

EXPLAINING THE EPIGRAPHIC HABIT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE: THE EVIDENCE OF EPITAPHS¹

By ELIZABETH A. MEYER

It is now notorious that the production of inscriptions in the Roman Empire was not constant over time, but rose over the first and second centuries A.D. and fell in the third. Ramsay MacMullen pointed this out more than five years ago, with conclusions more cautionary than explanatory: 'history is not being written in the right way', he said, for historians have deduced Rome's decline from evidence that—since it appears only epigraphically—has merely disappeared for its own reasons, or have sought general explanations of decline in theories political, economic, or even demographic in nature, none of which can, in turn, explain the disappearance of epigraphy itself. Why this epigraphic habit rose and fell MacMullen left open to question, although he did postulate control by a 'sense of audience'.² The purpose of this paper is to propose that this 'sense of audience' was not generalized or generic, but depended on a belief in the value of romanization, of which (as noted but not explained by MacMullen's article) the epigraphic habit is also a rough indicator. Epitaphs constitute the bulk of all provincial inscriptions and in form and number are (generally speaking) the consequence of a provincial imitation of characteristically Roman practices, an imitation that depended on the belief that Roman legal status and style were important, and that may indeed have ultimately depended, at least in North Africa, on the acquisition or prior possession of that status. Such status-based motivations for erecting an epitaph help to explain not only the chronological distribution of epitaphs but also the differences in the type and distribution of epitaphs in the western and eastern halves of the empire. They will be used here moreover to suggest an explanation for the epigraphic habit as a whole.³

Thus in Section I it will be argued that, in general, Roman epitaphs and provincial epitaphs of the Roman period have a characteristic form that derives from a moral and legal relationship, heirship, between deceased and commemorator characteristic of the Romans; in Section II, that Roman testamentary privilege was not only one of the many benefits that came to new citizens, but was also one of the ones desired, commented on, and verifiably exercised. Section III will look at the distribution of epitaphs from two areas of the western Roman empire, specifically seven North African towns and Lyon, where interest in Roman status and a belief in its importance were both strong, and these western cases will be compared in Section IV to two somewhat different Eastern cases; Section V will speculate on possible relationships of this material to the epigraphic habit as a whole.

I. THE OBLIGATION TO COMMEMORATE

Although changes in private practices can be seen as encouraged or restricted by official rulings and attitudes, there is no logical, necessary, or demonstrable development of private or commemorative inscriptions of any sort out of an official epigraphical custom even in classical Athens, where the democracy's inscribed decrees form a statistically impressive proportion of the total corpus. Therefore it is

¹ I extend my warm thanks to Ramsay MacMullen, Gordon Williams, Richard Garner, J. E. Lendon, and the Editorial Committee of *JRS*, who all have read this manuscript several times and improved it considerably; remaining errors are, of course, my own. Standard epigraphical abbreviations are used (i.e. *CIL*, *IG*, *ILS*, *ILLRP*, *TAM*); *ILA* is *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (S. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum (Eds) (1922 and 1957)); *AE* is *L'Année Epigraphique* (1888–present); and *D.* is *The Digest of Justinian* (text by T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, reprinted in A. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian* (1985)).

² R. MacMullen, 'The Epigraphic Habit in the

Roman Empire', *AJP* 103 (1982), 233–46 (specific quotations at 245 and 246), building on previous work by Stanislaw Mrozek, 'À propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut-Empire', *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 113–18, and reinforced by Mrozek's homonymous article in *Epigraphica* 50 (1988), 61–4.

³ In the article I have used, in one form or other and with varying emphasis, all sets of dated epitaphs known to me: those from North Africa (see nn. 43 and 47), Gaul (Lyon and Vienne, the latter only in n. 78), Thessalonica, Athens, and Roman Lydia (the latter only in n. 86).

not unreasonable to begin an examination of the epigraphic habit by looking at the type of inscription which in number most exemplifies it, the epitaph.⁴

Roman epitaphs differ from their Greek (or specifically Athenian) predecessors in a number of important ways. Virtually all are, of course, in Latin, and there is in general more attention given to age (even if only estimated) than is found in Greek epitaphs.⁵ But the most important difference has hitherto been only briefly noted, and not explained. A typical Roman funerary inscription does not simply name the deceased, or even just add to this his or her age and achievements. Instead, the name of the person erecting the inscription, the commemorator, is also added in approximately eighty per cent of the sample from the western Roman empire recently compiled and tabulated by Richard Saller and Brent Shaw.⁶ This proportion varies, however, from province to province, with the civilian population of Spain contributing the lowest percentage (51.2 per cent, 893/1745), the civilian population of Noricum the highest (99.1 per cent, 884/892),⁷ and the military populations in all areas averaging the highest of the three groups studied, 83.9 per cent.⁸

Although the Athenians in particular had been erecting tombstones in admirable numbers four centuries longer than the Romans, to indicate the commemorator was itself not an Athenian custom. The traditional, and typical, Athenian tombstone was very austere, and only rarely in the classical period included the name of the commemorator.⁹ Moreover, the patterns in Asia Minor, although more diverse and certainly including a tradition of living commemoration of self and others (possibly dating as early as the third century B.C.) as well as a tradition of more general deceased-commemorator pairings, can rarely be conclusively dated to the centuries before Asia Minor came under direct Roman rule, and are more likely to cluster in the second and third centuries A.D.¹⁰ Roman tombstones from the Republican period, on the other hand, clearly display a strong if not exclusive (58.4 per cent) tradition of the deceased-commemorator pattern, although the very earliest funerary inscriptions were simple names, as was the case in Athens.¹¹ No matter what the ultimate origins of the Roman pattern of epitaphs, therefore, developed Roman practice owed its appearance to no outside influence, but to some particular motivation of its own.

What, then, explains this pattern? Why did the Romans habitually include the name of the commemorator on a tombstone? One might ask first who the commemorator was. This is not to ask in what degree of family relationship he or she stood to

⁴ Estimated at 170,000 to 190,000 of a total of c. 250,000 known inscriptions by R. Saller and B. Shaw, 'Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves', *JRS* 74 (1984), 124-56, at 124 n. 1.

⁵ K. Ery, summarized in MacMullen, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 239.

⁶ Specifically 83.3 per cent: B. Shaw, 'Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire', *Historia* 33 (1984), 457-97, at 463 n. 16. The statistical information which follows is based on Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 124-56.

⁷ Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 148 (column 8), 149 (column 12).

⁸ From the charts in Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 152-5; servile populations (151) averaged 74.1 per cent, civilian populations (147-150) averaged 79.3 per cent.

⁹ In the archaic period it was somewhat more common. J. Day ('Rituals in Stone: Early Greek Epigrams and Monuments', *JHS* 109 (1989), 25) refers to this as 'the most common of all formulas', but in fact it characterizes 27.2 per cent (25/92) of all Attic sepulchral epigrams in P. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (1983), 30.8 per cent (49/159) of all sepulchral epigrams in the same collection, and only 12.1 per cent (14/116) of all the Attic epitaphs in *IG I²*. After the end of the fifth century B.C., only ten of the eighty-three known commemorators (out of 8136 studied in *IG2-3²*) are not from the Roman period, and of these ten, three are put up by people from outside Athens (Gortyn, Phoenicia, and Paphlagonia). That Greek epitaphs

rarely included a commemorator was hinted at by P. M. Fraser [and T. Rönne], *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*, Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4.vi (1957), especially 92-101, and by idem, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (1977), 46-52 on the epitaphs of Rhodes. Before him, work on the form of Greek epitaphs is limited to E. Loch's dissertation, *De titulis Graecis sepulchralibus* (1890) and article, 'Zu den griechischen Grabinschriften', *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum L. Friedländer* (1895), 275-95.

¹⁰ On the epitaphs of Asia Minor: H. Stemler, *Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasien* (1909), who distinguishes types but rarely gives dates; some of his examples are clearly Roman. See also Loch, *op. cit.* (n. 9, 1890), 57. For a general assessment of the date of epitaphs from Asia Minor, I follow J. Kubińska (*Les Monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (1968), 11): 'La majorité de nos inscriptions [i.e. for a study of tomb-terminology] date de l'époque impériale, du IIe et du IIIe siècle, surtout de ce dernier ... Rarement nous avons des textes plus anciens', and this judgement finds confirmation elsewhere, e.g. C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (1971), 163 (Phrygia and central Asia Minor, where virtually all are from the second to third centuries A.D.).

¹¹ 58.4 per cent: Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 147 (col. 1). The earliest Roman funerary inscriptions are (I believe) a set of inscribed urns and *cippi* from the Praeneste cemetery (*ILLRP* 1.895-903), dating between the third and first centuries B.C.

the deceased, a subject already thoroughly studied by Saller and Shaw,¹² but on the basis of what right or claim the commemorator acted, a right or claim probably not acknowledged or felt as strongly by Athenians. A hint is provided by a variation on this form of epitaph also found only in the Roman period, whether in the East or the West, the epitaph put up by the commemorator as heir, or *ex testamento*.¹³ That this legal relationship provided the underlying motivation for deceased-commemorator inscriptions as a type, and should be understood to be present even when not explicitly stated, is suggested both by Cicero's philosophical musings and by legal evidence.

Cicero, always projecting an attitude of carefully high-minded seriousness, provides an example of the first: 'What', he asks, 'do the procreation of children, the propagation of the name, the adoption of sons, the care taken about wills, the very burial monuments and epitaphs mean, if not that we also think about the future'—that is, posterity?¹⁴ In contemplating these matters he clearly connects children, inheritance, wills, monuments, and epitaphs, suggesting that all fell into one Roman mental category, and that succession (natural and legal) is marked in the concrete by *monumenta* and *elogia*. Moreover, in the *de legibus* Cicero sets out the legal relationships governing the obligation to perform the *sacra*, the rites for the deceased, in which category the erection of monuments and epitaphs naturally belonged. The pontiffs and the laws they have inspired

attempt to fix with exactness the persons who are bound to perform the *sacra*. With respect to the heirs, the requirement is altogether just; for there is no other person who comes closer to taking the place of the person who has emigrated from life. Next comes the person who, whether by a death-bed gift or a will, receives as much of the estate as all the heirs put together ... In the third place, if there is no heir, the man who acquires by possession the ownership of the greater part of the property of which the deceased died possessed is bound by the obligation. In the fourth place, if nobody acquires any of the property of the deceased, then the obligation falls upon that one of the creditors who retains most of the estate. In the last place stands any person who owed money to the deceased and never paid it to anyone, for his position is considered the same as if he had received that money from the estate.¹⁵

The traditional obligation of performing *sacra* was, therefore, seen by Cicero as falling on those bound to the deceased by the legal ties of heirship and property, not by the natural ties of family, although the two categories could and of course did overlap.

It was characteristic of upper-class Romans to see the obligation imposed by a will (through the new legal relationship created between testator and heir by that will) as significant and binding, for it was unthinkable that specific requirements laid down in wills could be disregarded.¹⁶ Cicero (*de off.* 3. 93); for example, deliberated whether a wise man who was required (by will) to dance in the forum should accept the inheritance, since it would be impossible not to fulfil the will's terms once accepted—a sense of unshakeable obligation predictably satirized as a willingness to do anything for money by Petronius (*Sat.* 141), where all those who are to inherit money from Eumolpus must eat his body in front of a crowd. Every death had, of course, always laid

¹² Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 124–56.

¹³ See Appendix 5 of my unpublished PhD dissertation, *Literacy, Literate Practice, and the Law in the Roman Empire A.D. 100–600*, for a preliminary list of such inscriptions.

¹⁴ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 31 (M. Pohlenz (Ed.), Teubner, 1965): 'Quid procreatio liberorum, quid propagatio nominis, quid adoptiones filiorum, quid testamentorum diligentia, quid ipsa sepulcrorum monumenta elogia significant nisi nos futura etiam cogitare?'

¹⁵ *de legibus* 2. 48 (C. W. Keyes (Ed.), Loeb, 1977): 'Quaeruntur enim, qui astringantur sacris. Heredum causa iustissima est; nulla est enim persona, quae ad vicem eius, qui e vita emigravit, propius accedat. Deinde, qui morte testamentove eius tantundem capiat, quantum omnes heredes ... tertio loco, si nemo sit heres, is, qui de bonis, quae eius fuerint, cum moritur, usu ceperit plurimum possidendo. Quarto, qui, si nemo sit, qui ullam rem ceperit, de creditoribus eius plurimum

servet. Extrema illa persona est, ut is, si qui ei, qui mortuus sit, pecuniam debuerit neminique eam solverit, proinde habeatur, quasi eam pecuniam ceperit'. Cicero then goes on to say that older authorities apportioned responsibility somewhat differently, that men had been bound in three different ways: as heirs, as receiving the preponderance of the property, or as receiving anything by a legacy. See also Fronto, *Ep. M. Caesar* 1. 6. 6 (M. P. J. Van den Hout (Ed.), 1954): the funeral cannot properly take place until the heir is known.

