

SURVEY ARTICLES

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1986–90

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This survey, like those of 1981 and 1986, is the product of a team: Gordon is primarily responsible for Sections I–IX and XI, Roueché for X; Beard and Reynolds have acted as editors and compiled the final version.¹

INTRODUCTION

This survey does not aim at completeness. It is a personal selection, on the one hand, of recent epigraphic work which is of significance and interest to an ancient historian, and, on the other hand, of those epigraphic ‘tools of the trade’ which are important for anyone trying to interpret an inscription. But we start with some more narrowly epigraphic topics.

If the death of Louis Robert and concern for the future of the *Bulletin épigraphique* overshadowed the last review, it is fitting that this should begin with the good news of the rebirth of the *Bulletin*, produced since 1987 by an international, although largely French, team of specialists and edited by Ph. Gauthier. The archicubal verve may be missing, but the coverage of the new version is good and adds usefully to that of the old.² Nor is this the only recent testimony to the quality of French epigraphy: by coincidence, the quinquennium has seen both the publication of the useful *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (1986) by F. Bérard and others³ and the centenary of the foundation of *L'Année épigraphique* by René Cagnat in 1888, an occasion celebrated in grand style beneath the cupola of the Académie and by a colloquium.⁴ Its sub-title, *Aspects de l'oeuvre des savants français dans les pays du bassin méditerranéen*, might seem odd given that *AE* never confined its texts to those published by French scholars only. On the other hand, national — even colonial — traditions in epigraphy are so strong, but easy to under-estimate, that it is perhaps as well to have an occasion such as this to reflect upon them. A similar occasion was provided in Italy too by the fiftieth anniversary of *Epigraphica*, founded by Aristide Calderini after the first Epigraphic Congress at Amsterdam in 1938.⁵

Two Epigraphic Congresses have been held since the last survey, at Sofia in 1987 and at Nîmes in 1992, but the impossibility now of publishing *Acta* quickly, if at all,⁶ obscures the value of this type of event. It was an outstanding feature of the Sofia meeting to bring together epigraphists from what was then east and west of a great divide, and it was disappointing that at Nîmes financial constraints provided a new obstacle that prevented any large-scale presence of those from East Europe, Russia and other states once part of the Soviet Union. Bridge-building was nevertheless addressed by the Nîmes Congress, both through the reorganization of AIEGL initiated there and through lively discussion of the damaging disunity between classical and late antique/Byzantine epigraphists (see also Section X). A number of smaller colloquia have also been sponsored by AIEGL, which have been stimulating on the particular topics discussed, but inevitably not so quick to produce the *Acta* that would share the stimulus. There have been other developments too. Particularly notable are the *Rencontres franco-italiennes sur l'épigraphie du monde romain*, held annually in early summer since 1986 in the École française annexe in Piazza Navona, to discuss concerted themes and new documents.⁷

From Congresses and Colloquia we come to Corpora. Although Silvio Panciera's Supplement to *CIL* VI is still awaited, he has assisted prior publication of many of the new texts in the series *Tituli*.

¹ Production of this survey has been assisted by a generous grant from the British Academy. Abbreviations are as in *L'Année philologique*. Except in the case of *ZPE*, reviews and the substance of general sessions at the Xth Epigraphic Congress at Nîmes (1992), material dated after 1990 has in general been excluded. We have also made few references to articles that have appeared in this Journal.

² e.g. the separate listing of irregular alphabets and scripts, and new or rare words (L. Dubois); onomastics (O. Masson); links with archaeology (M. Sève); numismatics (P. Gauthier); and the section on late antique texts (D. Feissel). But it can be hard to find any particular publication.

³ Enlarged second edition (1988), and a further supplement (1990).

⁴ The addresses are published in *CRAI* (1988), fasc. 3; the proceedings of the conference by M. Dondin-Payre, *Un siècle d'épigraphie classique* (1990).

⁵ cf. G. Salmeri in *L'Archeologia italiana nel Mediterraneo* (1986), 203–29.

⁶ One volume of the Sofia *Acta* has appeared (in *Acta Centri Historiae Terra Antiqua Balcanica* 11 (1987)), but it is not readily accessible and none of us have seen it; whether more will appear is doubtful, see *Bull. Ep.* 1990 #2. Only a small number of the papers read at the Nîmes Congress in 1992 will appear in its *Acta*. Of the *Acta* of the Athens Congress (1982), two volumes have appeared, one is still outstanding.

⁷ Versions of most of the papers given have appeared in *MEFR*.

Similarly he is encouraging use of the series *Supplementa Italica* in face of the pressing but overwhelming task of revising the Italian volumes of *CIL*.⁸ So 'when quoting texts in *CIL* it is imperative never to forget to consult *SI*;⁹ but when each volume consists of discrete treatments of the epigraphy of cities and territories put together in book form as they came to hand, it is only too easy to miss what is relevant. Is there a plausible alternative? In epigraphy, the best has often turned out to be the enemy of the good. Meanwhile, the stones go on disappearing.

The final grand project of Attilio Degrassi, the revision of *CIL* 1², appeared in 1986, with extensive additions by H. Krummrey.¹⁰ For the general historian, its second part is particularly useful, with extensive bibliographies and sometimes new texts of the surviving Republican *leges* and *senatusconsulta* (nos 581–94), essential supplements to *FIRA* or Bruns.¹¹ Here the best has in a sense triumphed: the photographs are in accordance with modern demands for epigraphic publication; but they have alarmingly driven up the price. Study of inscriptions may certainly be inhibited by failure to publish photographs of them; but some weeding would have been possible here, since accessible photographs are available in earlier publications to which clear references could have been given. At the same time it must be admitted that this collection provides a very valuable tool for study of the development of Republican Roman letter-forms and epigraphic lay-out.

It is just possible that computers, whose increasing use by epigraphists is another feature of the quinquennium, may provide a solution as their potential for the reproduction of precise images is exploited. In the meantime their more obvious value for organizing data is something to welcome. All three volumes of the index to the inscriptions of Noricum have now appeared.¹² This project was designed specifically as a technical experiment, with the problems of the Jory-Moore indices to *CIL* VI in mind, and is to be followed by a word index to *CIL* 1², II, 1–4.¹³ The long lead-time required for such projects has meant that they are only now beginning to produce substantial results.¹⁴ In onomastics, the area, after indices, that lends itself most readily to such processing, we now have the first volume of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (1987):¹⁵ Solin and Salomies' *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (1988):¹⁶ and the *index nominum* of Raepsaet-Charlier's *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial* (1987). And much more will follow: in May 1989 the Institute of Ancient History at Lausanne organized a colloquium to pool information on projects:¹⁷ a further conference was held at Montpellier in September 1990. A critic might hold that the money and time that have to be invested in such projects are incommensurable with the results: it is one thing to accumulate such data-banks, quite another to frame historical questions which can make use of them. But such scepticism is probably ill-founded. The number of publications based on the *CIL* VI indices grows steadily; other projects have also produced early fruit.¹⁸ Moreover, the mere existence of a well-constructed index can stimulate new fields: the appearance of the first ever large-scale index of Roman numerals, for example, makes it possible to frame new questions about arithmetic mentality.¹⁹

One other topic may be mentioned, alluded to in our last survey and currently topical in relation to the Qumran texts: the 'epigraphic snail'.²⁰ Everyone is aware of more or less important texts that have been unearthed but never published, even though allusions to them, or samizdat transcripts, circulate widely. In 1987, one of the editors of *Epigraphica Anatolica*, S. Şahin, attempted to draw attention to the problem by printing unsatisfactory versions of some texts of his own, and of two much more

⁸ The first fascicle of the Supplement *Inscriptiones Sacrae* is reported to be in press. Meanwhile see *Tituli* 3; L. Avetta, *Roma: Via Imperiale* (1985); 6; S. Panciera, *La Collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini* (1987); 7; *Iscrizioni latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino* (forthcoming). But while some British librarians treat *Tituli* as a series, others catalogue and shelve under authors — so that the volumes may be hard to find. For Italy six volumes have appeared so far, and more are planned.

⁹ J. Linderski, *JRA* 3 (1990), 314.

¹⁰ *CIL* 1², II fasc. 4.

¹¹ Some amendments in S. Panciera, *Epigraphica* 49 (1987), 203–18. Note also a fundamental revision of Republican Roman Laws, in M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes* (forthcoming). The only other primary volume of *CIL* to have appeared is G. Walser's XVII.2 (1986), the milestones of the Gallic and German provinces: cf. D. van Berchem, *MH* 4 (1987), 42.

¹² M. Hainzmann and P. Schubert, *Index zu den Steininschriften aus der Provinz Noricum* (ILLPRON) (1986–87), which is effectively the basis of a new edition of the relevant section of *CIL* III, since it contains the data from all finds up to 1984.

¹³ cf. J. Képartová, *Eirene* 26 (1989), 75; J. Denooz

and G. Purnelle, *Revue informatique et statistique dans les sciences humaines* 23 (1987), 41–56.

¹⁴ The ILLPRON project took ten years to prepare and almost three years to print.

¹⁵ P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds), *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (1987), cf. O. Masson, *Gnomon* 62 (1990), 97.

¹⁶ They include many names not recorded by Schulze and not in Kajanto's *Cognomina*, together with a reverse index.

¹⁷ P. Ducrey et al. (eds), *Actes du colloque 'Epigraphie et Informatique'* (1989).

¹⁸ Indices can breed indices: U. Lehmann, *Quibus locis inveniuntur additamenta titulorum voluminis VI CIL* (1986) is based on the earlier Jory-Moore indices; but note also the work of R. Günther (n. 334) and H. S. Nielsen (n. 338); ILLPRON for names/status; M. Hainzmann, *Tyche* 2 (1987), 29–39; *PETRAE* for diplomata; A. Absil, *Annales Soc. Arch. Namur* 65 (1988), 353–71.

¹⁹ E. J. Jory, *CIL* VI.7.7 (1990); cf. R. Röhle, *ZRG* 104 (1987), 454ff. on the writing of fractions and 'mixed numbers'.

