

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1966-1970

By JOYCE REYNOLDS *

(Plate x)

The harvest of new inscriptions from the past five years seems to be larger than ever, which is, no doubt, to be attributed to new developments in agriculture and building, especially in those countries which had hitherto changed little since antiquity; these are sharply increasing the number of monuments found (and sometimes destroyed) by chance, while more systematic search organized ahead of the machines in some areas (Italy is notable) has also increased the number found by design. It must be admitted that not all the new texts are being published very well; and that some are appearing only in sketchy or popular accounts and in newspapers or journals which are either irrelevant to Classical studies, or are mushrooms which die after a few numbers and so do not find their way into most Classical libraries. This is tedious, but better, surely, than that they should remain quite unreported.¹ In any case, although the writer's own record in this matter is blacker than it should be, it seems reasonable to urge again that excavators and epigraphists should be more willing to give quickly an initial publication which does not aim to be definitive on the first round.

While the number of new inscriptions increases, the number of studies of old ones hardly slackens. Work on such aspects of epigraphic texts as formulae, prosopography, etc. is vigorous; and if the recently fashionable topic of demography has reached something of an *impasse* with M. K. Hopkins' demonstration of the shortcomings of our evidence,² others have taken its place. Thus nomenclature continues to provide a popular and fruitful field;³ and there have been a number of valuable studies of the features of military texts.⁴ There have also been some particularly notable essays in the application of new knowledge to inscriptions published years ago.⁵

Sadly, I feel that it is proper to note here the death of an Honorary Member of the Roman Society, Professor A. Degrassi, one of the best of Latin epigraphists in these years, a pupil of Bormann and so in the direct line of descent from Mommsen, whose earlier contribution to his subject was limited for lack of academic recognition, but who did something to compensate by working—usefully—almost to the end of his life, despite age and illness. Many will miss not only his own work but his advice on theirs and the salutary effects of his learned and humane criticism, which was all the more efficiently stimulating because it came from one who was known as persistent in argument but not unwilling to admit himself in the wrong.

Of volumes of inscriptions recently published I would draw attention to the following:

1. *Regional Corpora*

Italy: *CIL* IV, s. III, fasc. 4 (Pompeii); *ICVR*, n.s. IV; L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* I (Rome, 1967); *Graffiti del Palatino in Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* III (H. Solin and M. Ikonen-Kaila) and IV (P. Castren and H. Lilius).

* In preparing this survey I have had generous and invaluable help from a number of friends, especially Miss L. Baumbach, Mr. J. A. Crook, Dr. R. J. Duncan Jones, Mr. M. W. Frederiksen, Mr. Jeremy Paterson, Dr. Mario Torelli and Mr. R. D. Wilkinson. I should stress that, as always, the selection of items for mention is heavily biased by my personal ignorances and interests. For new inscriptions from Roman Britain, which are not here considered, readers of the *Journal* will already be acquainted with the valuable surveys of Mr. R. P. Wright; these appear as part of the Annual Report on Roman Britain, which has now passed logically to *Britannia* (vol. I (1970), 'Roman Britain in 1969').

¹ Although there is undoubtedly a risk of virtual burial; thus M. W. Frederiksen reports the publication of a Hadrianic milestone of some interest from the area of Nuceria, lurking unknown since October, 1955, in the *Rassegna Tecnica dell'Associazione*

Nazionale degli Ingegneri e Architetti Italiani, but even at the national headquarters of this organization in Rome the journal is unobtainable (it is issued by the Naples branch).

² M. K. Hopkins, *Population Studies* xx (1966), 245 f.

³ e.g. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965); idem, *Supernomina* (Helsinki 1966); idem in *Latomus* xxvii (1968), 517 f.; A. Firmat, *La Onomastica personal primitiva de Hispania* (Salamanca, 1966); G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg, 1967); D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford, 1967); J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* (Köln, 1968); J. Beševliev, *Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern* (Amsterdam, 1970).

⁴ Notably in the new series *Epigraphische Studien*, see p. 137.

⁵ Many examples are noted below.

- Spain*: C. Veny: *Corpus de las inscripciones Baleáricas* (Rome–Madrid, 1965) with *Instrumentum* in *Arch. Esp. de Arq.* 39 (1966), 156 f.; J. L. Fernandez, *Inscripciones romanas de Galicia* (Santiago, 1968); J. Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España Romana y Visigoda* (Barcelona, 1969).
- North Western Provinces*: Ch. M. Ternes, *Inscriptions antiques de Luxembourg* (Luxembourg, 1965); J. Prieur, *La Province Romaine des Alpes Cottiennes. Recueil des Inscriptions* (Lyon, 1968).
- Danubian Provinces*: F. Hild, *Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III: das Pannonische Nieder-Oesterreich, Burgenland und Wien 1902–1968* (Vienna, 1968); E. Weber, *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark* (Graz, 1969); J. Češka and R. M. Hošek, *Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris in Slovacia Transdanubiana asservatae* (Brno, 1967); G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* III, 2 (Sofia, 1964) and IV (Sofia, 1966); V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin, 1964).
- Eastern Provinces*: E. I. Levi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (Leningrad, 1965); T. Knipovič and E. I. Levi, *Inscriptiones Olbiae* (Leningrad, 1968); Chr. Habicht, *Pergamon VIII, 3, Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Berlin, 1969); L. Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris, 1964); G. E. Bean, *Inscriptions of Side* (Ankara, 1965); G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* (*Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 1965); J. P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLS VI* (Beirut, 1967); M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth Shearim* Vol. II, *The Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1967).
- Africa*: L. Galand, J. Fevrier and G. Vajda, *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc* (Paris, 1966; semitic languages, but very relevant to the study of Roman Africa).

2. Specialized Corpora

- A. Degrassi, *ILLRP I* (second edition: Florence, 1965); J. Moreau and H. I. Marrou, *ILCV IV* supp. (Berlin, 1967, containing emendations to items in vols. I–III, index of *Initia carminum* and table of concordances); A. Oxé, ed. Howard Comfort, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum, a catalogue of signatures, shapes and chronology of Italian Sigillata* (Bonn, 1968); R. J. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the age of Augustus* (Baltimore, 1969); F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969); L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Berlin, 1970); G. Walser, *Itinera Romana, Die römischen Strassen in der Schweiz I, Die Meilensteine* (Bern, 1967).

3. Discussions

- Actes du Colloque International de l'Épigraphie latine, Paris 1965* (Paris, 1969); *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge, 1967* (Oxford, 1971); *Epigraphische Studien* (Bonn, 1967, in progress; eight volumes have appeared so far, the earlier showing a strong bias in favour of military inscriptions, though the monopoly has now been breached); A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 2nd ed. by B. Dobson (Köln–Graz, 1967); M. Guarducci, *L'Epigrafi Greca I* and *II* (Rome, 1967 and 1969; including useful discussions of Greek inscriptions of the Roman period); A. Degrassi, *Scritti Vari di Antichità III* (Rome, 1968; containing most of the papers written by the author in the last five years of his life, the majority concerned with epigraphic questions, new inscriptions, reviews and reinterpretations of published ones); L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale* (Geneva/Paris, 1966; containing some new inscriptions and much important discussion of published ones, notably a group from Cilicia), and *Opera Minora Selecta* (Paris, 1970; three volumes of invaluable papers brought together most conveniently).

It should perhaps be added that a number of important articles on inscriptions have appeared in some of the many Festschriften of the period, e.g. *Syntelesia Arangio-Ruiz* (Naples, 1964); *Gli archeologi italiani in onore di Amedeo Maiuri* (Rome, 1965); *Mélanges Carcopino* (Paris, 1966); *Mélanges Piganiol* (Paris, 1966); *Corolla Erich Swoboda* (Graz–Köln, 1966); *Provincialia, Festschrift Laur-Belart* (Basel–Stuttgart, 1968); *Studi in onore di E. Volterra* (Milan, 1968); *Mélanges Marcel Renard* (Paris, 1969).

Non-Roman Italy. From the Etruscan world an inscribed bronze tablet ⁶ has been added to the now famous gold ones from Pyrgi ⁷ containing perhaps a dedication to an Etruscan goddess Thesan in the sanctuary of Uni by Tanaquil Catharnea; while from Punta della Vipera (Santa Marinella) comes a lead tablet ⁸ with a text whose unusual length (for Etruscan) raises hopes of linguistic advance; it seems to embody religious regulations, cf. also from the same site a small lead disc interpreted as a *sors* and so as indicative of an oracular shrine there.⁹ There are also two tombstones of especial interest: the first, from Tarquinia, as recently re-read, records the presence of its subject with Hannibal's army at Capua (cf. Livy xxiii, 17, 11 f.);¹⁰ the second, from Cerveteri, offers the first known *cursus honorum* from Etruscan Caere and seems to provide a clue to the origins of the dictator there in Roman times.¹¹ For the elogium of Tarquinii see under *Cities*.

New material and discussion is also accumulating on other non-Roman groups. Particularly noteworthy seem the resulting advances in the understanding of Venetic; in a recent treatment, O. Lejeune concluded that it is the closest known relation to Latin among the early languages and dialects of Italy.¹² Among new items from those other languages I have collected one from the area of Como in the Lepontian alphabet but possibly the Celtic language, three bronze tablets dedicated to the Umbrian goddess Cupra and some new Oscan texts.¹³

Regal Rome. Obscure, but noteworthy as being one of the oldest inscriptions to survive from the city itself, is a graffito on a fragment of a bucchero cup from a mid-sixth-century level in the precinct beneath S. Omobono in Rome; perhaps a name written *sinistrorsus*.¹⁴

Republican Rome. (N.B. For Religious and Legal Texts, see below under those headings.) There seems to have been an unusual accretion of texts of the third century B.C. and in this an outstanding item is the *donarium* of M. Fulvius Flaccus, again from S. Omobono in Rome.¹⁵ M. Torelli's revised reading (see reproduction of his drawing, fig. 13) provides a convincing reconstruction of the text as a record of the dedication of

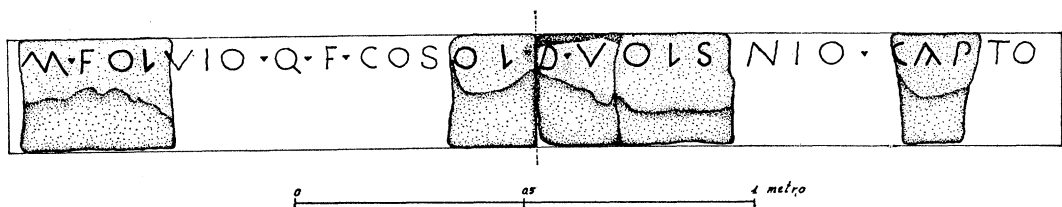


FIG. 13. S. OMOBONO, ROME: *DONARIUM* OF M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, COS. 264 B.C.
From 'Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia Antica' v, 1968, p. 72.

booty from Volsinii captured in 264; the terms used confirm the tradition of the *Fasti Triumphales* on Flaccus' victory, and the number of scars for statue feet on the top of the monument enhances the credit of Pliny's account of the quantity of statues brought to Rome on this occasion (*NH* xxxiv, 34). There are also two new Scipionic epitaphs, the

⁶ M. Pallottino, *AC* xviii (1966), 262 f.; xix (1967), 336 f.

