

REQUISITIONED TRANSPORT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE:

A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM PISIDIA*

By STEPHEN MITCHELL

(Plates VIII-X)

To appreciate the importance which the Romans attached to transport and communications we need surely look no further than the roads which they built. To the modern observer this gigantic network of highways, which was not to be equalled or surpassed before the present century, is one of the most telling symbols of the control which Rome exercised throughout her empire, and of the organization which was imposed on it. The traffic which they carried has attracted less attention, but is clearly no less worthy of consideration. The roads of the empire had been designed and built to suit the state's needs, above all those of its armies, and one would reasonably expect the government to have devoted as much care and attention to the means by which goods and personnel were transported along them as it had to building them in the first place. Even if the sources were silent, and they are not, we could readily assume that post horses and carriages, pack and draft animals, and all the other paraphernalia of a state transport system would be needed at all times both for the use of civilian and military officials, and for the carriage of supplies and provisions. Under the empire the burden of providing this transport fell largely on the subject communities of Italy and the provinces, and the complaints of these communities against the unauthorized seizure of men, animals, waggons, hospitality in billets and other facilities for state transport form a recurrent theme in Roman history. Although authors of the republican period frequently refer to such requisitions, our information for the system by which this transport was provided and organized comes largely from a long series of imperial documents, beginning in the reign of Tiberius and culminating in a group of rescripts from the emperors of the fourth and early fifth centuries collected in book VIII of the Theodosian Code. Almost without exception these documents record abuses of the system or attempts to rectify them. They are, therefore, an invaluable source of information for the relations of the communities of the empire with representatives of the central authority and for disquiet and conflict between the governors and the governed. Incidentally many of them provide details of the way in which transport was organized, but regulations of a general nature, or for a particular area or period, are nowhere set out in detail, and commentators have generally been forced to make precarious inferences about the way in which the system worked from the nature of the complaints levelled against it. The inscription published here for the first time goes a long way towards filling this gap. It dates to the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, and can therefore be placed at the head of the series of imperial documents; and it is the first text found to date containing a set of detailed regulations concerning the provision of transport for official use by a particular subject community, Sagalassus in Pisidia. It thus forms an essential background and framework for any discussion of the provision and organization of official transport in the empire as a whole.

The inscription in question is said to have been found near Burdur railway station and has been brought to Burdur archaeological museum in southern Turkey. I was first shown the stone by the

* In collaboration with David French I have provided a preliminary account of the inscription for the *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 1976. For permission to publish it we are indebted to Bay Kayhan Dörtlük, director of the Burdur Museum, and to the General Directorate of Antiquities at Ankara. We would also like to thank the staff of the museum for the assistance and hospitality they gave us in July 1975 when we studied the stone at first hand. I must also thank David French not only for laying the foundations of a sound text by his work on both sets of squeezes, but

also for much helpful discussion of many of the issues which it raises, particularly concerning the roads and topography of Pisidia. I am also grateful to my wife, Matina, who forced me to clarify many of my arguments, and to Graham Burton, Eric Gray, Fergus Millar and in particular Professor P. A. Brunt for their criticisms of earlier drafts of the commentary. Although I would not expect any of them to agree with my discussion in every particular, it owes a great deal to their guidance and advice.

museum director, Kayhan Dörtlük, in September 1973, but did not recognize its importance until I had studied photographs of it. In the following spring David French, director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, took a squeeze of the inscription, and the preliminary decipherment of a difficult text, for which he was largely responsible, was made from this squeeze. In July 1975, after I myself had done further work on the squeeze, I returned to Burdur with David French and Alan Hall, where we spent a long day examining the stone at first hand, concentrating on parts of the text where the readings were most in doubt. At the same time we took a second squeeze which improved on the first in several respects. Since I have not had direct access to this, readings from it (usually in the least clear sections of the text) have been made by David French.

The text is virtually intact but the lettering is very faint and worn in places. In its present position it is virtually impossible to photograph, and no pictures which we have taken show the lettering as clearly as the squeezes. It has therefore seemed best to illustrate it with a photograph of the stone, showing the layout of the inscription, photographs of the first set of squeezes, and a photograph of the beginning of the Latin text, including l. 7 where the reading is in doubt (Pl. VIII-X).

Grey marble stele, with pediment and acroteria. The back has been left unfinished. Ht. 1.25 m.; width at top 0.795 m.; depth 0.31 m.; distance between the end of the text and the bottom of the stone 0.25 m. Letters: Latin. l. 1, 0.05 m.; l. 2, 0.03 m.; ll. 3-25, 0.006-0.008 m.; Greek. ll. 26-52, 0.01 m. Certain initial letters in the Greek are larger.

Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus leg.
Ti. Caesaris Augusti pro pr. (*vac*) dic.

Est quidem omnium iniquissimum me edicto meo adstringere id quod Augusti alter deorum alter principum
maximus diligentissime caverunt, ne quis gratuitis vehiculis utatur, sed quoniam licentia quorundam
5 praesentem vindictam desiderat, formulam eorum quae [pra]estari iudico oportere in singulis civitatibus
et vicis proposui servaturus eam aut si neglecta erit vindicaturus non mea tantum potestate sed principis optimi a quo .D . . . VMEN mandatis accepi maiestate. (*vac*)
Sagalassenos {o} ministerium carrorum decem et mulorum totidem praestare debent ad usus necessarios transeuntium, et accipere in singula carra et in singulos schoenos ab iis qui utentur aeris
10 et schoenos singulos aeris quaternos, quod si asinos malent eodem pretio duos pro uno mulo dent. Aut, si malent, in singulos mulos et in singula carra id quod accepturi erant si ipsi praeberent (*vac*) dare praestent iis qui alterius civitatis aut vici munere fungentur, ut idem procedant. Praestare autem debebunt vehicula usque Cormasa et Conanam. Neque tamen omnibus huius rei ius erit, sed procuratori principis optimi filioque eius, usu da[ta] us[que] ad carra decem aut
15 pro singulis carris mulorum trium aut pro singulis mulis asinorum binorum quibus eodem tempore utentur soluturi pretium a me constitutum; praeterea militantes, et iis qui diplomam habebunt, et iis qui ex alis provinciis militantes commeabant ita ut senatori populi Romani non plus quam decem carra aut pro singulis carris muli terni aut pro singulis mulis asini bini praestentur soluturis id quod
20 praescripsi; equiti Romano cuius officio princeps optimus utitur ter carra aut in singula terni muli aut in singulos [mu]los bini asini dari debebunt eadem condicione, sed amplius quis desiderabit conductet arbitrio locantis; centurioni carrum aut tres muli aut asini sexs eadem condicione. Iis qui frumentum aut aliudquod tale vel quaestus sui causa vel usus portant praestari nihil volo, neque cuiquam pro suo aut suorum libertorum aut servorum iumentu. Mansionem omnibus qui erunt ex comitatu nostro et militantibus ex omnibus provinciis et principis optimi libertis et servis et iumentis
25 eorum gratuitam praestari oportet, ita ut reliqua ab invitis gratuita non exsistant. (*vac*)

Σέξτος Σωτίδιος Στράβων Λιβουσκιδιανός πρεσβευτής Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατηγὸς λέγει· ἔστιν μὲν ἀδικον τὸ ἀκριβεστάτα ἡσφαλισμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν Σεβαστῶν τοῦ μὲν θεῶν τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκρατόρων μεγέστου ἐμὲ διατάγματι ἐπισφεινέειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τῶν πλεονεξία τὴν παραντῖκα ἐκδικίαν αἰτεῖ, κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην ἑτάξα κανόνα τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν ὃν τη-
30 ρήσω οὐ μόνον δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἐὰν δεῖ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος Σεβαστοῦ δεδωκότος μοι περὶ τούτων ἐντολ[ὰς] προσπαραλαβὼν θειότητα. Σαγαλασσεῖς λειτουργεῖν δεῖ μέχρι δέκα κάρρων ἕως Κορμάσων καὶ Κονάνης, νωτοφόροις δὲ ἴσοις· ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν ὑπὲρ μὲν κάρρου (*vac*) κατὰ σχοῖνον ἀσσάρια δέκα, ὑπὲρ δὲ νωτοφόρου κατὰ σχοῖνον ἀσσάρια τέσσαρα, ὑπὲρ δὲ ὄνου κατὰ σχοῖνον ἀσσάρια δύο· ἢ εἰ προκρίνουσιν χαλκὸν διδόναι τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἐξ ἄλ-
35 λων τόπων προσθέτωσαν αὐτοῖς ὅσον αὐτοὶ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐμελλον λαμβάνειν· οὐ πάντων δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν παρέχεσθαι δίκαι(όν) ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ

- Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ μέχρι κάρρων δέκα ἢ νωτοφόρων εἰς λόγον ἐνὸς κάρρου τριῶν ἢ ὄνων εἰς ἐνὸς ἡμιόνου λόγον δυεῖν οἷς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν χρήσ[ε]σ[θ]ονται ἀποδιδόντες τὸν ὠρισμένον μισθόν· ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς
- 40 στρατευομένοις, καὶ τοῖς διπλώματα ἔχουσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἄλλων ἐπαρχειῶν διοδεύουσιν, ἐξ ὧν τοῖς μὲν συνκλητικοῖς οὐ πλείονα τῶν δέκα ζευκτῶν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς τρεῖς ἡμιόνους, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἡμιόνου δύο ὄνους, ἀποδιδούσιν τὸν ὠρισμένον μισθὸν παραστῆσαι ἀνάγκη ἐξουσιν· τοῖς δὲ ἱππικῆς τάξεως ἐάν τις ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ χρή[αις] ἢ κάρρων τριῶν, ἢ εἰς τὸν ἐκάστου λόγον ἡμιόνων τριῶν,
- 45 ἢ ὄνων ἐξ ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδ[ι]αί[α] αἰρέσει· ἑκατοντάρχη κάρρον ἢ νωτοφόρους τρεῖς, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου ὄνου δύο, [τοῖς] τὸν μισθὸν διδοῦσιν, ἐάν τις τούτοις μὴ ἀρκῆται τὰ λοιπὰ μισθώσε[ται] παρ[ὰ] τῶν βουλομένων. τοῖς σείτον ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ ἢ χρήσει διακομίζουσιν ὑπηρετεῖσ[θ]αι οὐ βούλομαι· ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἢ ἀπελευθερικῶν ἢ δουλικῶν κτηνῶν λαμβάνεσθαι τι ἀποδοκιμάζω. σταθμὸν πᾶσιν τοῖς τε με-
- 50 θ' ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐν πάσαις ἐπαρχείαις καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελευθέροις καὶ δούλοις καὶ τοῖς κτήνεσιν αὐτῶν ἄμισθον παρασχεθῆναι δεῖ, τῶν (vac) λα δὲ...PN -- ca 5 -- .ΝΗΠΑΡΑΣ...ΟΝΤΩΝ (vac)

Notes on the text

Latin

1. 7. Repeated scrutiny of both squeezes has so far failed to provide a plausible reading in this line. It is tempting to restore [n]umen, but I do not see how it can then be construed. We might expect a noun ending in -um (perhaps officium) meaning duty, advice or guidance followed by the expression in mandatis.
1. 8. An intrusive o after Sagalassenos.
1. 12. The second squeeze apparently shows munire, but munere must be understood and should probably be read.
1. 14. Filioque eius is the clear reading, and is confirmed by καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ in l. 37. However, for reasons given below (p. 123 f.) this appears to be an error for filioque eius.
1. 22. The second u of aliudquid has been omitted in error.
1. 25. The reading and meaning of the final clause are unclear. The verb is clearly contained in the final eight letters which can be read as EASIGANT or FASIGANT. In either case it is necessary to assume a copyist's mistake to produce an acceptable Latin form. Of various possibilities e(x)sigant (suggested by Prof. Brunt) seems to offer the most appropriate meaning. In this case the gist of the clause will be that hospitality should be provided to authorized persons in such a way that these do not exact other services without payment 'ab invitis' (reading suggested by Prof. R. G. M. Nisbet and confirmed by the squeeze).

Greek

1. 31. ἐντολ[άς] is restored to correspond with mandata. The singular seems not to be used with this meaning.
1. 35. The first α of λαμβάνειν omitted.
1. 36. The last two letters of δίκαιον omitted.
1. 39. The stone appears to read ΧΡΗΕΣΟΝΤΑΙ. This is presumably a mistake for χρήσονται, but there is a possibility that the passive χρησθήσονται, which can perhaps be reconciled with the traces, was originally inscribed here. See n. 110.
1. 44. The second squeeze shows ΧΡΙ. . . Η, to be restored as χρή[αις] ἢ or χρῆ[ίαις] ἢ.
1. 45. The second squeeze apparently shows ἰδίη but I am inclined to disbelieve this reading in favour of ἰδί[α].
1. 46. [τοῖς] τὸν μισθὸν διδοῦσιν. We might expect a singular here, going with ἑκατοντάρχη, but the phrase also refers back, somewhat awkwardly, to τοῖς τῆς ἱππικῆς τάξεως.
1. 47. μισθώσε[ται] . . . τῶν βουλομένων. The restoration of the verb seems certain. After it we would expect a preposition meaning 'from'. ἀπό seems to fit the space better, but there are faint traces of a triangular letter before τῶν, and παρὰ is therefore preferred.
1. 48. The squeezes and the stone appear to show ΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙC. ΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ. βούλομαι should govern a passive verb parallel to λαμβάνεσθαι in the next clause. I would therefore read υπηρετεῖσ[θ]αι. There are traces consistent with a theta after the sigma, and αι will have been omitted in error (cf. ll. 35 and 36).
1. 52. The final clause of the Greek is even less clear than its Latin equivalent. The last word of the text should perhaps be read as παρ[α]σ[χ]όντων, referring to the provision of payment for additional services.

*Translation*¹

Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus, *legatus pro praetore* of Tiberius Caesar Augustus; says:

It is the most unjust thing of all for me to tighten up by my own edict that which the Augusti, one the greatest of gods, the other the greatest of emperors, have taken the utmost care to prevent, namely that no-one should make use of carts without payment. However, since the indiscipline of certain people requires an immediate punishment, I have set up in the individual towns and villages a register of those services which I judge ought to be provided, with the intention of having it observed, or, if it shall be neglected, of enforcing it not only with my own power but with the majesty of the best of princes from whom I received instructions concerning these matters.

The people of Sagalassus must provide a service of ten waggons and as many mules for the necessary uses of people passing through, and should receive, from those who use the service, ten *asses per schoenum* for a waggon and four *asses per schoenum* for a mule, but if they prefer to provide donkeys, should give two in place of one mule at the same price. Alternatively, if they prefer, they can pay people of another town or village who undertake the duty the same price for individual mules and waggons as they would have received if they had provided the service themselves, in order that these perform the same service. They are obliged to provide transport as far as Cormasa and Conana.

However, the right to use this service will not be granted to everyone, but to the procurator of the best of princes and his son, and they are granted the use of up to ten waggons, or three mules in place of a single waggon or two donkeys in place of a single mule on the same occasion, being liable to pay the price that I have decided. In addition (use of the service is granted) to persons on military service, both to those who have a diploma, and to those who travel through from other provinces on military service in the following manner: no more than ten waggons, or three mules for individual waggons, or two donkeys for individual mules, should be provided to senators of the Roman people being liable to pay the sum I have prescribed; three waggons, or three mules for individual waggons, or two donkeys for individual mules, must be provided to a Roman knight whose services are being employed by the best of princes on the same condition, but if anyone requires more he shall hire them at a price decided by the person who hires them out; a waggon, or three mules, or six donkeys, shall be provided to a centurion on the same condition.

I want nothing to be provided for those who transport grain or anything else of that sort either for their own use or to sell, and (nothing should be provided) for anyone for their own personal baggage animals or for their freedmen's or for their slaves' animals. Shelter and hospitality should be provided without payment for all members of my own staff, for persons on military service from other provinces and for freedmen and slaves of the best of princes and for the animals of these persons, in such a way that these do not exact other services without payment from people who are unwilling.

