

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1971-5 *

By JOYCE REYNOLDS

New discovery (and rediscovery), often through rescue surveys and excavation, has maintained pace in the past five years; and there have been most notable achievements in the assembly of *disiecta membra*, especially at Ostia. The bulk of publications continues to increase, and more new periodicals have appeared to provide more space—an uncertainly welcome development at a time when the finances of many established publications are insecure (observe the sad disappearance of *SEG*) and those of purchasing libraries, still more of private ones, are declining. Unless they can be produced at very low cost they will surely tend to block the channels of communication. It is difficult enough to lay hands on much that is produced in any case. With the Greek material *Bulletin Épigraphique* was more or less abreast to the end of 1974; the issue for 1975 has not yet been received in London or Cambridge at the time of writing: *L'Année Épigraphique* has fallen badly behind, and Prof. Barbieri cannot be the only reader who would forego the recently-introduced commentaries (I would add the Greek texts too) in order to enable the editors to catch up.¹

It is not only in inflationary tendencies that Roman Epigraphy has a 'contemporary' look; it has also been exploring the use of computers. There was a Colloque on the subject at Marseille in 1972 (report not yet to hand); data-banks have been discussed and even started (useful on the face of it, but potentially deleterious if they discourage the constant reading and rereading of texts); the computer-made index of *CIL* VI appeared in 1974; another interesting experiment has been A. Stefan's use of a computer to tabulate descriptions of letter-forms at Callatis with a view to dating—her method could, I think, produce less subjective and more helpful judgements on the dating of letter styles, although I agree with critics that there will always be a margin of error to prevent too precise a use of them.²

Prosopography and *cursus honorum* are other fields in which we are now reminded of the temptation to build on a precision which goes beyond our evidence.³

Onomastics continue to provide a fruitful field of study. It is impractical to list the many recent discussions, which can in any case be fairly easily discovered from *Bull. Ep.* and *AE*; but an example of the historical value of this material is O. Masson's article on Greeks and Libyans in Cyrenaica;⁴ and the report on the Colloque on Latin Names held in Paris in autumn 1975 is something to look out for.

Notable epigraphic occasions have been the Sixth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, held at Munich in 1972 (its *acta* appearing with a speed on which M. Wörrle deserves congratulation as *Vestigia* xvii [1973]), and the publication of volumes in honour of a number of epigraphists, thus *Klio* 52 (1970) for the late Professor Klaffenbach, *Phoros* (New York, 1974) for Professor B. D. Meritt, *Mélanges Helléniques* (Paris, 1974) for Professor G. Daux, *Archeologia Classica* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]) for Professor M. Guarducci. A number of other Festschriften have included a notable proportion of epigraphical articles—thus *Mélanges . . . W. Seston* (Paris, 1974), *Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975) and the volumes of *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* for Professor J. Vogt, still in progress. Many of the surveys in *ANRW* include epigraphic material; I draw attention here particularly to those by P. Wuilleumier (*civitas*) and M. Claus (inscriptions of the principate) in vol. II, 1 and by A. Deman (Germania Inferior and Gallia Belgica) in II, 4, but shall not normally refer to this work hereafter.

* As always, I owe a heavy debt both to those friends who have suggested material for inclusion, especially Martin Frederiksen, and to those who have helped in organizing the material that I have selected, in particular Miss Mary Beard and Mrs. Janet Chapman; even more than in the past, I am conscious of inscriptions missed, forgotten, misunderstood and wrongly assessed.

¹ G. Barbieri, *Epigraphica* 36 (1974), 276.

² Thus J. Jory, *BICS* 20 (1973), 145; P. Corbier,

M. Janon, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 466; A. Stefan, *St. Clas.* 13 (1971), 29; 15 (1973), 99; *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 470; *Eirene (Actes de la XII^e conférence internationale d'études classiques)* (Bucharest, 1975), 621; *Dacia* 19 (1975), 161; for criticism, *Bull. Ep.* 1972, no. 10, and D. M. Pippidi, e.g. in *Scythica Minora*, 170.

³ A. J. Graham, 'The Limitations of Prosopography', *ANRW* II, 1, 136; B. Campbell, 'Who were the "Viri Militares"?', *JRS* 65 (1975), 11.

⁴ *Antiquités Africaines* 10 (1976) forthcoming.

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

Regional Corpora

1. *Rome and Italy*: *CIL* VI, indices; *IGUR* II. 1 (L. Moretti); *ICUR* v. 5 (A. Ferrua); *Iscrizioni della necropoli dell'Autoparco Vaticano = Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* VI (P. Castrén and others); *Inscriptiones Italiae* III, Reg. III. 1, *Civitates vallum Silari et Tanagri* (V. Bracco); *Epigrafia della Regione dei Marsi* (C. Letta, S. D'Amato); *I bolli laterizi romani: la collezione di Bagno* (V. Righini).
There are also reports of inscriptions in recent volumes of the *Forma Italiae*: *Apiolae* (G. M. de Rossi); *Anagnia* (M. Mazzolani); *Castra Albana* (E. Tortorici); *Castrum Novum* (P. A. Gianfrotta); *Collatia* (L. Quilici); *Cora* (P. Brandizzi-Vitucci); *Lavinium* I (F. Castagnoli); *Siris-Heraclea* (L. Quilici).
2. *Sicily*: L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo* (Palermo, 1970); M. T. Manni Piraino, *Iscrizioni greche del Museo di Palermo* (Palermo, 1974).
3. *Spain*: S. Marriner-Bigorra, *Inscriptiones romanas de Barcelona* I (Barcelona, 1973); G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (Madrid, 1974).
4. *North Western Provinces*: I. König, *Die Meilensteine der Gallia Narbonensis* (Bern, 1970); G. Laguerre, *Inscriptions Antiques de Nice-Cimiez* (Paris, 1975); N. Gauthier, *Recueil des Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* I (*Première Belgique*) (Paris, 1975); B. and H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln* (Cologne, 1975); L. Bakker and B. Galsterer-Kröll, *Graffiti an römischer Keramik im Rheinischen Landesmuseum, Bonn = Epigraphische Studien* 10 (1975); W. Boppert, *Die frühchristlichen Inschriften des Mittelrheingebietes* (Mainz, 1971); K. Kramer, *Die frühchristlichen Grabinschriften Triers* (Trier, 1974).
5. *Danubian Provinces*: L. Barkócsy, A. Mócsy, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* (Budapest, 1972); A. Dobò, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes* (Budapest, 1975); P. S. Leber, *Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steininschriften* (Klagenfurt, 1972); A. Mócsy and T. Szentléleky, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria* (Budapest, 1971); I. I. Russu, *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane* I (Bucharest, 1975).
6. *Thrace and the Black Sea Coast*: G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, I, second edition with additional material; Z. Taşliklioğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafya araştırmaları* (Istanbul, 1971); E. I. Solomonik, *New inscriptions from the Chersonnesus* (Kiev, 1973).
7. *Greece and Macedonia*: *The Athenian Agora* xv (B. D. Merritt and D. Bradeen), xvii (D. Bradeen) (Princeton, 1974); A. Plassart, *Fouilles de Delphes* III. 4 (Paris, 1971); W. Peek, *Neue Inschriften aus Epidaurus = Abh. Sachs. Akad. Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 63 (1972); idem, *Neue Vers-inschriften aus Thessalien* (Heidelberg, 1974); Ch. Edson, *IG XII. 1* (Thessalonica) (Berlin, 1972); B. Helly, *Gonnoi III: les inscriptions* (Amsterdam, 1973); M.-T. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée* (Paris, 1974).
8. *Asia Minor*: G. E. Bean, appendix to J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford, 1973); P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn, 1975); H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* I (Bonn, 1972); II (Bonn, 1973); J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III. 2. *The Greek Inscriptions* II (Stockholm, 1972); L. Robert in J. Des Gagniers, *Laodicée du Lycos: le nymphée* (Quebec, 1969); G. E. Bean, *Journeys in Northern Lycia 1965-7 = Denkschriften Öst. Akad.* 105 (1971); F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nord-Lykien) = Sitzungsberichte Öst. Akad.* 278 (1972); G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-8 = Denkschriften Öst. Akad.* 102 (1970); C. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton, 1971).
9. *Cyprus*: T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971); T. B. Mitford and I. Nicolaou, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Salamis* (Nicosia, 1974).
10. *Egypt*: A. Bernand, *De Koptos à Kosseir* (Leiden, 1972); idem, *Le Paeion d'el Kanais* (Leiden, 1972); E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae* (Paris, 1969); idem, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* I (Leiden, 1975).
11. *Africa*: N. Duval, F. Prévot, *Recherches archéologiques de Haïdra* I: *Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (Rome, 1975); L. Ennabli, *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de la basilique dite de Sainte-Monique à Carthage* (Rome, 1975).

Among works of general interest note: M. Guarducci, *L'Epigrafia Greca* III (Rome, 1975), dealing with texts of private concern; R. K. Sherk, *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West* (Buffalo, 1970), a useful new collection; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto, 1974), a very helpful guide; A. E. Gordon, *The Latin Alphabet = CSCA 2* (1969), a study of the ancient names of the Latin letters; E. O. Wingo, *Latin Punctuation in the Classical Age* (The Hague/Paris, 1972), on a recherché subject which is liable to catch the epigraphist out; R. Chevallier, *L'Épigraphie et littérature à Rome* (Faenza, 1972); and among volumes of collected papers a fourth volume of L. Robert's *Opera Minora Selecta* (Paris, 1974); R. Syme, *Danubian Papers* (Bucharest, 1971); D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora* (Amsterdam, 1975).

Non-Roman Italy

Since the editors of *Studi Etruschi* began, in 1973, to add an annual *Epigrafia Italica* to their existing *Epigrafia Etrusca* it has become easier to pick up developments all over this field. The earliest known reference to the name *Tusci* seems to have emerged from a re-reading of the Louvre fibula⁵; an archaic Etruscan graffito on bucchero found in the Sorrentine peninsula provides evidence for early penetration of Etruscan influence there.⁶ Etruscan inscriptions in Tunisia, presumably implying Etruscan settlers, have been reconsidered⁷; a 'Vel lekate' at Orvieto = Volsinii Veteres has been interpreted—perhaps too boldly—as a legate sent to Rome in connection with Volsinian troubles (e.g. the slave war);⁸ Etruscan speakers have been discovered in the territory of Faliscan Nepi,⁹ and conversely (in a sense) Claudii have been found owning a tomb in Etruscan Caere¹⁰—clearly there was a good deal more mixing than was once assumed. Outside the Etruscan field a particularly interesting group of texts from a Lucanian site at Rossano di Vaglio (Potenza) shows Oscans gradually undergoing Roman influence; there is at least one official inscription recording a censor who dedicated bronze statues to deities called 'kings', possibly Castor and Pollux who are ἀννακες at Tarentum, though the editor inclines to Jupiter and Mefitis = Juno Regina.¹¹

Archaic to Middle Republican Rome

Several of the earliest Latin inscriptions have come under fire of one sort or another: the credentials of the Praenestine fibula have been critically examined by A. E. Gordon, who concludes that the brooch is genuine and so, for him, the inscription, but notes that one philologist known to him continues to have doubts of the form FHEFAKED;¹² in the graffito REX on the cup found near the Regia the R has been thought to show a fourth-century form, but M. Guarducci argues vigorously for its early date (proposing c. 530–510);¹³ the Forum cippus has been variously dated as well as variously interpreted, but F. Castagnoli now authoritatively narrows the time range by demonstrating that the pottery beneath the Lapis Niger is of the sixth to fifth centuries;¹⁴ on the Tor Tignosa altar H. Kolbe has seen a dedication to a Lar by a lady (*Vesuvia Q. f.*) but M. Guarducci defends her original reading *Aineia*, with the photographs, so it seems to me, in her favour.¹⁵

Roma Medio-Repubblicana, the annotated catalogue of an exhibition held in 1973 to celebrate the fifth centenary of the Capitoline Museums, contains an unusually interesting collection of items of the fourth and third centuries and often the first serious attempt to set

⁵ J. Heurgon, *MEFR* 83 (1971), 9; C. de Simone, *St. Etr.* 40 (1972), 153, with a different interpretation in detail but the same implication.

⁶ M. Pallottino, *Arch. Class.* 25–6 (1973–4 [1975]), 472.

⁷ J. Heurgon, *CRAI* 1969, 526; *St. Etr.* 38 (1970), 331; their interpretation in detail remains obscure.

⁸ J. Heurgon, *MEFR* 86 (1974), 707; I am not competent to comment, but wonder whether the Etruscan word for ambassador is really likely to be so close to the Latin *legatus*.

⁹ G. Colonna, *St. Etr.* 40 (1972), 444.

¹⁰ M. Pallottino, *St. Etr.* 37 (1969), 79, cf. L. Vancini, *ibid.* 317; note also a Claudius again at Aleria, J. and L. Jehasse, *Gallia, Suppl.* 25 (1973),

551; M. Cristofani, *St. Etr.* 41 (1973), 354.

¹¹ M. Lejeune, *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 663; *CRAI* 1971 52; *RAL*⁸ 27 (1972), 399.

¹² *The Inscribed Fibula Praenestina* (California, 1975); philologists whom I have consulted feel the doubts to be unnecessary. See now F. Zevi in *Civiltà del Lazio primitivo* (1976), 216.

¹³ M. Guarducci, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 381.

¹⁴ F. Castagnoli, *St. Rom.* 22 (1974), 425.

¹⁵ H. Kolbe, *Röm. Mitt.* 77 (1970), 1 = *AE* 1969/70, 2; M. Guarducci, *ibid.* 78 (1971), 73; see also T. J. Cornell, *PCPS* 201 (1975), 14, n. 5, inclining against *Aineia* on linguistic grounds, as also does R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, 1974), 251.

a number of inscriptions in their archaeological context. Among the new points may be noted:

p. 12, the fourth-century quarry marks on blocks in the ' Servian ' Walls, on which see now a discussion by F. Castagnoli, who argues that the letters, like the techniques, are archaic Latin and not Greek imports.¹⁶

p. 71, the oldest known Latin *abecedarium* on a Genuclia plate from Caere, probably of the second half of the fourth century, on which there is also a separate and fuller account by L. Gasperini.¹⁷

p. 200, the Esquiline frescoes of the Samnite War, re-read after cleaning, and dated with some confidence to the first half of the third century; they come from the interior of a grand family tomb—to be compared, significantly, with that of the Scipio family; the name of the central figure on the Roman side is clearly Q. Fabius (Rullianus, consul five times, it is suggested, or perhaps his son).

p. 104, the text from Sant' Omobono interpreted by A. Degrassi as a *tabula triumphalis*, where *ARMA* is now read instead of *ARAM* as the final word; this, with the hole for a fixture now observed on the top of the block, suggests that it is in fact a trophy carrying spoils.

p. 305, a set of strigils from Praeneste inscribed with makers' names; they have evaded discussion and inclusion either in *CIL* or *ILLRP*, but are certainly relevant to early social and economic history.

p. 334, the Veii *pocula deorum*, which are attributed to Roman colonists on the site.

There has also been a lot of work on the third-century tomb and inscriptions of the Scipios, providing a clearer picture of their cultural implications.¹⁸

Middle to Late Republic

(i) *City of Rome, and Rome in Italy*

A fragment of the controversial *ILLRP* 326 referring to Scipio Aemilianus and the capture of Carthage has been rediscovered at Marruvium;¹⁹ it shows every sign of being a Hadrianic copy of an earlier text, analogous to the *tituli Mummiiani*. There is a new and genuinely Republican inscription of Mummius from Fabrateria Nova.²⁰ An inscription from Aesernia, published by A. La Regina, shows Samnites organized as *incolae* under a *magister* there, surely an indication of how defeated groups were handled and absorbed into colonial settlements.²¹ The Polla inscription is discussed at length by G. P. Verbrugghe, who believes that it has nothing to do with the First Sicilian Slave War or Popillius Laenas, but is an indirect record of the Gracchan Land Commission, whose subject must be Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *cos.* 143.²² H. B. Mattingly continues to press his view that the surviving *Lex Repetundarum* is the law of Glaucia rather than of C. Gracchus, against very strong opposition.²³ The *Lex Agraria* has been the subject of a dissertation and several articles.²⁴ There is a useful monograph by N. Criniti devoted to the decree of Cn. Pompeius Strabo on the Spanish cavalrymen; while H. B. Mattingly has examined the composition of his *consilium*.²⁵ An inscription of Sulla found at Larinum leads Marina Torelli into examination of the personalities of the area attested both in literary and epigraphic sources in the late Republican and Augustan period; she brings out the use of Roman factional politics for purposes of municipal infighting.²⁶ The funerary inscription of the architect of Q. Catulus—presumably builder of the *tabularium*—published by G. Molisani, shows a man who is Roman or Italian by origin and of some social standing, and so does not fit the stereotypes; at one time *praefectus fabrum* to Catulus, he had, clearly, technical qualifications to fit the

¹⁶ F. Castagnoli, *St. Rom.* 22 (1974), 431, n. 14.