⁷ For a bibliography see G. Colonna, M. Cristofani, G. Garbini, *AC* xviii (1966), 279 f., but a number of additional articles have appeared since then.

⁸ M. Torelli, *AC* xviii (1966) 283 f. with linguistic notes by M. Pallottino, 292 f., and again *St. Etr.* xxv (1967), 347 f.; M. Cristofani, *ibid.* 565 f.

⁹ A. La Regina and M. Torelli, *AC* xx (1968), 221 f.

¹⁰ A. J. Pfiffig, *St. Etr.* xxxv (1967), 659 f. cf. also *Historia* xv (1966), 193 f. reinterpreting a text published by L. Cavagnaro Vanoni in *St. Etr.* xxxiii (1965), 472 f.

¹¹ M. Cristofani, *St. Etr.* xxxvi (1968), 609 f. and *Cambridge Acta* 187 f.

¹² O. Lejeune in the J. H. Gray Lectures, Cambridge 1970 (forthcoming) and cf. G. B. Pellegrini

and A. L. Prosdocimi, *La Lingua Venetica* 1 (Padova, 1967); A. M. Martini Chieco Bianco and A. L. Prosdocimi, *St. Etr.* xxxvii (1969), 511 f.; A. L. Prosdocimi, *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto* cxxvii (1969), 123 f.

¹³ M. G. Tibiletti Bruno, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* c (1966), 279 f. and A. L. Prosdocimi, *St. Etr.* xxxvi (1968), 199 f.; G. Camporeale, *RAL* xxii (1967), 65 f.; A. La Regina, *Rh. Mus.* cix (1966), 262 f. and M. Torelli on the Lex Osca Bantiae, see below, n. 103.

¹⁴ M. Torelli, *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia Antica* v (1968), 75 f.

¹⁵ L. Mercado, G. Ioppolo, A. Degrassi, *Bull. Comm.* lxxix (1963-4), 35 f. = *AE* 1964, 72; cf. also A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 155; revised by M. Torelli, l.c. in n. 14, 71 f.; *AE* 1966, 13.

more interesting concerned with an unknown P. Cornelius Scapola, *pont. max.*, who might even be of the fourth century.¹⁶ In addition, in a reconsideration of the elogium of Scipio Barbatus, A. La Regina argues forcefully that there was a group of northern Lucani inhabiting the Sangro Valley, very temporarily important during the Samnite wars by reason of this geographical position and so meriting subjugation by Scipio, but subsequently forgotten; that would solve the major crux in the record of Scipio's activities.¹⁷ From Italy in this century *pocula deorum* and other dedications at Ariminum have been used by G. Susini to throw light on the origins of the colonists there and although not all his deductions seem acceptable, something useful—and unusual—remains.¹⁸ A graffito on a pot at Ostia gives us the oldest inscription from that site.¹⁹ From Sicily the date of the Corleone milestone and therefore its relevance to Roman policies in the first Punic War, continues to cause a controversy in which, to my mind, there has been no sufficient reply to A. Degrassi, who found several points in the inscription difficult to reconcile with 252 B.C.²⁰ *IG XIV, 7* has been re-read and interpreted by G. Manganaro, for whom it is a letter written by Hiero II to the Syracusans, in the first flush after the complete expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily, to demand an oath of allegiance.²¹

For the second and first centuries, too, there are unusual numbers of new inscriptions, and although many of them are of essentially local interest (for a few examples see under Cities) the picture of Italy both before and after the Social War is consequently beginning to sharpen.

From the second century B.C. a M. Popilius P.f. Laenates, subject of an honorary inscription at Telesia, has been identified with M. Popilius Laenas, *cos. 173*; ²² I am not quite convinced and feel—with due hesitation—that the letter forms suggest a rather later date. In the orbit of the same family the paternity of the Polla inscription and of the road from Capua to Rhegium traditionally ascribed to P. Popilius Laenas, *cos. 132*, remains in dispute. The arguments here still seem to me against A. Degrassi and in favour of those who think that the road was built by a T. Annius, praetor; ²³ there is one point in this connexion, which may well be entirely unimportant to the dispute, but which seems to have evaded serious discussion—the unusual (though not quite unparalleled) position of the inscription of T. Annius on the top (instead of the drum) of the milestone at Vibo; could this have any bearing, at least on the date? From the provinces the inscription honouring the father of the Gracchi at Ilturgis in Spain is now thought to be post-contemporary—but is not the less interesting for that.²⁴ An unfortunately incomplete inscription from Chios, apparently of the early second century, which should have been mentioned five years ago but is still only partly published, contains a record of the cult of Rome and a reference to Romulus and Remus, witnessing Chiote interest in the origins of Rome in surprisingly quick response to her appearance in the East Mediterranean; ²⁵ it also has some relevance to early Roman historiography. A stone from Gammarth appears to carry a statement that Sex. Classicus Secundinus *proc. Aug.* (perhaps of the early second century A.D.) has restored a damaged *titulus* to its ancient form and—in very remarkable lettering—one which its editors take, with reserve, to be an epigraphic record of the *consecratio* of vanquished Carthage to Adon-Baal by Scipio. Both texts, and especially the latter, present serious difficulties in style and formulae as well as matter and have been condemned as forgeries by a number of eminent epigraphists; a geologist's examination has revealed nothing about the piece that is

¹⁶ T. R. S. Broughton, *MRRP, supp.* (1960) 19 f.; H. Blanck, *Rom. Mitt.* 73/4 (1966/7) 62 f. = *AE* 1967, 19; H. Solin, *Arctos* n.s. VI (1970), 110 f. Blanck suggested identifying Scapola with the P. Cornelius Calussa *pont. max.*, of Livy xxv, 5, 4. Solin argues against this.

¹⁷ A. La Regina, *Dialoghi di Archeologia* II (1968), 173 f.

¹⁸ G. Susini *CRAI* 1965, 143 f., reconsidering M. Zuffa, *Studi Romagnoli* XIII (1962), 47 f. = *AE* 1965, p. 49 f.; criticized by A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 166 f.

¹⁹ H. Solin, *Arctos* n.s. VI (1970), 102 f.

²⁰ A. Di Vita, *Latomus* XXII (1963), 478 f.; G. Barbieri, *Kokalos* X-XI (1964-5) 313 f.; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 169 f.

²¹ G. Manganaro, *Athenaeum* XLIII (1965), 312 f.; criticized *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 515.

²² F. Quilici, *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia* II (1966), 100 f.; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 164.

²³ V. Bracco, *Arch. Stor. Calabria, Lucania* 1965-6, 151 f.; F. T. Hinrichs, *Historia* XVI (1967), 162 f.; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta*, 160; T. P. Wiseman, *PBSR* XXIV (1969), 82 f.

²⁴ A. D'Ors, *Cambridge Acta* 256; A. Degrassi, *MAL* XIII (1967), 38 f. = *Scritti Vari* III, 129 f.

²⁵ N. Kontoleon, *Akte Wien* (1964), 192 f. (cf. earlier Πρακτικά 'Αρχ. 'Ετ. 1953 (1956), 270 f.); *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 304; *SEG* XVI, 486. The letter-forms are said to suggest the third century, but the content imposes a date after the Peace of Apamea.

incompatible with antiquity—a prudent report that leaves the problem still in limbo.²⁶ A fragment from Nemea mentions L. Mummius and his *decem legati*; his title is ἀνθύπατος instead of στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος, suggesting perhaps that this is a post-contemporary reference to their decisions, which concern the dispute between Argos and Cleonae over the Nemean Games.²⁷ There has been a useful re-reading of the *S.C. de agro Pergameno* by R. J. Sherk.²⁸

For first century Italy there is an important reinterpretation of *ILLRP* I, 146 by E. V. Marmorale who takes the *militēs Africani Caeciliani* to be men who fought with Q. Caecilius Metellus against Jugurtha, returned to Italy with him on his supersession by Marius and received quick land allotments through his influence with the Senate.²⁹ This is tempting and would add new point to the subsequent activities of Marius and the Marian soldiers. It should perhaps be noted that A. Degrassi seems to have disproved the reconstruction of a fragment from Ariminum as a post-contemporary text in honour of Marius.³⁰ There has been a small burst of inscriptions in honour of Caesar, from Alba Fucens, Larinum, Minturno, Vibo Valentia and perhaps Trebula Mutuesca³¹ and Tarentum; the last is a particularly interesting one, though L. Gasperini's reconstruction of it has been challenged by M. Sordi who transforms the subject into Octavian in autumn 43;³² the point at issue turns on whether the letters PATR which follow the name should be completed as *patre patriae* (Gasperini), in which case the subject must be Caesar who is subsequently described, uniquely in our record, as *dict. reipublicae constituendae*, or *patrono* (Sordi), in which case it could be Octavian as *IIIvir*, although in this reconstruction the position of the word *patrono*, before the titles, seems to me much odder than Sordi thinks.

From the provinces in this period there are also a number of interesting items. C. Clodius Pulcher, *cos.* 92, appears with the title στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος (one of its later known instances) as recipient of honours at Cyrene;³³ he had presumably been concerned with arrangements for Rome's assumption of the royal lands of Cyrenaica bequeathed to her by Ptolemy Apion in 96. R. J. Sherk's new proposals for the most controversial area of the *S.C. de Tabenis* follow from the thesis that Sulla's benefactions to the city included the attribution of villages;³⁴ his text is not entirely satisfactory but nevertheless seems to be on better lines than anything previously suggested. A document at Syedra in Cilicia seems to be a verse oracle, probably issued from Claros, concerned with pirates—the consultants are encouraged to resist them—and is claimed as a reference to the Pirate War of Servilius Vatia.³⁵ A new but not quite complete decree of the koinon of the cities and peoples of Asia, probably of the middle of the century, honours ambassadors who went to Rome at some hazard to complain of the behaviour of publicani.³⁶

Emperors, Imperial Families and Imperial Cult. Particularly long and useful series of imperial texts have been or are being published from Ephesus³⁷ and Samos.³⁸ The fragments of Octavian's dedication at Nicopolis after Actium have been re-examined by J. H.

²⁶ J. Ferron and Ch. Saumagne, *CRAI* 1966, 61 f., with subsequent discussion; id., *Africa* II (1967-8), 75 f.; *AE* 1967, 546.

²⁷ D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* xxxv (1966), 326 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 257. For Mummius' own practice in the matters of title see M. Holleaux, *Στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος*, 21 f.

²⁸ R. J. Sherk, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* VII (1966), 361 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 447; *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore, 1969), no. 12.