¹⁶ Greek observers of the Romans also noticed the peculiarities of Roman practice and attitude: see Plutarch, *Mor.* 550B8–9 (absurdity), Lucian, *Nig.* 30–1 (hypocrisy). The Roman obsession with wills and succession even worked its way into poetry, in ways particularly vivid when compared to a similar Greek treatment: see Manilius 1. 890 (compared to Thucydides's treatment of the plague) or Catullus 68. 119–24 (compared to Pindar, *Ol.* 10. 86–90).

the living under an obligation, specifically an obligation to bury. Even the further step of assigning this duty to the heir is by no means an unexpected one; in Athens the connection was sufficiently clear that performance of the burial could be cited in support of a claim of heirship.¹⁷ Athenian law, then, so far as it is known, acknowledged that heirship and burial could be linked. But Roman juriconsults (following Roman custom) went yet one step further, for in explicitly permitting the duty to be given by the dying to one who was not the heir, they assumed that the heir performed the burial. That is, unless the task was specifically assigned elsewhere, it fell to the heir. This was such a regular assumption outside juristic circles that the juriconsults repeatedly had to correct the misperception that every person taking responsibility for a burial was also the heir.¹⁸

Where custom raced even further ahead of precise legal formulation, however, was in the assumption that the heir was responsible for both burial and commemoration, that 'burial' included 'monument', defined by Ulpian as 'something which exists to preserve memory', and later glossed by Servius as 'inscribed name and record'.¹⁹ Neither Athenian nor later Greek law (as far as we know) had stipulated a monument.²⁰ A Roman memorial, however, came to be considered as one of the funeral expenses even when made of marble, and funeral expenses in turn were the most important charge on the estate; for them, money had to be raised by selling off parts of the estate if there was no ready cash; they had priority (in the example of a tenant-farmer's estate) over the paying of arrears of rent; and in general they were to be funded before the legacies were paid.²¹ It does not follow that every burial required a monument, for it could be difficult, legally, to make a person build a monument: in absolute 'strict law' such an action did not exist. The closest thing to an enforcing agency was that, as Papinian said, 'heirs ... are compelled by the authority of the emperor or the *pontifices* to obey the final wish'.²² But when a monument was specified, its erection—like burial—was a moral obligation laid on a specific person, the heir (unless another was designated), and ultimately dependent on his or her sense of responsibility.²³ Because the obligation was moral within the legal relationship, and

¹⁷ S. Humphreys, 'Family tombs and tomb-cult in Classical Athens: Tradition or Traditionalism?' in *The Family, Women and Death. Comparative Studies* (1983), 79–130, at 83–4, with further references.

¹⁸ *D.* 11. 7. 4–5; correcting popular misconceptions, 11. 7. 4 and 11. 7. 14. 8 (Ulpian), all discussed by Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 126.

¹⁹ Monument: 'quod memoriae servandae gratia existat', *D.* 11. 7. 2. 6; also 11. 7. 42, a monument is something left as a memorial to posterity. Servius on *Aen.* 3. 22. 6: 'inscriptum nomen memoriae "monumentum"'.
²⁰ There is no evidence from Athens to indicate that a monument was in any way thought necessary. Solon's 'legislation' merely restricted the sumptuousness of the funeral; later law, attested only in Cicero (*de leg.* 2. 64), limited the opulence of the memorial, which implies only that some individuals were using the opportunity which a grave marker presented to display a little ostentatious wealth. As Humphreys, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 93 emphasizes, in a discussion of archaic tombstones: 'these monuments are not ... the product of a belief that it was a sacred duty for a son to see that his father received proper honors after death'.

²¹ Memorial as a funeral expense: 11. 7. 12. 6, 14. 1 (Ulpian). On the general trend, see O. E. Tellegen-Couperus, *Testamentary Succession in the Constitutions of Diocletian* (1982), 93–4. The necessity of a memorial was a normal assumption. Thus Horace (*Odes* 2. 20) and Frontinus (quoted in Pliny, *Ep.* 9. 19. 6) are drawing self-conscious attention to their originality by paradox. Other expenses of the funeral: *D.* 11. 7. 14. 3–4 (Ulpian), 37 (Macer); cf. 11. 8. 1. 6 (the absolute legal right to spend for a tomb), 11. 7. 37 (Macer; the limits on opulence).

²² *D.* 5. 3. 50. 1: '... tamen principali vel pontificali auctoritate compelluntur ad obsequium supremae voluntatis'. Clearly all Roman deaths were not commemorated:

see W. Eck, 'Inschriften und Grabbauten in der Nekropole unter St. Peter', in G. Alföldy (Ed.), *Vom frühen Griechentum bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenk- und Jubiläumsvorträge am Heidelberger Seminar für alte Geschichte* (1980), 55–89, and idem, 'Aussagefähigkeit epigraphischer Statistik und die Bestattung von Sklaven im kaiserzeitlichen Rom', in P. Kreissel and V. Losemann (Eds.), *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 65. Geburtstag* (1988), 130–9 (with thanks to I. Morris for the reference).

²³ A full discussion of the legal enforceability of such requests, with further references, can be found in J. W. Tellegen's *The Roman Law of Succession in the Letters of Pliny the Younger* (1982), 100–7 treatment of Pliny the Younger's *Ep.* 6. 10. It was a legally believable or even common defence made by someone who had buried contrary to the heir's wishes (i.e. had usurped the heir's prerogative, and in this case was claiming reimbursement from the estate) that he had buried him 'out of a sense of duty' (*pietatis gratia*, *D.* 11. 7. 14. 13 (Ulpian)), and *pietas* appears as a motivation on tombstones as well, e.g. *CIL* VIII.23256 (Ammaedara), *MEFR* (1912), 187, 144, or *CIL* VIII.12652 (Carthage). Pliny commented that 'loyalty in friendships is so rare, the dead are forgotten so quickly that we must erect our own tombs and anticipate all the duties of the heir', and this sentiment is occasionally repeated in inscriptions, e.g. *IG* 10. 2. 1. 819 (Thessalonica, second or third century A.D.); worry about the monument is perhaps what prompted testators to compose their own epitaphs ahead of time (e.g. *CIL* III.4282; 5196; *IK* 28. 392; *CIL* VIII.10001, 23823; *CIL* XIII.1948; Lucian, *Demonax* 44. 3); plan them (e.g. Trimalchio); or build tombs themselves. Wills could also impose other sorts of obligations on heirs, most clearly, of course, in the institution of *fideicommissa*; but see also Lib., *Or.* 45. 25. 7, where the heirs were obligated to try their best to find and convict the murderer(s) of the testator.

because the details of a monument could vary according to individual taste, personal wishes were sometimes spelled out in a Roman will; and further, because it was a moral duty which the heir or the person responsible for the burial wished to indicate had been discharged, references to the nature of the obligation and the fact of its completion appear frequently on inscriptions—hence the allusions to heirs and, in particular, the use of the phrase *ex testamento* in epitaphs.²⁴ The fulfilment of such an obligation was, therefore, both a private and a public matter.²⁵ A Roman tombstone thus fulfilled two functions: it commemorated the dead by simply recording the name, sometimes with his or her achievements, and it also stated in writing the commemorator's discharge of his duty. It was the Roman way of indicating the discharge of a particularly Roman obligation.

Saller and Shaw noted that the erection of a tombstone was an obligation, and did not neglect to point out that 'burial and commemoration were ... closely associated with heirship in the minds of Romans', stating that 'patterns of commemoration offer a reflection, albeit indirect and inexact, of patterns of heirship, as well as of a sense of family duty and affection'. They do, however, also refer to commemoration (somewhat misleadingly) as a familial obligation, undoubtedly because so often heirship fell within the family, and choose in their discussion only to 'assess the types and variations of personal relationships (e.g. kinship, amity, or dependence)'. Their aim was to interpret the information about familial relationships which epitaphs so often provide, and from that to draw conclusions about the usual configuration of the Roman family. That conclusions about family can be drawn from epitaphs is not questioned. More doubtful, however, is the implication that conclusions about epitaphs and the nature of commemoration can be drawn from considerations of family, a view which Saller and Shaw sometimes (and perhaps unintentionally) espouse in the discussion.²⁶ Heirship, not family, is the primary basis of commemoration. This is not to say that every tombstone was put up by the heir, but that the habit of epitaphs grew out of this relationship, and that it should be presumed unless there is reason to exclude it. Indication of family relationship itself is no reason to exclude heirship—so Saller and Shaw have, in fact, reached conclusions not only about the family but also about how very often heirship falls within the family. Indeed, when the motive for putting up a stone was not heirship, the other motive might therefore be asserted: 'not ordered by testament or requested by voice, I put this up', or 'for the sake of memory, not because I am her heir, but because I do it for the god'.²⁷

II. THE ADOPTION OF ROMAN PRACTICE: THE CONNECTION WITH CITIZENSHIP

However, the presence of this general epigraphic pattern in the Roman provinces demands a further explanation. Why would a provincial Roman citizen imitate an inscription which embodied a Roman relationship, or which expressed the completion of a Roman duty? The deceased could, on the one hand, merely have desired to *appear* Roman without troubling to understand why the adopted practice *was* Roman, why a Roman would use it. None the less, the deceased provincial's imitation is more

²⁴ Sometimes these discharges of obligations are very specific: money or silver amounts, e.g. *CIL* II.1036, 1424, 1425, 1663, 2150, 3265, 3424; V.3904; VIII.2354, 5299, 7001, 8840, 18890, 19980; tomb itself, *CIL* II.1637; III.3558, 5780; V.6110, 6955; VIII.2764, 3006, 3016, 3079, 3334, 3654 (*ex praescripto*), 4192, 4319 (time-limits), 4582, 8840, 9109 (of *opus quadratum*), 10001 (had to be a marble inscription), 18572 (with a statue), 19929, 20197; IX.4269; *AE* 1972.793, *AE* 1984.746 (inscription); or *D.* 35. 1. 27, where the testator specified that his tomb was to be an exact copy, but unfortunately misidentified the tomb to be copied.

²⁵ These epitaphs can, therefore, appear on the inside of mausolea, where only a limited circle would see them, as well as on the outside: see W. Eck's observations in 'Römische Grabinschriften. Aussageabsicht und Aussagefähigkeit im funeren Kontext', in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (Eds), *Römische Gräberstrassen.*

Selbstdarstellung—Status—Standard (1987), 61–81.

²⁶ Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4) at 124, 125, 126–7; possibly misleading statements: e.g. men and women of the lower classes 'attached enough importance to the family to perpetuate its memory on stone' (135); 'our tombstone samples show important uniformities related to family type' (137); '[t]o the extent that serving soldiers were commemorated less often by family, heirs and friends appear more often in their epitaphs' (140).

²⁷ *CIL* XII.3564 ('nec iussu testamento nec voce rogatus'), 5273 ('nec iussa testamento neque voce rogata sed pia ...'); *IG* 10. 2. 1. 433 (μνείας χάριν, οὐχ ὅτι σαι κεκληρονόμηκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεὸν ἐργαζομένην; second century A.D., probably Christian). That patterns and practices of inheritance create or influence ritual and commemoration (rather than the reverse) is also observed in J. Goody's *Death, Property, and the Ancestors* (1962).

likely to derive from the fact that he is now (and knows himself to be) Roman, and wishes to express this fact to the world. For a Roman-type tombstone, in making manifest a Roman legal relationship even if couched only in the language of the commemorator's affection, can also serve to make manifest the fact that the deceased has acquired the right to create that relationship and impose its obligations—that the testator, in short, possesses the right to make a will valid under Roman law.

At the beginning of the imperial period no documentable indigenous tradition in the West relied on anything but traditional, fixed (i.e. legally 'intestate') succession such as that described by Tacitus for the Germans, a type of succession which subsequently reappeared in the early medieval barbarian codes.²⁸ To distribute property more freely than this, and to be confident that local traditional customs could be effectively superseded and that recognized authority would uphold the will, one had to make a *Roman* will.²⁹ In the West only a recipient of Latin rights (the *ius Latii*) or a grant of Roman citizenship could do so.³⁰ The infrequency with which the *ius Latii* is attested probably indicates, however, that group grants of it were rare, and that colony status was preferred—and towns' interest in colony status in the second century can be steadily documented.³¹ From the point of view of the common people of the towns involved, the status of *colonia* was far preferable for a town to have, for through it all free inhabitants, not just the magistrates and decurions, received full Roman citizenship.³² Whether all the inhabitants of a town ever pushed to improve a town's status is not known. The point is that the various benefits of Roman status, sometimes economic and sometimes not, sometimes achieved through individual and sometimes through communal actions, were always perceptible on an individual level—and for this reason, too, individuals sometimes claimed to be citizens when, in fact, they were not.³³

That Roman status was increasingly granted to towns and individuals over the second century is clear. Moreover, in the second century there was an increased *demand* for the *higher* status of colony and towns and their envoys now *petitioned* for that status rather than having status thrust upon them in recognition of their romanization, as had been the case in the first century.³⁴ Two types of change, then, in contrast to the first century: not only did the sheer number of citizens increase, but the grants were bestowed in response to increasing demand. This demand was increasingly met, so much so that a (much later) observer, Aurelius Victor, could claim, hyperbolically, that in the reign of Marcus Aurelius 'Roman citizenship was given indiscriminately to all'.³⁵ This difference between the first and second centuries in provincial interest and in provincial actualities will have an impact on the shape of epigraphic curves: when there is, in the first century, less interest in the status and

²⁸ Tacitus, *Germ.* 20. 5, 32; compare the *Pactus Legis Solicae* 44 and 59, *MGH Leges* 1. 4. 1 (K. A. Eckhardt, Ed. 1962). Very little is known about pre-Roman patterns of legal succession beyond this, despite M. Rostovtzeff's belief (*The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd edn., 1957), 183) that every province had its own local system of law.

²⁹ A point still being made in the fifth century A.D.: see Priscus 504–10 (Blockley).

³⁰ See (e.g.) J. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (1976), 405–7.