¹⁷ L. Gasperini, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 419.

¹⁸ A. La Regina, *Dial. di Arch.* 2 (1968), 173; F. Zevi, *St. Misc.* 15 (1969/70), 65; F. Coarelli, *Dial. di Arch.* 6 (1972), 36.

¹⁹ C. Letta, S. D'Amato, *Epigrafia della Regione dei Marsi*, no. 51.

²⁰ E. Bizzarri, *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 140.

²¹ *Dial. di Arch.* 4-5 (1970/1), 452.

²² *Cl. Phil.* 68 (1973), 25.

²³ H. B. Mattingly, *Latomus* 30 (1971), 281; 34

(1975), 726; against him, A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 62 (1972), 83; E. Badian, *AJP* 116 (1975), 67; M. Griffin, *CQ* 23 (1973), 121.

²⁴ K. Johannsen (Diss. München, 1971); J. Molthagen, *Historia* 22 (1973), 423; K. Meister, *Historia* 23 (1974), 86.

²⁵ N. Criniti, *L'Epigrafe di Asculum di Cn. Pompeio Strabone* (Milan, 1970) = *AE* 1971, 20; H. B. Mattingly, *Athenaeum* 53 (1975), 262.

²⁶ M. R. Torelli, *Athenaeum* 51 (1973), 336.

title.²⁷ There have been two attacks on the text of the Lex Gabinia Calpurnia (*CIL* 1², 2500): in the preamble J. and A. Linderski reject the cognomen Capito for A. Gabinius *cos.*, restore the names of the two consuls (Piso with Gabinius), and present the first voter as A. Gabinius Capito, a dependent of the author of the bill, supporting E. S. Staveley's view that in the tribal assembly the first voter was selected by the presiding magistrate; in l. 21 C. Nicolet has convincingly proposed a reference to *locatio* by the censors of 61, and believes that enough survives of the first name to prove, at last, identification of the patrician as L. Iulius L.f. L.n. Caesar.²⁸ A text is reported from Collatia containing a date by the second consulate of Pompey and Crassus; it is cut on an oil vat, where a date seems a little surprising.²⁹ Sharp argument has continued over L. Gasperini's restoration of the name of Caesar (in the ablative) in an inscription at Tarentum;³⁰ his position seems to me maintained, and indeed gains strength from a new funerary inscription at Rome dated *C. Caesare dict. iter., M. Antonio mag. eq.*³¹ (This last text is also interesting in giving the origins of the dead freedmen and women it commemorates, one being described as *verna*, which seems not to be epigraphically attested hitherto in the Republic.) The inscription of a Porcia, daughter of a M. Cato and wife of a Tullus or Tullius, has been rediscovered at Nola, and is clearly not, as Mommsen thought, a forgery; it is published as Trajanic, but the letter forms impose a late Republican date.³²

Acquaintance of Cicero are connected with inscriptions of Ostia in M. Cébeillac's study of the Republican Lucilii Gamalae, for whom she establishes a link by marriage with the Octavii Ligures who are also epigraphically attested at Forum Clodi.³³ Another family of Ciceronian acquaintance, the Avianii of Puteoli, is discussed by J. H. D'Arms in connection with an Augustan duovir of the name.³⁴ A connection with Sarsina for the family of the Caesarian L. Fuficius Fango is proposed by G. C. Susini.³⁵

(ii) *Rome overseas*

Another honorary base for Flamininus is no longer, perhaps, very stirring.³⁶ More interesting is one for a Gnaeus Octavius, naval commander, probably the man of Livy XLIV. 21. 3, at Echinus;³⁷ and a dedication by L. Mummius to Apollo, Asclepius and Hygiea at Epidaurus is still more so.³⁸ There is a new milestone from the Via Egnatia (of Cn. Egnatius C. f.).³⁹ Honours to Lucullus are recorded on Naxos,⁴⁰ and to L. Licinius Murena and his son at Caunos.⁴¹ A dedication by L. Servilius at Isaura Vetus (the site now correctly established thereby), published by A. S. Hall, refers to the capture of the place, the sale of its captives and—it would appear—to *evocatio* of its gods, a ceremony thus securely attested outside Italy.⁴² The triumviral-period Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus is clearly recorded as a hereditary patron of Ephesus, thus confirming an earlier hypothesis about his position at Samos.⁴³

In the background to Rome's policies in Asia is the material on θεὰ Πώμη systematically collected by R. Mellor.⁴⁴ There is also an addition to C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* no. 42, which shows that what was involved was a treaty between Antiochus III and Lysimacheia in c. 196, and provides a large part of the oaths taken by the two contracting parties.⁴⁵

²⁷ G. Molisani, *RAL* 3 26 (1971), 41 = *AE* 1971, 61; the monument is now known to come from Tor Sapienza on the Via Praenestina, see L. Quilici, *Collatia*, 286, no. 169.

²⁸ J. and A. Linderski, *ZPE* 12 (1973), 247; C. Nicolet, *REL* 50 (1973), 159.

²⁹ L. Quilici, *Collatia*, 468; cf. also *FA* 22 (1967), no. 2704.

³⁰ I. Bitto, *Epigraphica* 32 (1970), 172; L. Gasperini, *ibid.* 33 (1971), 48.

³¹ I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Epigraphica* 34 (1972), 105 = *AE* 1972, 14.

³² P. Simonetti, *Atti Acc. Pontaniana* 21 (1972), 385.

³³ *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 439, and *MEFR* 85 (1973),

517.

³⁴ *HSCP* 76 (1972), 207.

³⁵ *St. Romagnoli* 20 (1969), 333.

³⁶ G. Klaffenbach, *Chiron* 1 (1971), 167 = *AE* 1972, 571.

³⁷ *SEG* xxv, 642 = *AE* 1971, 450; cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1969, no. 470 and L. J. Bliquez, *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 431.

³⁸ W. Peek, *Neue Inschriften aus Epidaurus*, no. 47.

³⁹ C. Romiopolou, *BCH* 98 (1974), 813.

⁴⁰ Ch. Pélekides, 'Ανεκδοτοί επιγραφαι ἐξ Ἐπιδόρου καὶ Νέφου (Athens, 1969) = *Bull. Ep.* 1970, no. 441.

⁴¹ R. Bernhardt, *Anadolu* 16 (1972 [1974]), 117.

⁴² *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 568.

⁴³ D. Knibbe, *Öjh* 49 (1968–71), Beibl. 53, no. 21; cf. P. Herrmann, *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960), 138, no. 32 and *ZPE* 14 (1974), 257.

⁴⁴ R. Mellor, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ = *Hypommemata* xl (Göttingen, 1975).

⁴⁵ Z. Taşliklioğlu, P. Frisch, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 101.

There is an important discussion by C. P. Jones of the dossier of Diodorus Pasparos of Pergamum (*IGR* iv. 292-4); he brings down the date of Diodorus from the generation of the War with Aristonicus to that of the second war with Mithridates, with a number of consequential changes in the interpretation of the text.⁴⁶ There are proposals for new dates and interpretations of several of the documents concerned with Rome's annexations in Asia: thus the *s.c. de agro Pergameno* (Sherk 12) is transferred from the frequently-accepted 129 to 101 by H. B. Mattingly,⁴⁷ the *s.c. Popillianum de Pergamenis* (Sherk 11) and the *s.c. de rebus Phrygiae ordinandis* (Sherk 13) both to 119.⁴⁸ In his discussion of the two latter documents T. Drew-Bear convincingly shows that the inscribed *s.c. Popillianum* contains two senatorial decisions, of which the first seems to be identical with that of the *s.c. de rebus Phrygiae ordinandis*—the embodiment of an immediate decision to annex after receipt of the news of the murder of Mithridates V. A new inscription from Cnidos published in *JRS* contains large parts of a law, surely identical with the so-called *Lex de Piratis* of Delphi (*FIRA*² I. 9), apparently datable in 101; it covered a wide range of eastern issues, including arrangements for the government of a newly annexed area in Thrace.⁴⁹ The group of texts from Aphrodisias referred to below (n. 57) contains documents throwing some new light on the first Mithridatic invasion of Asia and especially on the Roman commander Q. Oppius. There has been a new reading and interpretation of the *s.c. de Tabenis* (Sherk 17).⁵⁰ The first-century date of Rome's treaty with Callatis is firmly reasserted by D. M. Pippidi.⁵¹ The Aphrodisias copy of a decree of the koinon of Asia protesting against the excesses of *publicani* is republished with commentary by T. Drew-Bear.⁵² A son of the pro-Roman Chaeremon of Nysa has been recognized in an inscription from Tralles; its reference to a cult of the θεὸς σύγκλητος is worth observation.⁵³ Several inscriptions may touch on the activities of pirates; thus, indirectly, the Caunus dedications honouring the Licinii Murenæ (see above), and perhaps an inscription from Halaesa in Sicily in which men from several towns are described as οἱ στρατευσάμενοι κατὰ νόον; they are associated with an unknown Caninius Niger, who could, perhaps, be connected with friends of Pompey;⁵⁴ a local decree from Berenice in Cyrenaica vividly, if fragmentarily, recounts the effects of raiding by pirates, incidentally providing the first contemporary use of the language in which Appian describes them.⁵⁵ This last document describes other troubles facing Cyrenaicans in the interregnum between 96 and the Roman annexation, when its honoring, who went on an embassy to Rome, may have helped to ease the transition from liberty to province. Another, though less explicit, decree from Teucheira seems to deal with similar troubles.⁵⁶ Discovery of an interesting series of documents of the Triumviral period at Aphrodisias in Caria is announced (though the full texts have not yet appeared, since further fragments were still being discovered in September 1975); they include a substantial addition to the text of the *s.c. de Aphrodisiensibus* (Sherk 28B) to which it now appears that Sherk 29 also belongs; clear indication that the letter to Aphrodisias normally attributed to Antonius (Sherk 28A) was written by Octavian; a decree of Antonius and Octavian concerned with help for Asiatic cities that had suffered in the wars between 44 and 40, and letters mainly from Octavian/Augustus demonstrating the special link he maintained with the city; if they raise as many problems as they solve, they nevertheless make a major contribution to our understanding of this period.⁵⁷

⁴⁶ C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 4 (1974), 183.

⁴⁷ H. B. Mattingly, *AJP* 93 (1972), 412; there is a brief comment by E. Badian in *Polis and Imperium* (Toronto, 1974), 166.

⁴⁸ T. Drew-Bear, *Historia* 21 (1972), 75, cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1972, no. 66.

⁴⁹ M. Hassall, M. Crawford and J. Reynolds, *JRS* 64 (1974), 195; see now comments by A. W. Lintott, *ZPE* 20 (1976), 65, and A. N. Sherwin-White, pp. 1 ff. above.

⁵⁰ M. H. Crawford and J. Reynolds, *GRBS* 15 (1974), 289.

⁵¹ D. M. Pippidi, *St. Clas.* 15 (1973), 57.

⁵² *BCH* 96 (1972), 435; cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1973, no. 398; Drew-Bear dates the document between 80 and 48 (perhaps in 71), I am sure rightly, against J. H. Oliver *AJP* 93 (1972), 190, who put it under Augustus.

⁵³ R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 16 (1975), 300.

⁵⁴ G. Scibona, *Kokalos* 17 (1971), 3; their recruitment for naval service is hardly a matter for surprise. On the Caninii see J. Geiger, *CQ* 22 (1972), 130, a point that I owe to M. W. Frederiksen.

⁵⁵ J. M. Reynolds, *Fifth Annual Report of the Society for Libyan Studies* (1973-4), 19.

⁵⁶ J. M. Reynolds, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 622.

⁵⁷ J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 115, and *Acta of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara/Izmir 1973*, forthcoming; cf. also F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 50. Publication in a monograph is intended as soon as it is reasonably certain that no new fragments are likely to be recovered within the near future.

A remarkable and unique document from Sicily, published by G. Manganaro, who attributes it to the late second century, is a painted text from Tauromenium giving the names of historians, with short notes on the work of each; it is interesting that Philistus is listed as a pupil of Evenus; but the most noteworthy fact is that Q. Fabius Pictor appears in this galaxy of Greeks (credited with relating the story of the arrival of Heracles in Italy, the travels of 'Lanoius', of Aeneas and Ascanius, the lives of Romulus and Remus and the foundation of Rome). In this context it cannot be doubted that he wrote annals in Greek.⁵⁸

Emperors, Imperial families, Imperial cult

Several studies of the style and character of imperial letters and edicts have appeared, clarifying the manner in which emperors worked and the degree of individuality to be expected in the production of each reign.⁵⁹

The imperial cult and its officials have continued to attract attention, very notably from D. Fishwick. A new and surprising feature is the amount of evidence that A. Chastagnol and N. Duval were able to collect for the survival of *sacerdotes* and *flamines pp.* in Africa in the Vandal period; the cult had been secularized, but the positions in some way remained attractive and it is suggested that the provincial *conciilia* in fact continued to meet.⁶⁰

Turning to individual emperors, a military *cursus* from the Troad raises the problem of Augustus' powers to recruit, shows him recruiting even in the city of Rome in the military crises of his last decade, throws light on the activities of Tiberius as *collega imperii* and forces a reconsideration of the occasions of the imperial acclamations received by Augustus, Tiberius and Germanicus.⁶¹

A dedication to Augustus at Axima in Savoy made in A.D. 2/3, may, as M. Leglay suggests, provide the foundation date for the province of the Graian Alps.⁶² The two days on which his birthday might be celebrated are discussed by I. König.⁶³ Livia appears as Σεβαστή 'Ιουλία Μνημοσύνη (a new identification), the subject of a prize encomium in the *Mouseia* at Thespieae.⁶⁴ Gaius or Lucius Caesar seems to be the subject of a fragment from the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome;⁶⁵ its first line certainly contained the title *princeps iuventutis*, the second a reference to [*p*]ueritiae insignia—are these to be connected with the Tacitean phrase 'necdum posita puerili praetexta' (*Ann.* 1. 3)? Gaius is proposed as the subject of a new restoration of the inscription on the arch at Arles (instead of a Constantinian prince),⁶⁶ Gaius with Lucius on that of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes (instead of Aurelius and Verus or a conflation of two inscriptions of which the earlier honoured Agrippa);⁶⁷ the great tomb on the harbour-side at Limyra has yielded a huge letter C towards J. Borchardt's surely correct identification of it as the mausoleum of Gaius;⁶⁸ probably post-mortem (perhaps in A.D. 14) both Gaius and Lucius appear in a dedication of *imagines Caesarum* at Trebula Suffenas,⁶⁹ along with a list of names which seem likely to be those of newly-admitted Augustales. At Iasos the resident Roman community honours a priest Ἀγρίππας Κάισαρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἐρμου, new evidence for a cult of Agrippa Postumus.⁷⁰ Tiberius' birthdate has been restored in the inscription of Pontius Pilate at Caesarea.⁷¹ An important inscription of his reign concerned with *vehiculatio* is published by S. Mitchell in this

⁵⁸ *PP* 22 (1974), 389; N. Horsfall, *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 1. 2 (February, 1976), 18 with reference back to H. B. Mattingly, *ibid.* 1. 1, 4.

⁵⁹ W. Williams, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 37, see also *JRS* 64 (1974), 86, and pp. 67 ff. above; M. A. Benner, *The Emperor Says: Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire* (Gothenburg, 1975).

⁶⁰ D. A. Fishwick, *HSCP* 74 (1970), 299; *Historia* 19 (1970), 96; *ibid.* 20 (1971), 467; *JRS* 62 (1972), 46; *Britannia* 3 (1972), 164; *Historia* 22 (1973), 627; 24 (1975), 114; J. Rougé, *Rev. Phil.* 43 (1969), 83, on δ θεϊότατος Αὐγουστῶς; G. Alföldy, *Flamines provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (Madrid, 1973); M. S. Bassignano, *Il flaminato nelle province romane dell'Africa* (Faenza, 1975); A. Chastagnol, N. Duval, *Mélanges Seston*, 87.