²⁹ E. V. Marmorale, *Giornale di Filologia* XIX (1966), 183 f.

³⁰ A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 167, criticizing G. Susini, *Studi Romagnoli* XIII (1964), 137 f. = *AE* 1965, 284.

³¹ F. De Visscher, *Ant. Cl.* xxxiii (1964), 98 f.; id., *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* xxvi (1963-4), 98 f. = *AE* 1964, 7; A. Degrassi, *MAL* XIII (1967), 1 f. = *Scritti Vari* III, 102 f.; A. Pannuccio, *Athenaeum* XLV (1967), 158 = *AE* 1967, 107; M. Torelli, *RAL* XVIII (1963), 254.

³² L. Gasperini, *Seconda Miscellanea Graeca e Romana* (Studi pubbl. dall'Ist. Ital. Stor. Ant.,

Roma) (Rome, 1968), 381 f.; M. Sordi, *Epigraphica* XXXI (1969), 79 f.

³³ L. Gasperini, *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* V (1967), 53 f. = *AE* 1967, 532.

³⁴ R. J. Sherk, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* VI (1965), 295 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1967, 555; *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, no. 17.

³⁵ G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* (see above p. 137), no. 26; L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale* (Geneva/Paris, 1966), 90 f.; E. Maret, *Acta Antiqua Ac. Sc. Hung.* 1968, 233 f.; F. Sokolowski, *BCH* xcii (1968), 519 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1969, 581.

³⁶ K. T. Erim, *PBSR* xxiv (1969), 158 f.

³⁷ See recently F. Miltner, *Jahreshefte* XLV (1960) Beiblatt, col. 1 f.; J. Keil and G. Maresch, *ibid.* col. 75 f.; D. Knibbe, *ibid.* XLVI (1961-3) Beiblatt, col. 19 f.; XLVII (1964-5) Beiblatt, col. 1 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 462 and 1969, 508. Note also the criticisms by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 341, *ibid.* 1966, 368, and L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* xli (1967), 7 f.

³⁸ P. Herrmann, *Ath. Mitt.* LXXV (1960 pub. 1963), 68 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 309.

Oliver who proposes an attractive restoration including the phrase *bello quod pro republica gessit*, evidence, as he notes, not only for the propaganda of its own time but for the overtones of an echo, no doubt conscious, in that of Galba (*IRT* 537).³⁹ One of the new texts from the Samian Heraeum demonstrates the existence there of a cult of M. Agrippa in conjunction with Augustus and Gaius Caesar.⁴⁰ There have been several new and useful discussions of the decree of Paullus Fabius Maximus on the calendar of Asia,⁴¹ while the birthday of Augustus appears also in a small local dedication to it from Cales,⁴² and in a new fragment of the Arval Acta.⁴³ A document from Messene honours P. Cornelius Scipio as provincial quaestor of Achaëa for services rendered to imperial cult in the province in connection especially with an annual festival established on the recovery of Gaius Caesar, clearly from the first stages of the illness following his wound at Artagira in A.D. 2;⁴⁴ it is noteworthy for the initiative taken by the quaestor, the account of the festivities and the description of Gaius' activities in the East (τὸν ὑπὲρ τᾶς ἀνθρώπων πάντων σωτηρίας τοῖς βαρβάρους μαχόμενον) which attaches to the imperial heir phrases reminiscent of those which the Greek world had earlier applied to Rome herself as the benefactress of the whole human race. A text from Paphos refers to games in honour of Germanicus, presumably established in A.D. 18 or 19 on his arrival in the East.⁴⁵ A new restoration of a Macedonian inscription of 21/22 produces a regnal year of Tiberius linked with his mother in a way to indicate local belief in a joint reign.⁴⁶ A partial reconstruction of fragments of a marble panel from the Basilica Aemilia at Rome, placed by Tiberius' tribunician power in 27/28, shows him honoured in company with Lucius Caesar (and probably Gaius Caesar too), the first time that a stepson has appeared in an inscription of Tiberian date.⁴⁷ A dedication at Cherchel by the future emperor Galba in his proconsulate honours Venus together with kings Juba and Ptolemy in their regal insignia; M. Leglay deduces from it information about the problems of Africa at this date, especially in relation to Nomads, the policy of Claudius, the extraordinary appointment of Galba to his proconsulate and the reputation that he acquired in it.⁴⁸ A beautifully cut Trajanic building inscription from Artaxata, dated in 116, (published in Armenian only, so see Pl. X, 1; the gap in l. 3 can be filled with *p(ater) p(atriciae) p[er]*) attests an important building—presumably military—undertaken by legion IIII Scythica.⁴⁹ A Roman brick-stamp seems to reveal an unknown half-sister of Antoninus Pius named Annia Lupula (daughter of his mother Annia Fadilla and of Iulius Lupus).⁵⁰ An altar from the Athenian agora acclaims or calls for victory Αὐτοκράτορι διὰ εὐποδίας φιλαδέλφοις; A. E. Raubitschek associated this persuasively with the Parthian War of 163/4 but took εὐποδία for the swiftness of the imperial cavalry—which seems difficult; is the reading perhaps mistaken? ⁵¹ Fragmentary letters to Ephesus from Julia Domna and Caracalla, as reinterpreted by L. Robert,⁵² concern the status of Ephesus and especially her third neocory which was given in the name of Artemis, not of Caracalla himself; they throw light on the procedures of application for such an honour (through the koinon of Asia to the emperor; but the Ephesians had probably also sought a friend at court in Julia Domna) and for its grant (the Senate as well as the emperor is involved in a public province). J. H. Oliver's reconsideration of a Corinthian inscription suggests a connection between Gordian I and the Corinthian families of Maecius Faustinus, strategos Panhellenicus and rhetor, and M. Antonius Achaicus.⁵³ A milestone recently found in Algeria helps to confirm

³⁹ J. H. Oliver, *AJP* cx (1969), 178 f. on *AE* 1937, 114, with intervening bibliography.

⁴⁰ P. Herrmann, l.c. in n. 38, 71 f.

⁴¹ R. J. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, no. 65; U. Laffi, *St. Cl. e Or.* xvi (1967), 1 f.

⁴² W. Johannowsky, *RAAN* xxxvii (1962), 163 f.; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 159.

⁴³ S. Panciera, *RAL* xxiii (1968), 315 f.

⁴⁴ A. P. Orlandos, 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1965 (pub. 1967), 110 f.

⁴⁵ I. Nicolaou, *Report of the Dept. of Antiquities of Cyprus* 1964, no. 23; *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 483; *AE* 1966, 487.

⁴⁶ F. Papazoglu, *BCH* lxxxvii (1963), 526 f. with previous bibliography; *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 238.

⁴⁷ S. Panciera, *Epigraphica* xxxi (1969), 104 f.

⁴⁸ *Mélanges Carcopino* 629 f.; *AE* 1965, 594.

⁴⁹ B. Arakelian, *Patma—Banasirakan* 1967, fasc. 4., p. 302 f.; *AE* 1968, 571.

⁵⁰ H. Bloch, *HSCPL* xliii (1958), 408 f.; *AE* 1967, 75.

⁵¹ A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* xxxv (1966), 250 f., criticized in *Bull. Ep.* 1967, 187; *AE* 1967, 447 proposes εὐποδίας—the photograph suggests Λ or Α in the fifth place, but is not perfectly clear.

⁵² L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* xli (1967), 7 f. from J. Keil and G. Maresch, *Jahreshefte* xlv (1960) Beiblatt, col. 81 f.; see also E. Schönbauer, *Iura* xvi (1965), 105 f.

⁵³ J. H. Oliver, *AJP* lxxxix (1968), 345 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1969, 147; criticized in *AE* 1968, 475. It should be added that in *Britain and Rome, Essays presented to Eric Birley* (Kendal, 1965) 56 f., A. R. Birley had already connected Gordian's family with the Eastern half of the Empire, opting, however, for Asia Minor on grounds of nomenclature.

traditions recorded in SHA, *V. Cari* 10 and 16 on the position of Carinus and Numerian.⁵⁴ Another from Sardinia, in the name of Domitius Alexander, shows that that usurper had a wider adherence than has been thought; H. G. Pflaum has subsequently identified the governor of Sardinia who set it up as a man who survived to be a praetorian prefect under Constantine, which suggests a connection of sympathy between Alexander and Constantine.⁵⁵ The Rescript of Constantine at Hispellum, reexamined several times in recent years, is treated in considerable detail by J. Gascou who dates it at the end of Constantine's life and discusses it as a document of his religious and dynastic policy at that stage.⁵⁶

Senators of the Imperial period. Noteworthy additions to the Consular Fasti come from new Pompeian waxed tablets (Claudian), a military diploma (Flavian) and new or reconsidered pieces of the Ostian Fasti (Flavian and Trajanic).⁵⁷

For the record of interesting careers and personalities a fragment of an epitaph found at Tellene adds to the very small number of *viginti sexviri* known from inscriptions—it can hardly be later than the first decade of Augustus.⁵⁸ Three inscriptions from Asiatic Kyme honour Augustus' nephew Sex. Appuleius, *cos.* 29 B.C., as *procos. Asiae*, his wife Quinctilia and his daughter Appuleia Varilla (Tac., *Ann.* II, 50); they confirm Hirschfeld's guess that Appuleius married into the family of Quinctilius Varus and so provide further background for Varus' appointments.⁵⁹ A fragmentary new cursus found at Paestum deserves further examination;⁶⁰ the editors regard it as not earlier than Claudian, but the letter-forms to which they appeal seem to me not conclusive and what I interpret as a reference to the distribution of land in the colony of Apamea strongly indicates an Augustan date; for the first surviving post the subject was apparently specially selected by the emperor (. . .) *iri lecto ab diu[o] ? Augusto Caesa[re]*—could this be an aberrant formula for the selection of a *quaestor Augusti* ?); for the next he was legate to a M. Otacilius in Bithynia and, presumably in virtue of this office, distributor of land at Apamea (*legato M. Ota[cili] ? Crassi proconsulis*) in Bithynia *pro [praetore; agros Ap]amea diuisit*; the separation of *legatus* and *pro praetore* is unusual, but cf. *ILS* 975, '*legatus Macedoniae pro pr.*'). Otacilius is a new name for the Bithynian Fasti. In *CIL* II, 2703, R. Syme proposes to restore the name and title of Cn. Calpurnius Cn. f. Piso, *legatus pro pr.* (*sc.* of Tarraconensis) in the erasure and suggests that Piso replaced Paullus Fabius Maximus in A.D. 4 as part of a general move to substitute friends of Tiberius for those of Augustus in important positions.⁶¹ Another Spanish inscription recently reconsidered is *CIL* II, 2423 where G. Alföldy now reveals the subject as C. Caetronius Miccio, whose cursus included a unique title *praefectus reliquorum exigendorum populi Romani*, probably to be connected with Dio's description (LX, 10, 4) of a triumvirate created by Claudius in 42 to collect debts due to the aerarium.⁶²

Excavation of a villa beside the Autostrada del Sole near Lucus Feroniae has produced in its *lararium* three splendid Senatorial inscriptions, probably cut in the Flavian period.⁶³ They have been given preliminary publication but in a journal of limited circulation, so that it has seemed useful to reproduce the drawings with restorations as proposed by the editor (see fig. 14; note that it is the restorations that are in darker colour). The grandest concerns L. Volusius L.f. Q.n. Saturninus, *cos.* A.D. 3, who died at the age of 93 while holding office as *praefectus urbi*. As in other texts giving his career, his pre-consular posts (apart from

⁵⁴ H. G. Pflaum, *Bull. Arch. Alg.* II (1966-7), 179 f.; *AE* 1967, 585.