³¹ Grants of *ius Latii* that make individuals into Latins may be largely mythical, according to F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 485–6 and 630–5. After the first century A.D. there are only two certain references to Latin rights, one in a refined form called *Latium maius* (*CIL* VIII.22737 [= *ILS* 6780]; see Gaius 1. 96) and generally dated to the reign of Hadrian (see A. Steinwenter, 'Ius Latii', *RE* vol. 10 (1919), 1260–78, at 1269–70); the other is *CIL* VIII.14763 (= *ILS* 6781, Thisiduo). In general, see A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (2nd edn., 1973), 360–7.

³² See in particular the discussion by A. Sherwin-White, 'The Roman Citizenship: A Survey of its Development into a World Franchise', *ANRW* 1.2

(1972), 23–58, at 44: with the promotion to colony-status, 'citizens of all classes gained the Roman citizenship, whether formerly of Latin or of peregrine status'. There were other benefits as well: the *ius Italicum*, which conveyed a tax-break, seems to have been granted only to provincial cities which had achieved *colonia*-status (see E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (1969), 156–7), a development first common in the reign of Septimius Severus. A few cities received this favour from Augustus (idem), but very few thereafter until the reign of Septimius Severus (*D.* 50. 15. 1 has a list).

³³ See R. C. Knapp, 'The Origins of Provincial Prosopography in the West', *Ancient Society* 9 (1978), 187–222, at 192–3, with the references cited there (note in particular Suet., *Claudius* 25. 3, promising execution for those usurping the citizen's rights).

³⁴ See Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* (n. 31), e.g. 257, 258, 418. It was, of course, not unknown for cities to petition for status or rights before, as the Campanians had petitioned for *conubium* (and specifically for the right of their children to inherit from their fathers) in 188 B.C. (Livy 38. 36. 5–6). The difference is one of degree.

³⁵ Aurelius Victor (P. Dufraigne (Ed.), Budé, 1975), *Liber de Caes.* 16. 12: 'data cunctis promiscue civitas Romana'.

fewer people who possess it, there is (I will argue) correspondingly less interest in displaying that status as well as less status to display.

This demand for status must have been based on perceived benefit. The fact that Roman citizenship in general had shrunk to 'the social status which it conferred, the *iura privata* affecting the family and its uniform subjection to the Roman law,' has been mentioned with nostalgic disappointment as the result of 'the decline of the practical content of citizenship,' but this is to look for a Republican exercise of citizenship's political virtues when the arena for them had disappeared one hundred years before.³⁶ Looked at from the point of view of the individual, it was precisely these *iura privata* (i.e. *commercium*, access to and protection under the Roman law) that were attractive.

Moreover, *commercium*'s testamentary privilege clearly distinguished any level of Roman legal status from that of the *peregrinus*. Testation is specifically mentioned as a clear and desirable definer of citizenship four times, once by Cicero, twice by Pliny, and once, in a much-disputed passage, by Cassius Dio. Cicero, in defending the poet Archias's claim to citizenship, noted that he made wills in the Roman fashion—'let me further point out that at that time my client, whom you assert to have had, even in his own view, no rights as a Roman citizen, had frequently made his will according to Roman law, had entered upon legacies left to him by Roman citizens, and had been recommended to the treasury for reward by Lucius Lucullus the proconsul'³⁷—obvious proof, one was meant to conclude, that Archias was a Roman citizen, and also evidence of the primary practical uses Archias found for his citizenship.

Of Pliny's two comments, the first is more revealing. For when he writes to Paternus about how he allows his slaves to make 'sort-of-wills', he adds, 'they can distribute their possessions and make any gifts and bequests they like, within the limits of the household, of course; for the house provides a slave with a country and a sort of citizenship'.³⁸ It is this right to distribute property with relative freedom that Pliny thinks will be most cherished; the *quasi testamenta* and *quasi civitas* are parallel, for the two concepts are fundamentally related.

In his second reference, made amidst general praise of the emperor Trajan, Pliny is more rhetorical. Because newly-made citizens did not have *iura cognationis*, 'rights of kinship' which could only be established by the passage of time or by grant of the emperor, they had to pay inheritance-tax on bequests from close family, although by their propinquity they should have been considered exempt under Augustus's original provisions.

As a result, what should have been a considerable benefit turned into a grave injustice, and Roman citizenship was equivalent to hatred, dissension, and childlessness, since it parted relatives who were dear to each other, without affecting their devotion to one another. Even so, people were found for whom Roman citizenship meant so much that it seemed adequate compensation not only for a five-per-cent tax but even for the wrong done their kindred; though the value they put on citizenship gave them the best claim to enjoy it tax-free.³⁹

Those wishing for Roman citizenship, despite this high cost, had already been paying the inheritance-tax if they had previously received the *ius Latii*, and had probably been grateful to do so; Pliny was speaking on behalf of a group that had not been

³⁶ Sherwin-White, op. cit. (n. 31), 267.

³⁷ Cic., *Pro Arch.* 11 (N. Watts (Ed.), Loeb, 1935): '... ita se tum gessisse pro cive, iis temporibus, quem tu criminari ne ipsius quidem iudicio in civium Romanorum iure esse versatum, et testamentum saepe fecit nostris legibus et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum et in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo pro consule'.

³⁸ Pliny, *Ep.* 8. 16 (B. Radice (Ed.), Loeb, 1969): 'quod permitto servis quoque quasi testamenta facere eaque ... dividunt donant reliquunt, dumtaxat intra domum, nam servis res publica quaedam et quasi civitas domus est'.

³⁹ Pliny, *Pan.* 37. 4-5 (B. Radice (Ed.), Loeb, 1969): 'Ita maximum beneficium vertebatur in gravissimam iniuriam, civitasque Romana instar erat odii et discordiae et orbitatis, cum carissima pignora salva ipsorum pietate distraheret. Inveniebantur tamen, quibus tantus amor nominis nostri, ut Romanam civitatem non vicesimae modo verum etiam adfinitatum damno bene compensari putarent; sed his maxime debebat gratuita contingere, a quibus tam magno aestimabatur'. Note that here again impediments to legal succession (like a tax) are depicted as childlessness, despite blood relations and ties of affection. J. Crook, *Law and Life at Rome* (1967), 255 considers the right of inheritance 'a major incentive'.

heard to complain. In the next sentence he similarly distorted the truth, for in emphasizing the insult done to family he implied that only a few, desperate for Roman citizenship, could be found who would tolerate such a slight, when there is every indication that this was simply not true. The five-per-cent inheritance-tax deterred no one, and never had. By inflating the deterrent effect of hardship and insult, Pliny has magnified Trajan's magnanimity in granting tax-free transfers of property despite the absence of *iura cognationis*, which is of course the job of the expert panegyrist. And by implying that inheritance-tax would lessen the interest of most would-be Romans in citizenship, Pliny has also implied what a major advantage of citizenship was seen to be.

Citizenship (unless it had been held for some time) was only rarely the basis of a grant of *iura cognationis*, exemption from the inheritance-tax, but Pliny made the connection to the *vicesima* anyway, because the two were in fact conceptually linked, at least in the popular mind. This is also clear in Cassius Dio's description of Caracalla's grant of universal citizenship in A.D. 212. For Dio said that Caracalla had raised the inheritance-tax to ten per cent while removing the exemptions from taxes which very close relatives of the dead had enjoyed, and that 'this was the reason why he made all the people in his empire Roman citizens; nominally he was honouring them, but his real purpose was to increase his revenues by this means, inasmuch as aliens did not have to pay most of these taxes'.⁴⁰ It would be rash to claim that the desire to screw taxes out of absolutely everyone in the empire was Caracalla's only or even chief motivation for the universal grant of citizenship, but it is one persuasive reason. Even if it were not, Dio's narrative could serve as an example of what a contemporary audience would find plausible—a reaffirmation of the fact that testation was seen as one major benefit of Roman status. Thus in the second century citizenship and its legal privileges were increasingly sought after; Roman law offered freedom (and perhaps security) of testation otherwise unavailable to the natives in the West; citizenship and testation were linked in the popular imagination. To conclude that provincials pursued Roman status only for its testamentary privileges would clearly be extreme. But at the same time these testamentary privileges were clearly exercised, for new citizens can be seen using and displaying them: not only a Julia Velva in York, with her Celtic name and her funerary relief depicting her holding the scroll of her will,⁴¹ or the many other testators with curious cognomina, but also freedmen in the city of Rome, who appear in 22 to 26 per cent of the inscriptions from that city but in 41.6 per cent of the epitaphs which make specific mention of testamentary practices or heirs.⁴² Testamentary privilege, in short, is a documentable and desired consequence of the acquisition of Roman citizenship, if not a verifiably major factor in its pursuit, at a time when citizenship was increasingly sought and acquired.

III. THE COMMEMORATIVE CURVE: WESTERN EXAMPLES

The provincial pursuit of Roman privilege in the second century is beyond dispute; the attractions of testamentary privilege are clearly one of several possible motivations for that pursuit; and the Roman moral and legal traditions associated with succession were the most important factors in shaping the commonest form

⁴⁰ Dio 78. 9. 5 (E. Cary (Ed.), Loeb, 1914): οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου προσίη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν.

⁴¹ Julia Velva: R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright (Eds), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (1965), no. 688; see also 146 and 201 (among the many examples of curious cognomina that I could have chosen).

⁴² 1048 freedmen are mentioned in 475/1140 of the inscriptions that mention *heres*, *testamenta*, *codicilli*, *voluntas*, and *intestatus*: 41.7 per cent of these inscriptions have 2.2 freedmen on them. (1140 includes 49

inscriptions republished within the body of *CIL* vi.) I estimate that freedmen appear in 22.24 per cent of the inscriptions from Rome; I. Kajanto (*Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, vol. II:1 (1963), 6) estimates 26 per cent, P. Huttunen (*The Social Strata in the Imperial City of Rome* Acta Universitatis Ouluensis ser. B3, Hist. 1 (1974), 186) estimates 24 per cent. No matter which figure is used, the difference between one of the three (22.24, 24, or 26 per cent) and 41.7 per cent is significant. Freedmen were more than one-and-a-half times as likely to appear in inscriptions mentioning wills and heirs as they were in the body of surviving inscriptions.

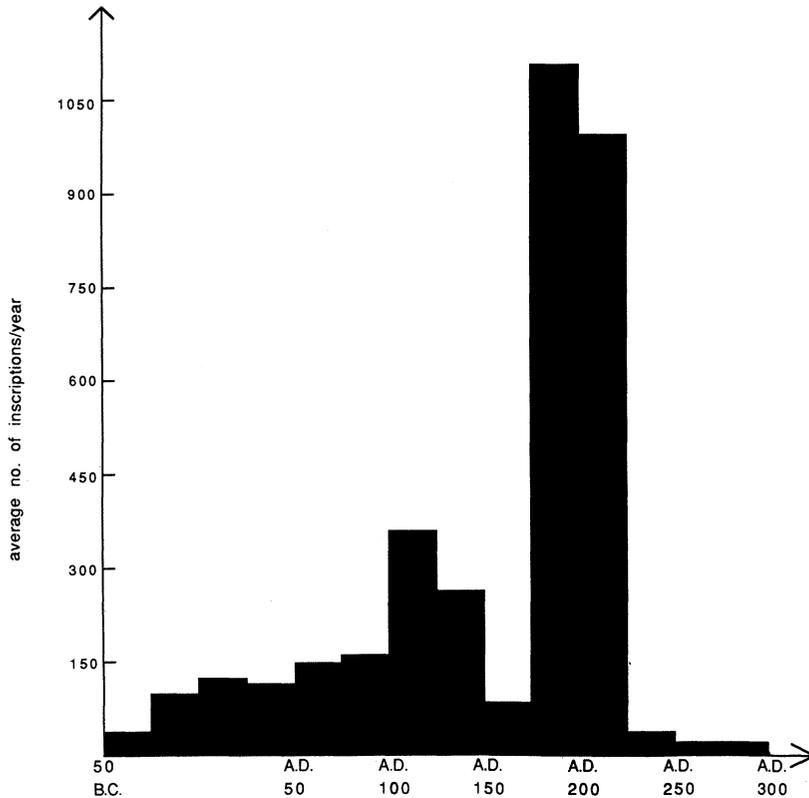


FIG. 1. GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE OF EPITAPHS FROM NORTH AFRICA (TOTAL NUMBER = 3611)

of a Roman tombstone. These facts all point toward a possible relationship between Roman status and provincial epigraphic practice, a relationship that can be independently derived from the general link that undoubtedly exists between status, on the one hand, and funerary practice and habits on the other. This general link, and the specific sensitivity of provincial epigraphic practice to Roman status, will help to explain the rise and fall of the curve of pagan Latin funerary inscriptions from North Africa, graphed by MacMullen on the basis of the work of J.-M. Lassère (Fig. 1).⁴³ In the course of explaining the rise of the curve, two apparent problems—varying types of epitaph and varying chronologies of status-acquisition

⁴³ MacMullen, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 233–46, fig. iv (p. 242), based on J.-M. Lassère, 'Recherches sur la chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l'Afrique', *Antiquités africaines* 7 (1973), 7–152, especially the charts at 133–51. The following adjustments have been made: (1) Lassère included inscriptions from Thala and Djebel Dhelloud, both of which have unclear but apparently heavily dependent relationships with more major towns (Ammaedara and Carthage). Since their municipal status is unclear, they have been excluded. It is only an exclusion of 183 inscriptions. (2) The epigraphic profile of the town of Maktar, done subsequent to Lassère's study but, according to its author, A. M'Charek, in *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Maktaris aux IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J.-C.* (1982), with rigorous faithfulness to Lassère's principles of dating, has been included instead. (3) A number of inscriptions listed by Lassère in his appendix had to be excluded, either because they could not be found or because, upon being found, they were inappropriate:

CIL VIII.25346a, 28277, *BCTH* 1922 CCXXVII, 1918–9 p. 128, 1932 p. 118 (all not found); *BCTH* 1886, p. 217, 1891 p. 203, *IL Afr.* 1109 (all unavailable to me); *CIL* VIII.1854, 5306, 7105, 19512, 25649, 25659, *BCTH* 1910 CXXXIV (all not funerary); *IL Afr.* 155 (irrelevant); *CIL* VIII.14603, 14684, 20506, *BCTH* 1917 CCXXVII (not from the seven major towns). (4) Lassère's appendix does not make clear that the inscriptions he lists for Theveste and Cirta from *IL A* 1 and 2 are actually replications of inscriptions listed for the same towns from *CIL* VIII earlier in the Appendix. There is similar overlap between publications in periodicals and later collections or *AE*. Every effort has been made to eliminate such duplication, which lowers by approximately 1500 the total number of inscriptions studied, to 3611. (5) When inscriptions are dated by century or half-century, they have been divided and averaged into twenty-five-year periods, following the procedure adopted by MacMullen, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 241.

by towns—will be used to illuminate the process and timing of this conscious adoption of Roman habits.

