

ADALYA

(AYRIBASIM/OFFPRINT)



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YILLIĞI
THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

ADALYA
Vehbi Koç Vakfı
Suna-İnan KIRAÇ Akdeniz Medeniyetleri
Araştırma Enstitüsü Yıllık Dergisi
Yönetim Yeri: Barbaros Mh. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25
Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya Tel: +90 242 243 42 74
Faks: +90 242 243 80 13 E-posta: akmed@akmed.org.tr
Yayın Türü: Yerel Süreli Yayın **Sayı:** XIX - 2016
Yayıncı Sertifika No: 25840

Sahibi: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Adına Erdal YILDIRIM
Sorumlu Müdür: Kayhan DÖRTLÜK
Yapım: Zero Prodüksiyon Ltd.
Abdullah Sokak No. 17 Taksim 34433 İstanbul
Tel: +90 212 244 75 21 www.zerobooksonline.com
Baskı: Oksijen Basım ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.
100. Yıl Mah. Matbaacılar Sit. 2. Cad. No: 202/A Bağcılar-İstanbul
Tel: +90 (212) 325 71 25 Fax: +90 (212) 325 61 99
Sertifika No: 29487

ISSN 1301-2746

Bilim Danışma Kurulu / Editorial Advisory Board

Hâluk ABBASOĞLU	Gönül ÖNEY
Ara ALTUN	Mehmet ÖZDOĞAN
Oluş ARIK	Mehmet ÖZSAİT
Jürgen BORCHHARDT	Urs PESCHLOW
Thomas CORSTEN	Felix PIRSON
Jacques DES COURTILS	Scott REDFORD
Vedat ÇELGİN	Denis ROUSSET
Nevzat ÇEVİK	Martin Ferguson SMITH
İnci DELEMEN	R. R. R. SMITH
Refik DURU	Oğuz TEKİN
Serra DURUGÖNÜL	Gülsün UMURTAK
Hansgerd HELLENKEMPER	Burhan VARKIVANÇ
Frank KOLB	Michael WÖRRLE
Wolfram MARTINI	Martin ZIMMERMAN

Adalya, **A&HCI** (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) ve **CC/A&H** (Current Contents / Arts & Humanities) tarafından taranmaktadır.

Adalya is indexed in the **A&HCI** (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) and **CC/A&H** (Current Contents / Arts & Humanities).

Hakemli bir dergidir / A peer reviewed Publication

Editörler / Editors

Kayhan DÖRTLÜK
Tarkan KAHYA
Remziye BOYRAZ SEYHAN
Tuba ERTEKİN

İngilizce Editörleri / English Editors

İnci TÜRKOĞLU
Mark WILSON

Yazışma Adresi / Mailing Address

Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25
Kaleiçi 07100 ANTALYA-TURKEY
Tel: +90 242 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 242 243 80 13
akmed@akmed.org.tr
www.akmed.org.tr

İçindekiler

Hande Bulut <i>Karain Mağarası Örnekleri Işığında Bark Extractor (Ağaç Kabuğu Soyucu): Yeni Bir Öneri</i>	1
Emma L. Baysal <i>Beadwork in a Basket: An Ornamental Item from the Final Halaf Level of Mersin Yumuktepe</i>	17
Gonca Dardeniz <i>Cultic Symbolism at the City Gates: Two Metal Foundation Pegs from Tell Atchana, Alalakh (Turkey)</i>	31
S. Gökhan Tiryaki <i>Demir Çağ Milyas Mezarlıkları ve Ölü-Gömme Gelenekleri Üzerine Bir Ön-Değerlendirme</i>	51
Pınar Bursa Sturtevant <i>Eskiçağ'da Anadolu'nun Güney ve Batısında Yer Alan Bölgelerde Balık ve Balıkçılık</i>	75
Laura Slatkin <i>Sophocles' Antigone and the Paradoxes of Language</i>	95
Hüseyin Sami Öztürk <i>Myra'dan Lykia Birliği Rabibi Platon ile Ailesinin Onurlandırılması</i>	103
Ebru N. Akdoğu Arca <i>Lykia'ya Özgü Bir Kavram Olarak Sitometroumenoi Andres'i Plinius'un X, 116/117. Mektupları Işığında Yeniden Değerlendirme</i>	115
Murat Tozan <i>Some Remarks on the Date of Caesar's Capture by Cilician Pirates</i>	133
Hakan Öniz <i>Demre Beymelek Gölü'nde Sualtında Kalmış Liman ve Yapı Formları</i>	151
Işıl R. Işıklıkaya-Laubscher <i>Perge Mozaik Atölyeleri ve Akdeniz Havzası Mozaik Ekolleri İçerisindeki Yeri</i>	169
Mark Wilson <i>Saint Paul in Pamphylia: Intention, Arrival, Departure</i>	229
Hatice Pamir – Nilüfer Sezgin <i>The Sundial and Convivium Scene on the Mosaic from the Rescue Excavation in a Late Antique House of Antioch</i>	251

Elmon Hañer	
<i>Kilikya Ermeni Prensiđi'nin İkinci Başkenti Anavarza</i>	281
Cemal Bali Akal	
<i>Rencontres Méditerranéennes autour de Spinoza.</i>	
<i>Asaf Hâlet, Pessoa, Calvino... et l'inconnue Maria Barbas</i>	313
Marko Kiessel – Sevinç Kurt – Yasemin Mesda	
<i>The Abandoned Khan of Louroujina, Cyprus: A Case Study of a Vanishing Building Type</i>	323
Erin L. Thompson	
<i>J. Paul Getty's Motivations for Collecting Antiquities</i>	349
Kemal Reha Kavas	
<i>Akdeniz Yaylalarında Transbümant Mekân Örüntülerinin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi:</i>	
<i>Belgeler Işığında Antalya (Türkiye) ve Abruzzo (İtalya)</i>	367
François Hartog	
<i>La présence du témoin</i>	397

Some Remarks on the Date of Caesar's Capture by Cilician Pirates

Murat TOZAN*

The capture of young Julius Caesar by pirates off the western coast of Asia Minor is mentioned by many ancient and modern authors on various occasions. Some discrepancies, however, in ancient literary sources providing information about this event have led to some differences of opinion among modern writers. After examining the common points in the ancient literary sources (by removing the authors' embellishments) rather than the differences that brought about the disputes, the historical core of the event emerges as follows: In his early youth during his sea travel off the coast of Asia, Caesar was captured by Cilician pirates near the island of Pharmakousa¹ (Fig. 1). He was taken prisoner by the pirates on this island for about 40 days. After the payment of a large ransom, he was released and then set sail with the ships that he acquired from the nearby region. Eventually, he seized and punished the pirates who had captured him².

The main dispute in the ancient sources is the chronology of this episode with the pirates. This dispute is primarily based on differences in the sequence of the events according to Plutarch and Suetonius, as both provide the most extensive information about this episode. According to Suetonius, Caesar came to Asia after his flight from Sulla and served under M. Thermus, governor of the province. He was sent by Thermus to King Nikomedes of Bithynia in order to gather ships because the former was busy with the siege of Mytilene. Following the storming of Mytilene, he also served under Servilius Isauricus in Cilicia. After Sulla's death, Caesar returned to Italy and then prosecuted C. Dolabella, former governor of Macedonia. Unable to succeed in this case, he sailed to Rhodes to study under Apollonios Molon, the famous rhetorician of that time. He was captured by pirates near Pharmakousa during his journey to Rhodes. After the episode with the pirates, he arrived at Rhodes. But with the outbreak of the third Mithridatic War, he crossed to Asia and took military measures against the king³.

* Dr. Murat Tozan, Ege University, Faculty of Letters, Dept. of History, 35100 Bornova, Izmir.
E-mail: murat.tozan@ege.edu.tr

¹ Today Bulamaç Adası in Turkish, Farmakonisi in Greek. The island is part of the Dodecanese chain in the Aegean Sea.

² The available sources about the pirate episode of Caesar are: Suet. Iul. 4.1-2; Plut. Caes. 1.4-2.4, Crass. 7.5, mor. 205F-206A; Vell. 2.41.3-42.3; Val. Max. 6.9.15; Polyain. 8.23.1; Vir. ill. 78.3; Fenestella, frg. 30 (HRR II 87). For the embellishments attached to the narrative in the sources, see Gelzer 1968, 24, n. 2; Woodman 1983, 57; Günther 1999, 321, 325; Will 2008, 23; Will 2009, 39; Osgood 2010, 320; Pelling 2011, 138.

³ Suet. Iul. 1.3-4.2.

In Plutarch's narrative, however, Caesar, after fleeing from Sulla, sailed to king Nikomedes of Bithynia. On his voyage back from the king's court, he was captured by Cilician pirates near Pharmakousa. He sent his attendants to nearby cities to collect the ransom. After his ransom came from Miletos, he made the payment and was released. He immediately gathered ships from Miletos, sailed back to Pharmakousa, and seized the pirates who were lying at anchor off the island. He then took the pirates to Pergamon and demanded that Iuncus, the governor of Asia, judge and punish them. However, because the governor delayed in making his judgment, Caesar himself crucified the pirates in Pergamon. Then he studied under Apollonios Molon in Rhodes. After the death of Sulla, he returned to Rome and prosecuted Dolabella⁴.