²⁰ cf. W. Hoepfner, 'Die archäologische Schnecke', *MDAI* 18 (1987), 9f. = *EA* 10 (1987), 146f.

important groups being worked on by others. This move, which has been sharply criticized,²¹ backfired, since it served simply to underscore the role of adequate commentary in the notion of publication.²²

I. REPUBLIC

A new and plausible interpretation of the Sicilian tablets from Entella has put the *terminus post quem* at 285 B.C., setting them against the background of the sharpening confrontation between Carthage and Rome, with the latter recapturing Entella in 262/1 B.C.²³ But the area of major discovery has shifted eastwards, to Roman relations with the Hellenistic kingdoms and cities of the eastern Mediterranean during the second century B.C. No less than four new groups of documents relating to Zeuxis, Antiochus III's representative in Asia Minor, have been published. The earliest, of 213 B.C., concerns the attempts by the people of Sardis to ameliorate the conditions under which the city was occupied by Antiochus III.²⁴ The second, of 209, is a royal letter from Mysia informing Zeuxis that the king intends to revive Antiochus II's regime for temples and their monies, and has appointed Nicanor 'high priest of all the temples in trans-Taurus'.²⁵ It seems likely that Mysia, or at least part of it, had been regained by Antiochus in his campaign of 216/4 against Achaeus. A text from Euromos in Caria, recording an agreement by Zeuxis with the town of 'Philippi' in late summer 197, seems to be part of the king's attempt to limit the damage resulting from Cynoscephalae.²⁶ For Euromos, the aim must have been to preserve its precarious independence from Rhodes. Latest in date is a document (between 196 and 193) from Herakleia by Latmos, soon after it fell into the hands of Antiochus, granting the city tax benefits and royal funds, with numerous implications for the accepted chronology of the period.²⁷ It thus illuminates the town's history immediately prior to the letter of the Scipios of 190 (Sherk, #35); here, perhaps, is an example of the *charis* Antiochus boasted of to L. Cornelius Lentulus at Lysimacheia (Polyb. XVIII. 51. 9).

Freedom from Rhodian suzerainty has also been claimed as the grounds for the foundation of the cult of Thea Roma at Plarasa/Aphrodisias, if it can be placed as early as the 160s.²⁸ The likeliest occasion for gratitude, it is argued, is the appearance of the senatorial commission which regulated the Meander valley c.165 and might have recognized Plarasa as a city. That would give a new dimension to Aphrodisias' later insistence upon its special relationship to Rome. This is certainly an attractive scenario; but fragile.²⁹ By contrast, a similar date, c.167, now seems firmly established, against Gruen's mid-140s, for the treaty of alliance between Rome and the Macedonian city of Maroneia.³⁰ Many features of Roman policy in the Greek East, and in particular numerous inscriptions, have been clarified or reinterpreted in an important *thèse d'état* by J.-L. Ferrary.³¹ The process of accommodation of the Greek states to Roman suzerainty between the razing of Corinth and the Battle of Actium has been skilfully evoked by R. Bernhardt.³² One aspect of this accommodation was the gradual entry of *Ῥωμαῖοι* into the civic lists, as victors, ephebes, and so on.³³

The acquisition of Asia has a claim to be one of the decisive events in the downfall of the Republic. New light of different kinds has been thrown on two aspects of this 'Greek gift': the period of the war

²¹ See *Bull. Ep.* 1988, #1 (P. Gauthier, G. Rougement); C. Habicht, G. W. Bowersock and C. P. Jones, *AJP* 108 (1987), 699. There Jones took the opportunity to raise a still more intractable problem, official obstruction of publication on legalistic grounds.

²² cf. H. W. Pleket, *EA* 12 (1988), 25f. Perhaps the remedy lies in the production of new specialist journals. Recently apart from *Kodai* (1990), the Japanese journal of ancient history, the only general periodical to have appeared is *Tyche* (1986), which can be described as an Austrian cross between *Chiron* and *ZPE*. But three new journals or series concerned with Asia Minor supplement *Epigraphica Anatolica: Asia Minor Studien* (Münster, 1990); *Anatolica Antiqua* (Institut français d'études anatoliennes, Istanbul, 1989); *Osterreiches Archäologisches Institut: Berichte und Materialien* (Vienna, 1991). Two other journals are mainly archaeological: *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* (Naples, 1987); *Damaszener Mitteilungen* (DAI, Damascus, 1986). Ancient sport: *Nikephoros* (1988).

²³ D. Knoepfler, *AnnUnivNeuchâtel* (1985/6) [1987], 4-27. A ninth decree has been published: *SEG xxxv.999*.

²⁴ Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II* (1989), #1, 3 = R. Merkelbach, *EA* 7 (1986), 74; many of the details are familiar from references by L. Robert. There is also an important letter from Queen Laodice.

²⁵ H. Malay, *EA* 10 (1987), 7-17.

²⁶ R. M. Errington, *EA* 8 (1986), 1-7. The text provides evidence of Zeuxis' correct title, *ὁ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως* ... ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδῃ τοῦ Ταύρου πραγμάτων; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amazone en Carie I* (1982), 176-87.

²⁷ M. Wörle, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 421-70. W. Ameling, *EA* 10 (1987), 19-40 depends upon the unreliable text published by Şahin.

²⁸ R. M. Errington, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 97-118 on the oath of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, Cibyra and Tabai (J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982), #1), tentatively dated to the period after Aristonicus by Reynolds.

²⁹ The earliest secure date for the existence of Plarasa/Aphrodisias is 88 B.C.

³⁰ *SEG xxxv.823*; see also J. Stern, *BCH* 111 (1987), 501-9 on ll. 1-10. Gruen's date was part of a systematic down-dating of Roman treaties: *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (1984) II, 738-40.

³¹ *Philhellenisme et impérialisme* (1988); note esp. pp. 112-17 on Sherk #33 (cf. D. Armstrong and J. J. Walsh, *CP* 81 (1986), 32); 151-5 on the new text from Herakleia by Latmos; 171ff. on Sherk #40; 186-99 on *Syll.*³ 684.

³² *Polis und römische Herrschaft* (1985). A more traditional view in P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (1990), 525ff., 647ff.

³³ R. M. Errington, *Festschrift K. Christ* (1988), 140-57.

with Aristonicus and the regulations for Roman customs tolls. Two documents from Klaros record the honours extended by Colophon to the euergetes Polemaios and Menippos for their conduct during the war against Aristonicus and in the subsequent negotiations with τοῖς ἡγουμένους Ῥωμαίοις — they had established personal connections with Roman leaders which they were able to use to their city's advantage.³⁴ Menippus bore the expense of entertaining οὐχ ἄπαξ Q. Mucius Scaevola (the Roman praetorian governor 120–19 B.C.), his quaestor and 'all the military tribunes', and later went on five embassies to Rome.³⁵ Another, perhaps even more important, new document is the *Lex Portorii Asiae*, found at Ephesus in 1976, which dates in its main part to 75 B.C. (ll. 7–84).³⁶ P. Terentius Hispo, the friend of Cicero and *pro magistro* of the company collecting the *portoria Asiae* in 51 B.C., operated under these terms.³⁷ The document as a whole, which is a poor Greek translation of a Latin original, contains an archive of successive alterations by the consuls from 72 B.C. into the Julio-Claudian period.³⁸ It was drawn up in A.D. 62 by the *curatores vectigalium publicorum* known from Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 18. 4.³⁹ The law of 75 B.C. must have been drafted after agreement with Nicomedes IV since some tax-collectors were to operate from within the area of the kingdom of Bithynia (ll. 8ff.)⁴⁰ but the list of subject harbours (§9, ll. 22–6) fails to confirm the intuition that the *portorium Asiae* included Bithynia and the islands off the coast such as Lesbos, Chios, and Samos. It contains elements taken from the earlier *lex portorii* framed by the commission which incorporated the Attalid kingdom as the province of Asia (§10, ll. 26f.; §28–9, ll. 68–71). This law took over from Attalid public law the division of the communities into ἔθνη, πόλεις, and δήμοι.⁴¹ More important, it mentioned only *civitates liberae*, which amounts to proof that the will of Attalus III freed all the cities in the kingdom.

A badly damaged document from Sardis has turned up, recording what must have been one of Caesar's last public acts, the grant of *asylia* to the temple of Athena there.⁴² The temple is to enjoy the same rights as the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which was evidently the model for all full grants in Asia in the late Republic.⁴³ Caesar is noted as dictator for life (ll. 5, 31f.), and the grant dated IV Non. Mart. — 4 March 44 B.C.

The emergence of provincial government, as opposed to spasmodic exaction, in Spain is a main theme of a fine recent account of the conquest prior to Sertorius.⁴⁴ Of the epigraphic evidence, it has rightly been observed that the *Tabula Alcantarensis* (*AE* 1984, 495: 104 B.C.) may not imply much if anything of a permanent urban centre for the hill-fort at Villavieja where it was found, the formula 'lands, buildings, laws and everything else' being taken from standard formulae as attested in use in the East.⁴⁵ But the mention of native *legati* suggests how swiftly Roman intervention began to mould the local political and social structure.⁴⁶ The list of magistrates in the slightly later *Tabula Contrebiensis* has

³⁴ J. and L. Robert, *Claros I, Décrets hellénistiques*, fasc. 1 (1989). The texts are full of unusual detail, but perhaps particularly important on the war with Aristonicus (29–34); note also the existence of a place name *Doulon Polis* in the territory of Colophon interpreted as most probably the site of a settlement by slaves who had joined Aristonicus (36–8). For another memorial of the war, see the dedication by three rich men from Kassope in Epirus who went to help 'Maarkos' (Perperna) against Aristonicus in their chariots, see *SEG* xxxvi. 555.

³⁵ The Smyrnaean version of the *SC de agro Pergameno* (Sherk #12), from the same transition period, has been re-edited by G. Petzl, *IvSmyrna*, II.1 (1986) #589. Further on Scaevola (*IPerg.* #268), K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 118 (1988), 123–53.

³⁶ Text and edition, by H. Engelmann and D. Knibbe, occupy the whole of *EA* 14 (1989). The stone is very hard to read at many points; improvements in the text may be expected as a result of widespread discussions and consequent re-examination of the stone and of a plaster cast now in Vienna, which the authors have welcomed. Some minor comments by D. Knibbe, *JÖAI* 58 (1988), 129; H. Wankel, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 40; H. Solin, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 183; O. Salomies, *ibid.*, 184.

³⁷ Cicero, *Ad fam.* XIII. 65. 1; cf. E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (1972), 76ff.; 106f. It has been argued that Ephesus had by the 90s replaced Pergamum as the provincial capital: Rigsby, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 137–41, but see p. 144 below.

³⁸ A corrected list of the various dates of amendment up to A.D. 37, which for a time seem to coincide with the quinquennial sale of the contract: W. Eck, *EA* 15 (1990), 139–45.

