

SURVEY ARTICLE

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1976-80

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This survey of developments in Roman Epigraphy is innovatory in being the work of a team, whose range of interests should ensure the inclusion of a wider variety of texts than heretofore. We have all made some contribution, larger or smaller, to most sections, but, in the last resort, each section represents a personal choice by its writer. It may help the reader, therefore, to know that sections I and II are by Joyce Reynolds, III, VII, part of IX, and XI by Mary Beard, IV, V, VI and part of IX by Richard Duncan-Jones, and VIII and X by Charlotte Roueché.¹

Another change is the omission of the lists of Corpora and Festschriften from the introduction, since they can be found easily enough in *AE*, *SEG*, and the *Bulletin Épigraphique* of J. and L. Robert, while the space saved has enabled us to expand a little elsewhere. It seems proper, however, to note the progress of certain essential epigraphic tools. *L'Année Épigraphique* should be in a position, next year, to achieve its editors' aim of a volume which comes out regularly two years after the year which it chronicles; the volume for 1977 has appeared, 1978 is now in proof, and 1979 in typescript. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* has reappeared, with revised format, under the editorship of H. W. Pleket and R. S. Stroud; they have already produced two volumes, and a third is on the way. The *Indices* to the *Bulletin Épigraphique* now cover the years 1938-73; together with the photographic reprint of the *Bulletin*, they have greatly improved access to this store of information and comment. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* ² M is about to go to press, and N-O is in active preparation. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* II came out last autumn, and III is in active preparation.

Epigraphic news is overshadowed by the recent death of Professor H.-G. Pflaum, a kindly father-figure in the epigraphic world for many years. An appraisal and bibliography by M. Le Glay recalls his great achievements; ² a memorial volume edited by W. Eck will appear as a special number of *ZPE*. It is good to know that his epigraphic library has been acquired by the Sorbonne, and will be available for use.

In the past quinquennium the discovery of new inscriptions and the publication or republication of texts has in no way abated; but there are also other features to report. The Seventh International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy was held at Costanza in 1977, and its *Acta* have appeared.³ Its deliberations included a discussion which resulted in the formal establishment of the Association Internationale de l'Épigraphie grecque et latine (AIEGL), with Professor G. Mihailov as President, and Professor Pflaum (now succeeded by Professor Le Glay) as Secretary General. Its activities are regularly reported in the periodical *Epigraphica*.⁴

There has also been important work in the epigraphic sections of some museums. Most notable is the organization, by I. Di Stefano Manzella, of the former Lateran collection of inscriptions within the Vatican Museum complex. He has been able to use a new system of sliding metal frames to hold the smaller fragments, which are stored in an orderly way, in conditions ideal for study and research, but in a quite restricted area.⁵ A simpler, but no less successful system, involving the use of metal frames for fragments, is in process of installation for the small but quite interesting epigraphic collection of the museum in

¹ In preparing this article—particularly section I—we have been keenly aware of the loss of Martin Frederiksen, who had provided very valuable help in the past, and had promised it again. After his death his notebooks were made available by N. Purcell; but we are very conscious of missing his unrivalled knowledge of the Italian material. We have incurred debts to more friends than can be listed here: in particular, A. Poulter and J. Wilkes helped us cope with the Eastern European material; R. Gordon, J. North and S. Price offered comments on section VII, and K. Hopkins and N. Purcell on

section IX.

² *Epigraphica* 42 (1980) 212.

³ *Actes du VII^e Congrès International de l'Épigraphie grecque et latine, Costanza, 1977*, ed. D. M. Pippidi (1979); cf. *Bull. Ep.* 1980.

⁴ The latest report by M. Le Glay in *Epigraphica* 42 (1980) 231.

⁵ For details of the work of reorganization, and of some of the discoveries resulting from it, see I. Di Stefano Manzella, *RPAA* 49 (1976-7) 249; *Epigraphica* 41 (1979) 131.

the Ducal Palace at Urbino. In London, the British Museum has opened an epigraphic gallery, where it is now displaying some of its most important holdings.

I The Republic

An increasing number of texts has been coming in for early Rome, and for the Italy in which she developed⁶—an aspect of the greatly increased and refined body of archaeological evidence becoming available for the period. Although they are helping to open new perspectives for historians, it is clear that they should be treated with great caution, for they are limited in content, not always translatable, and still rather isolated phenomena. Most are constantly undergoing reappraisal⁷—above all the Praenestine fibula. Much has been written about this since A. E. Gordon drew attention to the obscure circumstances of its discovery, and some gaps in its early history have been filled; but we cannot see that conclusive arguments have been put for its authenticity, and, while any doubts remain, it can hardly be used in serious historical interpretation, as David Ridgway has cogently written.⁸

An equally cogent plea for caution has been put by H. Versnel in discussion of the new text from Satricum. This important item, for which a date in the late sixth century is proposed on the combined basis of archaeological findspot and letter-forms, is not quite complete, and contains some elements not yet certainly comprehensible, but is in essence a dedication *Mamartei* (to Mars) by the *suodales Popliosio Valesiosio* (*sodales* of P. Valerius). In the admirably swift publication by the Dutch excavators it is subjected to intensive discussion from many angles by an international team.⁹ In reading this, Versnel's firm reminders of our continuing uncertainties should be constantly in mind: we cannot be sure of the date (in any case, there is only a *terminus ante quem* derivable from its re-use), of the language (it recalls Faliscan, some have suggested Volscian, but Latin may not be excluded all the same), and certainly not of the man named (who might, some think, be P. Valerius Poplicola, *cos. suff.*, according to tradition, in the first year of the Republic—but might quite as well not). In the circumstances, the glimpses of a social organization in which a great man's *sodales* play the part indicated in the text may be the most significant element to take hold of.

Other early finds include new evidence for semitic connections,¹⁰ more on the Greek material at Trivisca,¹¹ two texts, which may not be Latin, from Corcolle near Tivoli,¹² and several traces of Gauls.¹³ Of a special kind are the *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, now fully considered,¹⁴ and the early connections of Claudii with Etruria, which continue to be discussed.¹⁵

For the middle and late Republic there seems to have been a marked advance in the study of Italy and its relations with Rome. An item of particular interest is the third century inscription referring to *Galicos colonos*—Roman colonists in *ager publicus Gallicus*.¹⁶ The Gracchan boundary cippus which was found at Celenza Valfortore in 1961 has at last been fully published, and its historical implications discussed.¹⁷ An examination of the

⁶ There are useful summaries of much of this material annually in *Studi Etruschi*. An important new source is P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del Manuale di Vetter* (1979).

⁷ Thus, on the Lapis Niger, F. Coarelli, *PP* 32 (1977) 229 (identifying it with the Volcanal), M. Pallotino, *CRAI* (1977) 224, T. N. Gantz, *Arch. News* 3 (1974) 65; on the Duenos Vase, A. E. Gordon, *CSCA* 8 (1975) 53, L.-C. Prat, *REL* 53 (1975) 315; on the François tomb inscription, T. N. Gantz, *Historia* 24 (1975) 539; on the Lex Sacra from Lavinium, M. Guarducci, *Mélanges Heurgon* (1976) I, 411, H. Le Bonniec, *ibid.*, 509.

⁸ To the discussion cited in the last survey, *JRS* 66 (1976) 176 nn. 12 and 13, add now D. Ridgway, *BICS* 24 (1977) 17; A. E. Gordon, *Epigraphica* 40 (1978) 32; G. Colonna, *Epigraphica* 41 (1979) 119; M. Guarducci, *MAL*⁸ 24 (1980) 413.

⁹ C. Stibbe and others, *Lapis Satricanus* (1980); cf. also C. Stibbe, *Arch. Laz.* 1 (1978) 56, E. Peruzzi,

PP 33 (1978) 346, M. Pallotino, *StudRom* 27 (1979) 1, A. Prosdocimi, *StudEtr* 47 (1979) 183.

¹⁰ G. Buchner, *PP* 33 (1978) 130; G. Garbini, *PP* 33 (1978) 143 and 424.

¹¹ P. A. Gianfrotta, *PP* 30 (1975) 311; M. Torelli, *PP* 32 (1977) 398.

¹² A. Morandi, *Arch. Laz.* 1 (1978) 89.

¹³ M. G. Tibiletti Bruno, *Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 99; L. R. Barici, *PP* 34 (1979) 148; M. Cristofani, *StudEtr* 47 (1979) 337; P. Santoro, *I Galli e l'Italia* (Exhibition catalogue, Rome, 1978) 267-9.

¹⁴ M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia* (1975); cf. reviews by T. J. Cornell, *ASNP* 6 (1976) 411, *JRS* 68 (1978) 167.

¹⁵ So E. Rawson, *Historia* 26 (1977) 340, A. Frascchetti, *QuadUrb* 24 (1977) 157.

¹⁶ G. Uggeri, *Atene e Roma* 22 (1977) 126.

¹⁷ A. Russi and M. Valvo, in *Quinta Miscellanea* (1977) 225.

governing class at Praeneste before and after Sulla seems to show, alongside the colonists, the survival of some old élite families in positions of influence, and the arrival of some local families which are not known to have produced office holders earlier.¹⁸

Two tiny fragments of a Roman law have been found in Bruttium, apparently of the second century B.C.¹⁹ There has been discussion of the Cnidos law and the text at Delphi (*lex de piratis*) with reconsideration of the proposed date, of the intention of the legislators, of the relation of the two texts, and of some details of the readings at Cnidos. It has been possible to revisit Cnidos, take further photographs and squeezes, and to make considerable advances in the reading of the text; another visit is now planned to check the current proposals, based on the photographs and squeezes, which have proved misleading in the past.²⁰ Very important work on the Lex Gabinia has now been published by Professor Nicolet and colleagues; we are given a completely new and very revealing edition of the document, with a discussion of all its aspects and implications.²¹ Professor Nicolet has also produced an important reconsideration of the Table of Heraclea.²²

There has been a good deal of discussion involving inscriptions that concern Republican Rome's affairs overseas. For Africa the main item is perhaps the Etruscan cippi found there.²³ From Spain comes a bronze tablet dated by the consuls of 87 B.C., recording the purchase of land by the Salluenses from the Sosinestani, with the Senate of Contrebia acting as arbiter.²⁴ The use of Latin for the transaction, and the legal formulae, are of great interest. The greater part of the material, however, naturally comes from or relates to the eastern Mediterranean world. Of the new texts here the most important must be the first complete inscribed text of a Roman treaty—made with Maroneia and Ainos.²⁵ The clauses are standard, much as in the treaties with Methymna (*IGR* 1. 2), Astypalaea (*IGR* 1. 1028b) and Callatis (*ILLRP* 576); a full commentary has yet to appear. Other interesting items include a dedication to Massinissa's grandson Hiempsal in Rhodes,²⁶ honours at Saittai to a local general, Mogetes, who is 'set among the glorious commanders of Rome' (perhaps, it is suggested, because he led a local contingent for Rome in the war against Aristonicus),²⁷ and an honorary decree at Cyme which mentions a Tarentine at the court of Attalus of Pergamum.²⁸ There have also been discussions, using old and sometimes new inscriptions, of Antiochus the Great,²⁹ the construction of the Via Egnatia,³⁰ the bases of L. Mummius at Olympia,³¹ Scipio Nasica and Pergamum,³² the activities of Mithridates' general Diophantus in the Black Sea area,³³ the politics of Athens in the Mithridatic era,³⁴ the dedications to Jupiter and the Roman People by foreigners (but the dates still seem elusive),³⁵ and the connection of *immunitas* with *libertas* (arguing from the translation of one of the Aphrodisias inscriptions in F. Millar, *ERW* 431 f., R. Bernhardt concludes that, under the Republic, the two automatically went together).³⁶

¹⁸ P. Harvey, *Athenaeum* 53 (1975) 33; cf. also M. Clauss, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 131.

¹⁹ F. Costabile, *PP* 21 (1976) 181.

²⁰ M. Hassall and others, *JRS* 64 (1974) 195; see now A. W. Lintott, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 65, many of whose apparently excellent suggestions are disproved by the new readings; J.-L. Ferrary, *MEFR* 89 (1977) 619; A. Giovannini and E. Grzybek, *MH* 35 (1978) 33; J. H. Oliver, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 279 (but using a wrong reading); G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 211 (at one point following Oliver, wrongly); E. Badian and T. R. Martin, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 153.

²¹ C. Nicolet, in *AEHE IV* (1975-76) 385 (cf. *REL* 51 (1973) 150), but above all in *Insula Sacra: La Loi Gabinia Calpurnia de Délos* (Paris, 1980).

²² *AEHE IV* (1975-76) 377.

²³ O. Carruba, *Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 163; cf. also V. Georgiev, *Philologus* 116 (1972) 96, *Études Balkaniques* 4 (1971) 75, *Linguistique Balkanique* 17 (1974) 85.

²⁴ G. Fatas, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 176 (1979) 421.

²⁵ G. Triantaphyllos, *ArchDelt* 28 (1973) 464; G. Touchais, *BCH* 102 (1978) 726.

²⁶ V. N. Kontorini, *AC* 44 (1975) 89.

²⁷ G. Petzl, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 249.

²⁸ G. Petzl and H. W. Pleket, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 73.

²⁹ H. R. Rawlings, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 2; R. M. Errington, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 279 (specially concerned with Sherk, *RDGE* no. 34).

³⁰ P. Collart, *BCH* 100 (1976) 177; see also G. Daux, *JIS* (1977) 145, and *Ancient Macedonia II* (1977) 317.

³¹ H. Philipp and W. Koenigs, *MDAI (A)* 94 (1979) 193; note also the new inscription from Eretria elucidated by J. and L. Robert, in *Bull. Ep.* 1979. 351, as a reference to games held there in honour of Mummius and Artemis. On Mummius' booty, see below, p. 141 and n. 272.

³² B. Schlessner, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 97.

³³ Z. W. Rubinsohn, *Historia* 29 (1980) 50 (with special reference to *Syll*³ 709).

³⁴ E. Badian, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 105; see also Chr. Habicht, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 127; L. Robert, *JIS* (1978) 145.

³⁵ A. W. Lintott, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 137; R. Mellor, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 319.

³⁶ R. Bernhardt, *Historia* 29 (1980) 190. The publication of the Aphrodisias texts is now in press.

II Emperors and Imperial Families

Documents of the imperial cult are considered this time under the heading of religion, in section VII, which reduces a little—but not much—the volume of texts from which selection must be made.