⁶¹ G. E. Bean in J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (1973),

inscription no. 50; P. A. Brunt, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 161; T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 64 (1974), 21.

⁶² M. Leglay, *Caesardomum* (Tours, 1970), 22 = *AE* 1969/70, 332.

⁶³ *Epigraphica* 34 (1972), 3 = *AE* 1972, 1.

⁶⁴ P. Roesch, *BCH* 98 (1974), 649.

⁶⁵ M. Malavolta, *R. Re, O. Vasori, RAL* 8 28 (1973), 129.

⁶⁶ *CIL* XII. 668; A. von Gladiss, *Röm. Mitt.* 79 (1972), 17.

⁶⁷ *CIL* XII. 3156; R. Amy, *CRAI* 1970, 670.

⁶⁸ *JDAI* 89 (1974), 217.

⁶⁹ L. Berni Brizio, *CSDIR* 4 (1972/3), 151.

⁷⁰ G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 31-2 (1969-70 [1972]), 391, no. 14 = *AE* 1972, 98.

⁷¹ E. Weber, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 171 (1971), 194 = *AE* 1971, 477; I do not feel quite convinced.

volume.⁷² Unusually, there are several documents of the reign of Gaius: a republished dedication to him comes from the Cayster Valley;⁷³ while a local decree from Julia Gordos honours a man who had been an ambassador to Rome, Germany and Caesar—a trip which P. Herrmann connects with the German expedition of 39/40.⁷⁴ For Claudius there is probably a letter to the city of Laertes (very fragmentary) which is associated by G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford with the establishment of Lycia/Pamphylia as a province;⁷⁵ it appears to refer to Iulius Polemo who became king of Cilicia in 41. There is also a boundary stone of Claudian date set up on reclaimed public land in Cyrenaica by L. Acilius Strabo to confirm the Tacitean statement that he was originally commissioned by Claudius (*Ann.* xiv. 18).⁷⁶ Nero appears in a new inscription at Cologne dated early in 66, building, through the agency of legion XV Primigenia, during the command of the subsequently-condemned P. Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus.⁷⁷

The interest of a milestone of 69 set up in Judaea by M. Ulpus Trajanus, is explained elsewhere in this volume.⁷⁸ Another text from early in Vespasian's reign, in Cyprus, describes him, uniquely, as πατέρα δήμου Ῥώμης ἡγεμονίδος ἀνικήτου; this remarkable formula, influenced perhaps by Republican terminology surviving in a senatorial province, suggests, as P. Roesch argues, a need to link the new emperor with the old concept of the glory of Rome, the ruling and invincible power.⁷⁹ A very badly damaged stone from Apollonia in Cyrenaica shows on one face the standard text of a Neronian boundary marker for reclaimed public land, on another what looks like a duplicate of the known (and Vespasianic) lease of land recently purchased by the city and associates; this combination tends to confirm the guess that Vespasian sold off some of the *ager publicus* here.⁸⁰

Using a slightly modified restoration of *CIL* vi. 946, F. Magi concludes that it is the lost inscription from the Forum side of the arch of Titus which is, therefore, claimed as a Trajanic monument (though possibly begun under Domitian).⁸¹ A particularly interesting series of imperial texts results from N. Degrassi's work on fragments from Brescia; it runs from divus Augustus to the Severans and was perhaps initially set up under the Flavians (in connection with the Capitolium built by Vespasian in 73) and added to thereafter, reign by reign.⁸² The Aphrodisias series referred to above (n. 57) contains letters from a number of emperors, from Trajan to Gordian III; Hadrian at Delphi is the subject of a study by R. Flacelière;⁸³ Hadrian's reform of the appeal procedure in Greece of one by J. H. Oliver.⁸⁴ A letter from Hadrian to Coronea concerned with engineering to control floods in the Copaic basin is reported as the first in an archive of imperial letters on this subject in Boeotia.⁸⁵ His correspondence over the sacred properties of the Temple of Zeus at Aezani is re-examined by U. Laffi.⁸⁶ It has been disputed whether the well-known temple at Ephesus should really be described as Hadrian's.⁸⁷ In a notorious crux of his Lambaesis speech, concerning rewards for *Ala I Pann.*, M. Leglay proposes to interpret Viator as a personal name in the vocative case, Viator being the man of confidence to whom the emperor addresses his instruction to give a *congiarium* to the deserving; he should be identified with M. Calventius Viator, a seconded legionary centurion serving as an officer of Hadrian's *equites singulares*.⁸⁸

A Macedonian inscription in honour of Antoninus Pius throws some light on the relations of *koïna* to their members.⁸⁹ A dedication from Rome *Laribus Augustis et Geniis Caesarum* by vicomagistri under Antoninus Pius is discussed by S. Panciera, who demonstrates from it a change in the structure of the city's ward organization; from Augustus to

⁷² Pp. 106 ff. above.

⁷³ H. W. Pleket, *TAAANTA* 2 (1970), 55.

⁷⁴ *Anzeiger Öst. Akad.* 1974 (1975), 439.

⁷⁵ *Denkschriften* 102 (1970), 95, no. 71.

⁷⁶ J. M. Reynolds, *Libya Antiqua* 8 (1971 [1976]), 47; all the previously known markers set up by Strabo are Neronian in date.

⁷⁷ O. Doppelfeld, *Rom am Dom* (1970), 11 = *AE* 1969/70, 443; W. Eck, *Kölner Jahrbuch* 13 (1972/3), 89.

⁷⁸ B. H. Isaac and I. Roll, pp. 15 ff. above.

⁷⁹ *BCH* 95 (1971), 573; *Bull. Ép.* 1972, no. 602.

⁸⁰ J. M. Reynolds, *Libya Antiqua* 8 (1971 [1976]),

⁸¹ *Röm. Mitt.* 82 (1975), 99.

⁸² *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 42 (1969/70), 135 = *AE* 1972, 204.

⁸³ *CRAI* 1971, 168.

⁸⁴ *Hesperia* 39 (1970), 332.

⁸⁵ J. M. Fossey, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 451; the texts are not given.

⁸⁶ *Athenaeum* 49 (1971), 3.

⁸⁷ E. L. Bowie, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 137; he is answered by H. Engelmann, *ibid.* 9 (1972), 91, but I am not sure that all his points are met.

⁸⁸ *Mélanges Seston*, 277.

⁸⁹ Ph.-M. Petsas, *Makedonika* 9 (1969), 143 = *Arch. Delt.* 23 (1968), 326; on the issue see also the inscription at Myra in Lycia, n. 261.

at least 109 this kind of monument required the consent of a commission appointed by the emperor; in 116 it received that of the Senate (exceptionally); under Hadrian the authority seems to be the *praefectus vigilum*; here it is the emperor himself and this seems to remain the rule.⁹⁰ There is a remarkable number of important texts of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The great inscription published by J. H. Oliver in which the emperor deals with an appeal from Athens on specific difficulties that had arisen in the application of his regulations for membership of the Areopagus can hardly need bringing to notice;⁹¹ the text is being improved steadily and the interpretation extended; the most recent substantial discussion that I have seen is W. Williams' analysis of the formal characteristics of the document, which bears on the character of all imperial edicts and letters.⁹² The *Tabula Banasitana* has appeared in its full form;⁹³ it contains a letter of Marcus and Verus and another of Marcus and Commodus giving citizenship to specific individuals of the Tingitane tribe of the Zegrenses, and a copy of the entry concerning the second group of recipients in the list of recipients of Roman citizenship at Rome; W. Seston had already used its phrase *salvo iure gentis* as a basis for restoring a notorious clause in the *Constitutio Antoniniana*;⁹⁴ much more both about citizenship and about details of Roman administration is now being wrung from it. Further, a letter from Marcus to Miletus, published by P. Herrmann, is revealing of the emperor's way with the Senate and its with him;⁹⁵ Miletus had approached him about a contest, perhaps about the conversion of the Didymeia into the later-attested Didymeia Commodeia; he thought it proper to consult the Senate about his decisions on this at the same time as about a number of other matters; the Senate agreed to all that he put before it, but as it did not bother with formal drafting of decrees about them (cf. the *s.c. de sumptibus gladiatorum minuendis*) the emperor was left to distribute extracts from his speech—and part of one such appears here, in Latin. From a different kind of document, a decree of the Council and Assembly of Thespieae, which he reinterprets, C. P. Jones shows Marcus levying troops in Greece for his German campaign, and at Thespieae arousing quite a 'patriotic' reaction, the city identifying its interests with those of Rome in a way worth noting; A. Plassart, in the first edition of this text, regarded the levy as a response to the Costobocan invasion but it now seems likely that it preceded this and in fact explains the ease with which the Costoboci broke through.⁹⁶ It is probable that the fragment from a text recording *vota publica* at Sarmizegetusa republished in this volume should also be assigned to the reign of Marcus; it belongs to a class of text still very rare on provincial sites.⁹⁷ A letter of Commodus to Bubon in Lycia gives imperial approval and encouragement to local action taken to deal with brigands.⁹⁸ A rare dedication to divus Pius Pertinax has been found at Ostia.⁹⁹ There is an unusual dedication *Dextris Augg.* (of Severus and Caracalla, with Geta as Caesar and Julia Domna) from Africa.¹⁰⁰ Reconsideration of *IGR* III. 822 at Claudiopolis in the light of other material from the area has suggested to G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford that in 193/4 Severus took a route down the Calycadnus Valley instead of forcing the Cilician Gates.¹⁰¹ Caracalla is now known to have been honoured with an arch at Ostia.¹⁰² He appears also at Gorsium, honoured in 213 by two local dignitaries who are described as *praepositi annonae*; J. Fitz suggests that they constituted a special commission established to ensure an adequate food supply in preparation for Caracalla's

⁹⁰ S. Panciera, *Arch. Class.* 22 (1970), 138 = *AE* 1971, 33; for another example, under Aurelius and Verus, see L. Berni Brizio, *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 770 = *AE* 1971, 34 and see also R. E. A. Palmer, *Athenaeum* 52 (1974), 268; 53 (1975), 57.

⁹¹ *Hesperia*, Supp. XIII (1970); cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1971, 256; C. P. Jones, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 161; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 14 (1973), 389; idem, *ZPE* 14 (1974), 265; 16 (1975), 315; 20 (1976), 179.

⁹² W. Williams, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 37.

⁹³ W. Seston, M. Euzennat, *CRAI* 1971, 468 = *AE* 1971, 534; see also J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 93 (1972), 336; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 63 (1973), 86 and *The Roman Citizenship* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1973), 380; on the formal aspects, W. Williams, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 56; on other points, A. Boila and E. Doruțiu-Boila, *St. Clas.* 14 (1972), 179; M. Euzennat, *Mélanges Seston*, 175.

⁹⁴ *CRAI* 1961, 317.

⁹⁵ *Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975), 149.

⁹⁶ C. P. Jones, *GRBS* 12 (1971), 45, cf. A. Plassart, *Mélanges Glotz* II (Paris, 1932), 731.

⁹⁷ L. Mărghită and C. C. Petolescu, pp. 87 ff. above.

⁹⁸ F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Bubon, Nord-Lykien = Sitz. Ak. Wien* 278 (1972), 2.

⁹⁹ F. Zevi, *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 472 = *AE* 1971, 64.

¹⁰⁰ J. Lassus, *Rec. Not. Mem. Soc. Arch. Constantine* 71 (1969/71), 67 = *AE* 1972, 699; were there already rumours of tension within the imperial family?

¹⁰¹ G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, op. cit. (n. 75), 235.

¹⁰² F. Zevi and P. Pensabene, *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 481.

visit in 214.¹⁰³ Various aspects of the Dmeir inscription have been discussed.¹⁰⁴ Several milestones of the last years of his reign show him widening the road through the Cilician Gates, clearly in connection with movements of men and supplies for his Eastern expedition.¹⁰⁵ A milestone of Elagabalus from the Via Egnatia is one of the rarities to be catalogued for this quinquennium.¹⁰⁶ A dedication to Severus Alexander at Beroea is dated in the third consulate of the emperor and the second of Cassius Dio.¹⁰⁷ A milestone of Maximinus Thrax from Sardinia provides A. U. Stylow with a basis for an attack on the chronology of this reign, with particular reference to the war against the Alemanni.¹⁰⁸ Gordian III is one of several third-century emperors to be discussed by X. Lorient; notably the chronology of the first year of the reign is clarified,¹⁰⁹ and there is a particularly nice advance in the reinterpretation of *IRT* 895 to show the dedication of buildings damaged by enemy action in a text dated by the consuls of 239.¹¹⁰ Trajanus Decius, before his elevation, seems to be attested in an inscription dated not later than 238 in the Dobroudja.¹¹¹ A milestone of Philip and another of Claudius Gothicus, found on the Gebel road in Tripolitania, add new facts to the third-century history of the hinterland of this area.¹¹² On reconsideration of *CIL* VIII. 9040, J. Deininger converts honours paid to Aurelian by the province of Mauretania in 272 into a dedication to several emperors (possibly Valerian and Gallienus in 255) made by an unknown individual or individuals.¹¹³ A milestone of Florian found near Aquincum is yet another rarity.¹¹⁴ A dedication for Probus to a deity thought of as guardian of the water supply in the Mauretanian *limes* is interpreted by P. Salama as the mark of a policy designed to control movement of nomads through control of watering points, in substitution for the earlier activities of the military garrisons in the steppe-zone.¹¹⁵

For Diocletian another consolidated edition of the Price Edict has been produced by M. Giacchero, who was able to include some material published too late for Lauffer's, which was noted five years ago.¹¹⁶ There have been a number of articles publishing or discussing fragments of the Edict¹¹⁷; but the transcription by R. and F. Naumann of the text surviving at Aezani in some sense outdates all this work, for from Aezani we now have the most complete copy known, which brings us genuinely within sight of the complete edict.¹¹⁸ The Aezanians also inscribed the covering letter sent by their provincial governor, Fulvius Asticus, which has been published in *JRS*.¹¹⁹ At Aphrodisias the inscription of the Price Edict was accompanied by one of a contemporary edict of Diocletian revaluing the coinage, also published in *JRS*.¹²⁰ A number of milestones of Maxentius has been found recently in Italy, and in 1972 C. Ampolo listed the 39 known to date—surprisingly high for

¹⁰³ *Alba Regia* 12 (1972), 254.

¹⁰⁴ J. H. Oliver in *Mélanges Daux*, 289; W. Williams, *Latomus* 33 (1974), 663.

¹⁰⁵ R. Harper, *Anat. St.* 20 (1970), 149 = *AE* 1969/70, 607.

¹⁰⁶ N. G. L. Hammond, *JRS* 64 (1974), 189.

¹⁰⁷ J. P. Touratsoglou in *Ancient Macedonia* (1970), 280 = *Bull. Ep.* 1971, 400, *AE* 1971, 430.

¹⁰⁸ *Chiron* 4 (1974), 515.

¹⁰⁹ *Mélanges Seston*, 297.

¹¹⁰ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. France* 1971, 342.

¹¹¹ Al. Barnea, *Dacia* 19 (1975), 257, no. 3.

¹¹² R. G. Goodchild, *Libyan Studies* (London, 1976), 107.

¹¹³ *Hermes* 98 (1970), 121.

¹¹⁴ S. Soprani, *Folia Archeologica* 21 (1970), 91 = *AE* 1969/70, 495.

¹¹⁵ In *Maghreb et Sahara, Études géographiques offertes à Jean Despois* (Paris, 1973), 339.

¹¹⁶ *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium* (Genoa, 1974), cf. S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin, 1971).

¹¹⁷ S. Lauffer, *Chiron* 1 (1971), 377; A. Petronides, *Ελληνικά* 26 (1973), 255; J. M. Reynolds, *Lib. Ant.* 8 (1971 [1976]), 33 (unfortunately outdated by the time it was printed on the possibility it canvasses of a section on sailings from Libya, since the new copy of the Edict from Aezani (n. 118) shows clearly that

the text read here *A Roma*); E. J. Doyle, *Hesperia* 45 (1976), 77.

¹¹⁸ R. and F. Naumann, *Der Rundbau von Aezani* (Tübingen, 1973); the text, which is very difficult to read in many lights, needs extensive revision, for which the field work has already been carried out by M. H. Crawford and myself; among its most important contributions is the figure for the price of gold, HS 72,000 for 1 lb; see also pp. 251-2 below.

