

## ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1981-5

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Like the survey of 1981, this is the product of a team: Reynolds is responsible for the introduction and sections II-VI, Beard for sections I, VII-IX and XI, Roueché for section X. Reynolds has, as previously, acted as editor; it is planned that from the next survey in 1991 Beard will take over this role.<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

For epigraphists the record is mixed. An international epigraphic congress was held in Athens in 1982, with plenary sessions devoted to Athens and the Greek-speaking world, the northern areas of the Greek-speaking world, the city, religions in the western world, and a large number of clashing sessions on individual texts or groups of texts;<sup>2</sup> at its successor, to be held in Sofia in 1987, all sessions are to be plenary, and it is hoped that there will be more opportunity for discussion. Meanwhile the International Epigraphic Association (AIEGL) has been vigorously encouraging colloquia on topics of current interest, and publication of their papers is beginning to provide a series of *mises au point* on a variety of subjects.<sup>3</sup> Colloquia, under various names, have been popular with other organizations too, and there is an increasing number of their *acta* containing epigraphic items, which are almost as difficult to track down as those in *Festschriften*. Several new journals with a strong epigraphic interest have appeared or are announced. Of these, *Epigraphica Anatolica*, which is now well established, and *Tyche*, recently promised from Austria, will surely help to reduce the backlog of unpublished, or inadequately interpreted, material from Asia Minor; the Spanish *Gerion* has also begun to bring out quickly texts from another particularly productive part of the Roman empire. On the other hand, we must face the serious loss of the *Bulletin Épigraphique* of J. and L. Robert, for among the sadly many epigraphists who have died is Professor Louis Robert.

Robert set new standards before all who work on inscriptions of any period and in any language. Greek epigraphy for him comprehended the whole time range from the archaic to the Byzantine; and since he developed a special (but never exclusive) interest in Asia Minor, he made, in partnership with his wife, a particularly important contribution to knowledge of the Roman and Byzantine worlds. Because he did not write synoptic history it is necessary to read widely in his works to realize their full meaning—a single article, even a single book, will illuminate particular points without necessarily conveying all their significance. By precise and detailed analysis of texts, combined with a striking use of parallels, he extracted a wealth of information even from quite unpromising stones; and the wealth was vastly extended by the range of illustrative material on which he drew. As he eschewed specialization in period and in place, so also in provenance of parallels; he found clues to the meaning of inscriptions in all ancient writing from crude graffiti to the highest literature (in which he was very well read), in many categories of artefact (especially coins), and not least in the Mediterranean country. His descriptions of the regions in which he travelled are marvellously evocative, sometimes close to the poetic, but always alert to practical as well as to aesthetic features; he was deeply perceptive of the land, its geology, fauna and flora, as a moulding factor in the lives of ancient people, and he used this

<sup>1</sup> In preparing this survey, we have again received valuable help from friends and colleagues: in particular, Robin Cormack, Michael Crawford, John Crook, Catherine Edwards, Mark Hassall, Keith Hopkins, Andrew Poulter, Simon Price, Susan Sherwin-White and Greg Woolf (who also undertook much of the burden of final correction with remarkable good humour). The British Academy generously provided financial support for Beard to attend the International Epigraphic Congress in 1982.

<sup>2</sup> One volume of its papers, *Acta of the Athens*

*Epigraphic Congress 1982* (1984), has appeared.

<sup>3</sup> Thus on epigraphy and the senatorial order (1981), Spanish epigraphy (1981), the epigraphists B. Borghesi (1981) and L. Bruzza (1984), the epigraphic museum (1983), epigraphy and municipal life (1985); one on epigraphy and the passage from the classical to the medieval world is announced for 1986 and another on new juristic inscriptions for 1987. News of the activities of AIEGL is regularly published in the journal *Epigraphica*.

perception to draw still more from words, names and casual phrases, about the way in which people lived and worked and thought in Rome's eastern provinces.

Epigraphic publication does not flag; the most striking material that it is currently bringing us has come, I think, from new texts of laws, charters (as the *Lex Irnitana*, pp. 147-243 in this volume), treaties, decrees, imperial pronouncements and from new discussions of old ones. They are sometimes hard reading, but the actual form in which particular public discussions were embodied often throws unexpected light on ancient society and on personalities, as well as giving information on political events and administrative procedures. Also worthy of note are useful additions to onomastic studies<sup>4</sup> (there is much social history to be quarried from name lists), and what seems to be a developing interest in interpretation of groups of funerary texts (for some doubts about the methodology in use here, see section VIII).

Another feature has been the amount of debate on theoretical questions.<sup>5</sup> Why did men and women in the Roman world commission (or write) inscriptions? What expectations did they have of readers? How many of those who saw an inscription did—or could—read it? The question of the extent of literacy is involved (see further section IX); also the problem set not only by texts apparently meant for the eye of the deity alone, but also by those whose small letters and locations in relation to a human eye did nothing to make perusal easy. Often, as W. Eck argues, the monument on which the text was cut must have been what really mattered; often, in M. Beard's phrase, the writing must have been in some degree 'symbolic', rather than utilitarian.<sup>6</sup> There is clearly more to investigate here, including perhaps the development of decorative features of inscriptions. Already in the Republican period there seem to me to be signs that the layout of the inscription began to be artistically related to the monument on which it was cut—often, it seems, a feature of the design as planned by the architect, an integral part of its ornament, even though a verbal message was transmitted too; and there is some tendency to increasing elaboration of letter-forms (notably in the use of the so-called rustic capital), which favours decorative quality at the expense of legibility. This elaboration seems to be carried to extremes in the Byzantine period, when inscriptions may be so intricately complex in appearance that they constitute ornament which few, if any, can ever be supposed to have deciphered.

Nevertheless, for us, inscriptions, whether rarely or commonly read in antiquity, give direct access to ancient people, ancient society and its cultures. For our assistance, there have been new introductions to their study,<sup>7</sup> while F. Millar has published a thoughtfully balanced discussion of their value to historians.<sup>8</sup> Philologists have continued to demonstrate their appreciation of the linguistic usages which inscriptions incorporate; and while literary critics have inclined to acknowledge and neglect them as examples of Latin prose or verse, N. Horsfall has produced an interesting commentary on the funerary epigram commemorating *Allia Potestas*, a presage, one may hope, of a change of heart.<sup>9</sup>

There has also been discussion of museum collections of inscriptions,<sup>10</sup> of the making of corpora<sup>11</sup> and of editorial practice. Under the last head M. Sartre has argued against the tables of dated letter forms which Bradford Welles presented with the texts of *Gerasa*—though I suspect that his own descriptions of letters may also be misused by those who

<sup>4</sup> Especially H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch* (3 vols, 1982); Z. Ben Abdullah, L. Ladjimi Sebai, *Index onomastique des inscriptions latines de Tunisie* (1983).

<sup>5</sup> R. MacMullen, 'The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire', *AJPh* 103 (1982), 233-46; W. V. Harris, 'Literacy and Epigraphy I', *ZPE* 52 (1983), 87-111. Relevant points are also made by Z. Yavetz in F. Millar and E. Segal (edd.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (1984) and by E. Fentress, *BCH* 17B (1981, pub. 1984), 399 f. (though in rightly stressing epigraphy as a sign of *romanità* she probably overestimates the number who actually read inscriptions).

<sup>6</sup> Millar and Segal (edd.), op. cit. (n. 5), 129-67; M. Beard, 'Writing and Ritual: a Study of Diversity and Expansion in the Arval Acta', *PBSR* 53 (1985), 114-62.

<sup>7</sup> A. E. Gordon, *An Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (1983), essentially an annotated and illustrated collection of texts which will be very useful for classwork with epigraphists in training; G. C. Susini, *Epigrafia Romana* (1982), an introduction to inscriptions arranged by category, with some discussion of the significance and value of each. Both are works by devotees of their subject.

<sup>8</sup> F. Millar, in M. Crawford (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History* (1983), 80-136.

<sup>9</sup> N. Horsfall, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 251-72. Note also P. Cugusi, *Epigraphica* 44 (1982), 65-107 and *Aspetti letterari dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1985).

<sup>10</sup> A. Donati (ed.), *Il Museo Epigrafico* (1983).

<sup>11</sup> P. Herrmann, *Gnomon* 54 (1982), 124-9.

consult them mechanically;<sup>12</sup> several scholars have rightly protested against the variability of current practice in the matter of brackets, etc., and this has led to the appearance of a provisional new 'style book', whose recommendations are already in use, especially in Italy.<sup>13</sup> One may not altogether like everything that is proposed, but uniformity of practice is an over-riding need. The subject is to be accorded a session at the Sofia congress.

### I Republic

Major new documents discovered or first published over the quinquennium have thrown new light on the history of the Republic, and especially Rome's relations with the outside world. The earliest of these documents are the eight engraved bronze tablets, preserving decrees of the Sicilian city of Entella, discovered in clandestine excavation and published for the first time from transcriptions which have been circulating privately for some years.<sup>14</sup> They comprise a whole dossier of material from the third century B.C., focusing on the resettlement of Entella after a military conflict of some kind and on the city's relations with its friends and neighbours around that time.<sup>15</sup> The most important document from the Roman point of view is the fourth decree, which honours with a proxeny Ti. Claudius Antiatas who, ἐπιμελητῶς ταχθεὶς εἰς τὰ μ πόλιν, performed many services for the city and was *agathos* in relation to the resettlement. The nature of Ti. Claudius' position in Entella is unclear. Corsaro suggests that *epimeletas* is to be seen as the Greek translation of the Latin *praefectus* and that the man was a minor Roman official, appointed by the authorities at Rome to oversee the resettlement of Entella.<sup>16</sup> If this is right, then the precise significance of the decree for Roman operations in Sicily would depend on the date assigned to it. It might be, however, that *epimeletas* is not to be understood as a Greek rendering of a Roman office, but rather as an office of the Entellans themselves. In that case, we would have here an example of a Sicilian community making use of an individual outsider (as it happens—and maybe significantly—a Roman) to guide them in the difficult process of resettling their city.

The major public documents from Aphrodisias, now fully published for the first time, offer many new insights into the political processes of the Roman world, particularly during the triumviral period. After the oath taken by Aphrodisias in the second century B.C. (including a term of non-aggression against Rome—see below, section VII),<sup>17</sup> the city was in frequent contact with the Roman authorities, whose letters and decisions were publicly displayed. Particularly prominent amongst these are letters from Octavian, as triumvir, a joint decree of Antony and Octavian and a triumviral *senatus consultum*.<sup>18</sup> The personal dominance of Octavian is made very clear: he deals with cities in Antony's area of

<sup>12</sup> M. Sartre, *IGLS* XIII. 1, 31–5.

<sup>13</sup> R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 287–90; S. Panciera, *Tituli* 2 (1980), 205–15, and in *Épigraphie hispanique, problèmes de méthode et d'édition* (1984), 372–9; E. Weber, *AAHG* 35 (1982), 72–3, *Epigraphica* 44 (1982), 149–68 (it should be noted that there are some misprints in the list published in *Epigraphica*). See also H. Krummrey, 'Das diakritische System in *CIL* xvii. 2', in E. Weber and G. Dobesch (edd.), *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik* (Festschrift Betz, 1985), 365–79.

<sup>14</sup> This background partly explains the controversy surrounding many aspects of these texts; for it is impossible to get access to the objects themselves (for comparison of letter forms, etc.). A rubbing of just one of the decrees has been published (*ASNP* 12 (1982), pl. 16); otherwise we rely entirely on transcriptions and verbal description.

<sup>15</sup> The main publication, by G. Nenci et al., *ASNP* 12 (1982), 771–1103, provides full details of the complicated publication history of the documents; see also, for bibliography and concise analysis, *SEG* 32. 914. No date carries complete assent (nor is it absolutely certain

that the documents form a homogeneous group), though most of those who have studied the texts suggest a third-century date for most, if not all, of them. See, for example, Nenci, *ibid.*, 1069–77. The content of the documents is briefly as follows: I and II, record of Entella's friendship and alliance with (a) the Erbitaioi and (b) the Geloans; III, settlement of civil strife at Nakone; IV, honours to Ti. Claudius Antiatas; V, thanks to those who have assisted in famine; VI, VII and VIII, renewal or formation of *isopoliteia* with three local communities.

<sup>16</sup> *loc. cit.*, 993–1032. Ti. Claudius is otherwise entirely unknown.

<sup>17</sup> J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (*JRS* Monographs 1), 6–11, doc. 1. For other indications of third or early second-century Roman involvement in the Greek world, see J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (1983), 244–6, no. 51 (dating of magistracies from date of the Roman liberation of Caria, 167/6 B.C.); V. Kontorini, *JRS* 73 (1983), 24–32 (Roman relations with Rhodes at the end of the third century).