Imperial procedures are the subject of a major study by Professor Millar, with extensive reference to epigraphic sources, both published and unpublished.³⁷ There have also been discussions of the issue of imperial *mandata* to proconsuls,³⁸ *libelli* and subscriptus,³⁹ letters written in the name of two emperors,⁴⁰ and imperial guarantees against the diversion of funds left in trust to cities.⁴¹ An imperial letter of 204 (on the rights of senators: discussed below, p. 126) has been shown to have been inscribed in at least four places in western Asia Minor, with variations in the Greek translation, and apparently erected at private expense.⁴²

Among inscriptions of interest for individual reigns we have noted the following as particularly useful, but have no doubt that there are others with as good a case for inclusion.

A new fragment of Octavian's inscription at Nicopolis has been found; ⁴³ an attempt has been made to trace his changing image, starting from the Perusine *glandes* (interesting, but perhaps taking the crude soldiery rather seriously).⁴⁴ As Augustus he has replaced Tiberius, and appears as a new Apollo, in *IG II² 3262* as the result of the addition of a fragment to it, and the reconsideration of the whole, by P. Peppas-Delmousou. It is argued that he appears as Pharaoh Caesar on a tombstone from Memphis.⁴⁵ To assist in the assessment of his policies comes a new edition, with commentary, of the *Tabula Hebana*.⁴⁶ Among inscribed honours for his family are some uncommon items, notably for his mother Atia, at Aphrodisias,⁴⁷ and possibly, it is now suggested (rather conjecturally), in a graffito near Pompeii.⁴⁸

From the reign of Tiberius comes another rarity in an honour for Ti. Julius Caesar Nero = Gemellus.⁴⁹ Under Claudius, new material includes inscriptions at Rusellae, celebrating the British victory and the young Britannicus, set up by a man who is homonymous—and perhaps identifiable—with a known military tribune of the legion IV Scythica.⁵⁰ Unusually, there is information from the reign of Galba: a South Etruscan tombstone reveals a freedman *nomenclator* of his,⁵¹ while prosopographical considerations, combined with a rereading of *AE 1939. 55* (from Baalbek) have led Eric Birley to the plausible hypothesis that all the four military men dismissed by Galba in January 69 (*Tac. Hist. I. 20*) had connections with the armies of the north-west, and of the east, and that the emperor already had reason to suspect the latter as well as the former.⁵² The Flavians have come in for a lot of attention, for the chronology of their titles and offices ⁵³ as well as their policies, notably as seen in the *Lex de Imperio*, in Vespasian's adlection of senators, and in his treatment of Spain,⁵⁴ and Domitian's use of the name Germanicus.⁵⁵

The second century seems to have been less fruitful. Nevertheless, a convincing revision of a fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses* for 102 shows that it refers to Trajan's receipt

³⁷ *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977).

³⁸ G. P. Burton, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 63, starting, of course, from the Corbulo document, *PP* 30 (1975) 102, no. 11.

³⁹ W. Williams, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 91, discussing the *libellus* with subscript of Antoninus Pius published by G. Petzl, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 77; A. D'Ors and F. Martin discuss *propositio libellorum* in *AJP* 100 (1979) 111.

⁴⁰ J. H. Oliver, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 179, commenting on a letter ostensibly of Marcus and Verus, written when Verus was in the east.

⁴¹ P. Herrmann, *Festschrift F. Vittinghof* (1980) 339; cf. also K. J. Rigsby, *AJP* 100 (1979) 401, discussing an appeal to an emperor by Balboura for such a guarantee.

⁴² T. Drew-Bear, P. Herrmann and W. Eck, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 355; L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 432.

⁴³ J. M. Carter, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 227.

⁴⁴ J. P. Hallett, *AJAH* 2 (1977) 151.

⁴⁵ Apollo: P. Peppas-Delmousou, *AJP* 100 (1979) 125. Pharaoh: E. Gryzbek, *MH* 35 (1978) 149.

⁴⁶ F. Javier Lomas, *Habis* 9 (1978) 323.

⁴⁷ J. M. Reynolds, *PCPhS* 206 (1980) 80, no. 12.

⁴⁸ W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 25, on *CIL* IV. 6893.

⁴⁹ V. Cavuoto, in *Quarta Miscellanea* (1975) 207.

⁵⁰ V. Saladino, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 215.

⁵¹ W. Eck, *Epigraphica* 41 (1979) 113.

⁵² *Chiron* 7 (1977) 279.

⁵³ T. Buttrey, *Documentary evidence for the chronology of the Flavian titulature* (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 112) (1980); *CJ* 71 (1975/76) 26 (Domitian's perpetual censorship); G. W. Houston, *Emerita* 44 (1976) 397 (censorship of Vespasian and Titus); L. Gasperini, *Scritti ... Zambelli* (1978) 130 (Vespasian as *p.p.*).

⁵⁴ P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 67 (1977) 95 (*Lex de imperio*); G. W. Houston, *AJP* 98 (1977) 35 (adlections to the Senate); A. Montenegro, *Hispania Antiqua* 5 (1975) 7, and R. Wiegels, *Hermes* 106 (1978) 196 (Spain).

⁵⁵ R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 62, discussing its erasure at Ephesus.

of the name Dacicus, and his first Dacian triumph.⁵⁶ There has been more discussion of the dossier of Marcus Aurelius at Athens, notably, and with important revisions, by S. Follet.⁵⁷ A lesser inscription of Marcus (*IGR* IV. 1399) has also been re-examined, with a view to identifying the child whom it mentions, but a very thorough survey of the imperial offspring has produced no completely satisfying answer.⁵⁸

The third century, on the other hand, has been prolific. The Severan flair for propaganda is stressed in two articles, one which argues that the dates of their *dies imperii* were carefully chosen for effect,⁵⁹ and another which notes the significance of the title Antoniniana given to some military units already in the life time of Septimius.⁶⁰ Inscriptions found at Silifke show Fl. Ulpianus honouring Caracalla and Plautilla.⁶¹ The personal elements in Caracalla's edicts and letters are considered by W. Williams in a continuation of his studies designed to clarify the work of emperors and distinguish it from that of their secretaries.⁶² For the controversial title of Severus Alexander during the reign of Elagabalus S. Dušanić, using mainly *AE* 1964. 269 and 1966. 339, proposes 'the Caesar of the priest/emperor'.⁶³ A milestone from Sardinia names Volusian in the brief period when he was Caesar, but not yet Augustus.⁶⁴ Inscriptions have provided evidence for a reform of the administration of the *annona* under Valerian,⁶⁵ and for the chronology of revolts in the province of Africa under Valerian and Gallienus;⁶⁶ a new text from Aphrodisias, honouring the other son of Valerian, Licinius Valerianus, *cos.* 265, is published in this volume.⁶⁷ Epigraphic material is also used in a discussion of the policy of Claudius Gothicus in Gaul.⁶⁸ A milestone of Tetricus Caesar gives him the cognomen *Junior*.⁶⁹ Another carries a rare record of Valeria Augusta, daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius.⁷⁰ The imperial edict *CIL* III. 12133 has been interpreted as an edict of Galerius, Licinius, Maximinus and Constantine issued in 310/11, while *FIRA*² I. 94 has been dated to 1st January 314.⁷¹ There has been a good deal of discussion of the titles of Constantine⁷² and of some of his family and successors;⁷³ a new inscription calls him *divus*.⁷⁴

III Client Kings and Foreigners

Recent volumes of *ANRW* present surveys of the evidence relating to individual eastern client kingdoms.⁷⁵ Amongst more specialized studies, one might particularly note current work on the rulers of Commagene. This includes discussion of a large new *temenos stele* dating from the reign of Antiochus I (but before 64 B.C.) which reveals hitherto unattested titles for the king,⁷⁶ and the demonstration by A. Spawforth of the marriage between a descendant of the dynasty and a member of the Spartan élite in the early empire.⁷⁷

In the West, J. Bogaers has re-examined the famous inscription (*RIB* 91) relating to Cogidubnus. He suggests, convincingly, that there is little ground for reading *legatus Aug.* amongst the titles of the king—an office which has long caused puzzlement in this context. A better reconstruction, corroborated by early drawings of the text, is *rex magnus*, a title for which there are exact eastern parallels.⁷⁸ The activities and genealogy of the dynasty of Donnus in the Cottian Alps have also been reassessed on the basis of surviving inscrip-

⁵⁶ S. Mazzarino, *Epigraphica* 40 (1978) 241.

⁵⁷ S. Follet, *RPh* 105 (1979) 29; see also J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 100 (1979) 543.

⁵⁸ J. Krier, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 449.

⁵⁹ P. Herz, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 285.

⁶⁰ M. Mirković, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 183.

⁶¹ G. Dagron and J. Marillet-Jaubert, *Belleten* 42 (1978) 412.

⁶² *Latomus* 38 (1979) 67.

⁶³ *ZPE* 37 (1980) 117.

⁶⁴ L. Campus, *ArchClass* 29 (1977) 411.

⁶⁵ J.-M. David, *AntAfr* 11 (1977) 149.

⁶⁶ M. Christol, *AntAfr* 10 (1976) 69.

⁶⁷ Above, p. 104, no. 3.

⁶⁸ V. Neri, *REA* 80 (1978) 85.

⁶⁹ P. André, *ABPO* 85 (1978) 349.

⁷⁰ G. Petzl and H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 282.

⁷¹ T. D. Barnes, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 275.

⁷² A. Araldi, *Contributi . . . Garzetti* (1977) 175;

C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 177.

⁷³ A. Chastagnol, *MEFR* 88 (1976) 259; A. Araldi, *Epigraphica* 39 (1977) 91.

⁷⁴ L. Gasperini, *AnnFacLettFilMacerata* 9 (1976) 393.

⁷⁵ Thrace, II, 7. 1, 186; Pontus, II, 7. 2, 913; Cappadocia, II, 7. 2. 1125; Emesa, II, 8, 198; Judaea, II, 8, 296; Commagene, II, 8, 732 (all by R. D. Sullivan); Armenia, II, 9. 1, 71 (M.-L. Chaumont).

⁷⁶ J. Wagner and G. Petzl, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 201, with minor corrections by W. Clarysse, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 264. On the religious concerns of the eastern dynasties more generally, see R. D. Sullivan, *Festschrift Doerner* (1978) II, 914.

⁷⁷ *ABSA* 73 (1978) 249.

⁷⁸ *Britannia* 10 (1979) 243. The problems associated with the reading *legatus Aug.* are brought out by A. A. Barrett, *ibid.* 227.

tions,⁷⁹ while from Rome itself a new text has given evidence of an *opses Parthorum* in the second century A.D., Julia Axse, apparently married to an imperial freedman or descendant of such.⁸⁰

IV Senators

The obligations and privileges of the senatorial order are illuminated by a number of recently discovered documents, the most important of which is the *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum, edited and commented on by M. Malavolta.⁸¹ This decree, passed in A.D. 19, forbids members of senatorial and equestrian families to take part in shows or to serve as gladiators. It likewise debarbs such employment to all free citizens under twenty-five if male, and under twenty if female. Members of senatorial families are specifically forbidden to evade these restrictions by renouncing their rank; one of the punishments for transgression is denial of a proper funeral. The prohibitions also apply to women—echoed in the employment of women gladiators at Ostia at a later date (below, p. 137 and n. 222). A.D. 19 was already known to be a year of scandal among the upper classes; Tacitus records a *Senatus Consultum* prohibiting women of equestrian family from working as prostitutes (*Ann.* II. 85). Suetonius appears to refer directly to the Larinum decree, saying that Tiberius exiled those who chose loss of rank in order to appear on the stage or in the arena in defiance of a *Senatus Consultum* (*Tib.* 35. 2).

The special rights of senators appear in a much later document, Septimius Severus' reminder to an un-named official that senators were exempt from billeting; the discovery of several copies of this text in the East is an indication of its importance to senators living there (see above, p. 124 and n. 42). Senators from the East in the first two centuries of the Principate are now examined in a valuable monograph by H. Halfmann.⁸²

Among the most important recent work on the Senate and its members are studies by B. Campbell and G. Alföldy. Campbell examines the concept of the 'vir militaris'.⁸³ He argues that employment of the term to denote a military specialist is a synthetic usage, not supported by the ancient sources; that, despite careers which show much military employment, patterns of promotion were not schematized along specialist lines; and, in particular, that promotions of future generals were not especially rapid, as has been claimed. He concludes that there are no clearly discernible patterns of promotion among future proconsular legates, and that there was no military oligarchy or 'high command'. These findings have not elicited a full re-statement of previous views. Professor Syme has pointed out that patterns are nevertheless discernible in well-documented periods shorter than the century and a half, from 70 to 235, on which Campbell bases his conclusions.⁸⁴

Professor Alföldy, who continues to add to our knowledge of a great many individual senators, in his recent book studies the tenure of the consulship, and its place in the senatorial career, during a well-documented period, the four decades from A.D. 138 to 180.⁸⁵ His book takes up from the date at which Eck's valuable study of the Senate leaves off; we are at last approaching the point at which a history of the Senate under the Principate should be within reach.⁸⁶ *PIR*², which halted in 1970 at the letter L, is about to resume publication (see above, p. 121); and a colloquium on senators held in Rome in May 1981 assembled much important material. Alföldy offers an important analysis of senatorial career-patterns which, while not always free from assumptions like those questioned by Campbell, must nevertheless provide an essential basis for future work. One of the most interesting phenomena that he studies is the tenure of consulships by the sons of consuls, and the extent to which consular rank can be considered hereditary (for some reservations, see G. P. Burton's comments in a recent review).⁸⁷

⁷⁹ C. Letta, *Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 37.

⁸⁰ S. Priuli, *NSA* 31 (1977) 332.

⁸¹ In *Sesta Miscellanea* (1978) 347.

⁸² *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (*Hypomnemata* 58) (1979).

⁸³ *JRS* 65 (1975) 12.

⁸⁴ *JRS* 70 (1980) 77 n. 138; *Danubian Papers* (1971) 241.

⁸⁵ *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977); English summary in *AncSoc* 7 (1976) 263.

⁸⁶ W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970). Professor Chastagnol's study of the Senate at the beginning of the Empire is also in progress.

⁸⁷ *JRS* 70 (1980) 203.