Provincial epitaphs can express status in at least four, and sometimes five, ways. First, as has been suggested already, they can embody the right to create a legal relationship, that between testator and heir, so that epitaphs of the deceased-commemorator type can be interpreted as making a very direct assertion of a very specific Roman right in addition to being a generalized imitation of a Roman habit. Second, when the name of the deceased is given in Roman form, the acquisition or possession of Roman citizenship is announced; and third, tombstones in many parts of the empire were in Latin.⁴⁴ Fourth, in many western areas (but not everywhere in North Africa) the entire habit of erecting inscribed tombstones was borrowed from the Romans. And, finally, an epitaph is a public and commemorative funerary practice, and thus one of the 'mortuary practices' seen by anthropologists as 'a medium for the competitive expression of status and status aspirations'.⁴⁵ Provincial epitaphs should, therefore, be seen as indicators not only of status of some ill-defined and generalized sort (say, 'élite' vs. 'other'), but also of status whose value is at least partly derived from its equation with Roman status and its announcement of Roman practice.

The emphasis on status in the interpretation of epitaphs does not exclude the many other possible motives for erecting a tombstone; it is merely singled out here as a major motive. Other motives, such as affection, can easily be combined with it (as the numerous expressions of affection on tombstones attest), but cannot stand as successfully on their own as 'driving forces' despite their lasting and intuitive appeal. On the other hand, in special cases, such as the commemoration of children, affection is more likely to be the major motive for putting up an epitaph—and this is one very good reason why the commemoration of children is notably under-representative of their true numbers.⁴⁶ It is because the function of epitaphs as status-indicators is primary that the frequency of epitaphs can vary over time, signalling the varying weight given them as a form of status-expression—all without implying an increase or decrease in other motivations. Moreover, the role of the Roman model in defining that status can also change over time—and, I will argue, does.

Apart from the internal evidence of the epitaphs themselves, the importance of status is reinforced by occasional hints that the acquisition of Roman status could prompt an epigraphic response. In Theveste and Maktar, two of the seven North African towns whose epitaphs combined to form Fig. 1,⁴⁷ a rise in the epigraphic curve followed a change in each town's status. In Theveste (Fig. 2) the epigraphic curve of epitaphs, the majority of which are deceased-commemorator inscriptions (207/307) put up almost entirely by citizens (194/207), rises to a small peak after the year 100 and falls thereafter, only to rise dramatically again after the year 160, peaking in the 180s and falling off (equally dramatically) by the year 230. What is known of Theveste's municipal history probably follows the same pattern. The third legion, apparently in the process of moving from Ammaedara to Lambaesis, may have stayed in Theveste briefly, from A.D. 75 to 81, and around that time the settlement began to be referred to as a *civitas*.⁴⁸ Later, however, the town did acquire the coveted status of

⁴⁴ For Latinity as an index of romanization, see (e.g.) R. MacMullen, 'Notes on Romanization', *BASP* 21 (1984), 161–77, at 170 n. 24.

⁴⁵ A. Cannon, 'The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment', *Current Anthropology* 30. 4 (1989), 437, associating himself with the views of A. L. Kroeber, 'Disposal of the Dead', *American Anthropologist* 29 (1927), 308–15. See also N. Purcell, 'Tomb and Suburb', in von Hesberg and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 25), 25–41, at 33: 'This degree of homogeneity [in Roman funerary architecture] throughout the Empire would not have been possible had the associations of funerary style not been with status, honour, display, and benefaction'.

⁴⁶ For the under-representation of children, see Saller and Shaw, op. cit. (n. 4), 130 n. 27—despite the fact that Romans were more likely to commemorate children than Greeks (see MacMullen, op. cit. (n. 2), 239, citing K. Ery). One could also, of course, make status claims through a child's epitaph—if he or she had a citizen name, for example, or special status, titles, literary achievements, etc.

⁴⁷ Of the other five (all not individually graphed here), three—Cirta, Carthage, and Ammaedara—will be discussed in passing in the text; Lambaesis is treated in n. 50; and Thugga in Appendix 1.

⁴⁸ *Civitas*: *ILA* 1.3068 (*CIL* VIII.1888), *ILA* 1.3051 (*CIL* VIII.1862; Diocletianic).

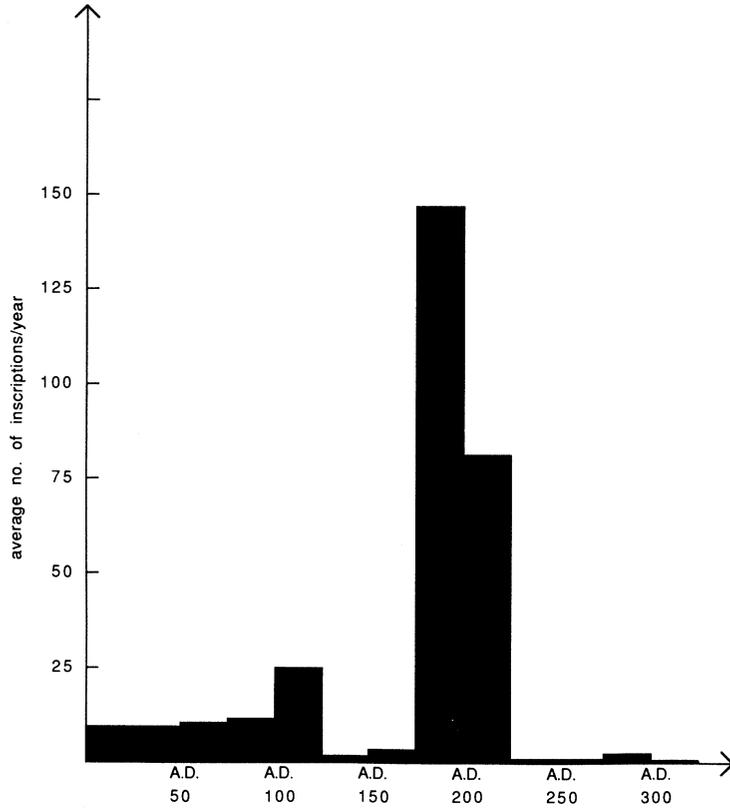


FIG. 2. GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE OF EPITAPHS FROM THEVESTE (TOTAL NUMBER = 307)

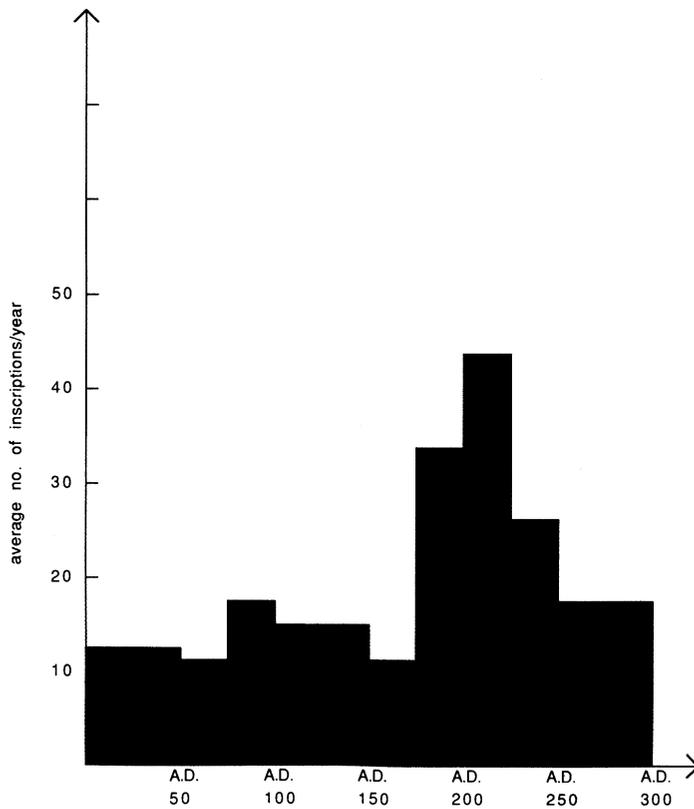


FIG. 3. GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE OF EPITAPHS FROM MAKTAR (TOTAL NUMBER = 260)

colonia, probably during the reign of Marcus Aurelius⁴⁹—precisely the time when the graph of epitaphs in Roman style put up by citizens jumps. There is, therefore, at least an apparent connection between the number of tombstones in Theveste and the grant of colony status.⁵⁰ Since colony status granted Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of a town, this type of perceptible reaction is to be expected.

Maktar's municipal history was very similar to that of Theveste. The Romans there organized themselves as a *conventus* in the first century, and the town itself was granted *colonia* status during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, probably between A.D. 175 and 180, an event that had an impressive effect on the nomenclature of the town⁵¹—proof of the local awareness of citizen-status. The transition to Roman status here had been, however, rather more gradual than it had been at Theveste, despite the apparent simultaneity of the two grants of colony status, for Roman citizenship had been steadily given on an individual basis over the course of the second century in Maktar, as Roman institutions gradually came to replace local ones and men with Roman names came to hold important positions.⁵² Epitaphs are, therefore, steadily present there even in the first century, when some Romans settled there, although the town's curve of epitaphs (Fig. 3) starts its major rise slightly before 175, continues to build strongly into the early third century, then slips into a decline more gradual than Theveste's.

Despite this picture of inscriptions mirroring a gradual romanization whose reward—the grant of colony status under Marcus Aurelius—boosted inscription production in a small town for another thirty years, one epigraphical element is missing: Maktar, unlike Theveste but like Cirta, Thugga, and Carthage,⁵³ had very

⁴⁹ Theveste's elevation to *colonia* is attested only epigraphically, and for the first time in the time of Commodus (*ILA* 1.3032). The city was assigned to the Papiria tribe, which required that the granting emperor be either Nerva, Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius. Of these, Marcus Aurelius seems the reasonable choice, since consequently there would not be too great a gap between the change in status and its appearance on surviving inscriptions; but S. Gsell in *ILA* 1 (pp. 286–7) challenged this, citing *CIL* VIII.18084, a Trajanic legionary-list from Lambaesis with [—] Aemilius Secundus from Theveste at line 52. This argument is refuted by J. Gascou, *La Politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Séptime-Sévère* (1972), 92; Gascou none the less assigns a Trajanic date to colony status because he believes that the legion was moved to Lambaesis from Theveste by Trajan, and that Trajan would have made Theveste a colony after this as Vespasian had made Ammaedara a colony after the departure of the legion in A.D. 75 (pp. 91–2). Since, however, the legion was in Lambaesis by A.D. 81 (see L. Leschi, *Libyca* 1 (1953), 189–205), this argument too fails to convince. I therefore revert to the later dating.

⁵⁰ The same may be true in Lambaesis as well, which was also the home of the third legion, in this case between A.D. 81 and A.D. 238, when the legion was disbanded for fifteen or twenty years. During this time, the small settlement, originally *canabae*, was growing toward full status: first recognition as a *civitas* with *ius Latii* (after petition, at the same time as the neighbouring town of Gemellae) between A.D. 158 and 161 (*CIL* VIII.18218 (*ILS* 6848, Pius)), then reference to it as a *municipium* under Caracalla (*CIL* VIII.18247, and *AE* 1920.12 gives the date of 210); finally, grant of colonial status between 238 and 253 (Cyprian, *Ep.* 59. 10). Civilian, citizen epitaphs in Lassère's sample (only thirty-two) are statistically insignificant, but in their general distribution do not preclude a possible correlation with the second-century grants of status. A. Mácsy (*Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (1970), 201–2) has postulated a similar relationship between the beginnings of inscription-production and grants of civic status for Moesia Superior.