<sup>18</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, esp. 38–106, docs 6–13.

the empire; he issues orders to Antony's agents; he turns to his own credit popular decisions taken by the Senate or jointly with Antony. In more general political terms, the dual character of the triumviral period is made very clear. On the one hand, 'monarchic authoritarianism' was already evident; so, for example, Octavian (and likewise Antony and Octavian) acts as if he was himself authoritative, outside the traditional political structure. On the other hand, in many respects proper constitutional forms were preserved, and several documents show 'the full apparatus of Republican procedure in use'.<sup>19</sup> Another aspect of this 'business as usual' side of the triumviral period is illustrated by a newly discovered *senatus consultum* from Ephesus, giving immunity from taxes and local liturgies to *grammatici*, rhetors and doctors. Not only is it apparent again that constitutional proprieties were observed (with the Senate ratifying triumviral edicts), but also that in the thick of the civil war there was still time for governmental activity of (what must seem to us) marginal importance.<sup>20</sup>

The Latin West has also produced major documents. From Spain has come a bronze tablet recording the formal surrender (*deditio*) of a Spanish community to the Romans in 104 B.C. The main part of the text is the decree of the governor (L. Caesius, C.f., previously unknown) laying out the terms of the settlement following the native surrender. They were, it appears, allowed to keep their *agri*, *aedificia* and *leges* provided they remained loyal to Rome—a striking indication of Rome's potential power (not here exercised) to impose a new legal system on a conquered community, and of a view of law that saw it both as a symbol of cultural autonomy and as parallel to the obviously physical assets of land and buildings in a city.<sup>21</sup> From Spain again, with further implications for Roman legal history, a new text and discussion of the *Tabula Contrebiensis* (early first century B.C.) have been published, showing precisely how Roman legal concepts and methods were applied to a local Spanish dispute.<sup>22</sup> Other work on Republican legal history has been stimulated at least in part by the formation of a Group for the Revision of the Texts of Roman Laws, whose aim is to produce an up-to-date edition of all surviving Republican legal texts.<sup>23</sup>

The discovery of major new documents should not blind us to other, apparently more modest, finds and reinterpretations. Some new graffiti from Terracina are thought by their editor to provide contemporary comment on Caesar and P. Clodius Pulcher.<sup>24</sup> A group of sling bolts, studied together for the first time, offers some insight into the ideology of rebel slaves in Sicily during the Second Slave War.<sup>25</sup> The Athenian Tower of the Winds is redated (again) to the second century B.C., and its refurbishment (documented by an inscription) becomes not part of an Augustan programme, but of restoration of the city in the immediate post-Sullan era.<sup>26</sup> Roman policy in the Greek world at the same period is illuminated by Coarelli's discussion of proconsuls of Asia at the end of the second and the beginning of the first centuries B.C.<sup>27</sup> Finally the civil wars at the end of the Republic gain a personal memorial in the epitaph of a fighter who died at Philippi.<sup>28</sup>

## II Emperors

[For the imperial cult, the main documents are considered in section VII, but occasional details are mentioned below.]

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* 39-40 (cf. F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 50-67).

<sup>20</sup> D. Knibbe, *ZPE* 44 (1981), 1-10 and (providing a revised interpretation and reconstructing a Latin text as the basis of the very confused Greek) K. Bringmann, *EA* 2 (1983), 47-76.

<sup>21</sup> *Gerion* 2 (1984), 265-87. For another instance of the juxtaposition of law and physical assets, see *SEG* 25 445. Note also the possibility that the inscribed text is essentially a native version of the agreement; the Latin is awkward and there is more stress on the person of the governor than might be expected in any official (even on-the-spot) document.

<sup>22</sup> J. Richardson, *JRS* 73 (1983), 33-41; J. Richardson et al., *JRS* 74 (1984), 45-73.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, A. Lintott, *ZPE* 45 (1982), 127-38 (judiciary law from Tarentum); *Athenaeum* 61 (1983), 201-14 (*Tabula Bembina*); *ZRG* 98 (1981), 162-212 (*leges de repetundis*). A prospectus of the Roman Laws Group is published in *Athenaeum* 61 (1983), 199-200.

<sup>24</sup> H. Solin, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 357-61.

<sup>25</sup> G. Manganaro, *Chiron* 12 (1982), 237-44.

<sup>26</sup> J. von Freeden, *Oikia Kyrrestou. Studien zum sogenannten Turm der Winde in Athen* (1983).

<sup>27</sup> *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (1982), 435-51.

<sup>28</sup> *AD* 31 B2 (1976, pub. 1984), 301 and *AR* 1984-5, 48.

There are few reigns to whose documentation no new evidence is added. I have selected a small number of items which seem to me to raise points significant for our understanding of the imperial period.

Perhaps the most striking single contribution to our picture of Augustus is in what remains of his inscribed monumental *horologium*, excavated and interpreted by E. Buchner, with its elaborately calculated relation to other Augustan monuments in the Campus Martius, such as the Ara Pacis and his own mausoleum. This certainly tells us something about Augustus' planning of the Campus Martius and a great deal about his astrological beliefs, which he surely shared with many contemporaries.<sup>29</sup> More general issues for his reign were debated in celebration of Sir Ronald Syme's eightieth birthday:<sup>30</sup> thus Z. Yavetz questioned the conventional view that the readership projected for the *Res Gestae* was the plebs of Rome and suggested instead young men of the equestrian class (but again one might wonder whether they would be regular readers of the bronze tablets at the mausoleum); W. Eck, starting from the point that the tradition of the fate of Cornelius Gallus shows the potentially political significance of inscribed monuments for the élite (he stresses the whole monument, not the inscription alone), traced some ways in which they reflect the change from Republic to monarchy (see further sections III and VIII). F. Millar illustrated the impact of Augustus on provincial attitudes; G. Bowersock proposed links between the propaganda and problems concerning Augustus' heirs and the manoeuvres of leading Greeks like Nicanor, 'the new Themistocles', at Athens and Eurycles at Sparta—the application of imperial political alignments to local infighting is an important development the traces of which are not always easy to discern.

That introduces dynastic affairs—on which a considerable number of new inscriptions of the period have a bearing. Of the records of honours paid to Augustus' family a few give new details on individuals, for instance the text from Xanthus in which the elder Drusus appears as *orphanos*, which is taken by the editor, A. Balland, to mean a *pupillus* for whom a *tutor* was appointed, presumably at a time when Augustus was too much away from Rome to perform the function himself;<sup>31</sup> more often their importance is to increase our awareness of the speed with which the concept of the august, or divine, family was established, and of the inclusion within it of a number of persons who were not strictly Julian, even by adoption.<sup>32</sup>

Dynasty is also a central theme of the Tiberian *Tabula Siarensis* from Spain,<sup>33</sup> presenting decisions of the Senate for commemoration of the deceased Germanicus, in the series to which those of the *Tabula Hebana* also belong. New memorials and new cults are authorized in Rome and elsewhere, and linked with those in existence for previously deceased members of the family, including Gaius and Lucius Caesar (it being very clear indeed that public observance of their memory was not affected by the private hostility of Tiberius); thus the mind of the unsuspecting observer is focused on a family united in its public service. The document was officially distributed to Roman and Latin communities throughout the empire—in itself a point of some importance—and its provisions indubitably affected their cults and monuments, and probably those of peregrine communities too.<sup>34</sup> The text also illustrates the Senate's increasing tendency to throw responsibility for decisions on to the Princeps—that his family was involved may provide an explanation here, but the language used suggests a habit.<sup>35</sup> It may also be taken as an

<sup>29</sup> E. Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus* (1982). For a brief and accessible account in English, see N. Horsfall, *Omnibus* 9 (1985), 5–7.

<sup>30</sup> Millar and Segal (edd.), op. cit. (n. 5).

<sup>31</sup> *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII (1981), 81–9.

<sup>32</sup> Thus Balland, op. cit. (n. 31), 45–50 (Agrippa, Gaius Caesar); T. Ritti, *RAL* 38 (1983), 171–82, cf. *Bull. Ép.* 1984, 452 (Gaius Caesar); A. Vassileiou, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 119–30 (Gaius and Lucius Caesar); P. Frisch, *EA* 4 (1984), 15 (Gaius and Lucius Caesar). S. Priuli, *Tituli* 2 (1980), 47–80, in reconsidering the calendar of Spello, notes the inclusion of non-Julians within the family, which is also strikingly illustrated by the inclusion of the obscure eldest son of Claudius in a group (probably Tiberian in date) at Aphrodisias (see

J. Reynolds, forthcoming in a Festschrift for D. M. Pippidi).

<sup>33</sup> J. González, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 55–100 (and *ZPE* 60 (1985), 146).

<sup>34</sup> For instance, I now wonder whether the erection of representations of the *gentes* defeated by Germanicus (frag. 1, ll. 9–11) was the stimulus for the representations of the *ethne* defeated by Augustus which were erected on the façade of a building connected with the imperial cult at Aphrodisias. See J. Reynolds, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 317–27, cf. *AE* 1982, 892; *Bull. Ép.* 1982, 356 (and below, section VII).

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, frag. 1, l. 5, *adsu[c]ta sibi [?]indulgentia*.

actual example of the type of senatorial decree that has been posited behind, for example, the texts of honours conferred on Octavian, which do not seem to correspond to what the honorand actually received; no doubt he was offered a choice as Tiberius was here.

It is worth noting that several new inscriptions show Tiberius himself as an object of cult in provincial cities,<sup>36</sup> to remind us, if reminder is necessary, that in civic and private circles it was not felt necessary to respect the emperor's professed distaste for this kind of thing.

Re-examination of the Neronian inscription of A.D. 61/2 on the east architrave of the Parthenon suggests that it was not, as has been held, a rededication of the temple, but an honour, perhaps to be connected with victories reported in Armenia, and placed where it was because of the association of the Parthenon with the defeat of Persia.<sup>37</sup> The imperial victory is assimilated into the local historical perspective.

For the Flavians, the most interesting inscriptions that I have recorded are in Antioch on the Orontes, two documents concerned with construction of canals during the governorship of M. Ulpius Traianus (see also section VIII).<sup>38</sup> In the earlier (Greek, A.D. 73-4), in which the work is undertaken by the city (although the governor is in some way involved), Vespasian is named in a very unofficial way as Αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος Φλάουιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός; while in the later (Latin of A.D. 75), in which the governor is responsible and uses soldiers for his labour force, the imperial name is normal, although the figure for imperial salutations is wrong and Titus is described as *pontifex maximus*—whether the errors stem from draftsman or stonemason, they are surprising in the circumstances and should warn us against assuming that inscriptions emanating from officials must get the details right. There is also a more than usual number of records of Domitian's wife, Domitia Longina, whose prestige is easy to overlook.<sup>39</sup> Imperial ladies remain important after the Julio-Claudians.

For the second and third centuries A.D., publication of two series of imperial letters, found at Aphrodisias (Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus, Severus and Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Gordian III, Traianus Decius)<sup>40</sup> and at Coroneia (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus)<sup>41</sup> adds much authentic detail on the emperors responsible, from which some generalizations on the imperial system and ethos may be permissible. They seem to show in all these emperors a profession of paternalistic benevolence, a preoccupation with precedent, a desire to preserve more civic independence than cities themselves are always willing to exercise, and throughout, a substantial continuity of procedure, at any rate up to the mid third century.

Another advance which covers many reigns comes from a series of studies of particular elements in imperial titulature.<sup>42</sup> This can sometimes cast light on the image which an emperor is promoting and is always relevant to the dating of documents in his reign.

There are a few unusual items from the middle third century amongst a majority of new texts that seem to fall into standard categories. At Aegae in Cilicia Gordian III was honoured with his *progonoi* and the *divi Augusti* Alexander Severus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Julia Domna, but together with some others, perhaps Pupienus and

<sup>36</sup> A. R. R. Sheppard, *AS* 31 (1981), 22; M. Cremer and S. Şahin, *EA* 1 (1983), 141-52, no. 1.

<sup>37</sup> K. K. Carroll, *GRBS* Monograph 9 (1982), cf. *SEG* 32. 251, *Bull. Ep.* 1983, 174.

<sup>38</sup> D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985), 77-103 (with reference to a text partially analysed by L. Robert, *CRAI* 1951, 255-6, see also G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (1961), 221 and id., 'The Water Supply of Antioch on the Orontes in Antiquity', *AArchSyr* 1 (1951), 171-87); D. van Berchem, *MH* 40 (1983), 185-96.

<sup>39</sup> G. Salmeri, *ASNP* 14 (1984), 13-23, with a study of her nomenclature and estates; E. Varinglioglu, *ZPE* 41 (1981), 189-93 (Stratoniceia); Balland, op. cit. (n. 31), 52-3 (Xanthus).

<sup>40</sup> Reynolds, op. cit. (n. 17), docs 14-25, cf. *SEG* 32. 1097, *Bull. Ep.* 1983, 361-92.

<sup>41</sup> J. M. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 11 (1981-2), 44-59, cf.

*SEG* 32. 460-71. It is interesting to have another wall covered with inscribed imperial documents so soon after the Aphrodisian case.

<sup>42</sup> Thus B. E. Thomasson, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 125-35 (use of Augustorum, Augg., Aug.); W. Eck, in *Romanitas/Christianitas* (Festschrift J. Straub) (1982), 217-29 and J. Bennett, *Britannia* 15 (1984), 234-5 (Hadrian and p. p.); J. Fitz, *Alba Regia* 17 (1979), 49-58 (Severans); A. Mastino, *Le titolature di Caracalla e Geta attraverso le iscrizioni* (1982); X. Lorient, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 225-35 (imperial acclamations for Severus Alexander and Gordian III); P. Cavuto, *Ottava Miscellanea greca e romana* (1982), 335-50 (Macrinus and Diadumenian); though based on papyri, P. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980), 130-8; 45 (1982), 177-96; 49 (1982), 97-111 and D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986), 101-31 are very relevant.

Balbinus, whose names were erased and then overcut with unprovocative references.<sup>43</sup> M. Aurelius Quintillus, the governor of Sardinia named on a new milestone from the reign of Claudius II, may be the brother of that emperor who succeeded him to the imperial throne.<sup>44</sup> Another milestone near Nedinum in Yugoslavia seems to show three instead of two princes in the house of the emperor Carus.<sup>45</sup>

### III Senators

For the Senate in transition from the vestige of an 'assembly of kings' to one of heirs to rank and imperial administrators, inscriptions have provided a number of new or newly appreciated documents. Some Augustan monuments still show an older pattern, for example those set up in Rome by provincial clients for their patrons and the equally remarkable honours that were paid probably to T. Statilius Taurus, *cos. A.D. 11*, at Thespieae.<sup>46</sup> There are, of course, very many texts to demonstrate the new order, with senatorial *cursuses* in which non-magisterial offices take increasingly more space than magistracies; while senatorial public building, as W. Eck has stressed,<sup>47</sup> is outside Rome rather than in it.