⁵⁵ G. Sotgiu, *Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna* (Padova, 1961) no. 362 and *Arch. Stor. Sard.* XXIX (1964), 151 f. = *AE* 1966, 169; P. Meloni, *Cambridge Acta* 241; H. G. Pflaum, *Bull. Arch. Alg.* I, 1962-1965 (1967), 159 f.

⁵⁶ J. Gascou, *MEFR* LXXIX (1967), 609 f., with previous bibliography.

⁵⁷ G. Barbieri, *Epigraphica* XXIX (1967), 3 f. and XXX (1968), 185 f. = *AE* 1968, 5; cf. also A. Degrassi, *MAL* XIV (1969), 111 f.; S. Dusanič, *Epigraphica* XXX (1969), 59 f. = *AE* 1968, 7; E. Equini, *Epigraphica* XXIX (1967), 11 f. = *AE* 1968, 6; G. Barbieri, *MEFR* LXXXII (1970), 263 f.

⁵⁸ G. M. De Rossi, *Tellenae*, in *Forma Italiae, Reg.* I, IV (Rome, 1967), 148 = *AE* 1967, 55.

⁵⁹ U. Weidemann, *Arch. Anz.* 1965, col. 450 = *AE* 1966, 422, 423; *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 114.

⁶⁰ M. Mello and G. Voza, *Le Iscrizioni latine di Paestum* (Naples, 1968), 125, no. 85.

⁶¹ R. Syme, *Epigraphische Studien* VIII (1969), 125 f.

⁶² G. Alföldy, *Madr. Mitt.* VIII (1967), 185 f.

⁶³ *Autostrade*, anno X, no. 8, agosto 1968. For the relevant members of the family of the Volusii Saturnini see *PW Suppl.* IX, col. 1861 f., and for the dates of L. Volusius Saturninus in Dalmatia, most recently J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London, 1969), 442 f. I am very grateful to Dr. Wilkes for further information by letter.

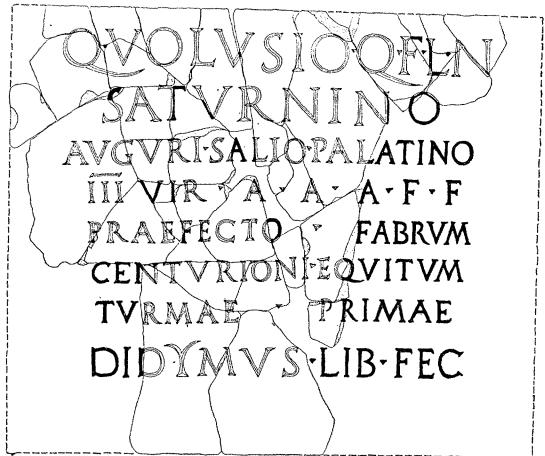
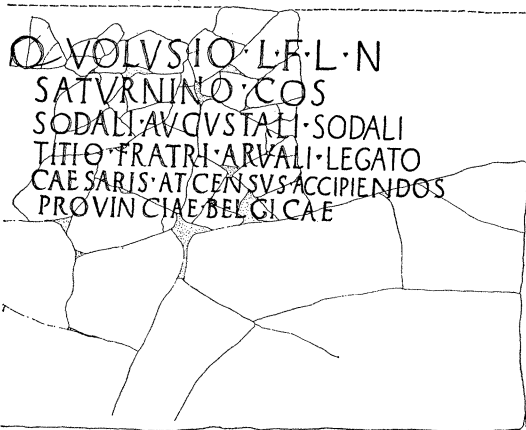
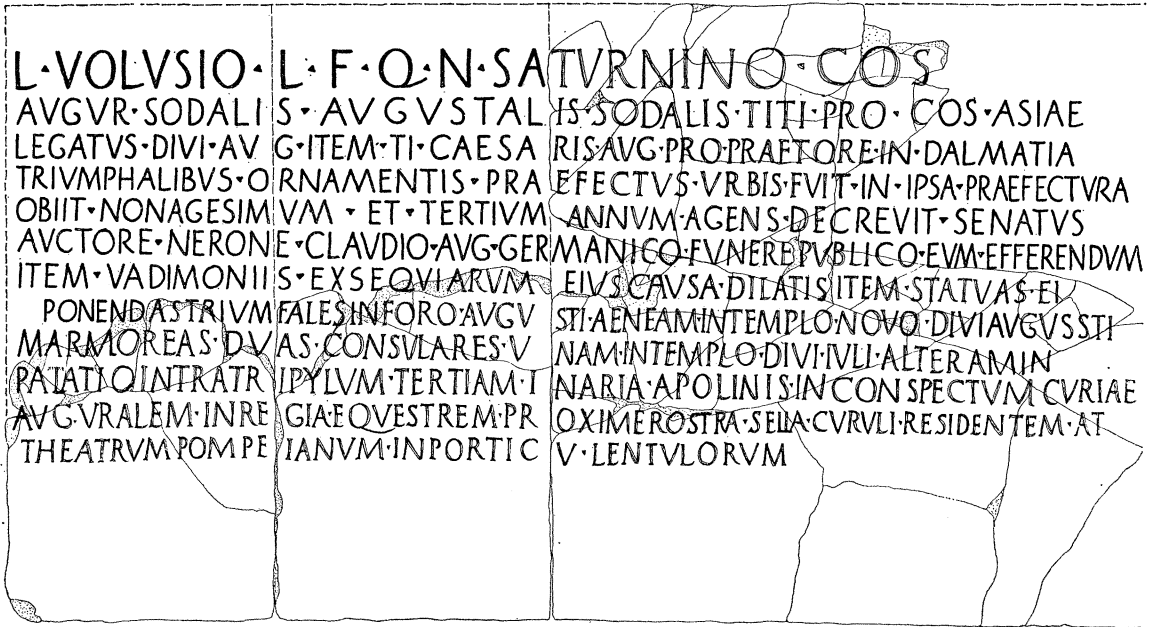


FIG. 14. LUCUS FERONIAE: INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE VILLA OF THE VOLUSII SATURNINI
 From 'Autostrade' anno X, no. 8 (agosto 1968), pp. 10-12

priesthoods) are omitted, and there is an unfortunate gap at the post-consular point where they too leave uncertainty, i.e. over the legateship which intervened between his proconsulate of Asia and his governorship of Dalmatia. The restoration proposed here seems unhappy since it apparently suggests that Saturninus began his governorship of Dalmatia under Augustus and continued it into the reign of Tiberius, whereas we know that in fact it was P. Cornelius Dolabella who did this; I suggest therefore for l. 3 *leg. diui Augusti leg. Ti. Caesaris Augusti* etc., as apparently in *CIL* III, 2975. The fact that he was honoured with triumphal statues (l. 8) justifies the restoration *triumphalibus ornamentis* in l. 4, and implies an unknown but reasonably serious military operation in Dalmatia under Tiberius or Gaius. To the inadequate information in Tacitus' obituary notice (*Ann.* XIII, 30) we can now add details of his *post mortem* honours voted apparently on the motion of Nero himself—a public funeral, accompanied by a vacation for the courts (cf. *CIL* VI, 31293 and X, 3903; Juvenal, III, 213), and no less than eight statues representing him in various official guises to be set up in different locations in Rome, some of them additions to the topographical record of the city at this date. Beside this is a text for his son, Q. Volusius L.f.

L.n. Saturninus, *cos.* 56, again giving only priesthoods and post-consular posts, but in this the only addition to knowledge is his membership of the *sodales Augustales* and *sodales Titii*. Finally there is a more fragmentary one giving the early and previously unknown steps in the career of Q. Volusius Q.f. L.n. Saturninus, doubtless *his* son and the *cos. ord.* 92; the restoration *praefecto fabrum* in l. 4 cannot stand; the text here presumably gave *praefecto fer(iarum) Lat(inarum)*, although the combination of abbreviations seems comparatively unusual. The possibility that *lararia* may provide this type of text is worth remembering; the domestic origin of the group perhaps betrays itself in rather more gauche layout and cutting than one would expect in a contemporary public inscription.

To return to the Julio-Claudian age, A. Plassart's re-examination of the Delphic inscription of Gallio suggests that it is a letter from Claudius to Gallio's successor as governor of Achaia, probably concerned with remedies for a decline in the population of Delphi and referring back to proposals made by Gallio; this allows a redating of Gallio's proconsulate as *c.* May 51 to *c.* May 52, and so of the residence of the apostle Paul in Corinth as winter 49/50 to summer 51.⁶⁴ A Spanish adherent of Galba whose inscription badly needed re-editing is now the subject of a considerable bibliography; it seems to be agreed that his name was Raecius, Tauri filius, Gallus and that he was probably an adoptive son of the M. Raecius Taurus attested as an Arval Brother under Nero in 68.⁶⁵ He began his career as an *eques* and then entered the senate; in its equestrian area [*trib.*] *mil. Galb. Imp.* is apparently now being accepted without comment, perhaps rightly—but it seems rather remarkable to be allowed to pass into the epigraphic tradition without at least the raising of an eyebrow; is [*com*] *mil(itioni) Galb. Imp.* quite impossible? The important career of M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa is already easily available to readers of this *Journal*.⁶⁶ A Novius Priscus emerges on re-examination of a recently published text at Corinth, as commander of Legio VI Victrix in Lower Germany—probably the man exiled in 65 and governor of Lower Germany in 80 (Tac., *Ann.* xv, 71; *CIL* xvi, 158).⁶⁷ His career thus yields evidence which connects pertinently with deductions recently made by G. Alföldy⁶⁸ from a contemporary equestrian career on the common sense of the Flavians who waived the normal practice of transferring men to new provinces on promotion in order to keep officials familiar with the country for unusually long periods in the uneasy Germany of their time. An unfortunately fragmentary boundary stone from Iader bears the name of the Flavian jurist Pegasus as commander of Legio IIII F.F., a post which he was not known to have held; it is sad that it adds to his name no more than the last four letters (*--tius*) of the *nomen*.⁶⁹

From the early second century come a number of useful new pieces of the Arval Acta; ⁷⁰ apart from the additions they make to the Fasti and to the careers of particular Senators it is of interest that some of them were found on Christian sites a little outside the city of Rome and so have a bearing on the story of the dispersion of pagan monuments. The identification of two T. Calestrij Tirones in an inscription from Iotape in Cilicia is the subject of a series of articles: the probability is that they are a son and a grandson of Pliny's friend of that name.⁷¹ A text from Troesmis seems to merit citation in full since it has so far (to my knowledge) appeared only in a Rumanian newspaper (see fig. 15): ⁷²

⁶⁴ A. Plassart, *REG* LXXX (1967), 372 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 296.