Orthography and language

The language of both the Latin and the Greek texts, and the forms of the words used, correspond closely with the practice of the time as we know it from other inscriptions, and in particular with the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* which must have been inscribed at about the same date. Certain detailed points call for comment. *Latin*: ll. 9–10, *aeris* in the genitive with ellipse of *asses* is common, see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. *aes* 2, citing several texts from the late republic and early empire; ll. 14–16, the expression is somewhat tortured, see the commentary on p. 123 f. below; l. 16, the false formation *diplomum* is rarely found in place of the usual *diploma*. See *TLL* s.v., citing the glossaries, *Pap. Marini* nos. 114 and 118, and *CIL* XI 5749, 13 (A.D. 261); l. 21, *sexs* (cf. l. 25). For other epigraphic instances of *xs* at this period see, e.g., *EJ* nos. 31 (*exemplis*, 17 B.C.), 69 (*maxsumus*, A.D. 4), 140 (*Eudoxsus*, 2 B.C.), 194 (*uxsor*) and 360a (*exs*, 12 B.C.); l. 23, *mansio* here makes its earliest appearance in an epigraphic text. See *TLL* s.v., and the commentary on p. 127 below. *Greek*: the analysis of the Greek text of the *Res Gestae* by A. P. M. Meuwese, *De Rerum Gestarum divi Augusti versione Graeca* (1920), can be aptly applied in the present case. Thus we find that *ei* is usually used for long *i* (as in ἀρειβέστατα, λειτουργεῖν, προκρίνουσιν and σεῖτον). Compare Meuwese, 4–5 and C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934), lviii, n. 19, stating that it is rarely found before the first century B.C. *ei* is also found once for short *i* (l. 28, μεγείστον). This is much more unusual. Most of the instances cited by E. Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften* (1904), 24–5, 64 belong to the late second or third century A.D., although an isolated example belongs to the first century B.C. However, Meuwese 4–5 cites the form ἐπειταδε for ἐπίταδε (*RG* 16, 11–12) which is a good contemporary parallel. See also E. Rüschi, *Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften* (1914), 98. *ei* is also found for *ε* in πλείονα (l. 41) but the fact is not significant since πλείονα and πλέονα are freely interchanged throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Welles, op. cit., lvii). *η* is once

¹ This translation has been made, in the main, from the Latin text which is fuller than the Greek at

several points. However, in l. 7, where the reading is doubtful, I have translated the Greek.

found for ει before a long vowel (l. 44, χρήσις if the reading is right), but the spelling ἐπαρχειῶν and ἐπαρχείσις (ll. 40, 49) is relatively unusual at this date (cf. Meuwese 7, and K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, ed. E. Schuyer (1900), 47). There is no consistency about iota adscript, although it is used more often than not (cf. Meuwese 13). In l. 38 the genitive form δεῖν is relatively uncommon but is found in *RG* 11, 8 and in the Cyrene edicts of 4 B.C. (*EJ* no. 311, l. 121. Cf. Meuwese 24 and W. Crönert, *Memoria graeca Herculanensis cum Aegypti papyrorum codicum denique testimoniis comparata* (1903), 198: 'Augusti aetate apud scriptores plerumque δεῖν interdum δύο adhibitum esse apparet'). l. 46, the phrase ἐάν δέ τις τοῦτοις μή ἀρκῆται, meaning 'if anyone is not satisfied with these,' is paralleled by the expression of Tiberius in his letter to the people of Gytheon, saying that he will be satisfied with more modest honours than those granted to the deified Augustus, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκούμαι τοῖς μετριωτέροις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις (τίμοις), *EJ* no. 102b, 21.

The *Res Gestae* apart, bilingual inscriptions of any length are unusual in the Roman empire, and the new text is apparently the earliest complete bilingual document which has survived. It therefore supplies an excellent opportunity for comparing the parallel drafts of a document written in the two official languages of the empire. It is not, of course, unique. Josephus reports that both Caesar and Mark Antony instructed that public documents be inscribed in Greek and Latin (*AJ* xiv. 10. 2, 191; 3, 197; 12, 5, 319), and the letter of Paullus Fabius Maximus to the *koimon* of Asia of c. 9 B.C. contains instructions that it be published in both languages (*OGIS* no. 458; R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969), no. 65, l. 30; U. Laffi, 'Le iscrizioni relative all'introduzione nel 9 a.c. del nuovo calendario della Provincia d'Asia', *Stud. Class. Or.* 16 (1967), 5-98, see pp. 36-9 on the relationship of the Greek and Latin versions). In this instance a fragment of the Latin text has survived. We can also compare the SC de Asclepiade of 78 B.C., also with a fragmentary Latin version (Sherck no. 22); the Lex Gabinia Calpurnia de Delis of 58 B.C., with a small part of the opening formula surviving from the Greek version (F. Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos* (1921), no. 163); the letter of Vinicius, proconsul of Asia, to Cyme in 27 B.C., where the Greek is incomplete (Sherck no. 61); and, under Claudius, the decree of Paullus Fabius Persicus, proconsul of Asia, concerning the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, F. K. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (1935), where a substantial portion of the Latin version is preserved alongside the Greek. However, perhaps the best parallel is the long bilingual dossier from Delphi recording the boundary decisions of C. Avidius Nigrinus under Trajan (*SIG*³ no. 827, improved in *Fouilles de Delphes* III. 4 (1970), nos. 290 f.).

The most useful discussion of the style and language of official Roman documents published in Greek from the late republic and early empire is that of P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus* (1888), 70 f. esp. 75-84. Some detail is added by Sherck, *op. cit.* 86 f., but his assessment of the Greek letters adds little to Viereck's analysis. The most extensive treatment of the Greek text of the *Res Gestae* is by Meuwese, *op. cit. passim*, who largely redeems it from the charges of earlier commentators that it redounds with Latinisms, and places it firmly in the context of the Greek language as it was spoken and written at the time. Most of this work has ultimately been directed towards the question of how these Greek documents emanating from Roman official sources were composed, and it is in the context of this discussion that the following notes on the new inscription have been added.

Neither the Latin nor the Greek is a masterpiece of prose style, but the former in general runs more smoothly than the latter. The absence of particles is characteristic of the Greek as a whole. Use of hyperbaton in the Latin, as at 'non mea tantum potestate sed principis optimi . . . maiestate' (ll. 6-7), or 'vel quaestus sui causa vel usus' (l. 22), finds no corresponding echo in the Greek. The Latin is not free from obscurity (as at ll. 14-16), but it does not match the Greek for inelegance or baldness. Note, for instance, the abrupt ἔστιν μὲν ἄδικον (= 'est quidem omnium iniquissimum') τὸ ἀκρεϊβέστατα ἠσφαλισμένον . . . ἐμὲ . . . ἐπισφεινγεῖν (ll. 27-8), the contorted clause ἀλλὰ ἐάν δεῖ . . . προσπαραλαβὼν θεϊότητα (ll. 30-1), and the two clauses τοῖς σεῖτον . . . διακομίζουσιν ὑπηρετεῖσθ[θ] (αι) οὐ βούλομαι ὑπὲρ ἰδίων . . . κτηνῶν λαμβάνεσθαι τι ἀποδοκιμάζω (ll. 47-9) which have no connecting particles at all to weld them to their context, such as we find at least in the second clause of the Latin ('neque cuiquam' etc., ll. 22-3). Further, the Greek text at ll. 36-9 is no clearer than its Latin equivalent at ll. 14-16. If we consider these differences alongside the fact that the Latin precedes the Greek text on the stone, and the evidence that the governor who drafted the edict was Italian in origin (see p. 113 below), we can conclude that the document was originally written in Latin, and then rendered into competent though not impeccable Greek.

The two texts are largely equivalent, and neither contains important information omitted by the other. However, the Greek is not an attempt at a literal translation, and there are several minor variations in the presentation of the substance of the edict. The Greek omits phrases contained in the Latin on a number of occasions, and where there is variation it is usually simpler. The main differences can be listed as follows: ll. 6-7, the Latin 'servaturus eam . . . maiestate' is equivalent to the Greek δὲν τηρήσω . . . θεϊότητα. Here the Latin supplies a second stronger verb, *vindicaturus*, to reinforce the initial *servaturus*. In the Greek the force of the second verb is transferred to the expression

προσπαραλαβών θειότητα, which conveys the meaning that the *maiestas* of the emperor gives additional force to the utterance, but does not imply the threat of punishment contained in *vindicturus*. The Latin 'aut si neglecta erit' is also more explicit than the Greek ἄλλὰ ἐὼν δεῖ. ll. 9 f., the Greek text of the section defining the hiring rates for waggons and animals simply repeats the same formula three times (ll. 32-4), while the Latin admits a variation in the phrase relating to *asini* ('quod si asinos malent . . . dent'). This is the first reference to *asini* in the text, and the fact probably prompted the author to give them special emphasis. The Greek is less carefully composed. The Greek, on the other hand, substitutes the words ζευκτά for κάρρα and ἡμίονοι for νωτοφόροι, where the Latin supplies *carra* and *muli* on all occasions (see n. 93 below). ll. 20-1, 'conducet arbitrio locantis' conveys a fuller and more explicit meaning than μισθώσε[ται παρ]ὰ τῶν βουλομένων (ll. 46, assuming that the reading is correct). The Latin adds a number of short phrases which are completely omitted in the Greek: l. 4, 'ne quis gratuitis vehiculis utatur'; ll. 8-9, 'ad usus necessarios transeuntium'; l. 9, 'ab eis qui utentur'; l. 12, 'ut idem procedant'; l. 14, 'usu da[to]' (if the reading is right). The reverse is true in l. 35 where πᾶσιν δὲ τοὺς βουλομένοις renders the simple 'omnibus' and in l. 43 where there is no Latin equivalent for παραστήσει ἀνάγκην ἔξουσιν, resuming οὐ πᾶσιν δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν παρέχεσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν (ll. 35-6). On occasion the Greek text presents sections of the edict in a different order from the Latin. Thus ἕως Κορμάσων καὶ Κονάνης follows Σαγαλασσεῖς λειτουργεῖν δεῖ immediately (l. 32) and is incorporated into the first clause of the edict. In the Latin this qualification is made into a separate clause (l. 13). The Latin clause 'sed amplius quis desiderabit conducet arbitrio locantis' (ll. 20-1) follows the rules for knights, while the Greek equivalent ἐὰν δὲ τις τούτοις μὴ ἀρκῆται τὰ λοιπὰ μισθώσε[ται παρ]ὰ τῶν βουλομένων (ll. 46-7) comes after the rules for a centurion. The Greek also supplies the phrase ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδί[α]ι αἰρέσει, at his own choice, after the section concerning knights (l. 45). Given the paratactic style of the Greek, it is difficult to see whether this should be connected with the clause which precedes or follows it, but the initial letter of ἑκατοντάρχη is larger than usual, marking the beginning of a new section.

Bibliographical note

As has already been observed, the inscription takes its place at the head of a long series of imperial documents referring directly or indirectly to the requisitioning of transport and associated liturgies. Since these will be frequently cited in the commentary which follows, I list here those which seem to be particularly important to the discussion, as far as possible in chronological order. I shall refer to them henceforward as document (D) 1 etc.

1. Edict of Germanicus in Egypt, A.D. 19. *SB* no. 3924; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* II, no. 211; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*² (1955) (= *Ef*), no. 320. See the commentary of F. Zucker (and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf), *Sitzb. Berl.* 1911, 794-803. Cf. also *Ef* no. 117.
2. Edict of L. Aemilius Rectus, prefect of Egypt, A.D. 42. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, no. 439; F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (1926) (= *Af*), no. 162; E. M. Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (1967) (= Smallwood 1), no. 381.
3. Edict of Cn. Vergilius Capito, prefect of Egypt, A.D. 48. H. G. Evelyn White and J. H. Oliver, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis* pt. II (1938), no. 1, outdating the text in *OGIS* no. 665; Smallwood 1, no. 382. See also P. Jouguet, *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (1936), 1-22. The relevance of this inscription is denied by N. Lewis, *PAPhA* 98 (1954), 153 ff.
4. Edict of Claudius, found at Tegea, A.D. 49/50. *CIL* III 7251, which is a fuller text than *ILS* 214 and Smallwood 1, no. 375.
5. Letter of L. Vinuleius Pataecius, procurator of Thrace under Vespasian, to Thasos. C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* II (1958), no. 186; M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (1961) (= *MW*), no. 457. See H.-G. Pflaum, *Journal des Savants* 1959, 79 ff.
6. Extract from the *mandata* of Domitian to Claudius Athenodorus, procurator of Syria. *IGLS* v 1998; *MW* no. 466. See N. Lewis, *RIDA* 3^e sér. 15 (1968), 135 ff.
7. Pliny's letter to Trajan and Trajan's reply concerning Juliopolis, Pliny, *Ep.* x. 77-8.
8. Edict of M. Petronius Mamertinus, prefect of Egypt, A.D. 133-7. *PSI* no. 446; Hunt and Edgar, *op. cit.* no. 221.
9. Dossier on the complaints of a village on the territory of Histria in Moesia Inferior, apparently dating to 159-61. I. Stoian, *Dacia* 1959, 368 ff., repr. in *Études Histriennes, Coll. Latomus* 123 (1972), 79 ff.; *SEG* XIX, no. 476. See the comments of J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1958, no. 341 and 1961 no. 426.
10. Letter of Iulius Saturninus, governor of Syria, to the village of Phaenae, A.D. 185-6. *OGIS* no. 609; *Af* no. 113.

11. Account of privileges granted at the foundation of *emporía* in Thrace incorporated in an edict of the governor Q. Sicinius Clarus, A.D. 202, found at Pizus. *SIG*³ no. 880; *AJ* no. 131; revised and improved in *IGBulg.* III. 2, no. 1689.
12. Letter of Subatinius Aquila, prefect of Egypt, A.D. 206. *P. Oxy.* 1100.
13. Edict of C. Gabinius Barbarus Pompeianus, proconsul of Asia probably under Caracalla, concerning the city of Euhippe in Caria. L. Robert, *CRAI* 1952, 589 f. = *Opera Minora Selecta* (= *OMS*) I, 345–55.
14. Dossier from Asian Phrygia relating to a series of disputes between the villages of Anosa and Antimacheia, c. 200–37. W. H. C. Frend, *JRS* XLVI (1956), 46 f.; *SEG* XVI, no. 754. See T. Zawadski, *REA* 62 (1960), 80 f. and T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (1968), 135–8, 148–55.
15. Rescript of Gordian III to the inhabitants of Scaptopara in Thrace. *SIG*³ no. 888, revised and improved in *IGBulg.* IV no. 2236.
16. Rescript of the two Philips on a petition from Arague in Phrygia, 244–7. *OGIS* no. 519; *AJ* no. 137.
- 16a. Petition and fragments of a rescript from Kavacik in Lydia, addressed to the two Philips, A.D. 247/8. P. Herrmann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien*, *A. Ak. Wien* 80 (1962), no. 19. Cf. no. 20 from Saraçlar.
17. Edict from Demirci köy in N. Lydia, early third century. J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien*, *D. Ak. Wien* 54 (1911) (= *KP*²), 114, no. 222; *IGR* IV no. 1368.
18. Petition from Ekiskucu in Lydia, early third century. Id., *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien*, *D. Ak. Wien*, 57 (1914) (= *KP*³), 11 no. 9; *AJ* no. 144.
19. Petition from Mendechora in Lydia, early third century. *KP*³, 25 f. no. 28; *AJ* no. 143.
20. Petition from Ağabeyköy in Lydia, early third century. *KP*³, 37 f. no. 55; *AJ* no. 142. For D.12, and 17–20, as well as other documents, see L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 1943, 1 f. = *OMS* I 364–72.
21. Petition and edict (?) from Güllüköy in Lydia, early third century. P. Herrmann, *Neue Inschriften zur historischen Landeskunde von Lydien und angrenzenden Gebieten*, *D. Ak. Wien*, 77 (1959) no. 9; *SEG* XIX no. 718. See G. Mihailov, *IGBulg.* IV, p. 225.

The list is not complete. Most of the documents published before 1940 are treated by H.-G. Pflaum, *Essai sur le Cursus Publicus dans le Haut-Empire Romain*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres* XIV. 1 (1940), 189–390. Unfortunately, much of his argument is vitiated by the unwarranted assumption that all the evidence which he cites relates to the imperial post, whereas much of it is more relevant to transport in a wider context. The evidence for the late empire, above all from the Theodosian Code, is treated by E. J. Holmberg, *Zur Geschichte des Cursus Publicus* (1933). A bibliography of relevant documents which have come to light since 1940, complementary to the one given here, is provided by Pekáry, *op. cit.* 174–5, and many of the most important items are quoted and discussed by G. Mihailov in his commentary on *IGBulg.* IV no. 2236. Other documents with points of interest include *OGIS* no. 262 = *IGLS* VII no. 4028, *CIL* VIII 17639 = *AJ* 152, *CIL* VIII 15868, *Inscr. de la Tunisie* no. 625, the coins of Nerva depicting two mules grazing unharnessed behind a cart with the legend *VEHICULATIONE ITALIAE REMISSA* (*BMC Imp.* III, 21 nos. 119–20), and the extensive evidence in papyri, inscriptions and the legal texts for immunities from liturgies of various kinds. It is worth pointing out here that the term *cursus publicus*, which is regularly used by modern writers to describe the postal or transport system in the early empire, is not attested before the fourth century (noted by P. A. Brunt in A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy* (1974), 180; cf. *TLL* s.v. 'cursus', I. B. 4). The earlier term was apparently *vehiculatio*.

Commentary

The content of the inscription falls into three main sections, which may be termed the heading (ll. 1–2, 26–7), the preface (ll. 3–7, 27–31) and the regulations themselves (ll. 8–25, 31–52). The edict was issued by Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus, *legatus pro praetore* of the emperor Tiberius. Sex. Sotidius Sex. f. Strabo Libuscid. (rendered thus) appears on an inscription of Rome listing a group of curators of the banks of the river Tiber.² It has been argued that the members of the group are named in order of seniority, in which case Sotidius was senior to M. Claudius Marcellus, praetor in A.D. 19, and L. Visellius Varro, *cos. suff.* in 24, but junior to C. Vibius Rufus, *cos. suff.* in 16.³ However, Sir Ronald Syme points out that two other incomplete copies of this text do not preserve the same order after the presiding consular C. Vibius Rufus, and the argument is groundless. At best we

² *ILS* 5925, fully published at *CIL* VI 31544 with two further specimens of the text.

