.
[233] App. *Mith*. 93; Liv. *Per*. 99; Plut. *Pomp*. 25.
[234] Holleran 2011: 156; Jongman 2003; Lo Cascio 2001; Noy 2000.
[235] Harvey 2016: 175.
[236] Sall. *Hist*. 2.45; Garnsey 1988: 200.

western Mediterranean,[237] then in a mere 49 days Pompey conquered the pirates in Cilicia who surrendered without a fight.[238] Most accounts of the Cilician section of Pompey's campaign lay much heavier emphasis on the magnitude of Pompey's achievement than the opponents.[239] Their portrayal of this episode is complex. On the one hand, before the recovery of the grain supply, they were presented an endemic virus which had caused widespread misery among not only the Romans but also their friends and allies, hence Pompey's appointment. On the other hand, partly due to the campaign's swiftness, once the grain supplies had been recovered the accounts of the Cilician part of the campaign changed from discussing how disruptive were the pirates' actions to emphasising the miraculous nature of Pompey's achievement. The lack of attention shown to the pirates during Pompey's conquest of the eastern Mediterranean highlights the inconsistency in how they are presented by Greco-Roman authors. In a period of crises pirates were portrayed as a huge threat to Rome, in an alternate but still problematic manner akin to Rome's military antagonists. In Appian, Plutarch and Strabo it is stated that the pirates had over 400 cities and 1000 ships under their control, although it is not specified how many of these were from south-western Anatolia or what number of pirate bands attempted to resist Pompey.[240] However, once the grain supply was recovered and their quick defeats they were presented as an external nuisance once again. Pirates were portrayed as more of a socio-economic disruption than as a major military force.

While from a military perspective our accounts of Pompey's campaign in the east Mediterranean present pirates from south-west Anatolia as being militarily insignificant when opposed to the might of Rome, the commemorations and triumph dedicated to Pompey's achievement demonstrates that their defeat was considered worthy of remembrance in honour of Pompey. There are coins found across the Roman Empire which

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[237] App. *Mith*. 95; Liv. *Per*. 99.
[238] App. Mith. 96; Flor. 3.6.15.
[239] Summaries of Pompey's campaign can be found in the accounts of the following ancient writers: App. *Mith*. 95; Cass. Dio. 36.37; Cic. *Leg*. *Man*. 31 – 6; Eutr. 36.37; Flor. 3.6.15; Oros. 6.4.1; Plut. *Pomp*. 26 – 8; Vell. Pat. 2.32.4. De Souza 1999: 169.
[240] See Chapter 2 – Motivations.

demonstrate how Pompey's pirate campaign was publically commemorated.[241] Studies of the iconography of coinage in the Late Republic have shown that, albeit in an allusive manner, much of these were referencing contemporary historical events. Pompey's campaign was mirrored in contemporary coinage.[242] In these their contemporary context such coins were mainly symbolic in that they accentuated the honours and achievements of the person depicted in the coin.[243] Mattingly and Sydenham's idea that in this period coins could be described as "newspapers of the day" is inaccurate.[244] Although coins addressed important events, their intention was not to inform the Roman public about them in detail. Depictions on coins were employed to strengthen perception of an emperor's distinctions, the construction of buildings, or more importantly here, a great general's military achievements.[245] Coins should be considered an aspect of an atmosphere projected by all media wherein the contemporary ideologies and mentalities are expressed.[246] Themes of the contemporary regime were represented on depictions on coins including concord between states, military victories, and loyalty of the army. The contemporary idea expressed with the depiction of pirates on coins is that Rome wanted to present pirates as military antagonists worth defeating to honour Pompey.

Analogous to this idea was also demonstrated through Pompey being awarded a triumph for his successful campaign. Historically, a triumph was an assertion of Roman military might and the contrasting humiliation of the conquered.[247] Although Pompey's triumph is more to do with Pompey's conquest of the east than the representation of the pirates, it shows that pirates from south-western Anatolia were seen as enemies whose defeat was memorable enough to glorify Pompey accomplishment. Included in Pompey's triumph of 61BCE for his victories in the east was a representation of Cilicia and the