³⁹ C. Nicolet, *CRAI* (1990), xx. It is possible that the Neronian inscription (*IEphesus* 1a, #20) recording the

building of a customs-house for fishery products at Ephesus is to be related to this revision: G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents* 5 (1989) [1990], 114 #595 (important commentary).

⁴⁰ The inscribed text begins with the right of the agents of the *portorium* to control trade across the Bosphorus, between Byzantium and Chalcedon (§2, ll. 8–11; cf. ll. 13f., 18, 23).

⁴¹ The customs districts, which are listed in §39, ll. 88–92 [17 B.C.], also served as the basis of the *conventus iuridici* in Asia: W. Ameling, *EA* 12 (1988), 9–24. On relevant non-Roman customs laws in Asia Minor, see now H. Brandt, *EA* 10 (1987), 91–4, following up H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 59 (1985), 119, for the Lycian law found at Myra, and also discussing the documents from Xanthos, in A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII (1981), 260f. and from Kaunos in G. E. Bean, *JHS* 74 (1954), 97f.

⁴² P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 127–64.

⁴³ The closest parallels are *MAMA* VIII.6 and J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982), #35 of which carries several verbal echoes of the new text.

⁴⁴ J. S. Richardson, *Hispaniae* (1986), cf. *JRS* 78 (1988), 212; *CR* 38 (1988), 318. But note that F. M. Ausbüttel has argued against Harris' view of Roman expansion, which Richardson largely accepts, in the context of northern Italy: *Prometheus* 15 (1989), 165–88.

⁴⁵ Richardson, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 199–201; J. C. Edmondson in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (1990), 160; cf. D. Nörr, *Aspekte des römischen Völkerrechts*, ABAW 101 (1989); on *dediticii*, cf. C. González Román in *Esclavos y semilibres en la Antigüedad clásica* (1990), 187–206.

⁴⁶ Cf. M. Díaz, *Emigración, colonización y municipalización en la Hispania Republicana* (1988).

been explored from a similar point of view,⁴⁷ while the earliest Latin document yet known from Baetica (49 B.C.) provides evidence of the same process there, with a *Xvir max(imus)* and an *aedilis* providing a town with a *porta* at their own expense — perhaps signalling apprehension of war.⁴⁸

For Rome itself, the second *Supplement* to Broughton's *Magistrates* is an important gain.⁴⁹ It should be used with a corrected list of consuls between the Lex Villia and 49 B.C., which supports Gelzer's traditional view of the *nobiles* against revisionist claims.⁵⁰ The tenure of magistracies in Italian towns by Republican senators has been linked to the reduced significance of civic origins, which resulted from the Social War and led to local gentry holding magistracies in more than one city.⁵¹ The powers of local magistrates in Cisalpina have been re-examined in a new study of the Lex Rubria.⁵²

A few minor matters. The J. Paul Getty Museum has acquired an (apparently authentic) cuirass from the spoils of Falerii (*Faleris capto*), dated by the consuls of the year 241 B.C.⁵³ The history of Catullus' family at Sirmio has been attractively traced on the basis of epigraphic and literary evidence.⁵⁴ It is now argued that the surname of M. Antonius Creticus (pr. 74) should not be considered derogatory.⁵⁵ Among the documents honouring the patrons of Klaros is one for Cicero's brother Quintus, presumably from his period as propraetor, εὐεργέτην ὄντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλτρωνα τοῦ δήμου.⁵⁶ The debate over the author of Sherk #28A = *Aphrodisias and Rome* #6 continues: that it was Antony rather than Octavian deserves thought; but the discussion is as yet not quite adequate in its dismissal of the final line of Sherard's transcript as the heading of a subsequent document.⁵⁷ One of the graffiti from Tarracina noted in our previous survey has been interpreted, with more ingenuity than plausibility, as an *elogium* on Clodius by Sex. Cloelius.⁵⁸ And the *Fasti Amiternini* may have recorded officially a tradition also known from Velleius that it was the war against Egypt in 31-30 B.C. that brought the Civil Wars to a close: *bell[ae civilia p]R confecta*.⁵⁹

II. EMPERORS

[Imperial rescripts and letters are to be found in Section IV, matters relating to the imperial cult, except the Tabula Siarensis, in Section VII.]

Important new finds have been scarce. Novelties stem mostly from reinterpretation. It has been shown that the first 'appendix' to the *Res Gestae* depends upon the information contained in the main text, and that in all probability it was indeed part of the original text in Rome.⁶⁰ It has also been argued that the document should be understood as literally part of Augustus' will.⁶¹ This is not the only sign of discontent with the traditional view of *RG* as an *elogium*. What of the striking use of the first person singular?⁶² If the true burden of the *Res Gestae* is Augustus' superiority over all previous *principes*,⁶³ perhaps the search for a generic niche had best be given up. As for other Augustan monuments, whose symbolic value has been so well evoked by P. Zanker,⁶⁴ one, the monument at Nicopolis commemorating

⁴⁷ L. A. Churchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (1990), 74ff. Text, bibliography and the translation from *IRRS* 74 (1984), 46 can all now be found under *CIL* 1² (II, 4). 2951a.

⁴⁸ *AE* 1986, 369 = 1987, 504, dated by the consuls; there is also a reference to Q. Cassius Longinus, *tr. pl.* 49, with the title *trib. pleb. pro praetore*, Caesar's appointee in Hispania Ulterior.

⁴⁹ (1986), cf. E. Champlin, *CP* 84 (1989), 51-9; J. Linderski, *AJP* 111 (1990), 53-71.

⁵⁰ E. Badian, *Chiron* 20 (1990), 371-413. A list of recorded meetings of the Senate, partly from inscriptions, may be found in M. Bonnefond-Coudry, *Le Sénat de la République romaine* (1989), 199-219.

⁵¹ R. Scuderi, *Athenaeum* 67 (1989), 117-38, an extended commentary on *Pro Balbo* 28f.

⁵² U. Laffi, *Athenaeum* 74 (1986), 5-44. A different tack, that Ateste may have enjoyed citizenship since the Social War, has been tried by M. Crawford, *Quaderni Ticinesi* 18 (1989), 191-200; reply by Laffi, *Athenaeum* 78 (1990), 167-75.

⁵³ J.-L. Zimmerman, *J Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), 37-42.

⁵⁴ T. P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies, Literary and Historical* (1987), 307-70. Also of Pompey's antecedents: N. Criniti, *L'epigrafe di Asculum di Cn. Pompeio Strabone* (1987).

⁵⁵ J. Linderski, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 157-64; cf. H. Solin, *Philologus* 133 (1989), 252-9.

⁵⁶ S. Şahin, *EA* 9 (1987), 61f. (no commentary); they are to appear in vol. 3 of *Claros* (n. 34).

⁵⁷ A. Giovannini, *Mélanges T. Zawadzki* (1989), 61-7.

⁵⁸ W. J. Tatum, *ZPE* 83 (1990), 299-304, on a text first published by H. Solin, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 357.

⁵⁹ G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 167-71 on *Ital.* XIII.1, pp. 169ff.

⁶⁰ R. Wolters, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 197-206.

⁶¹ E. Champlin, *RM* 132 (1989), 154.

⁶² cf. E. S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' Res Gestae* (1987), part 1 (on the rest, see J. Carter, *CR* 38 (1988), 436f.). His attempt to date the text precisely, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 71-82, relies heavily on the counter-intuitive denial that Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 101.4 relates to the date of composition.

⁶³ Thus outdoing even the claims of Pompey's lost inscriptions (Diodorus XL.4; Pliny VII.97f.): U. Vogel-Weidemann, *AClass* 28 (1985), 57-75; C. Nicolet, *L'Inventaire du monde* (1988), 46f. On the false restoration of *ex Asia* in the *fasti Capitolini* frg. xxxix (Degrassi, *Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 84; Pompey's triumph in 61 B.C.), see K. M. Girardet, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 201-15.

⁶⁴ *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (English trans., 1988; German original, 1987); cf. *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (1988).

the Battle of Actium, has been exhumed,⁶⁵ another, the arch at Pavia, dispelled into thin air.⁶⁶ Conobarina in Baetica has produced the earliest known oath (?6/5 B.C.) in the western provinces *pro salute Augusti*, very likely contemporary with the oath from Samos. Both can be connected with the recognition of Gaius and Lucius as Augustus' heirs, and seen as a recapitulation of the oath sworn to Octavian in 32 B.C. before Actium (*RG* 25).⁶⁷ An unexpectedly interesting funerary inscription, found in 1949 at Rhegium and commemorating a *Vivir augustalis* freed by the elder Julia, has been elucidated in relation to the intrigues surrounding the succession after the death of Gaius in A.D. 4.⁶⁸

The appearance of the full version of the Tabula Siarensis in 1984⁶⁹ has provoked a series of discussions; a minimal reading-list will include one of the more recent articles of W. D. Lebek, who has been especially active here.⁷⁰ Among the themes to emerge, one has been the character of the language, verbal and symbolic (notably the use of *arcus* as opposed to *fornix*), by means of which the new despotism sought to legitimate itself;⁷¹ another is the interchangeability of the laudatory formulae and honours for the scions of the imperial house;⁷² a third, the figure of Germanicus himself, insofar as he can be disengaged from the toils of dynastic image-making.⁷³

While there is little to report for other Julio-Claudians,⁷⁴ Nero's sojourn in Greece has been re-examined, partly in the light of inscriptions hitherto untapped for the purpose; they suggest that he avoided Athens and Sparta because he was undertaking the contemporary agonistic *periodos* (for which see *Bull. Ep.* 1954 #114).⁷⁵ and that his grant of liberty to all Greek cities may have been an attempt to secure their allegiance in the gathering crisis.⁷⁶ Its withdrawal by Vespasian, although he may also have had fiscal reasons, was directly in keeping with Octavian/Augustus' subscript to the Samians, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλόνηρον εἰκὴ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας χαρίζεσθαι.⁷⁷ Although some minor details on the Flavian family have emerged from new texts,⁷⁸ Domitian is the only Flavian for whom striking new epigraphic evidence has come up; the hieroglyphic texts on Pamphilus' obelisk near the Isaeum in the Campus Martius have revealed, on re-examination, interesting formulae in use in Egypt — note especially 'gods and men rejoiced when (Domitian) received the kingdom of his father Vespasian, divinized, from the hand of his elder brother Titus, whose soul has flown to heaven'.⁷⁹ The epigraphic material for Domitian's wars against the Chatti and on the Danube has been collected, but its deficiencies leave plenty of room for speculation.⁸⁰ The archaeological evidence for the supposed second German war has been dismissed.⁸¹

D. Kienast's work on Augustus' building programme⁸² has been followed up on a number of fronts. The importance of the topic, as a meeting point between political, administrative and economic issues,

⁶⁵ W. M. Murray and P. M. Petsas, *Archaeology* 41 (1988), 28–35 and *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War* (1989). For other epigraphic items from or related to Nicopolis, see *Proceedings Symposium Nicopolis = Νικόπολις Α', Πρακτικά τοῦ πρώτου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου γιὰ τὴ Νικόπολη 1984* (1987).