¹¹⁹ M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* 65 (1975), 160; after re-examination of the text in a variety of lights we propose in ll. 4-6: εὐχεπεῖων βίου τῆς τῶν ὀνίων [5-6]ίας καταστάσης ἐν τειμαῖς δικαίας vac. χορηγεῖσθαι[3]ΑΤΩ τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ ἀνθρώποις ἀπασιν. We cannot see clearly enough to make a final decision between [εὐων]ίας and [εὔπορ]ίας in l. 4 or between τολμήν and [δρ]μήν in l. 6; we have a slight preference for the first alternative in each case.

Three slight changes in interpretation are necessary; instead of understanding δεῖν εἶναι with εὐχεπεῖων βίου, λεγόντων may be taken as governing εὐχεπεῖων βίου... χορηγεῖσθαι; a slightly different genitive absolute now goes with *this* clause; something like ἵνα still seems needed to govern ἢ and we suggest, without much conviction, [vac. Πνα (τὸ) αὐτὸ ἢ (nothing is visible immediately after χορηγεῖσθαι)].

¹²⁰ K. T. Erim, M. H. Crawford, J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* 61 (1971), 171.

a comparatively short reign.¹²¹ A milestone of Crispus from Brittany gives him a new title, *invictus*.¹²² A milestone from Narbonensis, re-used three times, demonstrates particularly well the use of these columns for propaganda;¹²³ its earliest inscription is a dedication to *divus Constantius*, the first testimony to Narbonensian interest in this emperor, and it also carries a text which is very difficult to read, but may describe Licinianus as son of Constantine's sister. Constantine, with Crispus and the younger Constantine as Caesars, appears in a pair of identical texts paying for the restoration of a bridge over the Tiber.¹²⁴ Another new inscription shows Valentinian and Valens also taking an interest in Tiber bridges; it refers to thirteen of them, which is more than can be accounted for in the city stretch, and poses questions about the area of competence of the responsible *curatores* or, as here, of the *praef. urbi*.¹²⁵ Honorius and Theodosius are also attested rebuilding a bridge, the *pons Matidiae* at Isola Sacra, probably after destruction by Alaric.¹²⁶ Turning back a little in time, and from Rome to Africa, an inscription of the reign of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian from a town named Abbir Maius records a local magnate's expensive new building along with reconstruction of old works, probably damaged in the earthquake of 365; A. Beschouch draws the lesson that Africa was in fact still pretty prosperous at this time.¹²⁷

Client rulers

A striking group of inscriptions from Apamea, published by J.-P. Rey-Coquais, concerns members of a ruling family with royal honours (but not the title of king) in Syria from Augustus to Trajan; it throws light on the formalities of Roman relations with such clients, and incidentally reveals an otherwise unknown ancestor probably of Augustan date, who seems to be the first priest of the imperial cult in Syria (not previously attested before the reign of Domitian). By the date of the inscriptions, the family seems to have lost its formal position, but, of course, retained great local influence.¹²⁸

Senators

Revisions of the Consular Fasti are proposed for a number of years between 36 and 70, for 72, 85, 88, 93, 97, 100-4, 115, 123, 140-1, 152, 161, 219, 240; they derive mostly from the new series of waxed tablets from Pompeii or from new work on the Fasti Ostienses.¹²⁹ We have also been provided with several new lists of senators, fasti of provinces or particular offices,¹³⁰ and epigraphically based studies of particular aspects of the senatorial career,¹³¹

¹²¹ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 81 (1968-9 [1972]), 179; add A. Garzetti, *Athenaeum* 52 (1974), 64, near Brescia, which is relevant to Maxentius' strategic interests in this area.

¹²² R. Billoret, *RAE* 20 (1969), 219.

¹²³ R. Lauxerois, *Rev. Arch. de la Narbonnaise* 4 (1971), 177.

¹²⁴ M. Squarciapino, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 257.

¹²⁵ M. Squarciapino, *ibid.* 250.

¹²⁶ M. L. Velocchia Rinaldi, *Ricerche Archeologiche nell'Isola Sacra I* (Rome, 1975), 21 and *Per la Storia dell'Isola Sacra* (catalogue of a display of finds; Rome, 1975), 49.

¹²⁷ *CRAI* 1975, 101.

¹²⁸ *Ann. Arch. Arab. Syr.* 23 (1973), 39.

¹²⁹ H. G. Pflaum, *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. France* 1971, 226; G. Rupprecht, *Rev. Arch. de la Narbonnaise* 7 (1974), 203 (36); G. Barbieri, *RAL* 29 (1974), 259 (39); G. Barbieri, *Epigraphica* 29 (1967), 3; 30 (1968), 185; W. Eck, *Historia* 24 (1975), 324 (40, 44, 45); F. Zevi, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 437 (53/4); P. A. Gallivan, *Listy filol.* 95 (1973), 213; *CQ* 24 (1974), 290; W. Eck, *loc. cit.*; G. W. Houston, *ZPE* 16 (1975), 33 (reign of Nero); F. Zevi, *loc. cit.*; *Dial. di Arch.* 7 (1973), 52; *Listy filol.* 96 (1973), 125; S. Modugno, S. Panciera, F. Zevi, *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 3 (1973), 87 (85); L. Vidman, *Listy filol.* 98 (1975), 66 (72) (the Flavians); G. Barbieri, *MEFR* 82 (1970), 263; F. Zevi, *loc. cit.*; (97, 100-104, 115, 140/1); W. Eck, *loc. cit.* (123); A. Garcia y Bellido, *Bol. de la*

Acad. de Hist. 168 (1971), 182 = *AE* 1971, 183; G. W. Bowersock, *Hommages Préaux* 513 (152); B. Overbeck, *Chiron* 2 (1972), 449 (161); J. Marillet-Jaubert, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 77 (219); X. Lorient, *ZPE* 12 (1973), 253 (240); H. B. Mattingly, *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 2 (1972), 169, arguing that the praenomen of the historian Tacitus was *Sextus*, sought to place his suffect consulship earlier in 97 than is usually done; his placement is rejected by Zevi, *Listy filol.* 96 (1973), 125. I note also G. Barbieri, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 42 (1969), 73 on the Ostian inscription, *Not. Sc.* 1933, 493 which is sometimes referred to 204; he has found another piece of the stone which confirms A. Degraffi's conjecture (*I Fasti Consolari*, p. 112) that the consular pair concerned is that of 431.

¹³⁰ Thus W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian = Vestigia* XIII (1970); *idem*, *loc. cit.* in n. 129; B. E. Thomasson, *Senatores procuratorquesque nonnulli . . . post volumina PIR edita . . .* (Gothenburg, 1975); *idem*, *Opusc. Rom.* 7 (1969), 163 (Africa) and *Eranos* 70 (1972), 90 (provinces in general); M. Gayraud, *REA* 72 (1970), 344 (Narbonensis), W. Eck, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 81 (Lycia); T. Sarikakis, *Roman officials in Macedonia* (in Greek, Thessalonica, 1971); M. Cébeillac, *Les Quaestores Principis et Candidati aux I et II siècles de l'Empire* (Milan, 1972); M. Corbier, *L'Aerarium Saturni et l'Aerarium militare* (Rome, 1974); B. Kreiler, *Die Statthalter Kleinasiens unter den Flaviern* (Munich, 1975).

¹³¹ F. Cassola, *Studi Volterra* III (1971), 495 (*cura alimentorum*); R. K. Sherk, *Historia* 20 (1971), 110

status and functions,¹³² and of the organization of provinces¹³³ (the references given do not provide a complete record). Texts referring to new Senators are far too numerous to be catalogued here, but it seems worth noting that the most recently published group of inscriptions from Ephesus is particularly rich in them.¹³⁴

Of special interest among individual items I note the following. In a discussion of *ILS* 918, which is sometimes attributed to P. Sulpicius Quirinius, R. Syme inclines to propose L. Calpurnius, *cos.* 15 B.C., as its subject.¹³⁵ A C. Rubellius L. f. Blandus, not certainly identified, has been recorded at Marruvium, perhaps honoured there because of his family's connection by marriage with the local Octavii Laenates; the link with the imperial family is doubtless also relevant.¹³⁶ A recently-published text, in itself ordinary, has been adduced by E. Badian to show that, after all, the nomen of Hispo the delator (*Tac., Ann.* I. 74) may have been Romanus rather than Romanus.¹³⁷ The career of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*ILS* 954) is discussed by J. Gascou, who believes that Frugi served in Mauretania (not Macedonia), and argues that he conducted military operations there as a legate of Gaius, continued in post by Claudius; which is relevant to the story of the annexation of the area.¹³⁸ The decree of Q. Veranius, found at Myra and concerned with archival practice in Claudius' new province of Lycia, is republished, with a valuable commentary, by M. Wörrle; its incidental information on public slaves as archivists is also worth noting.¹³⁹ The Lucus Feroniae inscriptions of the nonagenarian Volusius Saturninus and his family are republished by W. Eck, who greatly improves the main texts and comments usefully on a number of details.¹⁴⁰ An important addition to the text of *IGR* IV. 1044 from Cos, concerned with appeals from local courts to governors or (after examination by them) to emperors, reveals it as a letter written by Cn. Domitius Corbulo.¹⁴¹ The Puteolan connections of M. Hordeonius Flaccus are interestingly brought out by J. H. D'Arms.¹⁴² After a new examination of *IGR* III. 659, W. Eck argues that Sex. Marcius Priscus governed Lycia at the end of Nero's reign and continuously through to Vespasian's; if this is right, Suetonius cannot quite mean what he seems to say when he states that Vespasian withdrew freedom from the Lycians (*Vesp.* 8. 4).¹⁴³ Quite apart from the consular fasti, there is a remarkable amount of new epigraphic material and discussion concerning notables of the Flavian period; thus (in alphabetical order) M. Aponius Saturninus, P. Calvisius Ruso L.(?) Iulius Frontinus, L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, L. Funisulanus Vettonianus, Sex. Iulius Frontinus, L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex, Q. Petillius Cerialis, Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, M. Pompeius Silvanus, L. Tampius Flavianus, P. Valerius Patruinus, M. Plancius Varus, M. Ulpius Traianus;¹⁴⁴ the picture of Flavian personalities and administration begins to fill out in a freshly illuminating way. From the Flavian/Trajanic period we now know the first Lycian senator, who turns out to be one M. Arruntius Claudianus, an

(specialization in Germany); A. Chastagnol, *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. France* (1971), 282 and *Rev. hist. droit.* 53 (1975), 375 (access to the Senate, *latus clavus* and *adlectio*); B. Campbell, *JRS* 65 (1975), 11 (*viri militares*).

¹³² Thus W. Eck, *Chiron* 2 (1972), 429 (control of military forces in Senatorial provinces); *idem*, *Epig. St.* 9 (1972), 24 (proconsular legates); *idem*, *Chiron* 3 (1973), 375 (social structure of senatorial class); B. E. Thomasson, *Opusc. Rom.* 9 (1973), 61 (one-legion provinces); M. Corbier, *MEFR* 85 (1973), 609; W. Eck, *ZPE* 18 (1975), 155 (juridicate and judicial circumscriptions in Italy); W. Eck, *ZPE* 18 (1975), 89 (*alimenta*); G. P. Burton *JRS* 65 (1975), 92 (proconsuls' assizes).

¹³³ Thus G. W. Bowersock, *ZPE* 5 (1970), 37, *JRS* 61 (1971), 219 and *Hommages Præaux*, 513 (Arabia); *idem*, *JRS* 63 (1973), 133 (Syria); B. E. Thomasson, *Eranos* 70 (1972), 72 (Sardinia); Ch. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975), 64 (dioceses of Asia).

¹³⁴ D. Knibbe, *ÖJh.* 49 (1968-71 [1973]), Beiblatt; constructive criticism of a number of these texts has appeared in *Bull. Ep.* 1974, nos. 485 f.; Ch. Habicht, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 1; W. Eck, *ZPE* 14 (1974), 163.

¹³⁵ *Vestigia* XVII (1973), 585.

¹³⁶ Letta, D'Amato, *Epigrafia della Regione dei Marsi*, no. 55.

¹³⁷ *Riv. stor. ant.* 3 (1973), 77.

¹³⁸ *Mélanges Boyancé*, 299.

¹³⁹ In J. Borchardt, *Myra, eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1975), 254.

¹⁴⁰ *Hermes* 100 (1972), 461; note also the inscription of a slave agent of the family, discussed by M. Torelli, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 746.

¹⁴¹ G. Pugliese-Carratelli, from notes by M. Segrè, *PP* 30 (1975), 102; the text still needs a lot of work. For its significance for *mandata* note the paper by G. P. Burton, *ZPE* 21 (1976), 63.

¹⁴² *Historia* 23 (1974), 497.

¹⁴³ *ZPE* 6 (1970), 65, cf. B. Kreiler, loc. cit. (n. 130), and M. Wörrle, loc. cit. (n. 139), 254 and note.

¹⁴⁴ R. D. Milns, *Historia* 22 (1973), 284; G. W. Houston, *ZPE* 20 (1976), 25; W. Eck, *Vestigia* XIII (1970), 77; A. R. Birley, *Britannia* 4 (1973), 179; T. Zawadzki, *PP* 30 (1975), 59; W. Eck, *ZPE* 9 (1972), 259; B. Kreiler, *Chiron* 4 (1974), 451; I. W. Macpherson, *Anat. St.* 22 (1972), 217; S. Mitchell, *JRS* 64 (1974), 27; G. W. Bowersock, *JRS* 63 (1973), 133; B. H. Isaac, *I. Roll*, pp. 15 f. above.

equestrian military officer proceeding to procuratorial posts and then adlected into the Senate *inter aedilicios* (which is rare), probably under Domitian.¹⁴⁵ Study of the career of M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus has suggested that if it worked to rule (and if the rule is correctly deduced) his governorship of Syria fell within the period 94/5–97, which makes him a candidate for identification with the sinister *ignotus* of Pliny *Ep.* IX. 13. 11.¹⁴⁶ There is a new monument to Pliny the Younger at Comum.¹⁴⁷ A notable series of inscriptions bearing on the history of the province of Arabia has appeared, giving names of several governors and information about the garrison; one also clarifies the extent of the area annexed by Trajan (he *had* reached the Nabataean coast of the Red Sea in 106, and so, as G. W. Bowersock now argues, Tacitus could use the term *Mare Rubrum* at *Ann.* II. 61. 2 in precisely the same sense as Pliny the Elder, at any date thereafter).¹⁴⁸ A complete inscribed cursus of Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus, *cos. suff.* 146, is reported by D. J. Blackman from Phaselis; he underlines the unusual fact that, as *curator viae Valeriae Tiburtinae*, Fidus conducted a levy, possibly in connection with the need for troops to meet the Bar Kochba revolt.¹⁴⁹ The career of L. Saevinus Proculus, which is now known in two not quite identical copies, from Ephesus and from Ankara, presents several idiosyncratic features, most notably that, while legate to the *procos. Asiae*, he was also legate in the Cyclades to a pair of emperors (probably Marcus and Verus) and that as *iuridicus* in Italy he operated in an otherwise unattested combination of areas (*per Flaminiam et Transpad[um]*), at a time, it is suggested, when Marcus was still experimenting with this new development in the administration of Italy.¹⁵⁰ A Greek epigram at Cordova inscribed by a *procos. Baeticae* named Arrianus may be a dedication by the historian, though not all believe so.¹⁵¹ An intriguing graffito on a tile from Malva in Dacia (written before firing) contains the names of two governors of Dacia, Arrius Antoninus and Helvius Pertinax—its intention is far from clear.¹⁵² G. Molisani sees the early career of the Severan partisan, P. Cornelius Anullinus, both in *CIL* III 554 + 7284 (add p. 985 and 1113, 2316) and in *Corinth* VIII. 2, no. 60; he argues that an appointment as *corrector Achaiae*, which would explain honours paid to him in Greece, can plausibly be restored in *ILS* 1139.^{152a} Fronto's family is in the news; his daughter is honoured at Formiae, where her husband Aufidius Fronto is recorded as patron and she herself held an unparalleled position as priestess *Augustae et patriae* (recalling Asiatic municipal cults in which Emperor and city are linked in this way); and the sarcophagus of her son at Pesaro is republished by A. Giuliano, who makes illuminating use of the sculptured decoration as well as the inscription.¹⁵³ The first consul from Ephesus, Ti. Claudius Severus, turns out to be remarkably late, in fact Severan; so that Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, *cos.* 92, cannot have been counted as truly Ephesian.¹⁵⁴ A new text of *curatores op. pub.* dated in 193 raises problems of identification which seem difficult to solve without the assumption of a cutter's error; if that is allowed, G. Molisani suggests that we have here a couple appointed in 192, of whom Asellius Claudianus was put to death by Severus (*SHA, V. Severi* 13. 1, ?a partisan of Didius Julianus), while Seius Superstes survived with Fabius Magnus substituted for his dead partner (cf. *ILS* 5920, dated in June 193).¹⁵⁵ M. Speidel reconsiders the association of Q. Anicius Faustus with *equites singulares* at Lambaesis in *AE* 1957, 122; since the inscription of Ti. Claudius Maximus (*AE* 1969–70, 583) now reveals a legionary legate with *equites singulares*, H. G. Pflaum's argument that this is the first known document of

¹⁴⁵ D. Knibbe, loc. cit. (n. 134), Beibl. 6, no. 1, as interpreted by Ch. Habicht, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 1.