³ See Dessau, *ad loc.*; T. P. Wiseman, *New Men*

in the Roman Senate (1971), 220, 262; A. Degraasi, *I Fasti Consolari* (1951), 8–9.

can say that he was praetor before c. 20, but never, so far as we know, became consul. Syme deduced from his names, which he restored as Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidius, that his family came from Canusium in Apulia, where the two very unusual *gentilicia* Sotidius and Libuscidius are attested among the municipal gens.⁴

The new inscription does not give the precise date of his governorship, but internal evidence suggests that it spanned the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius. The text refers to a state of affairs which both Augusti 'alter deorum alter principum maximus' (ll. 3-4, 26-7) had taken pains to prevent. This would be particularly apt if Augustus had died recently and the memory of his instructions was still fresh, although such an expression in any case would be well in tune with the overall character of Tiberius' principate. More important is the phrase 'non mea tantum potestate sed principis optimi . . . a quo . . . accepi maiestate', translated as οὐ μόνον δι' ἑμαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ . . . καὶ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος Σεβαστοῦ δεδωκότος μοι περὶ τούτων ἐντολὰς προσπαραλαβῶν θειότητα. Tiberius is never referred to as *princeps optimus* or as σωτὴρ Σεβαστός without further qualification,⁵ and it would be intolerably ambiguous if he were in a context where Augustus had just been mentioned. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the *mandata* in question had come from Augustus himself. Since Sotidius also explicitly states that he had received these instructions in person, we must conclude that he had been appointed by Augustus and continued his term of office under Tiberius, when the edict was issued. Further, the Latin text twice mentions officials 'principis optimi' (ll. 14 and 24), referring to Augustan appointments. This confirms the view that the edict appeared soon, perhaps very soon, after Tiberius' accession. A date of c. 13-15 would fit well with the other evidence for his career, following the praetorship held at an earlier date under Augustus.

His province was certainly Galatia. Sagalassus, the city to which the edict chiefly refers, had been controlled by Amyntas up to his death in c. 25 B.C., when his kingdom had been annexed in its entirety by Rome and became the province of Galatia. Strabo is clear on this point, with explicit reference to Sagalassus.⁶ Central Pisidia, where the city is situated, remained a part of the province at least until the reign of Vespasian, and possibly later, although by the middle of the second century it had been incorporated into the joint province of Lycia and Pamphylia.⁷ The date for the legateship which I have proposed does not conflict with the evidence for other governors under Tiberius. Four of these, Metilius, Silvanus, Fronto and Basila, are listed in the inscription of the Galatian *koinon* inscribed on the temple of Augustus and Rome at Ancyra,⁸ and a fifth, Priscus, appears on a coin of Pessinus dated to the forty-third year of the city's era.⁹ I hope to argue elsewhere that the four governors of the Ancyra inscription should be dated to the second half of Tiberius' reign, which leaves ample room to accommodate both Priscus and Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus before about A.D. 25.¹⁰ Under Augustus until A.D. 6 Galatia had usually been governed by senior consular legates and probably contained a garrison legion.¹¹ During the reign of Tiberius all the legates seem to have been praetorian.¹² Since there is no evidence

⁴ *The Roman Revolution* (1939), 361, n. 3: 'that blatant prodigy of nomenclature'. For Sotidii at Canusium see *CIL* ix 349 and 397; Libuscidii, *ibid.* 338, 348, 387, 6186. P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean attempted to restore the names Sextus Sotidius Libuscidius on an inscription of the Rhodian Peraea, and suggested that the senator from Canusium had held a provincial command in Asia or had settled privately there (*The Rhodian Peraea* (1954), 3-4, no. 3). Given that one or two other Libuscidii are attested on inscriptions of Rhodian origin (cited ad loc.) and a branch of the *gens* was clearly established locally, this was an implausible suggestion at the time. It is now put firmly out of court by the new text which shows that the man in question was called Libuscidianus, not Libuscidius, which must be the name in the Rhodian inscription.

⁵ This argument is based on a perusal of the *indices* of *ILS*, *IGR*, *SIG³*, and *OGIS*. Supported also by P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (1966).

⁶ Strabo xii. 5. 1, 567; 6. 5, 569.

⁷ See B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia*

Minor (1967), 32, n. 3; 164; Ptolemy v. 5. 4 indicates that the dividing line lay north of Conana and Seleuceia Sidera, although Apollonia lay in Galatia. Epigraphic evidence confirms this (*CIL* iii 6885; W. M. Ramsay, *JRS* vi (1916), 132).

⁸ The best text in M. Krencker and M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (1936), 52 f. Less good in E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (1967), 35 f., no. 51.

⁹ M. Grant, *Num. Chron.* 6th ser. x (1951), 43 ff., no. 1.

¹⁰ Similar conclusions are reached by R. K. Sherck in a revised version of his *fasti* of Galatian legates (see n. 12) to be published in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt*. I am grateful to Professor Sherck for showing me a typescript of this in advance of publication.

¹¹ See, primarily, R. Syme, 'Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus', *Klio* xxvii (1934), 122-48. I have argued against Syme for a permanent garrison, in a paper to be published in *CQ* 1976.

¹² R. K. Sherck, *The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian* (1951), 26-31.

that Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus ever became consul, he fits happily into the second group, supporting the hypothesis that Galatia's military and administrative importance declined after A.D. 6 when its garrison was transferred to the Balkans.

The next section of the document, which I have termed the preface, explains the circumstances which gave rise to the edict. This preface shows clearly that, like the vast bulk of administrative documents from the empire,¹³ it was not the result of a spontaneous initiative by the governor, but was provoked by abuses of the system which had already occurred. The origin of these abuses is indicated in a very general way by the clause 'sed quoniam licentia quorundam praesentem vindictam desiderat' (ll. 4-5) = ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τινῶν πλεονεξία τὴν παραυτικά ἐκδικίαν αἰτεῖ (ll. 28-9). Brief though this allusion is, it is significant that the language of the Greek, in particular the word πλεονεξία, is echoed in three later documents relating to official transport: the edicts of Cn. Vergilius Capito of A.D. 48, designed to stop people πλεονεκτικῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἀποχρωμένων,¹⁴ and of M. Petronius Mamertinus under Hadrian, aimed at the soldiers under his command, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις ὕβρις τε καὶ ἐπηρείας γείνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπὶ πλεονεξία καὶ ἀδικία διαβάλλεσθαι συνβέβηκε,¹⁵ and the petition from Ağabey recording the villagers' complaints about τὴν τῶν κολλητιωνῶν . . . πλεονεξίαν.¹⁶ The Latin version adds that the Emperors' earlier rulings had been designed to prevent people obtaining transport without payment ('ne quis gratuitis vehiculis utatur' l. 4), thus providing a precise reason for the governor's action. On the other hand the regulations which follow the preface suggest that problems had arisen both with officials attempting to obtain more than their allowance of animals and waggons, doubtless paying too little or nothing at all for them, and with private individuals who were not entitled to requisition transport under any circumstances ('iis qui frumentum aut aliudquid tale . . . portant', ll. 21-2 = 47-8).

These same categories of traveller continued to abuse the system as long as it remained in use. Officials and soldiers were always the first source of trouble. In Egypt the edict of Germanicus of A.D. 19 was a reaction to the malpractice of his own entourage,¹⁷ and the prefects L. Aemilius Rectus and Cn. Vergilius Capito, under Gaius and Claudius respectively, directed their regulations against soldiers and imperial officials,¹⁸ as did M. Petronius Mamertinus three generations later.¹⁹ Domitian's *mandatum* to his procurator in Syria does not single out any particular group, but Trajan evidently assumed that soldiers were the main source of the disturbance reported by Pliny at Juliopolis.²⁰ The later evidence confirms the picture. In 185-6 the legate of Syria issued an edict on billeting to prevent both soldiers and private individuals from forcing the local inhabitants to give them hospitality;²¹ and, probably during the reign of Caracalla, the proconsul of Asia took steps to protect the people of Euhippe in Caria from soldiers and officials who left the main roads and descended on the city, presumably with a view to obtaining *hospitium* and transport.²² The well-known documents from Lydia are still more explicit, referring principally to the exactions of the κολλητιῶνες or military agents,²³ the *frumentarii* or secret agents and the *stationarii*,²⁴ soldiers detached for the duty of supervising and protecting the main roads of the empire.²⁵ The appeal of the people of Scaptopara in Thrace to the emperor Gordian in 238 nicely illustrates the particular problems of a settlement sited between two camps. It had attracted the predatory attentions of the local nobility, soldiers and government staff, who were drawn

¹³ See Fergus Millar, 'The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces', *JRS* LVI (1966), 156-66, esp. 166.

¹⁴ D.3, 17-18.

¹⁵ D.8, 8-10.

¹⁶ D.20, 45-6. The Latin equivalent, *licentia*, is also found in a passage of Valerius Maximus describing an episode in the triumviral period where a man put on the insignia of a praetor, illegally requisitioned waggons and a ship, and claimed hospitality to which he was not entitled (VII. 3. 9).

¹⁷ D.1.

¹⁸ D.2, 6-9; D.3, 21-5.

¹⁹ D.8.

²⁰ D.7. Note the clauses in Trajan's reply (*Ep.* 78) particularly aimed at punishing soldiers: 'si qui autem se contra disciplinam meam gesserint, statim coercentur; aut, si plus admiserint quam ut in re

praesenti satis puniantur, si milites erunt, legatis eorum quod deprehenderit notum facies, aut, si in urbem versus venturi erunt, mihi scribes.' He does not give any procedure for civilian offenders, although the possibility is envisaged by the clause 'si milites erunt'.

²¹ D.10, 8-12.

²² D.13, 7-10.

²³ For the term see L. Robert, *OMS* I, 364-72.

²⁴ See O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im röm. Kaiserreich', *Kleine Schriften* (1913), 576-612, esp. 596 f.; L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliennes* (1938), 285.

²⁵ References to these at D.16a, 7, 11; 17, 5; 18, 10, 11, 21; 19, 14, 16; 20, 25, 35, 45; D.21 has much in common with these texts, but does not mention the source of the trouble.

there by the hot springs and a large market only two miles away.²⁶ A few years later the long petition, addressed to the two Philips between 244 and 249, from the people of Arague living on an imperial estate in central Phrygia, draws attention to similar trouble with soldiers, officials on the estate, and city notables.²⁷ Not surprisingly, exactions of this sort by the armies were, to a jurist, nothing out of the ordinary.²⁸

Alongside the army and imperial officials, powerful local landowners and civic magistrates were another source of oppression at all periods. In the early empire, few eyebrows would be raised at reports that leading provincials exploited their inferiors,²⁹ and the documents on official transport fully bear this out. The correspondence concerning Juliopolis implies that soldiers were only the main, not the sole cause of trouble,³⁰ and the edict of Julius Saturninus was directed against civilians as well as soldiers.³¹ Elsewhere the charges are more precise. At Arague the villagers complained about οἱ δυνάσται τῶν προυχόντων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,³² and the people of Scaptopara devote a long section to describing the activities of similar local aristocrats who forced them to provide hospitality and much else besides without payment.³³ This was simply illegal exaction by powerful men for their own personal benefit. At Ağabey in Lydia the method was a little more sophisticated. Here the magistrates of the neighbouring cities appear to have extorted services from the villagers on the pretext that this was a lawful requirement to fulfil their ordinary civic liturgies.³⁴ A law of Severus, endorsed by his successors, explicitly forbade the practice of imposing such liturgies on the villages.³⁵

The second main point of interest in the preamble to the edict proper is the light it throws on the way in which provincial administration was conducted at an early date in the principate. Three separate stages of authority can be identified. The first, referred to in the clause 'id quod Augusti . . . diligentissime caverunt' (ll. 3-4 = 27-8), comprises the general precautions and regulations governing requisitioning issued by Augustus and Tiberius. The form which these took is not made clear. However, in the preamble to his edict of 49/50 found at Tegea, Claudius appears to allude to a series of attempts which he made to enforce a general ruling on the problem,³⁶ and it is plausible to suppose that some general ordinance already existed under Augustus and Tiberius. This presumably contained a series of explicit guidelines which would form the basis for detailed regulations concerning individual communities, and perhaps indicated the categories of officials who were entitled to requisition transport, the amount they were allowed to hire, and the rates they had to pay.³⁷ Some of these guidelines may have been incorporated in the Lex Iulia de Repetundis which laid down rules for the provision of *hospitium* to governors and their staff in the late republic and under the empire;³⁸ but since the clauses of that law, in so far as they can be reconstructed from the traces they leave in the literary and epigraphic sources, do not directly concern transport, we should probably assume that this was covered by a separate ruling, which might have taken the form of another *lex* or an imperial edict. Further details, concerning the extent of a particular community's obligations, and the types of transport to be made available, could be clarified in the *lex provinciae*, or in the individual rulings of successive governors and Emperors.

The definition and enforcement of detailed regulations in line with the general guidelines in any particular locality was the responsibility of the governor, and the new edict

²⁶ D.15, 33 f.

²⁷ D.16, 18-21.

²⁸ Ulpian, *Dig.* xix. 2. 15. 2; cf. 13. 7; and Paulus, *Dig.* i. 18. 6. 3-6. Most of the evidence for soldiers oppressing civilian communities to obtain transport, billets, supplies or simply cash is well discussed by R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (1964), ch. iv.

²⁹ Tac., *Ann.* xv. 20.1; Plut., *Mor.* 815a; Ael. Arist. xxvi, 65K; J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (1953), 953-8.

³⁰ See n. 20.

³¹ See n. 21.

³² D.16, 20; cf. A. Schulten, *Röm. Mitt.* xiii (1898), 245.

³³ D.15, 33-44.

³⁴ D.20, 36-8.

³⁵ *JEA* 1935, 232, ll. 80 f. This law may only have

applied to Egypt.

³⁶ D.4: 'Cum et colonias et municipia non solum Italiae verum etiam provinciarum et civitatum cuiusque provinciae lebare oneribus vehiculorum praebendorum saepe temptavissem'. The expression 'cuiusque provinciae' should indicate that each of Claudius' attempts to enforce his legislation was concerned with all the provinces. Presumably on these grounds, it is regarded as an edict of universal application by W. Williams, *ZPE* xvii (1975), 44 f. However, on the face of it the particular case in question is simply the latest of Claudius' repeated efforts, concerned, on this occasion, with Tegea.

³⁷ A general clause could have laid down that a city was required to provide transport within its own territory, but the details would have to be worked out in individual cases.

³⁸ For the Lex Iulia see below p. 127 f.

clearly exemplifies this process. However, to support his own authority, Sotidius cites the additional sanction of instructions (*mandata*, ἐντολαί) which he had received from Augustus concerning transport. The arrangement and construction of the preamble make it clear that these are to be distinguished from the general ruling already discussed, and must be treated as special directions to the legate to give the whole subject of transport requisitioning his particular attention.

The new inscription provides the earliest documentary reference to such *mandata* under the empire, but it comes as no surprise in the context of evidence from other sources. Our main source of information on the point is the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny, which several times mentions the instructions which the emperor had given his legate before he went to Bithynia.³⁹ However, they were not a special feature of Pliny's extraordinary appointment. ἐντολαί have a respectable pedigree in the administration of the kingdoms of the Hellenistic world,⁴⁰ and were one of the ways by which the Roman senate instructed its envoys during the republic.⁴¹ During the principate, from the early Julio-Claudian period onwards, there is evidence that the Emperor could and did address his *mandata* to a wide spectrum of officials in the provinces,⁴² and even, possibly, to a client kingdom beyond the imperial frontier.⁴³ Thus the new inscription does no more than add a detail to a picture which is already reasonably clear.⁴⁴ However, it is worth observing that neither Tiberius nor Domitian⁴⁵ waited to hear the grievances of dissatisfied subjects before issuing newly appointed officials with special instructions relating to transport. They had certainly been alerted to the problem by earlier petitions and complaints, but their actions show that here was an area in which their habitual passivity was insufficient.

In the preamble Sotidius also carefully provides for the publication of his edict in the cities and villages on the territory of Sagalassus. The example of the text which we have clearly comes from one such village, in the vicinity of Burdur,⁴⁶ and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that other copies will be found. It was imperative that regulations designed to protect the subjects of the empire from oppression should be well advertised, since there would be little hope of ending exploitation unless the people affected were aware of their rights. Vergilius Capito, Iulius Saturninus and Subatianus Aquila later showed a similar concern that their rulings on the subject should be prominently displayed,⁴⁷ and the same motive may lie behind the otherwise unusual step of publishing an excerpt from Domitian's *mandata* to his procurator.⁴⁸ The need to make the contents of the edict known to all parties, including not only the native inhabitants but also the soldiers and officers who were generally responsible for the oppression, may also have prompted Sotidius to publish his edict in Latin and Greek. However, since none of the comparable documents is bilingual, a second explanation is to be preferred. There had been extensive Roman settlement in and around the Pisidian Taurus in the late republic and under Augustus. Augustus had established self-governing colonies at Olbasa, Cremna and Comama, which lay south and west of Sagalassus, and at Parlais to the north-east.⁴⁹ Colonists were also probably to be

³⁹ *Ep.* x. 22. 1; 30. 1; 56. 3; 96. 7; 110. 1; 111. 1. The scope of the *mandata* is discussed by A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966), 547 ff. and by L. Vidman, *Klio* 1959, 217-25 and *Étude sur la correspondance de Pline le jeune avec Trajan* (1960), 45-51.