⁶⁶ C. B. Rose, *JRA* 3 (1990), 163–8. This means the disappearance of *CIL* v.6416 = *ILS* 107 = Ehrenberg and Jones p. 67 #61 from the literature. The inscriptions are in fact from Rome, and were probably randomly walled into the Porta Appia before the ninth century A.D. In an appendix to a new study of the St Peter's Square obelisk (*ILS* 115), G. Alföldy offers a new reading of the Gallus inscription from Philae (Ehrenberg and Jones #21): *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom*, AHAW (1990).

⁶⁷ J. González, *ZPE* 72 (1988), 113–27; note also the papyrus versions of imperial oaths collected by Z. M. Packman, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 91–102. For the oath from Samos, P. Herrmann, *MDAI(A)* 75 (1960), 71–82.

⁶⁸ J. Linderski, *ZPE* 72 (1988), 181–200 on *AE* 1975, 289.

⁶⁹ J. González and F. Fernández, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 55–100, reprinted as *AE* 1984, 508.

⁷⁰ A short cut to Lebek's numerous articles is provided by his survey in *ACSA* 36 (1990), 93–102. He has provided a partial new text in *ZPE* 86 (1991), 52f. Tiberius' role is discussed by C. Nicolet, *MEFR* 100 (1988), 827–66.

⁷¹ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *PCPS* 36 (1990), 144–81, on *Tab. Siar.* 1, 9–34; cf. F. Millar in J. González and J. Arce (eds), *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis* (1988), 11–19. The rediscovered arch on the Rhine at Wiesbaden has been identified as the third arch in honour of Germanicus ordered by the Senate: H.-G. Frenz, *AKB* 19 (1989), 69; *JRA* 2 (1989), 120, though this has been doubted.

⁷² W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 73 (1988), 275–80 (on *Tab. Heb.* ll. 50–4); 78 (1989), 83–91; 86 (1991), 47–78. For the arch of Germanicus and Drusus at Lepcis, W. Trillmich in *Estudios*, 51–60.

⁷³ G. Angeli Bertinelli in G. Bonamente and M. P. Segoloni (eds), *Germanico* (1987), 25–51 (add to her dossier the inscription from Buthrotum in Epirus, which probably dates to A.D. 12: G. Pollo, *Tyche* 5 (1990), 105); also B. Gallota, *Germanico* (1987). *Tab. Siar.* 1, 12–18 has been also used to explore disagreements over German policy between Tiberius and Germanicus: G. A. Lehmann, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 79–96; cf. U. Schillinger-Häfele, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 73–81 on *IB* 11–17.

⁷⁴ A statue of Tiberius as the uncle of Claudius: C. Foss in F. K. Yegül, *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis* (1986), 170f. #4 (cf. n. 213 below). Two new (1990) biographies, of Gaius (A. Barrett) and of Claudius (B. Levick), both use epigraphic evidence extensively.

⁷⁵ N. M. Kennell, *AJP* 109 (1988), 239–51.

⁷⁶ D. Campanile, *Studi Ellenistici* III (B. Virgilio (ed.)), 1990, 191–224 on *ILS* 8794 = Smallwood #64; she believes she can discern Latinisms in the Greek, possibly Nero's own.

⁷⁷ J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) #13, l. 4.

⁷⁸ On Vespasian's grandfather, Vespasius Pollio, see G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 77 (1989), 155 #1. Some remarks on the demography of the Flavii by R. Étienne in F. Hinard, *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà* (1987), 65–90.

⁷⁹ J.-C. Grenier, *MEFR* 99 (1987), 937–61; the citation from face III, sequence 1 (p. 943).

⁸⁰ K. Strobel, *Germania* 65 (1987), 423–52, cf. A. Martin, *Historia* 36 (1987), 73–82 on the papyrological evidence (see also n. 93); K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians* (1989), with A. G. Poulter, *CR* 41 (1991), 408.

⁸¹ On Saturninus: K. Strobel, *Tyche* 1 (1986), 203–20, cf. also C. L. Murison, *EMC* 29 (1985), 31–49; Domitian in Mainz: G. Walsler, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 449–56. The arch at Mainz-Kastell has been assigned to this trip by H. Bellen, *AKB* 19 (1989), 77.

⁸² *Augustus* (1982), 336–65.

has quickly been recognized.⁸³ No doubt, the formalities of public inscriptions conceal as much as they reveal of the true apportionment of stimulus and responsibility between local élites and Roman government.⁸⁴ But the role of Hadrian, both in the East (especially Athens) and in Italy, is often quite explicit.⁸⁵ Intimately related to building enterprises are imperial journeys, which, as R. Syme remarked, 'bring in most aspects of imperial history': Hadrian is here again a central figure.⁸⁶ Such visits, because of the unequal access they offered to the emperor's bag of privileges, became a significant factor in inter-city rivalries.⁸⁷ A revision of traditional views of Hadrian's settlement in Mesopotamia seems to be implied by the bilingual (Greek, Parthian) inscription on a bronze torso of Hercules from Seleucia on the Tigris.⁸⁸ It now seems likely that Mesene, a crucial transit-land for the Palmyran caravans, remained allied to Rome until c. 151, when Vologeses IV of Parthia replaced its king Mithridates with his own nominee; this affects arguments for the date of Tacitus' *Annales* as well as for the background to the Parthian War of M. Aurelius and L. Verus.⁸⁹ Later in the second century A.D. cases of failed emperors raise interesting questions of political calculation and legitimation; new work on the careers of Avidius Cassius and Pertinax contributes to the former,⁹⁰ the arch at Orange, now assigned to Septimius Severus, to the latter.⁹¹ Legitimacy too is at the heart of Postumus' claim to be a Roman, and not simply a Gallic, emperor.⁹²

The details of imperial titulature have exercised many minds. Invaluable for imperial chronology is D. Kienast's *Römische Kaisertabellen* (1990), which handily assembles a prodigious quantity of accurate information. There have been book-length studies of Domitian and the period 235-84.⁹³ The inflation of military titles has been traced to Marcus and L. Verus' adoption of *maximus*.⁹⁴ The creation of unofficial imperial titles out of the common stuff of imperial virtues is explained by the responsiveness of the dependent élite to court signals.⁹⁵ A study of inscriptions or monuments celebrating imperial *decennalia*, a practice that begins under Commodus, has shown that all known examples are in Latin (even in Greek-speaking provinces) and that none have been found so far in Gaul, Spain or Britain.⁹⁶

It has become commonplace that milestones may be highly informative about imperial attitudes struck and impressions of loyalty given; for road-lines they may mislead, unless one can be sure that they are found *in situ*. The general point has been made recently in the particular context of Syria and Asia Minor.⁹⁷ It has also been shown that a section of the Via Appia must carry 'programmatic milestones' since they cannot mark work actually performed at the end of Nerva's reign.⁹⁸

⁸³ M. K. and R. L. Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs* (1989), with R. J. Darwall-Smith, *JRS* 81 (1991), 211f.

⁸⁴ S. Mitchell, *HSCP* 91 (1987), 335-65; also the collective volume S. Macready and F. H. Thompson (eds), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (1987). On the use of building inscriptions for imperial propaganda in N. Africa in the late third century A.D., T. Kotula, *BCHT* 19B (1983) [1985], 257-63.

⁸⁵ Mitchell, *op. cit.* (n. 84), 357-60; M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (1987) with S. Walker, *JRA* 2 (1989), 219f.; eadem, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 235-71. A local military equestrian put in charge of Hadrian's building works at Nicaea: T. Corsten, *EA* 10 (1987), 111-14.

⁸⁶ H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum* (1986), esp. 188-210 on building, with T. D. Barnes, *JRA* 2 (1989), 247-61; R. Syme, *ZPE* 73 (1988), 159-70; on Hadrian as hunter, at Hadrianotherae: L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (1987) ix, 133ff.; his visit to Nicopolis and probably while there to the philosopher Epictetus (July/Sept. 128), P. Cabanes, *Proceedings Symposium Nicopolis*, *op. cit.* (n. 65), 153-67.

⁸⁷ R. Ziegler, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik* (1985); also D. Potter, *JRA* 2 (1989), 308 on G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (1987) #101 (Anazarbus). The long-surmised visit of Commodus to Miletus in August 176 has been confirmed by the ceremonial calendar from Miletus: N. Ehrhardt, *MDAI (I)* 34 (1984), 386f. On Valerian in Pisidia in 255/6, see G. H. R. Horsley, *AS* 39 (1989), 82 #2; Gallienus at Athens in 264: D. Armstrong, *ZPE* 70 (1987), 235-58.

⁸⁸ Texts: F. Pennachiotti, *Mesopotamia* 22 (1987), 169-85; sculpture, A. Invernizzi, *RA* (1989), 65-93.

⁸⁹ D. S. Potter, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 277-90; G. W. Bowersock in *L'Arabie pré-islamique* (Colloque Strasbourg, 1987) (1989), 159-68.

⁹⁰ R. Syme, *Bonner HA Colloquium 1984/5* (1987), 207-22; H. Devijver, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 207-14 on *AE* 1963, 52.

⁹¹ J. C. Anderson, *Bj* 187 (1987), 159-92; for its treatment as a Julio-Claudian monument: P. Gros, *Gallia* 44 (1986), 191-206 (assigning it to Germanicus in A.D. 19). Whatever the case, Anderson has convincingly shown that the reading of *CIL* xii.1230 is unreliable.

⁹² J. F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 52 (1987); T. Kotula, *Eos* 75 (1987), 353-67.