⁶⁵ *AE* 1932, 84, wrongly; cf. now J. Deininger, *Madr. Mitt.* iv (1963), 99 f.; H. G. Kolbe, *ibid.* vi (1965), 116 f.; R. Nierhaus, *ibid.* 120 f. = *AE* 1965, 236; J. Deininger, *ibid.* vii (1966), 206 f. = *AE* 1966, 189; R. Wiegels, *ibid.* ix (1968), 230 f.

⁶⁶ M. Torelli, *JRS* LVIII (1968), 170 f. and *Cambridge Acta* 235 f.; *AE* 1968, 145.

⁶⁷ J. F. Gilliam, *BCH* xci (1967), 269 f. and, independently, J. Devreker, *Latomus* xxvi (1967), 717 f.; both from E. Kapetanopoulos, *BCH* xc (1966), 119 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 297.

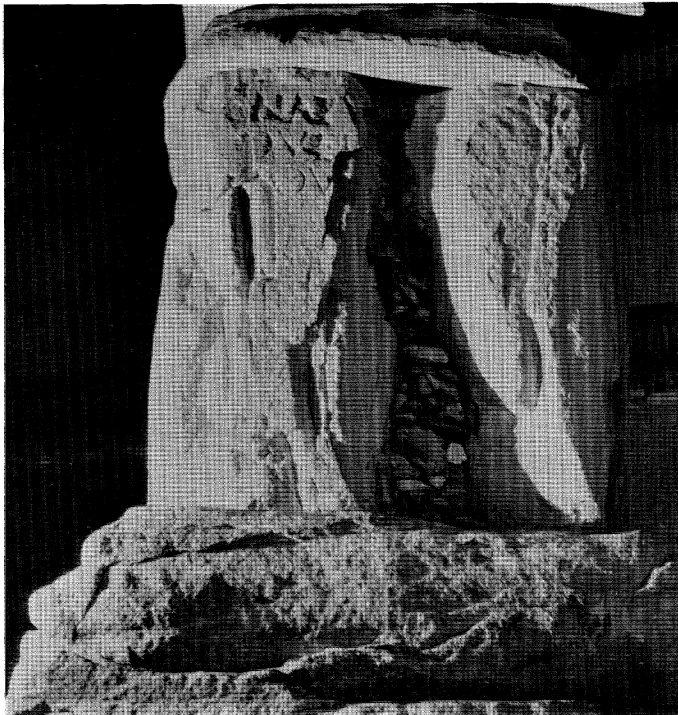
⁶⁸ G. Alföldy, *Madr. Mitt.* vi (1965), 105 f. = *AE* 1966, 186.

⁶⁹ J. J. Wilkes, *Epigraphische Studien* iv (1967), 119 f. = *AE* 1967, 355.

⁷⁰ Notably A. Ferrua, *Bull. Comm.* LXXVIII (1961–2, pub. 1964), 116 f.; S. Panciera, *RAL* xxiii (1968), 315 f. with a bibliography of recent works on the Acta; cf. also J. M. Reynolds, *PBSR* xxiv (1969), 158 f.

⁷¹ G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* (see above p. 137), no. 31; K. Wachtel, *Klio* XLVIII (1967), 169 f.; H. G. Pflaum, *Corolla Erich Swoboda* 183 f.; *AE* 1965, 485; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 619.

⁷² V. Canarache in *Contemporanul*, 30th August, 1968; thanks are due to Professor Syme for the copy of this paper.



NEW ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

1. ARTAXATA: BUILDING INSCRIPTION BY LEGIO IV SCYTHICA, A.D. 116 (see p. 141)
2. BRINDISI: TERMINAL STONE OF THE VIA APPIA (see p. 149)

(1) *Reproduced from 'Patma—Banasirakan' 1967, fasc. 4*
(2) *Photograph supplied by Dr. Mario Torelli*

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Imp(eratori) T(ito) Ael(io) Had(riano) An̄toni
 no Aug(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) co(n)s(uli) III et Ve
 ro Caes(ari) c(iues) R(omani) cons(istentes) canab(is) leg(ionis) v
 Mac(edonicae) su(b) Min̄icio Natale Leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)
 5 dedic(ante) Cominio Secundo leg(ato) Aug(usti)

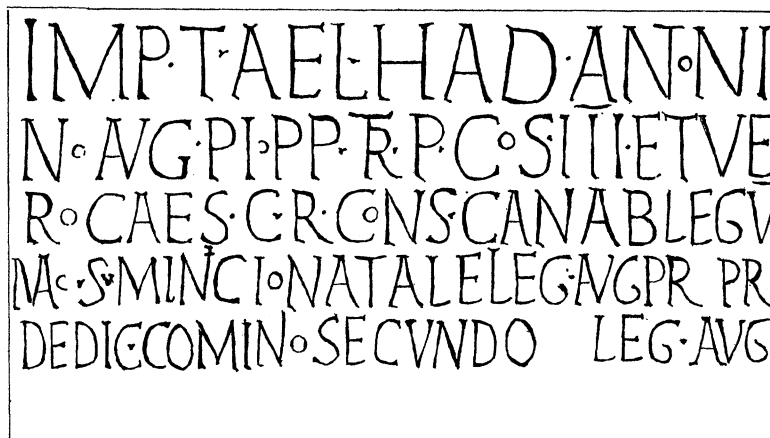


FIG. 15. TROESMIS: DEDICATION BY COMINIUS SECUNDUS
 Drawn from photograph in 'Contemporarul', August 30, 1968

The emperor's titles give a date between January, 140 (*cos. III*) and 145 (*cos. IIII*), and so allow us to fix the governorship of Minicius Natalis (*cos. 139*) in Lower Moesia just before that of Claudius Saturninus (attested in 145) and not just after, as has been suggested.⁷³ A new name is added to the list of the legion's commanders—Cominius Secundus is presumably *PIR*² C 1271, governor of Pannonia Inferior in 150. F. Zevi's new work among the fragments at Ostia has produced considerable additions to our knowledge of the family of the Egrilii, from the equestrian A. Egrilius Rufus of the late first century through a series of senators to the time of Commodus.⁷⁴ Among other examples of families rising into the senatorial class and traceable over several generations are two of some interest from Lycia discussed by S. Jameson;⁷⁵ and the same socially illuminating progression emerges in J. H. Oliver's comment on two Athenian inscriptions honouring Ti. Varius Caelianus, head of a philosophical school, and his daughter Varia Archelais, wife of a consular L. Aemilius Iuncus;⁷⁶ he has assembled information on the Aemilii Iunci from their equestrian origins in the first century to what has hitherto seemed a slightly dubious senatorial victim of Commodus (*SHA, Comm. 4, 11*), and incidentally suggests identifying the husband of the philosopher's daughter with the writer of a *περὶ γῆρας* quoted by Stobaeus (*Anth. IV, 1060 f.*). Another literary senator who has turned up in an inscription is the historian Arrian, recognized by G. W. Bowersock as the only candidate to fit what is left of a headless text at Corinth; the discovery confirms F. G. Millar's guess that the man to whom the *Discourses* of Epictetus were dedicated was one of the Corinthian Gellii.⁷⁷ An inscription from Mainz provides the proper name of the Severan Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus and some useful detail about his early career.⁷⁸ Another from Latina gives us yet more information about L. Caesonius Ovinus Manlius Rufinianus Bassus (*PIR*² C, 212) whose remarkable

⁷³ A recent discussion of the *Fasti* of the province left the point open, see J. Fitz, *Die Laufbahn der Statthalter in der römischen Provinz Moesia Inferior* (Weimar, 1966), 14 f., and now R. Syme's useful revisions, *Dacia XII* (1968), esp. 335.

⁷⁴ F. Zevi, *MEFR LXXXII* (1970), 279 f.

⁷⁵ S. E. Jameson, *Anatolian Studies XVI* (1966), 125 f.

⁷⁶ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia XXXVI* (1967), 42 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 226.

⁷⁷ G. W. Bowersock, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies III* (1967), 279 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 253; *AE* 1968, 473; cf. F. G. Millar, *JRS LV* (1965), 142.

⁷⁸ W. v. Pfeffer, *Mainzer Z.S. LIX* (1964), 56; *AE* 1965, 240, 241; F. Grosso, *Athenaeum XLVIII* (1967), 346 f.; G. Alföldy, *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmee* (Köln, 1967) 44, n. 229 and *Bonner Jb. CLXVIII* (1968), 135; his Asiatic proconsulate had already appeared in a slightly earlier discovery, *AE*, 1964, 232.

cursus from Aversa has also been the subject of further discussion.⁷⁹ There are also some interesting new fourth-century careers. Thus the inscription which honours Junius Bassus, who died in 359 and was buried in a famous sarcophagus now in the Vatican, gives information about the cursus of his father as well as his own.⁸⁰ Another concerns an otherwise unknown Attius Caecilius Maximilianus, with *signum* Pancharius, whose major claim to notice was that he successfully provided enough corn both for military and for civil mouths on the occasion of Constantius' arrival in Rome.⁸¹ A third gives an unfortunately incomplete account of a Flavius Lupus, a financial specialist, listing a number of posts unparalleled in other texts, several of them connected with the census of curial land; it also refers to an imperial order to the cities of Pannonia Secunda to build walls, dated by A. Chastagnol in 396, to a province Valeria (probably the Italian one, so Chastagnol argues, created in 398/9) and to the *ius gladii* given to the subject as *consularis Campaniae* which is unique in the state of our knowledge.⁸² Finally, A. Chastagnol's work on the Senate of the early fifth century should be remembered.⁸³

Equites. Several inscriptions have seemed to throw light on general issues concerning the Equestrian Order and cursus. Thus an Augustan tombstone from Sipontum has been thought to present the five-year-old son of a freedman as an *equus Romanus*, but A. Degrassi must be right to take *Eques* as the child's cognomen (unusual but not unparalleled) and to reject the anomaly.⁸⁴ In reconsidering the two early third-century texts in which men are said to have become equites *ex inquisitione*, C. Nicolet has brought together evidence on the procedure for recruitment of the order and explained the rare phrase as indicating that the rank was conferred on imperial initiative and not following application for it by the honorand.⁸⁵ A tombstone from Verona is an accession to the very small number of texts in which the posts of the *equestris militia* appear in the Claudian order.⁸⁶ A text from Fourvère contains the unique formula *iudici in quinque decuriis sublecto*, on which the editors comment that *subligere* usually means to select a replacement.⁸⁷