⁵¹ *Conventus*: M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43), 12. *Colonia*: *Colonia Aelia Aurelia Augusta Mactaris*, *CIL* VIII.11801 (A.D. 198, = *ILS* 458), 11804 (A.D. 306–8, = *ILS* 6787), with *duumviri* (*CIL* VIII.631). H.-G. Pflaum, 'Les flamines de l'Afrique romaine' (review of M. S. Bassignano), *Athenaeum* 54 (1976), 152–63, at 158 argues, on the basis of the order of the imperial names (Aelia Aurelia for Aurelia Aelia) that Maktar did not become a colony until A.D. 191–2, but can cite only one significant parallel example, and that from a later date. Nomenclature: only 8 of 248 names in that period lack a *gentilicium*, while 75/128 men carry three names; M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43), 181–2 emphasizes that the change in status was a 'promotion massive des autochtones' which created a resurgence of Punic-Numidian names (as *nomina* or *cognomina*) in the funerary epigraphy (p. 188).

⁵² Institutions: two triumvirs (*CIL* VIII.630 = 11827 (A.D. 162) and 23599 (A.D. 158)) replaced *sufetes*; *quinquennales* and a *flamen perpetuus* (*CIL* VIII.11827). Citizenship: see M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43), 146–8. For office-holders, see below n. 68.

⁵³ Cirta, 87/1091, 7.9 per cent; Thugga, 11/501, 2.2 per cent; Carthage, 228/953, 23.9 per cent. Cirta's number, 7.9 per cent, is different from that arrived at by Saller and Shaw, op. cit. (n. 4), 130 n. 24 (13 per cent), since (a) Lassère's sample is different from their sample (though not by very much), and (b) I count only named commemorators, or some inscriptions with clear indication of who the commemorator was. It should be noted that the deceased-commemorator inscriptions were more common among the important Romans in town—soldiers (*ILA* 2.779 and 1149), imperial slaves and freedmen (784–787, 790 and 1212; 803 (public slave)), equites (799), procurators (815), a provider of theatre-costumes (822), and a self-styled *philosophus* (823); 13/42 (30.9 per cent) of those epitaphs which reveal profession or status are of the deceased-commemorator type, while only 74/1049 (7 per cent) of the inscriptions for the rest of the population are of this type. A very high percentage of those who put up tombstones were citizens (1029/1091, 94.3 per cent, using Lassère's dated sample; a count of all the inscriptions (P. MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak* (1980), 201) yields 1162/1309). In

few deceased-commemorator inscriptions (10.4 per cent, 27/260). The form of the typical epitaph, instead, was simple: 'Name ... [vixit annis ...] h.s.e.', which may merely imitate the type actually used by the first-century Romans in Maktar (31/44).⁵⁴ On the other hand, Maktar (like Cirta and Thugga, again, as well as Carthage)⁵⁵ also had a pre-existing tradition of funerary epigraphy in Libyan and Punic in which named commemorators were equally rare, and the name of the deceased was simply presented in the nominative.⁵⁶ It is very likely that here, as in some of the town's other institutions, the old culture lived on alongside the new, and benefited from the same prosperity.⁵⁷ Both languages were used by Roman and native, and the majority of Latin epitaphs throughout the second century merely continued to be a name with very simple formulas after and, sometimes, before.⁵⁸ The first Romans, then, were insignificant in themselves, few in number, and not at all devoted to the deceased-commemorator pattern (as was characteristic of Republican epitaphs in the city of Rome as well). Rather than provide a focus around which the rest of the community would romanize, they themselves became 'Punicized' and blended into a town 'particularly attached to its pre-Roman past'.⁵⁹ The epigraphic curve still reflects both an increasing number of Roman citizens and the fact that a Roman custom was increasingly adopted; but the details show that the custom was adopted in a partly Punic way. Status and tombstones are related, but the strength of local tradition has precluded a purely or developed Roman mode of expression.

Thugga, 77.3 per cent (387/501) were citizens. Carthage: the cemetery from which Lassère took most of his inscriptions (729/953-953 of Lassère's original 1092 because I have excluded 139 from Dhebel Dheloud) was apparently reserved for a special group: 388 are the free, freed, or slave underlings of the proconsul of Africa. These three groups used the deceased-commemorator pattern the most in their epitaphs (slaves 37.9 per cent; freed 37.5 per cent; probable freed 34.5 per cent), but the figures are not impressive, and their preference for simpler forms can most likely be attributed to a Punic-African origin (see below nn. 55-6).

⁵⁴ The other 7/44: two deceased-commemorator (I.3, a veteran for his daughter; I.30 for an imperial freedman—numbering in M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43)), and five with either nothing beyond the name, or incomplete.

⁵⁵ Saller and Shaw, op. cit. (n. 4), 128 briefly discussed the 'non-military' regions of Africa (Thugga, Sicca Veneria, Thubursicu Numidarum, Cirta, and Castellum Celtianum) and pointed out the difference in tombstone type; Shaw, op. cit. (n. 6), 463 later suggested that poverty was the reason. But Cirta was (by some estimates) the second-richest town in North Africa, and it was probably just this fact which allowed so many of her citizens to put up tombstones at all. And Cirta's citizens lived near a venerable Punic sanctuary and a cemetery which together have produced, after Carthage, the largest number (700) of Punic inscriptions in North Africa (A. Berthier, *La Numidie. Rome et le Maghreb* (1981), 161, 278 (votive) from the sanctuary of El-Hofra (A. Berthier and R. Charlier, *Le Sanctuaire punique d'El Hofra à Constantine* (1955), 9-178)), and most of Cirta's epitaphs offer, as at Maktar, only endless simple permutations of the formula 'D.M.S. ... [vixit annis ...] h.s.e.' Moreover, it is noteworthy that Thugga (A. Ennabli in R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, and M. H. McAllister, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976), 917-19, and A. Golfetto, *Dougga* (1961), 18), Sicca Veneria (H. Dessau, 'Sicca Veneria', *RE*2 (1923), vol. 4, 2187-8), and Thubursicu Numidarum (MacKendrick, op. cit. (n. 53), 216-17 (173 stela)) were all located near Punic sanctuaries and have produced quantities of Punic (and Libyan) funerary inscriptions. The Libyan inscriptions, always less numerous, are published in J. B. Chabot, *Recueil des Inscriptions libyques* (1940), 148 (Thugga). Castellum Celtianum was a pre-Roman settlement of a tribe called the Celtiani and probably also falls into the pattern just

described, especially since it was so near to Cirta. Carthage: Lassère's cemetery—actually three cemeteries when first discovered in 1880, covering in succession the period from Caesar to Caracalla, but the inscriptions have become so intermingled since that time that Lassère could not determine date on the basis of provenance—lay directly on top of a Punic cemetery, which has produced stela (most of them without inscriptions) of its own (Lassère, op. cit. (n. 43), 26; see p. 30 for a discussion of borrowing between Punic and early Roman). It does not appear to be a Punic cemetery of great antiquity, perhaps begun only after 146 B.C.

⁵⁶ The script of the Libyan language is mysterious, but probably the funerary inscriptions contained only 'des noms propres et des formules banales' (G. C. Picard, *Civitas Maktaritana, Karthago* 8 (1957), 26). There were twelve Libyan inscriptions in 1957, one Libyan-Punic, nearly one hundred and thirty Punic, and eighty-five neo-Punic. The last become 'decadent' in the second century A.D., and only the stereotyped formulae of votive and funerary steles were still known (Picard, *ibid.*, 67-8), although at least two (*BCTH* (1901) 325 #3, 326 #4) mention that the deceased was a citizen of Maktar. The dating of the Libyan inscriptions is still in question (Picard, *ibid.*, 67 dates some between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D.), and they are quite possibly derived from, or imitative of, Punic inscriptions: see M. Benabou, *La Résistance africaine à la romanisation* (1976), 474-83.

⁵⁷ This survival of 'Numidic traditions' also explains 'certain peculiarities of the religious, social, and political institutions of the city': Picard, op. cit. (n. 56), 26, 33-41.

⁵⁸ M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43), 158-9 concludes that the number of actual Italian immigrants in the first century was 'faible' (6/42, or 10/42 if freedmen are counted), and that approximately three-quarters of the citizens seem to have been descendants of Africanized Italian immigrants, especially from Cirta, where the tombstones were also predominantly of the 'name ... [vixit ...] h.s.e.' type. Majority: 104/242 h.s.e., 61/242 ... vixit annis, 25/242 deceased-commemorator, and 52/242 other (no formula; deceased's name in dative without commemorator; incomplete). 242 + 18 (undatable) = (total) 260 Latin inscriptions from Maktar. These simple epigraphic types continue through the third century.

⁵⁹ M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43), 188 and *passim*.

The epigraphic histories of Theveste and Maktar hint that grants of status might be able to spur the erection of funerary inscriptions in a town: when colony status is achieved, along with the mass grant of citizenship that implies, more of these new citizens are commemorated after death, either by their heirs, following Roman style (Theveste), or by persons who do not advertise themselves, following Punic style (Maktar). Generally, however, the connection is not so direct—it is possibly even coincidental here—nor need it be direct for a general link with status, even Roman status, to exist. One of the ways in which epitaphs reflect Roman models can be missing: the differing styles of the epitaphs at Maktar, Cirta, and Carthage show that provincial Roman citizens (new or old) could happily combine the old with the new in asserting their place in the world, and indeed such an amalgamation, rather than direct imitation, is not surprising. Moreover, the chronological relationship between official grant of status and epigraphic curve could clearly be quite loose. In Ammaedara (colony A.D. 75),⁶⁰ Cirta (colony shortly after 44 B.C.),⁶¹ and Carthage (colony 44 B.C.),⁶² these grants were all very much earlier than any rise in the production of epitaphs, a rise that occurred, in each case, between A.D. 170 and A.D. 200.⁶³ Roman status had been granted to these towns, and many individuals and families possessed it, but epitaphs in great numbers were simply not used to announce this fact (or any other) until later in the second century. The point here is that the number of epitaphs would probably never have increased dramatically without a pre-existing, fairly wide grant of status, even though the rise in the number of epitaphs was itself not usually traceable to an immediate grant of status. The use of epitaphs to display status, although dependent on having Roman status to display, had its own life-history, its own cycle of rise and fall.

The general pattern of abrupt rise between A.D. 170 and A.D. 200, common to six of the seven towns studied,⁶⁴ might be attributable to an increase in wealth throughout the region, for example, or to a sharp rise in population (or in deaths). But could either of these by itself account adequately for such a rise? Could the acknowledged prosperity of second-century North Africa have spread to so many people so fast, or could an alleged population growth or an unrecorded natural disaster have produced so many commemorated deaths so soon? The most rapid growth in the epigraphic curves took place over a period of only thirty years, which is too rapid a change to be a response to either of the first two factors.⁶⁵ And although an arithmetically increasing number of towns with citizenship could perhaps generate a geometric increase in citizen epitaphs because each of the citizens would have family

⁶⁰ *Colonia Flavia Augusta Emerita Ammaedara*: CIL VIII.302 and 308 (to Maximianus).

⁶¹ *Colonia Julia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis Cirta*: called under its captor P. Sittius Cirta *Sittianorum colonia* (Mela 1. 30); thereafter a Roman colony with the longer name, CIL VIII.7041 (= *ILA* 2.626), 7071, and reinforced by Augustus in 26 B.C. (*AE* 1955.202).

⁶² The neighbouring or surrounding Punic community was first named a *civitas libera*, then also given Roman citizenship by Augustus in 28 B.C. (Tertullian, *de pallio* 1.2). For all this see, e.g., C. Van Nerom 'Colonia Julia Concordia Carthago', *Hommage à Marcel Renard*, Collection Latomus 102 (1969), 2,767–76, with further references. In 44/38 B.C. it was named either *Colonia Julia Concordia Carthago* or *Colonia Concordia Julia Carthago*.

⁶³ Problems of sampling or preservation are also apparent here. Ammaedara's epigraphic curve has a complete gap between A.D. 125 and 175, probably as a consequence of scattered excavation and irregular reporting of inscriptions: see A. Ennabli *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 50. Cirta's curve has also, like Ammaedara's, been the victim of either irregular publication or the razing of one of the cemeteries outside the walls (the Kudiat cemetery has been entirely levelled—see P.-A. Février in Stillwell *et al.*, *ibid.*, 225)—so that here too there is a gap between 125 and 175. Carthage: the latest of the three cemeteries was not used after the

first quarter of the third century and any pagan cemetery subsequently in use has not yet been found; thus the graph stops abruptly. Thugga also has a complete gap between A.D. 150 and 175; and for further problems in the sampling here, see Appendix 1.

⁶⁴ For Thugga, the anomaly, see Appendix 1.

⁶⁵ According to the graphs, the population would have doubled almost five times in twenty-five years—an impossible statistic, even if (as asserted by Tertullian, *de anima* 30) population had been increasing for a long time. Moreover, although the plague brought back from the East by Lucius Verus in 166 undoubtedly had severe demographic consequences, there is no indication that it ever reached North Africa; ancient references, if they can be trusted, mention Asia Minor, the Danube and Rhine regions, and the city of Rome (*SHA*, *Marcus Aurelius* 13. 3–6, 17. 2, 21. 6–7, 28. 4; Aelius Aristides, *Orat.* 33. 6, 48. 38–9, 50. 9, 51. 25). *SHA*, *Verus* 8. 1–4 specifically says that plague spread in all the provinces through which Verus returned, while *SHA*, *Aurelius* 17. 2 notes provisions made for mass burials, which implies that in fact there was no time for the exercise of normal habits of commemoration anyway. Tertullian's reference to population also implies that North Africa had not been ravaged by plague. See J. F. Gilliam, 'The Plague under Marcus Aurelius', *AJP* 82 (1961), 225–51, esp. 241 on Egypt.

and descendants to whom the status and the right would descend, such cumulative rights and habits are not enough to explain the simultaneity of the response either. It is more plausible to see the growth in the number of epitaphs as a response to two general factors: second-century interest in, and acquisition of, Roman status in the western half of the empire, and the general dynamics of mortuary practices. The first has already been demonstrated in Section II, where the differing attitudes toward Roman citizenship and privilege between the first and second centuries were remarked upon. That is: Roman citizenship was pursued and desired in the second century, and over this century, new provincial citizens not only exercised the privileges that came with their new status, they also adopted its public habits; in the process of adoption, the epitaph was transformed from being a mere marker of an obligation fulfilled into an indicator of the right to impose or incur that obligation, a literal status symbol. A perceived impulse or need to display combined with the fact of citizenship, pre-existing or new, to compound the epigraphic curves, and long-time citizens as well as new ones were swept up in it. The process need not have been an entirely rational one, just as the pursuit of civic status itself need not have been entirely rational either. The two phenomena, pursuit of status and display of status, were parallel and related.