⁹³ A. Martin, *La Titulature épigraphique de Domitien* (1987), catalogues 480 inscriptions (but cf. J. Bérard, *REL* 66 (1988), 373); M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235-84* (1990) is a considerable advance in its area, but cf. A. Birley, *CR* 41 (1991), 410f. For the period after 284, see K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 4 (1989), 229-32; P. Brennan, *ZPE* 76 (1989), 193ff.

⁹⁴ A. U. Stylow, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 387-99, an impressive commentary on *AE* 1929, 235.

⁹⁵ A. Scheithauer, *ZPE* 72 (1988), 155-77; cf. also E. Kettenhofen on Aurelian's unofficial military titles, *Tyche* 1 (1986), 138-46.

⁹⁶ A. Chastagnol, *MEFR* 100 (1988), 13-26.

⁹⁷ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (1990), 301ff.; cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *AS* 39 (1989), 79 #1 (Pisidia); D. H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, 2: An Interim Catalogue* (1988); P. Salama, *Bornes milliaires d'Afrique Proconsulaire* (1987); H. E. Herzig in H. E. Herzig and R. Frei-Stolba (eds), *Festschrift G. Walser* (1989), 59ff. (Constantine in Reg. XI).

⁹⁸ G. di Vita-Evrard in *La Via Appia*, *Quad. Centro di Studi per l'archeol. Etrusco-Ital.* 18 (1990), 73-93.

III. SENATORS AND EQUESTRIANS

So much work here rests on epigraphic evidence which is not necessarily explicitly stated that we have included some more general references.

Syme's last book, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (1986), provides an immense amount of detail, but larger issues — never indexed — must be hunted for; some are implicit in the fine genealogical stemmata at the end. By contrast K. Hopkins' *Death and Renewal* (1983), which made its claims clear, is still stimulating debate. His belief that a statistical examination of the consulate could provide the main basis for the conclusion that a majority of imperial senators' sons never entered the Senate has been roundly attacked.⁹⁹ There are also serious objections to Hopkins' and Burton's use of statistical methods. A broader scenario for the study of senatorial families has been suggested by M. Corbier, who stresses the pressures towards 'endogamy' within the *ordo* as a survival strategy.¹⁰⁰ This should perhaps hardly surprise, for the link between systems of partible inheritance and true endogamy (cross-cousin marriage) among the propertied classes has long been familiar.¹⁰¹ In principle a study of senatorial women should be able to contribute to a discussion of such problems.¹⁰² The stemmata in M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier's massive study of 901 such women could serve as a basis for testing the thesis of endogamy; and the sheer difficulty she experienced in maintaining the focus upon women, rather than senatorial males, might serve as confirmation of another of Corbier's theses, that the importance of women in the senatorial family declined.¹⁰³ Meanwhile some progress has been made in analysing the symbolic and real capital they brought to their marriages.¹⁰⁴ Statues of famous women (illustrative of the virtues propagated by emperors) may have their place here; and a row of famous mothers is postulated in the Porticus Octaviae to explain the curious Latin in the description of the mother of the Gracchi on the base found there.¹⁰⁵ Of similar importance is the projection of Livia — or rather 'Livia' — recently analysed by N. Purcell.¹⁰⁶

The ability of the Principate to recruit local élites into the centre has always and rightly been seen as one of its most striking features, particularly in the wider context of other pre-industrial empires.¹⁰⁷ There have been new studies of the senators and *equites* from Gaul,¹⁰⁸ while B. Rémy has published a list of senators recruited from Anatolia¹⁰⁹ as well as the senatorial *fasti* of the provinces of Asia Minor excluding Asia.¹¹⁰ If it is correct that there was an 'Augustan' rule to prevent senators from acting as patrons of towns outside Italy or receiving monuments in Rome at their expense, the promotion of numbers of provincial senators helps to explain its abandonment.¹¹¹ Pflaum's list of cases in which praetorian governors of public provinces were promoted direct to the consulate has been extensively revised.¹¹²

⁹⁹ J. Hahn and P. M. M. Leunissen, *Phoenix* 41 (1987), 60–81; F. Jacques, *Annales ESC* 42 (1987), 1287–303.

¹⁰⁰ *Annales ESC* 42 (1987), 1268–85; a convergence here with one of S. Demougin's themes, (n. 118), 600–76. The conception of 'privileged degrees' in the Tabula Larinas of A.D. 19 may be relevant: see the new texts and commentary by W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 81 (1990), 37–96; 85 (1991), 41–70 (p. 54f. for his final version); cf. too the exclusive praenomina of patrician families: O. Salomies, *Die Römischen Vornamen* (1987), 277–338.

¹⁰¹ cf. e.g. J. Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem* (1977), 91.

¹⁰² cf. already A. Chastagnol, *RH* 262 (1979), 3–28.

¹⁰³ See p. 132 above, with M. Kajava, *Arctos* 22 (1988), 75 and R. J. A. Talbert, *AJP* 111 (1990), 123. It has been generally remarked that her indices provide a marvellous epigraphic source for the men not yet reached by *PIR*². Another approach: L. Vidman, *Studia I. Kajanto* (Arctos Suppl. 2) (1985), 329–36.

¹⁰⁴ R. Syme, *Diogenes* 135 (1986), 3–13; and three studies by M. Kajava: *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies*, Colloque Tvärminne 1987 (1990), 59–124; *ZPE* 79 (1990), 139–49; *Tyche* 5 (1990), 27–36. Senatorial women apparently marrying down: S. Demougin, *ZPE* 81 (1990), 218f.

¹⁰⁵ R. G. Lewis, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988), 198–200; M. Kajava, *Arctos* 23 (1989), 118–31.

¹⁰⁶ *PCPS* 32 (1986), 84–105; also, on aspects (mainly literary) of the *Laudatio Turiae*, P. Cutolo, *AFLN* 26 (1983–4), 32–65. On powerful women: R. MacMullen, *Klio* 68 (1986), 434–43.

¹⁰⁷ The contrast with the Seleucid Empire has been drawn by F. Millar in A. Kuhrt and S. M. Sherwin-White (eds), *Hellenism and the East* (1987), 110–33.

¹⁰⁸ Y. Burnand, *Primores Galliarum* (1989); idem,

Hommages Le Bonniec (1988), 53–64; R. Syme, *ZPE* 65 (1986), 1–24.

¹⁰⁹ *Les Carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie* (1989), adding to H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (1979) but itself now in need of revision. On Septimius Mannos, proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia, J. Nollé, *EA* 12 (1988), 133f. (new evidence for this man from Aphrodisias is to be published by C. M. Roueché in a memorial volume for F. Jacques). On L. Marcus Celer, whose family came from Attaleia, W. Eck, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 97–106.

¹¹⁰ *Les Fastes sénatoriaux des provinces romaines d'Anatolie* (1988). The two most important publications of senatorial *fasti* in this quinquennium are without any doubt P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsularen in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander, 180–235* (1989) and J. Scheid, *Le Collège des Frères arvales, 69–304* (1991). Some others: M. Christol, *Chiron* 16 (1986), 1–14 (Cyprus); H. I. MacAdam et al., *Studies in the History of ... Arabia* (1986) (some new *legati* and *praesides*); R. Syme, *Estudios A. D'Ors* (1987), 1057–74 (*Praefecti Urbi*, Vespasian to Trajan); *ZPE* 77 (1989), 241–59 (early priesthoods); B. E. Thomasson, *ORom* 15 (1988), 109–41 (appendix to *Laterculi Praesidum* 1 with twenty-four entries).

¹¹¹ J. Nicol, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 81–100; the following study of Bithynia, pp. 101–8, serves as an exception. A recent document from Baetica has been interpreted as evidence for *hospitium*, a form of patronage, between a city and Sex. Marius, Tiberius' rich friend (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 36.1 etc.); but there is no reason to think Marius was a senator: W. Eck and J. González, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 217–22.

¹¹² P. M. M. Leunissen, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 217–60 — a model of careful research.

Among individuals and families of interest, we may note new treatments of the Flavian commander Neratius Pansa,¹¹³ of A. Bucius Lappius Maximus, the man who, everyone agrees, did *not* burn the papers of Antonius Saturninus (Dio LXVII. 11.2),¹¹⁴ and the Marii Perpetui.¹¹⁵ Reconsideration of the apparently illogical place in which the praetorian prefects appear among the patrons in the *album Canusinum* has suggested (in conjunction with HA, *Sev. Alex.* XXI.3-5) that Alexander, having adlected them into the Senate with consular status, gave them a formal right to speak there after the highest, but before many others in the consular group.¹¹⁶ It now seems clear that even as late as A.D. 293-305 there were only two *praefecti praetorio*: the name of the colleague of Iulius Asclepiodotus has turned up at Brixia.¹¹⁷

A basic theme of recent work on the *equites* has been the closeness of their links both with the senatorial order and with the municipal bourgeoisie.¹¹⁸ A neat illustration of this ambivalent status, if one were still needed, is the issue of municipal patrons. It has been suggested, that, though senators formed an absolute majority of known cases in each fifty-year span, equestrians and members of local élites gradually increased their relative share.¹¹⁹ This might indicate a decline in the significance of the role of patrons, for 'the real functioning and significance of [the] system is not at all clear'.¹²⁰ One may however surmise that its brokerage function with respect to Rome always stood in uneasy relation to a system of local negotiation, which by the third century A.D. had become more important, or at least in some cases more immediately advantageous.¹²¹ One of the difficulties in designing such a study is to know how to take the category 'equestrian', which has a legal but no very definite social or economic denotation.¹²² H. Devijver has produced the first supplementary volume to his prosopography of knights in the *militia equestris*, and a number of complementary studies of their geographical origins: a sizeable proportion of these men came from provincial backgrounds much earlier than is often supposed, immediately after the Claudian reorganization.¹²³ Only 4 per cent could hope to become *praefectus alae milliariae*; many evidently had no intention of remaining in military service; some retired home, others used patronage networks to switch to administrative procuratorships. Patronage was one of the main substitutes for politics in the Principate.¹²⁴

Devijver has discussed again the frequency with which, in careers of senior equestrians, the post of Prefect of Egypt follows that of *praefectus annonae*, suggesting that such appointees had greater military experience than was ordinarily the case.¹²⁵ The claims in individual cases can now be checked against P. Bureth's revised *fasti* of the Prefects of Egypt,¹²⁶ but, even if well-founded, would not necessarily amount to an insight into conscious reasons for making appointments. Several other equestrian *fasti* have appeared, though many of these endeavours seem subject to the law of diminishing returns: there are too many lacunae and too many devilishly subtle arguments.¹²⁷ Historians may incline to question the hegemonic status of this genre among those who work on the élites of the Principate, since it is not always

¹¹³ M. Heil, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 165-84, but see H. Halfmann, *Asia Minor Studien (Festschrift K. Dörner)* (1991), 41-3.