In general, for the history of the Senate and of senators during the empire the most weighty contribution comes in the two volumes of *acta* of a colloquium on epigraphy and senators held in Rome in 1981.<sup>48</sup> Of these, the first contains a miscellany: some articles are on general issues (for example, the provincial cult of the Senate,<sup>49</sup> aristocratic values and their changing expressions,<sup>50</sup> open admission of *novitas* implying or combined with a statement of imperial patronage, senatorial onomastics and, especially, the problems created by testamentary adoption,<sup>51</sup> the economic interests of senators as indicated by stamps on water-pipes and bricks, the reforms of Gallienus,<sup>52</sup> the careers and some of the titles of senators in the late empire); others treat quite specific ones (particular offices and particular individuals). The second volume provides a systematic compilation of notes on senators arranged according to their known, or presumed, regions of origin (with some discussion on each region's list). *Origo* is clearly important—but, as was noted in the concluding papers,<sup>53</sup> the compilation raises some methodological problems which need further thought, and likewise over-all questions. Clearly we need to be asking, for example, why *origo* is important and in what degree (how many generations of a new senatorial family retain an interest in their home town which has any serious affect on their attitudes and objects), and indeed why some provinces produce many senators and some few or none.

That last issue is also raised by consideration of C. P. Jones's paper on the Severan edict exempting senators from billeting in their provincial houses. Adding another copy to bring the total of known copies to eight, he observes that we now have some evidence for its posting in other provinces than Asia, but that its distribution is a strong reminder of the number of senators from Asia (or with property in Asia) as well perhaps of the number of officials travelling through the provinces for whom billets were needed.<sup>54</sup>

Since the colloquium a number of published papers have touched on methodological problems; there is space here only to draw attention to the remarkable series of articles in

<sup>43</sup> P. Weiss, *Chiron* 12 (1982), 191–205, cf. *AE* 1982, 897.

<sup>44</sup> A. Boninu and A. U. Stylow, *Epigraphica* 44 (1982), 29–56.

<sup>45</sup> J. Sašel, *Epigraphica* 46 (1984), 248–52—but I think that the kind of scrutiny readers would give the text is no guarantee against a cutter's error—cf. the inscription from Antioch discussed above p. 129 and n. 38.

<sup>46</sup> W. Eck, in Millar and Segal (edd.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), 129–67; *Chiron* 14 (1984), 201–17; L. Moretti, *Athenaeum* 69 (1981), 71–7.

<sup>47</sup> Eck, *art. cit.* (n. 46).

<sup>48</sup> S. Panciera (ed.), *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*

(1982). For a synoptic study of the Senate (with some use of epigraphic evidence), see R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984); but note also the review by S. Martin, *JRS* 75 (1985), 222–8.

<sup>49</sup> On this subject, see also D. Kienast, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 253–82.

<sup>50</sup> See also Eck, *art. cit.* (n. 46).

<sup>51</sup> On senatorial names, see also L. Vidman, *LF* 102 (1979), 93–8 and n. 55 below.

<sup>52</sup> See now M. Christol, *Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales dans la deuxième moitié du IIIe s. ap. J.C.* (1986).

<sup>53</sup> By P. Le Roux and R. Syme.

<sup>54</sup> C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 14 (1984), 93–9.

which R. Syme has demonstrated the procedures for handling senatorial names and careers in order to extract from them facts, or reasonable hypotheses, about particular families and appointments, which may also be as much a part of the social history of their time as they are often, and more obviously, part of its political history.<sup>55</sup>

*Fasti*, and especially provincial *fasti*, also bulk large among publications, providing tools for establishing stages of a senator's career and, of course, for aspects of the history of Roman administration.<sup>56</sup>

Among the many individual records that could be added here I have noted as of particular interest the texts from Xanthus concerning the Veranii, revealing how the careers of three generations of the family can be connected with the elder Drusus or his family. The first of these generations was equestrian in rank—and so the Veranii are another family which would have risen (had the luck of Galba's chosen heir been different) from equestrian status in the late Republic to imperial by the end of the Julio-Claudian period; for Galba's heir was, of course, married to a Verania.<sup>57</sup> There is also more of interest on several persons known from the literary sources, especially Herodes Atticus<sup>58</sup> and Arrian;<sup>59</sup> as well as debate on the so-called will of Dasumius, which may, in fact, not be Dasumius' at all.<sup>60</sup>

#### IV *Equites*

A brief general account of the political role of the order under the empire has recently appeared in this Journal.<sup>61</sup> Many new inscriptions concerned with individual *equites Romani* have reinforced and extended current views of the character of the equestrian order. Using epigraphic material, as well as a careful reading of the literary sources, S. Demougin has given accounts of its close links with, on the one hand, the senatorial order and, on the other, with the municipal bourgeoisie.<sup>62</sup> In discussion of the latter, she is concerned in the first place with the triumphal period, but makes a number of points applicable to the early empire: in particular the late Republican revival of the military function of the order, which was confirmed by Augustus; the significance of the military tribunate, in the late Republic the post that first marked a man as a member of the order (at a time when there were no censors to perform a regular registration) and predictably, therefore, the first post in the *militia equestris* until the reforms of Claudius; the

<sup>55</sup> Thus, 'Governors dying in Syria', *ZPE* 41 (1981), 125-44; 'The early Tiberian consuls', *Historia* 30 (1981), 189-202; 'Vibius Rufus and Vibius Rufinus', *ZPE* 43 (1981), 365-75; 'The marriage of Rubellius Blandus', *AJPh* 103 (1982), 62-85; 'Hadrianic Governors of Syria', in *Romanitas/Christianitas* (n. 42), 230-43; 'Partisans of Galba', *Historia* 31 (1982), 460-83; 'Spaniards at Tivoli', *Anc. Soc.* 13-14 (1982-3), 241-63; 'The Proconsuls of Asia under Antoninus Pius', *ZPE* 51 (1983), 271-90; 'Problems about proconsuls of Asia', *ZPE* 53 (1983), 191-208; 'Domitian: the last years', *Chiron* 13 (1983), 121-46; 'More trouble about Turbo', *Antiquitas* 4 n. 15 (1983), 303-19; 'Emperors from Etruria', *ibid.*, 333-60; 'Antistius Rusticus. A consular from Corduba', *Historia* 32 (1983), 359-74; 'Spanish Pomponii, a study in nomenclature', *Gerion* 1 (1983), 249-66; 'Statius on Rutilius Gallicus', *Arctos* 18 (1984), 149-56; 'P. Calvisius Rufus, one person or two', *ZPE* 56 (1984), 173-92; 'Lusius Varus, a stray consular legate', *HSPH* 88 (1984), 165-9; 'Correspondents of Pliny', *Historia* 34 (1985), 324-59; 'Praesens, the friend of Hadrian', *Arctos* Supp. 2 (1985), 273-91; 'Transpadana Italia', *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), 28-36; 'Superior suffect consuls', *ZPE* 58 (1985), 235-43; 'Curtailed tenures of consular legates', *ZPE* 59 (1985), 265-79; 'The paternity of polyonymous consuls', *ZPE* 61 (1985), 191-8; 'The will of Dasumius', *Chiron* 15 (1985), 41-63.

<sup>56</sup> Thus A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981); U. Vogel-Weidemann, *Die Statthalter von Africa und Asia in den Jahren 14-68 n. Chr.* (1982); L.

Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (1982); W. Eck, updating his work on the Fasti of 69-131, in *Chiron* 12 (1982), 281-362; 13 (1983), 147-237; B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidium* 1 (1984); W. Eck, *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1-3 Jahrhundert* (1985).

<sup>57</sup> Balland, *op. cit.* (n. 31), 79-102.

<sup>58</sup> W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* (1983). 1. *Biographie*; 2. *Inschriftenkatalog*; G. Cortassa, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 177-82; A. J. S. Spawforth, *ABSA* 75 (1980), 203-20.

<sup>59</sup> H. Grassl, *Chiron* 12 (1982), 245-52; J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* Supp. 19 (1982), 122-9; R. Syme, *HSPH* 86 (1982), 181-211; W. Ameling, *EA* 4 (1984), 119-22.

<sup>60</sup> W. Eck, *ZPE* 30 (1978), 277-95; C. Castillo Garcia, in *Actas del I Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos* (1982), 159 ff.; R. Syme, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 41-63; E. Champlin, *ZPE* 62 (1986), 251-5.

<sup>61</sup> P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 73 (1983), 42-75.

<sup>62</sup> S. Demougin, in Panciera (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 48) 1, 73-104; M. Cèbeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les 'bourgeoisies' municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ie siècles av. J.-C.* (1983), 279-98. Note also G. Alföldy, 'Die Stellung der Ritter in der Führungsschicht des Imperium Romanum', *Chiron* 11 (1981), 169-215; and for more detail on another early feature (the duties of the *praefecti fabrum* in late Republican and Julio-Claudian times), see D. B. Saddington, in Weber and Dobesch (edd.), *op. cit.* (n. 13), 529-46.

recruitment of the order in the revolutionary period from a wide variety of sources, originally, no doubt, caused by the need to supplement losses suffered through proscriptions and war casualties (as well as to reward service), but continued thereafter, although much more cautiously, in the case of freedmen; the consequent emergence of two major routes to the military tribunate, first, for members of wealthy and established families, who held it early in life, before public magistracies (whether senatorial or municipal), and second, for promoted men, normally soldiers, who held it after some years of service in a lower rank and frequently (unless favoured with a procuratorial posting) retired to hold a municipal position later in life, for which they could not have qualified in youth. A new example of a career of this latter kind appears from a re-examination of an inscription at Narbonne by M. Christol and S. Demougin. The first recorded office of its subject was as a prefect (perhaps in the fleet), from which he moved to be *primus pilus*, and then military tribune, before retiring to Narbonne to become a municipal magistrate and patron of a *collegium* of a type common among veteran soldiers.<sup>63</sup>

Among the subsequent developments of the *militia equestris* the system by which some appointments were left effectively in the hands of the military commanders is reaffirmed by E. Birley; traces of their patronage may occasionally be seen in career inscriptions.<sup>64</sup> B. Isaac claims that such a case is evident in *BCH* 1880, p. 507 (*IGRR* I. 824), where, he argues, the subject probably served under A. Lappius Maximus in Germany and went with him to Syria (eventually to be given charge of the Syrian Decapolis, for whose treatment as an appendage of Syria in the Flavian period he then provides evidence).<sup>65</sup> The case is speculative, but attractive.

The initial stages of the civilian employment of knights by emperors are usefully illustrated in the inscription of the early Augustan Q. Veranius found at Xanthus;<sup>66</sup> Augustus used him very much as a Republican magnate might use a knight, from time to time, as his agent in one or more particular affairs. It is too easy to forget the temporary character which always adhered to the imperial employment of knights, even when the equestrian procuratorial career had emerged with posts that H. G. Pflaum graded in groups and, within the groups, in what looks like a canonical relation to each other. R. Saller has protested against too rigid an application of 'Pflaum's rules';<sup>67</sup> imperial preferences and patronage by persons influential with the emperor at the time certainly affected particular cursuses (also, no doubt, changing circumstances, not always known to us, which modified the status of particular posts). We need to remember too that it is by no means certain that emperors defined efficiency precisely in the terms that we do, or trained and promoted for it precisely as we think natural and necessary.

On the detail of individual careers, a supplement to H. G. Pflaum's great work on equestrian careers has been produced,<sup>68</sup> and H. Devijver has announced the preparation of a new volume to bring up to date his prosopographical lists of knights who held posts in the *militia equestris*; he has already given us a list of men concerned, with a summary notice of the evidence on each.<sup>69</sup> Further examination of the collection of objects from Xanten, on one of which the name of the elder Pliny was probably inscribed during his equestrian military service, shows them to be from military horse trappings and to carry more inscriptions than were previously known;<sup>70</sup> Pliny may have been the first owner of equipment, which subsequently passed to others, or, perhaps, was the unit commander when the piece was first acquired by one of his cavalrymen. Suetonius is another well-known figure, whose inscribed cursus has been re-considered—without, however,

<sup>63</sup> *CIL* XII, 4371 + 4372. S. Demougin and M. Christol, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 141–53. Compare H. G. Pflaum, *Fastes de la province de Narbonnaise* (*Gallia* Supp. 30, 1978), 197 and 234.

<sup>64</sup> E. Birley, in *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft* (Festschrift Veters, 1985), 114–19; in Weber and Dobsch (edd.), op. cit. (n. 13), 75–81.

<sup>65</sup> B. Isaac, *ZPE* 44 (1981), 67–74; *Bull. Ép.* 1982, 221.

<sup>66</sup> Balland, op. cit. (n. 31), 81–98.

<sup>67</sup> R. P. Saller, *JRS* 70 (1980), 44–63; *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (1982).

<sup>68</sup> H. G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain, supplément* (1982).

<sup>69</sup> H. Devijver, *ZPE* 59 (1985), 205–23.