¹⁴⁶ H. Halfmann, *Vestigia* XVII (1973), 449 with a cautious comment by R. Syme; G. Alföldy and H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3 (1973), 331.

¹⁴⁷ G. C. Susini, *Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 183 = *AE* 1972, 212.

¹⁴⁸ W. Starcky, C. Bennett, *Syria* 45 (1968), 53; J. T. Milik, *Bull. Inst. Arch. London* 10 (1971 [1972]), 54; G. W. Bowersock, loc. cit. (n. 133); M. Christol, *REA* 73 (1971), 124; M. Sartre, *Ann. Arch. Arab. Syr.* 22 (1972), 171; idem, *Syria* 50 (1973), 223.

¹⁴⁹ *Vestigia* XVII (1973), 566; he does not print the complete text.

¹⁵⁰ E. Bosch, *Quellen und Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Ankara, 1967), 257, no. 197 = *AE* 1969–70, 601; I. W. Macpherson, *Anat. St.*

22 (1972), 217; W. Eck, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 71; cf. H. G. Pflaum, *ZPE* 7 (1971), 64.

¹⁵¹ A. Tovar, *Estudios sobre la obra de Américo Castro* (Madrid, 1971), 403; M. F. Galiano, *Emerita* 40 (1972), 47 = *Bull. Ep.* 1973, no. 539; M. Marcovitch, *ZPE* 12 (1973), 207 and *ZPE* 20 (1976), 41; W. Burkert, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 167; A. B. Bosworth, *GRBS* 17 (1976), 55.

¹⁵² D. Tudor, *Rev. Ét. Sudest-Européennes* 11 (1973), 415 and *Pontica* 7 (1974), 39.

^{152a} G. Molisani, *ZPE* 20 (1976), 119.

¹⁵³ M. Zambelli, *Epigraphica* 32 (1970), 72 = *AE* 1971, 79; A. Giuliano, *PP* 27 (1972), 271.

¹⁵⁴ Ch. Habicht, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 1.

¹⁵⁵ *ZPE* 13 (1974), 7; on a detail of Molisani's discussion see H. G. Pflaum, *ZPE* 18 (1975), 14.

provincia Numidia is invalid.¹⁵⁶ A Maecius Marullus, perhaps the father of Gordian I, appears in a verse epitaph at Zagarolo, near Rome.¹⁵⁷ A text from Castel di Decima, also near Rome, published by W. Eck, records the cursus of an unknown Q. Pomponius Munatianus Clodianus, which seems to be of mid-third century; he was apparently *curator viae Latinae* before he was *praetor*, which may indicate a down-grading of the post (but Eck cites evidence for the misplacing of such items in an inscribed *cursus*—which is alarming).¹⁵⁸ The fragmentary Campanian inscription *AE* 1937, 54 has been rediscovered and re-read by G. Camodeca, who makes a much more reasonable document of it, disposing of the reference to a *procos. Africae* named Q. Volateius in favour of a *curator* of various Italian cities including Volaterrae, and invalidating identification of the subject with that of *ILS* 1126.¹⁵⁹ A new inscription from the Blackfriars riverfront at London may refer to a governor of Britain reported as M. Martiannus Pulcher (? M. Mar(?) Ti. Annius, a suggestion that I owe to J. R. Martindale), but if so his title cannot be *v.e.* as printed; perhaps, therefore, he is an acting governor, though quite how the text ran remains obscure—is *v(ice) f(unctus) leg(ati)* possible? ¹⁶⁰ A series of texts concerning C. Iulius Sallustius Saturninus Fortunatianus, governor of Numidia under Gallienus, is collected by J. Marcillet-Jaubert who suggests that he was the last Senatorial governor, and that the transfer of the province to an equestrian officer may be seen in progress in *ILS* 2413, where an equestrian *praef. legionis* is closely associated with Fortunatianus.¹⁶¹

There is a surprisingly large number of fourth-century texts, especially from Campania. Among them two from Puteoli, published by G. Camodeca, are relevant to the date at which Campania was transferred from a *corrector* to a *consularis*; in one, L. Aelius Proculus, *corr. Campaniae* and *u.p.* (which is unique) dedicated to Constantine who has the title *victor* (? in 323/4; Camodeca contests Chastagnol's 'October 324' for its introduction); in the other Iulius Aurelianus *v.c., cons. Campaniae* dedicated to a Caesar whose name Camodeca reads as Crispus, which would necessitate a date not later than 326.¹⁶² A series of texts records building in the late fourth century in Isauria: at Anamur the known *comes* Matronianus, in conjunction with a Eusebius, commander of the First Legion of Isaurians, is responsible for work on the city wall;¹⁶³ the same *comes* is probably now recorded as builder of a church on an unnamed site 8 km. inland from Limonlu in an inscription found by Stephen Hill;¹⁶⁴ the name of another *comes*, Valerius Valentinianus, is used to date a building from the area of Isaura which was paid for by private munificence—a fact which A. S. Hall, in editing the text, rightly stresses.¹⁶⁵ Finally I should call attention to the sane treatment of senatorial attitudes to oriental cults by J. F. Matthews.¹⁶⁶

Equites

Two studies of the definition of *equites Romani* and of the titles in use for knights clarify the variation of practice at different dates and in different areas.¹⁶⁷ Considerable numbers of individual inscriptions¹⁶⁸ and several regional studies underline the connection between the equestrian order and municipal élites.¹⁶⁹ The occasional monument to an eques of more

¹⁵⁶ *Historia* 22 (1973), 125.

¹⁵⁷ M. C. Franco, *Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 82 = *AE* 1971, 62.

¹⁵⁸ *Chiron* 4 (1974), 533.

¹⁵⁹ *Atti Acc. Sc. Mor. e Pol. Napoli* 85 (1974), 250.

¹⁶⁰ *The Times* for 22 January 1976; to be published fully in a forthcoming number of *Britannia*. I am grateful to Mark Hassall and John Wilkes for allowing me to see a squeeze and photograph.

¹⁶¹ *Bull. Arch. Alg.* 4 (1970), 313; but the legion seems to be involved in the construction recorded, which might sufficiently account for the inclusion of its *praefectus*.

¹⁶² *Atti Acc. Sci. Mor. e Pol. Napoli* 82 (1971), 24; the texts were also published by C. Guadagno and S. Panciera, *RAL*⁸ 25 (1970), 111 = *AE* 1969-70, 108, cf. also 116, but reading *Constans* for *Crispus*.

¹⁶³ E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Phoenix* 26 (1972), 183,

corrected by C. P. Jones, *ibid.* 396 and R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 10 (1973), 174.

¹⁶⁴ The text will appear in a forthcoming number of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*; I am grateful for permission to mention it ahead of publication.

¹⁶⁵ *Anat. St.* 22 (1972), 213 = *AE* 1972, 659.

¹⁶⁶ *JRS* 63 (1973), 175.

¹⁶⁷ T. P. Wiseman, *Historia* 19 (1970), 67; S. Demougin, *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 445.

¹⁶⁸ For a good example see R. P. Duncan-Jones, *JRS* 64 (1974), 79.

¹⁶⁹ M. Jarrett, *AJP* 112 (1971), 513 (Africa); *idem*, *Epig. St.* 9 (1972), 146; J. J. Wilkes in *Adriatica* (Zagreb, 1970), 529 (Dalmatia); add two regional studies on equestrian jurymen, H. G. Pflaum, *Ant. Afr.* 2 (1968), 153 (Africa); Y. Burnand, *Mélanges Seston*, 59 (Gaul).

undistinguished background suggests that work on other sources of recruitment might also be rewarding.¹⁷⁰ A study of the *transvectio equitum*, relying indeed more often on sculptural than on epigraphic material, treats a somewhat neglected subject.¹⁷¹ At the upper end of the social scale there are good illustrations of the interconnection of the equestrian and senatorial orders, and some of these also bring in the municipal link.¹⁷² Current evidence on equestrian jurymen has been surveyed by S. Demougin.¹⁷³ The Claudian order for the equestrian military officerships is discussed by H. Devijver, who also considers the Spanish post of *praef. orae maritimae* which he takes to be equivalent to that of *praef. coh.*¹⁷⁴ The letter of appointment and the career of Q. Domitius Marsianus, procurator, has been examined in detail by H. G. Pflaum.¹⁷⁵ There is a new list of prefects of Egypt up to A.D. 300; while the functions and functioning of equestrian officials in Egypt are discussed by P. A. Brunt.¹⁷⁶ The relations of equestrian procurators to imperial freedmen and slave assistants are touched upon by H. G. Pflaum in an article devoted largely to freedmen officials of the XX *hereditatum* in the Cyclades and coastal districts of Asia Minor.¹⁷⁷ The careers of equestrian officers who served *pro legato* are collected and tabulated by J. Šašel.¹⁷⁸ Two equites acting as governors in the third century are interestingly identified by H. G. Pflaum:¹⁷⁹ M. Aurelius Apollinaris (*IG x. 2. 140*) as the praetorian tribune of SHA, *Vita Caracallae* 6. 8 and Cassius Dio 78. 5. 2, a conspirator against Caracalla, who seems likely to have been appointed to the procuratorship of Macedonia precisely in order to undertake the functions of the proconsul—demonstrating that Macrinus observed the rules of the established system, but twisted them to his purposes; Aurelius Valentinus (*Marbre de Thorigny*, p. 57) as tribune of a military cohort stationed at Certeia in Dacia Porolissensis, who clearly held an appointment due to the military crisis of the Gothic invasion in 268/9. In the same article Pflaum argues that Severus established procuratorial government in Cyrene (which he separated from Crete) and that the old system with proconsuls was restored by Severus Alexander only to be abolished again by Maximinus Thrax; we need more evidence here, I think.

Of all the posts of the equestrian cursus it seems to be the *praefectura vehiculorum* on which the most important new evidence has recently come to hand. Apart from the information on the right to use the services of the *vehiculatio*-system published by S. Mitchell on pp. 106 ff. above, a headless equestrian career from Apri demonstrates that the post of *praefectus* existed already under Vespasian, and leads W. Eck to re-examine evidence for it in the first century;¹⁸⁰ it is clear that the Domitianic Plotius Grypus (Stadius, *Silv.* 4. 9. 16–19) could have held it, that L. Baebius Iuncinus (*ILS* 1434) can be identified with a military tribune known in Egypt in 63, as A. Stein urged, and so *praef. vehic.* some time in Nero's reign, and that the anonymous holder of the post in *AE* 1950, 170 may even be pre-Claudian; in fact Eck believes that the creation of the post may be Augustan. Another office whose date of creation has been discussed again is the *res privata*; in an inscription from Cemenelum P. Baldacci sees a reference to division and survey of imperial estates in

¹⁷⁰ cf. I. I. Russu, *Acta Mus. Napoc.* 7 (1970), 517, where the man had been a member of one of the scribal decuriae, presumably at Rome, but perhaps locally.

¹⁷¹ F. Rebecchi, *Felix Ravenna*⁴ 7–8 (1974), 41.

¹⁷² cf. A. Ferrua, *Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 102 = *AE* 1971, 85 from Nola; Varia Pansina, wife of the patron of the colony, daughter of L. Varius Ambibulus *proc. Aug.*, and sister of Varius Ambibulus, *cos. des.* 132, builds locally; T. Drew-Bear, *HSCP* 79 (1975), 301 reinterprets L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 198 from Tarsus, to reveal honours to a local grandee who was a knight with a senatorial son, but himself later achieved senatorial, and indeed consular, rank.

¹⁷³ *Ancient Society* 6 (1975), 143.

¹⁷⁴ *Ancient Society* 3 (1972), 165; he concludes

that the military posts held by M. Porcius Narbonensis (*CIL* II. 4239) are in the Claudian order.

¹⁷⁵ *Bonner Jahrbücher* 171 (1971), 349 = *AE* 1971, 491; for the history of the stone on which this text is cut see J. Debergh, *Latomus* 32 (1973), 152, contested, I think rightly, by R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Latomus* 33 (1974), 118.

¹⁷⁶ G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 263; P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 65 (1975), 124; cf. also J. Schwartz, *ZPE* 20 (1976), 101.

¹⁷⁷ *ZPE* 7 (1971), 64.

¹⁷⁸ *Chiron* 4 (1974), 467.

¹⁷⁹ *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études* 1973–4 (1974), 269.

¹⁸⁰ Z. Taşliklioğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafya* (1969–71), 86; W. Eck, *Chiron* 5 (1975), 365.

Hadrian's reign which he links to a conjecture of H. G. Pflaum's that the *res privata* was Hadrianic in origin.¹⁸¹

Among individual knights the following seem to deserve mention (a few more will be found under the heading of military affairs). In a lost inscription from Chios (*IGR* iv. 942) H. G. Pflaum convincingly reads Φαιάνιος for an earlier editor's [Τ]ραιάνιος; since Faianius is a rare nomen he connects the subject with the equestrian Faianii of Mutina, the family which, if R. Syme is right to emend the text of Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 73, had produced a knight involved in one of the earliest *maiestas* cases of the reign of Tiberius.¹⁸² Though the sources used are mainly literary, it seems proper to record G. Winkler's proposal to disentangle from the evidence a Norbanus who was *procurator Raetiae* in 89 and acted with Lappius Maximus against Antonius Saturninus, subsequently becoming *praef. Aeg.* and *praef. praet.*¹⁸³ M. Gavius Bassus, *praef. orae Ponticae* when Pliny was governing Bithynia (*Ep.* x. 21, 22, 86A), is the honorand of a bilingual inscription at Ephesus;¹⁸⁴ his background is soldierly (the *equestris militia*, decorations in the Dacian War) but he was on the equestrian jury panels (adlected between his military tribunate and prefecture of cavalry); he is honoured by members of his staff, comprising two cavalymen and six beneficiarii, a smaller group than the total which he told Pliny was insufficient, but presumably all were not present at Ephesus; it is uncertain what he and they were doing at Ephesus—could it have been on the occasions of the *classis Pontica*? L. Sempronius Senecio, another of the new equites, may also figure in Pliny's correspondence (*Ep.* vi. 31); his inscription from Sidon, published by J.-P. Rey-Coquais,¹⁸⁵ gives a *cursus* taking him to the procuratorship of Judaea, a post which vanished in 135, and is full of anomalies; it lacks the *equestris militia*, describes him as *proc. Aug. a censibus* (a formula not otherwise attested before Severus), locates this office *provinc. Thrac. et Aquitan.* (a warning that *et* does not necessarily link two functions exercised contemporaneously) and takes him from *proc. monetarum* (a top grade centenarial post normally followed by promotion to *ducentarius*) to *proc. Judaeae* (normally another centenarial post; but in the period of unrest which probably preceded the Bar Kochba revolt the Judean position may have been upgraded); Rey-Coquais suggests that he is the dedicator of *CIL* II. 3661 in honour of a senator, Iulius Tiro (perhaps the patron under whom he later served in his first posting as *praef. fabrum*), which throws an ironically lurid light on the charge of forging Tiro's will which is the subject of the Plinian reference. Further details have come to light on Gavius Maximus, *praef. praet.*, and his career, and he appears as a munificent builder of Baths at Ostia,¹⁸⁶ although not apparently Ostian, to judge from his newly-attested tribe. There is also new evidence on Q. Baienus Blassianus, whose posting as *praef. ann.* can now be dated with some confidence in the quinquennium 164-9; that fits with the newly discovered indications of papyri for a prefecture of Egypt in 167/8 (not 133 as formerly stated); his military service, for which he is an early employer of the formula *functo tribus militiis equestribus*, must now be taken to fall in Hadrian's reign, but the use of the formula need not be assigned to this date.¹⁸⁷

In a rather miscellaneous collection of pagan inscriptions found in the catacomb of Praetextata, A. Ferrua publishes a headless equestrian *cursus* which includes the post of *proc. ad oleam comparandam* [*per re*]gionem Tripolit(anam), hardly earlier than Severan, I suppose, and an unusually precise recognition of the Tripolitanian olive yards.¹⁸⁸ From Seville come two bases giving the very Spanish *cursus* of M. Lucretius Iulianus, certainly Severan, and at one stage *proc. kal. Vegetiani*, which confirms earlier guesses on this post.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸¹ P. Baldacci, *CSDIR* 2 (1969-70), 129 using the inscription published in *Gallia* 22 (1964), 607 and again subsequently in B. Laguerre, *Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez*, no. 43 (though without reference to Baldacci's discussion); Laguerre relates the crucial phrase to general Hadrianic agrarian policy in the Maritime Alps—but it certainly seems to mention imperial estates. The text is unfortunately too fragmentary to provide a clinching proof of any theory. For the *res* (or better *ratio*) *privata*, see also p. 164 above.