¹¹⁴ K. Strobel, *Tyche* 1 (1986), 203-20.

¹¹⁵ G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 70 (1987), 195-202.

¹¹⁶ J. Nichols, *ZPE* 72 (1988), 206ff.

¹¹⁷ A. Chastagnol, *ZPE* 78 (1989), 165-8.

¹¹⁸ cf. S. Demougín, *L'Ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens* (1988), whose themes will be familiar from eadem in S. Panciera (ed.), *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (1982) I, 73-104 (see our previous survey, *JRS* 76 (1986), 131f.; B. Levick, *JRS* 80 (1990), 222f.). On the topography of early imperial elections, using Tab. Heb., eadem in L. Quilici (ed.), *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire* (1987), 305-17.

¹¹⁹ R. Duthoy, *AncSoc* 15-17 (1984-6), 121-54; cf. our last survey, *JRS* 76 (1986), 133 n. 76. Duthoy takes the existence of these inscriptions as a given, but he might have taken them as evidence of a need to 'make patronal links visible': A. Wallace-Hadrill in idem (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (1989), 84.

¹²⁰ F. Millar, *Phoenix* 40 (1986), 315. It is notorious that the inscriptions never explain quite how patrons helped: for a rare instance where one can reasonably guess, the Tab. Canusinum (*ILS* 6121, repub. M. Chelotti *et al.*, *Le epigrafe Romane di Canosa* I (1985) #35), see Nichols, *op. cit.* (n. 116), 201-17.

¹²¹ E. Gabba has suggested that the rise of *patroni* correlates with the decline of the *comitia* in Italian colonies and *municipia* during the late Republic: *RSI* 98 (1986), 653-62. On female patrons (cf. also n. 105), J. Nichols, *Studies in Latin Lit. and Roman Hist.* 5 (C. Deroux (ed.), 1989), 117-42.

¹²² cf. A. Chastagnol, *BSAF* 1986, 172-80, on *CIL* XII.5723, an instance of another child *eqR* aged five years; H. Devijver in M. Geerard *et al.* (eds), *Festschrift R. Bogaert and H. van Looy* (1990), 125-30.

¹²³ The names and (partial) careers of some 2,000 such equestrians are known, about 4 per cent of all who ever served between Augustus and Gallienus: *Prosopographia Militarium Equestrum* IV: *Supplementum* I (1987); a preview of Suppl. II: *ZPE* 89 (1991), 179-95. Origins: P. Freeman and D. Kennedy (eds), *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, 150-225 (repr. with many others in *MAVORS* 6, *op. cit.* (n. 225), 273-389); *BICS* 26 (1989), 107-26. Devijver's conclusions here concur with Demougín's, *op. cit.* (n. 118), table on p. 540.

¹²⁴ Conspiracy is thus not 'politics' but a failure or distortion of patronage relationships.

¹²⁵ In L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds), *Egitto e storia antica* (1989), 37-54, disagreeing with P. Brunt, *JRS* 65 (1975), 141f.

¹²⁶ In *ANRW* II. 10, 1 (1988), 472-502, with a supplement covering the years 1973-85 by G. Bastiniani, pp. 503-17; cf. *ZPE* 17 (1975), 203-328; 38 (1980), 75-89. On Pactumeius Magnus, see now D. Römer, *ZPE* 82 (1990), 137-53; Claudius Iulianus (*AE* 1971, 481), P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 65 (1990), 124f.; F. Bernard, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 147f.

¹²⁷ Pontus in the third century A.D.: D. H. French, *EA* 8 (1986), 75 #2, partly at odds with M. Christol and X. Lorient, *Mémoires Centre Jean Palerme* 7 (1986), 13-40; and now B. Rémy, *Pontica* 1 (1990). Mauretania: M. Christol and A. Magioncalda, *Studi sui procuratori delle due Mauretaniae* (1989). *Proc. prov. Lugd. et Aquit.*: M. LeGlay and M. Tarpin, *Gallia* 46 (1989), 246-48. *Proc. Asiae.*: S. Demougín, *ZPE* 81 (1990), 213f.

clear what properly historical questions are or could be answered by material organized in this fashion;¹²⁸ but it is easy for them to forget how much the publication of these working fichiers helps the epigraphist with new inscriptions to interpret.

Among individual equestrians, the most interesting new find is the first epigraphic mention of Ulpian, perhaps unsurprisingly from Tyre, his native city; since he is named as praetorian prefect, it must date from shortly before his death in autumn 223.¹²⁹ Of others on whom new work has been done, we may note C. Velius Rufus, who rose from legionary centurion to become governor of Raetia under Domitian, and Ser. Sulpicius Similis, Trajan's *praefectus praetorio*.¹³⁰ A first-century case of a municipal aedile who later became *praef. fabrum* and *IVvir ad aerarium* has been found in Gallia Narbonensis.¹³¹ A very damaged text reveals a man from Siscia who was enrolled in *qu[inqu]e de[]curias*.¹³² Claudius Xenophon, procurator of the *publicum portorium Illyrici*, had two *vlicci* who dedicated an altar for the Genius of the *portorium* and for Commodus *restitutori(s) commerc(iorum)* (A.D. 185–92).¹³³

IV. ADMINISTRATION

The evolution of Roman control of Cyrenaica has been sketched by A. Laronde, of Sicily by G. Manganaro.¹³⁴ Any synthesis of this kind will be prone to emendation of details as new evidence turns up or old evidence is reconsidered. Thus the history of Cilicia Tracheia under the Julio-Claudians has been (dimly) illuminated by a new text which demands the rewriting of the accepted stemma of the Tarcondimotids,¹³⁵ and there is some progress in the early history of the province of Galatia.¹³⁶ W. Eck has offered reasons, based largely on comparison of lists of epigraphically attested quaestors from all public provinces, for believing that Sicily had only one quaestor — which implies that Augustus changed the Republican practice.¹³⁷ The division of Illyricum has been dated to A.D. 19/20 along with Drusus' creation of the kingdom of Vannius; the intention may have been to divide the two most powerful native peoples, the Breuci and Daesid(t)iates. This would be nice if true.¹³⁸ It has been plausibly suggested that Vespasian drastically altered the *lex provinciae* of Lycia.¹³⁹ Another of M. Aurelius' new praetorian *iuridici*, C. Ovinus Severianus, seems to have turned up.¹⁴⁰ Work has also been done on provincial reorganization on the Rhine/Danube frontier during the crisis of the mid-second century A.D.¹⁴¹

The need for an up-to-date corpus of imperial edicts and letters from inscriptions and papyri has long been felt, so the appearance, thanks to K. Clinton, of J. H. Oliver's collection of the Greek texts, more or less complete on his death in 1980, filled a big gap; unfortunately it must be used with care.¹⁴² The variety of ways in which the emperor could make law is a major theme of V. Marotta's book on Antoninus Pius' rescripts.¹⁴³ The point can conveniently be illustrated by the last section of the Lex Iritana, referred to in Tablet x, col. c, l. 39 as *litterae*, which has now been identified as an extract from or abbreviation of a *subscriptio* by Domitian, given at Circei (the town famous for possessing Elpenor's tomb and Odysseus' *φιάλη*) on 10 April A.D. 91, and not as a letter.¹⁴⁴ As such, it is the second-earliest such text in the epigraphic record — probably because the *subscriptio* seems to have been preferred to the *epistula* in cases of refusal, which were, of course, rarely inscribed.¹⁴⁵ Its formal accompanying petition, which must have sought some exception to Roman marriage rules, was not included.

¹²⁸ A case in point is B. Rémy, whose *fasti* have given rise to what might be called a non-book: *L'Évolution administrative de l'Anatolie* (1986); cf. S. Mitchell, *CR* 38 (1988), 437f.; for a different view, P. Salmon, *Latomus* 48 (1989), 929.

¹²⁹ M. H. Chéhab, *BMB* 33 (1983), 125–9; cf. *AE* 1988, 1051 with a photo of the squeeze. The technique of this inscription itself is extremely interesting, since it combines cursive with uncial and minuscule; the normal monumental shapes have been abandoned in favour of those evocative of book learning, so it might seem.

¹³⁰ K. Strobel, *ZPE* 64 (1986), 265–84 on *ILS* 9200; M. Christol and S. Demougín, *ZPE* 74 (1988), 1–14.

¹³¹ J. Charmasson and M. Christol, *Rhodia* 21 (1987), 12–23.

¹³² M. Christol and S. Demougín, *ZPE* 64 (1986), 185–94 on *AIJ* 1. 561; cf. T. Nagý, *Festschrift A. Betz* (1985), 417–44.

¹³³ N. Gudea, *AMusPoroliss.* 12 (1988), 178ff.

¹³⁴ *ANRW* II. 10, 1 (1988), 1006–64; *ibid.* 11, 1 (1988), 3–89.

¹³⁵ Dagron and Feissel, *op. cit.* (n. 87), #26, with D. Potter, *JRA* 2 (1989), 306f.

¹³⁶ S. Mitchell, *Chiron* 16 (1986), 19–27 (early governors); H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 16 (1986), 35–42 (the priests of *IGR* III. 158 = Ehrenberg and Jones #109).

¹³⁷ *ZPE* 86 (1991), 107–14.

¹³⁸ J. Fitz, *Latomus* 47 (1988), 13–25, cf. T. Nagý, *AArchHung* 41 (1989), 61–71. Notoriously, the first epigraphic mention of the Pannonias occurs in the late 60s (*ILS* 985).

¹³⁹ M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (1988), 97f.

¹⁴⁰ G. Mennella, *RPAA* 57 (1984–5) [1986], 111ff.

¹⁴¹ Germania Superior: K. Dietz, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 404–47 (with an appendix on the evidence for dual governorships, 43–7). Dacia after 166: C. C. Petolescu, *Germania* 65 (1987), 123–34. On 'Marcomania' and 'Sarmatia': P. Oliva, *StudClas.* 24 (1986), 125–9.

¹⁴² *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors* (1989). A useful list of imperial *epistulae* on papyrus: F. A. J. Hoogendijk and P. van Minnen, *Tyche* 2 (1987), 68f.