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[241] Figures 9 and 10 are coins that date to around c.49BCE which commemorate Pompey's victory over the pirates.
[242] Hollstein 1993: 388–389; Woyte 2012: 315 – 334.
[243] Wolters 2012: 339.
[244] Mattingly & Sydenham 1923: 22.
[245] Wolters 2012: 342.
[246] Cf. Zanker 1987; Norẽna 2001.
[247] Beard 2007: 4. Hopkins (1983: 1) and Kelly (2006: 4) emphasise the 'warrior state' aspect of Roman culture during their discussions on the triumph. This facet is well founded, however beard provides a more nuanced analysis of triumphs by investigating both ancient and modern debates on them. Cf. Ostenburg 2009.

conquered pirates.[248] Although there is evidence of pirates being represented after earlier campaigns against piracy,[249] Pompey's triumph is much more significant for the presentation of them. As in Appian, in Pompey's triumph the pirate leaders were paraded as captives in the same procession as the monarchs of Judaea, Scythia, Colchis, and the children of Mithridates.[250] Instead of the chieftains being executed as was the conventional punishment for captured pirates,[251] they were paraded just as were monarchs, suggesting that their defeats were seen as worthy as remembrance akin to the defeat of a foreign monarch. It can be argued that pirates being paraded in his triumph suggests that they were being shown off to glorify Pompey's achievement. However, an alternate analysis shows that this is an example of two things. First, through his triumph, Rome's imperialism was justified by Pompey's suppression of piracy. Second, although their military resistance to Roman imperialism was short term. Pirates being in this triumph placed them within the historical canon of Rome's military antagonists who were defeated and represented also, something they share with enemies such as the Gallic chieftains, Hannibal, or the Samnites.[252] Length of their resistance to Roman military power notwithstanding, pirates portrayal in literary evidence developed from being an irritant a few decades earlier, to being considered in the upper echelon of Rome's military antagonists.

4.7: Conclusion.

To summarise, this chapter has ascertained that due to their severity of pirates obstructing Rome's grain supply, they developed into an antagonistic entity worthy of military campaigns. The first campaign against piracy in the eastern Mediterranean was that of Marcus Antonius, whose campaign did not suppress piracy, hence the necessity for the

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[248] App. *Mith*. 117; Plut. *Pomp*. 45.1; Sullivan 1990: 188.

[249] For Balearicus' triumph for conquest of the Balearic isles, see *MRR* I: 521. Venning (2011: 195) discusses Antonius' triumph in 99BCE.

[250] App. *Mith*. 117.

[251] Suet. *Iul*. 4; Plut. *Caes*. 1.4 – 2, *Mor*. 206a Reardon 1997: 108 – 109, MacMullen 1986: 151; Osgood 2010: 319 – 336.

[252] Following the second Samnite War, the leader Gaius Pontius was executed after being paraded during the triumph of Rullianus (Liv. *Per*. 11.). Silius (*Pun*. 17.629–646) mentions Scipio Africanus' triumph and the triumphal depiction of the Carthaginian leader Hannibal. Cicero (*Marcell*. 9.28 – 9), Florus (2.13.88–89), and Lucan (3.76 – 7) describe the representation of Caesar's triumph for his victories over the Gallic tribes. Ostenburg 2009: 161, 243.

lex de provinciis praetoriis. To obtain support from her allies against this extensive threat, the Senate passed a *lex* which effectively presented Rome and its allies as defenders of liberty against pirate communities who were socio-economically disruptive. Moreover, during the war against Mithridates, in an attempt to delegitimise the Pontic king and justify Roman imperialism, pirates were presented as a contingent within the villainous army of a despotic king. There is duality in the pirates' characterisation when compared to Rome's past nemeses. Pirates were not portrayed as a military antagonists in the same vein as Hannibal who dealt them crushing military defeats. Instead, they were characterised as mercenaries for a Roman antagonist and a force which caused civil unrest and famine in Rome. Pompey's defeat of the pirates being commemorated on coins and during his triumphal procession shows that their conquest was politically manoeuvred into being used to honour Pompey for his unprecedented accomplishment. In the majority of literary accounts of Pompey's campaign against the pirates of south-west Anatolia the episode is mentioned tantalisingly without outlining key battles. This suggests that the literary sources emphasise the necessity for Pompey to recover the grain supply and that once this was achieved, their military defeat was of little interest to their audiences. Nonetheless, this inconsistency between the literary sources emphasises that between 102 and 67BCE pirate bands from south-west Anatolia were antagonists distinct from previous foes, permeating across the Mediterranean and causing internal socio-economic issues despite never dealing Rome any military defeats.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion.