P. A. Gallivan assembles the Fasti for the reign of Claudius.⁸⁸ Alföldy, in the work discussed above, publishes consular Fasti from 138 to 150. Eck, who has now embarked on a re-edition of Degraffi's Fasti, makes some restorations to the consular lists for the first and second centuries.⁸⁹ Other recent discussions concern consuls of the years 43, 53, 65, 90, 154 and 209.⁹⁰ Chastagnol studies provincials in the Senate under Augustus, finding four or possibly five instances;⁹¹ he also examines Augustus' difficulties in recruiting to the Senate in 16-11 B.C.⁹² Members of the best-documented senatorial priesthood, the Arval Brethren, are studied at length in Syme's recent book.⁹³ New fragments of their proceedings for May-September 38, and October 53 have been published.⁹⁴

The most imposing work on provincial Fasti is Pflaum's Fasti of Gallia Narbonensis, which forms his last major publication, apart from further sections of *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* which are expected to appear posthumously.⁹⁵ Pflaum's notable skill and thoroughness are once more seen in this volume. Among provinces of the western Mediterranean, Narbonensis is surprisingly ill-documented, with 15 known governors, compared with at least 41 for Tarraconensis, 39 for Baetica, and well over 100 for Africa. Pflaum disposes of senatorial office-holders in less than 100 pages, but follows this with examinations of procurators, priests, equites and milites of the province, on the model of Willeumier's study of Lugdunensis. The index runs to 176 pages. Pflaum's numerous papers on Africa and Gaul have been collected in two volumes; they include a number of studies of senators and procurators.⁹⁶ Work on provincial Fasti also includes Syme's new study of proconsuls of Africa under Hadrian.⁹⁷ R. K. Sherk considers governors of Galatia between 112 and 285.⁹⁸ F. Jacques has produced a major study of census-takers in Tres Galliae in the second and early third centuries.⁹⁹ The second volume of Sarikakis' study of proconsuls of Macedonia has appeared.¹⁰⁰ B. W. Jones writes on praetorian proconsuls under Domitian,¹⁰¹ and M. Christol on the Fasti of Numidia from 253 to 260.¹⁰² M. Gaggiotti considers the *rectores* of Samnium in the mid-fourth century.¹⁰³

Discussions of individual offices include a number of studies of the post of *curator reipublicae*, an office with local responsibilities, which might be held, depending on the importance of the town, by a senator, an eques, or a simple town magistrate. In his important new book on Italy, W. Eck includes an extended examination of the *curatores*, and also considers the *praefecti alimentorum*.¹⁰⁴ His lists are evidently fuller than those of R. Duthoy, whose parallel survey of Italian *curatores* shows (e.g.) 66 in Regio I, compared with Eck's 76.¹⁰⁵ *Curatores reipublicae* in Asia are examined by G. P. Burton, who suggests a late date for the spread of the institution to many cities in Asia.¹⁰⁶ The less important post of *curator kalendarii*, which was not held by senators, has been examined by L. Japella-Contardi.¹⁰⁷

Grants of the *ornamenta* of senatorial magistracies are considered in detail by B. Rémy.¹⁰⁸ M. Dondin assembles and discusses eight examples of the rare phenomenon of provincial legateships held before the quaestorship.¹⁰⁹ E. R. Birley collects examples of dedications showing their new command made by magistrates before departing for a new province, and uses these to establish the chronology of some Mainz career inscriptions.¹¹⁰

Discussions of individual families include articles in Syme's *Roman Papers*, which

⁸⁸ *CQ* 28 (1978) 407.

⁸⁹ *Historia* 24 (1975) 324; *ZPE* 37 (1980) 117.

⁹⁰ G. Barbieri, *RAL* 30 (1975) 153; S. Panciera, *RPA* 48 (1976) 282; S. Dušanić, *Germania* 56 (1978) 461; B. W. Jones, *Historia* 25 (1976) 499; B. Lorincz, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 369; J. F. Oates, *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 282.

⁹¹ *Mélanges P. Boyancé* (1974) 163.

⁹² *Miscellanea E. Manni* (1980) 1, 463.

⁹³ R. Syme, *Some Arval Brethren* (1980).

⁹⁴ See below, p. 135 and n. 196, with n. 293.

⁹⁵ *Les Fastes de la province de Narbonnaise* (Gallia Suppl. 30) (1978).

⁹⁶ *Afrique romaine: Scripta Varia* 1 (1978); *La Gaule et l'Empire romain: Scripta Varia* 11 (1981).

⁹⁷ *ZPE* 37 (1980) 1; cf. Syme, *Roman Papers* (1980) 11, 629.

⁹⁸ *AJP* 100 (1979) 166.

⁹⁹ *Ktéma* 2 (1977) 285.

¹⁰⁰ T. K. Sarikakis, *Roman governors of the province of Macedonia* (in Greek) 11 (1977); see F. Papazoglou, *ZAnt* 29 (1979) 227.

¹⁰¹ *Historia* 24 (1976) 63.

¹⁰² Above, n. 66.

¹⁰³ *Athenaeum* 56 (1978) 145.

¹⁰⁴ W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (1979).

¹⁰⁵ *AncSoc* 10 (1979) 171.

¹⁰⁶ *Chiron* 9 (1979) 465. G. Camodeca, who promises a monograph on *curatores r.p.*, discusses some instances of the post in Italy, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 225. F. Jacques has completed a lengthy study of *curatores*, not yet in print.

¹⁰⁷ *Epigraphica* 39 (1977) 71.

¹⁰⁸ *REA* 78 (1976) 160.

¹⁰⁹ *Latomus* 37 (1978) 148.

¹¹⁰ *Chiron* 9 (1979) 495.

contains a wealth of important prosopographical observations; Pflaum's papers, mentioned above (n. 96); two articles on the Aradii, based on an inscription recently found at Bulla (*AE* 1971. 490);¹¹¹ and E. J. Champlin's book on Fronto.¹¹² H. Halfmann and G. Alföldy have convincingly identified the *quaestor extra sententias designatus* of an inscription recently found at Ephesus as the Iunius Maximus whom Fronto commended to his commanding officer, Avidius Cassius, in tritely conventional terms.¹¹³ Y. Burnand studies at length the senators and knights of Nemausus, one of the great towns of Narbonensis.¹¹⁴

Among texts from the late Empire, T. Drew-Bear has published a new inscription of a vicar of Asiana in the late fourth century, Fl. Menander.¹¹⁵ The terminology confirms C. Foss's recent observations about the different phrases used to describe the functions of governors and vicars, allowing the identification of several vicars previously thought to be governors.¹¹⁶ A new milestone from Balbura shows that the governor of Lycia in 363 was a *lamprotatos hēgemōn*; ¹¹⁷ this suggests that Fl. Nemesius Olympius, *v.c.*, attested at Myra under Constantius II, should be included in the Fasti of Lycia, notwithstanding his rejection by the editors of *PLRE* I, on the grounds that governors of Lycia in the fourth century were believed to be *perfectissimi* (*PLRE* I, Olympius 16).

Other senators who are the subject of recent discussion include the following: ¹¹⁸

1. M'. Acilius Glabrio; 2. C. Aelius Servilianus Maximus; 3. L. Antonius Saturninus; 4. Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus; 5. M. Arruntius Claudianus; 6. Attius Fuscianus; 7. P. Attius Ulpus Apuleius Clementinus Rufinus; 8. Aurelius (Commodus) Pompeianus; 9. C. Bruttius Praesens; 10. L. Caesennius Sospes; 11. Ti. Claudius Gordianus; 12. Ti. Clodius Saturninus; 13. (Dasumius?); 14. Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, *signo* Mavortius; 15. P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, *signo* Vocontius; 16. Flavius Romulus; 17. Flavius Sabinus; 18. T. Flavius Vespasianus; 19. D. Fonteius Fronto; 20. C. Gabinius Barbarus Pompeianus; 21. Q. Gargilius Macer Aufidianus; 22. M. Gavius Crispus Numisius Iunior; 23. M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus; 24. C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius; 25. C. Iulius Flaccinus; 26. Ti. Iulius Iulianus Alexander; 27. A. Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius Laevillus; 28. L. Lucretius Servilius Gallus Sempronianus; 29. T. Manlius Sura Septicianus; 30. Marcus Turbo; 31. L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus; 32. L. Marius Perpetuus; 33. Matidius . . .; 34. P. Memmius Regulus; 35. C. Messala Vipstanus Gallus; 36. T. Messius Extricatus; 37. Messius Rusticus; 38. Mettius Modestus; 39. L. Neratius Priscus; 40. M. Nonius Balbus; 41. C. Petillius Firmus; 42. M. Plautius Silvanus; 43. (Plo?)tius Pegasus;

¹¹¹ B. Rémy, *Historia* 25 (1976) 458; M. Christol, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 145.

¹¹² E. J. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980).

¹¹³ Fronto, van den Hout 168 = Naber 178; *ZPE* 35 (1979) 195.

¹¹⁴ *MEEFR* 87 (1975) 681.

¹¹⁵ *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* (1978) 27, no. 15; *PLRE* I, Menander 7.

¹¹⁶ *ZPE* 26 (1977) 175 and n. 14.

¹¹⁷ Ch. Naour, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 177 no. 4; *PLRE* I, Sozomenus.

¹¹⁸ 1. R. Syme, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 427; 2. F. Eckhardt, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 210; 3. R. Syme, *JRS* 68 (1978) 12; 4. F. Bertrand, *Karthago* 17 (1973/74) 195; 5. H.-G. Pflaum, *AEHE IV* (1974/75) 363; 6. H. I. Macadam, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 72; 7. S. Panciera, *RPAA* 48 (1975/76) 302. 8. J. F. Oates, *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 282; 9. F. Jacques, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 215; 10. R. Syme, *JRS* 68 (1978) 12; 11. J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *BAA* 5 (1971/74) 163; 12. W. Eck, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 31; 13. W. Eck, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 277; 14. G. Camodeca, *AAN* 82 (1971) 39; 15. H.-G. Pflaum, *AEHE IV* (1973/74) 272; 16. G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 151; 17. W. Eck, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 31; 18. A. Chastagnol, *Historia* 25 (1976) 253; 19. D. French, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 211; 20. E. Birley, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 180 and B. Lorincz, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 157; 21. G. Alföldy, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 361; 22. See no. 17. 23. A. Blanc and H. Desaye, *Gallia* 33 (1975) 241; 24. A. J. S. Spawforth, above, n. 77; 25. I. I.

Russu, *Stud. si cerc. vet.* 30 (1979) 437; 26. M. Sartre, *Ann. Dep. Ant. Jordan* 21 (1976) 105; 27. J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 346 and I. Piso, *Act. Mus. Nap.* 16 (1979) 69; 28. G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 218; 29. I. Nicolaou, *RDAC* (1975) 192; 30. G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 237; 31. K. P. Johne, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 493; 32. I. Piso, *Act. Mus. Nap.* 15 (1978) 179, and M. Mirković, *ZAnt* 27 (1977) 443; 33. G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 255; 34. L. Petersen, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 288, cf. A. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce* (1978) 115, for an attempt to redate *IG* v. 1. 1432-3; 35. J. Devreker, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 203; 36. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, *PP* 34 (1979) 267; 37. W. Eck, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 31; 38. *ibid.* 39. G. Camodeca, *AAN* 87 (1976) 19 and G. Asdrubali Pentiti, *StudRom* 26 (1978) 544; 40. L. Schumacher, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 165; 41. A. B. Bosworth, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 267; 42. U. Vogel-Weidemann, *AClass* 19 (1976) 135; 43. E. J. Champlin, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 269; 44. A. R. Birley, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 360; 45. R. Hodot, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 221; 46. D. French, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 247; 47. D. French, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 77; 48. P. Lazarides, *ArchDelt* 29 (1973) 60; 49. G. Camodeca, *AAN* 87 (1976) 39; 50. D. L. Kennedy, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 24; 51. G. Guadagno, *RAL*⁸ 30 (1975) 361; 52. S. Dušanić, *ZAnt* 27 (1977) 190; 53. J. H. D'Arms, *AJP* 97 (1976) 387; 54. R. Syme, *HSCP* 83 (1979) 287; 55. A. Chastagnol, *L'album municipale de Timgad* (1978).

44. Q. Pompeius Falco ; 45. M. Pompeius Maximus ; 46. T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Geminus ; 47. Sex. Quinctilius Maximus ; 48. C. Quinctius Trogus ; 49. Rutilius Crispinus ; 50. Q. Scribonius Tenax ; 51. Tannonius Chrysantius ; 52. Q. Ulpius D(omitius)? ; 53. M. Umbilius Maximinus Praetextatus ; 54. Ummidius Quadratus ; 55. Vulcacius Rufinus.

V Equites

A newly discovered inscription from Bithynia reveals that the first prefect of Mesopotamia, the province created by Septimius Severus *c.* 195, was Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila, who is already well known from papyri.¹¹⁹ Aquila later became prefect of Egypt, where his presence is attested from 206 to 210. His brother Proculus, also an eques by origin, governed Numidia as praetorian legate between 208 and 210. They were natives of Cuicul in Numidia, and as such formed part of the African connection prominent in Rome at that date.¹²⁰ Another post created in the late second century was that of *procurator kalendarii Vegetiani*. This is interesting as almost the only case where a private estate was considered important enough to receive an equestrian procurator to run it when the Emperor took it over.¹²¹ Because of the lack of parallels, the position remained obscure for a long time, and Huebner's corrupt reading *ad Fal(ernas) veget(andas)* for *ad kal(endarium) Veget(ianum)* was allowed to stand by Dessau (*ILS* 1405 and III p. 428). But four different holders of the post are now known, the most recent find being *AE* 1972. 250. D. Manacorda illuminates the activities of the *kalendarium Vegetianum* in his recent study, suggesting that amphorae found in Italy marked *K.V.* contained oil exported from this estate in Baetica.¹²² Its former owner was presumably the consul L. Mummius Niger Q. Valerius Vegetus, who was wealthy enough to build a private six-mile aqueduct, the *aqua Vegetiana*, near Viterbo.¹²³

Suetonius continues to attract attention. J. Gascoü uses the evidence of a new diploma to argue that Suetonius' Palatine career was quite long. The diploma, of August 123, appears to attest Marcius Turbo's presence on the Danube at that date, thus calling into question the association of date between Suetonius' fall and Hadrian's visit to Britain usually assumed from the life of Hadrian.¹²⁴ Since Turbo was appointed as praetorian prefect together with Septicius Clarus, who fell at the same time as Suetonius, that event would have to be after 123 to allow time for the prefecture of Clarus (*Vit. Hadr.* 9. 5 ; 11. 3). A different view is argued by Professor Syme, who notes that it is unlikely that Turbo's extraordinary Danubian command could have lasted as much as five years, which it would have to do if Turbo was still on the Danube late in 123 ; and that the *Vita* implies that the previous two prefects were dismissed, and their successors appointed, in 119.¹²⁵ Syme points to cases where diplomata mention discharge by governors who had moved on as much as four years before the date of the document. These considerations are difficult to ignore, and they seem to leave Suetonius' removal from office at the traditional date in 122. This undercuts Gascoü's hypothesis that Suetonius could have been honoured at Hippo as a member of Hadrian's retinue on his African tour in 128 ; Syme suggests that the Hippo inscription in fact honoured a native.¹²⁶ That would have the possibly surprising result of making Suetonius *père*, who fought as tribune in Otho's army (Suet. *Otho* 10. 5), almost the first African known to have held equestrian *militiae* (although the first century epigraphic record is poor).¹²⁷ The list of *pontifices Volcani* at Ostia is now apparently full at least until 126 ; this makes Suetonius' stated tenure of a priesthood of that name, known at no other town, still perplexing.¹²⁸

¹¹⁹ D. French, *AS* 27 (1977) 191 ; D. L. Kennedy, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 255 ; see also below, n. 142, no. 4, for a new *praefectus Osrhoenae*.