⁴⁰ C. B. Welles, *op. cit.*, no. 30, 11 (from Ptolemy IV to a governor); no. 33, 20 (also Ptolemy IV); no. 58, 6 (from the high priest at Pessinus to his envoy Menodorus); and p. 336; Sherk, *op. cit.* no. 58, 78 (from the city of Rhodus to its ambassadors). Cf. *Livy* xxxviii. 8. 1, and see *IGLS* v no. 1998 n. 1.

⁴¹ Sherk, *op. cit.* no. 11, 6; no. 15, 18, 36, 52; no. 18, 61.

⁴² Dio lxxi. 15. 4. F. Millar, *JRS* lvi (1966), 157-8 gives examples sent to imperial legates, procurators in the public provinces and the prefect of Egypt in the first century A.D. An inscription from Cos provides an example of ἐντολαί sent to the proconsul of Asia under Claudius (*La Parola del Passato* 1975, 102-4).

⁴³ *SIG*³ no. 799, 11 f. may provide an example of instructions given by the emperor to Antonia Tryphaena concerning the regulation of the succes-

sion in the Thracian dynasty. However, even if we assume stone-cutting errors the text is extraordinarily difficult to understand (see A. Wilhelm, *Anatolian Studies pres. to Sir W. M. Ramsay* (1923), 427-31).

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Graham Burton for discussing the question with me, in advance of a study of the subject to be published in *ZPE* 1976.

⁴⁵ D.6.

⁴⁶ For other Greek inscriptions found at or near Burdur see W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I (1895), 337 f. nos. 171-9. Burdur appears to have been known as Praetoria in late antiquity, a form preserved by the modern name. See E. Honigsmann, *Byzantion* xiv (1939), 654-5. This suggestion was not noticed by G. E. Bean in his discussion of the problem at *AS* 1959, 78, but seems more probable than any of the alternatives canvassed there.

⁴⁷ D.3, 8-14 and restoration in 65; D.10, 34-7; D.12. For the reason, cf. *CTh.* viii. 5. 6: 'iussione nostra cunctis provincialibus intimata'.

⁴⁸ D.6.

⁴⁹ See B. Levick, *op. cit.* (n. 7), ch. iv-v.

found at Apollonia in the north and at Attaleia, the nearest city on the south coast.⁵⁰ Beside these there were unofficial communities of Roman *negotiatores* in the neighbouring cities, substantial at Apamea⁵¹ and smaller at Conana.⁵² Although these Italian or Roman settlers will have constituted a minority in the population they were an important group, whose interests doubtless spread beyond the immediate bounds of the cities and colonies where they were established. It is clear that in the early empire at least many of these families continued to speak Latin,⁵³ and in the light of this the use of the language on the new text becomes intelligible.

Some further points in the preamble call for briefer comment. The fact that both the Latin and the Greek texts call the Emperor Augustus 'the greatest of gods' is paralleled in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius by allusions to τὸν αἰώνιον τοῦ μεγίστου θεῶν Τιβερίου Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος οἶκον (*EJ* no. 352, 3-4) and to τῷ μεγίστῳ κάπιφανεσ(τά)τῳ θεῷ [Γαίῳ] (*SIG³* no. 799, 8-9, both from Cyzicus). Valerius Maximus, writing under Tiberius, also refers to Augustus as 'deorum . . . maximum' (iv. 7. 7).

The term 'princeps optimus' which occurs three times in the Latin version (ll. 7, 14, 19) is rendered in the Greek once by σωτήρ Σεβαστός (l. 30) and twice simply by Σεβαστός (ll. 37, 44). This confirms that it was not a title, as it was to become under Trajan, when we could expect a consistent translation, but simply a complimentary expression (cf. *TLL* s.v. 'bonus', 5 f., 8b). Under the empire the term was similarly used to describe Otho, Nerva and Hadrian (*TLL* s.v. 'bonus' 8b; for Otho see *ILS* 5947). In the case of Trajan the formal translation of the title was ἄριστος, but, as one might expect, he too receives the laudatory epithet 'optimus', translated by μέγιστος, before the official title was conferred (e.g. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 1.2; *Fouilles de Delphes* III. 4 (1970), nos. 292, 2, 6; 293, 2, 7; 294, 2, 13; 295, 1 (ἄριστος αὐτοκρ.), 5).

The preamble also offers the first direct evidence for translating the word *maiestas* by θεϊότης. Characteristically the Greek term, equating majesty with divinity, is more emphatic than the Latin. It has recently been suggested that the Greek θεϊότης was normally equivalent to the term *divinitas* when used of emperors (H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis* (1974), 53), but the new text presents us with a much more plausible alternative. The edict of Germanicus reproaching the Alexandrians for their immoderate acclamations, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἐνλογία παρεπόμενά ἐστιν τῆς ἐκείνων (sc. Augustus and Julia) θεϊότητος (*EJ* no. 320 b. The reading is difficult, see J. H. Oliver, *Riv. Stor. dell. Ant.* I (1971), 229-30, whose own suggestion is unconvincing), and the reference to the θεότης and ἀθανασία of Julia (Smallwood I, no. 380, IX, 5) are other contexts where the new translation may help to illuminate the concept of imperial θεϊότης at this period in the Greek-speaking part of the empire.

The Greek expression δὴ τηρήσω (ll. 29-30) referring to the governor's enforcement of his own register of services, is regularly used in contexts of this sort. We may compare the phrase κατακολουθῶν τῇ καθολικῇ μου προθέσει τοῦ τηρεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀνθυπάτων γραφέντα in the letter of an Augustan proconsul of Asia to Chios (Sherk, op. cit., no. 70, 5), and the use of the same verb in the decision of Avidius Nigrinus on the boundaries of sacred land at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* III. 4, no. 293, 5 f., in the Phrygian *angareia* inscription (D. 14, 33), and elsewhere (e.g. at *JEA* 1935, 232, l. 86).

The remainder of the text comprises the detailed regulations which the governor hoped to enforce. The people of Sagalassus were required to provide transport as far as Cormasa and Conana,⁵⁴ and this clause serves to define the territory of the city, which was extensive. Cormasa lies on its western boundary, and has been tentatively identified with a site near the village of Eḡneş, about fifteen kilometres south and a little west of the Burdur lake.⁵⁵ If the identification is correct Cormasa was about fifty-five kilometres in a direct line from

⁵⁰ As I have argued in a paper for the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara and Izmir 1973.

⁵¹ See Th. Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* VII (1892), 436 f., esp. 442; J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (1919), 122; *MAMA* VI, nos. 180, 183; Strabo XII. 8. 15, 577.

⁵² *IGR* III, no. 325; *SEG* II no. 744.

⁵³ Levick, op. cit. (n. 7), ch. xi-xii.

⁵⁴ l. 13 = 31-2. I prefer to follow the order of the Greek in discussing this problem here.

⁵⁵ G. E. Bean, *AS* IX (1959), 91-7. An inscription from the site (p. 93, no. 42) reads 'C. Iulius C. f.

Papiria natus Cormasa missicius lecinis (sic) VII eques momomentum (sic) f(e)cit sibi et Iulio Iucundo liberto suo' (followed by a shorter Greek version of the same text). Bean comments that he had probably returned to his home town after discharge from service. Since the evidence for the location of Cormasa accords well enough with the site at Eḡneş, the identification is probable though still not proven. Against this it might be argued that *legio* VII had been stationed in south Galatia under Augustus (see n. 11), and that C. Iulius C. f., clearly an early recruit, had retired to a veteran settlement away from his home town.

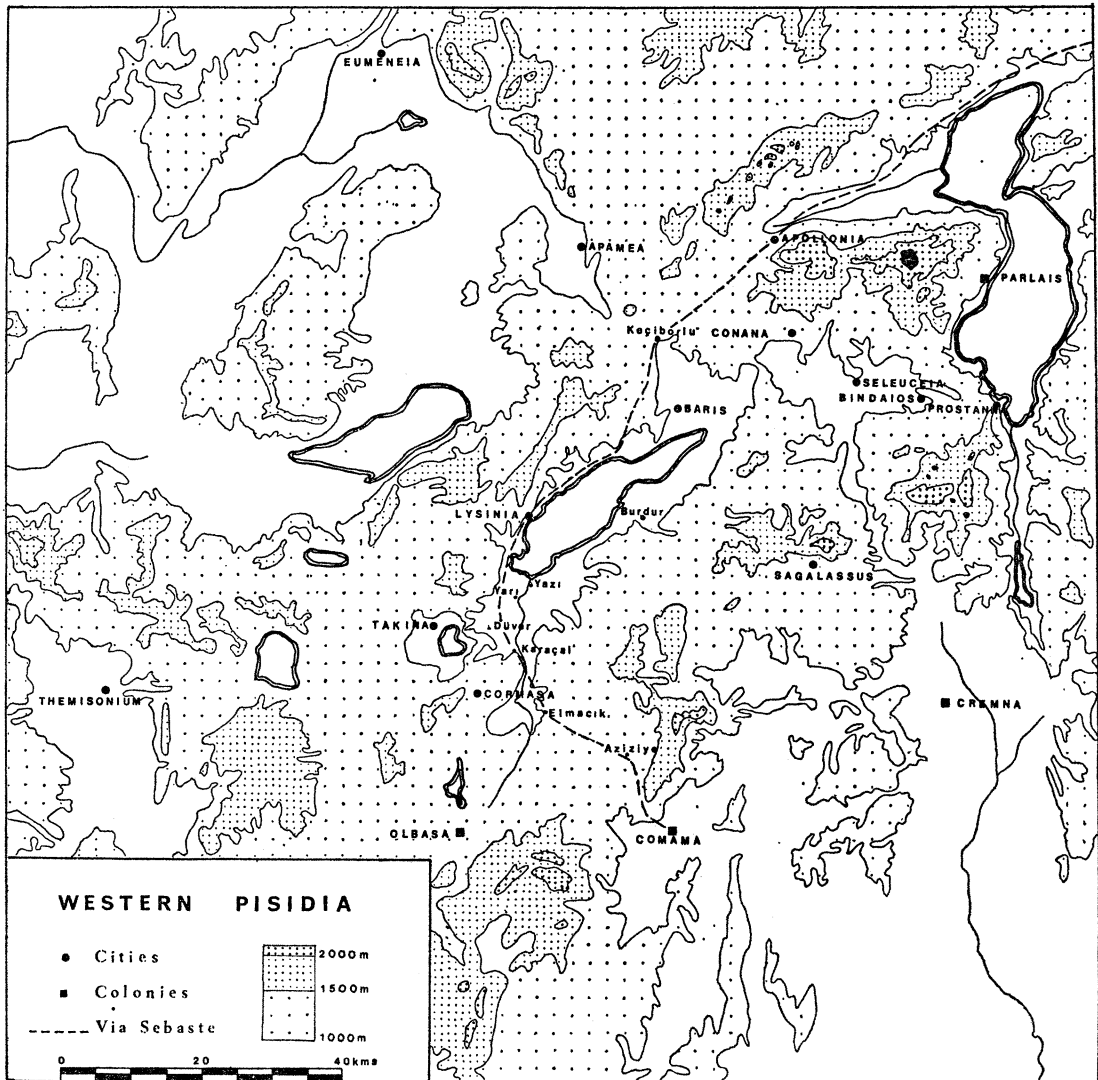


FIG. 1. WESTERN PISIDIA AND THE VIA SEBASTE
Drawn by the author. Copyright reserved.

Sagalassus. This broadly agrees with the evidence we already have for the extent of the city's territory in this direction. A group of inscriptions from Düwer and Yarıköy in the plain south-west of Burdur lake records the settlement of a border dispute between Sagalassus and the village of Tymbrianassus in A.D. 54–5. Bean, publishing new copies of this well-known text, argued that the precise boundary was marked by a small tributary of the Bozçay which runs north into the lake, and he cannot be far from the truth even if his precision is over ambitious.⁵⁶ In this region, therefore, some way to the north of Cormasa, the territory of Sagalassus extended about forty-five kilometres from the city, and no other ancient city sites lay between it and Tymbrianassus.⁵⁷ If the reported find spot of the new inscription, at Burdur itself, is correct, we know that the territory also stretched north to the Burdur lake, and this is supported by the accounts of the march of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C.

⁵⁶ art. cit. 84–8, no. 30, citing previously discovered copies of the text. Two more copies have also been found at Yarıköy (L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII (1960), 596). Statue bases of M. Aurelius and L. Verus and of the tetrarchs set up by Sagalassus have been found at Yazıköy (*IGR* III, no. 332) and Düwer (*IGR* III, no. 336) respectively.

⁵⁷ Hadriani, located by Bean at Gâvur ören between Cormasa and Sagalassus, which set up statues of L. Verus and Caracalla, had presumably been a village before it was promoted to city status by Hadrian. See Bean, *AS* 1959, 108 f. with nos. 79 and 80.

given by Polybius and Livy. After leaving Cormasa, Manlius advanced past a town called Darsa (which has not been identified⁵⁸), and was met by envoys from Lysinia as he marched *πρὸς τὴν λίμνην* ('praeter paludes', clearly to be identified with Burdur lake). Lysinia itself lay on the north shore,⁵⁹ but the account implies that the envoys made a special journey to meet him, and the most appropriate point for their encounter would be at the lake's south-west corner. Following the southern shore from this point Manlius entered the territory of Sagalassus, and probably passed close to Burdur itself. The other extreme of Sagalassian territory mentioned in the inscription, Conana, has long been identified with the village of Gönen, which is about thirty-five kilometres due north of Sagalassus, north-east of the Burdur lake.⁶⁰ In this area there may have been other city sites between Sagalassus and Conana. Baris, to be identified with a ruin-field known as Fari close to the north-eastern tip of the lake, was certainly a city under the empire,⁶¹ but perhaps lay outside the region with which we are concerned. This may not have been the case with the old foundation of Seleuceia Sidera, soon to be renamed Claudioseleuceia.⁶² From its position south-east of Conana we might expect that the territory of Seleuceia lay between Conana and Sagalassus. If so it is possible that Seleuceia had temporarily lost its city status before it was revived by Claudius, but it may be preferable to treat it, and other small city sites around Sagalassus such as Bindaius,⁶³ as the *civitates* mentioned in the preamble, self-governing cities which had been subordinated to Sagalassus, at least for the purpose of administering the transport liturgy. The copy of the edict which has survived does not provide any definition of Sagalassian territory to the east or the south. It is difficult to believe that a ruling concerned with the people of Sagalassus as a whole, as this appears to be, did not apply to its whole territory, and we should probably assume that copies of the edict erected to the south and east of the city defined the geographical limits of the inhabitants' obligations in more appropriate terms. Here Sagalassus bordered on the Roman colonies of Olbasa, Comama and Cremna,⁶⁴ and, to the east, on Prostanna⁶⁵ and Parlais,⁶⁶ another colony.

The city thus commanded an immense area of the mountainous country of central Pisidia. Transport had to be provided over long distances in difficult terrain, and for this reason the city was entitled and expected to share out the burden of supplying mules and waggons with the villages and cities inside these boundaries (ll. 11-12, 34-5). The responsibility for distributing this burden doubtless lay with the city magistrates. During the course of the next three centuries increasing state control meant that this duty was arrogated by the central government,⁶⁷ but certainly as late as 69 local magistrates were expected to procure the transport which official messengers used,⁶⁸ and in the absence of evidence to the contrary we should assume that the same was true at Sagalassus in the early empire.

⁵⁸ W. M. Ramsay at one time suggested that Darsa, which appears only in Livy's version and is not otherwise attested, may have been a fiction of Livy (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I (1895), 327 n. 3, cf. *AS* 1959, 78). Unless further evidence for the place emerges this view is not without its attractions. The problem is discussed by Bean, *AS* 1959, 116-17.

⁵⁹ Pol. XXI. 36 (ed. Büttner-Wobst); Livy XXXVIII. 15. For Lysinia see Bean, op. cit. 78 f., and for a discussion of Manlius' march substantially in agreement with the one given here, *ibid.* 113-16.

⁶⁰ O. Hirschfeld, *M-Ber. Akad. Berl.* 1879, 315-16; *RE* XI, 1308 s.v. 'Konane' (Ruge).

⁶¹ L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 353, n. 4, 596, citing bibliography.

⁶² *RE* IIA, 1204 no. 6 (Ruge); Robert, *Hellenica* X (1955), 243-4. Robert notes that the ruin-field was still known as Selef in 1948.

⁶³ At Findos. See Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques* (1938), 281, n. 3; *CRAI* 1948, 402 = *OMS* III 1455, citing an unpublished inscription of the imperial period showing that it was a city; *Hellenica* X, 240, n. 3.

⁶⁴ See Levick, op. cit. (n. 7), 46 f., 48 f., 50 f.

⁶⁵ Robert, *OMS* III 1455; M. H. Ballance, *AS* IX (1959), 125-9.