<sup>70</sup> I. Jenkins, *Britannia* 16 (1985), 141–64.

conclusive settlement of its problems.<sup>71</sup> Another cursus which has attracted much discussion is that of T. Mucius Clemens, an officer of the Flavian period, who served under Ti. Julius Alexander, when he was prefect of Egypt, and then as a commander of Agrippa II's army; much is clearer here as a result, but obscurities remain.<sup>72</sup> The fact is that an inscribed cursus in itself only yields a limited amount of information, and features for which no parallel is known at present lead inevitably to controversial proposals. At the end of the period an inscription at Caesarea Maritima has revealed a procurator in Judaea as late as the reign of Diocletian.<sup>73</sup>

## V Cities

Among general discussions an account concerned mainly with obligations in cities and exemptions from them has appeared in this Journal.<sup>74</sup> There have been many more concerned with aspects of city life in Italy under the empire. Thus a collection of the epigraphic references to *incolae* shows that they are quite common in the first century A.D. (receiving less than citizens at distributions) but vanish thereafter, apparently subsumed under the terms *populus* or *plebs*, which must, therefore, have lost their political significance. There is some contrast here with the (sparse) evidence from Africa, where this does not seem to have happened, or at any rate not so early.<sup>75</sup> A collection of references to civic patrons shows an early preponderance of men with strong local connections, giving place to one of imperial office-holders in the area of their clients—a change which doubtless reflects changing élite attitudes as well as civic ones.<sup>76</sup> For W. Eck's discussion of senatorial building in Italian cities, which developed when public building in Rome was taken over by the princeps, see section III and VIII (but note, too, that the increasingly municipal origins of senators must also have some bearing on the new pattern). An analysis of the Saepinum inscription (*CIL* ix. 2438), while essentially concerned with the system and regulation of transhumance for privately as well as imperially owned flocks, also brings out easily forgotten activities of civic magistrates, in this case the magistrates of Saepinum and Bovianum in vigorous pursuit of runaway slaves and stolen pack animals.<sup>77</sup> A collection of inscriptions recording munificence, again specifically in Italian cities, shows an unsurprising peak in building in the later second and early third centuries, but also the replacement of public buildings by other kinds of donation, for example cash distributions.<sup>78</sup> Public building activity and its absence must not, therefore, be taken as the only indicators of civic loyalty and its loss, or of the presence or absence of cash for euergetism (though more work on the amounts involved and the social backgrounds of the donors might be worthwhile here). Municipal munificence in a wider context has been discussed in this Journal, with special reference, it is true, to legal issues, but with use of and relevance to epigraphic evidence.<sup>79</sup> (For this whole issue, see further section VIII.)

Leaving the Italian scene, an assembly of evidence on the word *campus* in municipal inscriptions has yielded information on the provision of space for political and social activities, including sport;<sup>80</sup> we are usefully reminded that the insignia of municipal magistrates included purple;<sup>81</sup> it appears that the size of municipal embassies to emperors, large in the Julio-Claudian period, was sharply reduced by Vespasian (perhaps in the interests of the Roman treasury, which may still in his time have provided for their

<sup>71</sup> R. Syme, *JRS* 70 (1980), 64-80; *Hermes* 109 (1981), 103-17; see also J. Gascou, *Latomus* 37 (1978), 436-44; G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 36 (1979), 233-53.

<sup>72</sup> A. Martin, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 203-10; 60 (1985), 275-6; S. Schwartz, *ZPE* 56 (1984), 240-2; 58 (1985), 296; *Bull. Ep.* 1984, 508.

<sup>73</sup> C. M. Lehmann, *ZPE* 51 (1983), 191-5.

<sup>74</sup> F. Millar, *JRS* 73 (1983), 76-96.

<sup>75</sup> S. Mrozek, *Epigraphica* 46 (1984), 17-21; for some account of the legal status of *incolae*, see Millar, art. cit. (n. 74), 80-1.

<sup>76</sup> R. Duthoy, *Epigraphica* 46 (1984), 23-48; see also in *AC* 53 (1984), 145-56.

<sup>77</sup> M. Corbier, *JRS* 73 (1983), 126-31.

<sup>78</sup> S. Mrozek, *ZPE* 57 (1984), 233-40. The same phenomenon may be seen at Aphrodisias—J. Reynolds, in the acts of a Strasbourg colloquium, 1985 (forthcoming); it is no doubt widespread.

<sup>79</sup> D. Johnston, *JRS* 75 (1985), 105-25.

<sup>80</sup> H. Devijver and F. Van Wonterghem, *Acta Arch. Lovanensia* 20 (1981), 33-68; 21 (1982), 93-8; *ZPE* 54 (1984), 195-206; 60 (1985), 147-58.

<sup>81</sup> F. Quass, *ZPE* 50 (1983), 187-94, with reference to a man of Prusias ad Hypium, who has sometimes been taken for a senator.

entertainment at Rome) but rose again (though slowly) from the reign of Hadrian, when the texts begin to show the ambassadors paying their own expenses;<sup>82</sup> in discussing rival cities, R. Syme offers a number of stimulating points on the fluctuations of city fortunes;<sup>83</sup> while H. W. Pleket has collected information on the economic interests of decurions/*bouleutai* and found a number involved in trade.<sup>84</sup>

Somewhere between the general and the specific come the discussions of Roman Athens;<sup>85</sup> for although Athens is a specific city, and a very special one at that, the number of inscriptions there make her something of a model for the transformation of a Greek city state into a Roman provincial city.

Specific information on particular cities continues to accumulate in considerable quantity, some of it, of course, capable of leading beyond its surface indications to general considerations of great interest. From the West, organizational documents include the new Lex Irnitana from Spain, a municipal charter of the Flavian period, published elsewhere in this volume.<sup>86</sup> This lengthy document is in a class of its own, because it gives a fuller account than we have ever had before of a civic constitution and has implications for other western cities. But it is also interesting to note a municipal decree of A.D. 101 from Ferentinum in Italy, which embodies a fuller account than usual of the session at which it was passed, when the son of the deceased honorand petitioned to be allowed to add to a benefaction left by his father.<sup>87</sup> Many inscriptions refer to such additions without detailing anything of the procedures involved. More generally, a sensitive analysis of later first-century texts from Lepcis Magna has clarified the developing status of the city in the Flavian period.<sup>88</sup>

On particular magistracies the following cases (approximately in chronological order) seem of special interest: it has been suggested that in a lost inscription from Placentia (possibly Augustan) the recorded office *dec(urio) a populo*, sometimes emended to give *tribunus militum a populo*, might reflect a situation in which the subject returned from *militia equestris* to be given a seat in the local council by popular acclaim and without having to wait for censorial adlection<sup>89</sup>—in any case it is useful to remember that we do not really know enough to reject out of hand many of the *hapax legomena* constantly occurring in inscriptions; a decurion of Teate Marrucinum is the subject of an inscription set up by a dependent, probably a freedman, who was an *armamentarius*<sup>90</sup>—a rare indication of the decurion's own economic interests, which are very much what we might expect in this area; an attempt at a stratigraphical study of Pompeian programmata seems to indicate that in the later years of the city's life the electors were faced annually with only two candidates for the duumvirate, so that voting would in fact be superfluous;<sup>91</sup> a much later inscription, of the second-third centuries, from the Roman colony of Knossos appears to describe a decurion as 'honoured' with certain magistracies 'by decree of the decurions',<sup>92</sup> illustrating, on the face of it, a later stage in the development to which the Pompeian evidence seems to be pointing, when voting in the popular assembly is being abandoned for open selection of magistrates by the city council; at Forum Popili a *Ilvir* for the third time received *lege Flavia* the right to give his opinion *primus sui ordinis* at sessions of the council—the *lex* may be local but a general content seems likely;<sup>93</sup> re-examination of the evidence of a *curator kalendarii*, supposed to be Nervan and so the earliest known holder of this title, has convincingly moved this date to 'not earlier than Trajan'.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>82</sup> G. A. Souris, *ZPE* 48 (1982), 235–44.

<sup>83</sup> *Ktēma* 6 (1981), 271–85.

<sup>84</sup> *EA* 1 (1983), 103–4; *Acta of the Athens Epigraphic Congress 1982* (1984), 134–43.

<sup>85</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 356–77; J. H. Oliver, *The Civic Tradition of Roman Athens* (1983).

<sup>86</sup> Pp. 147–243.

<sup>87</sup> H. Solin, *Supplementa Italica* 1 (1981), no. 5; see also *AE* 1982, 307 with further discussion.

<sup>88</sup> G. Di Vita-Évrard, *BCTH* 15/16 (1979, pub. 1984), 197–209.

<sup>89</sup> A. Calbi, *Epigraphica* 43 (1981), 251–7, on *CIL* xi, 6940.

<sup>90</sup> M. Q. Lupinetti, in *Riv. dell'Ist. di Studi Abruzzesi* 22 (1984).

<sup>91</sup> J. L. Franklin, *Pompeii: the Electoral Programmata, Campaigns and Politics A.D. 71–79* (1980); for doubts about some details, see R. Ling, *JRS* 73 (1983), 208–9.

<sup>92</sup> A. Caniotis, *ZPE* 58 (1985), 182–5.

<sup>93</sup> For a general law, W. Johannowski, *RAAN* 50 (1975), 32 ff. and now A. D'Ors, *AHDE* 53 (1983), 10; for a local application, M. Pagano, *RAAN* 56–7 (1981–2), 113 ff.; cf. also Lex Irnitana, VA ch. B.

<sup>94</sup> G. Mennella, *Epigraphica* 43 (1981), 237–41.

Among the material from the eastern part of the Roman world, the great tariff inscription of Palmyra has been authoritatively re-edited, with marked improvement of the text, and has been the subject of a number of discussions;<sup>95</sup> there have been useful studies of the evidence for linked (or 'double') communities in Lycia and South Galatia;<sup>96</sup> and several of that for policing systems in Asia Minor;<sup>97</sup> while the appearance of an apparently freeborn *demosios* at Phrygian Hierapolis has stimulated assembly of evidence (from the west as well as the east) indicating that, already in the early empire, functions normally performed in cities by public slaves might occasionally be undertaken by modest, but freeborn and respectable, people.<sup>98</sup> Hierapolis is now producing a number of interesting new texts;<sup>99</sup> one of the most recent to appear concerns the *gerousia*—showing it personified as an object of cult carried out by priestesses, and (in practical terms) as the recipient of bequests to provide for the care and coronation of tombs, for which purpose (and no doubt others) it was divided into fifteen groups called *pyxia*, whose members appear to have moved from one to another, perhaps on the basis of age.<sup>100</sup> Antioch on the Orontes is another eastern city on whose organization there is significant news, derived from its arrangements for building a canal, apparently with the use of *corvées* drawn from different parts of the city (see also section VIII);<sup>101</sup> its status as a metropolis and its relations with emperors, particularly Hadrian, have also been touched on (though not with major reference to the epigraphic evidence)—as have those of Tyre (where inscriptions are important to the argument).<sup>102</sup> Evidence of second and third-century date from Aphrodisias seems to show the civic authorities on the one hand inclined to call on the aid and advice of imperial officials and emperors without enough thought for the effect on their theoretically independent status, and on the other, inconsiderately touchy about the dignity of that status in relation to other cities; the maintenance of their privileges into the third quarter of the third century is also worth noting.<sup>103</sup> The flow of new inscriptions from Ephesus is rapidly providing the means for a detailed discussion of city life under the shadow of the governor in a provincial capital.<sup>104</sup>

Below the level of city organization some useful new material has accrued on village life,<sup>105</sup> which is important not only because a significant part of the population (numerically) lived in villages, but also because it was from villages that new cities steadily developed. Above the city level, several *koina* have attracted attention. Particularly interesting is the study of the Panhellenion, as providing for a combination of cultural and political activities, and an outlet for *philotimia* through which an ambitious man might further a public career.<sup>106</sup>

## VI Military

Almost all books and articles on any aspect of the Roman army have some epigraphic content, and a serious relevance to military inscriptions in general; since production has been very vigorous in the past five years, only a fraction of the output can be noted here.

<sup>95</sup> Note the edition of T. S. Schiffman (1980), providing a new text in both languages. For discussions, see J. Matthews, *JRS* 74 (1984), 157-80; M. Zahrnt, *ZPE* 62 (1986), 279-93.

<sup>96</sup> J. J. Coulton, *AS* 32 (1982), 115-31, in connection with the problem of Termessians at Oenoanda; S. Mitchell, *Historia* 28 (1979), 409-38, concerned particularly with Iconium and Ninica.

<sup>97</sup> M. Speidel, *EA* 5 (1985), 159-60; K. Hopwood, *Yavla* 5 (1984), 25-9.

<sup>98</sup> T. Ritti, *Epigraphica* 41 (1979), 183-7 gives the inscription; for discussion, see *Bull. Ep.* 1981, 558 and, especially, H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 42 (1981), 167-70.

<sup>99</sup> D. Andria and T. Ritti, *Hierapolis* 1 (1985).

<sup>100</sup> T. Ritti, *AANL*<sup>3</sup> 38 (1983, pub. 1984), 221-30. Compare the cult of the Roman Senate, noted above (p. 130 and n. 158 below).

<sup>101</sup> D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985), 77-103.

<sup>102</sup> R. Syme, *Antiquitas* 4 n. 15 (1983), 321-31.

<sup>103</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.* (n. 17), docs 14-25; a newly discovered, but fragmentary letter of Valerian and Gallienus seems to take the evidence a little later.

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, D. Knibbe and B. Iplikcioglu, *JOEAI* 53 (1981-2), 87-150; D. Knibbe, *JOEAI* 54 (1983), 125-42; D. Knibbe and B. Iplikcioglu, *JOEAI* 55 (1984), 107-35; and D. Knibbe and H. Engelmann, *JOEAI* 55 (1984), 137-49.

<sup>105</sup> See J. Jarry, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 73-103; L. Robert, *J. des Savants* 1983, 44-63; Sheppard, *art. cit.* (n. 36), 23, no. 4; H. I. MacAdam, *Berytus* 31 (1983), 103-15.