¹⁸² *ZPE* 17 (1971), 61; for Syme's proposal see *JRS* 39 (1949), 12.

¹⁸³ *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 495.

¹⁸⁴ D. Knibbe, loc. cit. (n. 43), *Beibl.* col. 16, no. 2 = *AE* 1972, 573.

¹⁸⁵ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 46 (1970), 243.

¹⁸⁶ F. Zevi, *RAL*^s 26 (1971), 449; A. Donati, *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 1 (1971), 127 = *AE* 1971, 65.

¹⁸⁷ A. Licordari, *RAL*^s 29 (1974), 253.

¹⁸⁸ *RAL*^s 28 (1973), 68.

¹⁸⁹ A. M. Canto, *Habis* 4 (1973), 311 = *AE* 1972, 250.

The two partly Caracallan careers of Q. Cerellius Apollinaris and C. Iulius Pacatianus are re-examined by M. Christol, who connects brilliant promotions with Caracalla's favours to a group which supported him against Geta.¹⁹⁰ The text of the lost *cursus* of Q. Agrius Rusticianus (*CIL* VIII. 11163 = Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 305) is ingeniously restored by A. Illuminati to give a posting as *proc. totius r[ation]is ta[bul. d.] n.* and an imperial archive (for which there is some evidence, at any rate under Commodus) directed by a sexagenarian procurator.¹⁹¹ A lost Roman dedication to a Valerian as Caesar offered by the Three Gauls through the agency of a Sex. Acilius Fuscus has been reconsidered by M. Corbier and M. Christol;¹⁹² the crux is the title of Fuscus, which has been variously interpreted—they suggest that what survived of it when found was *proc. Auggg. nnn.* (convincingly), and that the only reason why the provincial *concilium* should use his services rather than those of the Senatorial governor of Lugdunensis is that he was at the time acting governor. Tenagino Probus, one of the first knights to be certainly attested in a senatorial post, appears on the inscription from the tower of the *principia* in the camp at Lambaesis, as newly read by H. Kolbe;¹⁹³ the building was restored during his governorship by Gallienus (for whose erased name those of Diocletian and Maximian were later substituted), by the labours of the legionaries (described as *tertii Augustani*, ? an informal terminology now transferred to a formal context) and the building is uniquely described as a *groma* (presumably again an informal usage now formally accepted), which Kolbe explains on the grounds that it stood precisely where the surveyors' *groma* was placed when the camp was first laid out. Among new governors of Arabia we now know of an Aemilius Aemilianus *v.p.* in office in 278/9, and building in association with a junior officer, Iulius Quirillus, described as *a militiis*.¹⁹⁴

From the fourth century new discoveries at Ostia confirm the Diocletianic date guessed by Mommsen for Hostilius Antipater, *praef. ann.*¹⁹⁵ A monument at Puteoli, published by J. H. D'Arms, records a Iulius Sulpicius Successus *v.e.* as *procurator portus Puteolani*; it provides evidence for the continued importance of the harbour facilities there to the Roman corn supply (see also under cities).¹⁹⁶

Military affairs

In addition to a particularly useful series of articles in *ANRW* II. 1 surveying various aspects of the army, there have been several attempts to provide guides to the dating of military texts,¹⁹⁷ several studies (pertinent also to problems of dating fragments) of the development of formulae used in military diplomata¹⁹⁸ and a notable discussion by P. A. Brunt on the constitutional aspects of recruitment, on levies in Rome and on the organization of Italians into units other than legionary.¹⁹⁹

By a striking coincidence both on the northern frontier and on the southern Roman army camps have begun to yield personal and official documents of a sort not hitherto accessible outside the areas of papyrus survival.²⁰⁰ From Vindolanda in Britain the documents are mainly of the early second century, from Bu Ngem in Tripolitania they are of the third century; they complement each other in revealing details of army life for which we have hitherto had to rely essentially on Egypt and to a lesser extent on Dura Europus, both of which might well be atypical. Given the importance of the military in the Roman scheme of things the value of this new material is outstanding.

¹⁹⁰ *Mélanges Seston*, 119.

¹⁹¹ *RAL*⁸ 28 (1973), 913.

¹⁹² *REA* 73 (1971), 356 = *AE* 1971, 23.

¹⁹³ *Röm. Mitt.* 81 (1974), 281.

¹⁹⁴ M. Sartre, *Syria* 50 (1973), 223.

¹⁹⁵ F. Zevi, *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 468 = *AE* 1971, 66.

¹⁹⁶ *PP* 27 (1972), 255.

¹⁹⁷ Thus D. B. Saddington, *Vestigia* XVII (1973), 538 (auxiliaries); M. Clauss, *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 55 (praetorians).

¹⁹⁸ H. Lieb, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 19 (1967), 95; J. C. Mann, *Épig. St.* 9 (1972), 233, developing from the position reached by G. Alföldy, *Historia* 17 (1968), 215; cf. also H. Wolff, *Chiron* 4 (1974), 479; S. Dušanić and M. R. Vesić, *Germania* 52 (1974), 408.

¹⁹⁹ P. A. Brunt, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 161; on recruiting, idem in *Scripta Classica Israelica* 1 (1974), 90.

²⁰⁰ (1) A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, R. P. Wright, *Britannia* 5 (1974), 471; A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974); idem, *Historia* 24 (1975), 463; A. K. Bowman, *ZPE* 18 (1975), 237; and for a non-British assessment of importance, R. Marichal, *Journal des Savants* 1975, 113 (who also stresses the value of these tablets for the history of cursive writing); (2) R. Rebuffat, *CRAI* 1969, 206; idem with R. Marichal, *REL* 51 (1973), 281; cf. also *Lib. Ant.* 6-7 (1969-70 [1975]), 18 (but this is mainly concerned with other types of text); R. Rebuffat, *CRAI* 1975, 495; (3) there are also new military ostraca from the Egyptian site of Latopolis, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *TAAANTA* 5 (1973), 72 and R. S. Bagnall, *Bull. Am. Soc. Pap.* 12 (1975), 135; but such material from Egypt is less revolutionary.

There has also been a fine harvest of new diplomata, especially from the Danube area. Among these, four can be singled out. One from Alba Julia in Rumania, published by I. I. Russu, shows discharges in Moesia Superior in 99 exactly contemporary with those already attested in Moesia Inferior (*CIL* xvi. 44, 45), presumably in a reorganization of the army preparatory to Trajan's First Dacian War.²⁰¹ Another from Gherla in Rumania, also first published by I. I. Russu, shows Dacia Porolissensis already in existence in 123, and by implication, perhaps, already in 119; a fragment, discovered almost contemporarily at Čovdin in Yugoslavia, was in process of publication by S. Dušanić and M. R. Vasić (they thought it likely to be concerned with troops of Moesia Superior *c.* 115-16) but at the last minute they were able to add an appendix arguing that it too referred to Dacia Porolissensis in 123.²⁰² The governor's name is not quite clear either at Gherla (LIVIO GRAPO, as Russu now reads it), or at Čovdin, where it is also incomplete (LIVIO ORA [. . .], edd., QRA[. . .], Russu); Dušanić and Vasić suggest a cutter's error in the Gherla copy, with *Livio Orato* intended in both, Russu an error at Čovdin, with *Livio Grapo* intended in both (was there perhaps an error in both for *Livio Grato*?). Another point of importance is that the Gherla text describes the recipients of privileges as serving currently under Livius ?Gratus, though given *honesta missio* by Marcius Turbo; but Turbo left the Danube for Rome in 119, whereas the consular date of the document is 123; presumably the men had to wait for their privileges, and the possibility of delays of this sort needs to be borne in mind in discussions of the content of diplomata. The fourth, which comes from Konya in Asia Minor, has been used by W. Eck in an argument, which tends to the same conclusion as Eric Birley's, that legion IX Hispana survived until the Parthian War of Aurelius and Verus.²⁰³

Other legions on which there is notable new evidence are III Traiana,²⁰⁴ VII Gemina,²⁰⁵ XV Apollinaris and XVI Flavia Felix, (the last two figuring heavily in a collection of new evidence from the Cappadocian *limes*),²⁰⁶ IV Flavia and VII Claudia P. F. (from which a centurion and *lapidarii*, engaged on road works in the Danube valley, have left a remarkable monument)²⁰⁷ and I Pontica.²⁰⁸ There is a useful group of funerary texts from the military cemetery of the *equites singulares* at Rome.²⁰⁹ In a study which starts from *CIL* vi. 39449, S. Priuli argues, against Mommsen, that a praetorian soldier's *stipendia* were counted from his date of enrolment (not from 1 March next thereafter).²¹⁰ A new inscription from Grumentum, published by A. Donati, reveals a *cohors I Morinorum et Cersiacorum* which seems to confirm those manuscripts that give *Cersiacus* (*vel sim.*) in Pliny, *NH* iv. 106 against others that give *Gesoriacus*.²¹¹

The camp at Bu Ngem has yielded, besides the ostraca mentioned above, a fragmentary inscription on bronze which appears to record acclamations of an imperial family likely to be that of Elagabalus, a dedication to *numina invicta* by a *sesquiplicarius* and *librarius* who restored part of the baths *cum omne numerum militum* (*sic*) and a graffito by a soldier dated under three Licinii Augusti which is, so far, the latest evidence for military occupation here. There is too a number of graffiti, some probably associable with merchants, in the

²⁰¹ *Apulum* 12 (1974), 103 = *FA* 17 (1962), no. 4711 revised.

²⁰² I. I. Russu, *Dacia și Panonia Inferior* (Bucarest, 1973), 19; see now also in S. Dušanić and M. R. Vasić, *Germania* 52 (1974), 408, on pp. 424-5, I. I. Russu, *Inscr. Dac. Rom.* 1, nos. 7, 7a, and for further discussion H. Wolff, *Acta Mus. Nap.* 12 (1975), 152; I. I. Russu, *Rev. Roumaine d'Histoire* 14 (1975), 539.

²⁰³ B. Overbeck, *Chiron* 2 (1972), 449 = *AE* 1972, 657; W. Eck, *ibid.* 459; of the new consular pair for 161, one member can be reasonably identified with the Q. Camurius Numisius Junior, whose military tribunate in the legion (*CIL* xi. 5670) can therefore be approximately dated.

²⁰⁴ A base listing names of veterans from Nicopolis in Egypt, G. Forni and D. Manini in *Studi . . . L. De Regibus* (Genoa, 1969), 177 = *AE* 1969/70, 633.

²⁰⁵ See *Legio VII Gemina* (Leon, 1970).

²⁰⁶ T. B. Mitford, *JRS* 64 (1974), 160.

²⁰⁷ M. Gabričević, *Arheološki Vestnik* (Ljubljana) (1972), 408; the text and its meaning are not absolutely clear.

²⁰⁸ G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Denkschriften* 102, no. 50, revised by G. Läminger-Pascher, *Wiener Studien* 86 (1973), 249 and reconsidered by J. F. Gilliam, *ZPE* 15 (1974), 183, who rejects many of her proposals and uses the text both to stress the energy of Diocletian's approach to the chronic problem of Isaurian raiding and to illustrate a development in imperial *supernomina* for military units; these were adjectival in form (e.g. *Antoniniana*) until the tetrarchy, but during Diocletian's reign became genetical (so *Diocletiani et Maximimiani*), a simpler way of demonstrating that the imperial colleagues were joint commanders of the army.

²⁰⁹ S. Panciera, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* 50 (1974), 221.

²¹⁰ *RAL* 8 26 (1971), 697.

²¹¹ *Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 70 = *AE* 1972, 148.

neighbouring civil settlement.²¹² A general study of *canabae* by F. Vittinghof should also be recorded;²¹³ and a collection of evidence at Mainz for an important and interesting aspect of the religion of the army, the *honos aquilae*, by P. Herz.^{213a}

Among stray titbits, an inscription from a site which is probably the ancient Parthiopolis presents a veteran of legio I Italica apparently enrolled in 71 and discharged as a *beneficiarius* in 96, to be eventually settled by Trajan in his colony there (where a son and three grandchildren set up his tombstone);²¹⁴ we do not often have such specific information about veteran colonists. There is also a third-century *primus pilus* of Ostian origin who served in leg. XI Cl. Alexandrina and dedicated, along with his son (who was *eques Romanus*), in Moesia Inferior.²¹⁵ A record of a *quaestionarius* has been found near Rome²¹⁶ and of a *πραϊπόσιτος κουστουδίων* (under Gordian) at Bosra.²¹⁷ A fragmentary but potentially interesting document from Noviodunum seems to show a *praefectus classis* who moved from post to post collecting grateful *alumni* in each.²¹⁸ An inscription from Viminacium mentions a *schola mensorum*, a feature which seems to be previously unattested.²¹⁹

Familia Caesaris

A revised edition of G. Boulvert's book on the imperial slaves and freedmen, together with P. R. C. Weaver's *Familia Caesaris*, constitute a considerable advance in accessible knowledge of this important group.²²⁰ Pflaum's study of slave and freedmen officials of the XX *hereditatum* in Asia and the Cyclades, noted above under Equites, should be remembered here.²²¹ From new inscriptions it seems worth noting a T. Flavius Successus, *tabularius rationis marmorum Lunessium* (? product of Flavian and/or Trajanic building in Rome),²²² a slave *dispensator legionis* at Lambaesis and another from Rome,²²³ a *seruus contrascriptor hortorum Antonianorum* and a *proc. rationis chartariae* at Rome.²²⁴

Law

Some major items that might come under this head, notably Republican laws and the Tabula Banasitana, have already been mentioned. There was a session devoted to inscriptions and law at the Munich Congress.²²⁵ *Ius Latii* in Celtic provinces, with a useful collection of epigraphic evidence related thereto, is the subject of a paper by B. Galsterer-Kröll.²²⁶ The question of personal *ius italicum*, as it appears to be attested in the now notorious Didyma inscription, is discussed again.²²⁷ The date of the Antonine Constitution continues to be canvassed—P. Herrmann argues very closely from a funerary inscription to early 213;²²⁸ I doubt if this kind of evidence can safely be pressed so hard. The new Pompeian waxed tablets, mentioned already, are full of information on legal actions and social (or perhaps unsocial) life.²²⁹ A new treatment of the old tablets of Jucundus should also be recorded,²³⁰ and there is a new analysis of the Dacian tablets.²³¹ Among other items is a Republican fragment containing a prohibition on some action relating to a stream,²³² and the tombstone

²¹² R. Rebuffat and others, *Lib. Ant.* 6–7 (1969–70 [1975]), 18. The developing use of informal language in formal settings seems to be demonstrated in the bronze tablet (see also above at Lambaesis) while the breakdown of education is also demonstrated both in graffiti and in inscriptions.

²¹³ *Chiron* 1 (1971), 299.

^{213a} *ZPE* 17 (1975), 181.

²¹⁴ T. Ivanov, N. Nikolov, D. Serafimova, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* 3. (1969), 121 = *AE* 1972, 565.

²¹⁵ V. Velkov, *Arch. Class.* 23 (1971), 121 = *AE* 1972, 504; cf. J. Scheid, *ZPE* 15 (1974), 287, pointing out that in the dedication the third deity is *Mars Pater*.

²¹⁶ H. Solin, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen in Rom und Umgebung* (1975), no. 50.

²¹⁷ M. Sartre, *Ann. Arch. Arab. Syr.* 22 (1972), 175, no. 8.

²¹⁸ Al. Barnea, *Dacia* 19 (1975), 258.