It is worth asking, at this point, how a new provincial Roman citizen would even know what Roman funerary and epigraphic habits were. Even if the testamentary benefits were clearly known and desired, Roman habits could not easily carry over, much less become fashionable, without some knowledgeable practitioners to show the way. Representative Romans cannot be pinpointed for every town, but in Theveste, for example, there are soldiers in the first century who put up deceased-commemorator inscriptions (16/20), and imperial freedmen in the second, especially toward the end of the century.⁶⁶ At Lambaesis, legionary soldiers provide the bulk of the deceased-commemorator inscriptions (50/55) and, enviably, financed the building or repairs of every structure mentioned in an inscription.⁶⁷ In Maktar, there were no groups that were entirely of Roman origin, but men with Roman names occupied important civic positions, and put up expensive dedications; some imperial administrative functions were based in Maktar; and a column with the names of dedicators of a temple to Liber Pater even listed all those with three Roman names before those with two, indicating a certain sensitivity to the nomenclature of status.⁶⁸ Ammaedara may have been a *colonia* in the Republican sense of the word, providing Roman citizens to hold and protect a strategic location.⁶⁹ The percentage of deceased-commemorator inscriptions among the non-military epitaphs from the first century (50 per cent, 20/40) resembles that cited for Republican Rome in general (58.4 per

⁶⁶ In the second century, Theveste was a centre for the administration of the imperial properties: *CIL* vi.790, *CIL* viii.7039, 7053, *CIL* xiv.176; *ILA* 1.285, 3992. Imperial freedmen attached to imperial bureaux: *CIL* viii.2757 (third century); *ILA* 1.2997, 3009, 3024, 3063, 3134, 3137, 3139, 3549, 3562; other imperial freed: *ILA* 1.3013, 3131-3, 3135-6, 3138, 3140; *ILA* 1 p. 287 refers to them as 'numerous'. Also noted by Saller and Shaw, op. cit. (n. 4), 130. These freedmen as a group preferred the deceased-commemorator type of memorial (7/9); *ILA* 1.3131-3140. At least one was a public benefactor (*ILA* 1.2997: Coronatus, Aug.n. *adiut. tabul.*, gave parts of a temple—*antae, arcum a fundamentis*—to Caelestis, plus refurbishments (*aedem ornavit et ampliavit*).

⁶⁷ Temple of Asclepius and Salus, begun by the third legion (*CIL* viii.2579a-c), continued by a legate of M. Aurelius and L. Verus (2579d-e), with a long list of soldiers who dedicated gold statues (2586), and many other dedications: 2587-89, 2591, 2593, 2596, 2598. Temple of Jupiter and the Augusti, finished by a *leg. Augg. pr.pr., patronus municipii* (with more military dedications: 2615-16, 2618 (another list), 2619, 2621-2626 (another list), 2627-2628, 2630). Temple of Neptune, built by the third legion (2652), dedicated by a *leg. Aug.* (2653). Nymphaeum and Septizodium, built by the third legion (2657-8). Temple of Silvanus

restored (2671); arch to Commodus (2698); baths rebuilt (2706); restoration of a portico by a soldier (2706); the Via Septimania (2705). Elsewhere, as in Britain, soldiers can dominate the epigraphic record and not inspire much local imitation: see J. C. Mann, 'Epigraphic Consciousness', *JRS* 75 (1985), 204-6.

⁶⁸ Positions: *CIL* viii.11811 (M. Valerius [-].f. Quirina Quadratus, *xvir stlitibus iudicandis* and a *trib. laticlavus* of the legion), and in the dedications: *CIL* viii.619 (*praef. alae*), 621 (A. Caecilius Faustinus, procurator; an arch for Trajan, A.D. 116), 622 (a prefect; to Antoninus Pius), 11796 (Sextus Julius Sex.f. Victor, proc. Aug.), 11813 (C. Sextius C.f. Pap. Martialis, proc. Aug.; a testamentary gift); 11804-807, 23400, and 23401 are all post A.D. 250. Administration: *CIL* viii.23404 (III *publica Africae*, first century A.D.), and see M'Charek, op. cit. (n. 43), 12 on the *pagus*. Liber Pater: *CIL* viii.23399.

⁶⁹ The nomenclature of the inscriptions from the first and early second centuries supports this: of forty non-military inscriptions with fifty-nine names, forty names are 'Roman' (women with two names, men with three—including nine with Roman-style patronymic), fifteen are men with only two names, two are slaves (*CIL* viii.23263-4), and only one seems to be a 'naturalized' native (*MEFR* 32 (1912), p. 147, 47).

cent).⁷⁰ Cirta was the seat of a financial prefecture; major dedicators certainly all have Roman names.⁷¹ In Carthage there was not only the group of original colonists but, quite visibly, the governor's staff, for he had at least three legates, a quaestor, an *assessor*, and a host of others, including military staff (*principes, strator, tesserarii*, etc.) nominally under his command. There was also an entire hierarchy devoted to financial matters under a procurator, the *procurator Augusti provinciae Africae tractus Karthaginiensis*.⁷² The existence of these groups in these towns is not proof that such imitation occurred, but their presence at least suggests one of the ways in which provincial perceptions would be shaped, just as the inclination of these people, whether new or old Roman citizens, to build and dedicate on behalf of their towns would encourage the perception that they were a social élite well worth imitating.

The second general pattern with which the curves of epitaphs should be related is the way in which mortuary practices can become more or less popular and more or less elaborate. Recent anthropological work has emphasized that mortuary behaviour and the monuments it produces run in cyclical patterns in many cultures. Competition in the expression of status results in a striking growth in the sheer number of monuments or grave goods, in the elaboration and variety of the same, and in the cost (and relative burden) of funerals: exaggerations are, therefore, inherent in the dynamic of status expression. A perceived need to express and display status through an epitaph (as merely one facet of a whole complex of mortuary practices), anchored in the second century A.D. because of that century's particular interest in Roman status, would therefore result in a vastly increased number of surviving epitaphs and the remarkable steepness of the epigraphic curves. This theory in particular emphasizes the fact of change in habit, perception, and meaning—the possibility of rise *and* decline. 'Although competitive display is a major factor in the elaboration of mortuary behaviour, it can also lead to an eventual reduction of its intensity—initially through the reduced effectiveness of differentiating forms of expression ... and ultimately through social control—as elaboration becomes increasingly associated with lower status categories'.⁷³ Intensity, of course, is defined in numerical as well as stylistic terms. Eventually, then, some increasingly complex and/or increasingly popular mortuary practices may collapse in on themselves and disappear or revert to the barest simplicity. Epitaphs, as one component of a provincial funerary habit, could therefore have just come to the natural end of their popularity in the second quarter of the third century: exaggerations, down as well as up, are inherent in the dynamic of status expression. But this very general explanation may not be entirely satisfying. The habit of epitaphs was not yet associated with 'low-status' individuals, for epitaphs generally announced the possession of Roman status, which itself defined position and which, although more widespread than it had previously been, was still a limited privilege. If epitaphs were following any predictable progression of elaboration and diffusion among non-élites, they had not yet reached a perceptible crisis point.

Instead, it is likely that it was the grant of universal citizenship in 212 that created the crisis in this more natural dynamic of the adoption, diffusion, and abandonment of status-indicators. The grant turned the status announced on an epitaph into the prerogative of virtually everyone; and those established or new citizens for whom an epitaph had been a status symbol would now feel less enthusiasm to erect one because the status to be displayed was now all too common, associated with 'lower-status categories'. Because the status displayed through an epitaph was in general a specifically Roman one, the public extension of that status to everyone made a personal announcement of it redundant, even distasteful. In short, the audience of one's peers and inferiors after 212 would have been perceived to be

⁷⁰ Rome: Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 147 (col. 1).

⁷¹ Financial offices: *ILA* 2.665, 668, 783, 784, 792, and p. 40. Dedications: *ILA* 2.468–82, 484–549 (496 restores a temple of Mercury, A.D. 164; 540 is a temple; 541 is a Mithraic crypt with appurtenances, A.D. 355–365), 550–603 (imperial dedications), 569, 596–598, 600, 604–15 (604 is an aqueduct; 615, baths), 620, 624 (porticos and tetrapylon, A.D. 362), 671

(portico and zothicum), 674–8 (triumphal arch), 683 (arch), 704, 716 (tetrastylum and tholus), 729. Public largesse: *ILA* 2.478–9, 499, 501, 529, 559 (heirs), 569, 675–78, 688, 696–7, 727–8.

⁷² See A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine. 146 avant Jésus Christ—698 après Jésus Christ* (1901), 325–49.

⁷³ Cannon, *op. cit.* (n. 45), 437.

uninterested,⁷⁴ and the audience in six North African towns within a radius of 135 miles of each other did not (and could not have been expected to) differ greatly.

Consequently epigraphic curves can drop, usually dramatically, but sometimes (e.g. Maktar) over the course of a generation. Elsewhere in the West, however, curves can take longer to fall off. The curve of epitaphs from the city of Lyon (Lugdunum, Fig. 4), as well as it can be surmised from the loose chronological categories created by A. Audin and Y. Burnand, suggests in fact that epigraphic patterns in other towns could be somewhat different. The curve starts to rise after the town's refoundation as a colony in A.D. 48, and peaks in the years between A.D. 70 and 110.⁷⁵ As in Africa, this is the point when an initially small, fairly homogeneous, imitable epigraphical population (characteristically imperial slaves and functionaries, freedmen, and *seviri Augustales* before A.D. 70, present in Lyon because Augustus had made Lyon a centre for the taxation of Gallia Aquitania and Gallia Lugdunensis) expands dramatically to include obvious locals, unexceptional Roman-citizen names, and those lacking Roman nomenclature but 'citizens' of other towns.⁷⁶

The fact that the inhabitants of Lyon were far more attuned to questions of Roman status in the first, rather than the second, century is not inconsistent with the argument as made heretofore. The notables of the Three Gauls (who met at Lyon) petitioned the emperor Claudius for admission to the Roman Senate, a privilege granted by him in 48.⁷⁷ The *primores Galliarum* were clearly interested in not just the private, but also the political privileges of citizenship, and special attention paid to Lyon and to the notables who met there, combined with a refoundation, could clearly

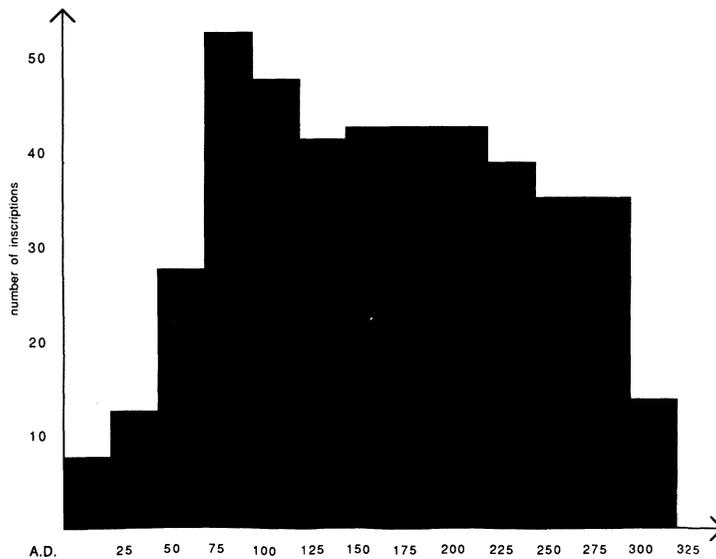


FIG. 4. GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE OF EPITAPHS FROM LYON (TOTAL NUMBER = 442)

⁷⁴ The impression given by the graph, that the curve starts to drop after A.D. 200 rather than after A.D. 212, is almost certainly a reflection of the inexactitude of the way the graph must be made. Since the number of inscriptions is averaged over a twenty-five-year span, a drop after 212 appears to begin in 200, whereas a very dramatic drop after 212 (if we could date these things precisely) would push the number of inscriptions 200-12 up to the level achieved in 175-200.

⁷⁵ Dating: A. Audin and Y. Burnand, 'Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Lyon', *REA* 61 (1959), 320-52. Founded as a colony first in 43 B.C. (Cassius Dio, 46. 50; *Colonia Copia* ...: *CIL* XIII.1752-4, 1846,

1910, 2602), the name providing the Claudian date (for which see, more specifically, P. Grimal and M. Woloch, *Roman Cities* (1983), 175).