<sup>106</sup> A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, *JRS* 75 (1985), 78-104, on the Panhellenion, see also pp. 88-105 above. See also Syme, *art. cit.* (n. 102), for *koina* of Syria, Coele Syria, Phoenice and Commagene; G. Mihailov, *Epigraphica* 41 (1979), 7-42 and J. Deininger, *ZPE* 51 (1983), 219-27 (both on Pontus).

The early stages of the development of the imperial army have been reviewed in overall terms, as well as with special reference to the auxiliaries;<sup>107</sup> and in connection with the latter there has been an interesting proposal to link the first appearance of the military *ala* with the activities of Corbulo on the eastern frontier under Nero.<sup>108</sup> Among other categories of service whose history has been reconsidered in some detail are *equites singulares* (in the light of an inscription which seems to point to a Domitianic date for their origin),<sup>109</sup> *evocati Augusti*,<sup>110</sup> *numeri* (not all barbarous),<sup>111</sup> and the mailed cavalry of the late empire.<sup>112</sup> The unsatisfactory character of the evidence for the size of the imperial army has been underlined.<sup>113</sup> The diversity of procedures followed for numbering its units has also been stressed<sup>114</sup>—quite clearly not all features of its organization were as orderly as our modern sense of administrative necessity would expect them to be. At the same time the evidence suggests some orderly patterns, allowing, for instance, an account of the principles employed in the formation of vexillationary forces.<sup>115</sup>

There has also been more publication on sources of recruitment.<sup>116</sup> For the psychology of one recruit, it is worth drawing attention to an inscription of A.D. 184, from Novae in Moesia Inferior, set up in fulfilment of a vow by a legionary *tiro* when he became *primus pilus* fifty-seven years later, testimony to an element of ambition which was not, apparently, frustrated by the slowness of promotion.<sup>117</sup> The current view that locally recruited men were employed in the garrison of Britain, as in most other provinces, has been challenged by Saller and Shaw on the basis of their study of the Roman family relationships revealed by funerary inscriptions;<sup>118</sup> it is difficult to respond in a totally convincing way since the basis of the orthodoxy remains, at present, uncomfortably conjectural,<sup>119</sup> but the basis of the challenge is also open to some questioning (see below and also section VIII).

Soldiers' pay is naturally discussed in general works on the army, but its rates in the third century A.D. and under Diocletian have been separately treated.<sup>120</sup> Other rewards have come in for consideration too—thus military decorations,<sup>121</sup> honorary titles for units<sup>122</sup> (important not only for the fact of their conferment, but as clues to dating the texts in which they are used), the privileges described as *commoda*,<sup>123</sup> land allotments<sup>124</sup> and the privileges described in military *diplomata*. Much discussion of the significance of *diplomata*, stagnant for many years except in relation to single examples, has been stimulated by the work of M. M. Roxan.<sup>125</sup> She has herself recently contributed a paper on the distribution of their findspots,<sup>126</sup> which must be, by and large, relevant to the settlement of veterans to whom they were issued. In addition, in a series of articles, S. Dusanić offers new ideas on the witnesses of the Julio-Claudian *diplomata* and their function, on the possibility that the awards were not made to all veterans, but only for special merit, normally, of course, on the battle field (so giving a sharp twist to the imperial edicts from which the *diplomata* derive), on the reasons for the choice of dates for

<sup>107</sup> L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (1984); P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan* (1980); D. B. Saddington, *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian* (1982) (with the review of Keppie and Saddington by J. J. Wilkes, *JRS* 75 (1985), 239–43). M. P. Speidel's collected papers, *Roman Army Studies* (1984), also add a great deal to the general picture; likewise B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army* (1984).

<sup>108</sup> D. L. Kennedy, *ZPE* 50 (1983), 253–63; 61 (1985), 181–5.

<sup>109</sup> A. Deman and M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *ILB* (1985), no. 138.

<sup>110</sup> E. Birley, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 25–9.

<sup>111</sup> M. P. Speidel, *TAPhA* 112 (1982), 209–14, reinterpreting *CIL* III, 11135.

<sup>112</sup> M. P. Speidel, *EA* 4 (1984), 151–6.

<sup>113</sup> R. MacMullen, *Klio* 62 (1980), 451–60.

<sup>114</sup> D. L. Kennedy, *ZPE* 53 (1983), 214–16.

<sup>115</sup> D. L. Kennedy, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 181–5.

<sup>116</sup> J. C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (1983); note also R. P. Saller and B. D. Shaw, *JRS* 74 (1984), 142–3 and, with

some bearing on their argument that recruits in the Rhine legions came from elsewhere, the implications of the names of soldiers in M. P. Speidel, *EA* 5 (1985), 89–96.

<sup>117</sup> L. Mrosewicz, *ZPE* 57 (1984), 181–4.

<sup>118</sup> Saller and Shaw, art. cit. (n. 116), 124–56.

<sup>119</sup> See, however, the answer of J. C. Mann, *JRS* 75 (1985), 204–6.

<sup>120</sup> J. Jahn, *ZPE* 53 (1983), 217–27 (third century); R. P. Duncan Jones, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 541–60 (Diocletian).

<sup>121</sup> V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981).

<sup>122</sup> J. Fitz, *The Honorary Titles of Roman Military Units in the Third Century* (1983); B. Lörincz, *ZPE* 48 (1982), 142–8; J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *ZPE* 54 (1984), 170; M. P. Speidel, *PACA* 17 (1983), 118–23 and in Speidel and Reynolds, *AE* 5 (1985), 32–3.

<sup>123</sup> M. P. Speidel, *AJPh* 104 (1983), 282–6.

<sup>124</sup> L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47 BC–14 AD* (1983).

<sup>125</sup> J. Morris and M. M. Roxan, *AArchSlov* 28 (1977), 299–333.

<sup>126</sup> M. M. Roxan, *ES* 12 (1981), 265–86.

issue of the edicts and of places for their posting, neither of which, he believes, are likely to be haphazard.<sup>127</sup>

Understanding of other details of the military system has been advanced by examination of particular words and formulae used in epigraphic contexts—centurions' titles,<sup>128</sup> for instance, and the terms *exploratores*,<sup>129</sup> *missio causaria*,<sup>130</sup> *polliones* (perhaps teachers of Latin),<sup>131</sup> *secutores*,<sup>132</sup> *regionarii*;<sup>133</sup> and by that of the brief but not wholly uninformative graffiti on certain pieces of equipment, catapults,<sup>134</sup> horse-trappings,<sup>135</sup> and swords.<sup>136</sup>

To add to our knowledge of military deployments, there have been useful assemblies of evidence on the garrisons of particular provinces, regions and places.<sup>137</sup> Of special interest to me is the account of troops stationed in Asia Minor,<sup>138</sup> in which it is possible to use, in advance of publication, both evidence from Antioch on the Orontes that there were still four legions in Syria in 75<sup>139</sup> (the movement of men to Cappadocia being therefore later than had been supposed) and the unique diploma concerning a unit stationed in the province of Asia (which shows, incidentally, that the governor of a senatorial province had full command of its troops).<sup>140</sup>

On particular military incidents, discussion of epigraphic evidence for wars in the Flavian period has been interesting.<sup>141</sup> Among items a little out of the ordinary are the inscription which seems to record a death in the Mauretanian invasion of Spain in A.D. 171,<sup>142</sup> one which may refer to the occasion on which Caracalla rescued Fabius Cilo from the Urban troops in A.D. 212 (Dio Cassius 78, 4, 2-5),<sup>143</sup> and another which suggests swift replacement of the fleet commander under whom a ship carrying Caracalla from Thrace to Nicomedeia had foundered (SHA, *Caracalla* 5, 8).<sup>144</sup>

On the lives of serving soldiers the Vindolanda tablets, the first group of which have now been authoritatively published, throw a vivid light;<sup>145</sup> also informative is a study of the centurions at Gholaiia (Bu Ngem) in the Tripolitanian hinterland.<sup>146</sup> It is intriguing to turn from these far outposts to note the evidence for the pride taken by some soldiers in service at distant stations—it comes mostly from the third century A.D. and from veterans' tombstones,<sup>147</sup> and it may be that the men were more enthusiastic in retirement (when the place-names could impress civilian neighbours) than at the time.

The official activity of a serving soldier is one thing, his personal life another—and a poorly documented one. Examination of soldiers' graffiti at Pompeii and in Rome reveals very little.<sup>148</sup> Several studies of soldiers' relations with civilian neighbours are moves in the right direction.<sup>149</sup> Saller and Shaw's survey of family relationships raised hopes too,<sup>150</sup> but it is unclear how far they have taken adequate account of the fact that a serving soldier was not officially allowed to marry before the reign of Septimius Severus; they are more satisfying, therefore, on veterans.

<sup>127</sup> S. Dusanić, in W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie (edd.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979* (1980), 1061-9; *AArchSlov* 33 (1982), 197-232; *Sodalitas* (Festschrift A. Guarino, 1982), 271-86; *ZPE* 47 (1982), 149-71; *Epigraphica* 46 (1984), 91-115; in Weber and Dobesch (edd.), op. cit. (n. 13), 233-48.

<sup>128</sup> M. P. Speidel, *ES* 13 (1983), 43-61.

<sup>129</sup> Speidel, *ibid.*, 63-78.

<sup>130</sup> H. Grassl, in *Römische Geschichte, Altertums-kunde und Epigraphik* (n. 13), 275-89.

<sup>131</sup> K. Dietz, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 235-52.

<sup>132</sup> M. P. Speidel and H. Neumaier, *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 6 (1981), 565-70.

<sup>133</sup> M. P. Speidel, *ZPE* 57 (1984), 185-8.

<sup>134</sup> D. Baatz, *MDAI(R)* 87 (1980), 283-99.

<sup>135</sup> Jenkins, art. cit. (n. 70), 141-64.

<sup>136</sup> J. Kolendo, in *Römische Geschichte, Altertums-kunde und Epigraphik* (n. 13), 351-64.

<sup>137</sup> Thus N. Bensedik, *Les troupes auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Maurétanie Césarienne sous le haut-empire* (1979); P. Le Roux, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409* (1982); H. Devijver, *Latomus* 43 (1984), 584-95 (Mauretania Caesariensis); M. P. Speidel, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982-3), 233-40 (Judaea under the procurators).

<sup>138</sup> M. P. Speidel, in S. Mitchell (ed.), *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia* (1983), 7-34.

<sup>139</sup> van Berchem, art. cit. (n. 31).

<sup>140</sup> See now B. Overbeck, *Chiron* 11 (1981), 265-76.

<sup>141</sup> D. L. Kennedy, *Britannia* 14 (1983), 183-96 (starting from the career of C. Velius Rufus, *ILS* 9200); S. Dusanić, *Z.Ant* 33 (1983), 13-21 (starting from the diploma, Roxan *RMD* (1978), no. 6).

<sup>142</sup> G. Alföldy, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 91-109.

<sup>143</sup> K. Dietz, *Chiron* 13 (1983), 381-404.

<sup>144</sup> D. van Berchem, *MH* 36 (1979), 101-10.

<sup>145</sup> A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin Tablets* (1983).

<sup>146</sup> R. Rebuffat, in *L'Africa Romana* (Atti del II Convegno di Studio Sassari, December 1984), 225-38.

<sup>147</sup> M. P. Speidel, in Speidel and Reynolds, *EA* 5 (1985), 34-5. For a fourth-century example, see T. Drew-Bear, in *La géographie administrative et politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet* (Acts of a Strasbourg colloquium, 1979, pub. 1982), 93-141.

<sup>148</sup> P. Le Roux, *Epigraphica* 45 (1983), 65-77.

<sup>149</sup> Thus T. Blagg and A. King (edd.), *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain: cultural relations in a frontier province* (1984); B. D. Shaw, 'Soldiers and Society: the army in Numidia', *Opus* 2 (1983), 133-59.

<sup>150</sup> cit. n. 116.

Many aspects of the lives of veterans have been discussed—especially their preferences in the locales of their retirement homes (in their countries of origin or near their familiar military stations).<sup>151</sup> A perceptive study of what their life might amount to at Lambaesis, where the evidence is relatively abundant,<sup>152</sup> is stimulating, and it is to be hoped that more in this kind may follow.

### VII Religion

Cults of Rome, Romans and the Roman emperor, especially in the Greek East, have been illuminated by synoptic studies and important new documents. Price's study of the imperial cult in Asia Minor makes full use of the epigraphic record and, by establishing a new framework for our understanding of that cult, reveals new significance in often well-known epigraphic texts.<sup>153</sup> Amongst individual inscriptions some of the most important come (as often) from Aphrodisias. Probably the earliest public document to survive from the city, dating from the second century B.C., is an oath sworn between Aphrodisias and its neighbours, Cibyra and Tabae, by the gods Zeus Philios, Concord and Dea Roma. One of the terms of the oath, 'that they shall take no action in opposition either to the Romans or to each other', clearly illustrates the connection between Roman political dominance and the use of Roma, the goddess.<sup>154</sup> Another Aphrodisian inscription, of the very end of the Republic, honours a man who had held a priesthood of Roma and so attests an actual cult of the goddess in the city at least by that date.<sup>155</sup> The Julio-Claudian imperial cult at Aphrodisias is being documented by the excavation of its so-called 'Sebasteion'. Apart from the dedicatory inscriptions to Aphrodite in association with the *theoi Sebastoi*, Claudius and Livia, a series of sculpted relief panels, accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, celebrates imperial victories and the (geographic and cosmic) extent of the Roman empire.<sup>156</sup> Elsewhere in the Greek East, a second-century B.C. inscription from Cyme, commemorating a woman benefactor, provides that ritual in her honour should be incorporated into the city's *Romaia*. It is well known that festivals in honour of Rome were deeply grafted into the existing framework of civic life and ritual. This inscription shows that such festivals could quickly become so well embedded in civic tradition that they in turn attracted to themselves other elements of (non-imperial) ritual.<sup>157</sup> A similar association between civic benefactors and the imperial house is apparent in a newly discovered fragment of a Severan calendar from Miletus. Individual days are marked down for the celebration *either* of deified emperors (Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, Commodus) or of local *euergetai*.<sup>158</sup>

The one outstanding document concerning imperial cult from the west is the *Tabula Siarensis* (see above, section II). The honours decreed by the Senate in memory of the dead Germanicus are particularly striking in their geographical extent and geographical symbolism: triumphal arches are to be erected for Germanicus in the Circus Flaminius, on the Mons Amanus in Syria (where Germanicus held his last command) and on the banks of the Rhine near the *tumulus* of Drusus. It is as if the empire was a symbolic stage, across which visual reminders (and written records in the form of the inscriptions ordained to accompany these monuments) of the achievements and connections of the imperial house

<sup>151</sup> For some discussion, see Roxan, cit. n. 126 and E. Birley, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982-3), 265-76.