The basic contradiction in these two narratives is whether the pirate episode of Caesar occurred before or after the prosecution of Dolabella⁵, which is certainly dated to 77⁶. In seeking the answer to this question, scholars have turned to Velleius Paterculus, a third source who also gave detailed information about the events on and around the episode with the pirates. According to the narrative of Velleius, Caesar fled from Sulla at the age of 18 and was then captured by pirates. After his release, with the ransom provided by the Asian cities, he collected a fleet and seized the pirates. He appealed to the governor of Asia to punish the pirates. However, he had a conflict with the governor and punished the pirates himself⁷. Unfortunately, in Velleius' text, the section around the name of the governor is very corrupt. After many emendations and additions to the corrupt section, mainly depending on the German classical philologist K. Nipperdey, the following conclusions were drawn. The governor of Asia, to whom Caesar appealed regarding the punishment of the pirates, was Iuncus, who was mentioned by Plutarch. Accordingly, the statement of "Iunium cum" in the extant text of Velleius⁸ must be emended to "Iunium <Iun>cum". Because Velleius claims that the governor was in Bithynia, it is conjectured accordingly that Iuncus was also the governor of Bithynia along with Asia, and he was busy transforming the kingdom of Bithynia to a Roman province after the death of Nikomedes, who bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. In order to strengthen this view, it was also suggested that "M. iunce" in a passage of Gellius⁹, who quoted from a speech of Caesar on behalf of Bithynians, must be "M. Iunce" depending on the emended text of Velleius, according to Plutarch. Moreover, the name "M. IVNI IVNCI", which is attested in an inscription from the imperial period¹⁰, is identified with the governor in question. Consequently, the full name of the governor is claimed to be M. Iunius Iuncus¹¹. As a result, the name M. Iunius Iuncus was obtained through hypothetical emendations and an irrelevant imperial inscription.

Since King Nikomedes IV died in 74, many modern authors assumed that the narrative of Velleius supports not Plutarch but Suetonius, and dated Caesar's episode with the pirates to

⁴ Plut. Caes. 1.2-4.1. Note that M. Perrin, editor and translator of Plutarch's Lives in the LCL, prefers "Iunius" as name of the governor instead of "Iuncus". For the name of this governor, see below.

⁵ For the prosecution of Dolabella and its date, see Alexander 1990, 71, no. 140. Cf. MRR II 89; Canfora 1999, 7.

⁶ All the dates are B.C.

⁷ Vell. 2.41.3-42.3.

⁸ Vell. 2.41.3.

⁹ Gell. 5.13.6.

¹⁰ See CIL 6.3837=31751.

¹¹ For the emendations and discussions on the texts; see Ward 1977, 26-29, 33-35; Woodman 1983, 58; Günther 1999, 322, n. 4, 326-327, n. 14. Cf. MRR II 98, 100, n. 6, III 113.

around 74¹². Günther, however, in her article analyzing sources related to Caesar's capture, asserted the possibility of Plutarch's early dating (i.e., ca. 81-78). She first emphasized the fact that corrupt text in Velleius about the governor of Asia is full of emendations and additions, and the name M. Iunius Iuncus is completely hypothetical. She also stated that accepting the name Iuncus in Velleius creates new chronological inconsistencies and contradictions because, according to Plutarch, the pirate episode of Caesar and accordingly the Asian governorship of Iuncus dates before the prosecution of Dolabella in 77 (i.e., King Nikomedes was still alive during his governorship). By revealing that the text of Plutarch consists of various narrative traditions, Günther eventually concluded that "Iuncus-Element" in Plutarch (hence in Velleius) was a kind of "foreign matter" (*Fremdkörper*)¹³.

Günther also strengthened her view on the early dating of the pirate episode with the evidence in Polyainos, who also stated that Caesar was captured by Cilician pirates on his voyage to Nikomedes (i.e., while the king was still alive) and this supports the early dating by Plutarch. According to Polyainos, Caesar's ransom money was provided by an inhabitant of Miletos named Epikrates¹⁴. Epigraphical evidence shows someone named Epikrates as the *stephanephoros* of the year 83/82 was one of the prominent figures of that period in Miletos¹⁵. Consequently, many scholars consider the son and grandson of Epikrates bearing the *duo nomina* of C. Iulius in the inscriptions, in other words, the grant of Roman citizenship to this family by Caesar relates to Epikrates' help to Caesar during the pirate episode¹⁶. Therefore, this evidence increases the reliability of the information and chronology provided by Polyainos¹⁷.

Despite all this evidence, Günther's theory about early dating is not accepted by other researchers. Even after her article's publication, many authors dealing with the pirate episode have preferred the later date¹⁸. In this article I will try to support the possibility of early dating both by discussing further evidence in the ancient literary sources and by considering the pirate episode within the framework of the Roman policy against piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 80s and 70s.

The most important deduction of Günther is the fact that the "Iuncus-Element" was a foreign matter in the narratives by Plutarch and Velleius. Consequently, the significant point is that when the Iuncus element is removed, the chronologies in the narratives of Plutarch and Velleius match each other exactly. Because Velleius, like Plutarch, places the prosecution of Dolabella among Caesar's deeds after his return to Rome¹⁹. Thus the narratives of both ancient authors are eventually as follows: 1) young Caesar's flight from Sulla, 2) the pirate episode,

¹² See e.g. Magie 1950, 249-250, 1126-1127, n. 44; Gelzer 1968, 23-24; Meier 1982, 141; Freber 1993, 119; Canfora 1999, 9-14. For Nikomedes' death dating to late 74, see Glew 1981, 128, n. 72. Cf. Sherwin-White 1984, 162, n. 14; Osgood 2010, 323, n. 10; Pelling 2011, 140. McGing 1995, 283-285, however, tends to date the king's death in 75.

¹³ Günther 1999, 321-337.

¹⁴ Polyain. 8.23.1.

¹⁵ Milet I 3, no. 125, l. 9.

¹⁶ Bowersock 1965, 8; Freber 1993, 119; Osgood 2010, 331-332. For the discussion on the epigraphic material, see especially Holtheide 1983, 126-127, 144-145, n. 126, 271 D 186, nos. 1-4; Herrmann 1994, 203-236.

¹⁷ Günther 1999, 329-330, 336.

¹⁸ See e.g. Goldsworthy 2006, 89-93; Billows 2009, 63-66; Will 2008, 22-26; Will 2009, 38-40; Osgood 2010, 334-336; Pelling 2011, 139.

¹⁹ Vell. 2.43.3: "Reliqua eius acta in urbe, nobilissima Cn. Dolabellae accusatio". On the other hand, Velleius associates Caesar's return to Rome with his election to the pontificate ca. 74/73; see Woodman 1983, 59; MRR II 113. Therefore, there is also obvious confusion by Velleius about the sequence of the events. His placement of the prosecution of Dolabella among Caesar's deeds after returning to Rome also means that both Plutarch and Velleius place the governorship of Iuncus (if both refer to the same man) before the prosecution of Dolabella in 77.

3) the return to Rome, and 4) the prosecution of Dolabella. This also supports the view that both Plutarch and Velleius have relied on the same source tradition regarding Caesar's early career²⁰.

Another parallelism between Plutarch and Velleius is their emphasis on Caesar's youth. It is generally accepted that Caesar was born in 100²¹. Velleius' statement that Caesar was 18 years of age at his flight from Sulla fits chronologically with the general opinion about the date of Caesar's birth and places his flight around 82 when Sulla seized power in Rome²². Velleius locates the pirate episode just after Caesar's flight from Sulla and states that Caesar was still "very young" at that time²³. Plutarch too in his *Moralia* associates Caesar's capture with his flight from Sulla and says that Caesar "while still a 'lad' fell into hands of pirates"²⁴. Plutarch also in his biography of Caesar defines him as a "child" at the time of his flight, and characterized some of his behavior as "childishness" during his captivity in the hands of pirates²⁵. Further information that supports the statements of these two authors comes from Valerius Maximus. According to Valerius, Caesar was captured by pirates "in his earliest youth" during his travel to Asia²⁶. Then it is seen that, in addition to Plutarch and Velleius, this statement by Valerius Maximus also supports the early dating of the pirate episode. Statements such as "very young" or "early youth" more suitably define someone around 19 to 22 years old (the years 81 to 78) rather than a 27 year old, as Caesar was in the winter of 74/73²⁷.

Thus, while similar narratives by Polyainos, Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus support the early dating of Plutarch, Suetonius remains alone both with his chronology and narrative. Moreover, it should be noted that, among the available ancient literary sources, only Suetonius mentioned both of young Caesar's travels to Asia, before and after the prosecution of Dolabella. No other source includes any information or even allusion to this. Although not clearly mentioning the second trip of Caesar, the only source that supports Suetonius' chronology is *De Viris Illustribus*²⁸. However, it apparently depends on Suetonius²⁹. Therefore, the chronology and narrative of all the sources support each other one way or another, except

²⁰ Strasburger 1938, 73-74, 78; Ward 1977, 27. Cf. Will 2009, 40; Osgood 2010, 323.