As for individual equites, a series of articles has followed F. Magi's presentation of an erased but partly legible inscription on the Vatican obelisk as a record of Cornelius Gallus, poet and first *praef. Aeg.*; it seems clear, as A. Degrassi has commented, that *praefectus fabrum Caesaris Diui f.* is an inappropriate title for him and that the identification must be abandoned.⁸⁸ Also perhaps due for abandonment—or at least for very great scepticism—in view of S. Monti's careful analysis of the evidence for the text, is the old identification of the poet Juvenal with the subject of a famous lost inscription from Aquinum.⁸⁹ A. T. Mucius Clemens, published as an *equus* promoted from the post of *beneficiarius* to the notorious Felix, *proc. Iudaeae*, has been transformed by the editors of *AE* into a man whose career began with an officership in the royal army of Agrippa II and included a post as *adiutor* to Ti. Iulius Alexander, presumably during the final stages of the Jewish War.⁹⁰ Among the inscriptions in the Paestan collection is one honouring an otherwise unknown P. Babullius C.f. F[?]⁹¹ Sallu[stianus?] who was involved in the establishment of the Flavian colony there; the incomplete text is particularly difficult in the later stages, where it is also particularly interesting since it must relate in some measure to Flavian arrangements in a troubled

⁷⁹ S. Panciera, *Epigraphica* xxix (1967), 18 f.; *AE* 1968, 109; for the Aversa text see G. Barbieri, *Akte Wien*, 40 f. = *AE* 1964, 223 and subsequently T. D. Barnes, *Class. Quart.* n. s. xx (1970), 198, who proposed in l. 12 *lud(is) mag(nis)* for *iud(icio) mag(no)*. For other senatorial members of the family cf. J. F. Gilliam, *Historia* xvi (1967), 252 f.

⁸⁰ See J. R. Palanque, *Mélanges Piganiol* 837 f., commenting on G. Évrard, *MEFR* LXXIV (1962), 607 f.

⁸¹ L. Gatti, *RAL* xxiv (1969), 321 f.

⁸² A. Chastagnol, *Epigraphica* xxix (1967), 105 f. = *AE* 1968, 113.

⁸³ A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain sous le règne d'Odoacre* (Bonn, 1966).

⁸⁴ P. Veyne, *BCH* xc (1966), 144 f. = *AE* 1966, 84; criticized by A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 163.

⁸⁵ C. Nicolet, *BCH* xci (1967), 411 f.; *Bull. Ép.* 1968, 528.

⁸⁶ F. Franzoni, *Verona, Testimonianze archeologiche* (Verona, 1965), 115, cf. also *Vita Veronese* xix (1966), 335 = *AE* 1966, 124.

⁸⁷ A. Bruhl and A. Audin, *Gallia* xxiii (1965), 267 f. = *AE* 1966, 252.

⁸⁸ F. Magi, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* xxxv (1962–3), 4 f. and *Studi Romani* xi (1963), 50 f. = *AE* 1964, 255; E. Hartmann, *Gymnasium* LXXII (1965), 1 f.; H. Volkmann, *ibid.* 328 f.; E. Iversen, *JEA* LI (1965), 149 f.; J. P. Boucher, *Caius Cornelius Gallus* (Lyon, 1966), 33 f.; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 155; G. Guadagno, *Opuscula Romana* vi = *Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae* xxix (1968), 21 f.; *AE* 1968, 531.

⁸⁹ S. Monti, *RAAN* xl (1965), 79 f., on *CIL* x, 5382.

⁹⁰ *AE* 1967, 525 from M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* xvi (1966), 258 f.

⁹¹ Mello and Voza, l.c. in n. 60, 128 f., no. 86.

area—Babullius seems to have been sent to Belgica with a double mission of which the first element is said to end]*ptor*(?) *compl*(?) while the second must be censorial, as is the post to which he proceeded thereafter in another area (in both places the editors print *accensus* as one word without comment, which is confusing); the partly surviving function was clearly devised to meet a temporary need and it was presumably not unrelated to the censorial function with which it was linked; *compl*(?) suggests completion or filling up (perhaps of a number, e.g. of recruits, or a sum of money), but could come from *complures*; for the preceding word, if the reading is correct (but the photograph is far from clear), one might think of *coeptor*(um), *acceptor*(um), or something from *redemptores* or even *exceptores*. The remarkable Ostian inscription of Q. Baienus Blassianus, *Praef. Aeg.* in 133 and sometime *praef. classis Britannicae*, assembled by F. Zevi from fragments only partly published previously, confirms H. Pflaum's guess about his career based on his inscription at Tergeste; and incidentally it provides one of the earliest instances of the epigraphic use of the phrase *tres militiae equestres*.⁹² From the Severan period there comes the cursus of a Domitius Antigonus, perhaps that Macedonian tribune whose agility in mounting a horse, together with his own cognomen and his father's, won him Caracalla's favour (Dio LXXVIII, 8, 1) which, if the identification is right, can now be seen to have included a procuratorship as well as the rest of his equestrian militia and legionary commands as well as praetorian rank in the senate.⁹³ Of still greater interest are two inscriptions both probably concerned with the same L. Valerius Valerianus, a Severan partisan in 193. One, on a sarcophagus at Puteoli, which presents him, under the heading of a moral tag, as *praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae*, is discussed by R. J. Duncan Jones.⁹⁴ The second, from Caesarea, which gives his earlier cursus, has been through some unhappy treatment and a perfectly satisfying solution of its problems is not yet to hand (better photographs are needed, for one thing);⁹⁵ the best so far is that of J. Fitz, but I feel particular dubiety about his restoration of the post held after the defeat of Niger as *ad u[rbem defendendam]*. This is a little surprising anyway and still more so since his next post takes Valerianus back again to the East as *praepositus summae [rationis (?rationis privatae) prov.] Mesopotamiae* which sounds like the title of a seconded officer assisting in the organization of the new province. It seems worth considering whether in the meantime he had not held a military posting on the spot, *adv[ersus Parthos]* perhaps, or something of the kind. The cursus from Caesarea takes him on to the procuratorship of Syria Palaestina, which must have been held quite early in the reign of Caracalla; we have no means of knowing how much later it was that he went to govern the otherwise unattested province of Mesopotamia with Osrhoene, which is perhaps likely to have been a creation of Caracalla's after the deposition of Abgar IX of Edessa. Another small item from the same period is the appearance of M. Valerius Titianus, known to have been *praefectus vigilum* in 217 (*ILS* 465) and so one of Macrinus' men, as Caracalla's *ab epistulis Graecis* during the Eastern progress; thus throwing a small additional light on the conspiracy in which Caracalla was overthrown.⁹⁶

Two new Mauretanian inscriptions refer to T. Licinius Hierocles; one, a dedication that he made to the Genius of Mauretania Caesariensis, together with the Fortune of the colony of Auzia, reveals serious unrest in the province under Severus Alexander.⁹⁷ Discussions of two careers of the reign of Gallienus throw light on the earliest *protectores* and on the development of equestrian legionary commands.⁹⁸

Other administrators. A group of *publicani* have appeared paying honours to an Augustan proconsul of Asia, apparently *ex pecunia phorica*.⁹⁹ The suite of the proconsul of Macedonia

⁹² F. Zevi, *Atti e Memorie della Società istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* n.s. XVI (1968), 5 f. and *Cambridge Acta* 193 f.

⁹³ G. Alföldy, *Bonner Jb.* CLV (1965), 187 f., with improvements in *AE* 1966, 262.

⁹⁴ R. J. Duncan Jones, *C. Phil.* LXIV (1969), 229 f.; *ibid.* LXV (1970), 107 f.

⁹⁵ *AE* 1966, 495 from M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* XVI (1966), 135 f.; see also S. Scheiber, *Arch. Ert.* xciv (1967), 59 f.; L. Balla, *Acta Classica Univ. Sc. Debrecen.* III (1967), 85 f.; J. Fitz, *Latomus* xxviii (1969), 126 f.

⁹⁶ G. E. Bean, *Inscriptions of Side* no. 110 = *AE* 1966, 474.

⁹⁷ H. D'Escurac-Doisy, *Mélanges Piganiol* 1191 f. = *AE* 1966, 597, cf. also 596.

⁹⁸ B. Gerov, *Athenaeum* XLIII (1965), 333 f. = *AE* 1965, 114; *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 255; T. Nagy, *Klio* XLVI (1965), 339 f.

⁹⁹ D. Knibbe, *Jahreshefte* XLVII (1964-5) Beiblatt, col. 13 f.

in A.D. 165 attending mysteries with him, is listed in a new text from Samothrace—friends, soldiers, *apparitores* and personal servants, together with a *verna Augusti* who is suspected of having joined the party for the company.¹⁰⁰ There have been two new books discussing the slave and freedmen staff of the emperors, essentially on the basis of epigraphic evidence.¹⁰¹

Army. Here it seems that no recent inscription can rival the interest and importance of the epitaph of the captor of Decebalus just published by M. Speidel in this *Journal*.¹⁰² Among other items of lesser interest, however, two monuments from Leon record the celebration of the birthday of legion VII G.F. (in the Commodan one a freedman procurator appears to be associated with military officers in organizing it); and a dedication to Apollo by a *praefectus castrorum* of legion IX Hispana which has encouraged further thought on the legion's adventures in the second century—it is now clear that it moved, after 108, to Nijmegen and probably, before 119, on eastward.¹⁰³

Laws, legal documents and administrative acts. H. Mattingly's studies of the Tabula Bembina and his discussion of the relation of its Lex Repetundarum to the fragment *de repetundis* from Tarentum and the extortion laws known from the literary evidence have already been under the eyes of readers of this *Journal*.¹⁰⁴ Among new discoveries is a piece of the Tabula Bantina, adding less than might have been hoped to our knowledge of the Latin text, but, from the position of a nail-hole, providing a useful argument for the priority of the Latin over the Oscan text.¹⁰⁵ Two remarkable but unfortunately incomplete inscriptions, one from Puteoli and one from Cumae, both apparently carry parts of the texts of municipal *leges libitinariae* concerned with the contractors for funerals, public and private, who also undertook executions, public and private.¹⁰⁶ Among many points of interest they contain regulations which show that the criminal jurisdiction of municipal magistrates included power to inflict capital punishment (on foreigners only, obviously) and that provision was made for masters actually to exercise the right to inflict capital punishment on their slaves at the time these laws operated; the dates are unfortunately not given but the letter forms suggest the Julio-Claudian period. An old proposal for improvement of the text of the *S.C. de gladiatoribus* has been buttressed by considerations based on what the cursive copy will have looked like.¹⁰⁷

Among legal documents there is a new *tessera hospitalis* from Herrera de Pisuerga in Spain, dated in A.D. 13, in which one whole city is adopted into the citizenship of another; the text shows a nice mixture of Roman and local usages.¹⁰⁸ New waxed tablets from a suburban villa just outside Pompeii provide items relating to a variety of legal transactions and throw light on a number of other matters, as e.g. on honours paid in Rome to Cn. Sentius Saturninus, presumably the *cos.* A.D. 41, with reference to successes in Britain in which he is paired with A. Plautius by Eutropius (VII, XIII) though Suetonius omits his name (*Claudius* 24, 2); on Claudian consular Fasti; on Puteolan topography, Puteolan connections with Alexandria, Puteolan connections with neighbouring towns especially Pompeii; on Ovid's description of tablets as of *sanguinolentus color* (*Amores* III, 7, 29–30) which is due, it now appears, to the use not of wax proper, but of gum lac.¹⁰⁹ A Flavian inscription from Apollonia in Cyrenaica records the terms of a lease of public land.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁰ J. McCredie, *Hesperia* xxxiv (1965), 114 f. = *AE* 1965, 205; J. H. Oliver, *AJP* lxxxvii (1966), 75 f.; P. R. C. Weaver, *ibid.* 147 f.; J. F. Gilliam, *ibid.* 458 f.; *AE* 1967, 444; *Bull. Ep.* 1967, 451.