²¹⁹ P. Petrović, *Živa Antika* 21 (1971), 523.

²²⁰ G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux* (Naples, 1970); P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (Cambridge, 1972).

²²¹ Above, n. 177; add idem, *ZPE* 18 (1975), 11, with special reference to the office for the *Regio Hellenopontiaca et Perygameia*.

²²² L. Quilici, *Collatia*, 279–81, no. 166.

²²³ J. Gascou, *MEFR* 81 (1969), 537 (Lambaesis); A. Ferrua, *RAL*⁸ 28 (1973), 74 (Rome).

²²⁴ A. Ferrua, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* 51 (1975), 30 and 50.

²²⁵ *Vestigia* xvii (1973), 131.

²²⁶ *Chiron* 3 (1973), 277.

²²⁷ A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*³ (1973), 316; cf. J. A. Crook, *CR* 25 (1975), 282.

²²⁸ *Chiron* 2 (1972), 519.

²²⁹ C. Giordano, *RAAN* 45 (1970), 211; F. Sbordone, *RAAN* 46 (1971), 173; C. Giordano, *ibid.* 183; F. Sbordone, *RAAN* 47 (1972), 307; C. Giordano, *ibid.* 311; L. Bove, *Labeo* 17 (1971), 131; 19 (1973), 7.

²³⁰ J. Andreau, *Les affaires de M. Jucundus* (Rome, 1974).

²³¹ G. Ciulei, *Acta Mus. Napoc.* 8 (1971), 555.

²³² L. Quilici, *Collatia*, 574; see also J. Coste and P. Schuttmann-Bolzon, *Not. Scav.* 1970, 364.

of a lawyer—a man from E. Pamphylia who studied in Beirut, practised in various Eastern cities and became assessor to the court of the *praeses* of the Thebaid.²³³

Cities

As usual, a very large number of inscriptions has come to light under this head. They include some small fragments of a Spanish municipal charter²³⁴ and two municipal decrees from the west²³⁵ to add to Sherck's new collection of such texts (plenty, of course, from the east). There has been discussion of municipal jurisdiction,²³⁶ and other features of municipal life such as *taxatio* and *pollicitatio* in Africa,²³⁷ patronage and city privileges, including civic titles,²³⁸ aspects of the social status of those involved in local politics,²³⁹ *mulsum et crustulum*,²⁴⁰ tribes.²⁴¹ New towns have been identified,²⁴² new information discovered about the history and status of others.²⁴³ Evidence from Pompeii,²⁴⁴ from Puteoli,²⁴⁵ and from Africa²⁴⁶ has been extensively analysed.

Among details of special interest in the western material are a burial place for members of a pagus at Nola (unique)²⁴⁷ and a private alimentary scheme at Canusium;²⁴⁸ while the number of fourth-century inscriptions from Campania is remarkable: one found in excavation below the cathedral at Naples records the installation of standard weights 'to accord with the splendour and dignity of the city' by a *curator r.p.*;²⁴⁹ another from Puteoli, already mentioned, shows a religious organization honouring a procurator of the port, and throws some light on the *regiones* of the city.²⁵⁰ These suggest continued vitality; on the other hand in the fourth-century civic decree of the Cluvienses Carricini a city puts itself obsequiously into the hands of *potentiores*.²⁵¹

In the East there is a still greater *embarras de richesses*. The process of urbanization in the 'backward' area of Thrace is considered by B. Gerov in a study of the inscriptions which show a reduction in the number of its *strategiae*.²⁵² The economic interdependence of cities on opposite sides of the Propontis is brought out by L. Robert in discussion of a dedication to Homonoia at Perinthus by a group of 'Philapameis'.²⁵³ A many-sided picture of the life and problems of a Greek city in Asia is presented in L. Robert's treatment of inscriptions at Laodicea ad Lycum;²⁵⁴ while his brief notice of a group of inscriptions from Cremna vividly indicates the mixture of Greek with Roman tradition that was liable

²³³ G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Denkschriften* 102, no. 49 as revised by J. F. Gilliam, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 147; the date must surely be fourth-century, as Gilliam says.

²³⁴ A. D'Ors, *Emerita* 40 (1972), 59.

²³⁵ J. Bousquet, *Gallia* 29 (1971), 109 = *AE* 1969-70, 405 (Rennes); A. La Regina, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 331 (Cluiviae, fourth century).

²³⁶ Thus A. Torrent, *La iurisdictio de los magistratos municipales* (Acta Salmanticensia, Derecho, 1970); cf. G. Tibiletti, *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 3 (1973), 171; F. de Martino, *Labeo* (1975), 211.

²³⁷ P. Garnsey, *JRS* 61 (1971), 116.

²³⁸ R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Épig. St.* 9 (1972), 12; B. Galsterer-Kröll, *Épig. St.* 9 (1972), 44; P. A. Février, *Omaggio Fernand Benoit* III (1972), 277 (not seen); H. G. Pflaum, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 260.

²³⁹ W. Langhammer, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Magistratus municipales und der Decuriones* (Wiesbaden, 1973); P. Garnsey, in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials* (London, 1975), 167.

²⁴⁰ S. Mrozek, *Athenaeum* 50 (1972), 294; N. Criniti, *Aevum* 47 (1973), 498.

²⁴¹ Detailed attributions apart, note E. Badian, *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 3 (1973), 77, observing that we cannot be sure of the original tribe of any city that received a Caesarian, triumviral or early imperial colony.

²⁴² e.g. at Montescaglioso in Lucania, *Mon. Ant.* 48 (1973), 181, n. 249; and three new African towns (Alma, Urev, Asadi), A. Beschaouch, *CRAI* 1974, 219; while the disputed site of Pydna may perhaps be the findspot of J. M. R. Cormack, *Mélanges Daux*, 51.

²⁴³ e.g. Cluiviae (Cluvienses Carricini, a small Samnite community near Chieti), F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* 1 (1972), 117, and A. La Regina, loc. cit. (n. 235); Privernum (probably a Sullan colony), M. Cancellieri, *RAL* 9 29 (1974), 245.

²⁴⁴ See especially *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji*, ed. Andreae and Kyrieleis (Recklinghausen, 1975); P. Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus = Acta Inst. Rom. Finlandiae* VIII (1975); J. Andreau, op. cit. (n. 230).

²⁴⁵ J. H. D'Arms, *HSCP* 76 (1972), 207 (Republican-Augustan age); *The Ancient Historian and his materials* (London, 1975), 155 (first century A.D., especially the incident of Tac., *Ann.* XIII, 48); *JRS* 64 (1974), 104 (second century); *PP* 27 (1972), 255 (fourth century).

²⁴⁶ J. Gasco, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique Proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère* (Rome, 1972).

²⁴⁷ P. Simonetti, *Atti Acc. Pontaniana* 21 (1972), 385.

²⁴⁸ F. de Tommaso, *Epigraphica* 34 (1972), 149 = *AE* 1972, 118.

²⁴⁹ R. Di Stefano, *La Cattedrale di Napoli* (Naples, 1974), pl. 62.

²⁵⁰ J. D'Arms, *PP* 27 (1972), 255.

²⁵¹ A. La Regina, loc. cit. (n. 235).

²⁵² B. Gerov, *Klio* 52 (1970), 123 = *AE* 1969/70, 581.

²⁵³ *St. Clas.* 16 (1974), 61.

²⁵⁴ In J. Des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée du Lycos: le nymphée* (Quebec, 1969).

to emerge in Roman colonial settlements established in the east.²⁵⁵ The same point is one lesson that one might draw from the evidence for the Corinthian colonial family of the Appaleni, on which A. Spawforth has recently done some nice detective work.²⁵⁶ Lot-selection of juries in Rhodes surviving into the empire is demonstrated by P. Fraser;²⁵⁷ the possession by Cos of land in Cyprus during the imperial period by S. M. Sherwin-White.²⁵⁸ The development of imperial paternalism and the transformation of city government in Athens during the later first and second centuries are traced by J. H. Oliver in connection with *epimeletai* and *correctores*.²⁵⁹ The Athenian inscription referred to under the reign of Marcus Aurelius is, of course, very relevant. Returning to Asia, an inscription at Ephesus, reinterpreted by M. Wörrle, provides evidence for Roman controls operating on the purchase of corn for the city in Egypt.²⁶⁰ An unfortunately damaged stone at Myra in Lycia carries part of an official letter (probably of the second century) on tolls. A complicated situation is only partly revealed by what survives; the tax raised is a quadragesima, which sounds like a Roman imperial tax; the contractors collecting it seem in some cases to be hired by the city, in others by the Lycian League, and of the proceeds collected by the city's contractors a lump sum is to be paid annually to the League; at the least we have important new light on the relations of League and member city, since the system is, perhaps, likely to be a survival from the pre-Roman period, on the financing of the Hellenistic League, something relevant to the local economy, and maybe also on details of the collection of an imperial tax in this area.²⁶¹

Pagan religion and related topics

Calendars have impinged markedly on the record recently, with a fragment from Cupra Marittima and two from Rome to add to the evidence for the early principate, and the impressive painted document from below S. Maria Maggiore for the fourth century.²⁶² For a time there was thought to be another at Volsinii, but H. Solin seems to have disposed of this.²⁶³ Nundinarial lists—a related class of document—are discussed by A. Deman and M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, whose elaborate calculations bear on the history of the Julian Year.²⁶⁴

Of Republican dedications a few seem worth bringing to attention in addition to those already mentioned; thus *Iunoni Puplunai* at Aquinum, *Iovei Victorei* by a group of ten *pagi* near Pescara, *Apoloni* disentangled from a misread text at Caere.²⁶⁵ The dedication to Dis by a gens of Magii in the Monti della Daunia, noticed last time, has attracted more discussion.²⁶⁶ Fors Fortuna, rarely heard of outside Rome, is now attested at Scolacium.²⁶⁷ The history of a notorious *Sors Fortunae* (*ILLRP* 1070) has been investigated by M. Guarducci who assigns it again to the Marche (? Fanum Fortunae).²⁶⁸

Otherwise the provinces have, I think, produced more striking material than Italy. Spanish dedications to the Lares are collected and discussed by R. Etienne, who shows that these must correspond to local deities and are clearly distinguishable from the *Lares Augusti*.²⁶⁹ At Algéciras a local lady charmingly lists items of jewelry which she has dedicated to Diana.²⁷⁰ The African Hercules who appears at Hippona as *genius Suburianensium* (an unknown group, possibly to be connected with Juba's aide Sabura) represents a nice syncretism of Libyan, Punic and Roman elements.²⁷¹ The African Saturn is the subject of

²⁵⁵ *Bull. Ep.* 1973, no. 475 on G. E. Bean, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 19 (1970 [1972]), 99.

²⁵⁶ *GRBS* 15 (1974), 295.

²⁵⁷ *ABSA* 67 (1972), 119.

²⁵⁸ *JHS* 95 (1975), 182.

²⁵⁹ *GRBS* 14 (1973), 389.

²⁶⁰ *Chiron* 1 (1971), 325 using D. Knibbe, *Öjh.* 47 (1964-5), Beibl. 6 f., cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1968, no. 465.

²⁶¹ M. Wörrle in J. Borchhardt, *Myra* (Berlin, 1975), 286.

²⁶² P. Bonvicini, *RAL*⁸ 27 (1972), 204; S. Panciera, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 481; F. Magi, *Il Calendario dipinto sotto Santa Maria Maggiore* (Vatican, 1972) = *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.* xi (1972), on which see also H. Stern, *REL* 51 (1973), 41.

²⁶³ P. Castrén, *MEFR* 84 (1972), 623, rejected by H. Solin, *Arctos* 8 (1974), 164; what survives seems

too fragmentary for certainty, though Solin may be right in suggesting that it is a set of business transactions.

²⁶⁴ *Historia* 23 (1974), 271.

²⁶⁵ A. Giannetti, *RAL*⁸ 28 (1973), 476; A. Marinucci, *ibid.* 507; H. Solin, *Arctos* 6 (1969), 107 from *CIL* 1² 2764.

²⁶⁶ *JRS* 61 (1971), 150, n. 13; see now S. Ferri, *RAL*⁸ 25 (1970), 161 and R. Arena, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 9.

²⁶⁷ P. Baldacci, *CSDIR* 2 (1969/70), 117.

²⁶⁸ *RAL*⁸ 27 (1972), 183.

²⁶⁹ *CRAI* 1969, 213, cf. *AE* 1969/70, 208.

²⁷⁰ F. J. Presedo Velo, *Habis* 5 (1974), 195.

²⁷¹ P. Corbier, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* (1974), 95; M. Clavel-Levêque, *ibid.* 103.

two particularly interesting new inscriptions: one shows the lifelong obligations of a child vowed to Saturn and redeemed by sacrifice at adolescence;²⁷² the other gives the most detailed and emotional formula known for a votive offering to Saturn in gratitude for life preserved; they seem to show a very deeply felt religious belief.²⁷³ Linking east and west is a series of dedications made *dis deabusque secundum interpretationem Clari Apollinis*; E. Birley has suggested that they must all be connected and perhaps stem from consultation of the oracle by an emperor (Caracalla ?) who then issued a fiat to his staff that the oracular instruction should be carried out; in the meantime a new instance has been published from Volubilis (the first reference to Apollo in Morocco).²⁷⁴ Turning to the East, a painted inscription in Jerusalem has been re-read to give a reference to the great goddess, *μεγάλη κόρη ἡ ἀνείκητος* along with *εἰς θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης*.²⁷⁵ Near Syrian Tripoli an inscription dated in 184 describes in some detail the elaborate constructions (including dining room, portico, cistern) undertaken by a man and his wife for their deity.²⁷⁶ From Sardis an inscription, of approximately the mid-second century, contains religious prescriptions for an Iranian cult dating from a much earlier period; L. Robert in publishing it observes that it illustrates the profound Iranian influences on Asia Minor, refers to the comparatively widespread practice of re-engraving much earlier documents in the imperial period, and argues that the unusual exclusivity of this cult in the pagan world (*νεοκόροι* and *θεραπευταί* are forbidden to participate in certain other cults) led to the need for continued publication of the rules.²⁷⁷

The great epicurean inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda has aroused fresh active interest: C. W. Chilton has produced a new edition, using fragments of the text as transcribed in the nineteenth century; M. F. Smith has been and is still vigorously adding to the number of fragments; we may expect more, for clearance of brushwood on the site followed by surface survey under the direction of A. S. Hall has produced still further discoveries, and promises a clearer idea of the location and character of the wall on which the text was cut.²⁷⁸

Another Epicurean inscription of different type is reported from Syria; of second- or third-century date, it records an Aurelius Velius Philippus, priest of *ἅγιος Βῆλος* (in accordance with whose command he makes a dedication), who is *διάδοχος* of an Epicurean school in Apamea.²⁷⁹

Christianity

There has been quite a lot of recent epigraphic work concerning Christianity, much of it, but not all, iconoclastic. The impossibility of deducing a date for the nativity is one of the themes of R. Syme's treatment of *ILS* 918.²⁸⁰ Ossuaries of second- or third-century date at Jerusalem, once claimed as the earliest Christian monuments, are shown by J. P. Kane to contain no more than elements to be expected in an ordinary Jewish funerary text.²⁸¹ The Christianity of the inventors of the Sator word-square, still accepted by some, is attacked by W. O. Moeller (in a monograph which contains an exhaustive bibliography) who believes that they were Mithraic; to me this seems unconvincing, but his book has the virtue of showing that many more apparently significant anagrams than the famous Christian one can be extracted from the square by the ingenious, and so disposes, surely, of the argument that this Christian one could only be extractable if it was the element from

²⁷² A. Berthier and H. Tayeb, *Bull. Arch. Alg.* 4 (1970), 301.

²⁷³ A. Beschtaouch, *CRAI* 1975, 111.

²⁷⁴ E. Birley, *Chiron* 4 (1974), 511; R. Thouvenot, *Bull. Arch. Marocaine* (1968-72), 221.

²⁷⁵ D. Flusser, *IEJ* 25 (1975), 13.

²⁷⁶ J. P. Rey-Coquais, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 47 (1972), 85, followed by a relevant note on the material remains by M. Tallon.

²⁷⁷ *CRAI* 1975, 306.