<sup>152</sup> E. Fentress, *BCH* 17 B (1981, pub. 1984), 399-404.

<sup>153</sup> *Rituals and Power: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (1984). Another important synoptic work, largely concerned with the impact of Roman rule on the sanctuaries of Asia Minor, is P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine* (EPRO 88, 1982).

<sup>154</sup> Reynolds, op. cit. (n. 17), doc. 1, pp. 6-11.

<sup>155</sup> Reynolds, op. cit., doc. 30, pp. 153-4.

<sup>156</sup> J. Reynolds, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 317-27—publishing

the texts alone. The panel illustrating Britannia is discussed by K. Erim, *Britannia* 13 (1982), 277-81.

<sup>157</sup> H. Malay, *EA* 2 (1983), 1-20.

<sup>158</sup> N. Ehrhardt, *MDAI(I)* 34 (1984), 371-404. Other recent documents relevant to cults of Rome or Romans in the East include: L. Moretti, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), 71-7 (T. Statilius Taurus); V. Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites relatives à l'histoire et aux cultes de Rhodes au IIe et au Ier s. av. J.-C.* (Rhodiaka 1, 1983), no. 3 (Romaia); Sheppard, art. cit. (n. 36), 22 and Cremer and Şahin, art. cit. (n. 36), no. 1 (Tiberius); the cult of the Senate is discussed by D. Kienast, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 253-81.

could be set. Specific ritual is also prescribed: just like Drusus' monument on the Rhine, so is Germanicus' to receive honour from Gauls and Germans.<sup>159</sup>

Quite different from the formal monuments of imperial cult, written curses are an important part of the religious epigraphic record. Large numbers of curse tablets from Roman Britain (and especially from Bath) continue to be published.<sup>160</sup> Of these the most important individually is a curse which defines its target amongst other opposing alternatives as 'seu gen(tili)s seu Ch(r)istianus'.<sup>161</sup> The division of mankind into the categories 'gentile or Christian' is almost certainly Christian in origin;<sup>162</sup> it is therefore striking that it has here become incorporated into an essentially 'pagan' context. From other parts of the Roman world many other types of curses have appeared: a lead tablet, for example, from Narbonnese Gaul, which frames its curse in notably high-flown language;<sup>163</sup> from Lydia a series of late second and early third-century inscriptions on stone found in a sanctuary of the 'Theoi Pereudenoi', which include a thank offering to the gods, commemorating (rather than requesting) their intervention against a malefactor.<sup>164</sup> What is still lacking is any full treatment of this category of material as a whole, analysing the chronological and regional variations in the linguistic formulae used, in the types of wrong against which the intervention of the god is sought and the types of divine punishment envisaged.<sup>165</sup>

Generalization is, of course, particularly difficult in the subject of religious practice in the ancient world. Inscriptions are frequently discovered which throw immediate and evocative light on one particular aspect of ancient religion, but whose wider significance remains unclear, or at least tentative. So, for example, Robert has re-examined a text long known, to suggest that a statue of Artemis was actually brought to Rome at the head of an embassy from Ephesus in the early third century A.D.;<sup>166</sup> while the inscribed prayer of a woman, excavated in the context of the Mithraeum of S. Stefano Rotondo, remains difficult to interpret except perhaps as part of a penumbra of 'sub-Mithraic' worship around the main cult centre.<sup>167</sup> Sometimes broad conclusions are hampered by an incomplete text. This is obviously the case with the recently discovered inscribed epigram commemorating Apollonius of Tyana. According to one restoration of an infuriatingly missing part of the text, Apollonius was said to have enjoyed wide powers after his death to 'drive out the pains of men'. If this is correct (and if we could assume scholarly consensus on its—naturally—disputed date), then the epigram would provide important evidence on the development of the cult of this pagan holy man. There are, however, doubts and competing restorations which imply no posthumous benefactions from heaven at all.<sup>168</sup>

### VIII Society and Economy

Food and water, the daily necessities of subsistence, have been a major theme in recently discovered (or restudied) texts. A valuable survey of epigraphic and other types of

<sup>159</sup> J. González, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 54-100 (with *ZPE* 60 (1985), 146). The text is particularly fragmentary in the passage describing the third monument on the Rhine, but the general sense seems clear enough (cf. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius* 1, 3, on Drusus' *monumenta*).

<sup>160</sup> *Britannia* 12 (1981), 370-8; 13 (1982), 396-406 and 408; 14 (1983), 336-7; 15 (1984), 333-41; 16 (1985), 322-4 (the last of the present series). R. S. O. Tomlin will publish as many as possible of the 80 tablets so far recovered in Volume II of the excavation report by B. W. Cunliffe.

<sup>161</sup> *Britannia* 13 (1982), 404.

<sup>162</sup> The term 'gentile' implies that non-Christians have something in common simply by virtue of not being Christian. This is inconceivable as a means of pagan self-definition until comparatively late in the growth of Christianity.

<sup>163</sup> R. Marichal, *CRAI* 1981, 41-52.

<sup>164</sup> P. Herrmann and E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 3 (1984), 1-18. See also curses published by D. R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 (1985), 205-55.

<sup>165</sup> The prevalence of theft is, for example, striking in the Bath curses (see the remarks of B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport, *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* 1, 1 (1985), 181-2)—like the curses of Uley and Pagans Hill, but a clear contrast with the spells against the performance of athletes in the tablets from Athens (Jordan, art. cit. n. 98). For the elucidation of one particular formula of curse tablets, see H. S. Versnel, 'May he not be able to sacrifice --', *ZPE* 58 (1985), 247-69.

<sup>166</sup> *CRAI* 1981, 530-4 (on *F. Ephesos* 11, no. 26).

<sup>167</sup> S. Panciera, in *Mysteria Mithrae* (EPRO 80, 1979), 87-112 and *Archeologia Laziale* 3 (1980), 202-13, no. 3.

<sup>168</sup> First published by E. Bowie, *ANRW* 16, 2, 1687-8 and G. Dagron and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Türk Tarih Belleten* 42 (1978), 402-5. Posthumous benefactions are suggested by C. P. Jones, *JHS* 100 (1980), 190-4. For different restorations and views, see N. J. Richardson and P. Burian, *GRBS* 22 (1981), 283-5 and J. Ebert, *ZPE* 50 (1983), 285-6.

evidence on grain distributions is provided by Foxhall and Forbes.<sup>169</sup> New documents fill out the picture of grain supply and (often) shortage. An important inscription from Larisa in Thessaly (now dated around 129 B.C.) records a Roman aedile's successful request to the Thessalians for emergency grain in a time of dearth at Rome.<sup>170</sup> As Garnsey and Rathbone point out, the text illustrates the ad hoc nature of Rome's response to food crisis at this period: by chance the aedile, Q. Caecilius Metellus, had existing contacts in Thessaly; by chance the Thessalians had a surplus which they could afford to make over to Rome.<sup>171</sup> A similar situation probably lies behind the honorary decree amongst the Entella tablets (see section I), which honours cities and individuals who gave wheat and barley to Entella during a food shortage.<sup>172</sup> Generosity within the local community, rather than from outside, is amply attested by the newly discovered second-century A.D. inscriptions from Xanthus. The euergetistical activities within the Lycian *koinon* of Opramoas (a benefactor already well known from inscriptions<sup>173</sup>) are said in one of these texts to include the donation of 10,000 denarii to the people of Patara for a grain distribution and the gift of 10 modii of grain to each of the Xanthians.<sup>174</sup> The dual aspect of such benefactions is apparent here: on the one hand, no doubt, an element of 'poor relief', on the other (with a relatively small donation to each of the Xanthians), an essentially symbolic demonstration of euergetistical (and political) power.<sup>175</sup>

Water works for irrigation, transport and 'industrial' purposes were of concern both to local communities and the imperial government in the Roman empire. The letters of Hadrian to the city of Coroneia in Boeotia reveal the emperor providing funds (65,000 denarii) for a new drainage scheme of the town's surrounding flood plain.<sup>176</sup> At Antioch canal works were undertaken during the reign of Vespasian (with the encouragement of the Roman governor—see section II). One recently discovered text shows army units involved in the construction of a canal.<sup>177</sup> Another text, fully published for the first time, shows the Antiochenes themselves carrying out canal work—primarily to provide water for fulling operations. The organization of this construction work is in itself interesting: it appears that a system of corvée labour was employed, with each region of the city (*plinthieion*) assuming responsibility for a certain length of canal.<sup>178</sup>

Local markets follow food and transport; and inscriptions can provide evidence of those ephemeral periodic markets which leave no archaeological trace in surviving *fora* or *macella*. Shaw has examined such epigraphic material from North Africa. The rural markets of the Roman period, he suggests, were closely related to their 'native' predecessors; hence they filled not only an economic role, but also formed a focus of potential opposition to Roman rule.<sup>179</sup> A newly published text of the early third century A.D. concerns the award of market rights by the Roman authorities to a village in Magnesia. A representative of the village petitioned the governor for the right to hold a

<sup>169</sup> L. Foxhall and H. A. Forbes, 'Sitometreia', *Chiron* 12 (1982), 41–90 (though note that their estimates of food consumption in the ancient world are generally too high, being based on modern UN *prescriptive* figures for subsistence).

<sup>170</sup> C. Gallis, communication at the Eighth Conference of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Athens, 1982 and *AD* 31 (1976, pub. 1984) B1, 176–8, with pl. 127; with full discussion and commentary by P. Garnsey, T. Gallant, D. Rathbone, *JRS* 74 (1984), 30–44. Garnsey and Rathbone revise their original dating of the text (c.151–150 B.C.) in *JRS* 75 (1985), 20–5 (following Gallis's publication of the whole stone in *AD*).

<sup>171</sup> *JRS* 75 (1985), 23–4.

<sup>172</sup> Doc. 5, *ASNP* 12 (1982), 778 (with translation p. 784). Full discussion is offered by G. Panessa, pp. 905–15.

<sup>173</sup> See, for example, *TAM* II, 905 and 1203 with P. Veigne, *Le Pain et le cirque* (1976), 295–6.

<sup>174</sup> Balland, op. cit. (n. 31), 173–224.

<sup>175</sup> It is too simple to jump to the conclusion that distribution of grain was merely a question of feeding the hungry. Indeed distribution is not infrequently made to relatively wealthy groups in the cities, such as the town councillors.

<sup>176</sup> J. M. Fossey, *Euphrosyne* 11 (1981–2), 44–59.

<sup>177</sup> van Berchem, art. cit. (n. 38). The stone is apparently a milestone, measuring distance along the canal.

<sup>178</sup> Feissel, art. cit. (n. 38), 77–103 (see previously L. Robert, *CRAI* 1951, 255–6). Other discussions of water operations include: W. Eck, 'Die Fistulae Aquariae der Stadt Rom', in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 197–225 (who discusses supply of water to private houses in the city of Rome); H. Pavis-d'Escurac, 'Irrigation et vie paysanne dans l'Afrique du nord antique', *Ktema* 5 (1980), 177–91 and B. D. Shaw, 'Lamasba: an ancient irrigation community', *Ant Afr* 18 (1982), 61–103 (both re-examining *ILS* 5793); M. Corbier, 'La famille de Séjan à Volsinii: la dédicace des Seii curatores aquae', *MEFRA* 95 (1983), 719–56 and 'De Volsinii à Sestinum: cura aquae et evergétisme municipal de l'eau en Italie', *REL* 62 (1984), 236–74 (on the institutions connected with the water supply in the municipalities of Italy). Note also that the dispute underlying the *Tabula Contrebiensis* (above, n. 22) concerned the construction of a canal.