⁷⁶ Roman population: *CIL* XIII.1813, 1819, 1820, 1914, 1917, 1941, 1947, 1951, 2013 [a *curator*], 2059, 2233, 2309, *AE* 1952.76. New local citizens: e.g. *CIL* XIII.2278; unexceptional citizens: e.g. *CIL* XIII.2222; 'citizens' of other towns: e.g. *CIL* XIII.1984. Usually (in twelve of thirteen later cases) these 'citizens' of other towns also carry Roman citizen-names.

⁷⁷ An event recorded on a bronze tablet found at Lyon (*CIL* XIII.1668), and also recorded in Tac., *Ann.* 11. 23-4.

alert the Lyonnais to the status they had which others might not.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the graph does not fall off dramatically after A.D. 212, nor does the very high percentage of citizens commemorated; and there is no clear or obvious explanation for this.⁷⁹ Perhaps the funerary formula favoured in Lyon in the second and third centuries, *D.M. ... sub ascia dedicavit* ('dedicated under the axe'), implies a comfortable combination of Roman and local custom that everyone liked, and that epitaphs had gradually come to be a deeply rooted local habit whose meaning, although initially based on competitive announcement of Roman status, had developed greater complexity than in North Africa.⁸⁰ In Lyon, after all, the habit of epitaphs had had one hundred years more than in North Africa to work its way into the fabric of daily life. Indeed, from this it might be reasonable to conclude that the rate of decline is a good indicator of the extent to which an epitaph had become *only* a status-symbol. Even so, despite its great decline in number in North Africa, the epitaph itself never entirely disappears there. Even the death of the deceased-commemorator inscription itself was still far distant after 212: only when the Church took over the role of heir and commemorator would this specifically Roman epitaph reflecting specifically Roman practices finally disappear.⁸¹

This difference between Gaul and North Africa in the rise and fall of epigraphic curves is a difference dependent on the adoption of the same attitude toward the importance of Roman status and Roman style at different times and with contrasting consequences, a difference which is also perceptible in the contrasting chronology of romanization in each area. In general, Southern Gaul and Lyon are characterized even in the first century by buildings and institutions that resemble their Roman counterparts, while the great period of building and assimilation in North Africa is clearly the second century. The erection of tombstones starts as a way of 'acting Roman' and imitating Roman practices once Roman status is achieved, and is, in short, one index of conscious romanization; according to this index (as, indeed, by many others) Southern Gaul and North Africa follow a different chronology.

IV. COMPARISON WITH EVIDENCE FROM THE EAST

In North Africa and Gaul, it has been argued, epitaphs are part of a complex of mortuary practices that express status, a part that expresses status in particular by asserting the fact of Roman status and by imitating (to a varying extent) Roman style. A belief in the importance of what Romans are and what Romans do thus motivates what these provincials want and what they do. The comparison of the North African towns with Lyon has suggested that this belief, and its practical consequences, can vary in strength over time. Can it also exist more strongly in some places than in others? That this can be true is suggested by a comparison of the North African epitaphs with dated sets of funerary inscriptions from the Greek East in the Roman period, from Thessalonica (Fig. 5) and Athens (Fig. 6).⁸² Thessalonica, like most eastern cities, was not given Roman status as a city until around A.D. 250, when it was made a colony under Trajan Decius. Up to that time it had remained a free city, a status which it had been granted in perhaps 146 B.C., certainly by 40 B.C.,⁸³ and

⁷⁸ A nearby town, the colony of Vienne, also seems to follow the same epigraphic pattern, and here Vienne was known to be Lyon's arch-rival (Tac., *Hist.* 1. 65). The dating, however, is very inexact (all inscriptions divided into only three time periods), and a graph therefore not particularly convincing—see Y. Burnand, 'Chronologie des épitaphes romains de Vienne (Isère)', *REA* 63, 3-4 (1961), 291-313.

⁷⁹ Citizen-percentages: A.D. 115-140, 39/41 (95.1 per cent); A.D. 140-240, 147/150 (98 per cent), with an additional twenty-one epitaphs that were too fragmentary for an assessment of name; A.D. 240-310, 89/91 (97.8 per cent), with an additional seven epitaphs that were fragmentary.

⁸⁰ *sub ascia*: see J. J. Hatt, *La Tombe gallo-romaine* (1951), 85-107.

⁸¹ See my unpublished PhD dissertation, *Literacy, Literate Practice, and the Law in the Roman Empire A.D.*

100-600 (Yale, 1988), 179-94.

⁸² The charts were constructed from the following sets of information. Thessalonica: *IG* 10. 2. 1. 284-931 (a total of 651 (counting inclusively, plus four intercalated numbers) of 935 total); both funerary and non-funerary are graphed; they are all dated by the editor, eleven of them incorrectly according to M. Vickers (review of *IG* 10. 2. 1 in *JHS* 93 (1973), 242-3) and M. Speidel (review of *IG* 10. 2. 1 in *AJA* 77 (1973), 446-7); these eleven are non-funerary anyway. Athens: *IG* 2-3² 5228-13247, a total of 8135 (there are internumeration additions, and additions at the end); they are all dated by the editor.

⁸³ Colony: see B. Head, *Historia Nummorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (2nd edn., 1911), 245. Free city: *Thessalonica liberae conditionis* (Pliny the Elder, *NH* 4. 36), and on coins (Head, *ibid.*, 245), a title certainly acquired by the time of Antony.

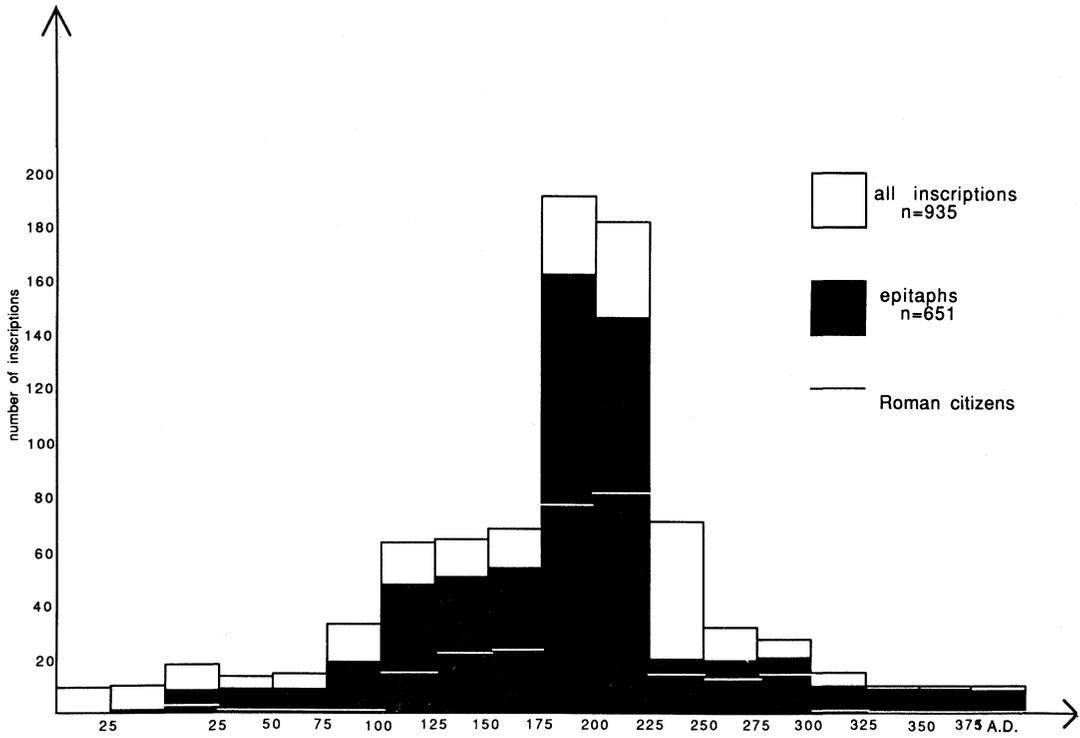


FIG. 5. GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE FOR THESSALONICA

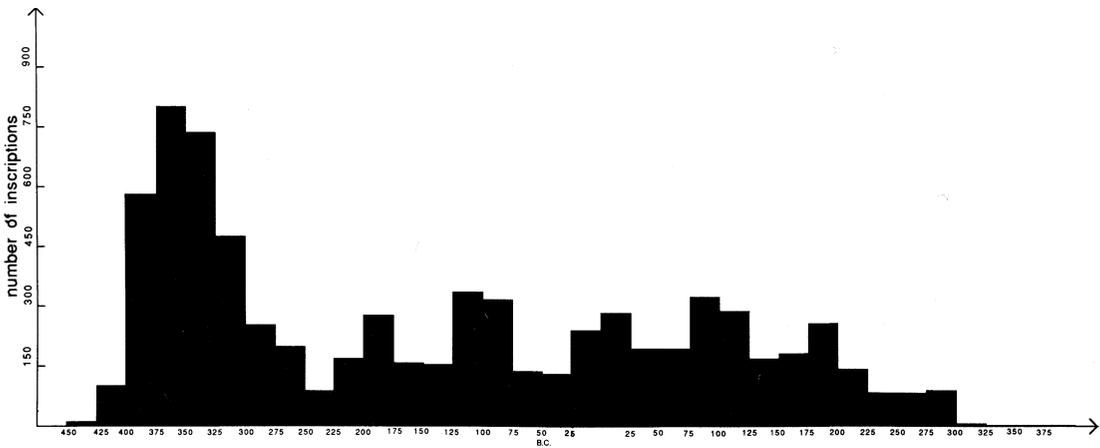


FIG. 6. GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE OF EPITAPHS FROM ATHENS (TOTAL NUMBER = 8135)

Roman citizenship grants were conferred entirely on an individual rather than on a community basis. The shape of the epigraphic curve, however, is very similar to that of the North African cities, and the deceased-commemorator type of epitaph constitutes the bulk of the funerary inscriptions (67.7 per cent, 441/651). The majority of inscriptions of this type are put up by people with Roman names (284: see Fig. 5, lower continuous line), albeit in Greek, and it is probable that the rest, the epitaphs of this type put up by people with Greek (or local) names, were a form of direct imitation, since Thessalonica's indigenous tombstone type was a single name with a patronymic, in the nominative—if it is just to draw a conclusion about pre-

Roman type from only six examples.⁸⁴ Moreover, a scattering of names clearly belonging to new citizens like Neos Numesios Felix, also known as Valas, or Peskennia Quinta, also known as Artemin, hints that the rise in the number of Roman-citizen, deceased-commemorator epitaphs is at least partly due to an increasing number of Greeks-turned-Romans as well as to Romans themselves.⁸⁵ The absence of status for the city as a whole was gradually compensated for (as at Maktar) by the limited but growing acquisition of status by individual citizens, while less fortunate others merely imitated the form without the content. Here, an epitaph was a status-indicator, but one which said something merely by its existence and by its imitation of a Roman form *before* Roman status had itself been achieved. One could, after all, wait a very long time for such status, since it was so much more rarely granted in the East, and an appreciation of this fact could encourage a purely imitative type of tombstone.⁸⁶

In the East, Roman status was also not as exclusively admired as in the West. Athens, for example, Aelius Aristides's panegyric and extravagant praise (*On Rome*, 59–60) of the Romans' generosity with their grants of citizenship notwithstanding, had neither a high percentage of Roman citizens, the Roman pattern of deceased-commemorator inscriptions, nor the distinctive epigraphic curve (Fig. 6).⁸⁷ Like Thessalonica, Athens lacked any official Roman status, but as a federated city retained an ancient independence far more prestigious than Thessalonica's. Moreover, pre-existing Athenian commemorative customs exercised a great influence, not least because tradition was the source of whatever prestige Athens enjoyed. Of the 296 (of 2289) clear examples of Roman names in Athenian funerary inscriptions a little under a third, usually women, are presented in Greek, not Roman style, and another twenty-nine men are portrayed as metics, with *Romaioi* used as 'place of origin'—an adaptation that shows the strength of both local custom and sentimental attachment, and the weakness of the Roman appeal.⁸⁸ Athens had neither the Roman flavour, the

⁸⁴ *IG* 10. 2. 301–2, 327, 908–9, 912.

⁸⁵ Balas: *IG* 10. 2. 1. 371 and 372 (second century); Artemin: 386 (second or third century). There are others, e.g. *IG* 10. 2. 1. 503, 665, and 830.

⁸⁶ In another possible parallel, epitaphs from eleven towns in the Upper Hermus valley in Roman Lydia (*TAM* 5. 1, 'public' and funerary graphed together by R. MacMullen, 'Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia', *ZPE* 65 (1986), 237–8; 281/405 of the funerary can be dated by Actian or Sullan era at the top of the stone), uncertain civic legal status and pre-existing traditions of funerary epigraphy preclude any certainty about how an interest in status and style may have influenced epitaph production. A respectable number (117) of recognizable Roman names (Gaius, Lucius, Faustina, Julia, Antonina, etc.) indicates the growing presence of people with Roman status or origin in the area, but the civic status of Saittae and Julia Gordus (from which 141/281 of the inscriptions derive), is not known. Moreover, epigraphic convention in the area encouraged the use of names with neither a Greek patronymic nor a Roman nomen and cognomen and a type of funerary inscription in which various members of the family (including brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and foster children) honoured (ἐτέλιμσεν) the deceased, often in great number (*TAM* 5. 1. 56, 681 (10), 548, 680, 812 (11), 707 (12), 768, 795 (14), 711, 733 (15), 705, 764 (16), 625 (25))—clearly not a deceased-commemorator pattern of the Roman type, since the Roman type rarely includes more than two commemorators (for a brief note on the Lydian style, see L. Robert, 'Inscriptions grecques de Lydie', *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 92). An inclination to view the relationship between specifically Roman status and the form of epitaphs rather more flexibly than in North Africa could also explain the high percentage of deceased-commemorator inscriptions in Noricum (see Saller and Shaw, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 149 col. 12) combined with an apparently low number of Roman citizens (A. Mócsy, 'Die Unkenntnis des Lebensalters im römischen

Reich', *Acta Antiqua* 14 (1966), 387–421, at 409–10). Since these Norican epitaphs are not dated, a final interpretation of these must wait.