¹²⁰ *ILS* 9488. On Africans, cf. A. R. Birley, *Bj* 169 (1969) 271.

¹²¹ The *proc. kal. Veliani* in *ILS* 9470 is a freedman.

¹²² *MEFR* 89 (1977) 313.

¹²³ *ILS* 5771 and add. For the builder of several miles of aqueduct at Syrian Apamea, see *AE* 1976. 677-8.

¹²⁴ J. Gascoü, *Latomus* 37 (1978) 436, developing

the proposal of Pflaum, *AEHE IV* (1975/76) 373, based on *AE* 1973. 459 (now published by Roxan, below n. 156, no. 21).

¹²⁵ *JRS* 70 (1980) 64, especially 69-72 ; cf. G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 233.

¹²⁶ *ibid.* 79-80.

¹²⁷ Cf. the list in M. G. Jarrett, *Historia* 12 (1963) 211 ; only two men from Thugga are earlier than this.

¹²⁸ Cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*² (1973) 584.

Syme has also considered Juvenal's origins.¹²⁹ While not rejecting outright the Aquinum inscription (*ILS* 2926) recording a '... nius Iuvenalis' as *trib. coh.*, he suggests that lack of tribe and filiation might indicate a dedication by a visitor rather than a native; 'tuo ... Aquino' in Juvenal (3. 319) might be no more proof of origin than 'tuam Lale-taniam' in Martial (1. 49. 22). An obscure reference to the countryside at Thabraca on the coast of Tunisia (10. 193-5) might be a better indication of what country Juvenal came from. If that were the case, the coincidence of literary and epigraphic references to Aquinum would presumably point to an adopted *patria*, or perhaps a summer resort.

Turning to equestrian careers in general, R. P. Saller's article breaks important ground in analysing the procuratorial career patterns proposed by Pflaum, and usually accepted hitherto.¹³⁰ Saller is able to show that several principles of promotion put forward by Pflaum rest on insecure foundations. The absence of specialization in those chosen for the prefecture of Egypt has already been pointed out by Professor Brunt, and Mme Pavis d'Escurac has observed the same in the careers of prefects of the *annona*.¹³¹ Saller's tabulations, and the arguments he brings to bear suggest strongly that advancement may have been more dependent on patronage, and on the accident of available vacancies, than on strictly applied rules of the intricate kinds suggested by Pflaum.

Whether all attempts to discover trends of procuratorial promotion are open to these objections is not yet clear. Inferences must depend in part on the accuracy with which the salary-gradings of different posts can be reconstructed. It is perhaps time that these were reassessed in the light of the epigraphic finds of the last three decades. Pflaum himself drew attention to one case in which a new find suggested a grading different from the one he had originally put forward,¹³² and a co-ordinated examination might reveal further instances. For example, *AE* 1962. 183 now shows that the *proc. patrimonii prov. Narbonensis* was ducenarian, which may lead us to wonder whether his opposite number in Belgica and the two Germanies can really have been sexagenarian, as Pflaum suggested before this inscription was known. If he too was ducenarian, this would make it easier to understand why the post follows centenarian and ducenarian employment in the career of C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus, father-in-law of Gordian III.¹³³

Among studies of equestrian offices, Bastianini's lengthy work on the prefects of Egypt has been brought up to date very recently.¹³⁴ As well as Mme Pavis d'Escurac's book on the prefects of the *annona* (above, n. 131) K. R. Bradley has written on the prefects of the *annona* from Augustus to Hadrian.¹³⁵ In an article already cited (n. 125) Professor Syme studies the praetorian prefecture under Trajan and Hadrian, examining in detail the careers of the six known prefects: Sex. Attius Suburanus, Cl. Livianus, P. Acilius Attianus, Ser. Sulpicius Similis, Q. Marcius Turbo and C. Septicius Clarus. Pflaum has considered Gallienus' reform of provincial government, and tabulated 20 equestrian governors between 262 and 300.¹³⁶ I. Piso has studied procurators in Dacia in the third century, and L. Balla has listed 36 equites known from Dacian inscriptions.¹³⁷

New procuratorial careers include that of Aurelius Tuesianus, whose inscription, found at Sarmizegetusa, shows that he achieved senatorial rank as legate of Lugdunensis and consul designate, perhaps in the late Severan period.¹³⁸ S. Demougin has published the career of Fl. ... Boethus, *proc. summarum rationum*.¹³⁹ ... C. f. Pal. Iulius Festus, a former *quinquennialis* at Capua, dedicated a monument at Aquileia after Hadrian's death. He had been *subpraef. vigilum, fisci advocatus*, and holder of an unnamed procuratorship, perhaps in northern Italy; Alföldy compares the equestrian careers of the Emperor Pertinax

¹²⁹ *CP* 74 (1979) 1.

¹³⁰ *JRS* 70 (1980) 44.

¹³¹ P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 65 (1975) 141; H. Pavis d'Escurac, *Les préfets de l'annone* (1976). For scepticism about the existence of rules of advancement within the freedman administrative system, see G. P. Burton, *JRS* 67 (1977) 164.

¹³² *AEHE IV* (1973/74) 271, from *AE* 1967. 644, suggesting sexagenarian rather than centenarian status for the post of *proc. XX hered. per Asiam Phrygiam Lyciam Galatiam*.

¹³³ *ILS* 1330, as emended by Domaszewski: see Pflaum, *Carrières*, 816.

¹³⁴ *ZPE* 17 (1975) 263; 38 (1980) 75.

¹³⁵ *Historia* 27 (1978) 336.

¹³⁶ *Historia* 25 (1976) 109; cf. J. Osier, *Latomus* 36 (1977) 674.

¹³⁷ *ZPE* 40 (1980) 273; *ACD* 13 (1977) 51.

¹³⁸ I. Piso, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 515; improved by W. Eck (above, n. 104) and G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 247.

¹³⁹ *ZPE* 21 (1976) 135; further comments by W. Eck, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 227.

(from the *Vita* and *AE* 1963. 52) and M. Valerius Maximianus (from *AE* 1956. 124).¹⁴⁰ Pflaum argues from seven parallel cases that Aurelius Aristaenetus, procurator in Phrygia, was an imperial freedman, not a knight, as recently suggested.¹⁴¹ Equestrians who are the subject of recent discussion also include:¹⁴²

1. P. Aelius Hammonius; 2. . . . Arrecinus; 3. M. Aurelius Apollinaris; 4. Aurelius Dasius (a new *praefectus Osrhoenae*; cf. also *AE* 1969. 109); 5. Bryonianus Lollianus; 6. M. Carminius Pudens; 7. C. Cl. Firmus; 8. Q. Marcius Dioga; 9. Q. Octavius Sagitta; 10. L. Peducaeus Colonus; 11. M. Ulpius Victor.

General studies of equites below the procuratorial level include H. Devijver's prosopography of holders of the *tres militiae*.¹⁴³ (Pflaum argues against Devijver that M. Porcius Narbonensis did not hold these offices in the Claudian sequence).¹⁴⁴ S. Demougín examines the usage 'splendidus eques Romanus' in detail. She also surveys the *iudices* of the *decuriae* found in Italian inscriptions; these total 47, somewhat more than the total from Africa known when Pflaum wrote in 1968, approximately 35.¹⁴⁵ To the Italian list we should add T. Flavius Acyndyni fil. Scopellianus, who was *adlectus in decur(i)is*. Although his father was evidently a freedman, his sons achieved equestrian rank; they were commemorated at Privernum in 137.¹⁴⁶ Y. Burnand's survey of *iudices* from the four Gauls yields nine individuals, none of them *selecti*. Burnand has also studied the Domitii Aquenses, a family of knights whose memorial was found near Aquae Sextiae in Narbonensis.¹⁴⁷

Two examples of infant equites have been found recently, one aged 2, the other aged 9. There are at least twenty other cases of the award of equestrian rank to those under 17; but the two-year-old must be one of the youngest, if not the youngest, found so far.¹⁴⁸

VI Military affairs

There has been a welcome move towards synthesis in some recent work on the army. Dobson's important study of the *primipilares* has been published, in a German translation.¹⁴⁹ Speidel has produced a monograph on the *singulares* in the provinces,¹⁵⁰ as well as a wealth of articles on other military topics. D. B. Saddington has written on prefects and lesser officers of the Auxilia.¹⁵¹ Regional surveys include a long book on troops in Spain by Roldán Hervás;¹⁵² surveys of Egypt by Criniti and Devijver;¹⁵³ a study of Arabia by Speidel;¹⁵⁴ and R. F. J. Jones's account of the army in north-west Spain.¹⁵⁵ The most important new collection of evidence is M. M. Roxan's corpus of diplomata.¹⁵⁶ This volume, containing 78 diplomata, is a supplement to *CIL* XVI intended to be complete up to the end of 1977. Forni has supplemented the lists in his 1953 study of legionary recruiting, incorporating the evidence from the remarkable Nicopolis inscription of A.D 157.¹⁵⁷

The ostraca from Bu Ngem are now being edited by R. Marichal, who has given a

¹⁴⁰ G. Forni, *RAL*⁸ 30 (1975) 51; G. Alföldy, *Situla* 14-15 (1974) 199.

¹⁴¹ *AEHE* IV (1974/75) 367; cf. Chr. Habicht in *Altertümer von Pergamum* VIII. 3 (1969) 35.

¹⁴² 1. I. Piso, *Dacia* 20 (1976) 251; 2. S. Demougín, *MEFR* 90 (1978) 317; 3. M. Christol, *Latomus* 35 (1976) 866; 4. H. Petersen, *TAPhA* 107 (1977) 267; 5. C. Foss, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 161, suggesting a Diocletianic or later date; accepted and developed by J.-M. Carrié, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 213; 6. *AE* 1976. 252, cf. *AE* 1888. 132; 7. S. Mitchell, *AS* 27 (1977) 68; 8. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and F. Zevi, *MEFR* 88 (1976) 625; 9. U. Laffi, *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 369; 10. J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 153; 11. I. Piso, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 273.

¹⁴³ *Prosopographia militarium equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (1 1976, II 1977).

¹⁴⁴ Pflaum, o.c. above n. 141), 366.

¹⁴⁵ S. Demougín, *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 174 (*splendidus eques*); *AncSoc* 6 (1975) 143 (*iudices*) on which compare Pflaum, *AntAfr* 2 (1968) 153. One of Pflaum's 35 may be *de[cl]urione adlec[t]us*, rather than in *decuris adlectus* (despite *ILAlg* II. 2, 4694).

¹⁴⁶ M. Cancellieri *RAL*⁸ 29 (1974) 245.

¹⁴⁷ Y. Burnand, *Domitii Aquenses* (1975).

¹⁴⁸ The two-year-old: B. Stümpel, *MZ* 69 (1974) 242; nine-year-old: V. Saladino, *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 328. See, e.g., A. Stein, *Röm. Ritterstand* 56 n. 4; P. Veyne, *BCH* 90 (1976) 149 n. 1.

¹⁴⁹ B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares* (1978).

¹⁵⁰ M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman armies: an essay on the singulares of the provinces* (1978).

¹⁵¹ *PACA* 15 (1980) 20.

¹⁵² J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Hispania y el ejército romano* (1974). Important commentary is offered by P. Le Roux, *REA* 77 (1975) 140; G. Forni, *Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 500; R. Wiegels, *Gnomon* 52 (1980) 268. Le Roux provides many improved readings.

¹⁵³ *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 190; *ANRW* II, 1, 452.

¹⁵⁴ *ANRW* II, 8, 687.

¹⁵⁵ *JRS* 66 (1976) 45.

¹⁵⁶ *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977* (1978). Nos. 14, 34 and 60 were previously unpublished. For more recent material see *ZPE* 36 (1979) 228; *Germania* 56 (1978) 461; and below, nn. 160, 161.

¹⁵⁷ *ANRW* II, 1, 339; cf. *AE* 1955. 238, and 1969. 633.

preliminary report on their contents.¹⁵⁸ It is striking that evidence tends to be fullest for those army units whose military importance is most peripheral. Dura has given us the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, Panopolis the miscellaneous units in the Thebaid, while Bu Ngem now contributes an unnamed *numerus*, under a decurion, stationed at this fort in the 250s. Coherent evidence for the running of any army unit is nevertheless extremely welcome. The 146 ostraca include daily strength reports, which show an average of 52 men. On one day they are joined by 64 *tirones*, evidently on their way to units elsewhere. The command hierarchy ran: *decurio*, *librarius*, *optio*, *proculcator* (a term previously only known from Ammianus). About three-fifths of the troops have Imperial nomina, the rest well-known African gentilicia. The Latin of the documents is generally poor. The first dated document belongs to 253, the last to 259; the fort appears to have been abandoned at latest by 263.¹⁵⁹

Individual inscriptions of note include a fleet diploma of November A.D. 214, whose beneficiaries do not bear the name Aurelius that might have been expected.¹⁶⁰ They are M. Herennius Pasicrates (from Isauria) and Herennia Imma. Van Berchem suggests that these were cousins who were already citizens when the husband joined the fleet 28 years before; but it seems that other possibilities should also be considered. A diploma of A.D. 96 from Moesia Superior suggests that not all units in a province received simultaneous discharge at that time; the text lists only 10 of the 24 units stationed there in A.D. 100, of which 16 had already been there in A.D. 93.¹⁶¹ An inscription from Pompeii adds further evidence for the legion X Equestris, whose existence Ritterling was able to doubt when its name rested on a single inscription from Patras.¹⁶² This unit appears to have been one of Caesar's legions disbanded by Augustus; it may be linked with the colony of Noviodunum, whose title was *colonia Iulia Equestris*. Among individual military posts, a new *centurio legionarius factus at suffragium leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)* is of interest;¹⁶³ the phrase directly recalls the ex-signifer who was (*centurio*) *factus ex suffragio leg. (I Ital.)* (*ILS* 2658 add.). Tacitus refers disapprovingly to the appointment of centurions by the troops to replace casualties in the army of Antonius Primus (*Hist.* III. 49).