²¹ See Gelzer 1968, 1, n. 1; Meier 1982, 70; Woodman 1983, 54; Goldsworthy 2006, 36; Billows 2009, 27; Pelling 2011, 494.

²² Vell. 2.41.2: "(Caesar) **duodeviginti annos** eo tempore, quo Sulla rerum potitus est". Cf. Woodman 1983, 54; Pelling 2011, 136.

²³ Vell. 2.41.3: "Idem postea **admodum iuuenis**, cum a piratis captus esset".

²⁴ Plut. mor. 205F: "Γάιος Καίσαρ, ὅτε Σύλλαν ἔφευγεν **ἔτι μειράκιον** ὄν, περιέπεσε πειραταῖς". Note that Plutarch in his biography of Brutus uses the word *μειράκιον* for Octavian being under twenty-one years old; see Plut. Brut. 27.2. For the word *μειράκιον* in Greek referring to the late teens up to twenty-one years of age, see Laes – Strubbe 2014, 26-27. Cf. LSJ 1093, s.v. *μειράκιον*.

²⁵ Plut. Caes. 1.2: "ἐνίῳν λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι λόγον ἀποκτινύνουαι **παῖδα** τηλικούτων, οὐκ ἔφη νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ **παιδί** τούτῳ Μαρίους ἐνορῶσι", 2.3: "οἱ δ' ἔχαρον, ἀφελεία τινὶ καὶ **παιδιᾷ** τὴν παρρησίαν ταύτην νέμοντες".

²⁶ Val. Max. 6.9.15: "Caesar ... **inter primae iuventae** initia privatus Asiam petens, a maritimis praedonibus circa insulam Pharmacusam exceptus".

²⁷ While there is no convention that the word *iuuenis/iuventus* (youth) defines a particular age range in Latin, Laes – Strubbe 2014, 22, in their recent work on youth in the Roman world, state: "In their discussions of the human life cycle, Roman writers distinguished a period called *adulescentia* or *iuventus*, which roughly corresponds to the late teens and early twenties". For full discussion on the divisions of the human life cycle in the ancient sources, see Laes – Strubbe 2014, 23-42.

²⁸ See Vir. ill. 78.1-3.

²⁹ Strasburger 1938, 74, 78; Osgood 2010, 324, n. 13.

Suetonius who is radically different in this regard³⁰ (and of course De Viris Illustribus which summarizes him). As discussed above, available information in the ancient literary sources, as well as Günther's theory, favor Plutarch's early chronology.

In his famous work on ancient piracy concerning the pirates, who captured Caesar, de Souza without basing any evidence wrote: "There is no clear indication of where the pirates came from, but it does not seem to have been Cilicia"³¹. However, both Plutarch and Polyainos clearly stated that the pirates were Cilician³². Therefore, at this point, it is appropriate to discuss the pirate episode of Caesar within the framework of the policy of Rome against Cilician piracy.

Because of the power vacuum in the Eastern Mediterranean in the middle of the second century, Cilician piracy began to damage the interests of both Rome and her allies in the region in the last decades of this century³³. At the end of the second century, Rome finally took a wide range of military and legal measures against piracy in southern Asia Minor. The namesake grandfather of the famous triumvir, M. Antonius, fought against the Cilician pirates between 102-100 with a strong fleet³⁴. In 100 when M. Antonius was back in Rome and celebrated a triumph, Rome issued a wide-ranging law about the East, which also included measures against piracy. In the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, which is also called the "Piracy Law", the foundation of Cilicia as a praetorian province is declared in order to protect the interests and security of Rome and her allies in the eastern Mediterranean³⁵. In this law Rome also emphasized the necessity of the cooperation of Roman allies in the region against piracy³⁶. Although the name of the newly established province was Cilicia, the province actually included no territory in Cilicia. The core of the province was in fact Pamphylia, which was separated from the province of Asia³⁷. Nevertheless, by naming the province Cilicia, it not only emphasized the purpose of the foundation of the province but also provided convenience to the governors for their possible activities outside their provinces³⁸.

Epigraphic evidence proves that Rome regularly sent governors to Cilicia in the 90s³⁹. However, with the outbreak of the First Mithridatic War in 89, Roman rule in Asia Minor suddenly ceased. One of the policies of the Pontic king during the war was promoting Cilician piracy in order to damage the Romans who fought him and, more generally, weaken Roman rule in the Eastern Mediterranean⁴⁰. With the treaty of Dardanos in 85, even though King

³⁰ Many modern biographers of Caesar, however, unanimously follow the sequence of events and chronology in Suetonius and without any discussion assume that Caesar took a second trip to Asia after the prosecution of Dolabella in 77; see e.g. Gelzer 1968, 23; Meier 1982, 138-140; Canfora 1999, 7-8; Goldsworthy 2006, 85-89 (Goldsworthy mistakenly refers to Plutarch in the relevant footnote; see 650 n. 18); Billows 2009, 62-63; Will 2009, 37-38, 39.

³¹ De Souza 1999, 141.

³² Plut. Caes. 2. 2: "ἐν ἀνθρώποις φονικωτάτοις Κίλιξι". Polyain. VIII. 23. 1: "ὕπο ληστῶν ἤλω Κιλικῶν".

³³ For spread of Cilician piracy in second century, see Ormerod 1924, 203-208; Magie 1950, 282-283; Pohl 1993, 208-211; De Souza 1999, 97-101.

³⁴ Ormerod 1924, 208-209; Pohl 1993, 208-216; De Souza 1999, 102-108. Cf. MRR I 568-570; Brennan 2000, 357.

³⁵ For the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, see Crawford 1996, 231-270, no. 12.

³⁶ See Crawford 1996, 239 Cnidus III ll. 16-21, 253.

³⁷ Syme 1979, 120-126; Magie 1950, 285, 1165-1166, n. 15; Sherwin-White 1984, 97-98; Ferrary 2000, 168-170.

³⁸ See Syme 1979, 126; Sherwin-White 1984, 98-99; Ferrary 2000, 167-168; Dmitriev 2005, 95-96.

³⁹ See Ferrary 2000, 179-182, 185-189, 193. Sulla is undoubtedly the most important among the Cilician governors in the 90s. For the Cilician governorship of Sulla, see Santangelo 2007, 26-32.

⁴⁰ App. Mithr. 62, 63, 92, 119; Plut. Pomp. 24.1; Flor. 1.41.1-3. Cf. Cass. Dio 36.20.1-4.

Mithridates withdrew from the occupied territories, piracy had spread from Cilicia as far as the Asian coast and Aegean islands and continued to be a danger. Because Sulla, after his settlement in Asia, immediately sailed to Italy in 84 to fight with his rivals in Rome, and he even took vessels captured from Mithridates in addition to his fleet⁴¹. Sulla left behind Murena as the sole governor of all the Roman territory in Asia Minor⁴². Therefore, like the previous situation before 100, the provinces of Asia and Cilicia were again incorporated⁴³. It seems that the region of Karia beyond the Maeander was also added to the undivided Roman province of Asia in this period⁴⁴.

Murena, the governor of the united province, primarily needed to deal with piracy, which had again spread during the recent war. However, since all the ships were taken by Sulla to Italy, he first had to collect a new fleet. It seems that Murena demanded ships for his fleet to fight against pirates from the coastal cities of his province. According to Cicero, Miletos alone was to provide ten ships for this fleet by the order of Murena, and other cities of Asia likewise did the same according to their share⁴⁵. Murena demanded ships not only from provincial cities but also from Roman allies in the region. A. Terentius Varro, who was appointed by Murena as a legate for this purpose, seemingly collected ships from Rhodes, Delos, and even from the kingdom of Bithynia⁴⁶. Murena, however, during most of his tenure primarily engaged in his campaign against Mithridates from 83 to 81⁴⁷. Nevertheless, his short-term campaign against the pirates found an echo in the city-states. If the honorary inscriptions dedicated to Murena in Messene in the Peloponnesos and in Kaunos as well as the Rhodian inscription, which also mentions Murena, are related to this campaign, this information is significant because it shows that the expansion area of piracy was not limited to the southern coast of Asia Minor but extended as far as the Aegean Sea⁴⁸.

With Murena's return to Rome in 81, the province was divided again and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, one of the praetors of that year, was appointed to Cilicia as governor⁴⁹. After Dolabella reached his province in 80, the main task during his two-year tenure was to fight against piracy according to the *raison d'être* of the Cilician province⁵⁰. Dolabella, like the appointment of Varro by Murena, commissioned his legate C. Verres to gather ships from Roman allies in the region to build up a fleet against piracy⁵¹. Verres, in accordance with his task, was active not only in his proper province but also over a wide area stretching to Lykia, the Aegean Islands (Khios, Samos and Tenedos), the coastal cities of Asia (Erythrai, Halikarnassos,

⁴¹ Plut. Sull. 26.1, 27.1; App. Mithr. 56, 62; Gran. Lic. 35.26.