²⁷⁸ C. W. Chilton, *Diogenis Oenoandensis fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1967), and *Diogenes of Oenoanda: the*

fragments (London, 1971); a little later G. Arighetto, *Epicuro: opere* (Turin, 1973); M. F. Smith, *Hermathena* 110 (1970), 52; *AJA* 74 (1970), 51; 75 (1971), 357; *CQ* 22 (1972), 159; *JHS* 92 (1972), 147; *Denkschriften Öst. Akad.* 117 (1974); *Hermathena* 118 (1974), 110; J. Irigoien, *Studi . . . V. de Falco* (Naples, 1971), 475; D. Clay, *GRBS* 14 (1973), 49.

²⁷⁹ J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Ann. Arch. Arab. Syr.* 23 (1973), 66.

²⁸⁰ n. 135 above.

²⁸¹ *PEQ* 103 (1971), 103.

which the square was originally constructed.²⁸² A Christian group in the house of the mid-second-century Sergia Paullina has been posited, but, I think, conclusively disproved.²⁸³

On the other hand, in reconsidering the tombstone of Abercius, to which she gives a second-century date, M. Guarducci stresses its Christianity and argues that it refers to the Virgin Mary.²⁸⁴ She has also re-examined the formulae of three texts from the Via Latina, one of the second century, she believes, the other two perhaps of the third, and assigns them to the Christian sect of Valentiniani.²⁸⁵ Moreover a particularly fine though damaged tomb inscription of the second to third century at Lyons, recently published by J.-F. Reynaud, A. Audin and J. Pouilloux, looks, as they cautiously indicate, very like discreetly-worded laudation of a Christian teacher; of distinguished parentage in Syrian Laodicea, virtuous and eloquent, he was widely travelled and claimed to have brought to the west, on God's instructions apparently, gifts given by God to the east.²⁸⁶

Evidence for early Christian acclamations and the use of the cross as a symbol is discussed by M. Guarducci as context for Constantine's vision.²⁸⁷ A group of graffiti below the Lateran Baptistery, partly published in the past, has been treated authoritatively by M. Guarducci; a most important point is the appearance of the letters XMF, their oldest datable instance, for this must be at latest of the early years of Constantine's reign.²⁸⁸ The Latin translation of this siglum, VDN (= *virgine dominus natus*), has been discussed by J. O. Tjäder, who believes that it gives a clear indication of the original meaning of the Greek.²⁸⁹ The presence of important Christian painted texts in the *domus Faustae* on the Coelian has been firmly rejected by M. Guarducci.²⁹⁰ The category of inscribed slave collars is discussed by G. Sotgiu in connection with a new example which bears the monogram cross, suggesting a date in the fourth-fifth century, and proclaims that the owner was an archdeacon; she argues that as a substitute for branding on the face, banned by Constantine, these collars were a comparatively light punishment for a runaway and not in conflict with fourth-century Christian concepts.²⁹¹ In an annexe to a Christian tomb at Tipasa (probably mid-fourth century) a mosaic inscription, using unique formulae, seems to refer to funerary banquets and to protest against schism (*pax et concordia sit convivio nostro*).²⁹² On a mosaic at Caesarea a short extract from the Epistle to the Romans is inscribed.²⁹³

Professions and Trades

There has been quite an access of knowledge on medical practitioners, and especially on their position in society, through articles on doctors in several branches of the Roman armed forces²⁹⁴ and a discussion of oculists and of oculists' stamps (the latter connected with travelling doctors).²⁹⁵ Some interesting individuals have also come to light: a doctor of Germanicus and a doctor connected with Tiberius' household for instance;²⁹⁶ in less elevated circles a doctor at Cassino who was also a *sevir Augustalis*,²⁹⁷ and one in Spain, a freedman and employee of a company exploiting copper mines.²⁹⁸

Out of the very scattered evidence for other occupations it seems worth noting that S. Panciera has recently collected the inscriptions of jewellers who worked at Rome; they suggest that after the Neronian fire their quarters were shifted from the Sacra Via to a location between the Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorium (so that the building

²⁸² W. O. Moeller, *The Mithraic Origins of the Rotas/Sator Word-square* (Leiden, 1973).

²⁸³ M. Sordi, M. L. Cavigiolo, *Riv. St. Chiesa in Italia* 25 (1971), 369, for; M. Monfioli, S. Panciera, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 44 (1971-2), 185, against.

²⁸⁴ *Ancient Society* 2 (1971), 174 and 4 (1973), 271.

²⁸⁵ *Röm. Mitt.* 80 (1973), 169.

²⁸⁶ *J. des Savants* 1975, 47.

²⁸⁷ *Mélanges Boyancé*, 375.

²⁸⁸ Recently, P. Castrén in G. Pelliccioni, *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 12 (1973), 83; M. Guarducci, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 46 (1973-4 [1975]), 181.

²⁸⁹ *Eranos* 68 (1970), 148.

²⁹⁰ Proposed by V. Scrinari, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 43 (1970-1), 207; rejected by M. Guarducci, *Arch. Class.* 24 (1972), 386.

²⁹¹ *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 688.

²⁹² M. Bouchenaki, *Röm. Mitt.* 81 (1974), 301, and *Fouilles de Tipasa* (Algiers, 1975), 40.

²⁹³ B. Lifshitz, *ZPE* 7 (1971), 163.

²⁹⁴ V. Nutton, *Epigraphica* 32 (1970), 66 (navy);

R. W. Davies, *Epig. St.* 9 (1972), 1 (army).

²⁹⁵ V. Nutton, *Epigraphica* 34 (1972), 16.

²⁹⁶ L. Quilici, *Collatia*, 310; A. Ferrua, *Epigraphica*

34 (1972), 141: *Iulia Sophia Isidori Ti. Caesaris Augusti lib. medic.*; *AE* 1972, 83 seems to take the

lady as the doctor, but it is surely more likely that it

was the husband—was he in fact doctor to Tiberius?

²⁹⁷ M. Alassio, *Studi . . . de Regibus*, 211.

²⁹⁸ A. Garcia y Bellido, *Bol. Acad. Hist.* 168 (1971),

179 = *AE* 1971, 181.

conventionally known as the Porticus Margaritaria is wrongly identified);²⁹⁹ H. Solin has similarly re-examined the location of the Roman *vestiarii*, and places their major concentration in the area of the Velabrum and Vicus Tuscus.³⁰⁰ The wool trade at Brescia is the subject of a study by P. Tozzi, who finds there records of a variety of specialists in particular processes.³⁰¹ A merchant of very diversified interests (in carpentering, wine, ships and money-lending) is reported from Ostia.³⁰² The mock purple industry of Aquinum (Hor., *Ep.* I. 10. 27) is discussed by L. Virno Bugni in connection with a number of vats from the area inscribed with the name of M. Baronius Sura.³⁰³ For the Italian brick industry P. Mingazzini has lately drawn up a list of stamps (Greek, Oscan and Latin) in which the maker is a public body;³⁰⁴ while T. Helen has taken neglected components of stamps and set about defining the terms *domini*, *officinatores* and *figlinae* in a most useful way.³⁰⁵ Taking the sculptural decoration together with the inscription of a tombstone at Bientina (Pisa), O. Pancrazzi concludes that the *sevir Augustalis* who is commemorated was a *faber navalis*.³⁰⁶ There has also been new discussion of Longidienus, the well-known Ravennate *faber navalis* (*ILS* 7725).³⁰⁷ The marble trade has again attracted some attention.³⁰⁸ There is a useful account of amphorae stamps found in the USSR by J. B. Brashinsky.³⁰⁹ There are two interesting items concerning the metal trade, aside from the copper company mentioned above under the heading of doctors: R. Thouvenot has called attention to Volubilitan merchants at the Magdalensberg, and suggests that Volubilis was a centre for the dissemination of iron wares; the pre-Claudian date of the Magdalensberg graffiti is also, of course, indicative of the connections of Volubilis with the Roman world long before annexation;³¹⁰ stamps on silver ingots and plates in the late Empire, thought to have been produced for official *largitiones*, are usefully collected and discussed by K. S. Painter.³¹¹

Slaves and freedmen

Honours paid in Naxos to a C. Curtius Mithres, probably the freedman of Cicero's friend Curtius Postumus (*ad Fam.* XIII. 69), bring out in a remarkable manner how little some of Rome's subjects distinguished between the powerful freedman and the free born.³¹² An unusual item is the inscription of a slave shepherd; he is the property of a Crispinilla—is this Nero's friend (Tac., *Hist.* I. 73)?³¹³ Also of interest are a libertus of Helvidius Priscus,³¹⁴ and two of Pliny (one a comedian, cf. *Ep.* VI. 9).³¹⁵ Hard evidence now seems to be available for the employment of slaves in the potteries at La Graufesenque.³¹⁶

Entertainment and Arts

Evidence for Greek-type contests in Italy is assembled by L. Robert, who discusses in particular the ways in which these could be successfully integrated with Roman tradition (as in Domitian's Capitolia and Gordian's agon Minervae, in contrast to Nero's Neronia); he adds to the list of such festivals Antoninia Pythia, probably a short-lived innovation of Elagabalus, attested at Rome in a new inscription at Delphi.³¹⁷ A more popular type of entertainment, probably to be connected with the *ludi compitalicii* of the city's *vici*, is discussed by S. Panciera in relation to the funerary stele of an *auriga*, who is described as *delicium populi*; he seems to be connected with a club of *iuvenes*, and provides also an occasion for consideration of the *iuventus* organization which, in the city, is clearly neither

²⁹⁹ *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 22 (1970-1), 131.

³⁰⁰ *Epigraphische Untersuchungen in Rom und Umgebung* (Helsinki 1975), no. 52.

³⁰¹ *Athenaeum* 49 (1971), 152.

³⁰² A. Licordari, *RAL*⁸ 29 (1974), 313.

³⁰³ *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 685.

³⁰⁴ *RAL*⁸ 25 (1970), 403.

³⁰⁵ *Ann. Acad. Sc. Fenn.* v (1975).

³⁰⁶ *Athenaeum* 48 (1970), 15.

³⁰⁷ M. Bonino, *Felix Ravenna* 3-4 (1972), 19 = *AE* 1972, 185.

³⁰⁸ P. Pensabene, *Dial. di Arch.* 6 (1972), 317; J. Röder, *JDAI* 86 (1971) [1972], 253; J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Quarrying in Antiquity: Techno-

logy, Tradition and Social Change,' *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 57 (1971), 137.

³⁰⁹ *Eirene* 11 (1973), 111 (in English).

³¹⁰ *Bull. Arch. Marocaine* 8 (1968-72), 217.

³¹¹ *Ant. J.* 52 (1972), 84.

³¹² Ch. Pélékidēs, 'Ἀνεκδοτοὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἀνδρου καὶ Νάξου' (Athens, 1969) 13 = *Bull. Ep.* 1970, no. 438.

³¹³ L. Gasperini, *Terza Miscellanea* (1971), 178 = *AE* 1972, 102.

³¹⁴ A. Marinucci, *RAL*⁸ 28 (1973), 497.

³¹⁵ *IGUR* II. 896.

³¹⁶ But the documents are very difficult to interpret in detail; see R. Marichal, *CRAI* 1971, 188 and *REA* 76 (1974), 85.

³¹⁷ *CRAI* 1970, 6.

an élite organization nor one concerned with para-military training.³¹⁸ The associations of artists in Rome, poets, actors and analogous groups, are discussed by E. J. Jory.³¹⁹ A. Cameron's publication and discussion of the Byzantine inscriptions of Porphyrius the charioteer are also relevant here.³²⁰

Blocks at Ostia carrying 'signatures' of famous Greek artists seem to have been inscribed as bases for looted statues, perhaps in the Sullan period.³²¹ Bases from sets of herms (now headless) are inscribed to show that they portrayed the Seven Wise Men on one side and famous literary figures on the other; the presence among these of the orator L. Licinius L.f. Crassus, *cos.* 91 B.C., suggests that there was one set of seven Roman writers (as distinct from representations of isolated individuals).³²² A variety of monuments display an interest in learning: thus the mosaic of Anacreon at Autun portraying the poet with an extract from his works (Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, no. 396) which is relevant to the textual tradition,³²³ reference to plays of Menander on the walls of the *Hanghaus* at Ephesus,³²⁴ a monument at Corinth figuring, in personified form, the Seven Hills of Rome (duly labelled),³²⁵ and a delightful if crude statuette of a Gallic teacher, book in hand (fourth-century?), inscribed with the opening of the First Catilinarian.³²⁶

There are also gladiators; P. Sabbatini Tumolesi has been usefully assembling and analysing the Italian material, which shows a concentration in Campania, Apulia and Samnium.³²⁷

Miscellaneous

Funerary inscriptions have been discussed at length,³²⁸ mainly in order to discover dating criteria, which, I would suppose, could never be very precise. They have also been used as the basis for studies of domestic life,³²⁹ and, once again, with a view to vital statistics.³³⁰ One new text raises the vexed question of the *ascia*; cut on an erased surface, it claims to have been prepared *ex ascia* (or some other formula involving the concept *exasciare*).³³¹

A public notice from pre-Roman Egypt written on papyrus and recently published by E. G. Turner, although strictly 'outside our period', is recalled here as a sharp reminder of the multitude of public inscriptions lost to us because written on or with shortlived material.³³² Attempts have been made to assess the incidence of re-use of statue bases (beginning in Greece in the third century B.C. and particularly marked in the first century B.C. and the third and fourth centuries A.D.)³³³ and the overall distribution of Roman inscriptions in time (the largest number from the Severan period).³³⁴

Fascinating items are plentiful, thus: a Republican milestone near Bari (lost as soon as seen), set up by an unknown L. Gellius (a local man?),³³⁵ a centurial stone from Amàndola;³³⁶ a Campanian funerary text recording the construction of a *via plostrata* (presumably from the main road to the tomb);³³⁷ a Claudian graffito in which Celtic is written in Greek letters (the latest dated instance);³³⁸ an elegant discovery by L. Robert, in

³¹⁸ *Arch. Class.* 22 (1970), 131 = *AE* 1971, 44.

³¹⁹ *Hermes* 98 (1970), 224; note also H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 10 (1973), 197 on guilds of athletes.

³²⁰ Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973).

³²¹ F. Zevi, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 42 (1969-70), 110.

³²² L. Moretti, *Arch. Class.* 25-6 (1973-4 [1975]), 464.

³²³ M. and A. Blanchard, *REA* 75 (1973), 268; W. Jobst, *Wiener Studien* 85 (1972), 235, cf. R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 10 (1973), 70 and *Bull. Ep.* 1973, no. 380.

³²⁴ F. Eichler, *Anz. Ak. Wien* 1968, 86-9; W. Jobst, *Wien. St.* 85 (1972), 235, cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1973, no. 380.

³²⁵ H. S. Robinson, *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 470.

³²⁶ M. Passelac, *Rev. Arch. de la Narbonnaise* 5 (1972), 185.

³²⁷ *RAL*⁸ 26 (1971), 735; 27 (1972), 485; 29 (1974), 283.

³²⁸ See especially J. Lasserre, *Ant. Afr.* 7 (1973), 7. Cf. M. Durry, *REL* 52 (1974), 91; M. Clauss, *Epigraphica* 25 (1973), 53.

³²⁹ Thus T. E. V. Pearce, *Eranos* 72 (1974), 16 (the wife as *custos*); B. Rawson, *TAPA* 104 (1974), 279 (concubines).

³³⁰ M. Clauss, *Chiron* 3 (1973), 395.

³³¹ D. Manacorda, *Arch. Class.* 24 (1972), 346.

³³² *JEA* 60 (1974), 239.

³³³ H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* (Rome, 1969).

³³⁴ S. Mrozek, *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 113.

³³⁵ L. Moretti, *Riv. Fil.* 100 (1972), 172.

³³⁶ P. Bonvicini, *RAL*⁸ 27 (1972), 201.

³³⁷ A. Giannetti, *RAL*⁸ 28 (1973), 472.

³³⁸ J. Le Gall and R. Sénéchal, *CRAI* 1974, 207.

an Aeolian inscription published in 1890, of a second instance of the ethnic *Norakeius* which has been a minor puzzle in the Leiden decree;³³⁹ a club of huntsmen at Callatis;³⁴⁰ a terrific road accident in Greece;³⁴¹ and a lady who escaped with her life from a thunderbolt.³⁴²

Newnham College, Cambridge

³³⁹ *Bull. Ep.* 1973, no. 371.

³⁴⁰ D. M. Pippidi, *St. Clas.* 14 (1972), 141 = *AE* 1972, 545.

³⁴¹ F. Chamoux, *Mélanges Boyancé*, 153.

³⁴² G. Taus, P. Berardi, *Epigraphica* 34 (1972), 85 = *AE* 1972, 13.