Army units recently discussed include *alae* named after their commanders, and local militias in the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁴ D. L. Kennedy examines the size of the Praetorian Guard, and length of service therein; he argues that cohorts were already military under the Antonines, and that ex-legionaries who joined the praetorians served the same length of time as other praetorians.¹⁶⁵ The impact of the legion III Augusta on the surrounding area is studied by E. W. B. Fentress; her topics include local office-holding by veterans in Numidia, buildings put up by the army, and the employment of legates as patrons.¹⁶⁶ Suggested evidence for the presence of the legion II Traiana in Judaea early in Hadrian's reign appears unconvincing.¹⁶⁷ M. Speidel examines the rise of ethnic units in the Roman army.¹⁶⁸ Inscriptions from Alexandria Troas and Side show, for the first time, a *cohors Apula c(ivium) R(omanorum)* raised between A.D. 6 and 9.¹⁶⁹ A diploma from Palestine reveals the second and third cohorts *c(ivium) R(omanorum) Antianae Gallorum*.¹⁷⁰

Turning to army ranks, B. Dobson provides a basic discussion of the posts of centurion and *primipilaris*, while posts below the centurionate are analysed in detail by D. J. Breeze.¹⁷¹ The evident absence of a fixed *cursus* at these lower levels is quite striking. The command structure and promotion patterns within the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* are considered by R. W. Davies.¹⁷² Two specialized posts within the legion, *aquilifer* and *bucinator*, are

¹⁵⁸ *CRAI* (1979) 436.

¹⁵⁹ For small garrisons cf. D. J. Breeze, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* II (1977) 1; R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 552.

¹⁶⁰ *MH* 36 (1979) 101.

¹⁶¹ *AE* 1977. 722.

¹⁶² J. G. P. Best, *Talanta* 3 (1971) 1; P. Castrén, *Arctos* 8 (1974) 5; R. Frei-Stolba, *Talanta* 10-11 (1978/79) 44. Cf. *CIL* III. 508, *AE* 1934. 152, and Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1671.

¹⁶³ *AE* 1976. 540.

¹⁶⁴ E. R. Birley, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 257; *Bonner HA Coll.* (1972/74) 65.

¹⁶⁵ *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 275.

¹⁶⁶ *Numidia and the Roman Army* (1979).

¹⁶⁷ B. Isaac and I. Roll, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 149; with J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 220.

¹⁶⁸ *ANRW* II, 3, 202. In the same volume, D. B. Saddington surveys the development of auxilia from Augustus to Trajan, 176.

¹⁶⁹ M. P. Speidel, *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 339.

¹⁷⁰ *AE* 1976. 690.

¹⁷¹ Dobson, *ANRW* II, 1, 392; Breeze, *Bj* 174 (1974) 245; *ANRW* II, 1, 435; *Britannia* 7 (1976) 127.

¹⁷² *ZPE* 20 (1976) 253.

documented by Speidel with both illustrations and a full list of examples.¹⁷³ R. E. Smith examines the evolution of the later titles *dux* and *praepositus* in military usage.¹⁷⁴ The separation of *seniores* and *iuniores* in the fourth century army is discussed by R. Tomlin; T. Drew-Bear adduces evidence that the division existed as early as 356.¹⁷⁵ M. Claus examines the post of the *canalicularius* in the late Roman army, concluding that he was a chancellery official, not a hydrologist.¹⁷⁶

In the study of army pay and conditions, one of the most important advances in recent years has been Speidel's article establishing auxiliary pay as either $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{5}{8}$ of legionary pay; of these possibilities $\frac{2}{3}$ seems very much preferable. The evidence comes mainly from papyri, but the argument involves the inscription of Ti. Cl. Maximus, 'the captor of Decebalus', and inscriptions are important also in establishing the typical nomenclature of auxiliaries in Egypt.¹⁷⁷ B. Campbell studies marriage in the army, concluding, against a predecessor, that Septimius Severus did legalize the *de facto* arrangements that had existed hitherto.¹⁷⁸ A study of the findspots of diplomata suggests that four out of five auxiliaries retired in the province in which they had served.¹⁷⁹ In another study of diplomata, M. P. Arnaud-Lindet examines the grants of citizenship and *conubium*, discussing the suspension of citizenship rights for children from 140 or 144-6. The witnessing of diplomata is analysed by J. Morris and M. M. Roxan (using a more comprehensive list than the two preceding studies). After Vespasian's census in 73/4, the same witnesses appear often, implying that they are now professional clerks, not fellow-soldiers. From Hadrian onwards, witnesses seem to be listed in more or less strict hierarchy.¹⁸⁰

VII Pagan Religion, including the Imperial Cult

While the significance of many of the earliest religious inscriptions remains in doubt,¹⁸¹ more positive conclusions may be drawn in relation to the religion of the later Republic, where epigraphic evidence can contribute to a revaluation of the traditional picture of a system 'in decline'. J. Le Gall, for example, in discussing the inscription from Isaura Vetus, which seems to record the *evocatio* of the god of the enemy in 75 B.C., suggests plausibly that it originally stood on the temple to which that deity was evoked. In other words, the god was not taken to Rome, in the sense of the capital, but was brought onto Roman territory, now conceived more widely to include recently conquered parts of Asia Minor. Thus the practice of evocation should not be seen to die out in the last centuries B.C., as has often been thought, but rather to be adapted to Rome's growing empire.¹⁸² The recent reconsideration of the *elogium* of P. Cornelius Scipio, *flamen Dialis*, is also relevant to our view of the religious system of the late Republic; for G. Bandelli has shown that there are overwhelming arguments against his identification with the frail son of

¹⁷³ *By* 176 (1976) 123.

¹⁷⁴ *ZPE* 36 (1979) 263. M. Christol, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 393, has discussed the origin of the title *protector*.

¹⁷⁵ *AJP* 93 (1972) 253; *HSCP* 81 (1977) 257.

¹⁷⁶ *AncSoc* 6 (1975) 251.

¹⁷⁷ M. P. Speidel, *JRS* 63 (1973) 141; J. Kaimio, *Arctos* 9 (1975) 39 adds little. If the ratio (for foot-soldiers) were 5/6, the annual pay of a *miles legionis* under Diocletian would have the unlikely total of 1542½ denarii, since an *eques alae* then received 1800; whereas the 2/3 ratio in Speidel's reconstruction places the legionary on a par with the *eques alae*. (For the Diocletianic rates, see R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 541.) The attempt by D. J. Breeze to contest Speidel's interpretation involves the unlikely assumption that Maximus took a cut in pay when he moved from being *vexillarius equitum* to become *duplicarius alae* (*AE* 1969. 583; *JRS* 61 (1971) 135, cf. Speidel, *o.c.*, nn. 17-18). B. Dobson, *AncSoc* 3 (1972) 193, has compared the pay and prospects of the legionary centurion with those of the equestrian officer.

¹⁷⁸ B. Campbell, *JRS* 68 (1978) 153; P. Garnsey, *CSCA* 3 (1970) 45; cf. M. Mirković, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 259.

¹⁷⁹ M.-Th. Raepsaet Charlier, *AC* 47 (1978) 557.

¹⁸⁰ *REL* 55 (1977) 282; cf. H. Wolff, *Chiron* 4 (1974) 479. Morris and Roxan, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 299.

¹⁸¹ M. Guarducci and H. Le Bonniec have offered different views of the third century B.C. bronze tablet from Lavinium, which refers to Ceres (above, n. 7), while T. J. Cornell has again attacked the idea that the Tor Tignosa altar should have anything to do with Aeneas (*LCM* 2 (1977) 77). In more general terms, H. S. Versnel (in reaction to R. E. A. Palmer's *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (1974)), has discussed methodological problems in handling these early texts (*Talanta*, 8-9 (1977) 119; cf. his remarks on the *Lapis Satricanus*, above, p. 122 and n. 9). Some Etruscan documents allow more certain interpretation; see, e.g. M. Cristofani and M. Martelli, *StudEtr* 46 (1978) 119; G. Colonna, *RSA* 6 (1976) 45.

¹⁸² *Mélanges Heurgon* (1976) 1, 519. The stone was first published by A. S. Hall, *Akt. VI. Kongr. Griech. u. Lat. Epigr.* (1973), 568. The limits of such adaptability in Roman religion (particularly in relation to the surviving *SC de Bacchanalibus*) are helpfully discussed by J. North, *PCPhS* 205 (1979) 85.

Africanus. This undermines the common suggestion that this flaminiate came to be used merely as an empty honour for weak sons of the nobility.¹⁸³

Within a wider chronological framework, much attention has been given to the development of the worship of Roma¹⁸⁴ and the subsequent imperial cult. Here the discussion of inscriptions reveals two different modern approaches to the phenomenon of emperor worship. The first sees the honours granted to the emperor as part of a broad continuum of divine honours given to various special categories of men in the ancient world, within which the divine status of the emperor cannot be precisely defined. Thus, for example, L. Schumacher, in his interesting discussion of the honours decreed for a local notable at Herculaneum (some to have effect during his lifetime, others after his death) draws a close parallel with those given to the emperor, arguing that Greek hero cult and the Roman cult of the dead provided a basis for, and formed a continuum with, later imperial developments.¹⁸⁵ The second approach stresses rather the precision and specificity of the honours granted to the emperor, almost in the sense of a code by which the status of the ruler (however problematic) was being defined as closely as possible. So S. Price's careful study of the exact wording of the Greek inscriptions referring to sacrifices to or on behalf of the emperor attempts to isolate his position within 'the series of overlapping systems of classification which constituted *isothēoi timai*'.¹⁸⁶ Similarly C. Letta, in a study of a new inscription in which a man bequeathes to his vicus *imagin(es) Caesarum argentias quinque*, demonstrates the precise distinctions of honour inherent in different types of statue in different materials.¹⁸⁷

Individual aspects of emperor worship have been illuminated by new inscriptions, especially from the eastern half of the empire. Two articles by G. Bowersock have considered new evidence for the cult on the margins of the Roman world, Palmyra and Nabataea,¹⁸⁸ while the assimilation of the cult to local circumstances is attested by a text from Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis. There Hadrian appears not only as *Olympios*, but also as *kynegesios*, an epithet that may be related to a story of the emperor's success in boar-hunting in the area.¹⁸⁹ Particular local traditions also underlie the early phases of the imperial cult at Aphrodisias, which may be seen to be partly founded upon an existing cult of Dea Roma, and partly on the specific relationship cultivated by Sulla and Caesar with Aphrodisian Aphrodite, the mother of Aeneas.¹⁹⁰ A yet earlier stage in Rome's religious links with the Greek world is illustrated by an important inscription from Chios, probably of the early second century B.C., which records a festival of Roma, and the erection of a monument representing the birth of Romulus and Remus. Although known for some years, the full text is now published for the first time in a readily accessible periodical.¹⁹¹

From the West, new discoveries relevant to the Imperial cult have not been so striking, although one might note the recognition of a provincial priest of Urbs Roma in Spain, holding office almost immediately after the establishment of the cult by Hadrian,¹⁹² and a fragment of a Julio-Claudian calendar from Spello (central Italy) which seems to record

¹⁸³ *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 84; it does not, however, appear certain that he should be identified with one of the Scipiones Asinae, as B. suggests.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. C. Fayer, *Il culto della dea Roma; origine e diffusione nell'Impero* (Collana di saggi e ricerche 9) (1976); note the book by Mellor cited in *JRS* 66 (1976) n. 44.

¹⁸⁵ *Chiron* 6 (1976) 165. K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien* 1, *MDAI (I) Beiheft* 23 (1979) is also apposite, especially where (57) he considers the form of inscriptions on statue bases of Republican and Augustan promagistrates, and demonstrates the growth of a tendency to associate their wives and families in the honours, as later in the imperial cult.

¹⁸⁶ *JRS* 70 (1980) 28.

¹⁸⁷ *Athenaeum* 56 (1978) 3.

¹⁸⁸ Palmyra: *Chiron* 6 (1976) 349, with a date of A.D. 166. Nabataea: *Hommages Préaux* (1975) 513.

¹⁸⁹ W. Gawantka and M. Zahrnt, *Chiron* 7 (1977)

305, fully elucidated by L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 437. This kind of flexibility in cult practice is also attested by the continuing discovery of new titles and new combinations for worship; thus I. Nicolaou, *RDAC* (1976) 247, has re-examined a text from Cyprus to reveal a priest *tôn sebastôn kai tēs hieras sy[nklēt]ou*, a combination not previously attested on the island.

¹⁹⁰ J. M. Reynolds, *PCPhS* 206 (1980) 70.

¹⁹¹ Full text given by Moretti, *RFIC* 108 (1980) 33, based on T. Sarikakis, *Chiaka Chronika* 7 (1975) 14; see also *Bull. Ep.* 1980. 353. Some problems remain. The date accepted here is c. 190-188 B.C., although the third century has been suggested (e.g. N. Kontoleon, *PAAH* (1953) 270). The nature of the monument representing Romulus and Remus is also unclear; Sarikakis conceived of an inscribed narrative history, while Moretti favours an artistic representation.