⁴² For the governorship of Murena, see Magie 1950, 240-245; Sherwin-White 1984, 149-152; Brennan 2000, 556-557; MRR II 61, III 123.

⁴³ See Ferrary 2000, 180-181; Dmitriev 2005, 92.

⁴⁴ See Sherwin-White 1984, 89-90; Dmitriev 2005, 103-115.

⁴⁵ Cic. II Verr. 1.89-90.

⁴⁶ SIG³ 745; I. Délos 1698; IvKalchedon 15. See also Pohl 1993, 259, n. 210; De Souza 1999, 122; Sherwin-White 1984, 154.

⁴⁷ For the so-called Second Mithridatic War see Magie 1950, 243-245; Sherwin-White 1984, 149-152.

⁴⁸ Messene: IG V 1.1454. Kaunos: Bernhardt 1972, 117, no. 1, 118-120. Rhodes: SIG³ 745. Cf. Pohl 1993, 259, n. 210. Appian also states that just after the First Mithridatic War the pirates captured many coastal cities of Asia such as Iasos, Samos and Klazomenai and they even pillaged Samothrake when Sulla stayed there during his return to Rome; see App. Mithr. 63. Cf. Cic. Manil. 33; Plut. Pomp. 24.5.

⁴⁹ MRR II 76; 80.

⁵⁰ Pohl 1993, 260; Dmitriev 2005, 98. Cf. Sherwin-White 1984, 153-154; Brennan 2000, 572.

⁵¹ Pohl 1993, 260, n. 214; MRR II 81. Cf. De Souza 1999, 124, n. 134.

Lampsakos, Miletos and Myndos) and even to the Bithynian and Thracian kingdoms⁵². However, as proved by Cicero in his famous speech against crimes of the notorious Verres (in *Verrem* I-II), the aim of Dolabella and Verres was to increase their personal wealth rather than fight against pirates. For this reason, during their two-year tenure they did not hesitate to engage in all kinds of corruption. Both of these Roman magistrates – Dolabella (just after his return to Rome) and Verres (nearly a decade later following his office in Sicily) – were sentenced to heavy fines and exiled after their prosecutions⁵³. Thus, it is not possible to say that Dolabella's period of Cilician governorship was effective in preventing piracy in the region.

As mentioned above, since the Roman governors assigned to the *provincia Cilicia* did not actively fight against piracy on the southern coast of Asia Minor after the First Mithridatic War, which started in 89, piracy undoubtedly became more widespread. Florus stated that during the period between the Mithridatic War and the Cilician governorship of Servilius Isauricus, whose tenure began in 78 as the successor of Dolabella, Cilician pirates extended their sphere of activity as far as the coasts of Kyrene, Crete, and Peloponnesos⁵⁴. Florus also identified Servilius Isauricus as the commander who won the first great victory against the pirates after the Mithridatic War. According to him, Isauricus gained bloody victories, first on the sea and then on land⁵⁵. Indeed, the Senate finally took a decisive step by assigning P. Servilius Vatia, one of the consuls in 79, as the governor of Cilicia and commissioned him to fight against piracy with a strong army on the southern coast of Asia Minor⁵⁶. Servilius Vatia, in contrast to Dolabella and Verres, was known as an honest statesman and good soldier. The contrast between him and his predecessor was also stressed by Cicero⁵⁷. After reaching his province in 78, Servilius Vatia conducted a large-scale naval expedition against the pirates in the first two years of his five-year tenure (i.e. in 78-77), especially in the western part of his province⁵⁸. In this expedition Servilius also captured Olympos and Phaselis, which were ruled by the pirate chieftain Zeniketes, who was probably a Cilician⁵⁹. During this expedition it seems that Servilius strongly cooperated with Rhodes and the Lycian confederation⁶⁰. Thus, this expedition apparently covered quite a large area stretching from the southern coast of Asia Minor to the Aegean Sea. After this naval expedition, Servilius Vatia conducted land operations in Isauria until 74, when he left his province and finally obtained the *agnomen* of Isauricus⁶¹.

Within this general historical framework, it is much more reasonable to date Caesar's pirate episode at approximately the period of the Cilician governorship of Dolabella in 80-79 rather

⁵² Cic. II *Verr.* Pamphylia: 1.60, 93, 95, 154, 3.6; Aspendos: 1.53. Perge: 1.54, 4.71, 5.185. Lykia: 1.95. Khios: 1.49, 5.185. Samos: 1.50-51, 4.71, 5.184. Erythrai, Halikarnassos, Tenedos: 1.49. Lampsakos: 1.63-70. Miletos, Myndos: 1.86. Nikomedes of Bithynia and Sadalas of Thrace: 1.63.

⁵³ Dolabella (in 78): Alexander 1990, 69, no. 135; Kelly 2006, 186-187, no. 33. Verres (in 70): Alexander 1990, 88-90, no. 177; Kelly 2006, 189, no. 36.

⁵⁴ Flor. 1.41.1-3. Cf. App. *Mithr.* 63, 92-93.

⁵⁵ Flor. 1.41.4-5. Cf. Strab. 14.3.3.

⁵⁶ Brennan 2000, 572; MRR II 82, 87.

⁵⁷ Cic. II *Verr.* 1.56-57. Cf. Pohl 1993, 260, n. 216.

⁵⁸ Sherwin-White 1984, 154-155; Pohl 1993, 259-263; De Souza 1999, 128-129. Cf. Brennan 2000, 572.

⁵⁹ Strab. 14.5.7, 3.8. Cic. II *Verr.* 1.56-57; Sall. *hist.* 1.127-132; Eutr. 6.3.1; Oros. 5.22-23. The name of Zeniketes was engraved with title of "king" on the handle of an iron strigilis from Dodona in Epeiros; see Peek 1978, 247-248. For the view that Zeniketes was a Cilician, see Ormerod 1924, 216. Cf. Cic. II *Verr.* 4.21; De Souza 1999, 129-130, 137.

⁶⁰ See Magie 1950, 287, 1167-1168, n. 18; Pohl 1993, 262-263, n. 225; De Souza 1999, 128-129, 137-139. Cf. Günther 1999, 331, n. 28.

⁶¹ For the Isaurian Campaign of Servilius, see Ormerod 1924, 217-219; Magie 1950, 288-290; Sherwin-White 1984, 155-157.

than around 74, which corresponds to the end of the five-year term of Isauricus who, as we have seen, actively fought against Cilician piracy in cooperation with Roman allies extending to the Aegean Sea. After the First Mithridatic War Murena, despite his some initiatives, had not achieved a conclusive result against piracy that extended as far as the Aegean Sea. During much of his tenure he was mainly interested in the military operations against Mithridates. Even though the main task of Dolabella and Verres was to fight against piracy according to the nature of their *provincia*, instead of fighting against piracy, they abused their offices. It should be noted that Dolabella and Verres did not fight even against the pirate chieftain Zeniketes, who ruled Olympus and Phaselis that apparently were within their province⁶². It is critical to note that Florus placed the spread of Cilician piracy as far as the Aegean Sea in the period between the end of the first Mithridatic War and the governorship of Servilius Isauricus. This information in Florus exactly corresponds with the statements of Plutarch and Polyainos, who both followed the early chronology, that the pirates based in the island of Pharmakousa were Cilicians⁶³.

Further evidence for dating Caesar's pirate affair around the period of the tenures of Dolabella and Verres in 80-79 comes from Cicero. In his famous oration against Dolabella's notorious legate Verres, Cicero listed his misdeeds in the Aegean islands and coastal cities of Asia during his travel to Sadalas of Thrace and Nikomedes of Bithynia⁶⁴. During his return trip from Thrace and Bithynia, probably in 79, Verres also visited Miletos⁶⁵. Verres demanded from Milesians an escort warship to protect him as far as Myndos. The Milesians immediately allocated to him a fully staffed and equipped warship for this purpose. After reaching Myndos, Verres ordered the crew to return to Miletos on foot and sold the warship in Myndos to two Roman citizens who resided there⁶⁶. As evidently stated by Cicero, this warship was one of the ten warships provided by Miletos for Murena's fleet against pirates⁶⁷.

Some authors assert that Verres' demand from the Milesians was illegal because he, as a legate in Cilicia, did not have official authority in the province of Asia⁶⁸. However, it should again be noted that, as promagistrates in Cilicia, the primary task of Dolabella and Verres was to fight against piracy according to the *raison d'être* of their provinces. Therefore, the task given to Verres by Dolabella was to demand ships from Roman allies to fight pirates⁶⁹. As stated by Cicero, Verres obviously had legal rights during his trip, even outside his province⁷⁰. The legal basis of his rights was the above-mentioned so-called *lex de provinciis praetoriis*⁷¹. In the

⁶² The *lex portorii Asiae* clearly proves that Phaselis (and of course Olympos) was part of the Roman province from its beginning; see Cottier et al. 2008, 36, l. 26. For the dating of the law to the initial years of the Asian province; see Mitchell 2008, 198-201. Cicero also implied that Olympos was within the *provincia* of Verres; see Cic. II Verr. 1.56. See also Mitchell 2008, 192; Sherwin-White 1984, 154.