⁶⁶ Levick, 53-4. The location of the site at Barla was first demonstrated by L. Robert, cf. E. W. Gray,

CR 1974, 271-2.

⁶⁷ See the argument on p. 120 below. The gradual appearance of stations along the main roads equipped with facilities of all kinds, but above all with remounts, was probably a major factor encouraging this trend. An inscription of the time of Nero mentions *tabernae et praetoria* constructed along the military roads of Thrace (*CIL* III 6123, discussed by Pflaum, op. cit. (p. 112), ch. ii). By the third century there was an extensive network of *mansiones* and *mutationes* covering most of the main roads of the empire (see the *Itineraria Antonini* and *Burdigalense* passim, and the commentary on a Bithynian inscription, which gives details of the personnel of such a station, by Robert, *Hellenica* X, 46-66). However, the absence of any mention of such establishments in the new inscription and in the other first century documents suggests that the system had not yet been created. See also p. 127.

⁶⁸ Plut., *Galba* 8.4; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City* (1940), 328, n. 90 also cites SHA, *Had.* 7.5 and D.8, 5-7. For a similar procedure in the late republic see Caesar, *BC* I. 30 (with II. 18 and III. 42). Compare the responsibility of city magistrates for collecting the *tributum*, P. A. Brunt, *JRS* LXV (1975), 138 and A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy* (ed. Brunt, 1974), 163, n. 71

The system by which a community was responsible for providing transport within a defined area up to the boundary of the territory of a neighbouring community is already familiar from other evidence, although the organization is nowhere made as clear as in the new edict. An inscription of the time of Vespasian from Thasos records the settlement of a boundary dispute between the city and the Roman colony at Philippi.⁶⁹ H.-G. Pflaum has plausibly argued that the dispute concerned property left jointly to Thasos and Philippi by a certain Rebilus, almost certainly the senator C. Caninius Rebilus who had died in 56.⁷⁰ The procurator who governed Thrace, L. Vinuleius Pataecius, told the city that he could not reverse the ruling of a predecessor, L. Antonius (identified by Pflaum with L. Antonius Saturninus who must have been proconsul of Macedonia c. 75), which presumably concerned the territorial aspects of the legacy, but relieved the people of Thasos from providing the transport liturgy (*angareia*) outside their own territory in the future.⁷¹ Even if we do not follow all the details of this interpretation (and the cryptic style of the procurator's letter prevents total assurance), it is clear that the dispute had broken out not on the island of Thasos itself but on the mainland in the Thasian Peraea which adjoined the territory of Philippi to the west and was traversed by a section of the Via Egnatia.⁷² The Thasians therefore, like the people of Sagalassus, must surely have made a practice of subcontracting their transport liturgies to dependent communities on the mainland. The Augustan system, as we see it in Pisidia, was certainly perpetuated in Thrace under Vespasian.

In the same context we may note Tacitus' summary of the appeal of the people of Byzantium from relief from the burdens they had had to bear in recent wars; 'quando ea loca insiderent quae transeuntibus terra marique ducibus exercitibusque, simul vehendo commeatus opportuna forent';⁷³ and the concluding section of Pliny's letter to Trajan on the misfortunes of Juliopolis: 'sunt enim in capite Bithyniae, plurimisque per eam commeantibus transitum praebent'.⁷⁴ The language that both Tacitus and Pliny use indicates clearly that Byzantium and Juliopolis had to provide a passage not only across the city itself but also through its territory.

We see the organization of transport liturgies at a different level in two later documents. An inscription recording the complaints of the village of Dagis on the territory of Histria in lower Moesia shows that there, at least, provisions for official transport had been formally organized at village level by the time of Antoninus Pius.⁷⁵ The inhabitants protested to the governor that they were unequal to the task of providing transport along the main road which ran beside their village, and cited as a precedent the complaints of the neighbouring community of Λαϊκὸς Πύργος which had made a similar approach to an earlier governor. Since the city of Histria is not mentioned at all in the document and the civic authorities play no part in the transaction, it is natural to suppose that they had lost their power to regulate the transport liturgy in the villages by this date. About forty years later the *emporía* founded by Septimius Severus in Thrace were given the privilege of exemption from providing transport, again without any reference to the cities on whose territories they lay.⁷⁶ The third-century inscription from Phrygia recording the dispute between the neighbouring villages of Anosa and Antimacheia supplies more detail.⁷⁷ Here it emerges that the Anoseni were responsible for all official transport for a distance of four and five miles from their village along roads running to Meirus, Synnada, Amorium and possibly other destinations, while the Antimacheni had a particular obligation on the road to Amorium and Ancyra.⁷⁸ As in the inscription from Moesia, the villages had been assigned sections of the roads along which they were to supply transport. In addition, details of the dispute show that the

⁶⁹ D.5.

⁷⁰ Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 30. 3; H.G. Pflaum, *Journal des Savants* 1959, 79 f.

⁷¹ τῆς ἀναγείας ὑμᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπολύω παρῆξ ὧν διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας.

⁷² For the Thasian Peraea see Dunant and Pouilloux, *op. cit.* (p. 111) I and II, index s.v. The map opposite 1, 8 appears to show the course of the Via Egnatia.

⁷³ Tac. *Ann.* XII. 62. 2, cf. 63. 3.

⁷⁴ D.7.

⁷⁵ D.9, A. I. 9 f. ἡ[μεῖς] κατοικοῦντες [καὶ] ἔχοντες τὴν κώ[μην] παρὰ τὴν δημοσί[αν] ἑῶν βαρούμεθα [ταῖς] λιτουργίαις καὶ ἀ[ναγείαις] ὑπηρετοῦν[τες]. (B. I. 6f.) [πολλά]κις τοῦ ἔτους, ὧ[σ]τε ἡμᾶς μηκέτι δύνασθε ἐξυπηρετεῖν, κα[θ]᾽ ὧ[σ]περ καὶ οὐκ ἐξυπηρετήσαν οἱ[ι] ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου οἰκουμένης Λαϊκοῦ Πύργου ὅθεν ὠδύετο αὕτη ἡ δημοσία ὁδὸς τὸ πρῶτον, οἷτινες μὴ ὑποφέροντες [τ]ῆς τε λιτουργίας καὶ τὰς ἀ[ναγείας] τῶν τότε χρό[ν]ω ἐπέδωκαν βυ[β]λε[ι]δίων Ἄ[ν]τωνίω Ἰ[β]ήρω...

⁷⁶ D.11, 50 f.

⁷⁷ D.14.

⁷⁸ ll. 4-7.

extent of their obligations was determined in proportion to the *apophora* which they paid.⁷⁹ Pekáry argues that this *apophora* was either a ground tax or a ground rent, due in either case to the imperial authorities,⁸⁰ and if he is right it is again clear that the organization of official transport had passed out of the hands of the cities and was regulated by the central government.⁸¹

In contrast to the Phrygian *angareia* inscription, and the complaint from the village of Dagis, neither the new edict nor the letter to Thasos specifies a particular road or roads along which transport was to be supplied. The reason for this was surely that a city territory as large as that of Sagalassus (or Thasos) comprised a considerable number of roads and routes for which it was responsible, not all of which passed through the city itself, and yet any one of which might be used by the governing authorities. Further, although the bulk of traffic will have travelled along the main arteries of communication, both the routine business of gathering supplies for the troops and extraordinary circumstances such as guerilla warfare in the mountains, always a possibility in the Taurus,⁸² would require transport off these main roads, and the government needed to frame its regulations in such a way that services could be legally obtained for all these eventualities.

The fact that not all traffic moved along the main roads also provides the best explanation of the unexpected use of the *schoenus* as a measure of distance in the edict. In the eastern part of the empire, even at this early date, distances along main roads would naturally be measured in Roman miles, found, for instance, on the Augustan milestones of the Via Sebaste, which ran through parts of Pisidia, and on the republican milestones of the province of Asia.⁸³ The use of the Roman mile, however, need not have extended beyond these newly-built highways to the footpaths and tracks which linked the mountain villages. It was therefore necessary to employ a unit which could be applied off the main roads, and which would be intelligible to all sections of the community, and in particular to the peasants called upon to provide pack and draft animals. If this reasoning is correct, we may infer that the *schoenus* was the unit of distance most familiar to the inhabitants of Pisidia in the early empire. We learn from Herodotus that it was an Egyptian measure, sixty stades in length.⁸⁴ According to Artemidorus and Theophanes of Mytilene, quoted by Strabo, the term was still current in Egypt in the first century B.C., when it measured thirty stades, and in Armenia, where it was estimated at forty stades. Strabo himself confirms its use in the Augustan period, when it was variously estimated at between thirty and 120 stades.⁸⁵ The elder Pliny also records that it was not a fixed measure of distance. He gives Eratosthenes' estimate of forty stades, notes that others reduced it to only thirty-two, and adds in another passage that even the Persians attributed varying lengths to the parasang and the *schoenus*.⁸⁶ This suggests both that the Persians might be expected to speak with some authority on the subject and that the *schoenus* was associated in some way with the parasang. Hero of Alexandria, also writing in the first century A.D., likewise equated the *schoenus* with the parasang, although he too estimated its length on different occasions as thirty and forty-eight stades.⁸⁷ This evidence is enough to suggest that the *schoenus* was a Greek equivalent of the Persian word 'parasang', the basic unit of distance in the Persian empire. It occurs in passages relating to areas which fall within the boundaries of the old Persian empire – Egypt,

⁷⁹ II. 8–13.

⁸⁰ *Untersuchungen zu den röm. Reichsstrassen*, 148 f. esp. 153; compare the evidence from Egypt cited by F. Zucker, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1911, 805–6.

⁸¹ However, the question is somewhat obscured by the fact that both villages appear to have been on an imperial estate and may have lain outside city jurisdiction in any case. See F. Millar, *Historia* XIII (1964), 186; P. A. Brunt, *Latomus* xxv (1966), 483 f.; G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux* (1970), 417 f.

⁸² Since c. 40 B.C. there had been a succession of major and minor conflicts in Pisidia and Isauria. See R. Syme, *Klio* 1934, 122 f. for campaigns under Augustus, and *Anatolian Studies pres. to W. H. Buckler* (1938), 299–332 for the earlier period. Also Levick op. cit. (n. 7), ch. ii–iii and Appendix 5. Later

Q. Veranius, the first governor of Lycia, 43–8, had to deal with rebellious tribesmen in Cilicia Tracheia (A. E. Gordon, *Q. Veranius, consul A.D. 49* (1950), 248 f.) and the Cilician Cietae were a constant menace (Tac., *Ann.* vi. 41; xii. 55). For the late empire see J. Rougé, 'L'Histoire Auguste et Isaurie dans le IV^e siècle', *REA* LXVIII (1966), 282–315.

⁸³ References to the Via Sebaste are collected by Levick, op. cit. (n. 7), n. 1. For republican roads in Asia see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950) II, 1048–9.

⁸⁴ II. 6.

⁸⁵ Strabo xvii. 1. 24, 804; xi. 14. 11, 530.

⁸⁶ *NH* vi. 124; xii. 53.

⁸⁷ *Geometrica* xxiii. 20, 43. See also Daremberg, *Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. 'Schoenus'.

Armenia, Persia itself and now Pisidia – and was still in the Julio-Claudian period a familiar form of measurement in all of them. We may conclude that the parasang, which the Persians had introduced into their satrapies, established itself as the prevalent unit of distance among the native populations of the empire and survived the demise of Persian rule at least until the early principate.⁸⁸ It represented the distance which could be travelled in an hour, varying according to the type of transport available and the nature of the terrain, thus causing the apparent discrepancy in the sources concerning its length. It was particularly suitable for use in areas which had not been penetrated by carefully surveyed roads, and where time, rather than distance, was the unit in which journeys were reckoned.

Although the regulations were designed to accommodate transport in all parts of the city's territory, the great bulk of the traffic, especially the waggons repeatedly mentioned in the text, presumably did travel along the main routes. In this neighbourhood the most important of these was the Via Sebaste, completed by 6 B.C., which served to connect Augustus' Pisidian colonies with one another.⁸⁹ David French has recently traced the western branch of this road from Antioch to Apollonia, and thence through Keçiborlu, along the north side of Burdur lake, and between the villages of Yarıköy and Düwer, through Karaçal, Elmacık, Sarıseki, Aziziye and Dozlar to Ürkütlü, the site of Comama.⁹⁰ It thus passes some distance to the east of the supposed site of Cormasa at Eğneş. However, it does not approach Conana, which was more than fifteen kilometres from the road at its nearest point, or Sagalassus itself, and indeed hardly enters the city's territory as defined above.⁹¹ It is, of course, likely that the people of Sagalassus were expected to supply a major road which skirted their territory, just as the Thasians supplied the Via Egnatia,⁹² but this may not have comprised the major part of their commitment. They will have been responsible for all the other roads and tracks used by officials in the course of their duties. In the particular instance represented by the new inscription it would be unnatural for the inhabitants of an ancient village at Burdur to supply the Via Sebaste which ran on the opposite side of the lake from where they lived. The site where the inscription was found in fact lies almost exactly half way between Cormasa and Conana, and we may suppose that they served a more direct route running across the territory of Sagalassus between these two points. No traces of this, however, have yet been discovered on the ground.

The regulations of the edict cover three forms of transport, the *carrum* or waggon, and two types of pack animal, the mule and the donkey.⁹³ Like most of the Latin words for carts or carriages, *carrum* (or *carrus* ⁹⁴) is a term of Gallic origin generally used to denote a transport waggon.⁹⁵ There is no evidence that the *carrum* was built to a precise specification, and the word is used by Caesar and other authors to describe any type of cart designed to transport bulky goods.⁹⁶ In the later empire the prices edict of Diocletian implies that it could have two or four wheels and that one type, at least, could carry a load of 1200 *librae*.⁹⁷ However, neither this figure, nor the maximum load of 600 *librae* prescribed by the Theodosian Code,⁹⁸ should be taken as an accurate guide to the vehicle's capacity at this date, still less in the early empire.⁹⁹ Officers commandeering transport in the provinces

⁸⁸ It may thus be added to the other evidence for the survival of Persian institutions in Graeco-roman Asia Minor. See, most recently, L. Robert, *CRAI* 1975, 306–30.

⁸⁹ See n. 82.

⁹⁰ The relevant portions of the road were traced on the ground in July 1975. I am very grateful to David French for making this information available to me in advance of detailed publication.

⁹¹ See p. 117 f.

⁹² See p. 120.

⁹³ The Greek text, which is less tightly worded than the Latin here, allows the alternatives of ζευκτά for κάρρα and ναποφόροι for ἡμίονοι, translating waggons and mules respectively, but the general sense and the Latin version show that these were exact equivalents.

⁹⁴ For the gender see *TLL* s.v. citing Nonius

Marcellus p. 195. 6.

⁹⁵ See *TLL* s.v. and P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine* I (1968), 151 f.

⁹⁶ Note especially Caesar, *BG* I. 26. 1; IV. 14. 4; VII. 18. 3; VIII. 14. 2.

⁹⁷ xv. 38 f. and xvii. 4 (*ed.* Lauffer, 1970); see also the new fragment from Aphrodisias in *JRS* 1973, 102, l. 4, with comment on p. 106. P. Vigneron, *op. cit.* I, 152 with II. figs. 89a and b, assumes that it was generally a two-wheeled vehicle, of the type illustrated on Trajan's column. I can find no basis for this assumption.

⁹⁸ *CTh.* VIII. 5. 47.

⁹⁹ For the reliability of the Theodosian Code as a guide to the capacity of waggons see J. Sion, *Annales* 1935, 628–9.

would have had to take whatever vehicles the local inhabitants could provide.¹⁰⁰ These could have been pulled by oxen or mules. Domitian mentions the use of ὑποζύγια in a context clearly referring to oxen,¹⁰¹ the Phrygian *angareia* inscription mentions πρῶτηλα, heavy ox-drawn carts,¹⁰² and the peasants of Arague complained that their plough teams were illegally pressed into the transport service.¹⁰³ In particular, ox-drawn vehicles were regularly used for moving quarried stone or heavy masonry needed for building works.¹⁰⁴ In areas where mules or donkeys were in short supply they were surely procured for more conventional purposes, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were used to transport official personnel and their baggage if other means could be found. Officials requisitioning transport for their own use would doubtless have chosen mule-drawn carts for preference.¹⁰⁵ Broadly speaking, waggons in any form were probably much less used than pack animals in the mountainous terrain of Pisidia. Mules and donkeys were both more versatile and more efficient, and could operate without the built roads or tracks which a waggon needed.¹⁰⁶

This section of the inscription provides the first detailed evidence on rates of payment for requisitioned transport. Unfortunately the information is insufficient either to enable us to compare these official rates with the cost of the same service on the open market, or to estimate transport costs relative to the value of the objects transported. At least until the reign of Domitian, and probably throughout the principate, the regulations continued to require a hiring payment, even if they frequently passed unobserved. The edicts of Germanicus and Aemilius Rectus both stipulate that payment be made for animals, and Domitian refers to excessive requisitioning as ὑποζυγίων μισθώσεις, implying that this was still the case during his reign.¹⁰⁷ The later evidence is less clear, but in Egypt in the second century camels for the state transport service were supplied ἐπὶ μισθοφορᾷ.¹⁰⁸ However, we can guess that officials and soldiers who were entitled to free *hospitium* were inclined to demand that their transport should also be provided free.¹⁰⁹

The next section of the text (ll. 13–21, 35–47) defines the categories of officials who were entitled to use the service and the amount of transport they could claim. Both in the Latin and in the Greek the syntax of the first part of this passage is confused.

ll. 13 f. As I understand it the sentence ‘neque tamen omnibus huius rei ius erit sed procuratori . . . filioque eius, usu dato . . . usque ad carra decem . . . quibus eodem tempore utentur, soluturi pretium . . .’, which breaks awkwardly into an ablative absolute at ‘usu dato’ and then resurrects the indirect object of the original clause as the subject of the relative clause ‘quibus . . . utentur’, could be better expressed ‘neque tamen omnibus . . .