¹⁴³ *Multa de iure sanxit* (1988). On the difficulty of knowing quite how imperial law reached the provinces, see H. Galsterer in M. Crawford (ed.), *L'Impero romano e le strutture economiche e sociali delle provincie* (1986), 13ff.

¹⁴⁴ J.-L. Mourgues, *JRS* 77 (1987), 78–87.

¹⁴⁵ For imperial *subscriptioes* attested epigraphically, see W. Williams, *ZPE* 66 (1986), 181–207, and now W. Turpin, *JRS* 81 (1991), 101–18.

A black swan has appeared in the shape of an extract from a letter of Pertinax to the city of Tabala in Lydia.¹⁴⁶ Its contents, however, are familiar, since it relates to a complaint by the people of Tabala against illegal exactions, τὰ σουπλημέντα καλούμενα, by soldiers who have 'turned off the high-road'.¹⁴⁷ A similar rescript by Caracalla (212-13) to the villagers of an imperial estate at Takina, near Lake Burdur, speaks of soldiers, in this case *stationarii*, 'leaving the town to plunder the fields', and the villagers not receiving payment for use of their wagons nor having their oxen returned.¹⁴⁸ This text also alludes to the intended function of such inscriptions, for the rescript is to be set up 'not just for now but for all time πρὸς τὸ [καὶ τὰ προγεγράμμε]να ὑπὸ πάντων [γνωριεῖ]σθαι' (ll. 27f.). A new (papyrus) letter of Gordian III grants the people of Antinoopolis the right to re-erect the inscription recording their immunity from certain customs-payments which had been destroyed — perhaps by the customs officials, perhaps in some other way: the authentic text is to be recovered from the archive in Memphis.¹⁴⁹ P. Herrmann, in a fine study of this aspect of the third-century crisis, has referred to an entire 'Konvolut von Schriftstücken' being copied out, often with the rescript in first place as here, in a desperate — and of course paradoxical — bid to call the authority of the (ideal) centre in aid against its own all too proximate agents through the agency of script.¹⁵⁰ Analogously, the inscription of the praefect's edict has been seen as a form of negotiation between temple and (local) administration in Egypt: in this case, it was the rarity of the text as much as anything that gave it value.¹⁵¹ And the careful recording of the acclamations that greeted a favourable proconsular letter at Pylitae near Tralles may have been intended as a double confirmation of the grant it contained.¹⁵²

The notion of 'illicit exaction' naturally implies a norm of legitimate, or customary, state imposition. Much of the negotiation between rulers and ruled took place on precisely this frontier,¹⁵³ aspects of the socio-political, as opposed to the fiscal, functions of the tax-system have been discussed by M. Corbier.¹⁵⁴ The revised versions of P. A. Brunt's articles on the *fiscus* and related matters amount to a book on the fiscal aspects of the taxation system.¹⁵⁵ Another article in the same collection, hitherto unpublished, shows that the *publicani* remained the principal agents of tax collection.¹⁵⁶ As though in timely support, a new, probably Trajanic, inscription has turned up at Amorium attesting the *vilicus sociorum p(ublici) XXXX p(ortuum) A(siae)*.¹⁵⁷ The miserable epigraphic dossier in relation to another of Brunt's themes, the taking of the census, has been slightly enlarged by a new (?Hadrianic) equestrian career from Sala in Morocco, of a man who rose from *praef. fabrum* to *proc. Aug. ad census in Britannia*.¹⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the Flavian list of the διοικήσεις of the province of Asia (*IEphes*. 1. 13) should be interpreted as a list of the taxes that were due to the *fiscus Asiaticus*, in particular a *tributum capitis* irrespective of property.¹⁵⁹ So interpreted, the document would have served as yet another instance of epigraphic negotiation with tax authorities, in this case protecting the rights of the *fiscus* against the *publicani*. But the case remains speculative.¹⁶⁰

Though it is familiar enough from their marriage alliances that imperial slaves and freedmen were relatively wealthy, in the nature of things epigraphy does not often suggest how this status dissonance affected others. The same problem is raised by the possibility of an *ingenuus* serving as an assistant to a freedman *procurator*,¹⁶¹ and by the final triumph in the career of the imperial freedman M. Aurelius

¹⁴⁶ H. Malay, *EA* 12 (1988), 47-52. The letter was evidently inscribed after Pertinax' death.

¹⁴⁷ The first editor claims that σουπλημέντα must here, uniquely, mean 'reinforcements' rather than 'supplies'; which we cannot accept.

¹⁴⁸ S. Şahin and D. French, *EA* 10 (1987), 133-42.

¹⁴⁹ Hoogendijk and van Minnen, op. cit. (n. 142), 48 #B. Some remarks on archival recall in F. Millar, *International History Review* 10 (1988), 357ff.; for Egypt, note F. Burkhalter, *Chiron* 20 (1990), 191-216. Add now R. Haensch, *ZSS* 109 (1992), 209-317.

¹⁵⁰ *Hilferufe aus römischen Provinzen*, Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim-Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften e.v., Hamburg, 8 (1990), Heft 4; cf. already T. Drew-Bear, *Chiron* 7 (1977), 363.

¹⁵¹ J. Bingen in Criscuolo and Geraci, op. cit. (n. 125), 3-35. A Diocletianic rescript concerning military infringement of local rights in land at Elephantine: Brennan, op. cit. (n. 93), 193-205.

¹⁵² H. Malay, *EA* 11 (1988), 53-6 (later third century A.D.); J. Nollé, *EA* 15 (1990), 123f. rightly points out that the acclamations themselves 'schufen Recht'; recording them goes a step further.

¹⁵³ cf. the new account of the dispute over the *vectigal* of the sacred lands at Aezani (*CIL* III.35 = Laffi, *Athenaeum* 49 (1971), 3) by B. Levick and S. Mitchell, *MAMA* IX (1988), xxxvi-xlii.

¹⁵⁴ In T. Yüge and M. Do (eds), *Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity* (Tokyo, 1988), 259-74.

¹⁵⁵ *Roman Imperial Themes* (1990), chs 7-8, 15, 16. On the re-organization of the *XX libertatis* under an imperial procurator in the late first century A.D., see M. Albana, *QC* 9 (1987), 41-76.

¹⁵⁶ Ch. 17. B. Gerov's essays on the epigraphic evidence for the *publicum portorium Illyrici et RTh* have been republished in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesien* (1991), II.

¹⁵⁷ R. M. Harrison, *AS* 38 (1988), 18of. #1. Examples of customs declarations in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Greco-Roman Egypt* (1987), with idem, *ZPE* 79 (1989), 191; G. Thür, *Tyche* 2 (1987), 244f.

¹⁵⁸ J. Boube, *MEFR* 102 (1990), 213-46.

¹⁵⁹ D. Knibbe, *Tyche* 2 (1987), 75-93; the difficulties of the text will be remembered from C. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975), 64-91.

¹⁶⁰ It is sometimes assumed in studies of the Roman tax-system that bullion was not transported around the Empire, although it certainly was in the late Empire and there is a good deal of evidence (some of it epigraphic) that it sometimes was earlier. A recent addition to this evidence is claimed in a seal belonging to a *dekaprotos* in Lydia intended precisely for a consignment of bullion: H. Dedeoglou and H. Malay, *EA* 8 (1986), 101f.

¹⁶¹ C. Bruun, *ZPE* 82 (1990), 271-85 on *AE* 1972, 574; cf. M. S. Bassignano, *Epigraphica* 48 (1986), 259f.

Saturninus, to whom an asiarch of Pergamum erected a memorial statue — no doubt for very effectual services rendered as a *cognitionibus rationalium*.¹⁶²

Finally, some *notabilia*. A second tombstone of an imperial slave (who died at 83) shows him to have been in the department *a regionibus urbis*; the city districts were created in 7 B.C. and this department perhaps at the same time.¹⁶³ Another find shows that the office *a memoria* existed in the mid-first century A.D. (probably) rather than from Hadrian's time, as has often been thought; it also indicates that the system of pairing a senatorial *curator* with a libertine *procurator*, which was used for the water-supply system, was used for the administration of the temples and public buildings.¹⁶⁴ Two new *circitores* of the imperial *familia* have turned up, one a rider who checked the aqueducts leading into Rome,¹⁶⁵ the other working for a customs-post — his function a matter for conjecture, but perhaps including operations against smuggling.¹⁶⁶ A Flavian *procurator a marmoribus* at Mylasa evidently used materials from the quarries in his charge to repair local roads on imperial orders.¹⁶⁷

V. CITIES

The broadest administrative-political issue, the slow transformation of Italy by an imperial power working on the model of provincial administration, has been addressed by F. Millar.¹⁶⁸ One small index of this transformation is the history of the *praefecti principis iure dicundo*.¹⁶⁹ The fiction which permitted the very existence of such a function was that the Princeps and the civic magistrate were in some sense on the same level; but that must already have seemed quaint when the function disappeared under the late Antonines. And although it has rightly been insisted of late that the *curatores reipublicae* are to be seen not as usurping civic independence but enlarging cities' and individuals' access to judicial decision-making,¹⁷⁰ the fact remains that the very existence of the emperor tended to diminish the legitimacy of local decision-making,¹⁷¹ and the creation of the *curatores*, whatever its intention, in practice diminished it still further.¹⁷² In those circumstances, women (at least a few, very rich women) might be welcome as magistrates.¹⁷³ The responsibility of civic magistrates for the maintenance of roads, which is at least as early as the Tabula Heracleensis, has suggested to C. Nicolet that documents of a cadastral type must already have existed.¹⁷⁴ But roads express not merely mastery of space; like all forms of public service, their construction neatly linked functional with symbolic ends, a point illustrated by an unknown M. Octavius M.f. Asia[...], who arranged for the laying of a *via publica*, mostly across his own land in Picenum. It was evidently a toll road; but the *decuriones* and *Iviri* with their families were permitted as a mark of honour to use it without payment.¹⁷⁵ Buildings too might be used in a similar way.¹⁷⁶

The town in Italy, which, with the possible exception of Ostia, offers the best chance to write a complex local history is Pompeii. W. Jongman has risen to the challenge.¹⁷⁷ Two of his claims are relevant here: that wealth did not necessarily correlate with high social status, that is, membership of the *ordo*; and that election contests were purely formal. Unfortunately, his use of the witness lists in the records of L. Caecilius Iucundus has been seriously criticized.¹⁷⁸ And perhaps the thesis about local

¹⁶² M. Christol and S. Demougin, *MEFR* 102 (1990), 159–211.