⁶³ Plut. Caes. 2.2; Polyain. 8.23.1.

⁶⁴ Cic. II Verr. 1.49-90.

⁶⁵ Cicero seemingly ordered the events chronologically and put the Miletos accident at the end of his narrative. Moreover, his travel was from Miletos to Myndos; therefore, Verres evidently made a trip southwards; see Cic. II Verr. 1.86. For the date of Verres' trip see Brennan 2000, 557, 571.

⁶⁶ Cic. II Verr. 1.86-87.

⁶⁷ Cic. II Verr. 1.89: "Decem enim naves iussu L. Murenæ populus Milesius ex pecunia vectigali populi Romani fecerat".

⁶⁸ See e.g. Magie 1950, 247; Osgood 2010, 330.

⁶⁹ Dmitriev 2005, 98. Cf. Sherwin-White 1984, 153-154; De Souza 1999, 124 n. 134; Brennan 2000, 572.

⁷⁰ Cicero II Verr. 1.68 stated that Verres, during his Aegean trip, had legal rights over "allies and other foreign nations" (i.e., over provincial cities and allied kingdoms).

⁷¹ See Dmitriev 2005, 98.

text of the law, Rome obviously requested support from her allies in the eastern Mediterranean in the war against the pirates⁷². Even though Cicero carefully recorded every kind of illegal activity of Verres during his legateship under Dolabella, nowhere in his work did he indicate that Verres illegally travelled outside his province. His crimes either in Miletos or in any other city stemmed not from his illegal position in certain cities but from the misuse of his existing legal rights. Regarding the Miletos incident, the point identified by Cicero as corruption was not Verres' request for a ship from Miletos but his sale of the ship in Myndos.

At this point, the following question arises. Why did Verres demand an escort warship for his short trip from Miletos to Myndos? Modern authors have connected Verres' demand only to his greed. For example, Magie defined this demand by Verres as an opportunity for his self-enrichment, adding that "a voyage from Miletus to Myndus in Caria – a journey along the coast of not more than forty miles and involving no great peril –"⁷³. However, when the statements of Cicero about Verres' Miletos incident are thoroughly examined, finding a true answer to the above question may help. Cicero indicated that the loss of the Milesian warship was caused "not through a sudden attack of pirates but a piracy of the legate"⁷⁴. He, on another occasion, defined this theft as "a wicked act of piracy"⁷⁵. Finally, at the end of his section about the Miletos incident, Cicero summarized the entire episode as follows: "C. Verres acted to the fleet which built against pirates, himself like a wicked pirate"⁷⁶. De Souza in his work asserted that Cicero casually inserted pirates into this story⁷⁷. However, it is clear that Cicero did not use those statements casually but stressed the serious pirate threat in the immediate vicinity of Miletos at that time. After indicating the threat of a sudden pirate attack on Miletos, Cicero, using rhetorical contrast, implied that the fleet of Miletos against piracy was not harmed by an attack of pirates but by the piratical act of Verres, who demanded the warship as an escort against the pirates.

Whence might come a pirate threat for someone who sails from Miletos to Myndos? Consulting the map is sufficient to answer this question. One can see on the map that the island Pharmakousa, where the pirates who captured Caesar were based, is located approximately in the middle of the sea route from Miletos to Myndos (Fig 1). Hence, Verres' demand of an escort warship from Miletos was most likely due to the pirates based on Pharmakousa Island. Cicero himself was probably aware of piracy on the island because he, who also fled from Sulla, was in Asia at that time like Caesar⁷⁸. During his trip visiting the coastal cities of Asia as far as Rhodes, Cicero also visited Miletos in 79, the year that Verres' ship incident also happened⁷⁹. It is impossible to think that Cicero was unaware of the piracy on Pharmakousa during his trip from Miletos to Rhodes. Therefore, it seems highly probable that Cicero's emphasis on piracy in the Miletos incident of Verres was because of the pirates on Pharmakousa. Consequently, the serious threat of piracy in Pharmakousa around 79 can be considered

⁷² See Crawford 1996, 239 Cnidos III ll. 16-21, 253.

⁷³ Magie 1950, 247.

⁷⁴ Cic. II Verr. 1.89: "Quam ob rem unam ex decem, non praedonum repentino adventu sed legati latrocinio ... amissam".

⁷⁵ Cic. II Verr. 1.87: "nefaria praeda".

⁷⁶ Cic. II Verr. 1. 90: "C. Verrem, in ea classe quae contra piratas aedificata sit, piratam ipsum consceleratum fuisse".

⁷⁷ De Souza 1999, 154.

⁷⁸ Cicero, again like Caesar, returned to Rome after the death of Sulla; see Gelzer 1939, 838-839; Fuhrmann 1992, 29-33.

⁷⁹ See Cic. Cluent. 32. For Cicero's travel along the western coast of Asia Minor in the autumn of 79, see Fuhrmann 1992, 32.

further evidence supporting the early dating of Caesar's pirate episode. The pirates, against whom Verres took measures, were perhaps the same pirates who captured Caesar.

When the early dating is accepted, the possibility arises that during the pirate episode Caesar was in service either under Minucius Thermus, the governor of Asia in 81/80, or under Servilius Isauricus, whose tenure in Cilicia began in 78⁸⁰. However, both Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus evidently indicated that Caesar was a *privatus* when he was captured by the pirates⁸¹. According to this, on what authority did Caesar as a *privatus* demand ships from the Milesians? The unequivocal answer to this question is that Caesar was not an ordinary Roman noble in Miletos. His father was previously the governor of Asia⁸² and was well known in Miletos and other cities in close proximity⁸³. Thus, the help of the Milesians to this promising young Roman noble was very important in terms of their relationships with Rome. It should also be noted that, since the region of Karia south of the Maeander was recently added to Asia in the post-Sullan period, help from Miletos as a new provincial city was particularly important to establish good, close relationships with Rome⁸⁴. Moreover, the ships collected by Caesar from Miletos were likely not private ships but ships provided by Miletos to the Roman fleet, which was established by Murena against piracy⁸⁵.

Hence, it is quite plausible to place the pirate episode of Caesar between his offices under Thermus and Isauricus (i.e., 80-78). Additionally in this context, as demonstrated above, the pirate episode corresponds with the tenure of Dolabella and Verres in Cilicia in 80-79. Considering the fact that piracy on Pharmakousa was still a topical theme in Miletos during the visits of Verres and Cicero in 79, it could be maintained that the pirate episode of Caesar succeeded their visits. Furthermore, as Cicero visited Miletos in autumn of 79⁸⁶ and winter had already begun during Caesar's capture, as stated by Suetonius⁸⁷, dating the pirate episode of Caesar to the autumn of 79 or to the early winter of 79/78 is appropriate.

In his discussion defending the later date for the pirate episode of Caesar, Osgood maintained that, if the early dating is preferred, it is hard to fit Caesar's military services under Thermus and Isauricus as well as his study under Apollonios Molon between 81 and 78⁸⁸. It

⁸⁰ For the tenure of Thermus in Asia, see Brennan 2000, 557. Cf. MRR II 76, 81; Magie 1950, 246, 1124-1125, n. 41. Some authors think Caesar was a *legatus* under Thermus (and Isauricus); see Günther 1999, 330, 337, n. 42; MRR II 78. Cf. Suet. Iul. 2.1; 3.1. However, it is known that the *legati* were *de facto* chosen by governors but legally appointed by the Senate; see Marshall 1972, 904-909. For the appointment procedure of the *legati*, see especially Marshall 1972, 904-905, n. 71. Therefore, it is hard to accept that Caesar as a member of the opposing faction of Sulla and a fugitive from him was selected by governors and appointed by the Senate under the Sullan dictatorship; cf. Gelzer 1968, 22, n. 2; Goldsworthy 2006, 78. Considering the evidence from Cicero, who gave the most comprehensive information about the staff of a governor in republican Rome, *praefecti* were directly appointed by the governor for special tasks. For the *praefecti*, who were assigned to special tasks by Cicero and his predecessor Appius; see e.g. M. Scaptius: Cic. Att. 114 (V 21) 10, 115 (VI 1) 6, 116 (VI 2) 8-9; cf. MRR II 239; Q. Volusius: Cic. Att. 114 (V 21) 6; cf. MRR II 246. Accordingly, Caesar under Thermus should have served as a *praefectus* with the special task of gathering ships from the kingdom of Bithynia, rather than as a regular *legatus*.

⁸¹ Vell. 2.42.2; Val. Max. 6.9.15.

⁸² The Asian governorship of Caesar's namesake father is dated either to the late 100s or the late 90s; see Ferrary 2000, 175-179, 192; Brennan 2000, 553. Cf. MRR II 22, III 105.

⁸³ Caesar may have also inherited the patronage over Miletos and other nearby coastal cities from his father; see Günther 1999, 329-330, n. 24; Osgood 2010, 329-333. See also above for Epikrates of Miletos.