<sup>179</sup> B. D. Shaw, *Ant Afr* 17 (1981), 37–83.

market three times a month on days which did not clash with markets in neighbouring communities and allowed the merchants easily to include the village in their established circuit. Striking (though not fully understandable) is the petitioner's assurance that this development would cause no loss either to the 'city' (Magnesia) or to the imperial fiscus.<sup>180</sup>

The amenities of local communities and the sources of wealth lying behind major building and improvements have once again formed the focus of epigraphic work. A new second-century A.D. text from Nîmes attests a freedman who not only provided *vela* for the town's theatre, but also made loans to the local magistrates—to help them with the expenses of their office. The editors comment on the changing composition of the élite at Nîmes in this period suggested by the text, and on the difficulties encountered by the traditional aristocracy in shouldering the (financial) burdens of office.<sup>181</sup> An important series of studies—based largely on epigraphic evidence—has been concerned with building projects in the towns of Italy during the last two centuries of the Republic and the early principate, and has, in particular, related the financial patronage of these building schemes to political developments in the city of Rome and to the involvement of Italians in commercial enterprises in the Greek East. Eck has shown how the advent of monarchy marked the end of private senatorial patronage of lavish public building schemes in the city of Rome; from the reign of Augustus on senators outside the family of the Princeps increasingly found scope for self display instead in Italy or even the provinces.<sup>182</sup> The point is well illustrated by a large Augustan building inscription (now pieced together for the first time), showing one of the Nonii Asprenates as an active patron at Falerii Novi.<sup>183</sup> Local élites also provided the capital required to finance ambitious building projects, as wealth gained in the East was spent at home. Coarelli has linked the development of sanctuaries in Latium and Campania around the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. with the predominance of names from just those parts of Italy in the epigraphic record of Delos;<sup>184</sup> while other studies have related (rather more tenuously) the prosperity of individual communities in Italy to the presence of their members on Delos.<sup>185</sup>

Death, tomb inscriptions and the social and demographic information that may be drawn from them have been the subject of even more interest than usual over the last five years. On the one hand, individual monuments have been examined both epigraphically and archaeologically: the tomb of the Haterii,<sup>186</sup> of Scipio Nasica in Pergamum<sup>187</sup> and, in Horsfall's excellent commentary, the long verse epitaph of Allia Potestas.<sup>188</sup> On the other, series of largely funerary texts have been assembled and analysed in an attempt to answer some of the major questions of Roman social history. By far the most ambitious of these attempts is a group of studies by Saller and Shaw. From an analysis of the family relationship between commemorator and commemorated in several sample groups of

<sup>180</sup> J. Nollé, *Nundinas instituere et habere: Epigraphische Zeugnisse zur Einrichtung und Gestaltung von landlichen Märkten in Afrika und in der Provinz Asia* (1982), 12-58. Note that the practice here of a series of markets in a cycle on succeeding days is precisely that noted by Shaw in traditional African markets (art. cit., 43) and that attested in the epigraphic record at Pompeii (*CIL* IV, 4182 and 8863).

<sup>181</sup> G. Barroul, J. Gascou, J. C. Bessac, *RAN* 15 (1982), 281-309 (with preliminary publication, *Gallia* 37 (1979), 543). Our text is one of a group of three; the two others honour women—Attia, a *flaminica perpetua*, 'ob liberalitates patris', and Indelvia, also *flaminica perpetua*, apparently on her own account. For the public honouring of women, see further R. van Bremen, in Averil Cameron and A. Kuhrt, *Images of Women in Antiquity* (1983), 223-42; H. E. Herzig, 'Frauen in Ostia', *Historia* 32 (1983), 77-92; and the useful list of female gymnasiarchs compiled by Casarico (*ZPE* 48 (1982), 117-23).

<sup>182</sup> In Millar and Segal (edd.), op. cit. (n. 5), 120-67.

<sup>183</sup> I. di Stefano Manzella, *Tituli* 2 (1980), 41-6. Note also the Augustan building activities at Lucus Feroniae of the Volusii Saturnini (M. T. Boatwright et al., *I Volusii Saturnini* (1982)). Of course, senatorial building in Italy was not a new phenomenon in the reign of

Augustus. See, for example, Coarelli's recent demonstration of the connection between a Cornelius Cethegus (perhaps *cos.* 160) and the temple of Juno at Gabii (in M. Almagro-Gorbea, *El Santuario de Juno en Gabii, Excavaciones 1956-69* (1982), 125-30).

<sup>184</sup> In Cébeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), op. cit. (n. 62), 217-40.

<sup>185</sup> See, for example, M. Leiwo, *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), 494-9 (on Velia). Note also the important series of studies on Delos—F. Coarelli, D. Musti, H. Solin (edd.), *Delo e l'Italia* (Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae II, 1982). B. Helly, 'Les Italiens en Thessalie au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.', in *Les 'bourgeoisies' municipales* (cit. n. 62), considers Italian relations with another part of the Greek world.

<sup>186</sup> F. Coarelli, in G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore (edd.), *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology* (Festschrift von Blanckenhagen) (1979), 255-69.

<sup>187</sup> K. Tuchelt, *MDAI(I)* 29 (1979), 309-16.

<sup>188</sup> *ZPE* 61 (1985), 251-72. See also Horsfall's epigraphic study of the *Laudatio Turiae*, *BICS* 30 (1983), 85-98. A very different 'literary' epitaph is published by R. Merkelbach, 'Trostdekret über den Tod eines Studenten der Rhetorik aus Claudiopolis', *EA* 3 (1984), 137-41.

funerary texts (from different areas of the western empire and chosen from both civilian and military populations) they conclude that the 'nuclear' (rather than 'extended') family was the basic social unit in the Roman world from as early as the second century B.C.; in addition, on the basis of their military samples, they argue that in certain provinces of the western empire (notably Britain and the Germanies, where 'family commemoration' was rare) local recruitment of soldiers was never the norm.<sup>189</sup> These conclusions are of great interest and are argued with a rare sophistication. But, in spite of their persuasiveness, one is still drawn to wonder whether patterns of commemoration on stone are an accurate mirror of affective relationships within either the nuclear or the extended family. To put it in extreme terms, the absence of any mention of 'mother' on a tombstone cannot prove that the mother was not important in the scale of familiarity and affection—still less that she did not exist. The gap between recording practice and 'social reality' must remain a problem for all work of this kind.<sup>190</sup> Nevertheless, the lives of men and (particularly) women below the rank of the élite—minor state officials, slaves, concubines, nurses—are illuminated for the historian mainly by these memorials of their death;<sup>191</sup> in the absence of anything better, funerary texts will continue to be central in Roman social history.

### IX Writing and Literacy

Two related topics of interest have been raised in recent epigraphical work: first, the extent of literacy in the Roman world, second the function of inscribed texts and of writing more generally.

Harris's survey of 'Literacy and Epigraphy' offers some cautious conclusions on numbers of literates in the Roman empire based epigraphically on the cemeteries of Korykos and Tyre and, more especially, on the graffiti and *dipinti* of Pompeii. He demonstrates clearly that the Pompeian material provides no strong argument in favour of a high level of literacy in the Roman world: the highly literate graffiti (especially quotations from poetry) cluster in the very largest houses in Pompeii and so only attest—as we could anyway have guessed—the high culture of the top rank of the élite; amongst the creditors of Jucundus, those 'with far from negligible assets to sell at auction', a surprisingly high proportion were apparently illiterate; the epigraphic and archaeological record suggests a very low level of institutionalized schooling in the town.<sup>192</sup> These negative points are strong;<sup>193</sup> but it is not so clear, as Harris would argue, that they necessarily lead to the opposite conclusion of a very restricted level of literacy. It is certainly not the case, for example, that the skills of reading and writing could have been acquired only by formal schooling. The recent suggestion that the *pollio* of the Roman army may have been involved in teaching Latin to non-Latin speaking recruits highlights just one of the contexts in which intellectual skills might have been learnt.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Saller and Shaw, art. cit. (n. 116), 124–56; B. D. Shaw, *Historia* 33 (1984), 457–97. Note also R. P. Saller, 'Familia, domus, and the Roman conception of the Family', *Phoenix* 38 (1984), 336–55, for a related treatment based on literary sources. Note the critique of their arguments by J. C. Mann, *JRS* 75 (1985), 204–6. Underlying the work of Saller and Shaw is the further problem that they do not explain their definition of 'funerary text'—for post-mortem honorary inscriptions set up in public places may be liable to reflect more limited relationships than those actually on tombs.

<sup>190</sup> The problems are clearly revealed in two studies by L. A. Churchin, 'Familial epithets in the Epigraphy of Roman Spain', *Mél. Etienne Gareau = CEA* 14 (1982), 179–82 and 'Familial Epithets in the Epigraphy of Roman Britain', *Britannia* 14 (1983), 255–6 (attempting unsuccessfully to relate epithets of affection (*amantissimus*, *pietissimus*, etc.) to 'real' degrees of affection within the family). Other studies of the language of epithets include R. Friggeri and C. Pelli, 'Vivo e morto nelle iscrizioni di Roma', *Tituli* 2 (1980), 95–172 (on dating certain formulae) and P. Schmitt-Pantel, 'Evergétisme et mémoire du mort', in G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant, *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés*

*anciennes* (1982), 177–88.

<sup>191</sup> See, recently, S. Treggiari, 'Contubernales in *CIL* 6', *Phoenix* 35 (1981), 42–69; 'Concubinae', *PBSR* 49 (1981), 59–81; N. Purcell, 'Apparitores: a study in social mobility', *PBSR* 51 (1983), 125–77; M. Buonocore, *Schiavi e liberti dei Volusi Saturnini: le iscrizioni del colombario sulla via Appia antica* (1984); B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome* (1986).

<sup>192</sup> *ZPE* 52 (1983), 87–111.

<sup>193</sup> Though one should note certain problems with the evidence from the tablets of Jucundus. Illiteracy is not stated as a reason for parties not writing themselves (as it was, for example, often in Egypt). Harris assumes that those represented on receipts by intermediaries were illiterate. Sometimes, no doubt, this was the case; but cultural factors must also have played a part. The fact that none of the five women concerned wrote herself might tell us more about women's social position than about their literacy.

<sup>194</sup> K. Dietz, 'Der Pollio in der römischen Legion', *Chron* 15 (1985), 235–52. Whether or not Dietz is correct in this case, the Roman army must surely have been important in areas we categorize as 'education'.

A different, and perhaps more fruitful line of approach, is to consider how far there was a 'literate mentality' in the Roman world,<sup>195</sup> how far written information could be retrieved and used, and what role the public display of writing played within the community. Many of these questions were raised by MacMullen's already famous (and neatly entitled) article, 'The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire'.<sup>196</sup> But beyond suggesting that 'a sense of audience' was implied in the act of inscribing and displaying inscriptions, MacMullen's broad sweep through the epigraphic and papyrological evidence provides few answers.<sup>197</sup> These answers are gradually emerging in studies on a small scale, often of individual documents. It has, for example, been shown that inscribed texts should not be assumed to be works of reference and that many documents were neither written nor inscribed in order to be widely read, but, symbolically and permanently, to 'validate' the activities they described—so Beard on the Arval Acta<sup>198</sup> and Roueché on late imperial acclamations from Aphrodisias.<sup>199</sup> But the full picture is, of course, more complex. Alongside a well-established tradition of symbolic writing, other inscribed texts (the simple 'cave canem', for example) are informative and utilitarian; and (significant for our understanding of the processes of Roman government) an elaborate archival system, from which documents could be retrieved and used, can be seen to be an important element of Roman central and provincial administration. The workings of such a system are well illustrated by the administrative formalities recorded in the new text granting market rights to a village in Magnesia (above, section VIII).<sup>200</sup>

### X The Later Empire

Inscriptions provide as vivid a reminder as any of the combination of continuity and change that marks the transformation of the Roman world. It is, then, difficult to know where to start this section, for a number of texts that might well appear here have been noted earlier. Inscribed acclamations provide a good example of the difficulty—they are to be seen as, in some respects, a characteristic category of late imperial epigraphy—but their origins lie very much earlier, and they have been nicely illustrated by a group of the later third century at Perge<sup>201</sup> as well as by one at Aphrodisias, which was perhaps cut in the early sixth.<sup>202</sup> Provincial reorganization is another; texts continue to accumulate to show its inception before Diocletian. Thus there is further evidence for the existence of the province of Phrygia and Caria in the later third century;<sup>203</sup> and the comparison of inscriptions from Aphrodisias with a recently published milestone from Phrygia suggests that at that date the governorship of the province could be held by men of either equestrian or senatorial rank.<sup>204</sup> On the other hand, inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima in honour of Diocletian, erected by a procurator<sup>205</sup> and by a *praeses*,<sup>206</sup> confirm that it was only under Diocletian that a single equestrian *praeses* replaced the senatorial legate and equestrian procurator in Palestine; and a stimulating series of arguments mainly from material at Lepcis Magna has produced a provocative new dating of Diocletian's provincial reforms to 303.<sup>207</sup> One might also adduce here the accumulating evidence for survival of city life; a

<sup>195</sup> For the notion of a 'literate mentality', see J. Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (1977).

<sup>196</sup> *AJPh* 103 (1982), 223-46.

<sup>197</sup> The 'sense of audience' involved some confidence in the future. So MacMullen argues (p. 246): 'In the exercise of the habit, people (I can only suppose) counted on their world still continuing in existence for a long time to come, so as to make nearly permanent memorials worthwhile'.

<sup>198</sup> *PBSR* 53 (1985), 114-62.

<sup>199</sup> *JRS* 74 (1984), 181-99. A further example of 'symbolic' writing may be some of the electoral programmata of Pompeii. Franklin, op. cit. (n. 91), has argued from a careful study of the *dipinti* that there were (at least in the last years of Pompeii) never more than two candidates for the office of duumvirate. If he is correct (for some doubts see Ling, art. cit. (n. 91), 208-9), then, as Harris realised (art. cit. (n. 192), 104), the function of the election 'posters' is not the utilitarian one of encouraging people to vote. For a study of uses

of writing in archaic Italy, F. Cordano, *Opus* 3 (1984), 281-317.

<sup>200</sup> Nollé, op. cit. (n. 180), 12-58.

<sup>201</sup> I. Kaygusuz, *EA* 4 (1984), 1-4.

<sup>202</sup> C. M. Roueché, *JRS* 74 (1984), 181-99; the texts still present some difficulties, see R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 127-30.

<sup>203</sup> M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Travaux et recherches en Turquie, 1982* (Collection Turcica II, 1982), 23-42.