¹⁰⁰ This makes it almost impossible to estimate the size of a normal waggon load. The best we can do is to compare the rate of hire for a *carrum*, ten *asses per schoenum*, with four *asses per schoenum* for a mule. This suggests that the *carrum* carried between 2½ and 3 times as much as a mule. The carrying capacity of a mule is variously estimated. C. A. Yeo, in a study of land transport in Roman Italy, suggests that a ‘pack ass’ (presumably a mule) could carry about 250 English pounds (*TAPA LXXVII* (1946), 225), while Vigneron suggests an upper limit of 150 kilograms (op. cit. I, 147–9). The *carrum* might therefore be expected to carry between 625 and 950 pounds. These figures, however, are wretchedly imprecise and, combined with the variable length of the *schoenus* already discussed, preclude any attempt to assess even the approximate cost of the service in comparison with transport prices on the open market (for which see R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974), 366 f.).

¹⁰¹ D.6, 11, 30–1. The ὑποζύγιον of D.1, 13 could be a carriage drawn by mules or other draft animals.

¹⁰² D.14, 4. Pekáry, op. cit. (p. 112), 136, makes the attractive suggestion that these were used to transport marble from the nearby quarries at Docimium.

¹⁰³ D.16, 21. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 3109 for oxen requisitioned for military purposes under Valerian and Gallienus. However, these purposes may have been confined to

ploughing (ἐπιτηδειστότας πρὸς ἔρπον, l. 27). See also *CTh.* VIII. 5. 1, 11.

¹⁰⁴ G. Fougères, *Journal des Savants* 1924, 229–32; A. Burford, ‘Heavy Transport in Classical Antiquity’, *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XIII (1960), 1–18; Vigneron, op. cit. (n. 95) I, 153–5.

¹⁰⁵ In mountainous districts, such as Pisidia, mules might have been more readily available than oxen, while the reverse might be the case in agricultural plain land. It has been suggested that the ox-drawn cart is a feature of steppe or plateau land, not of the mountainous fringes of the Mediterranean. The hypothesis might be worth testing in Anatolia, by comparing the distribution of the ox-drawn solid-wheeled cart with that of lighter waggons.

¹⁰⁶ See, above all, J. Sion, ‘Quelques problèmes de transport dans l’antiquité’, *Annales d’Histoire Economique et Sociale* 1935, 628–33, criticizing the view of Lefebvre des Noettes, *L’attelage, le cheval de selle à travers les âges*² (1931). See also Vigneron, op. cit. (n. 95) I, 147–9; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Eng. trans. of 1966 ed., 1972) I, 282–4.

¹⁰⁷ D.1, 19–21; D.3, 5–7; D.6, 11.

¹⁰⁸ J. Lesquier, *L’armée romaine d’Égypte* (1919), 369–74.

¹⁰⁹ See below p. 127 f.

ius erit, sed procuratori . . . filioque eius, qui non plus quam decem carris . . . eodem tempore utentur, soluturi pretium . . .’.

ll. 35 f. The Greek is also difficult. I take it to be a very close rendering of the Latin. The phrase οἷς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν χρήσονται translates ‘quibus utentur’.¹¹⁰ In the following sentence the Sagalassians are to be understood as the subject of παραστῆσαι ἀνάγκην ἔξουσιν (l. 43), although the previous clause had been cast in an impersonal passive form.

It is no surprise that the regulations give priority to the imperial procurator, entitling him to obtain the maximum amount of transport for his own use. Apart from the fact that he was the second ranking official in the province, such scanty evidence as survives from the early empire shows that the procurators had special responsibilities for provisioning and supplying both troops and officials.¹¹¹ The Augustan procurators of Hispania Citerior were charged with paying the troops in the province, and probably with supplying their material needs as well;¹¹² under Claudius an inscription from Cibyra in Lycia apparently refers to illegal exactions of grain by an official called Tiberius Nicephorus, who was probably the provincial procurator,¹¹³ and it is interesting that Domitian’s *mandata* on the transport system were addressed to the procurator in Syria (as well, perhaps, as to other officials) presumably not because he was legally responsible for enforcing the regulations, but because he used the system more extensively than anyone else.¹¹⁴ Caelius Florus, another procurator of Lycia, had the duty of organizing transport and supplies for the passage of the emperor Trajan,¹¹⁵ and Marius Maximus, legate of Syria in 208, gave instructions to the procurator there to see that the troops provided hospitality and billeting (*xenia*) to a Parthian embassy.¹¹⁶ It is significant that legal texts referring to immunity from liturgies, including those connected with transport and the provision of hospitality, sometimes refer to this as ἀλειτουρησία ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν, implying that the regulation of these services was the business of the procurator.¹¹⁷

If we are right to suppose that the procurator was regularly responsible for arranging food supplies and shelter for official personnel and the army, and it is difficult to see who else might have done this, it would be necessary that he used the transport system continually, and had a major interest in seeing that it operated smoothly. On the other hand there is no evidence for the role of the procurator’s son in provincial administration, and the information that he had the same privileges as his father is unprecedented and unexpected. We know that senators who administered provinces as proconsuls or imperial legates often took their sons on to their staff, but there is no comparable evidence for equestrian officials. It would not, of course, be surprising to learn that some procurators employed a son’s services in the provinces where they operated, but this can hardly have happened in every case even when a procurator did have a son of an appropriate age to serve under him. The best way to avoid this curious anomaly is to assume an error in the text at this point, and read ‘filius eius’ in place of ‘filioque eius’ in the Latin version. If we do so, the reference is to Tiberius, the son of the *princeps optimus*, who must be Augustus (see p. 113). Sotidius will have had in mind the current incumbent of the post, appointed, like himself, by Augustus, although future procurators could not be described in this way. The Greek version cannot be emended so simply, since the reading required is καὶ τῷ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρόπῳ, involving a major transposition of the text as it stands. We should therefore

¹¹⁰ See the notes on the text. Perhaps read the passive χρησθή[σ]ονται which could either have been used in place of the expected middle form, or show that the author had also been bewildered by the construction of his own sentence.

¹¹¹ cf. R. W. Davies, *Britannia* II (1971), 123.

¹¹² Strabo III. 4. 20, 167: οἱ διανεμόντες τὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ βίου. The last phrase suggests that goods and services as well as money were involved.

¹¹³ IGR IV no. 914, ll. 11–15, discussed by D. Magie, *Studies in Roman Social and Economic History in Honour of A. C. Johnson* (1951), 152–4. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*², 700, n. 21 assumes that Tiberius Nicephorus had been the procurator, which seems more

probable than Magie’s suggestion that he was a minor treasury official.

¹¹⁴ D.6. The procurator was certainly the procurator of Syria, not a domanial official concerned with imperial estates, see F. Millar, *JRS* 1963, 199.

¹¹⁵ IGR III no. 738 = *TAM* II. 3 no. 908, sect. iva. See Millar, loc. cit.

¹¹⁶ C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink and J. F. Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura Europos V.1. The Parchments and Papyri* (1959), 222 ff., no. 60. See M. I. Rostovtzeff, *CRAI* 1933, 315–23; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs Equestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain* (1950), 156–7.

¹¹⁷ Modestinus, *Dig.* xxvii. 1. 6. 8, 14.

assume that the mistake occurred in the original draft of the Latin, and escaped undetected to be perpetuated in the Greek translation and carved on the stone in both versions.¹¹⁸

Although the procurator was entitled to up to ten waggons or three pack mules in place of each waggon, he was presumably not allowed to take more than ten pack mules at any one time, in accordance with the first clause of the regulations which fixed this as a maximum.¹¹⁹

The next section of the text, which gives details of the other officials entitled to use the transport system, presents difficulties both of translation and of interpretation.¹²⁰ It appears that all potential users are described as *militantes*. The use of this term to cover all officials other than the procurator who might require transport is worthy of comment. It underlines the fact that the regulations concerning the requisition and supply of transport were primarily designed for the convenience of the armies. Whatever uses requisitioned transport may in practice have served, its prime purpose was to ensure that military personnel could be moved quickly from place to place, and to enable the commissariat to function efficiently. The *militantes* are then subdivided into the two categories of 'ii qui diplomum habebunt' and 'ii qui ex alis provinciis militantes commeabunt'.¹²¹

Here, two related problems arise. First, in what does the distinction between the two categories reside; and second, do the clauses running from 'ita ut' to 'eadem condicione' (l. 21), defining the number of carts and waggons which individuals of different ranks might obtain, apply to both categories, or only to the second? The answers to these questions are related, and appear to hang ultimately on the interpretation of the word *diplomum*. The letters of Pliny from Bithynia show that in the time of Trajan a provincial governor would be given a batch of diplomas at the beginning of each year by the emperor to be distributed as necessary to persons within his province. These diplomas would evidently be valid for the whole length of a journey, whether or not it went beyond a provincial boundary.¹²² Under this system there would be no obvious need to distinguish, as the new inscription does, between people holding a diploma (presumably locally issued) and officials travelling from other provinces, who would have the same imperial authorization and an identical document, even though it had been issued to them in another province.

However, there is good evidence to suggest that the system in the late republic and the early empire was different from that which we find in the letters of Pliny. Little is known about the use of diplomas for official transport during the republic, but since Cicero attacks Piso in the *in Pisonem* for distributing them too freely while he was proconsul of Macedonia,¹²³ it is a fair inference that governors with *imperium* in the provinces were entitled to issue them for official business, and that this was done without reference to any higher authority.¹²⁴ Under the principate, as one would expect, the emperors could issue their own diplomas both for transport and for other purposes,¹²⁵ but this right was not, apparently, restricted to them. The prefects of Egypt L. Aemilius Rectus and Cn. Vergilius

¹¹⁸ If the stone cutter had been responsible we would have expected him to have been correct in at least one version.

¹¹⁹ For similar limits to the amount that could be obtained from any one place, see *CTh.* VIII. 5. 35.

¹²⁰ My orientation here owes much to several suggestions made to me by Professor Brunt.

¹²¹ It is preferable to translate the clauses 'et iis . . . et iis . . .' as 'both those who . . . and those who . . .' in this way, rather than to treat the 'et . . . et' as linking three independent categories comprising 1) *militantes* 2) 'ii qui diplomum habebunt' and 3) 'ii qui . . . commeabunt'. If this had been the meaning intended we would expect that only the last element would be attached with a *-que*. This rule is not invariable, and l. 24 of the Latin text provides a good counter-example ('omnibus in comitatu nostro et militantibus . . . et princ. opt. libertis et servis et iumentis eorum'); but the Greek version supports the interpretation I have adopted. If three categories were intended the Greek would not run τοῖς στρατευομένοις καὶ . . . καὶ, but τοῖς τε στρατευο-

μένοις καὶ . . . καὶ, which is the construction we find in the Greek version of l. 24 (ll. 49-51). However, Prof. R. G. M. Nisbet points out that this grammatical argument is unsound, which therefore casts doubt on the interpretation offered.

¹²² Pliny, *Ep.* x. 45-6, 64, 83, 120-1 with Sherwin-White's notes. See also Pflaum, *op. cit.* (p. 112), 231 f.

¹²³ *In Pisonem* 90.

¹²⁴ Other references to diplomas at this date are not very helpful on this point (Cic., *ad Att.* x. 17. 4; *ad Fam.* vi. 12. 3). However, Cato in 164 B.C. alludes to the right he had had as a governor to issue *evectioes*, which seem to be equivalent to diplomas (quoted in Fronto II. 44 (Haines) = Malcovati, *ORF*² 71, fr. 173). *Evectio* reappears with this meaning in the fourth century A.D. (*CTh.* VIII. 5. passim).

¹²⁵ See principally Suet., *Aug.* 50, which, despite Pflaum, *op. cit.*, ch. ii, need not refer exclusively to diplomas for the postal or transport service; cf. Seneca, *De Clem.* I. 10. 3; Suet., *Gaius* 38; *Nero* 12.

Capito both gave orders that no one should requisition transport without their diplomas (ἄτερ τοῦ ἐμοῦ διπλώματος D.2, 3-4; εἰ μή τινες ἐμὰ διπλώματα ἔχουσιν D.3, 25). The use of the possessive ἐμός in both cases would be misleading if it referred to documents issued by the emperors and merely distributed by the prefects of Egypt. The natural assumption is that Aemilius Rectus and Vergilius Capito were responsible for their issue and their distribution alike.¹²⁶ As late as A.D. 69, rumours circulated that Cluvius Rufus, the legate of Hispania Citerior, had treasonable intentions because he had not inscribed the name of the emperor at the top of the diplomas he gave out.¹²⁷ This too clearly implies that governors normally issued these documents in their own right, although they naturally prefaced them with the name of the reigning emperor.¹²⁸ Provincial governors were not the only officials with this authority. In the same year the consuls had issued diplomas to enable public slaves carrying news of the senate's decisions to Galba to obtain carriages for the journey from municipal magistrates *en route*. The action incensed the praetorian prefect, Nymphidius Sabinus, who thought that he should have issued documents for this purpose to his own soldiers.¹²⁹ Despite the conflict of interest between the parties concerned, nothing here suggests that either the consuls or the praetorian prefect were or would have been infringing an imperial prerogative. However, the change which is explicit in the Bithynian letters of Pliny had come by the reign of Domitian, whose *mandata* in the Syrian inscription emphasized very strongly that no one could requisition transport without a diploma issued by the emperor himself.¹³⁰ We should evidently attribute the tightening of the system either to Domitian himself, or to Vespasian who, as we know from his son, had also taken pains to protect the provincials from oppressive requisitioning.¹³¹

In the light of this it is possible to see the required distinction in the time of Tiberius between 'ii qui diplomum habebunt' and travellers from other provinces. The former would have received their authorization from the provincial governor, whose name and official seal, which was required on the diploma,¹³² would be familiar to the local inhabitants and a sufficient guarantee of the document's authenticity. The latter would have received diplomas from the relevant authority in the province where they had begun their journey, but this would carry far less conviction. The name and seal of the issuing magistrate might well be unfamiliar, and forgery therefore much easier. Modestinus in the *Digest* and inscriptions show that such forgeries were well known.¹³³

The official travellers from other provinces, therefore, had to be distinguished by different means, and I am inclined to suppose that the qualifying clauses beginning at 'ita ut' are designed to do this. Strictly speaking, so long as the road users named in this section could prove that they belonged to one of the ranks specified, they had no need to produce special authorization to claim transport, since all, *a fortiori*, were engaged in official business. Senators required special permission from the emperor to travel in the provinces (apart from Sicily and, later, Gallia Narbonensis) under any circumstances,¹³⁴ and this in itself would have entitled them to transport. Knights were under no such restriction, but their status is further defined as members of the imperial service, that is to say procurators of other provinces or of imperial domains, praesidial prefects, or officers in the legionary or auxiliary forces, all of whom could clearly claim official transport. Centurions, unless they were absconding, would also always be acting in state service, either detached for a special mission or simply passing through to join another unit. Needless to

¹²⁶ Although the word diploma is not used, it is worth noting that both Germanicus and his friend Baebius could authorize transport requisitions in Egypt in A.D. 19 (D.I, 13-15).

¹²⁷ Tac., *Hist.* II. 65.

¹²⁸ Possibly as much to provide them with a date as to give them authority, cf. Sherwin-White on Pliny, *Ep.* x. 45-6. Compare Plutarch, *Otho* 3 and Tac., *Hist.* II. 54.

¹²⁹ Plutarch, *Galba* 8.

¹³⁰ D.6, 18-19. Compare *CTh.* VIII. 5. 5.

¹³¹ D.6, 10-12.

¹³² For the seals on diplomas note especially Plut., *Galba* 8. 4, τὰ καλούμενα διπλώματα σεσημασμένα, and Suet., *Aug.* 50, showing that Augustus used his own seals on all diplomas, *epistulae* and *libelli* (cf. Pliny,

NH xxxvii. 10 and Dio LI. 3. 4 f.). Pliny, who used his own personal seal to guarantee a package sent to Trajan (*Ep.* x. 74. 3), was apparently required to counter-stamp the imperial diplomas which he distributed (*Ep.* x. 45; 'Vereor enim, ne in alterutram partem ignorantia lapsus aut *inlicita confirmem* aut necessaria impediam'). For official seals in general see L. Wenger, *RE* IIa, 2361-2448, esp. 2440 f. s.v. 'signum'.