⁸⁴ For the addition of Karia to the province of Asia, see Sherwin-White 1984, 89-90; Dmitriev 2005, 103-115.

⁸⁵ Cf. Günther 1999, 333, n. 34.

⁸⁶ See Fuhrmann 1992, 32.

⁸⁷ Suet. Iul. 4.1: "Huc dum hibernis iam mensibus traicit, circa Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus captus est".

⁸⁸ Osgood 2010, 335.

seems, however, not impossible when all the events around the pirate episode are ordered chronologically according to the early dating. Between his two military services from 80 to 78, excepting the pirate episode, there is enough time for his study under Molon in Rhodes. Caesar presumably was informed of the pirate campaign of Isauricus while studying in Rhodes. It should be noted that Rhodes, as a significant ally of Rome in her fight against piracy, no doubt also provided ships for Servilius' campaign⁸⁹. Caesar, despite his youth, now had proven skills in naval warfare with his achievements during both the siege of Mytilene and the collection of ships from Bithynia as well as the seizure of the pirates in Pharmakousa with his fleet, which he acquired from Miletos. Therefore, he had fought under Isauricus in his naval campaign against the pirates probably because of his reputation arising from the aforementioned achievements⁹⁰.

In conclusion, although the late dating is generally accepted by modern authors, the evidence discussed above proves that the early dating of Caesar's pirate episode is also possible. However, it is obvious that both dates, whether early or late, depend on existing information from available sources that are substantially hypothetical. In order to date the episode precisely, more accurate and new evidence is required. Finally, if the early dating is accepted, the chronological order of the events surrounding the pirate episode of Caesar appears as follows:

82	Flight from Sulla
81/80	Service under Thermus in Asia
ca. late 79	Pirate episode
ca. 79/78	Study under Molon in Rhodes
78/77	Service under Isauricus in Cilicia and return to Rome
77	Prosecution of Dolabella

⁸⁹ Pohl 1993, 262; De Souza 1999, 128.

⁹⁰ Caesar as a "naval expert" also fought against pirates as *legatus* under M. Antonius in 74; see SIG³ 748, l. 23. See also Gelzer 1968, 24-25; Günther 1999, 331, n. 29; Canfora 1999, 13; Billows 2009, 67-68; Will 2009, 41; Osgood 2010, 328, n. 32; Pelling 2011, 141. Cf. MRR II 113, III 105.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Ancient Literary Sources

- App. Mithr. (= Appian, Mithridateios)
Appian, Roman History I-IV. Ed. and trans. H. White. 1912-1913 [Loeb].
- Cass. Dio (= Cassius Dio, Rhomaike historia)
Dio Cassius, Roman History I-IX. Ed. and trans. E. Cary – H. B. Foster. 1914-1927 [Loeb].
- Cic. Att. (= Cicero, epistulae ad Atticum)
Cicero, Letters to Atticus I-IV. Ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. 1999 [Loeb].
- Cic. Cluent. (= Cicero, pro A. Cluentio)
Cicero, Pro Cluentio. Ed. and trans. H. G. Hodge. 1927 [Loeb].
- Cic. Manil. (= Cicero, pro lege Manilia sive de imperio Cn. Pompei)
Cicero, Pro Lege Manilia. Ed. and trans. H. G. Hodge. 1927 [Loeb].
- Cic. Verr. (= Cicero, in Verrem)
Cicero, The Verrine Orations I-II. Ed. and trans. L. H. G. Greenwood. 1928-1935 [Loeb].
- Eutr. (= Eutropius, breviarium ab Urbe Condita)
Eutropius, Roma Tarihinin Özeti. Ed. and trans. Ç. Menzilioğlu. 2007.
- Fenestella (= Fenestella, annales)
Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae [HRR] I-II. Ed. H. Peter. 1906-1914 [Teubner].
- Flor. (= Florus, epitoma de Tito Livio)
Florus, Epitome of Roman History. Ed. and trans. E. S. Forster. 1929 [Loeb].
- Gell. (= Aulus Gellius, noctes Atticae)
Gellius, Attic Nights I-III. Ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe. 1927 [Loeb].
- Gran. Lic. (= Granius Licinianus, annales)
Grani Liciniani Quae Supersunt. Ed. M. Flemisch. 1904 [Teubner].
- Oros. (= Orosius, historiae adversus paganos)
Pauli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII. Ed. C. Zangemeister. 1889 [Teubner]. Paulus Orosius, The Seven Books of History against the Pagans. Trans. R. J. Deferrari. 1964.
- Plut. mor. (= Plutarchos, moralia)
Plutarch, Moralia I-XV. Ed. and trans. F. C. Babbitt et al. 1927-1976 [Loeb].
- Plut. vit. (= Plutarchos, vitae parallelae)
Plutarch, Lives I-XI. Ed. and trans. M. Perrin. 1914-1926 [Loeb].
- Polyain. (= Polyainos, strategemata)
Polyaenus, Stratagems of War I-II. Ed. and trans. P. Krentz – E. L. Wheeler. 1994.
- Sall. hist. (= Sallust, historiae)
C. Sallusti Crispi Historiarum Reliquiae. Ed. B. Maurenbrecher. 1891. [Teubner]. Sallust, The Histories II. Trans. P. McGushin. 1994.
- Strab. (= Strabo, geographika)
Strabo, Geography I-VIII. Ed. and trans. H. L. Jones. 1917-1932 [Loeb].
- Suet. (= Suetonius, de vita Caesarum)
Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars I-II. Ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe. 1914 [Loeb].

- Val. Max. (= Valerius Maximus, *facta et dicta memorabilia*)
Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings I-II*. Ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. 2000 [Loeb].
- Vell. (= Velleius Paterculus, *historie Romanae*)
Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*. Ed. and trans. F. W. Shipley. 1924 [Loeb].
- Vir. ill. (= *De viris illustribus*)
De Viris Illustribus Urbis Romae. Ed. F. Pichlmayr. 1911 [Teubner].

Modern Bibliography

- Alexander 1990 M. C. Alexander, *Trials in the Late Roman Republic, 149 BC to 50 BC* (1990).
- Bernhardt 1972 R. Bernhardt, "Zwei Ehrenstatuen in Kaunos für L. Licinius Murena und seinen Sohn Gaius", *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 16, 1972, 117-122.
- Billows 2009 R. A. Billows, *Julius Caesar: The Colossus of Rome* (2009).
- Bowersock 1965 G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1965).
- Brennan 2000 T. C. Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* 2 vols. (2000).
- Canfora 1999 L. Canfora, *Giulio Cesare: il dittatore democratico* (1999).
- CIL T. Mommsen et al. (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum I-*. (1863-).
- Cottier et al. 2008 M. Cottier – M. H. Crawford – C. V. Crowther – J.-L. Ferrary – B. M. Levick – O. Salomies – M. Wörrle, *The Customs Law of Asia* (2008).
- Crawford 1996 M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes*, 2 vols. (1996).
- De Souza 1999 P. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (1999).
- Dmitriev 2005 S. Dmitriev, "The History and Geography of the Province of Asia during its First Hundred Years and the Provincialization of Asia Minor", *Athenaeum* 93, 2005, 71-133.
- Ferrary 2000 J.-L. Ferrary, "Les gouverneurs des provinces romaines d'Asie Mineure (Asie et Cilicie), depuis l'organisation de la province d'Asie jusqu'à la première guerre de Mithridate (126–88 av. J.C.)", *Chiron* 30, 2000, 161-193.
- Freber 1993 P.-S. G. Freber, *Der hellenistische Osten und das Illyricum unter Caesar* (1993).
- Fuhrmann 1992 M. Fuhrmann, *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (1992).
- Gelzer 1939 M. Gelzer, "M. Tullius Cicero (als Politiker)", *RE VIIA/1*, 1939, 827-1091.
- Gelzer 1968 M. Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman* (1968).
- Glew 1981 D. G. Glew, "Between the Wars. Mithridates Eupator and Rome, 85-73 B.C.", *Chiron* 11, 1981, 109-130.
- Goldsworthy 2006 A. Goldsworthy, *Caesar: The Life of a Colossus* (2006).
- Günther 1999 L.-M. Günther, "Caesar und die Seeräuber – eine Quellenanalyse", *Chiron* 29, 1999, 321-337.
- Herrmann 1994 P. Herrmann, "Milet unter Augustus: C. Iulius Epikrates und die Anfänge des Kaiserkults", *IstMitt* 44, 1994, 203-236.
- Holtheide 1983 B. Holtheide, *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia* (1983).
- I. Délos F. Durrbach et al. (ed.), *Inscriptions de Délos I-VII*. (1926-1972). <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>