The methodological approach in this dissertation has been a thematic discussion of the nuanced portrayal of pirates from the coast of south-west Anatolia. Through an investigation of Greco-Roman textual accounts and inscriptions I established three hypotheses. Being presented as a 'pirate' became an ethnicised term for people from communities on the coasts of south-west Anatolia and whose livelihoods clashed with Greco-Roman cultural norms and being used pejoratively as a political condemnation. In spite of being within the realm Greco-Romans categorised as the 'East', piracy being a cultural practice of this region kept them external to this stereotypical categorisation. Finally, the inconsistencies identified within textual sources show that historically pirates from south-west Anatolia were perceived as an antagonists distinct from Rome's other enemies because they resisted against Roman imperialism and produced socio-economic problems without overcoming Rome in a military campaign.

Chapters 2.2 was an extensive investigation of the Greek and Latin terms associated with pirates and ascertained that the key limitation to terminological evidence is pirates is that aside from *Katapontistes*,[253] without contextualisation these terms cannot be assumed to differentiate between pirates and bandits. Therefore, in Chapter 2.4 was a literary examination of ancient pirates' portrayal by dividing the discussion into criteria to establish the most explicit features. It was found that there were pirates had two primary motivations; first, to ensure that it remained a profitable business venture for the band. Second, that enough finances were secured to support their dependents. The ambiguity between portrayals of acts of piracy and privateering was observed; from the perspective of the victims, irrespective of whether the aggressors possessed any letter of marque, the aggressors were considered pirates. Cicero used vocabulary linked with pirates to condemn a political enemy, exemplifying the pejorative implication of the terminology among Greco-Romans. Pirates also became stereotyped as antagonists in literature, emphasising that contemporary audiences understood the threat of pirates, hence their perception as

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[253] Backman 2014: 176; de Souza 1999:10.

antagonists. There is evidence from the Archaic to the Roman periods that the label 'pirates' was a socio-political construct used to designate the criminality of one's enemies, to assert, contrarily, the legitimacy of their own maritime exploits.[254] The final criterion is ethnic identity, especially concerning the Cilicians. The word 'Cilician' became synonymous with pirate which persisted in the Principate, and is indicative that Greco-Romans perceived a pirate both by their activities and their ethnicity.

Focusing on pirate communities from south-western Anatolia, chapter 3 placed pirates in the context of 'Easterners' and found that they share a few similar stereotypes. However, these pirates were seen as external from the Hellenistic East. The pirate communities analysed in this study were categorised as barbarians due to their livelihood being in conflict with the culture of Greco-Roman states, therefore, a dissimilar form of barbarity to the extravagant easterner. Theories such as environmental determinism are not nuanced enough to consider the portrayal of these pirate communities since there is insufficient evidence of their physiognomy and their cultural norms are more similar to those of the warlike northern regions. Ideologically, in the Roman period pirates were perceived as the maritime form of a barbarian,[255] thus were external to the categories established by the environmental determinism theory. Pirate communities from the amorphous region of 'Rough' Cilicia were perceived as an external socio-political influence produced by inefficient Hellenistic kings which could only be alleviated through Roman imperialism.

Chapter 4 established that as a result of their obstruction of Rome's grain shipments, eradication of pirate communities were portrayed as a justified objective of Rome's military campaigns. Passing the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* outlined Rome's subsequent aggressive stance against piracy, portraying pirates as wide-spread socio-economic disrupters. Literary accounts of the Mithridatic War present the pirate bands from south-west Anatolia as forming Mithridates' navy, a further justification of Rome's imperialistic conquests against

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[254] Deane 2014: 91.
[255] Rediker 2011: 174.

Pontus. In comparison to Rome's past military nemeses, pirates were not portrayed negatively for delivering Rome humiliating defeats; pirates were portrayed as the mercenaries of one of Rome's most persistent enemies, and a force which caused dissent by famine. However, once Pompey had recovered the grain supply in the first month of his campaign, his battles against the pirate communities of south-west Anatolia were considered too insignificant to devote time to. This inconsistency between our literary sources highlights that at their peak of the endemic between 102 and 67BCE pirate bands from south-west Anatolia were an antagonistic entity unlike Rome's previous foes since they gradually spread across the Mediterranean and provided internal socio-economic issues without openly defeating Rome in battle.