¹⁹² D. Fishwick, *Historia* 24 (1975) 114.

the birthdays of the elder Drusus, Gaius and Lucius.¹⁹³ Notable broader treatments of the western evidence include R. Duthoy's extensive discussion of the *Augustales* (in which, following von Premerstein, he identifies three basic groups, the *seviri*, *Augustales*, and *seviri Augustales*)¹⁹⁴ and a useful survey by D. Fishwick of the present state of knowledge.¹⁹⁵

Official state cult in imperial Rome and Italy has been illuminated by particularly rich new fragments of the Arval Acta for A.D. 38. Amongst much useful information, these confirm Beranger's theory that the foundation of the Ara Providentiae is to be directly related to the adoption of Tiberius, and disprove the usually accepted view that certain changes in the Arval records (notably a move towards fuller accounts of ritual) should be entirely ascribed to the influence of Domitian, the 'religious purist'; for the fragments of 38 detail the first day of the Dea Dia ceremonies, previously thought to be unrecorded before the Flavian period.¹⁹⁶

As in previous years, however, most new information or new interpretations concern religion in the provinces, or 'mystery' cults. In the field of Mithraism, in particular, epigraphic evidence has provided the basis for many current arguments on the origin and spread of the cult, and for attempts to find a replacement for Cumont's model of a linear development from Iran, through Anatolia, to Rome.¹⁹⁷ Thus R. Gordon has re-examined the earliest datable Mithraic monuments from the West, in which he has seen certain links with scattered pieces of evidence from Anatolia, but links that are not sufficient on their own to account for the developed form of the western cult. This, he suggests, might have found its distinctive character in the legitimization of such diffuse Anatolian elements through the traditions of Zoroastrianism.¹⁹⁸ In a more limited compass, P. Beskow has studied the role of the personnel of the *portorium* in the transmission of the cult in the Danube regions, where Mithraism has characteristics different from those found either in Rome or in the East.¹⁹⁹ Another (apparently) 'mystery' cult, that of the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum, has been fully discussed by N. Goodhue, who demonstrates just how difficult it is to reconstruct any details of ritual activity from the surviving inscriptions. In fact, in this case, the epigraphic evidence alone gives no conclusive proof that the cult should rightly be described as a 'mystery' at all.²⁰⁰

On the boundaries of what is normally termed 'religion', a large number of curse tablets has been found at Uley in Gloucestershire, confirming the view that there are strong regional variations in the forms of expression used in such documents.²⁰¹ Similar flexibility of formulae may be seen in a series of inscribed magical gems published by Wortmann. These may provide a useful corrective to a common supposition that such texts are entirely stereotyped, allowing little room for innovation.²⁰²

VIII Christianity

The tendency to iconoclasm in work on Christian material, mentioned in the last survey, has continued. The Syrian at Lyons, mentioned last time as a possible Christian missionary,

¹⁹³ L. Sensi, *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 329, suggesting that the burial dates of the princes are commemorated; the more plausible case, proposing the celebration of their birthdays, is made by S. Priuli, *Miscellanea (Tituli* II, 1980) 47, with minor emendations to the restorations.

¹⁹⁴ *Epigr. Stud.* II (1976) 143; *ANRW* II, 16, 2, 1254. See also P. Kneissel, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 291, for more adventurous suggestions on the functions of *Augustales* within the social structure of cities.

¹⁹⁵ *ANRW* II, 16, 2, 1201.

¹⁹⁶ J. Scheid and H. Broise, *MEFR* 92 (1980) 215. A smaller new fragment of the Acta for 53 is published by S. Panciera, *RPAA* 48 (1975/76) 279. G. Colonna, *NSA* 29 (1975) 37, has published fragments of two inscribed calendars from the region of Viterbo; the later is dated to the second century A.D., although it has commonly been assumed that (with the exception of S. Maria Maggiore) such texts did not extend so late.

¹⁹⁷ The need for such revision is made clear by Pippidi's rereading and redating of the text recording

the foundation of the temple of Mithras at Histria (*Hommages Vermaseren* (1978) 967). If P. is correct, this would reveal the full integration of the municipal élite into the cult by the middle of the second century A.D., which is hardly compatible with the traditional view.

¹⁹⁸ *JMS* 2 (1977/78) 148.

¹⁹⁹ *JMS* 3 (1980) 1.

²⁰⁰ *The Lucus Furrinae and the Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum* (1975), also: *Pacific Coast Philology* 10 (1975) 29; *RSA* 9 (1979) 131; *PP* 34 (1979) 55. It is convincingly argued that the third phase of the sanctuary incorporated a 'mystery' cult, on the basis of the building remains; the characterization of the second phase depends almost entirely on the epigraphic evidence, even more difficult to interpret.

²⁰¹ M. W. C. Hassall and R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 10 (1979) 341; a further group of curses, from Bath, is to be published shortly. In the same area one may note L. Robert's recent study of funerary maledictions, *CRAI* (1978) 241.

²⁰² *Bj* 175 (1975) 63.

and accepted as such by M. Guarducci,²⁰³ is probably rightly seen as a trader—with no evident Christian connections—by C. P. Jones.²⁰⁴ This interpretation, and a paper by Fr. Ferrua discounting much of the apparently early Christian material from Lyons,²⁰⁵ benefit from being presented in an imaginatively wide-ranging set of articles on the theme of the Martyrs of Lyons; the juxtaposition with general discussions of the secular circumstances adds value to the specifically Christian material.

Christian inscriptions have also been usefully studied against the cultural background of a particular area in the case of Phrygia, where there has been important work on the funerary monuments by Elsa Gibson, among others.²⁰⁶ Some enigmas of vocabulary, and other aspects of Christian funerary inscriptions, have been elucidated in a series of exemplary articles by D. Feissel.²⁰⁷ The late H. I. Marrou commented—in a posthumously published article of great elegance—on the iconography and terminology of the funerary mosaic from Tipasa, cited in the last survey; he suggested that the *Concordia* which is invoked refers not so much to ecclesiastical schism, as to the kind of behaviour expected at the funerary banquet.²⁰⁸ I. Kajanto has looked at some general themes in funerary material, chiefly from Rome;²⁰⁹ and J. H. Oliver has explained the phrase *vixit in saeculo* in a third century epitaph from Rome as referring to a woman's 'life in the world', before her conversion—thus making sense of the otherwise baffling numbers and dates in the inscription.²¹⁰

The dating used in Christian inscriptions has been the subject of several studies;²¹¹ it remains to consider why Christian material seems to show an increasing tendency to use dates. This shows a tendency towards the specific perhaps similar to the growing use of professional descriptions (below, p. 138 and n. 234). Both practices could reflect the style of church records; the use of professional descriptions can be compared with what we know of the records of Jewish communities.

The meaning of the cryptogram XMG, which appeared to have been resolved by the exhaustive study of L. Tjäder referred to in the last survey, has again been called into question by the publication, by B. Lifshitz, of an inscription from Sinai: K(υρι)ε Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστ)ε Μ(αρία) γ(εννηθεϊς).²¹² Lifshitz argues that Tjäder's resolution of Χ(ριστ)ον Μ(αρία) γ(εννη) is thereby 'ébranlée sinon détruite'; but it may be that the search for a single resolution is misleading, and that, as use of the sign spread, differing interpretations grew up among those using it.

IX Society and economy

It has now been shown by many studies that inscriptional material, by itself, is an insufficient foundation for any firm arguments on fertility and mortality in the ancient world.²¹³ Social questions of more limited compass, however, have been profitably dis-

²⁰³ *MEFR* 88 (1976) 843; the original publication by J. Pouilloux, *JS* (1975) 58.

²⁰⁴ In *Les Martyrs de Lyon (177)* (1978) 119, and, better, in *AJP* 99 (1978) 336.

²⁰⁵ *Les Martyrs de Lyon (177)*, 111.

²⁰⁶ Elsa Gibson, *The Christians for Christians inscriptions of Phrygia* (1978); also in *GRBS* 16 (1975) 433, and *BASP* 12 (1975) 151. A. R. R. Sheppard has published a group of Christian epitaphs, *AS* 29 (1979) 169; see also his review of Gibson, *CR* 30 (1980) 314. L. Robert has examined the funerary imprecations characteristic of the pagan and Christian epitaphs of the area, *CRAI* (1978) 253; see also the study of the funerary monuments by M. Waelkens, *Actes VII^e Congr. Épig.* (1979) 105.

²⁰⁷ *Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne*—chiefly, but not exclusively, on funerary material: *BCH* 100 (1976) 269; 101 (1977) 208; 102 (1978) 545; 104 (1980) 459.

²⁰⁸ *AntAfr* 14 (1979) 261.

²⁰⁹ *Arctos* 10 (1976) 49, on representations of tools on funerary monuments; *Arctos* 12 (1978) 27, on descriptions of the after-life in poetry and inscriptions cf. also n. 211.

²¹⁰ *ZPE* 33 (1979) 116.

²¹¹ C. Foss, on the era of creation and its use, *ZPE*

31 (1978) 241; cf. id., *ZPE* 25 (1977) 282; I. Kajanto, on dating in inscriptions at Rome, *Arctos* 11 (1977) 41; G. Alföldy, on examples of dating by the lunar calendar, *AArch Slov* 28 (1977) 455.

²¹² L. Tjäder, *Eranos* 22 (1970) 148; B. Lifshitz, *Epigraphica* 26 (1974) 97.

²¹³ In general, recent studies have justified the scepticism of K. Hopkins (*Population Studies* 20 (1966) 245) and others. B. Boyaval, for example, suggests that apparent variations in mortality rates obtained from Greco-Roman funerary inscriptions in Egypt should be explained in terms of *histoire de mentalité*, not of demography (*ZPE* 28 (1978) 193, with *ZPE* 21 (1976) 217 and *ZPE* 26 (1977) 262). Further problems are raised by M. Clauss, *AntAfr* 9 (1975) 109, and R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 333, and *ZPE* 33 (1979) 169 (emphasizing the distortion inherent in tombstone age figures), while J. Aquilella Almer and others, *AntAfr* 9 (1975) 115, present mathematical formulae for determining the validity of inscription samples; it is hard to assess the value of this exercise. A less critical approach towards epigraphic source material is still sometimes adopted—e.g. J. M. Lassère, *Ubique populus* (1977)—not entirely convincingly.

cussed on the basis of largely epigraphic evidence. So, for example, close study of nomenclature has proved a useful approach to such problems as the process of integration of native populations into Romanised society in the provinces; ²¹⁴ while, in relation to more closely defined social groups, new discoveries have stimulated investigations which move away from numerical issues towards more general considerations of status and ideology.

Here one might particularly note recent work on the position of women. This has ranged from detailed studies of female titulature, ²¹⁵ through discussions of female occupations, ²¹⁶ to consideration of such broad problems as the possibilities of social and political advancement for women within ancient urban communities; for some striking new texts commemorate women as public figures and major benefactors of cities both in the East, and, perhaps more surprisingly, in the West. E. Schwertheim and M. Sève have, independently, published a lengthy document of the first century A.D. from Cyzicus, which records lavish honours decreed in memory of a certain Apollonis; these included the erection of her statue at the office of the *kosmophylax*, and instructions that it should be crowned by all those registering their marriage there. ²¹⁷ Also in Asia Minor, a new inscription from Tlos gives information about a woman benefactor who provided a fund for corn distribution, and made arrangements for its future administration; ²¹⁸ while from Spain we have evidence of a woman who paid for the erection of baths in her city, gave games and a banquet at their dedication, and made provision for their future upkeep. ²¹⁹ The particular problem with all these documents is to assess how far they represent women emerging from their traditional roles, or how far they should be seen as the public celebration of a woman's function well within the traditional confines. The latter view is certainly suggested by many details of the texts from Asia Minor, where the virtues singled out for praise are essentially female ones (*sōphrosynē* rather than *philotimia* or the like) and the public role of the women still appears dependent on traditional domestic concerns (as, for example, in the involvement of the statue of Apollonis in the marriage ceremony). ²²⁰ Such conventional qualities of womanhood are, of course, more clearly documented in the well-known *Laudatio Turiae*, recently re-edited by E. Wistrand; the new commentary accompanying the text draws out the ideology underlying the document, and the inherent assumptions about the woman's role within marriage. ²²¹

A rare and striking activity for women is attested in a recently re-assembled inscription from Ostia, which is now seen to record a display of female gladiators, a type of entertainment for which there is no other epigraphic evidence from the western half of the empire. ²²² Generally, however, recent studies in this area have focussed on better known forms of amusement. From the Greek East new or previously unrecognized male gladiators

²¹⁴ It is impossible to list here all the important contributions in this area; but, for an indication of the range of problems illustrated by onomastic study, note N. Duval (ed.), *L'onomastique latine* (1977)—papers of the colloquium on onomastics held in 1975—and D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Actes VII^e Congr. Epigr.* (1979). One major section of the congress was devoted to onomastics.

²¹⁵ B. Holtheide, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 127, considers the title *femina stolata*, and shows that it was not a way of referring to the *ius trium liberorum*, but was commonly used in the third century A.D. for wives of *centenarii* or *ducenarii*. *Honesta femina* is discussed by Z. Benzina Ben-Abdullah and L. Ladjimi Sebäi, *AntAfr* 11 (1977) 161.

²¹⁶ S. Treggiari, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 76, discusses the range of 'indoor employment' for female urban slaves. This is to be related to her earlier study, *PBSR* 30 (1975) 48, of jobs for both male and female slaves and *liberti* in the household of Livia, based largely on the memorial plaques from the *monumentum Liviae*.

²¹⁷ E. Schwertheim, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 213, and (preferably) M. Sève, *BCH* 103 (1979) 327.

²¹⁸ Ch. Naour, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 265; probably mid-second century A.D.

²¹⁹ P. Resina Solá and M. Pastor Muñoz, *Zephyrus* 28-29 (1978) 333; the name of the city, Tagilitana, was previously unknown.

²²⁰ The problem is treated more generally by R. MacMullen, *Historia* 29 (1978) 208, drawing on a wide range of epigraphic evidence from the whole empire. It will be fully discussed in a thesis currently being prepared by Miss H. C. Van Bremen (University College London), to whom we are grateful for drawing attention to the examples from Asia Minor.

²²¹ E. Wistrand, *The so-called Laudatio Turiae* (1976). Note, for example, the function of the wife as *custos* (39-40). This edition is the first to incorporate the fragment *AJA* 54 (1950) 223, and the first to provide a complete photographic record of the Albani tablets. W. firmly restates the opinion of M. Durry (*Éloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine*, (1950)) that the husband is not a consular, an argument not met by the discussion of A. E. Gordon, *Epigraphica* 39 (1977) 7. (Thanks are due to N. M. Horsfall for discussion of these points.)