- IG A. Kirchhoff et al. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae I-*. (1873-). <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>
- IvKalchedon R. Merkelbach (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 20* (1992).
- Laes – Strubbe 2014 C. Laes – J. Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire: The Young and the Restless Years?* (2014).
- LSJ H. G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*. H. S. Jones (rev.) (1996).
- Kelly 2006 G. P. Kelly, *A History of Exile in the Roman Republic* (2006).
- Magie 1950 D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of Third Century after Christ*, 2 vols. (1950).
- Marshall 1972 A. J. Marshall, “The *lex Pompeia de provinciis* (52 B.C.) and Cicero’s *Imperium* in 51-50 B.C.: Constitutional Aspects”, in: *ANRW I.1* (1972) 887-921.
- McGing 1995 B. C. McGing, “The Ephesian Customs Law and the Third Mithradatic War”, *ZPE* 109, 1995, 283-288.
- Meier 1982 C. Meier, *Caesar* (1982).
- Milet I 3 T. Wiegand (ed.), *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899: III. Das Delphinion in Milet (nos. 31-186)*. A. Rehm (ed.) (1914).
- Mitchell 2008 S. Mitchell, “Geography, Politics, and Imperialism in the Asian Customs Law”, in: M. Cottier et al. (eds.), *The Customs Law of Asia* (2008) 165-201.
- MRR T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 3 vols. (1951-1986).
- Ormerod 1924 H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World: An Essay in Mediterranean History* (1924).
- Osgood 2010 J. Osgood, “Caesar and the Pirates: or How to Make (and Break) an Ancient Life”, *G&R* 57/2, 2010, 319-336.
- Peek 1978 W. Peek, “Orakel aus Dodona für den Piratenkönig Zeniketes”, *ZPE* 30, 1978, 247-248.
- Pelling 2011 C. Pelling, *Plutarch Caesar* (2011).
- Pohl 1993 H. Pohl, *Die römische Politik und die Piraterie im östlichen Mittelmeer vom 3. bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (1993).
- Santangelo 2007 F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites and the Empire: A Study of Roman Policies in Italy and the Greek East* (2007).
- Sherwin-White 1984 A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East 168 B.C. to A.D. 1* (1984).
- SIG W. Dittenberger et al. (eds.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, 4 vols. (1915-1924).
- Strasburger 1938 H. Strasburger, *Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte* (1938).
- Syme 1979 R. Syme, “Observations on the Province of Cilicia”, in: E. Badian (ed.), *Roman Papers* (1979) 120-148. [= in: W. M. Calder – J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (1939) 299-332]
- Ward 1977 A. M. Ward, “Caesar and the Pirates II. The Elusive M. Iunius Iuncus and the Year 75-4”, *AJAH* 2, 26-36.
- Will 2008 W. Will, *Veni, Vidi, Vici: Caesar und die Kunst der Selbstdarstellung* (2008).
- Will 2009 W. Will, *Caesar* (2009).
- Woodman 1983 A. J. Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus: The Caesarian and Augustan Narrative (2.41-93)* (1983).

Özet

Caesar'ın Kilikalı Korsanlar Tarafından Yakalanmasının Tarihi Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler

Genç Caesar'ın Asia kıyılarında korsanlar tarafından yakalanıp esir edilmesinden gerek antik kaynaklarda gerekse modern eserlerde çeşitli vesileler ile söz edilmektedir. Bu olay hakkında bilgi veren antik edebi kaynaklardaki bazı uyumsuzluklar modern araştırmacılar arasında görüş ayrılıklarının yaşanmasına neden olmaktadır. Görüş ayrılıklarına neden olan uyumsuzluklardan ziyade öncelikle antik edebi kaynaklardaki ortak noktalara bakacak olursak olayın tarihsel özünün şu şekilde olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Caesar gençliğinde Asia kıyısında seyahat ederken Pharmakousa adası yakınlarında Kilikalı korsanlar tarafından yakalandı. Yaklaşık 40 gün kadar bu adada korsanların elinde esir olarak kaldı. Yüksek bir fidye karşılığında serbest bırakıldıktan sonra bölgeden topladığı gemiler ile denize açılarak kendisini yakalamış olan korsanları ele geçirdi ve onları cezalandırdı.

Antik kaynaklardaki en temel uyumsuzluk korsan olayının kronolojisi ile ilgilidir. Bu uyumsuzluk esas olarak olay hakkında en geniş bilgiyi veren Plutarkhos ve Suetonius'un anlatımlarında olayların sıralanışındaki farklılığa dayanmaktadır. Bu iki antik yazarın anlatımlarındaki temel çelişki, Plutarkhos'un Caesar'ın korsanlar tarafından kaçırılmasını kesin olarak 77⁹¹ yılına tarihlenen Dolabella davasının öncesine, Suetonius'un ise sonrasına yerleştirmesidir. Araştırmacılar bu sorunu çözmek için olay hakkında geniş bilgi veren üçüncü bir antik kaynak olan Velleius Paternulus'a yöneldiler. Ancak Velleius'un metninde korsan olayının aktarıldığı kısım oldukça bozuktur. M.S. 19. yy. ortalarından itibaren metnin eksik yerlerine yapılan çeşitli ekleme ve tamamlamalara dayanarak, nihayetinde korsan olayının ardından Caesar'ın başvurduğu valinin adının M. Iunius Iuncus olduğu, Iuncus'un o sırada Bithynia'da bulunduğu ve burada 74 yılı civarında öldüğü bilinen kral IV. Nikomedes'in Roma'ya miras bıraktığı krallığını eyalete dönüştürmekle meşgul olduğu varsayımları yapıldı. Dolayısıyla modern araştırmacılar arasındaki eğilim, korsan olayını da 74 yılı civarına tarihleyerek Suetonius'un anlatısını esas almak olmuştur.

L.-M. Günther, Caesar'ın korsanlar tarafından kaçırılma olayının tarihini ele aldığı makalesinde Plutarkhos ve Velleius'ta geçen Iuncus unsurunun anlatıya dahil olmadığını akla yatkın iddialarla öne sürmüştür. O ayrıca, Plutarkhos'taki erken tarihlemeyi destekleyen bir diğer antik yazar olan Polyainos'un sözünü ettiği, Caesar'ın fidye parasını toplama konusunda ona yardım eden Miletoslu Epikrates'in tarihsel bir kişilik olmasını göz önüne alarak Polyainos'un kronolojisinin güvenilirliğini vurgulamıştır. Bu kanıtlara rağmen Günther'in erken tarihleme önerisi

⁹¹ Tüm tarihler Milattan öncedir.

akademik çevrede destek görmemiş ve ondan sonra konuyu ele alan birçok yazar, korsan olayı için yine geç tarihlemeyi kabul etmişlerdir. Bu makalede gerek antik edebi kaynakların verdiği diğer bazı bilgiler tartışılarak gerekse olay, Roma'nın 80'li ve 70'li yıllarda Doğu Akdeniz'de korsanlığa karşı izlediği genel politikası içerisinde değerlendirilerek erken tarihlemenin mümkün olabileceği öne sürülmektedir.

Plutarkhos'ta ve Velleius'ta öncelikle göze çarpan husus, Iuncus unsuru çıkartıldığında bu iki yazardaki korsan olayına dair anlatının kronolojik olarak birebir uyuşmasıdır. Bu durum Plutarkhos'un ve Velleius'un olay hakkında ortak kaynaklardan yararlandığı görüşünü de desteklemektedir. Plutarkhos ve Velleius'taki bir diğer paralellik, Caesar'ın korsan olayı sırasında oldukça genç yaşta olduğuna yapılan vurgudur. Korsan olayına değinen bir diğer antik kaynak olan Valerius Maximus'un da olay sırasında Caesar'ın çok genç yaşta olduğunu belirtmesi, erken kronolojiyi destekleyen bir diğer kanıt olarak görülebilir. Çünkü söz konusu üç antik yazarda geçen Caesar'ın oldukça genç olduğuna dair ifadeler geç tarihlemeye göre 74/73 yılı kışında artık 27 yaşındaki birisinden ziyade, 81/78 yılları dolayında 19/22 yaşındaki Caesar için çok daha uygun düşmektedir. Bu durumda Velleius Paterculius, Valerius Maximus ve Polyainos'taki benzer anlatım geleneklerine dayalı ifadelerin Plutarkhos'ta geçen erken tarihlemeyi desteklerken Suetonius'un gerek kronolojisiyle gerekse anlatım öyküsüyle yalnız kaldığı görülmektedir.