If this dissertation had not been constrained due to time and word limit, I would have included a comparative analysis of pirates from the Balearic isles, Lipurnia, North Africa, and the Black Sea[256] with those of the eastern Mediterranean. Despite sharing an overlapping categorisation from Greco-Roman authors, pirate communities could have differed immensely due to their location and impact in the contemporary historical narrative. This dissertation was written to emphasise that studies of social groups associated with criminality provide insight into how culturally distinct livelihoods can also be interpreted as a contemporary form of resistance against imperialism.[257]

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[256] Diodorus Sicculus (20.25) and Strabo (11.2.12) mention piracy occuring in the Black Sea, however the subject has received very little attention from modern scholars. Gabbert 1986: 156.
[257] See Harrison (2008) for how modern societies mould national identity from resistance to Roman imperialism.

Illustrations

Figure 1: The northern sector of Attica indicating the accessibility of Rhamnous by land and sea (From Talbert 2000:59).
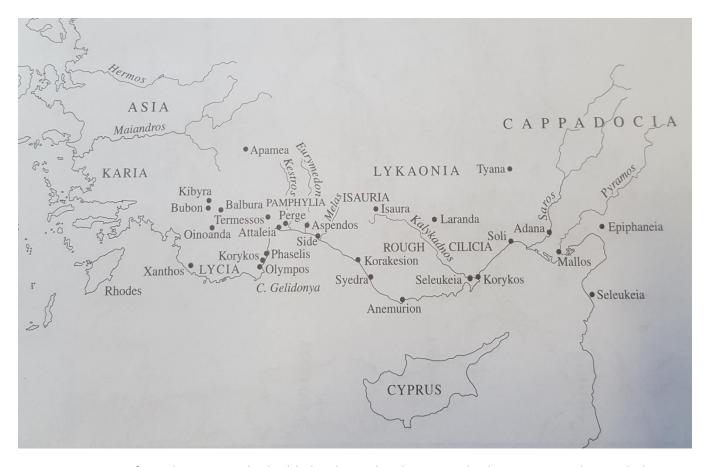
Figure 2: Map of southern Anatolia highlights how closely situated Cilicia, Lycia and Pamphylia were (From de Souza 1999: Map 3).

Figure 3: Mallos, Cilicia. Obol. 425 – 385 BCE. (Left) Forepart of man-headed bull (Right) Swan standing right with an ankh symbol overhead, barley grain to right all of these are within an incuse square (From CNG: 2018).

Figure 4: Tarsos, Cilicia. Obol. Period of Alexander III. 333–323BCE. (Left) Draped bust of Athena donning a triple-crested helmet while wearing a necklace. (Right) Boeotian shield embossed with a thunderbolt (From CNG: 2018).

Figure 5: Lycia, 500 – 460BCE. AR stater. (Left) Goat kneeling right with its head reverted (Right) Ram's head with the letter X above within dotted incuse square (From CNG: 2018; Grose 1929: 252, 314).

Figure 6: Oinanda, Lycia. 200BCE. AR didrachm. (Left) - Laureate head of Zeus with a sceptre next to him. (Right) The letters 'OI-NO/AN' are in two lines across the field with an eagle stood on top of a winged thunderbolt (From CNG: 2018; Forrer 1929: 556).

Figure 7: Aspendos, Pamphylia. 420–410BCE. AR stater. (Left) Two wrestlers grappling. (Right) triskeles running anti-clockwise (From CNG: 2018; Grose 1929: 257, 315).

Figure 8: Perge, Pamphylia. 255–240BCE. AR tetradrachm. (Left) Head of Artemis with her quiver over the shoulder. (Right) Artemis standing left holding a sceptre and wreath, a stag is behind her (From CNG 2018; Grose 1929: 259, 315).

Figure 9: Silver *denarius*. 49BCE. The palm is a reference to Pompey's numerous military victories. The Senate awarded Pompey the wreath after his defeat of Mithridates VI in 63BCE and the caduceus for his successful pirate campaign (From Russo 2013: 1555).

Figure 10: Silver *denarius*. 49BCE. The image refers to Pompeius Magnus as pro-consul, and is a commemoration of his victory over the pirates (From Russo 2013: 1565).

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