¹⁰¹ H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser: Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur* (Wiesbaden, 1967); K. Wachtel, *Sklaven und Freigelassene in der staatlichen Finanzverwaltung der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1966).

¹⁰² M. Speidel, *JRS* lx (1970), 142 f.

¹⁰³ A. Garcia y Bellido, *Arch. Esp. de Arq.* xxxix (1966), 24 f. = *AE* 1967, 230; H. Nesselhauf and H.v. Petrikovits, *Bonner Jb.* clxvii (1967), 268 f. and for the evidence for Nijmegen, J. E. Bogaers, *Bonner Jb.*, Beiheft xix (1967), 63 f.

¹⁰⁴ H. B. Mattingly, *JRS* lix (1969), 129 f.; *ibid.* lx (1970), 154 f.

¹⁰⁵ D. Adamesteanu and M. Torelli, *AC* xxi (1969), 1 f.

¹⁰⁶ L. Bove, *RAAN* xli (1966), 207 f. and *Labeo* xliii (1967), 22 f.; see also W. Kunkel in *PW* xxiv, col. 779 f.

¹⁰⁷ J. Guey, *Mélanges Piganiol* 1, 249 f.

¹⁰⁸ A. Garcia y Bellido, *Boletín de la R. Acad. de la Hist.* clviii (1966), 149 f.; see discussion and proposed revision in *AE* 1967, 239, and for the most up to date text A. D'Ors, *Cambridge Acta* 254 f.

¹⁰⁹ C. Giordano, *RAAN* xli (1966), 107 f.; for critical revisions of some readings and interpretations see G. Barbieri, *Epigraphica* xxix (1967), 3 f., xxx (1968), 185 f., and A. Degraffi, *MAL* xiv (1969), 136 f.

¹¹⁰ J. M. Reynolds and R. G. Goodchild, *Libya Antiqua* II (1965), 103 f. = *AE* 1967, 531.

A Roman funerary inscription of the second century refers in unusual detail to the terms of a *mancipatio donationis causa*.¹¹¹ A document from Ephesus concerned with the city's privileges perhaps after Diocletian's reform mentions the *De Officiis Proconsulis* of Ulpian, of which the city is clearly expected to have a copy.¹¹²

Among administrative documents, points in the *S.C. de Asclepiade* and the letter of a proconsul to Chios have been usefully re-examined by A. J. Marshall.¹¹³ Also noteworthy are J. H. Oliver's republication of the Horothesia of Laberius Maximus, using a new piece of text A recently published by D. M. Pippidi and old photographs of the rest and especially of text B,¹¹⁴ and U. Laffi's work on the famous inscription from Saepinum concerning transhumance.¹¹⁵ Among the considerable number of new milestones, some special interest attaches to the terminal stones of the Via Appia at Brindisi previously reported anepigraphic; a newspaper article in 1963 referred to an inscription on one but has been followed by no details, though a photograph taken recently shows quite clearly that the base of one carried a three-line text, of which the following may still be read (see Pl. X, 2):

-- ENATV --	[s]enatu[popul-	?v.]
-- QVER --	[v.]	que R[oman-	?v.]
-- OV --	...	?Br]ou[ndisi-	...	

possibly recording the construction of the road as far as Brindisi by *SPQR* or the erection of the monument to *SPQR* by the people of Brindisi.¹¹⁶ Also interesting is the evidence collected by P. Salama for the addition of propagandist symbols (the *chi rho* under the Constantinian dynasty, the Solar Crown under Julian) on certain African milestones.¹¹⁷ Of the almost equally prolific boundary stones a particularly striking one from North Syria is presented by A. Adinolfi as a record of the establishment of the new *formula census* in a Syrian village after Diocletian's tax reforms.¹¹⁸

There have also appeared a number of new fragments of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices while S. Lauffer's consolidated text of the Edict, based on all fragments published to 1970, has just come out.¹¹⁹

Cities. There is of course much new material illustrating and throwing light on city organization and administration¹²⁰ from which only the barest selection is possible. An inscription from Larinum seems to provide the first known example of a freedman admitted into an Italian municipal *ordo*.¹²¹ A series of texts from Taormina includes a new fragment of the colony's Roman calendar, several from its copy of the Roman consular Fasti (from 39-36, 31 and 30 B.C.), another apparently from the local Fasti, and a Greek text concerned with financial organization in which Latin municipal titles are transliterated into Greek.¹²² An Augustan text from Messene embodies arrangements made to encourage donations to a programme of public rebuilding which is to be linked to expressions of loyalty to Rome and

¹¹¹ J. M. Reynolds, *PBSR* xxxiv (1966), 58 f. = *AE* 1968, 165.

¹¹² L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* xli (1967), 46 from J. Keil and G. Maresch, *Jahreshefte* xlv (1960) Beiblatt, col. 83; cf. also E. Schönbauer, *Iura* xvi (1965), 108 f.

¹¹³ A. J. Marshall, *AJP* lxxxix (1968), 39 f. and *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* x (1969), 255 f.

¹¹⁴ J. H. Oliver, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* vi (1965), 143 f. with reference to D. M. Pippidi, *Studi Classici* vi (1964), 331 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 276; *AE* 1966, 360.

¹¹⁵ U. Laffi, *St. Cl. e Or.* xiv (1965), 117 f.

¹¹⁶ T. Ashby and R. Gardner, *PBSR* viii (1916), 170; but see recently the *Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno* for the 28th Feb., 1963.

¹¹⁷ P. Salama, *Cambridge Acta* 279 f.

¹¹⁸ A. Adinolfi, *Oriens Antiquus* iv (1965), 71 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 467; *AE* 1967, 492; cf. also the two Diocletianic boundary stones set up in North Syria by a census official, J. Jarry, *Annales Islamiques* vii (1968), 158 f. = *AE* 1968, 514, 515.

¹¹⁹ S. Lauffer, *Diocletian's Preisedikt* (Berlin, 1970), with bibliography of recent additions.

¹²⁰ For instance, on Alatri, L. Gasperini, *Aletrium*

I, I documenti epigrafici (Alatri, 1965); Antioch (Pisidian), B. Levick, *Anatolian Studies* xv (1965), 54 f., xvii (1967), 101 f.; Athens, D. Geagan, *Hesperia Supp.* xii (1967); Bologna (as an Augustan colony), A. Donati, *AC* xviii (1966), 248 f.; Bosra, J. P. Rey-Coquais, *Ann. Arch. de la Syrie* xv (1966), 65 f.; Comana, R. Harper, *Anatolian Studies* xviii (1968), 93 f., xix (1969), 27 f.; Formiae, A. Colombini, *Athenaeum* xliv (1966), 137 f. = *AE* 1966, 67; Gerulata, R. Hosek, *Cambridge Acta* 307 f.; Herdoniae, F. Van Winterghem, *Ordona* II, *Inscriptions* (Brussels, 1967); Paestum, Mello and Voza, l.c. in n. 60; Petra, J. Starcky and C.-M. Bennett, *Syria* (1968), 41 f., cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1969, 597; Tarentum (Neronian colonists), L. Gasperini, *Seconda Miscellanea* (see n. 32), 389 f. and *Cambridge Acta* 135 f.

¹²¹ O. Freda, *Contributi dell'Istituto di Filologia Classica dell'Univ. Catt. di Milano* i (1963), 245 f. = *AE* 1966, 75.

¹²² G. Manganaro, *Cronache di Archeologia* iii (1964), 38 f., cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1966, 512; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 169.

to the Emperor—donors, whose names are to be inscribed on a stele, are to be thanked ἐφ'ἃ ἔσχηκαν ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος φρόντιδος εἰς τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ πότι τὸν Σεβαστὸν εὐνοία—an illuminating glimpse at the complication of motives which might lie behind a conventional building text.¹²³ A Flavian boundary-stone from the area of Cnossos concerns a dispute between the descendant of a Cnossian colonist and the city of Capua which owned land there.¹²⁴ A series of inscriptions at Mustis in Algeria shows that *taxatio* there was an evaluation of the *summa honoraria* made by the payer himself.¹²⁵ An inscription from Rouad, perhaps of Severan date, gives information about the municipal organization of Aradus, about the ethnic composition of its population, and the importance of its purple-fishing industry;¹²⁶ it also shows the governor intervening in an apparently local affair—which, it might be added, inscriptions demonstrate to have occurred much more often than the standard text-books suggest. Rather later in date the letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias published in this *Journal* shows local courts in operation and a free city still able to preserve her rights, in fact as well as phrase, as late as the mid-third century.¹²⁷

This is perhaps a suitable place in which to note new municipal elogia. An altogether special interest attaches to the discovery of new fragments of the elogia of Tarquinii, inscribed in the Julio-Claudian period and referring to local notables of Etruscan times.¹²⁸ One has been published so far, ahead of the rest, since it makes a join with the known text honouring a son of Lars and gives him a name [?V]olt[ur] Spur[inna]; M. Torelli connects him with the Vestricii Spurinnae and argues that the Tarquinian elogia were due not to municipal initiative but to that of local families of senatorial rank at Rome, anxious to enhance their prestige, fired by the Claudian vogue for Etruscology and, of course, drawing on family traditions for the purpose. This view has a bearing on the Brindisi elogium for which the Tarquinians have been cited as parallels;¹²⁹ by analogy the Brindisi man, if not a Roman general, should be the ancestor of a local family which held (or ?hoped for) senatorial rank in Julio-Claudian Rome.