⁸⁷ The sample may be flawed: many Athenian epitaphs in *IG* 2–3² seem to be taken from the Keraeikos cemetery, which expanded out to the north-west over time, but the furthest north-west section (more likely to have Roman tombstones?) has not been as extensively excavated as the rest. A comparison of this graph with a graph of 339 more recently and randomly discovered Athenian epitaphs collected by M. J. Osborne in 'Attic Epitaphs—a Supplement', *Ancient Society* 9 (1988), 5–60 does, however, show basically the same configuration—i.e. rising and falling at the same times as in my graph—although the degree to which the curve drops and varies after 300 B.C. is not quite as pronounced. This suggests that small adjustments may be in order, but that the distribution itself should be trusted.

⁸⁸ This is a small point for which a long list is superfluous; the Romans as metics are *IG* 2–3² 10143–58, 10160–9 (with some intercalated numbers). Cf. D. Geagan, 'Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture', *ANRW* II.7.1 (1979), 388–430, at 389: '... the proportion of Roman citizens to non-Romans in public documents indicates that Athenian citizenship alone carried the right to prestige and office. This was the case even down into the third century according to the proportions of names in an Eleusinian catalogue'; also E. Kapetopoulos, 'The Romanization of the Greek East. The Evidence of Athens', *BASP* 2 (1965), 47–55, at 50: 'the Romans who were settling in Attica were becoming members of the community rather than remaining parts of a separate group' (late Republic), and 52, the 'Roman' names were at most 10 per cent of the total ever, so that 'only a small percentage of the population of Attica was touched by any form of Romanization, if acquiring the *civitas* is to be taken as Romanization'.

Roman power, the interest in Roman habits, nor the distinctive Roman presence that characterized Thessalonica,⁸⁹ and as a quaint academic backwater was not even outstandingly prosperous.⁹⁰ Thus, although Athens was not exactly a city 'untouched by time', it was a city unimpressed by Roman practices and the status which its epitaphs asserted was Athenian, not Roman. Even its greatest epigraphic days, if judged by quantity, had been earlier.⁹¹

Some similarities, therefore, can be perceived between the East and West, but the differences and difficulties in particular help us to understand the differing Roman impact—and the perception of the importance of Roman status and Roman style—in each area. The number of third-century Aurelii (people with the name Aurelius, after Caracalla whose grant gave them their Roman citizenship) in the areas so far studied can confirm this, for it shows very roughly the contrasting levels of interest in, or at least successful acquisition of, Roman citizenship in East and West in the years before 212. The Aurelii generally do contribute substantially to the epigraphic curves in the East after 212, but not in the West. Their numbers from third-century North Africa are small: Lambaesis, 3/27 (11.1 per cent); Theveste, 1/86 (1.2 per cent); Maktar, 5/60.5 (8.3 per cent); Ammaedara, 3/183 (1.6 per cent); Cirta, 1/359 (0.3 per cent); and Carthage, 17/295 (0.6 per cent).⁹² The numbers from the East are somewhat better. In Athens there were few Aurelii, or few who put that name on their epitaph (3.3 per cent, 13/390), but more in Lydia (28.4 per cent, 23/81), and even more in Thessalonica, with these Aurelii supplying 42.5 per cent (31/73) of the third-century's deceased-commemorator inscriptions.⁹³ Most impressive of all was Nicomedia, a tetrarchic capital, where a fifth of all the (undated) funerary inscriptions known from the city were put up by Aurelii, and probably represent an increased interest in, and adoption of, Roman ways over the course of the third century.⁹⁴ The Edict of Caracalla made more people citizens in the East than in the West, and the greater the existing (but unfulfilled) demand for status under the Principate—and the greater the perception of its importance—the more Aurelii initially announcing themselves on epitaphs. In a town like Thessalonica where the Roman presence was evident and welcome but where the grants of citizenship had been relatively few, there was more interest, and therefore there were more Aurelii, after 212; in towns like Athens, more stand-offish in their private attitudes, far fewer. The Aurelii start to disappear from eastern epitaphs after A.D. 250, by which time the name's lack of real significance had become clear.⁹⁵ Thus more Aurelii in areas and towns in which Roman citizenship was desirable but had not been acquired by too many (e.g. Thessalonica and Nicomedia); thus an epigraphic curve with a gentler decline in the East; thus a greater continuity in the East with the beginnings of Christian practice.

⁸⁹ Which, despite its free status, was also the seat of the Roman governor of Macedonia: see W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration* (2nd edn., 1906), 237. Officials, etc.: see the list of titles in *IG* 10. 2. 1 pp. 308–9.

⁹⁰ J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (1942), 177, 182, 196, 209, 249, 251–2. This assessment of economic doldrums has held up: see Geagan, *op. cit.* (n. 88), 385–6.

⁹¹ I believe that the distribution of classical Athenian funerary inscriptions is linked to a valuation of Athenian citizenship combined with a new readiness to announce that fact on an epitaph; I hope to publish a study of this elsewhere.

⁹² Again, the numbers are from Lassère's dated sample only, but this is not a false impression created by strange sampling: the index to *CIL* VIII lists only 430 Aurelii for all of North Africa.

⁹³ In other ways, the Athenian reaction to the citizenship decree was more obvious. Geagan, *op. cit.* (n. 88), 408–9: 'For Athens as for most other cities of the Empire [!] Caracalla's universal grant of Roman citizenship was an event of great impact. For the first few years following it, *Aurelius* was carefully prefixed to each name in the ephobic and prytany documents. As the novelty wore off nomina were prefixed only to the

names of those whose citizenship antedated the *Constitutio Antoniniana* or among the *epheboi* of those also who chose to use their new nomen. The *prytaneis* for a while merely inscribed the blanket heading *Aurelioi* at the top of the list; this usage was misinterpreted for a while by modern scholars'. Thessalonica: only 4/73 of the deceased-commemorator type were by people who retained their Greek or local name (*IG* 10. 2. 1. 491, 774, 824, 859). The deceased-commemorator type is virtually the only one (73/85, 85.88 per cent) for the first three-quarters of the century, significantly higher than for the first two centuries (368/566, 65 per cent).

⁹⁴ Nicomedia: *TAM* 4. 1. 33/49 inscriptions by Aurelii are on sarcophagi, which argues for a date in the second or third centuries. Of the 271 funerary inscriptions, 38 are fragmentary and have no trace of a name; of the remaining 233 (12 of which are incomplete and do not permit identification of type and 182 of which are deceased-commemorator type), 102 (43.6 per cent) are by Romans, of which 49 are Aurelii.

⁹⁵ Four experts have estimated that the name Aurelius was used in an almost faddish fashion until about A.D. 250, but thereafter became much less visible in inscriptions. See S. Mitchell, 'Inscriptions of Ancyra', *AS* 27 (1977), 63–103, at 71 n. 25, citing P. Herrmann, L. Robert, and R. Heberdey.

V. EPITAPHS AND THE EPIGRAPHIC HABIT

Epitaphs, then, reveal much about actualities and perceptions, especially in the second century: in North Africa and Southern Gaul, where a growing number of people *were* Roman citizens, it was also *believed* that Roman citizenship was a significant indicator of privilege; in the East, fewer people were Roman citizens and fewer also believed that it was an important fact to signal on a tombstone. A contradictory fact which grew more apparent over the second century—that privilege resided in being an *honestior* more than in being a *civis*⁹⁶—need not have affected this popular belief or diminished its resulting display. Even if one suspected that this further, sometimes separate, distinction existed, pursuit of citizen status is unlikely as yet to have been abandoned, for, as long as some did not have this status, it retained its value. Only the universal grant in A.D. 212 made clear, with varying degrees of speed and comprehension throughout the empire, that the status of citizen with all its privileges was no longer the important status distinction, to be announced and exercised on a funerary inscription. This does not mean that those to whom epitaphs had come to mean something more personal could not continue to put them up, or that such motivations were not a part of the epigraphic habit; individuals continued to put up inscriptions for these reasons. It only means that the vast swings and vast declines which characterize the known curves of epitaphs are dependent on factors that reach beyond the personal and affective.

A look at all this epigraphic evidence, then, has shown three things: first, that one particular type of tombstone, the deceased-commemorator tombstone, was characteristic of Roman imperial practice and derived from the obligations owed to the dead by the heir, and indeed explicitly imposed on the heir by the will. Second, that a desire to have a will that would be enforceable under Roman law was one component in the provincials' desire for citizenship. Third, that in North Africa the jumps in the known epigraphic curves of funerary inscriptions from the western half of the empire seem to be related to the acquisition of status by individuals or by the towns involved, while the timing of the curves is also shaped by a general belief in the value of Roman status and Roman style. When Roman status was thought to be something worth having, the epitaph became a way of announcing citizenship; after citizenship became a universal privilege, such epitaphs (with the notable exception of Lyon) became much less common and their distribution in general declined sharply.

Finally, to speculate one step further: this link between Roman practice, the pursuit and acquisition of Roman status, and the desire to express that acquired status may provide a way of understanding the epigraphic habit as a whole. The term itself was coined after observation of a similar chronological distribution in inscriptions deriving from two separate 'areas of life', 'the private and domestic ... [and] the public'.⁹⁷ But the distinctions between the two areas are in fact difficult to draw: 'military, administrative, religious and social', the fields of the 'public', are not categories *of* inscription, but categories of historical information to be derived *from* inscriptions, and many of the inscriptions in this 'public' area are themselves, in fact, funerary. There is, in short, far less independent confirmation of the existence of the same pattern of commemoration in two separate spheres than might at first appear; 'public' and 'private' curves both depend on epitaphs. Moreover, of those inscriptions which are not funerary, most are dedications by, or gifts from, individuals, inscriptions which were predominantly assertions of self-worth, status, wealth, generosity, or piety—or municipal honours for the material consequences of such self-opinion. What the general curve of the epigraphic habit may therefore in fact be charting is the rise and fall of inscriptional self-aggrandizement, linked with Roman status, Roman modes of expression, and a belief that both were valuable; after A.D. 212 the

⁹⁶ Outlined by P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (1970). Higher standing (and, in particular, wealth) could additionally have been signalled by interment in sarcophagi—they were 'expensive and gratified the instinct for ostentation', and began as a general phenomenon no earlier than the

reign of Trajan (A. D. Nock, 'Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire', in his *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* (Z. Stewart (Ed.), 1972) 277–307, at 306 and 279).

⁹⁷ MacMullen, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 244; the latter type is plotted by Mrozek, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1973), 114.

expression of self-aggrandizement and commemoration may have shifted to other less clearly identifiable (and perhaps more perishable) forms because the status with which inscriptions were by now closely associated was no longer privileged and prized. It is not therefore surprising if in the pre-212 world, when Roman status was desirable and increasingly acquired, the epigraphic habit as a whole can be loosely associated with the numerically predominant epitaphs and their assertions of status and position, or that the curves in general should correlate with the pursuit and display of the one universally acknowledged form of status in antiquity: citizenship.

APPENDIX: THUGGA

Thugga's epigraphic curve does not follow the expected pattern; it is the only one from this area not to do so. Despite Lassère's claim that the harvest of inscriptions from the five cemeteries of Thugga is relatively representative, casual sampling among his dated inscriptions shows rather that he drew heavily from the cemeteries of the west and south, which date particularly to the first two centuries A.D. and which are the areas of the town outside the walls most extensively cleared up to now. The probable cemeteries of the late second and early third centuries are to the north and north-east, and (to my knowledge) have not been excavated or studied extensively: see Lassère, *op. cit.* (n. 43), on the five cemeteries and their dates. He claims that the west and south were also the largest cemeteries in town, but I believe this to be circular reasoning. I looked at the relationship of findspot to date in 113 inscriptions (those on Lassère's pages 133, 140, and 142) and found that thirty-four were unattributable, eight came from the north, six came from the north-east, one came from the east, sixteen came from the west, sixteen came from the south, and thirty-two came from the heart of town, reused in later buildings. Twenty-five of the thirty-four unattributable stones are dated to the second/third centuries, and only 4/15 from the north and east cemeteries combined are dated to the third century. This points to a problem in sampling, and to the possibility that a late second/third-century cemetery is either unexcavated, unpublished, elsewhere, or even further north and north-east. There are also large gaps on town maps, between the Temple of Saturn and the Capitolium; see Golfetto, *op. cit.* (n. 55), at end, or Lassère, p. 70. From one of the (unnumbered) plates in C. Poinssot, *Les Ruines de Dougga* (1958), it looks as if the north and north-east areas outside the town, enclosed by the Byzantine defence-wall, are still occupied in this century. This may be no greater or no less an aberration in sampling than in any of the other towns Lassère studied, but because it comes at what is presumed to be the 'end' of the graph, extrapolation to match the other graphs is more of an assumption than simply bridging a gap created by obviously incomplete evidence, as has been done at Ammaedara and Cirta. Other than this, much of Thugga's history follows the patterns of the other towns, although colony-status was not achieved until 261, probably impeded by the division of the community into *civitas* and *pagus*.

The University of Virginia