²²² M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and F. Zevi, *MEFR* 88 (1976) 612 (but note errors in the published text—e.g. *ludus* for *ludos*—which must be compared closely with the photographs). Female gladiators have previously been attested in the East, but, until now, have only been known in the West through literary texts, or by implication, as above, p. 126. For women in other agonistic contexts see, for example, L. Robert, *RA* (1978) 277; lines 42-44 record a woman owner of a victorious two horse chariot.

continue to be discussed,²²³ and P. Sabbatini Tumolesi has produced a full study of the announcements of gladiatorial shows at Pompeii; she gives particular attention to the role of the urban élite in providing such entertainment, and reveals the effect on later shows of the riot in 59.²²⁴ Both East and West have also produced agonistic texts, but of widely differing styles. From Spain, a crude bronze tablet records the celebration of *ludi* in a *pagus*,²²⁵ while more lavish documents from Asia Minor present complete victor lists, which, from the second half of the second century B.C., show the full participation of resident Romans and their families.²²⁶ The evidence for games associated with organizations of *iuvenes* has been assembled by M. Jaczynowska, within a larger study of such groups in the early empire.²²⁷

Recent epigraphic discoveries may warn us against adopting too rigid an approach to the titlature (and hence status) of freedmen. So, for example, a new text published by S. Panciera records a man who possesses both the standard filiation of a freeborn citizen—*M(arci) f(ilius)*—and the conventional marks of slave origin—*Flacci libertus*; Panciera suggests that adoption might lie behind this ambiguity, but certainty is impossible.²²⁸ W. Eck, on the other hand, has edited a strange document where libertine status is stressed within the titlature of four freedmen by the reduplication of the element *l(ibertus)*. This was perhaps to distinguish a group of *liberti* from their *patrona*, who was herself an ex-slave.²²⁹ At least within the *familia Caesaris* the position is clearer. Here one might point to a useful catalogue of precisely dated texts concerning imperial slaves and freedmen,²³⁰ and the first complete attestation of a *libertus* of Galba.²³¹

Some of the most interesting interpretative work in this area has been concerned with manumission documents from the Greek world. Thus Hopkins has re-examined the Delphic texts from the second and first centuries B.C., drawing conclusions on the circumstances of individual slaves and the size of slave holdings, and suggesting an increase in the degree of exploitation in the forms of manumission over the period concerned.²³² New examples of this kind of document continue to be found, but the majority of the most recent have not yet been subjected to full examination.²³³

Important new discoveries have focussed attention on the working side of ancient life, and particularly the evidence for trades. Outstanding among these finds are the funerary inscriptions from the necropolis at Tyre, of which about 80 record the occupation of the deceased; the great majority are late antique, and the group may be paralleled with the similar series from Korykos.²³⁴ In addition, isolated discoveries have increased our knowledge of the range of occupations and the degree of specialization achieved in antiquity.²³⁵ Most are interesting not so much intrinsically, as for the place which they may

²²³ L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 411; D. I. Pallas and S. P. Dantis, *ArchEph* (1977) 76.

²²⁴ *Gladiatorum Paria, Annunci di spettacoli gladiatori a Pompeii (Tituli I, 1980)*. She has also produced detailed studies of gladiatorial texts from other parts of Italy, e.g. *AIV* 133 (1975) 435.

²²⁵ M. Beltran Lloris, *XIV Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia* (1977) 1061.

²²⁶ D. Knoepfler, *BCH* 103 (1979) 165; L. Robert, art. cit., n. 222.

²²⁷ *Les associations de la jeunesse romaine sous le haut-empire* (1978).

²²⁸ *NSA* 29 (1975) 224.

²²⁹ *ZPE* 36 (1979) 224.

²³⁰ P. R. C. Weaver, *Épigr. Stud.* 11 (1976) 215.

²³¹ See above, n. 51.

²³² *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978) 133.

²³³ Amongst new documents published: K. I. Gallis, *Arch. Delt.* 27 (1972) 418; 28 (1973) 327; 29 (1973/74) 580. Note the longer discussions of B. Helly, which include treatment of texts of Roman date, *BCH* 99 (1975) 119; *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 143.

²³⁴ J. P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions . . . découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963-74)* 1: *Inscriptions de la nécropole (BMB 29)* (1977), with a summary of the important finds in *RA* (1979) 166; cf. *Bull. Ép.* 1978. 522. For the inscriptions from the necropolis at Korykos see *MAMA* III. 200-788. Such specificity

in the designation of trades on tombstones seems to be largely (although not exclusively) a feature of Christian inscriptions; see above, p. 136.

²³⁵ Among new texts recording individual trades note: *othoniopratis* (linen merchant), S. Mitchell, *AS* 27 (1977) 98; *neg(ottator) artis clostrariae* (maker of, dealer in doorbolts) *Gallia* 34 (1976) 367; *mulophisi[kos] (vet)* R. P. Wright, *Britannia* 8 (1977) 279; *mouliōn* (miller), [*m*]akellarios (meat seller) and others from late antique Corinth, D. I. Pallas and S. P. Dantis, *ArchEph* (1977) 61. Amongst corporations note: *to synergion tōn en tē seitik[ē] ōmophorōn* (porters in the corn market), L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 88 (with G. Petzl, *Talanta* 8-9 (1977) 94, and *Bull. Ép.* 1978. 408); *hē synodos tēs kutikhēs* (sic) (leather workers), *hē synergasia tōn gnaphēōn* (fullers) and *hē synergasia tōn pilopoiōn* (felt hat makers?) among a series of second century A.D. funerary inscriptions erected by corporations at Saïttai in Lydia, S. Bakir-Barthel and H. Müller, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 163. In new discussions of previously published material, Z. Borkowski identifies a *hydromiktēs* as a man who sold wine mixed with water, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 75; L. Robert considers the exact functions of *xylikarioi* (carpenters), o.c. below, n. 238, 317; C. Foss discusses the status of workers in the Sardis arms factories in the late empire, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 279.

take within larger groups, and broader debates on economic activity. One might note, however, a late Roman epitaph, from Ankara, of a man who was both a goldsmith and a *kamilaris*; ²³⁶ this combination makes it likely that he was the owner rather than the driver of the camels, and should alert us to the possibility that named occupations were not always as low-level as we might tend to assume. Also in Asia Minor, from an earlier period of the empire, L. Robert has related two trades which are epigraphically attested for the first time—*xyloglyphos* (wood sculptor) and *shedionantes* (raftsman)—to particular local geographic and economic conditions: in this case, the wealth of timber around Nicomedia. ²³⁷ This is a constant theme in his work on the inscriptions of the Greek East, and can most interestingly illuminate minor regional differences that are often overlooked. ²³⁸

A broader view of this kind of evidence is represented by various interpretative studies. Both Hopkins and Patlagean have examined the trade inscriptions from Korykos, and have stressed the prominence, among productive occupations, of luxury and textile industries. The latter (with leather working) account for over 16% (=68 men) of the jobs represented. ²³⁹ A similar study by Rey-Coquais of the new documents from Tyre has confirmed the prominence of the purple industry there; it accounts for about 20% of the occupations named, and is heavily represented on the more lavish tombs. ²⁴⁰ Synthetic studies have also focussed on individual industries, where, again, the area of textiles has received particular attention with Moeller's monograph on the wool-trade at Pompeii. ²⁴¹ In relation to brick production, however, interest has moved away from the functioning and personnel of the 'industry', a shift due largely to T. Helen's demonstration that the *domini* of the brickstamps were simply the owners of the land in which the claypits lay, and not the manufacturers themselves. ²⁴² So, on this basis, P. Setälä has attempted to use the evidence of the stamps for a study of patterns of land-holding around Rome in the early empire. ²⁴³

Land-holding patterns are studied more broadly in a recent article applying the Lorenz curve, and other techniques, to land-registers from various parts of the empire. ²⁴⁴ In a regional study, I. S. Svencickaja discusses land-holding in Asia, including the evidence of the Magnesia land-register. ²⁴⁵ Plot-sizes in the Vespasianic land-survey at Arausio have also been analysed. ²⁴⁶ D. Flach has re-examined the African imperial estate inscriptions in detail. ²⁴⁷ A new inscription from an estate in Tunisia shows a *conductor fundi Aufidiani*, who increased the density of olive and vine cultivation. ²⁴⁸ A villa inscription from Liguria contains a list of small payments which possibly form part of a rent-roll; they range from 16 to 30 nummi. ²⁴⁹

An agrarian basis for Trajan's *alimenta* in Italy is suggested by E. Lo Cascio, reviving a familiar thesis in a modified form. He argues that the *alimenta* did have the dual purpose of promoting demographic and agrarian recovery; that variations in loan-rates within the epigraphic registers were meaningful; and that the concentration of the *alimenta* at towns towards the centre of Italy may have been connected with the provisioning of Rome. A more economical view of the underlying purpose suggests that the *alimenta* took the form of land-based foundations (in which they resembled many private perpetual gifts) only

²³⁶ S. Mitchell, *AS* 27 (1977) 97. This text also provides new information on the domestic or commercial use of camels in Anatolia in antiquity, for it had been commonly thought that they were not found there until the eleventh century.

²³⁷ *BCH* 102 (1978) 413.

²³⁸ See, most recently, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980).

²³⁹ K. Hopkins, 'Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity', in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (eds.), *Towns in Societies* (1978) 71; E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4^e-7^e siècles* (1977) 156.

²⁴⁰ *Ktéma* 4 (1979) 281.

²⁴¹ W. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (1976)—but see R. P. Duncan-Jones, *CR* 29 (1979) 190. Note also V. Nutton, *PBSR* 32 (1977) 191 (doctors), and a useful collection of texts on banking, R. Bogaert, *Texts on bankers, banking and credit in the Greek world* (Epigraphica 3) (1976).

²⁴² T. Helen, *Organization of Roman brick production in the first and second centuries A.D.* (1975).

²⁴³ P. Setälä, *Private domini in Roman brickstamps of the empire* (1977); but on this, and Helen, see the review by N. Purcell, below, p. 214. An excellent treatment of the chronology of the urban *figlinae* is given by M. Steinby, *BCAR* 84 (1974/75) 7, who also provides a useful introduction to the whole subject in her survey, *Ziegelstempel von Rom und Umgebung*, *RE Supp.* xv (1978) 1489. For the raw materials of brickstamps, note the appearance of *Lateres Signati Ostienses* I and II (1977-78), ed. J. Suolahti.

²⁴⁴ R. P. Duncan-Jones, in M. I. Finley (ed.) *Studies in Roman Property* (1976) 7.

²⁴⁵ *Eirene* 15 (1977) 27.

²⁴⁶ A. Pelletier, *Latomus* 35 (1976) 582.

²⁴⁷ *Chiron* 8 (1978) 441.

²⁴⁸ J. Peyras, *AntAfr* 9 (1975) 181.

²⁴⁹ *AE* 1976. 229

because there was no other safe mechanism of perennial funding.²⁵⁰ S. Mrozek argues, from a well-known sportula foundation of the 230s at Ostia that inflation cannot have been anticipated or experienced at that time; ²⁵¹ this inference is fragile, however, since the better documentation of recent centuries allows us to see that perpetual endowments in great numbers were being set up in England throughout the period of the so-called 'Price Revolution'.²⁵² Recent work on municipal gifts also includes F. Jacques' ingenious study of delayed gifts in African cities; he suggests a specific connection between the regular habit of increasing the value of an original cash promise to the city, and the legislation of Antoninus Pius, by which interest might be charged on gifts made in arrear.²⁵³ This seems convincing in a number of cases, although interest, if charged, would probably have been compound rather than simple. Hadrian's letter about money-changing at Pergamum is the subject of a new commentary.²⁵⁴

Our knowledge of Diocletian's Price Edict continues to grow rapidly. Major new finds at Aphrodisias and Aezani have added valuable information. The Aezani text, after an erratic first publication, has appeared in a greatly improved edition with a commentary; ²⁵⁵ important new sections include the price for slaves (xxii) and a clear version at last of the figure for gold (72,000 denarii per pound, xxviii). Other new copies of parts of the Edict have been found at Tamynai and Aidepsos in Achaia.²⁵⁶ Part of chapter xx of the Edict found at Odessos, comes from a province not previously known to have been subject to the Edict (Upper Moesia).²⁵⁷ The Edict expresses the price of foodstuffs in *castrensis* measure in almost all cases. New metrological work shows that the *castrensis modius* contained $1\frac{3}{8}-1\frac{1}{2}$ Italic *modii*, not 2 Italic *modii* as previously thought; the unit in the Edict is probably $1\frac{1}{2}$ Italic *modii*.²⁵⁸ The inscription on the Domitianic corn-measure from Hadrian's Wall now becomes intelligible without recourse to the assumption that the text was deliberately fraudulent.²⁵⁹ Other work on prices includes a critique of the very low prices for olive oil deduced by Tenney Frank from amphora inscriptions, which shows that Frank's figures are much at variance with other evidence for oil prices.²⁶⁰ An intriguing funerary inscription from Rome gives the price of an *ossuarium* as 175 denarii; ²⁶¹ it is inscribed on a finely carved stele in the shape of a portico and frieze with two inset portrait busts. Although 175 denarii is the only construction cost given, it does not seem possible that this figure can be the cost of the stele itself; even statue-bases, with a minimal cost of workmanship, cost nearly as much at little Numidian towns, where prices are almost bound to have been below those at Rome.²⁶²

Pottery-based studies of trade continue to produce interesting results. In one of the most important recent articles, D. Manacorda examines the Sestius amphorae of the second and first centuries B.C.²⁶³ He notes that, although most finds are in Gaul, Cosa is the southernmost point at which the marque occurs; that all known variants save one are attested there; and that Cosa has a larger bulk of Sestius stamps than any other single site. The social and economic status of potters in Roman Italy is examined by C. Delplace; their status

²⁵⁰ E. Lo Cascio, *RAL* 33 (1978) 311; R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974) chapter 7. For the administration of the alimenta, see now W. Eck (above, n. 104), chapter 5.

²⁵¹ *AArchSlov* 28 (1977) 406, on *CIL* xiv. 431. For an extended discussion of Italian foundations, see J. Andreau, *Ktēma* 2 (1977) 157. Some new examples have been published: see *Sesta Miscellanea* (1978) 384; 463; 472, showing funds of 20,000, 6,000 and 2,000 sesterces, the last being exceptionally early (A.D. 43).

²⁵² Cf. W. K. Jordan, *The Charities of London 1480-1660* (1960); *The Charities of Rural England 1480-1660* (1961).