Gerek Plutarkhos, gerekse Polyainos'un Caesar'ı kaçıran korsanların Kilikalı olduklarını belirtmeleri, korsan olayını Roma'nın Kilikia'daki korsanlığa karşı izlediği genel politika çerçevesinde değerlendirmeyi gerekli hale getirmektedir. 85 yılında sona eren I. Mithridates savaşının ardından Kilikia merkezli korsanlık, kralın savaş sırasında izlediği politikanın bir sonucu olarak Ege Havzası'na kadar yayılmıştı. Asia ve *Cilicia*'nın ortak valisi Murena, korsanlığa karşı bazı girişimlerine rağmen bir sonuç elde edememiş, 84-81 yılları arasındaki görev süresinin büyük kısmında korsanlıktan ziyade Mithridates'e karşı yürüttüğü askeri hareket ile ilgilenmişti. Murena'nın ardından *Cilicia* valisi olarak atanan Dolabella ve onun *legatus*'u Verres'in esas görevleri korsanlığa karşı savaşmak olsa da onlar iki yıllık görev süreleri boyunca (80-79) korsanlığa karşı pek bir şey yapmayı bilakis bu görevlerini kötüye kullanmışlardı. Unutulmamalıdır ki Dolabella ve Verres bizzat eyaletleri içerisindeki Olympos ve Phaselis'i kontrolünde bulunduran ve muhtemelen Kilikalı olan korsan şefi Zeniketes'e karşı dahi bir sefer gerçekleştirmemişlerdi. Bu bakımdan antik kaynaklardan Florus'un Kilikalı korsanların etki alanlarını Kyrene, Girit ve Peloponnesos'a kadar genişletmelerini I. Mithridates savaşının bitimi (85) ile Servilius Isauricus'un valiliği (78-74) arasındaki döneme yerleştirmesi konumuz açısından oldukça değerlidir. Florus'taki bu bilgi erken kronolojiyi takip eden Plutarkhos ve Polyainos'ta geçen Caesar'ı kaçıran Pharmakousa adası merkezli korsanların Kilikalı oldukları bilgisiyle birebir uyuşmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu genel tarihsel çerçeve içerisinde Caesar'ın korsan olayının *Cilicia* valisi P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus'un Anadolu'nun güney kıyılarındaki korsanlık ile beş yıldır etkin olarak mücadele ettiği dönemin sonuna tekabül eden 74 tarihinden ziyade, aşağı yukarı Dolabella'nın *Cilicia* valiliği dönemine denk gelen 80-79 yıllarına tarihlenmesinin çok daha uygun olduğu açıktır.

Cicero'daki diğer bir kanıt da korsan olayı için yukarıda önerilen erken tarihlemeyi desteklemek için kullanılabilir. Cicero'nun belirttiğine göre Trakya ve Bithynia'daki görev seyahatinden dönüşü sırasında 79 yılında Miletos'a uğrayan Dolabella'nın kötü şöhretli *legatus*'u Verres, buradan Myndos'a yapacağı kısa deniz yolculuğu için Miletos kentinden kendisine eskortluk etmesi için bir savaş gemisi talep etmişti. Miletoslular da kendisine derhal tam kadrolu ve teçhizatlı bir savaş gemisi tahsis etmişlerdi. Fakat Myndos'a ulaşan Verres, bu gemiyi kendi hesabına

satmıştı. Bu savaş gemisi Miletos'un Murena'nın korsanlara karşı oluşturduğu donanma için tahsis ettiği on gemiden biriydi.

Cicero'nun aktardığı bu olayda yolsuzluk olarak vurguladığı durum Verres'in Miletos'tan gemi talep etmesi değil, bu gemiyi yasadışı bir şekilde satmasıdır. Bu noktada akla şu soru gelmektedir: Verres Miletos'tan Myndos'a olan bu kısa deniz yolculuğu için niçin eskort gemi talep etmişti? Modern yazarlar bu talebi sadece Verres'in açgözlülüğüne bağlamaktadırlar. Ancak Cicero'daki ifadeler dikkatlice incelendiğinde onun Miletos'un yakın çevresinde o dönemde ciddi bir korsanlık tehlikesini vurguladığı görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla Verres bu gemiyi Miletos'tan Myndos'a yaptığı deniz yolculuğu sırasında korsanlara karşı koruma sağlaması amacıyla talep etmiş olmalıdır. Miletos'tan Myndos'a denizden seyahat eden biri için korsan tehlikesinin nereden gelebileceği sorusuna cevap aramak üzere haritaya bakıldığında, bu güzergahın aşağı yukarı tam orta mesafesinde Caesar'ı kaçıran korsanların üssü olan Pharmakousa adasının olduğu görülmektedir. Bu durumda Verres'in Miletos kentinden eskort savaş gemisi talep ederek Pharmakousa merkezli korsanlara karşı önlem aldığı düşünülebilir. Cicero muhtemelen bu adadaki korsanlıktan bizzat haberdar idi. Çünkü Cicero da Verres ile aynı yılda, 79 yılında, Batı Anadolu kıyısındaki kentleri ziyaret edip Rhodos'a giderken Miletos'ta bulunmuştu. Böylece 79 yılı civarında Pharmakousa adası ve civarında ciddi bir korsanlık tehlikesinin olduğunun saptanması Caesar'ın korsan olayının tarihlenmesinde erken tarihlenmeyi destekleyen bir diğer delil olarak gösterilebilir. Caesar'ı yakalayan korsanlar belki de Verres'in önlem aldığı aynı korsanlar idi. 79 yılında Pharmakousa'daki korsanlık tehlikesinin devam ettiği göz önüne alındığında Caesar'ın korsan olayının Verres ve Cicero'nun Miletos ziyaretlerinden sonra olduğu kabul edilebilir. Hatta Cicero'nun 79 yılının sonbaharında Miletos'ta bulunduğu ve Suetonius'un korsanların Caesar'ı kaçırdığında kış mevsiminin çoktan başlamış olduğunu belirtmesi hesaba katılırsa, korsan olayını 79 sonbaharına ya da 79/78 kışı başlarına tarihlenmek oldukça uygun düşmektedir.

Bazı araştırmacılar erken tarihlleme kabul edildiğinde Caesar'ın Asia'daki faaliyetlerini 81/77 yılları arasına sığdırmanın zorluğundan söz etmektedirler. Ancak olaylar erken tarihlenmeye göre kronolojik olarak sıralandığında durum pek de olasılıksız görülmemektedir. Erken tarihlleme kabul edildiğinde Caesar'ın korsan olayının öncesindeki ve sonrasındaki olayların kronolojik dizilişi şu şekilde olmalıdır:

82	Sulla'dan kaçış
81/80	Thermus'un hizmetinde görev
yak. 79 sonu	Korsan olayı
yak. 79/78	Rodos'ta Molon'dan ders
78/77	Isauricus'un hizmetinde görev ve Roma'ya dönüş
77	Dolabella davası

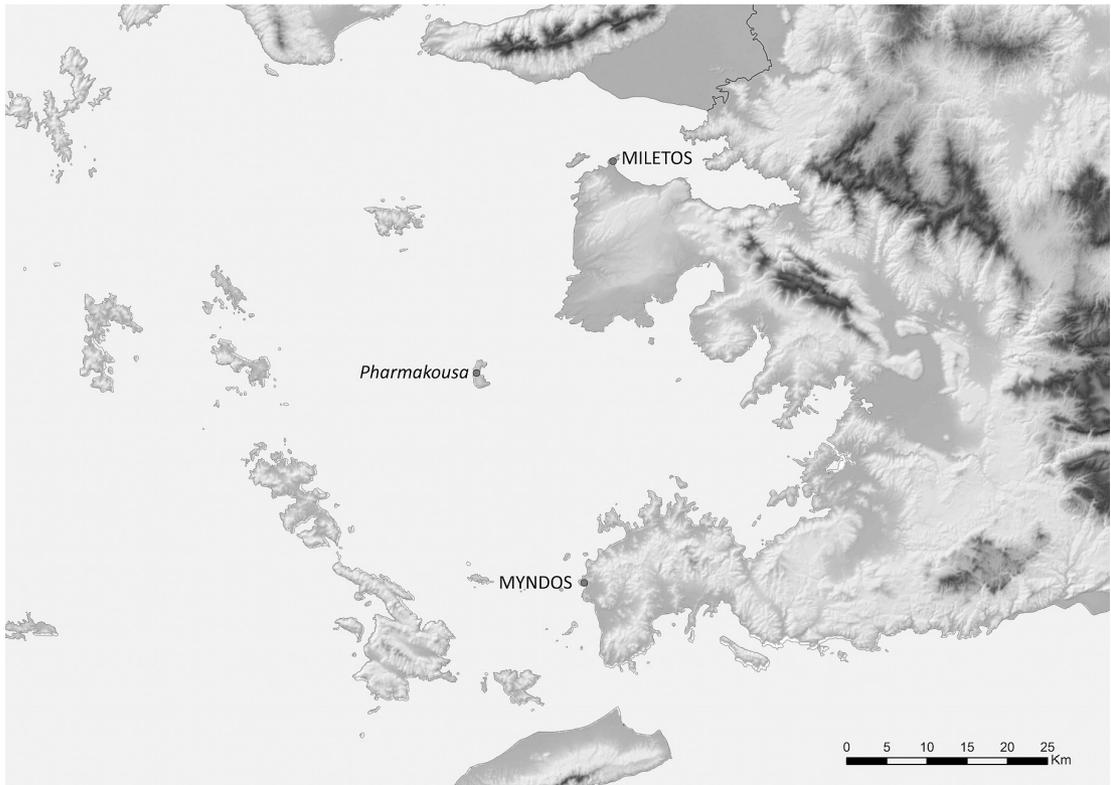


Fig. 1 Map of Pharmakousa Island and surroundings (Courtesy Dr. B. Hocaoglu)