¹³³ Modestinus, *Dig.* XLVIII. 10. 27. 2. There are also references to unauthorized documents in D.6, 20-1 and in D.4, 11 where the word *falsa* appears.

¹³⁴ Dio LII. 42. 6-7, cf. Tac., *Ann.* XII. 23. See Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* III, 2, 912-3 citing other references.

say these provisions to protect the provincials from exploitation could also be circumvented. Apart from the story in Valerius Maximus cited above, of the man who claimed transport on the strength of praetorian insignia which he did not possess, Modestinus also prescribes the strongest penalties in this connection for those who feigned a higher rank than they in fact held.¹³⁵

The carefully structured hierarchy by which men of differing rank were entitled to varying numbers of waggons and pack animals seems to have survived at least until the fourth century, when we learn that a *vicarius* was entitled to claim up to ten horses and thirty mules, a regulation which surely indicates that officials of other ranks had different rights.¹³⁶

In the next clause of the edict (ll. 21-3, 47-9), the governor explicitly forbade private individuals to claim official transport to carry grain or similar products for their own use or profit, and rejected after scrutiny the claim that they should be supplied with anything for their own, their freedmen's or their slaves' baggage trains. We may deduce from this that an appreciable amount of private traffic carrying bulky goods travelled through or within the territory of Sagalassus, and had become a burden to the inhabitants. The edict does not tell us whether the oppression generally came from landowners moving the products of their own estates to the cities, which must have happened regularly, or from entrepreneurs moving grain and other similar goods longer distances from one market to another to take advantage of a better price. This was especially liable to happen in times of shortage when the price of grain rose and the normally high cost of transport appeared relatively cheap. It was perhaps on such occasions that oppressive requisitioning would be felt as a particularly serious form of injustice liable to attract the governor's attention.¹³⁷

The final section of the edict (ll. 23-5, 49-52) relates to the provision of *mansio* or *στοθμός*, for the governor's staff, persons on military service, and the emperor's slaves and freedmen. The use of the word *mansio* is interesting in this context. In meaning it is evidently equivalent to the term *hospitium* which, like Greek *ξενία*, acquired the technical sense of hospitality provided to soldiers and other officially authorized persons.¹³⁸ *Mansio* in this abstract sense is found in republican authors such as Terence and Cicero,¹³⁹ and in the elder Pliny,¹⁴⁰ but from the early empire on it is much more commonly used to denote a designated resting or stopping place, precisely translated by *στοθμός* or, later, by *μονή*.¹⁴¹ As such it became a technical term for the halting places of the imperial post and transport system, found above all in the surviving itineraries of the third and fourth centuries.¹⁴² In the new inscription the word (and the translation *στοθμός*) has been used in connection with the transport system, but without the technical significance it later acquired, supplying good evidence that the extensive system of *mansiones* had not yet been created.

The terms of this section call to mind the republican *Lex Iulia de repetundis* of 59 B.C. which regulated the provision of hospitality to officials in the provinces. Cicero in the correspondence relating to his proconsulship of Cilicia indicates that a provincial governor,

¹³⁵ *Dig.* XLVIII. 10. 27. 2; see n. 16 above. Some confirmation for the interpretation of the text proposed here comes from the argument advanced by Pflaum that an imperial diploma not only gave the holder permission to claim transport but also specified the number of animals and waggons to which he was entitled (op. cit. 321-2, citing *CIL* VIII 1027). This short sepulchral epigram set up by a government messenger (*tabellarius*) for himself contains the phrase 'diploma circavi totam regionem pedestrem', meaning apparently 'with the help of a diploma I have covered the whole region on foot'. Since the *tabellarius* evidently used neither carts nor animals, Pflaum argues that the diploma gave details of the *hospitium* and other basic necessities to which he was entitled, and suggests that such documents would, where appropriate, give similar particulars of the means of transport required. If this is correct, it adds support to the view that the clauses beginning at 'ita ut' only qualify the second category of official traveller. These details would be otiose if

they were already listed on a valid diploma.

¹³⁶ *CTh.* VIII. 5. 38.

¹³⁷ For the effect of the high cost of overland transport see Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*², 599-600, 700-1; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), 841 f. esp. 844-5; P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (1971), 703 f. I suspect, however, that the case may be overstated, and that land transport of bulky, low-cost materials was commoner than they suggest.

¹³⁸ See *TLL* s.v. 'hospitium', 'mansio'; Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v. 'mansio', 1; Pflaum, op. cit. (p. 112), 339 f.

¹³⁹ Terence, *Phormio* 1012; Cic., *ad Fam.* IV. 4. 5; *ad Att.* VIII. 15. 2, IX. 5. 1.

¹⁴⁰ *NH* XII. 65; Suet., *Titus* 10. 1 is ambiguous.

¹⁴¹ See *TLL* and W. Kubitschek *RE* XIV, 1233-52 s.v. 'mansio'.

¹⁴² See n. 67. *Μονή* appears in this technical sense on the Phrygian *angareia* inscription, D.14, 3. For *mansio* see also *MAMA* VII no. 305, 23 (Orcistus, reign of Constantine).

his legates and his quaestor were technically entitled to claim shelter, beds, food, fodder and other necessities without payment, both while travelling to their province and during their term of office there.¹⁴³ Cicero also took pains to point out that he and his staff had carefully refrained from exploiting this privilege, unlike others who were not so scrupulous. It is evident from many other passages that much of the injustice which provincials suffered at the hands of republican governors sprang from violations of the *Lex Iulia* and similar regulations which had preceded it. A legate and his staff might demand not only food and shelter but also the most lavish entertainment. Each member of the retinue would have to be accommodated in a house appropriate to his status and provided for in the most generous fashion. If an individual showed any reluctance to indulge in the expenditure this involved, he could easily foster prejudice against himself or the community in general. In such situations a governor might expect and require bribes in cash or in kind, and the catalogue of works of art and other items rifled or otherwise secured by a Verres was notable primarily for its length, not for the mere fact that it existed.¹⁴⁴ Soldiers, whose rights were covered by separate legislation, were also entitled to hospitality of a similar nature, and especially on campaign could become even more burdensome than officials. The extreme of outrage was reached when Sulla punished the rebellious province of Asia partly by a massive fine, but also by demanding that, besides lodgings, individual families should provide payment of four tetradrachms a day to any soldier billeted with them, and meals for as many friends as he cared to invite. Over and above this, tribunes were to receive fifty drachmas a day and two suits of clothing. This was not typical, but there is ample evidence to show that abusive requisitioning on a minor scale by soldiers was almost universal. A grant of ἀνεπιστοαμία, freedom from billeting, was rarely given and much appreciated.¹⁴⁵ Now, under the empire, imperial freedmen and slaves, who will have been responsible for administering the emperor's private interests in the provinces, were added to the list of those who could claim shelter and provisions from the local inhabitants. The imperial documents relating to the provision of transport,¹⁴⁶ the legal sources¹⁴⁷ and literary evidence¹⁴⁸ show that the laws on *hospitium* continued to be enforced throughout the empire, although they may have been modified in certain respects to meet local conditions.¹⁴⁹

These last clauses of the inscription have brought us back on to familiar territory. The terms of the *Lex Iulia*, duly extended to cover persons of non-senatorial status, re-emerge to form the core of the regulations on *hospitium* in force during the principate. There were clearly some similar regulations concerning the transport used by officials in the provinces during the republic,¹⁵⁰ but details of these cannot be reconstructed. The bulk of the information in the Burdur inscription, therefore, is largely new, and raises a major question. For what purposes was this transport chiefly required? The governor who issued the edict

¹⁴³ *ad Att.* v. 10. 2 (on the journey to his province); 16. 3; 21. 5.

¹⁴⁴ The *locus classicus* for abuses of the hospitality owed to a governor and his staff is Cic., *II Verr.* 1. 63–70 (Verres at Lampsacus). See also Cic., *De Imp. Cn. Pompei* 13; *ad Qu. fr.* 1. 1. 9; and Livy XLII. 1. 7–12 (173 B.C.). Much of the evidence for abuse, and exploitation of the inhabitants of Asia Minor under the republic is collected by T. R. S. Broughton, *Roman Asia Minor in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* vol. IV, ed. T. Frank (1938), 562–78, esp. 574 f.

¹⁴⁵ Plutarch, *Sulla* 25; cf. Broughton, loc. cit. and MacMullen, op. cit. (n. 28) ch. IV for evidence from the empire. For immunities see *ILS* 38 col. II. 10–17 (*Lex Antonia de Termessis*); M. Segrè, *Riv. fil.* XVI (1938), 253 f. (on the letter from Sulla granting privileges to the Dionysiac artists of Cos, citing much of the other evidence on the subject); *EJ* no. 302 (privileges given to veterans by Octavian); Sherck, op. cit. no. 58, 34 f. (grants of immunity to Seleucus of Rhosus, including apparent references to the *Lex Iulia* and the *Lex Atilia de repetundis*); *OGIS* no. 262 = *IGLS* VII no. 4028, iii (immunity for the temple at Baetocaecae).

¹⁴⁶ D.1, 15 f.; D.3, 20; D.6, 11–12 (reading ξε[νιῶν] ἀχλήσεσι with Mihailov, *IGBulg.* IV p. 226); D.10; D.15. 40 f., 47 f.

¹⁴⁷ Ulpian, *Dig. L.* 1. 16. 4; 6. 3; Modestinus, *Dig. L.* 1. 18. 1 f.

¹⁴⁸ Columella could recommend that a villa should not be built too close to a military road lest it be blighted by having to provide too much hospitality for the soldiers passing by (1. 5. 6–7). There may also be echoes of the terms of the *Lex Iulia* in Hor., *Sat.* 1. 5. 45–6 and even in the edict which Aurelian is alleged to have made concerning military abuses (SHA, *Aurelian* 7). Also compare the regulations on the supplies which should be provided to παραφύλακες at Hierapolis (*OGIS* no. 527).

¹⁴⁹ The reference in the edict of Vergilius Capito to τῶν ὑπὸ Μαξιμου σταθέντων (D.3, 27) should indicate refinements introduced during the reign of Augustus. M. Magius Maximus had been prefect of Egypt between A.D. 11 and 14 (A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten* (1950), 22–3; O. W. Reinmuth, *BASP* IV (1967), 77–8; P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 1975, 143; against, unconvincingly, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II (1972), 1109). It would appear from this reference, the anecdote cited at n. 172 and the new document, that the last years of Augustus and the first years of Tiberius were particularly notable for attempts to suppress corruption in the administration.

¹⁵⁰ See nn. 16, 123–4.

was prudently vague on this point in the Latin version (' ad usus necessarios transeuntium ', l. 8) and silent in the Greek. However, the problem cannot be ignored, since any assessment of the overall significance of the edict must rest on an assessment of the real situation which it was designed to regulate.

Suetonius tells us that Augustus had created a courier system which first used riders and later messengers travelling in carriages to maintain rapid and accurate communication throughout the empire.¹⁵¹ This system had well-attested predecessors in the Persian empire, in the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, and in the Roman republic,¹⁵² even if it was not directly modelled on any of them. Self-evidently, efficient communications were essential for the centralized administration of any large area. However, it would be mistaken to suppose that these courier systems, except possibly the elaborate organization of Ptolemaic Egypt, imposed anything more than a marginal burden on the communities which had to maintain them. Such traffic was largely confined to the main military roads and rarely required a large number of post horses or vehicles, at least during the first three centuries of the Roman empire. It is difficult to make exact estimates of the quantity of traffic involved, but Pliny does not seem to have sent more than fifty-nine letters to Trajan in the eighteen months which he spent in Bithynia, to which he received thirty-nine replies, though his position probably involved more consultation with the emperor than was usual.¹⁵³ Even assuming that all these letters were sent by separate couriers, which is very far from certain,¹⁵⁴ this only represents a maximum of sixty journeys a year in both directions, each requiring a single carriage, hardly an intolerable burden on the cities.

However, it is evident that requisitions for the imperial post only comprised a small fraction of the total amount of transport regularly commandeered under the empire. Waggons and pack animals were needed above all for moving military supplies, principally grain and other foodstuffs, both on and off the main roads, especially in areas where there were large concentrations of troops. Animals were requisitioned in Egypt for military convoys,¹⁵⁵ and there is no doubt that this happened elsewhere. The armies' need for transport became particularly pressing during the principate. Naturally enough carts and animals to carry bulky goods had been secured from subject communities by the armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman republic. However, there is no evidence that any comprehensive regulations lay behind the practice, and it appears that requisitioning was carried out on an *ad hoc* basis.¹⁵⁶ Large armies, at least before the last century of the republic, had generally been mustered or hired for a particular campaign. Once their work was finished they were disbanded, and permanent garrisons remained small and usually concentrated near strategic points. The commissariat was doubtless fully stretched to keep the troops supplied on campaign, but their problems largely disappeared in peacetime. At the beginning of the principate Augustus, by creating or inheriting large armies maintained on a permanent basis, was faced with a major problem of supply. Arbitrary procedures which were adequate in war-time would not only be extremely unpopular but also dangerously inefficient if allowed to serve as the regular method of provisioning and maintaining these forces over longer periods. It was therefore necessary to devise a method of requisitioning which could supply them in a more organized way. The institution of the *annona militaris*

¹⁵¹ Suet., *Aug.* 49. 5-50. Discussed in scrupulous, perhaps over-scrupulous, detail by Pflaum, *op. cit.* (p. 112) ch. ii.

¹⁵² Pflaum, ch. i. For the Ptolemaic post see F. Preisigke, 'Die Ägyptische Schnellpost', *Klio* VII (1907), 241-77. For requisitioning in the Hellenistic world both for the postal system and for transport see M. I. Rostovtzeff, 'Angariae', *Klio* VI (1906), 249-58; O. Seeck, *RE* I, 2184-5 s.v. 'angaria'; Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 315, 1391, n. 115 and the index. For republican courier systems see Caesar, *BC* III. 101. 3, cf. Suet., *Caesar* 57.

¹⁵³ See Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 546 f.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.* 628.

¹⁵⁵ J. Lesquier, *op. cit.* (n. 108), 369 f., cf. *P. Oxy.* 3109.

¹⁵⁶ For Ptolemaic requisitioning procedures see

C. Préaux, *L'Economie royale des Lagides* (1939), 387 ff. esp. 393, n. 2, and for the Hellenistic world in general, Rostovtzeff, *Klio* 1906, 249 ff. and *SEHWW* index s.v. ἀγγαρεία, εἰσφορά, ἐπιτάγμα, ἀνεπιστάθμεια, ἐπιστάθμεια, σταθμός, παρουσία. For transport requisitioned by the Seleucids see Josephus, *AJ* XIII. 52; *I Macc.* 10. 33. Evidence from Judaea at the time of the New Testament, Matth. 5. 41; 27. 32; Mark 15. 21 (Luke 23. 26). In the late republic P. Ventidius and other equestrians provided mules and carriages to provincial governors and military commanders on a commercial basis, perhaps indicating that there was then no regular universal requisitioning procedure (Cicero, *ad fam.* x. 18. 3; Pliny, *NH* VII. 135; Aul. Gell. xv. 4. 3; R. Syme, 'Sabinus the Muleteer', *Latomus* XVII (1958), 73-80).

was the most important element in the system,¹⁵⁷ but documents, above all papyri, show that most other goods and services needed by the troops, including foodstuffs, clothing, armour and transport, were requisitioned and paid for as they were needed.¹⁵⁸ It is clear that a substantial proportion of the complaints of the native communities concern requisitioning of this type for military supplies. The people of Byzantium, in a passage already cited, had referred to the burdens of their city, which was conveniently sited both for armies and their leaders passing through by land and sea, and for the transport of supplies and provisions.¹⁵⁹ In the later documents it seems reasonable to assume that ox-drawn carts were generally obtained to transport military supplies,¹⁶⁰ and that the soldiers who provoked complaints with such regularity purported to be engaged in collecting these supplies, not in absconding from their units.¹⁶¹

It is likely enough that the transport which Sagalassus was obliged to provide according to the terms of the new inscription was sometimes used in this way for moving provisions. The regulations place special emphasis on legitimate requisitioning by *militantes* (ll. 16, 17, 24) and were clearly devised with an eye to military needs. The numbers of waggons and carts involved were also quite sufficient to make a real contribution to the problems of army supply, should the need arise. If we assume that each cart could carry a load of up to a third of a ton, the regulations allowed the procurator to move over three tons of grain on any one occasion, enough to feed over 2000 men for a day.¹⁶² If we bear in mind that there was no large garrison in Pisidia after the reign of Augustus, and that special arrangements were always made for extraordinary movements of large numbers of troops, or indeed of the large retinue of soldiers and officials who might accompany an emperor,¹⁶³ the allowance seems more than adequate.