²⁵³ *AntAfr* 9 (1975) 159. Promises might also be increased even when there was no delay; see now *BAA* 5 (1971/74) 11, an aedile at Timgad who doubled the amount of a promise and executed it within the year of his office, under Antoninus Pius.

²⁵⁴ *OGIS* 484; A. D. Macro, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 169.

²⁵⁵ Aphrodisias: K. T. Erim, J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* 63 (1973) 99; J. M. Reynolds, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 46. Aezani: M. H. Crawford, J. M. Reynolds, *ZPE*

26 (1977) 125; 34 (1979) 163.

²⁵⁶ *AE* 1977. 776-7.

²⁵⁷ G. Mihailov, *Stēlē (Festschrift Kontoleon)* (1980) 147.

²⁵⁸ R. P. Duncan-Jones, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 53. The capacity of the *sex(tarium)* I measure published by M. Gabričević is 0.818 l., that is, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Italic *sextarii* (*Archlug* 15 (1977) 42).

²⁵⁹ Duncan-Jones, *ibid.*, 61; cf. F. Haverfield, *ArchAel* 13³ (1916) 85. Some equivalences between Roman and local corn-measures have been found in the Bu Ngen ostraca. The new measures all appear to equal 3 *modii* (R. Marichal, *o.c.*, n. 158).

²⁶⁰ T. Frank, *AYP* 57 (1936) 87; D. Colls and others, *L'Épave Port-Vendres II (Archaeonautica* 1, 1977) 97, also suggesting emendations which reconcile the weights stated on amphorae with actual weights in Dressel, nos. 110, 104, 99, 106-7 (p. 84).

²⁶¹ P. Pensabene, *BCAR* 86 (1978/79) 17.

²⁶² Cf. Duncan-Jones (n. 250), ch. III, nos. 392-3 (100 and 125 denarii), and Appendix 8.

²⁶³ *JRS* 68 (1978) 122.

was generally low even where units of production were large.²⁶⁴ R. Guéry studies the import of Gallo-Roman pottery into Algeria between A.D. 20 and 120.²⁶⁵ The finds are located at coastal sites, mainly in ancient Mauretania. The number of stamps reaches an absolute peak of 190 types late in Nero's reign (60-65); import from Gaul has declined sharply by 100, and disappears completely by 120. J. R. Rodriguez documents oil production at La Catria, in the valley of the Guadalquivir between Seville and Cordoba, using the stamps that appear on about half the second-century amphorae from that source.²⁶⁶ Epigraphic evidence for trade between Britain and the Rhine provinces is the subject of an interesting study by M. Hassall.²⁶⁷ Mining in Spain is examined by D. Flach, who re-edits the *Lex metalli Vipascensis*.²⁶⁸ Some tin-ingots have been found in a wreck in French waters; they bear the name of L. Vale(rius) *Aug. l(ib.) a com(mentariis)*, perhaps a freedman of Messalina's father. The ship's main cargo was Spanish oil.²⁶⁹

X Arts and Learning

There continues to be a tendency for art-historians and epigraphists to work along parallel lines without communicating with one another; the exceptions serve to demonstrate how useful such communication can be. M. Le Glay has republished the dedicatory inscription of an ivory Eros from Timgad, and identified it as a copy of a lost work by Pheidias.²⁷⁰ U. Kron, in her publication of a statue from Rome, has included a useful discussion of the inscriptions which appear on the plinths of statues, with some helpful technical observations; ²⁷¹ there is certainly scope for more work by epigraphists in this field. G. Waurick has studied the epigraphic evidence for the plunder and re-use of works of art by the Roman generals of the Republic, especially L. Mummius.²⁷²

Some of this booty went to decorate the *Aedes Herculis Musarum*, whose possible connection with the *collegium poetarum* has been discussed by N. M. Horsfall, in an article in which he re-examines the problems presented by the reference to such a college in the inscription *AE* 1959. 147.²⁷³ Perhaps the most striking recent contribution to literary history is M. Guarducci's publication of the wall-paintings and explanatory graffiti of a Roman house at Assisi, with the suggestion that this is the house of Propertius, which later became a place of literary pilgrimage, *domus musae*.²⁷⁴ Epigraphic evidence for literary activity is of particular value for the second and third centuries A.D., from which relatively few works have survived. An interesting example of such work is provided by the fragment of a Greek poem, with Stoic overtones, found at Artena, near Rome, and perhaps to be ascribed to the sophist Aelian of Praeneste (late second—early third century).²⁷⁵ M. Guarducci has republished the inscriptions, from Ostia and Rome, of Aelian's contemporary, L. Septimius Nestor of Laranda (Lycaonia); she restores *IG* xiv. 1809 (a fragment which must once have accompanied a bust of the poet) as referring to Nestor as 'the new Nestor'—i.e., of Pylos.²⁷⁶ L. Robert has recently examined the use of such expressions, and, in particular, the title 'new Homer', applied to a poet from Side—Aelius Paion—who, as he demonstrates, apparently accompanied Hadrian to Egypt in 130, and inscribed a couplet on the Colossus of Memnon; ²⁷⁷ the career and date of Julius Nicanor—called 'new Homer and new Themistocles' by the Athenians—have also been discussed.²⁷⁸ A set of inscriptions erected by a poet from Mytilene, M. Pompeius Ethicus, have been republished and elucidated by L. Robert.²⁷⁹

²⁶⁴ *Ktēma* 3 (1978) 55.

²⁶⁵ *AntAfr* 13 (1979) 22.

²⁶⁶ *AEA* 50 (1977) 87.

²⁶⁷ J. du Plat Taylor (ed.), *Roman shipping and trade: Britain and the Rhine armies* (CBA Research Report 24, 1978) 41.

²⁶⁸ *Chiron* 9 (1979) 399.

²⁶⁹ D. Colls and others, *Gallia* 33 (1975) 61; see also n. 260 above.

²⁷⁰ *AntAfr* 14 (1979) 129.

²⁷¹ *JDAl* 92 (1977) 139.

²⁷² *JRGZ* (1975) 1; L. Mummius' activities in this sphere are also considered by L. Pietilä-Castren, *Arctos* 12 (1978) 115.

²⁷³ *BICS* 23 (1976) 79.

²⁷⁴ *MAL*⁸ 23 (1979) 269. Recent work on the careers of Suetonius and Juvenal is discussed above, p. 129 and nn. 124-9.

²⁷⁵ L. Moretti, *Scritti . . . Zambelli* (1978) 251.

²⁷⁶ *Epigraphica* 39 (1977) 13.

²⁷⁷ *Stilē* (n. 257) 10. For traces of other tourists, at Philae, see *Hommages Vermaseren* (1978), 994.

²⁷⁸ E. Kapetanopoulos, *RF* 104 (1976) 376, suggests that Nicanor was active in the reign of Nero, but C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 222, argues for an Augustan date; this appears preferable, since it is not then necessary to argue that Athens lost Salamis—which was gained for her by Nicanor—between the time of Strabo and the reign of Nero.

²⁷⁹ *Stilē* (n. 257) 1.

An outstanding example of the value of epigraphic (and numismatic) material in enhancing understanding of literary texts is provided by L. Robert's discussion of several passages of Lucian; ²⁸⁰ and such material is also profitably used in C. P. Jones' study of Dio Chrysostom. ²⁸¹ S. Follet's fundamental work on the history and prosopography of Athens in the second and third centuries has already improved our understanding of events in the life of Herodes Atticus and his circle, and many more such discoveries seem likely to flow from this source. ²⁸² L. Robert has used the style of funerary imprecations employed by students of Herodes to illuminate attitudes in this circle; particularly striking is his demonstration of 'la pénétration monothéiste juive dans l'intelligentsia fortunée de la Grèce même'. ²⁸³

Athens was always the capital of institutionalised philosophy; J. H. Oliver has recently examined the *diadochē* at Athens under the empire, showing, among other things, that by the end of the second century this meant the headship of the Academy. ²⁸⁴ An inscription from Rome refers to a Stoic *diadochos* of Posidonius; L. Moretti suggests that it accompanied a bust of Athenodorus 'the bald', the teacher of Augustus. ²⁸⁵ The proud title of 'successor' could also be used in humbler, provincial schools; a young man from Ankara was buried by his brothers *καταξιοθέντες διαδοχῆς*—they had apparently inherited his place as head of the local school of philosophy. ²⁸⁶

The most substantial epigraphic contribution to the study of ancient philosophy continues to come from the investigations at Oenoanda, from which a large number of new fragments of the great Epicurean document have been published. ²⁸⁷ The suggestion that the inscription formed part of a basilica has been dismissed; and A. S. Hall has presented some interesting new material from the site in a discussion of the prosopography of Oenoanda, setting out the possibilities for identifying the philosopher Diogenes among the prominent families of the city. ²⁸⁸

Philosophy tended increasingly to overlap with magic, and perhaps particularly in the provinces. A young man whose funerary epigram (from the museum at Bursa) has recently been published, was enabled by his skill in 'Pythagorean learning' to foresee his own death. ²⁸⁹ On the border-line between philosophy and magic stands Apollonius of Tyana, who is honoured in an extremely interesting epigram from Cilicia—Tarsus or Aegae; the inscription, which is not earlier than the third century, should perhaps be associated with the endeavours of pagans in the later fourth century to reassert themselves in the face of the spread of Christianity. ²⁹⁰

XI *Varia*

The topography of Rome continues to be elucidated—or, in some cases, to shift. E. Rodriguez-Almeida has continued his work on the *Forma Urbis*, ²⁹¹ but important new evidence for the lay-out of the city can also come from less obviously topographical sources.

²⁸⁰ O.c. above, n. 238, 393-492, particularly 393-421 on *Alexander or the false prophet*.

²⁸¹ *The Roman world of Dio Chrysostom* (1978); Dio's life and career provide a helpful framework within which to present aspects of the life of the cities of Bithynia—and Asia Minor in general—under the empire. The cultural life and interests of another city—Pompeii—are unusually illuminated in a study of the graffiti by M. Gigante, *Civiltà della forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei* (1979).

²⁸² S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* (1976); *REG* 90 (1977) 47; further L. Robert, *AJP* 100 (1979) 160.

²⁸³ *CRAI* (1978) 241, and especially 245-52. For some other observations on the Athenian intelligentsia under the empire, see C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 228 (Serapion the Stoic); 231 (dedications by Aelius Aristides).

²⁸⁴ *AJP* 98 (1977) 160.

²⁸⁵ *RF* 104 (1976) 191.

²⁸⁶ *Bull. Ep.* 1978. 491, interpreting S. Mitchell, *AS* 27 (1977) 81, no. 12.

²⁸⁷ By M. F. Smith: 55 new fragments in *AS* 28

(1978) 39, and 8 in *AS* 29 (1979) 69; see also *Études sur l'épicurisme antique* (1976), 279; *Acta Xth Congr. Class. Arch* (1978) 841; and, on the history of the discovery of the inscription, *BCH* 101 (1977) 353.

²⁸⁸ Basilica: D. Clay, *AJP* 99 (1978) 120, shows that the fragmentary reference to *basili[k]*... alludes to the 'sovereign remedy' of Epicurean doctrines; Prosopography: A. S. Hall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 160.

²⁸⁹ S. Şahin, *Hommages Vermaseren* (1978) 908; for inscriptions recording a circle of philosophers in the area, id., *ZPE* 24 (1977) 257.

²⁹⁰ The inscription, in the Adana museum, was copied and published by G. Dagon and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Belleten* 42 (1978) 402, no. 33, and, independently, by E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* II, 16. 2, 1687. Bowie suggests that the stone may well have formed the architrave of a shrine or heroon. The epigram is discussed in detail by C. P. Jones, *JHS* 100 (1980) 190, giving strong arguments for a fourth century date.

²⁹¹ *BCAR* 82 (1970/71) 105; *MEFR* 89 (1977) 219; *RPAA* 48 (1975/76) 263.

So, for example, a military diploma allows the *aerarium militare* to be firmly located on the Capitol,²⁹² while the new section of the Arval Acta for 38 mentions *statuae consulares* on the Capitol, and sites the Ara Providentiae on the Campus Agrippae.²⁹³ This serves further to confirm Coarelli's view that, during the Augustan period, the Gardens of Agrippa and the Campus Martius were the crucial areas (a 'laboratorio sperimentale') in the development of new forms of urban planning, closely related to the ideology of the imperial house. Also within the context of Rome, D. Manacorda has studied a group of minor funerary monuments which, through close attention to decorative detail, he can identify as the work of one *officina* in the Julio-Claudian period, probably based on the Via Appia.²⁹⁴ Not only does this have implications for the manufacturing process that lies behind these inscriptions, but it also opens up the possibilities of much closer dating for a range of texts whose chronology is at present somewhat fluid.

From all over the empire, new inscriptions provide charming (or more often not so charming) vignettes of ancient life. So, a delightful, but not yet fully comprehensible document from Chalcis (Euboea) seems to record the exploits of an acrobat (?) who performed fifty-five *kykloi* (pirouettes? cartwheels?) in the theatre of Dionysus.²⁹⁵ Such immediately striking items, however, more frequently present a bleaker picture: if not obscenity,²⁹⁶ then unpleasant forms of death—an unspecified violent end for a man in the late Republic,²⁹⁷ or the fall from a cliff of a little girl in Africa.²⁹⁸ Perhaps a happier departure is recorded for a young man from Ephesus, who expired after drinking too much unmixed wine!²⁹⁹

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²⁹² S. Dušanić, *Germania* 56 (1978) 461.

²⁹³ Scheid and Broise, o.c., above, n. 196. The editors suggest that these statues represent Caligula and Claudius as consuls; but this seems uncertain.

²⁹⁴ *Un'officina lapidaria sulla via Appia: studio archeologico sull'epigrafia sepolcrale d'età giulio-claudio in Roma* (1980) See review, below, p. 231.

²⁹⁵ *ArchDelt* 29 (1973/74) 505.

²⁹⁶ A new obscenity from Numidia, J. Marcillet-

Jaubert, *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 153. For elucidation of *CIL* x. 4483, and the obscene sense of *gelasini* (dimples), see F. Galli, *QuadUrb* 27 (1978) 195; for obscenities discussed in a political context, see above, n. 44.

²⁹⁷ V. Saladino, *Prometheus* 3 (1977) 179.

²⁹⁸ S. Lancel, *AntAfr* 16 (1980) 154.

²⁹⁹ A. K. Choremis, *ArchDelt* 28 (1973) 300; C. Meillier, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 98.