Pagan Religion and related topics. Outstanding in this field, and of importance for the history of Roman influence on Italy, as well as for that of Roman religion is M. Torelli's recognition of inscriptions from Bantia as implying a *templum augurale*, which has been confirmed by his subsequent excavation.¹³⁰ Another Republican text of marked interest is a dedication of the second century B.C. from an imprecise location in the Monti della Daunia made *sancto Deiveti* by members of a *gens Magius* whose name, of course, is well known in Oscan history; the cult may be connected with the cave of Dis attested at Hirpinia.¹³¹ From Sardinia is reported the discovery of the temple of Sardus Pater with inscriptions in Punic and in Latin; it appears that Sardus corresponds to the Punic Sid, lord of Abi, and it may be that another element in his compound is a lost god of the indigenous people of the island.¹³² M. Guarducci has re-examined a *defixio*, probably of the third century A.D., in which the brother of a dead praetorian soldier curses the regimental doctor in terms which are not only personal but also strongly anti-Roman.¹³³

Also noteworthy are two items on the borderlines of religion: a graffito in the newly-excavated house of M. Fabius Rufus at Pompeii is thought to be Neo-Pythagorean in character;¹³⁴ while the evidence available on the combustible subject of the *ascia* on

¹²³ A. P. Orlandos, Πρακτικὰ ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1959 (publ. 1965), 169 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 200.

¹²⁴ P. Ducrey, *BCH* xciii (1969), 846 f.

¹²⁵ A. Beschauou, *Karthago* xiv (1968), 124 f.

¹²⁶ J. P. Rey-Coquais, *Ann. Arch. de la Syrie* xviii (1968), 69 f.

¹²⁷ K. T. Erim and J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* LIX (1969), 56 f. Note that in line 3 the reading should be χαίρε[iv]; see also J. H. Oliver, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* xi (1970), 137 f. for some reinterpretation, and for further criticism, J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1970, 445 f.

¹²⁸ M. Torelli, *St. Etr.* xxxvi (1968), 467 f.

¹²⁹ *AE* 1954, 216; see most recently G. Vitucci, *Ann. Acc. Etr. di Cortona* xii (1961-4), 57 f. arguing again that the subject is Q. Fabius Maximus and

S. Mazzarino, *Il Pensiero Storico Classico* (Bari, 1966), 322 f. arguing for C. Duilius; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 161 in criticism.

¹³⁰ M. Torelli, *RAL* xxi (1966), 1 f.; A. Degrassi, *Cambridge Acta* 161 f.; D. Adamesteanu and M. Torelli, *St. Etr.* xxxv (1967), 667 f.; *AE* 1967, 105; M. Torelli, *AC* xxi (1969), 15 f.

¹³¹ L. Gasperini, *Epigraphica* xxxii (1970), 1 f.

¹³² P. Meloni, *Cambridge Acta* 244; S. Moscati, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* xli (1968), 53 f.

¹³³ M. Guarducci, *RAL* xxiv (1969), 275 f.; for the earlier publication see *Bull. Comm.* LXXIV, 1951-2 (1954), 57 f. and criticism by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1955, 292.

¹³⁴ C. Giordano, *RAAN* xli (1966), 73 f.

tombstones has been supplemented by a curiosity arising out of L. Robert's reconsideration of a Greek tomb-stone of the third century A.D. from the Strymon Valley—it figures an axe in relief, referred to in the text as placed there by the widow of the subject because, apparently, she was unable to make her husband's memorial 'within the year'.¹³⁵

Christianity. M. Guarducci, in a valuable treatment of the *Sator* word-square, shows (I think convincingly) that it began life, with others based on palindromes, as magical but not Christian¹³⁶ (though it was of course used by Christians cf. G. Picard's recent publication of an example on a Cappadocian fresco showing the nativity),¹³⁷ so that it cannot by itself be taken as evidence of the presence of a Christian (though any particular example might be the work of one); at the same time she disposes of the possibility that the Pompeian instances could be the work of ancient *clandestini* of any creed.

Varia. In addition to the evidence from miscellaneous sources for the topography of the City of Rome, some noted incidentally above (pp. 138 and 143), new placements of fragments of the *Forma Urbis* are claimed (but not always uncontested) involving especially the Circus Flaminius, Theatre of Balbus and Temple of Bellona.¹³⁸ With this information M. Guarducci has associated the topographical references in a late Greek epigram from the Campo Marzo which she has recently reconsidered—written, she thinks, in all probability for Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus, *cos.* A.D. 438, a great builder, on the occasion of his construction of a *xenodocheium* to be identified with the *xenodocheium Anichiorum* of Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 9.¹³⁹

Among other known figures who have recently appeared in inscriptions are Q. Cicero's wife Pomponia and Augustus' doctor Antonius Musa at Samos,¹⁴⁰ and Plutarch's teacher Ammonius at Eleusis.¹⁴¹ On the other hand suspicions have been cast on some such identifications (see also above)—so the subject of a recently published Athenian inscription has been shown to be more probably grandson of Sopater, the successor to the neo-Platonic philosopher Iamblichus, than of Iamblichus himself,¹⁴² and in a notorious inscription in the cave/seaside villa at Sperlonga the author of the versification seems now very unlikely to be the Faustinus who was a friend of Juvenal but rather an unknown and undistinguished character of much later date.¹⁴³ It is, however, clear that the Sperlonga writer aimed at a description of the sculpture in the cave in which his text was found and provides evidence that it represented scenes from the Odyssey (into which many fragments have now been successfully reconstructed); earlier hopes that it included the original of the Laocoon must also be abandoned.

A number of items illustrate, among other things, the extent and variety of Rome's influence: thus a sword of Julio-Claudian date bearing the name of a Latin owner has been found in a Polish cemetery—booty of war perhaps;¹⁴⁴ a seal with a Greek inscription, read by G. W. Bowersock as a reference to the Tyche of Bosra made by an artist associated in some way with legion III Cyrenaica, comes from a well in Saudi Arabia;¹⁴⁵ what is probably a centurion's graffito in Greek (perhaps third century A.D.) is reported on a rock in the Fezzan, the only inscription in a classical language so far known to have been cut in the region of the Garamantes, and, if rightly identified, one of the most southerly military

¹³⁵ L. Robert, *Studi Classici* IX (1967), 113 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 332.

¹³⁶ M. Guarducci, *Riv. Arch. Class.* xvii (1965), 219 f., see also *AC* XIX (1967), 144; for another recent treatment, more sympathetic to the idea of the Christian origin, see the discussion of the element AREPO by J. Gwyn Griffiths, *CR* LXXXV (1971), 6 f., unfortunately written without knowledge of Prof. Guarducci's article.

¹³⁷ G. Ch. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* 1965, 101 f. = *AE* 1965, 271.

¹³⁸ For a summing up, L. Cozza, *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia* v (1968), 9 f. but also see recently F. Coarelli, *Bull. Comm.* LXXX (1965-7), 37 f. and *Palatino* XII (1968), 365 f.; G. Marchetti-Longhi, *MEFR* LXXXII (1970), 117 f. (critical).

¹³⁹ M. Guarducci, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* XLII (1969-70), 219 f.

¹⁴⁰ P. Herrmann, l.c. in n. 38 above, 128, no. 29.

¹⁴¹ C. P. Jones, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LXXI (1966), 205 f.

¹⁴² A. Cameron, *Athenaeum* XLV (1967), 143 f. on A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* XXXIII (1964), 63 f.; see also *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 155.

¹⁴³ *AE* 1967, 85; P. Krarup, *Cambridge Acta* 215 with bibliography which, however, has continued to grow excessively.

¹⁴⁴ K. Dabrowski and J. Kolendo, *Archeologia (Warsaw)* XII, 2 (1967), 383 f.; *AE* 1967, 346 bis.

¹⁴⁵ T. C. Barger, *Archaeology* XXII (1969), 139 f.; *Bull. Ep.* 1969, 598.

inscriptions ever found—in any case it certainly has a bearing on frontier policy in Africa; ¹⁴⁶ it has recently been proposed to re-read a much discussed Greek inscription from Garni in Armenia so as to convert the word preceding the name of a king Tiridates from ἤλιος (? an acclamation, ? a title) into Αὐρήλιος, the Armenian dynasty into one which received Roman citizenship and the date of the text from the first century (Tiridates being considered to be Nero's contemporary) to the fourth (Tiridates III)—this is so attractive that it is hard to have to report that autopsy (by Mr. R. D. Wilkinson) confirms the impression of the photograph that nothing was ever inscribed on the stone immediately before ΗΛΙΟC, though it might perhaps be that a preceding line, ending AYP, was cut on a lost block which stood above the one we have.¹⁴⁷

A number of mosaic inscriptions from Smirat in Tunisia, dated probably in the middle third century, incorporate popular acclamations designed, with some *finesse*, to press the local rich into paying for shows, and illustrate vividly the competitive atmosphere of municipal life as well as the place of the liturgy in securing an equilibrium in the relations of rich and poor.¹⁴⁸ They also demonstrate that the *venatores* whose show was involved were members of a *sodalitas* with special name, cult and symbol and so have led A. Beschouch to make an interesting collection of the evidence of other similar *sodalitates* in N. Africa, their names, characteristic cults and emblems, which may appear also on the tombstones of their members.¹⁴⁹

Amphorae stamps have been very much in the news and on these Mr. Jeremy Paterson contributes the following paragraph:

The publication in 1965 of M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae with index of stamps*, provides a welcome basis for the modern study of amphorae, despite the justified criticisms that have been made of both content and method (see F. Zevi, *JRS* 1967, 234 ff. and A. Tchernia, *Journal des Savants* 1967, 216 ff.). Callender neglected much of the evidence from Italy, where the groundwork, based on *CIL*, has been done by F. Zevi in *Archeologia Classica* XVIII, 1966, 208 ff. The past five years have produced two admirable studies of particular types of amphorae: P. Baldacci in *Atti del centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia Romana* I, 1967, 5 ff. gives a detailed account of the Dressel 6 form from NE. Italy with a list of stamps. F. Zevi and A. Tchernia in *Antiquités Africaines* III, 1969, 173 ff. have identified and catalogued the third-century A.D. oil-amphorae from Byzacena. Also it is worth remembering that in the Northern Provinces amphorae were not the only, or even the primary, bulk carriers of liquids. The evidence from monuments and inscriptions for the use of barrels has been collected by J. Kolendo in *Archeologia (Warsaw)* XVI (1965), 132 ff.

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¹⁴⁶ F. Sattin, *Libya Antiqua* II (1965), 77 and Pl. LXXXVI b.; C. Daniels, *Antiquaries Journal* L (1970), 55.

¹⁴⁷ F. Feydit in *Armeniaca (Mélanges d'Études Arméniennes)* (Venice, 1969), 184 f. on *SEG* xv, 836; against my proposal for saving Prof. Feydit's conjecture, Mr. Wilkinson reminds me that *SEG* xv,

837 indicates that it was quite possible in Armenia to place the king's name at the start of a text without introductory titles.

¹⁴⁸ A. Beschouch, *CRAI* 1966, 134 f.; *AE* 1967 549.

¹⁴⁹ A. Beschouch, *CRAI* 1967, 348 f.