However, it is not likely that the main object of the edict was to make transport available for the commissariat. There is no mention of the fact in the text, and the regulations only concern officers and officials of the rank of centurion and higher. As we know from other sources, soldiers of lower ranks could and did legitimately procure military supplies, for which they presumably needed transport.¹⁶⁴ The waggons and animals of the new edict, on the other hand, are explicitly ear-marked for officials travelling on business in the province; indeed the Greek version specifically states that transport for knights in the imperial service was to be provided ἐπὶ τῆ ἰδίᾳ αἰρέσει, according to their personal choice (l. 45). We should therefore assume that the bulk of the transport would be needed for officials, together with their staff and their baggage, as they travelled around the province. Typically this traffic, like the post, would have moved along the main roads between the provincial cities, principally, in the case of the governor, between the *conventus* centres where he carried out judicial business.¹⁶⁵ The number of carts and animals allowed to the various officials by the terms of the edict might seem excessive for this purpose, but a governor on an important or ceremonial occasion could be accompanied by over thirty persons of all ranks

¹⁵⁷ See D. van Berchem, *L'Annone militaire dans l'empire romain au III^e siècle* (1937).

¹⁵⁸ Lesquier, op. cit. (n. 108) 352 f.; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunde* 1. 1 (1912), 359 f.; MacMullen, op. cit. (n. 28), 85 f. Compare also the evidence of 'Hunt's Pridianum' (re-published by R. O. Fink, *JRS* XLVIII (1958), 102-16) which shows that soldiers were sent off to collect supplies for their unit both inside and outside the province.

¹⁵⁹ n. 73.

¹⁶⁰ See nn. 101-3.

¹⁶¹ See nn. 18-19, 23-8.

¹⁶² Following the calculations of R. W. Davies, *Britannia* II (1971), 123.

¹⁶³ Provisioning and transport for large forces was known as παραπομπή or *prosecutio*, for which see Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*³, 723; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, 328, n. 89; F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), 20-1. Careful plans were made for such movements, as they were for the passage of the emperor and his court. See the detailed account,

valid at least for the late empire, in SHA, *Sev. Alex.* 47, comparing Ambrose, *ad Ps.* 118. 1, which may be approximately contemporary with the writing of the *Historia Augusta*. However, the practice certainly went back to the early empire (Suet., *Tib.* 38; Statius, *Silvae* IV. 9. 17-19; Pliny, *Pan.* 20; Sículus Flaccus, *de cond. agr.* p. 169), and even to the republican period (Livy XLII. 1. 7-12). Cf. U. Wilcken, op. cit. (n. 158), 358, and Lesquier, op. cit. (n. 108), 350 f. D. van Berchem has plausibly argued that the Antonine Itinerary was based on an edict of Caracalla designed to secure provisioning in this way for his journey to the east, op. cit. (n. 156), 164-87, reaffirmed recently in *Actes du IX^e Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines* (1972, publ. 1974), 301-7.

¹⁶⁴ See n. 158. Even when the orders to make requisitions came from above, soldiers would be responsible for executing them.

¹⁶⁵ cf. A. J. Marshall, *Phoenix* xx (1966), 231-46; G. P. Burton, *JRS* LXV (1975), 92-106.

and functions,¹⁶⁶ and an allowance of ten carts or mules, or thirty donkeys, would not be inappropriate in these circumstances. The term *transeuntium* in the inscription readily conjures up a picture of officials making a regular progress along the main roads through the territory of Sagalassus, and there can be no doubt that this was the chief use for transport which Sotidius envisaged when he drafted the regulations. Although other documents and allusions in the sources to the requisitioning procedure likewise display some ambiguity about the purposes for which transport was generally obtained, there is good reason to suppose that many of them also relate to the regulations for officials. Germanicus in his edict was clearly concerned with the malpractices of his *comitatus*,¹⁶⁷ and the complaints of villages, and even a small city, about soldiers and officials who left the main roads to demand services from them may reflect a similar problem.¹⁶⁸ They probably expected to be immune from the burden of transporting officials, even though they would have had to play their part in helping the army commissariat. Further, the manner in which the documents regularly link the supply of transport with the provision of *hospitium* strongly supports the view that it was very extensively employed by officials in this way.¹⁶⁹

In short, the main object of the new edict was to tighten up the regulations concerning the provision of transport and hospitality to officials in the province, not to prevent abusive requisitioning for the purpose of supplying the armies. Although, as already noted, regulations on transport had existed during the republic, it is tempting to credit Augustus with the detailed organization revealed by the inscription. The rules concerning knights in the emperor's service and imperial freedmen and slaves must date to the principate, and it is probable that the rules for senators were revised, if not completely redrafted, at the same time. This would concur well with the overall re-organization and rationalization of provincial government which we must attribute to him. A recent study has shown that one of the Julio-Claudian emperors, in all probability Augustus himself, created the post of *praefectus vehiculorum* to supervise the provision of transport for the use of the court and the troops stationed in Italy, principally the praetorian cohorts.¹⁷⁰ The new inscription shows that this measure was matched by detailed regulations for state transport in the provinces.

What Augustus was unable to do was to prevent exploitation of his system. As the new inscription shows, he had had to take steps to prevent abuses even before the end of his reign. In A.D. 14 Tiberius reprimanded the prefect of Egypt, Aemilius Rectus,¹⁷¹ for extortionate behaviour, saying that he preferred to see his provinces shorn, not shaved to the bare skin or flayed.¹⁷² He would doubtless have been delighted that his legate in Galatia at almost exactly this date was making such strenuous efforts to put a stop to abuses of the transport system; but the complaints which poured in unabated from the provincials over the next four centuries demonstrate eloquently that his hopes were repeatedly disappointed.

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¹⁶⁶ See, e.g., J. H. Oliver, *AyPhil* LXXXVII (1966), 75-80, commenting on an inscription from Samothrace which lists the proconsul of Macedonia and his accompanying staff visiting the sanctuary of the Cabeiroi.

¹⁶⁷ D.1.

¹⁶⁸ D.13, 7-8; D.15, 34; D.16, 17-20; cf. Robert, *OMS* I, 351.

¹⁶⁹ See n. 146.

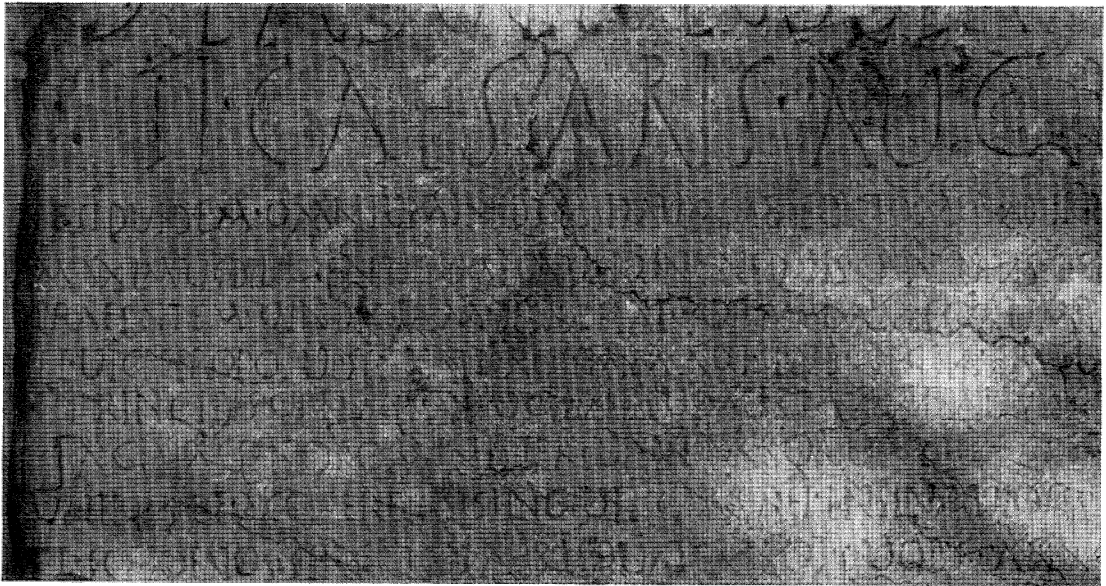
¹⁷⁰ W. Eck, 'Die Laufbahn eines Ritters aus Apri in Thrakien', *Chiron* v (1975), 365-92.

¹⁷¹ See A. Stein, op. cit. (n. 149), 23-4. By coincidence he was clearly related to the author of D.2.

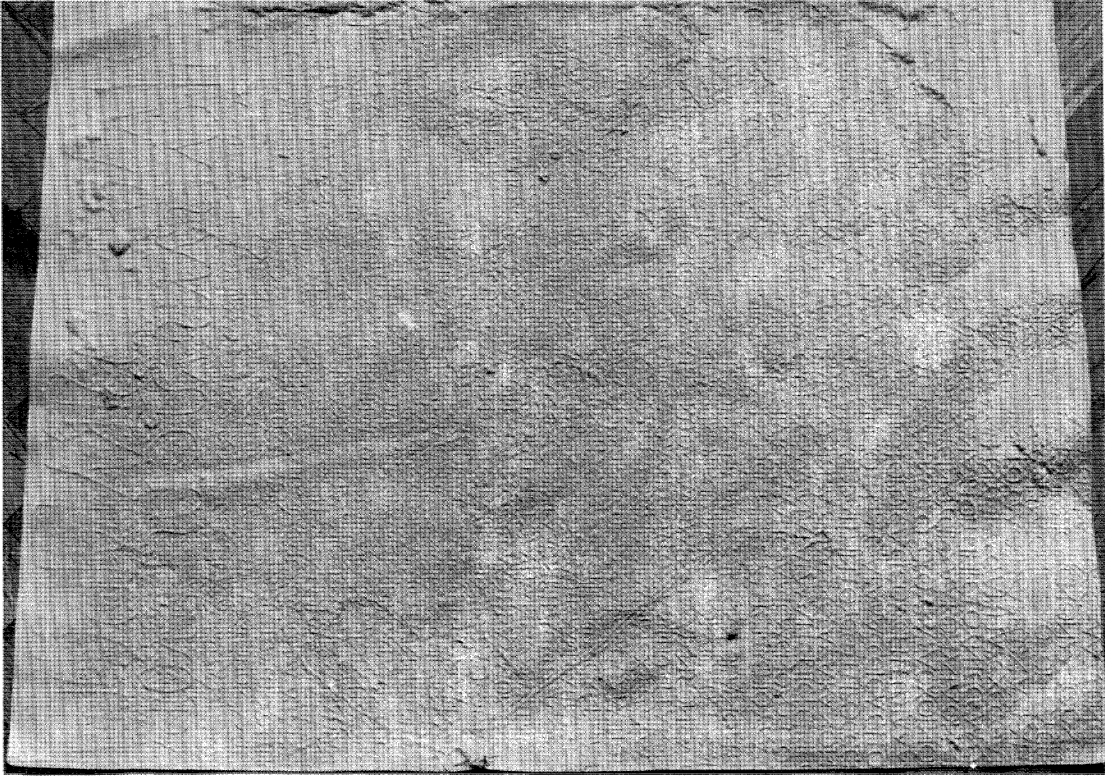
¹⁷² Dio LVII. 10. 5; Suet., *Tib.* 32. 2. Compare Tacitus' general observations at *Ann.* IV. 6.



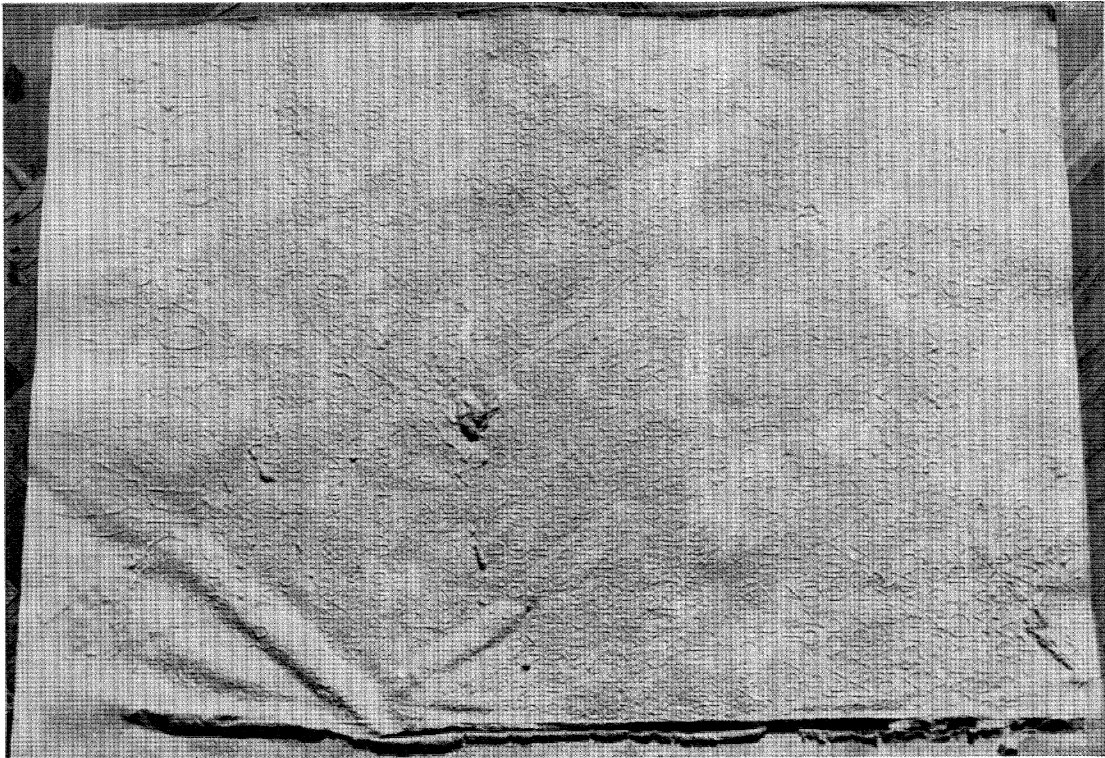
(1) STELE INSCRIBED WITH EDICT OF SEX. SOTIDIUS STRABO LIBUSCIDIANUS.
BURDUR ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (pp. 106 ff.)



(2) LATIN TEXT l. 2-9, LEFT HAND SIDE
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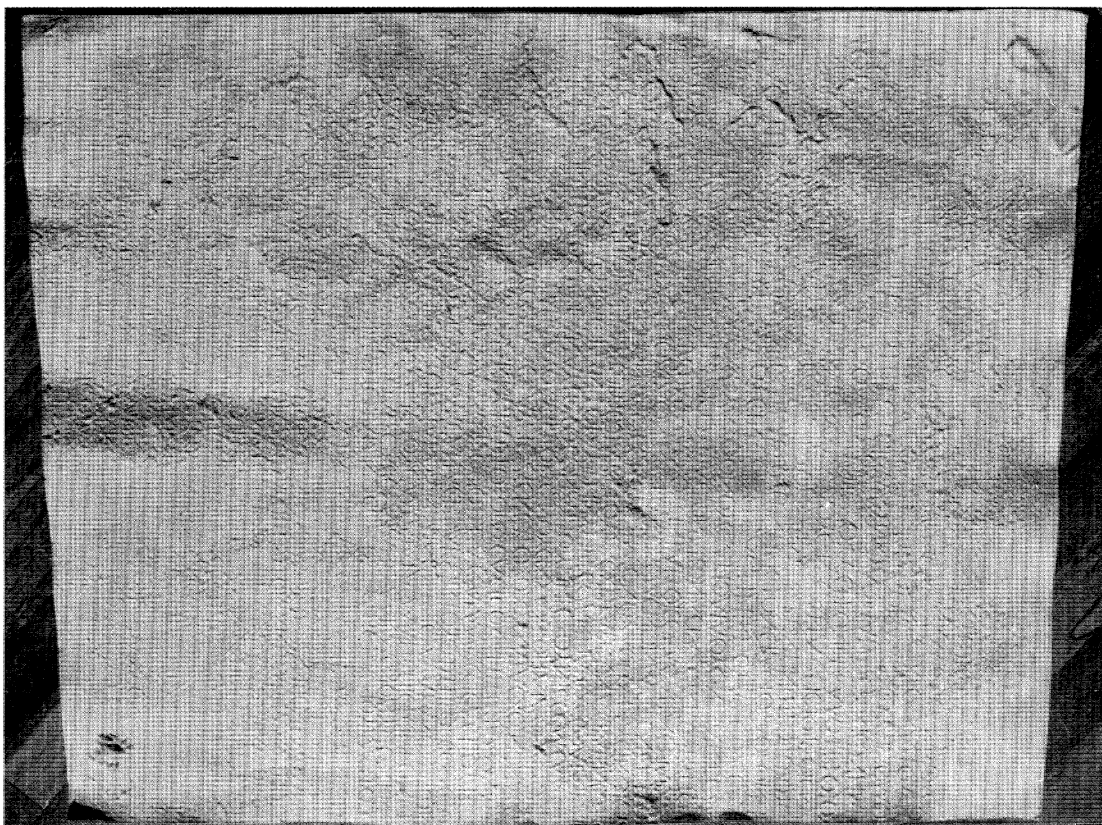


(b)



(a)

SQUEEZE OF EDICT OF SEX. SOTIDIUS STRABO LIBUSCIDIANUS, BURDUR; (a) FIRST HALF OF LL. 1-39; (b) SECOND HALF OF LL. 1-40
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(b)



(a)

SQUEEZE OF EDICT OF SEX. SOTIDIUS STRABO LIBUSCIDIANUS, BURDUR: (a) FIRST HALF OF LL. 12-52; (b) SECOND HALF OF LL. 11-52

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