<sup>204</sup> D. French and C. M. Roueché, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 159-60; for reservations about some of the conclusions, see now M. Christol, *Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales dans la 2e moitié du IIIe siècle* (1986), 220-1.

<sup>205</sup> M. P. Speidel, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 363-4.

<sup>206</sup> C. M. Lehmann, *ZPE* 51 (1983), 191-5.

<sup>207</sup> G. di Vita-Évrard, *L'Africa Romana* (Atti del II Convegno di Studio Sassari, December 1984), 149-77.

new inscription from Algeria provides clear fourth-century evidence of euergetism and indication that not all decurions at that time were desperately seeking escape from their status;<sup>208</sup> the Aphrodisian acclamations mentioned above are also related to euergetism apparently as late as the sixth century and to a continuing vigour in civic life there. The same point is central to an inscription from Phrygian Orcistus which has been re-examined in detail—it reveals a community which had been downgraded to the status of a *vicus*, at some date unknown, but possibly under Licinius, appealing successfully to Constantine for reinstatement as a city; although it included an appeal based on its Christianity (as has often been observed), the main arguments which Constantine endorsed were socio-economic—large population, fine public buildings, site at an important road centre, plentiful water, especially useful for mills—and would not seem out of place in the early empire.<sup>209</sup>

Among more unequivocally late material there is useful evidence on particular reigns. A text recording bridge-building near Cyzicus can be added to the small group of inscriptions which record the activities of Licinius;<sup>210</sup> both his name and that of the governor involved (an equestrian *praeses* of Hellespont) have been erased. Light is thrown on Constantine's administrative arrangements both by the Orcistus inscription already mentioned and by a new one at Antioch,<sup>211</sup> which is a complete version in Greek of a text already partly known from an incomplete copy in Latin at Tubernuc in Africa Proconsularis (frequently referred to in discussions of the praetorian prefecture);<sup>212</sup> it gives the names of five prefects, and shows that Zosimus' account of the establishment of a territorial prefecture by Constantine must be anachronistic. The victory titles of Constantius II are the subject of a brisk debate;<sup>213</sup> discussion revolves in part around the relative value of a Roman inscription of early 337 (*AE* 1934, 158) and a provincial one cut between 337 and 340 (*ILS* 724 from the Troesmis area), and at its heart are implications for Constantine's plans for the succession. An important but incompletely preserved edict of Valentinian and Valens now at Trinitapoli in Italy, and probably from the ancient city of Canusium, embodies an attempt by the emperor to wrestle with the fiscal requirements of the central government without destroying the prosperity of tax-payers;<sup>214</sup> it offers much detailed information on the administrative organization of the time. A charming and evocative find from the baths at Gadara gives us a poem, descriptive of those baths, whose named authoress is the empress Eudocia,<sup>215</sup> the cultivated Athenian lady who spent her last years (from ?441<sup>216</sup> to 460) in retirement in Jerusalem. From Seleuceia, the port of Antioch, comes another of the regulatory documents characteristic of the reigns of Anastasius and Justinian;<sup>217</sup> it is concerned with the sums to be paid by merchants to port officials and is related to *OGIS* 521 from Abydus.

On senators there is less to add. There has been some general consideration of late careers;<sup>218</sup> individuals discussed include Ablabius (in connection with the Orcistus inscription) and Sex. Petronius Probus who comes up in connection with the inscription from Trinitapoli (but who has also generated other debate, out of which have come helpful observations by Alan Cameron on the proper use of the abundant names borne by the late Roman aristocracy).<sup>219</sup> In the context of the characteristically late category of consular diptychs are now studies of the diptychs of the father of Boethius<sup>220</sup> and of the last consul, Basilius.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>208</sup> J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Epigraphica* 41 (1979), 66–72, with the important modification and comment of F. Jacques, *ZPE* 59 (1985), 146–50.

<sup>209</sup> A. Chastagnol, *MEFRA* 93 (1981), 381–416; *Ktēma* 6 (1981), 373–9.

<sup>210</sup> J. Sünskes, *EA* 2 (1983), 99–105.

<sup>211</sup> D. Feissel, *TM* 9 (1985), 421–34.

<sup>212</sup> Most recently by T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982), 134–6.

<sup>213</sup> J. Arce, *ZPE* 48 (1982), 245–9 and 57 (1985), 225–9; T. D. Barnes, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 229–35.

<sup>214</sup> A. Giardina and F. Grelle, *MEFRA* 95 (1983), 249–303.

<sup>215</sup> J. Green and Y. Tsafirir, *IEJ* 32 (1982), 77–96.

<sup>216</sup> For the date, see Alan Cameron, *YClS* 27 (1982), 263.

<sup>217</sup> G. Dagron, *TM* 9 (1985), 435–55; he discusses the Abydus text too. For other similar material from the reign of Anastasius, see the texts from Bostra in *IGLS* XIII. 1, nos. 9045–6, cited n.225.

<sup>218</sup> A. Chastagnol in Panciera (ed.), op. cit. (n. 48), 167–93; Christol, art. cit. (n. 52), is, of course, also relevant.

<sup>219</sup> Chastagnol, art. cit. (n. 209), 393–8. A. Giardina, *RFIC* 111 (1983), 170–82; Alan Cameron, *JRS* 75 (1985), 164–82.

<sup>220</sup> Alan Cameron, *ZPE* 44 (1981), 181–3.

<sup>221</sup> Alan Cameron and D. Schauer, *JRS* 72 (1982), 126–45.

A new inscription giving a more detailed Greek version of the activities of the mid-fourth-century Ethiopian king Aeizanas has been found near Axoum.<sup>222</sup> Aeizanas may be a marginal character for us, but the precise details of the wealth of the tribe of the Bougaeitoi, whose conquest he records, and his own use of epigraphic Greek are striking and interesting.

Finally it is worth noting that while a number of recently published corpora of inscriptions can be readily identified as referring to this period,<sup>223</sup> there are also two regional collections that contain an unusually high proportion of late material—the *RECAM* volume on Northern Galatia<sup>224</sup> and the most recent volume of *IGLS* on Bostra.<sup>225</sup>

## XI Miscellaneous

Some well-established projects continue to produce important new texts or re-interpretations. So, for example, new legal and economic discussions of the Puteolan tablets have appeared;<sup>226</sup> while J. G. Wolf and others have published for the first time correct texts of some of the tablets.<sup>227</sup> In other cases new themes emerge in apparently unrelated inscriptions from various parts of the Roman world. Quarrying, marble working and sculpture, for example, have been prominent in the epigraphic literature: important studies of the organization of quarry work and the transportation of marble include Ward Perkins on the marble trade<sup>228</sup> and several discussions of the quarry inscriptions at Dokimeion;<sup>229</sup> more specifically sculptural concerns have been raised by the publication of several texts attesting (often much travelled) individual sculptors.<sup>230</sup> Similar 'clusters' of texts have illuminated the careers and associations of philosophers,<sup>231</sup> gladiators<sup>232</sup> and doctors.<sup>233</sup> Particularly evocative among these are an inscription attesting a doctor from Gangra (Paphlagonia), whose skills were known even at Rome,<sup>234</sup> and another text recording an imperial freedman 'a veste gladiatoria'—whose job was either (we may guess) to dress the emperor for his appearance at gladiatorial games or to equip imperial gladiatorial troupes.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>222</sup> E. Bernard, *ZPE* 45 (1982), 105-14.

<sup>223</sup> Especially D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècles* (1983); note also D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat's inventory and publication of the principal inscriptions of the Peloponnese, from the fourth to the fourteenth century, *TM* 9 (1985), 267-395.

<sup>224</sup> S. Mitchell, *RECAM* II. *The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia* (1982).

<sup>225</sup> M. Sartre, *IGLS* XIII, 1, *Bostra* (1982), to be used in conjunction with the same author's *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (1982).

<sup>226</sup> L. Bove, *Documenti processuali dalle Tabulae Pompeianae di Murecine* (1979); *Documenti di operazioni finanziarie dall'archivio dei Sulpici: Tabulae Pompeiane di Murecine* (1984). Bove based his work on the inadequate texts of the first editors; note the review of *Documenti processuali* by U. Manthe in *Gnomon* 53 (1981), 150-61, which incorporates many corrections of the texts.

<sup>227</sup> J. G. Wolf, *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 65 (1979), 23-36 (with a correction suggested by H. Ankum, *Iura* 29 (1981), 156-77); *SDHI* 45 (1979), 139-77; *ZPE* 45 (1982), 245-53; *Studi Sanfilippo* 6 (1985), 769-85; G. Camodeca, *Puteoli* 6 (1982), 3-53.

<sup>228</sup> *PBSR* 48 (1980), 23-69.

<sup>229</sup> J. C. Fant, *ZPE* 54 (1984), 171-82; J. Clayton-East, *AJA* 89 (1985), 655-62; M. Waelkens, *Dokimeion. Der Werkstatt der kleinasiatischen Sarkophage* (1982); *Die kleinasiatische Türsteine* (1984). Note also M. Waelkens, *AJA* 89 (1985), 641-53, on the provenance of the statues in Trajan's Forum at Rome; P. Pensabene, *DArch* 1.1 (1983), 55-63 (on price of marble); J. Bingen, *CE* 56 (1981), 142-4 (quarries in Egypt). On mine organization, see C. Domergue, *La mine antique*

*d'Aljustrel (Portugal) et les tables de bronze de Vipasca* (1983).

<sup>230</sup> A. S. Hall and M. Waelkens, *AS* 32 (1982), 151-5 (sculptors of Dokimeion marble); A. Schmidt-Colinet, *Berytus* 31 (1983), 95-102 (a Nabataean family of sculptors); D. H. French, *EA* 4 (1984), 75-83 (a Sinoeque sculptor at Halicarnassus); C. Roueché and K. Erim, *PBSR* 50 (1982), 107-15 (Aphrodisian sculptors).

<sup>231</sup> J. Nollé, *ZPE* 41 (1981), 197-206 and G. W. Bowersock, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 275-9 (both on Ofellius Laetus, a Platonic philosopher honoured at Ephesus); S. Şahin and M. H. Sayar, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 43-4 (a philosopher from Nicomedeia); J. H. Oliver, *AJPh* 102 (1981), 217-21 (an epitaph of a philosopher, reinterpreted). Note also E. L. Bowie, *YCIS* 27 (1982), 29-59 (on sophists in the political life of the Roman empire).

<sup>232</sup> In general, note G. Ville, *La gladiature en Occident* (1981). On individual texts: L. Robert, *JSt* (1982), 154-62 and M. H. Sayar, *EA* 2 (1983), 144-6 (both on a monument from Bizye, Thrace); H. Malay, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 195-6 (epitaph of a gladiator's daughter).

<sup>233</sup> In general, P. Roesch, in *Médecins et médecine dans l'Antiquité* (Centre Jean Palerne, Mém. 3, 1982), 119-29 (including remarks on the evidential value of inscriptions for medical practice); H. W. Pleket, *TG* 96 (1983), 325-47 (on social status of doctors); G. C. Boon, *Britannia* 14 (1983), 1-12 (on oculists). For an inscribed surgical instrument from the grave of a doctor, F. J. Hassel and E. Künzl, *MHJ* 15 (1980), 405-21 and E. Künzl, *EA* 2 (1983), 82.

<sup>234</sup> I. Kaygusuz, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 180-3 (*Bull.Ép.* 1983, 426).

<sup>235</sup> A. Ferrua, *RAL* 34 (1979), 29 ff.

Various technical aspects of the carving and lettering of stones have been studied, sometimes with important wider implications. An inscription at Delphi temporarily and erroneously referred to Claudius Gothicus has been reclaimed for the first-century emperor Claudius, although it was pretty certainly scratched in the late third century A.D.—presumably on the basis of a formal inscription of the first century.<sup>236</sup> Reinscription of texts is a matter which may repay investigation, not only because it is liable to bedevil dating by letter forms. Why did people want to do this? In what circumstances? The practice is no doubt related to the creation of archaizing texts, such as the Spanish inscription of the early imperial period honouring Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*cos.* 177 and 163 B.C.).<sup>237</sup> Both phenomena suggest a desire not so much to 'forge' an antiquity, but rather to appropriate, use and display the past. More straightforward epigraphic technique has been illuminated by studies of rough copies or abandoned attempts at formal inscription on the backs of inscribed stones.<sup>238</sup>

As usual there have been a fair crop of idiosyncratic occupations, unpleasant deaths and puzzles of all kinds: an inscription from Smyrna commemorates a man of twenty-two who was both νομικὸς ἄριστος and γεομετρῶν πρῶτος (both learned in the law and a land measurer);<sup>239</sup> a funerary epigram from Paphlagonia appears to commemorate a girl raped by the Goths.<sup>240</sup> Finally, a baffling inscription that we interpreted in our last survey (plausibly as it then seemed!) as the record of an acrobat performing pirouettes or cartwheels has now been shown to be the record of a particular Dionysiac ritual known from illustrations on pottery.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> T. Drew-Bear, *REA* 82 (1980), 167–72 (on Syll<sup>3</sup>, 801).

<sup>237</sup> R. Wiegels, *MDAI(M)* 23 (1982), 152–221 (on *ILER*, 1287).

<sup>238</sup> S. Priuli, *Epigraphica* 46 (1984), 49–63 (a rough

version in cursive capitals); I. di Stefano Manzella, *Epigraphica* 43 (1981), 39–44 (abandoned attempts).

<sup>239</sup> H. Malay and Y. Gül, *ZPE* 50 (1983), 283–4.

<sup>240</sup> I. Kaygusuz, *EA* 4 (1984), 61–2.

<sup>241</sup> P. Veyne, *BCH* 109 (1985), 621–4.