¹⁶³ Found behind the Temple of Mars Ultor, near Trajan's market: Panciera, *Tituli* 6, op. cit. (n. 8), 75 #24; cf. *CIL* vi. 4022b.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 86 #8. The editor's suggestion that the career is in descending order is surely wrong.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 30 #1: appropriately, he dedicated *Nymfabus*.

¹⁶⁶ G. Walser in A. Giovannini, *Mélanges T. Zawadzki* (1989), 153–8 (Aosta), who also offers a new reading of *AE* 1938, 91.

¹⁶⁷ P. Herrmann, *Tyche* 3 (1988), 122f., cf. L. Robert, *RA* (1935), 160f. On the career of Aurelius Saturninus, a procurator who specialized in mines, P. Le Roux, *MDAI(M)* 26 (1985), 224.

¹⁶⁸ op. cit. (n. 120), 295–318. An overview of civic administration: J. M. Reynolds in D. Braund (ed.), *The Administration of the Roman Empire* (1988), 15–51; in *regiones IX and X: La Città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana* (1990).

¹⁶⁹ G. Mennella, *Epigraphica* 50 (1988), 65–85 with complete list.

¹⁷⁰ M. Sartori, *Athenaeum* 67 (1989), 5–20, recapitulating the studies of W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens* (1979), ch. 6; G. Camodeca, *ANRW* II. 13 (1980), 463–534; F. Jacques, *Les Curateurs des cités* (1983).

¹⁷¹ Note a case in Macedonia (?Thessalonike) from A.D. 137, in which Hadrian rules that thirty days' notice must be given those who are nominated magistrates of the *koimon*: *SEG* xxxvii.593; cf. M. Hatzopoulos, *Bull.Ep.* 1990 #448. As so often, the underlying problem was conflict of interest within the local élite.

¹⁷² cf. the remarks of M. T. Boatwright on the unintended effects of Hadrian's intervention in the realm of public building, op. cit. (n. 85), 250ff.

¹⁷³ E. P. Forbis, *AJP* 111 (1990), 493–507.

¹⁷⁴ In *L'Urbs*, op. cit. (n. 118), 1–25; the case seems rather thin; cf. Frei-Stolba, op. cit. (n. 97), 25–37.

¹⁷⁵ N. Altieri *et al.*, *Picus* 5 (1985), 7–50.

¹⁷⁶ But despite its immense lists, there is no adequate discussion in H. Jouffroy, *La Construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (1986); cf. F. Jacques, *JRA* 2 (1989), 238–44. A more stimulating study, focusing on conflicts of interest between givers and receivers, is G. Wesch-Klein, *Historia* 38 (1989), 177–97, complementing D. Johnston's work in *JRS* 75 (1985), 105–25; cf. her *Private Aufwendungen zugunsten von Gemeinden im röm. Afrika bis 284 n. Chr.* (1990).

¹⁷⁷ *The Economy and Society of Pompeii* (1988); cf. B. W. Frier, *JRA* 4 (1991), 243–7.

¹⁷⁸ H. Mouritsen, *C&M* 41 (1990), 131–49; cf. *ARID* Suppl. 15 (1988), 70–122.

elections is insufficient, since the function of ancient elections was often to bestow legitimacy upon the victor, not to make choices about programmes, local or national.¹⁷⁹ As for other towns, H. Solin has expressed doubt in the belief that the *magistri Campani* at Capua were ever the chief local officials,¹⁸⁰ and published a decree from Tarracina conferring the honour of the *bisellium* on a presumed freedman for the old-fashioned quality of his cult acts at the local temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.¹⁸¹ A difficult text concerning a law-suit by the city of Ostia seems to suggest that cities (as well as the *fiscus*) might claim *bona caduca*.¹⁸² New arguments have been offered in favour of believing in a Triumviral or Augustan refoundation of Aquileia.¹⁸³

Work on towns in the western provinces has been dominated by the questions of urbanization and the Flavian municipal law. There have been several general accounts of the development of towns in Spain,¹⁸⁴ and a particular study of the Meseta.¹⁸⁵ That the drive towards urbanization was fundamentally political and not economic has been reaffirmed,¹⁸⁶ the monumentalization of city centres followed consistently.¹⁸⁷ An account of the urbanization of Noricum and Pannonia is bedevilled by the assumption that Italian immigrants must have been *negotiatores*, even though there is insufficient epigraphic evidence for such traders.¹⁸⁸ The attractions of H. Braunert's view that the *ius Latii* was not necessarily connected with the grant of municipal status have been recanvassed.¹⁸⁹ The evidence that seems to support the view that Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii* automatically led to municipal status must then be examined closely.¹⁹⁰ The rationale for the figure in §XXXI of the Lex Irnitana of sixty-three members as the norm for the size of the *ordo* has been explained by J. Nichols.¹⁹¹ The important issue of the limitations on the jurisdiction of magistrates in §LXXXIV, especially in relation to actions against slaves, misunderstood by González, has been cleared up.¹⁹² Galsterer's argument from §XXX of the *lex* that new Roman citizens in all Baetican *municipia* could only be selected from among those already in the *ordo* has rightly been rejected: this was a special rule for Irni.¹⁹³ This debate opens the wider one of the application of the municipal laws: González' view that the same rules applied to all *municipia* has been criticized.¹⁹⁴ Some new, rather desultory, fragments of the law have indeed turned up.¹⁹⁵ One of the obvious features of the Lex Irnitana is its total silence about the remainder of the indigenous population unaffected by its rules. Their settlements have been studied by L. A. Churchin,¹⁹⁶ and western *vici* more generally by W. S. Henson.¹⁹⁷

A few individual points. It has been shown that the formula *omnibus honoribus functus* (vel sim.) has not been found in the West before the Hadrianic period: *AE* 1969/70, 405 (Condate Redonum) is probably the first example.¹⁹⁸ A boundary dispute between three Spanish settlements was settled by a

¹⁷⁹ Mouritsen's account of Pompeian elections, however, seems rather naïve: *ARID* Suppl. 15 (1988), 112-19. Some new election slogans in A. Varone, *RivStudPomp* 1 (1987), 91-106; campaigning by women: F. Bernstein, *Festschrift W. Jashemski* (1989), 1, 1-15.

¹⁸⁰ 'Republican Capua', in Kajava, *Roman Eastern Policy*, op. cit. (n. 104), 151-62 (compare M. W. Frederiksen, *Campania* (1984), 281-4).

¹⁸¹ *Tyche* 2 (1987), 183.

¹⁸² F. Jacques, *Épigraphica* 49 (1987), 29-70, though he of course has a vested interest in finding evidence for city rights.

¹⁸³ Ü. Laffi, *AAAd* 30 (1987), 39-62; sceptics will continue to agree with L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement* (1983), 7 n. 10.

¹⁸⁴ S. J. Keay and N. Mackie in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (1990), 120-50 and 179-92; Churchin, op. cit. (n. 47), Introduction; also S. J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (1987), ch. 3. By contrast, R. Wiegels, *Die Tribus Inschriften des römischen Hispanien* (1985), is limited, though an account of urbanization is implicit in it; cf. too S. Dardaigne and H. Pavis d'Escurac, *Ktéma* 8 (1983) [1986], 307-15; J. de Alarcão, *Roman Portugal* 1 (1988). A fine inscription listing the virtues of a local magistrate: J. F. Rodriguez, *Habis* 18-19 (1987-88), 407-35.

¹⁸⁵ G. Alföldy, *Römische Städtewesen auf der neukastilischen Hochebene* (1987), which surely overestimates the number of towns; cf. L. A. Churchin, *13 Limeskongress, Aalen* (1986), 692-5.

¹⁸⁶ C. R. Whittaker, *JRA* 3 (1990), 110-18; cf. on Gaul, H. Wolff in *Festschrift Walsler*, op. cit. (n. 97), 257-73, cf. E. M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (1985), 75-100; in the Balkans, G. Mihailov, *Pulpudeva* 5 (1986), 5-30; F. Papazoglou, *Les Villes de Macedoine à l'époque romaine*, *BCH* Suppl. 16 (1988); in Syria and the East more generally, B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (1990), ch. 8.

¹⁸⁷ cf. the fine collection of essays in W. Trillmich and

P. Zanker (eds), *Stadt und Ideologie: Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit* (1990); cf. J. Drinkwater in F. Grew and B. Hobley (eds), *Roman Urban Topography* (1985), 49-55; A. F. L. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis* (1988); J. M. Abascal and U. Espinosa, *La Ciudad hispanoromana* (1989).

¹⁸⁸ M. Harding and G. Jacobsen, *C&M* 39 (1988), 117-206.

¹⁸⁹ P. Le Roux, *RHD* 64 (1986), 325-50; M. Zahrtnt, *ZPE* 79 (1989), 173-6.

¹⁹⁰ Thus the four inscriptions collected by A. U. Stylow, *Gerión* 4 (1986), 290-303 are not necessarily to be taken in his sense.

¹⁹¹ *ZRG* 105 (1988), 714ff.

¹⁹² A. Rodger, *ZPE* 84 (1990), 147-61; cf. D. Johnston, *JRS* 77 (1987), 62-77; *ZPE* 70 (1987), 173; A. Rodger, *JRS* 81 (1991), 74-90 on *intertium* and *recuperatores*.

¹⁹³ H. Galsterer, *JRS* 78 (1988), 78-90; H. Horstkotte, *ZPE* 78 (1989), 169-77.

¹⁹⁴ González: *Habis* 17 (1986), 221-40, cf. S. Demougín, *Mémoires Centre J. Palerme* 7 (1986), 41-7. Galsterer's distinction between comital laws of general import but for specific issues and complete laws differentially regulating individual cities is attractive: *RHD* 65 (1987), 181-203.

¹⁹⁵ J. González, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 121-36; another fragmentary municipal law, from Italica: *ZPE* 70 (1987), 217ff.

¹⁹⁶ *REA* 87 (1985), 327-54.

¹⁹⁷ In Braund, op. cit. (n. 168), 53-68; cf. J. Gascou, *Gallia* 47 (1990), 195 #2 (villages around Aquae Sextiae).

¹⁹⁸ L. Wierschowski, *ZPE* 64 (1986), 287-94. A very rare Greek equivalent, πάνταρχος, at Pelusium, third century A.D.: M. Abd el-Maksoud and J.-Y. Carrez Maratray, *Cahiers de l'Institut de Papyrologie de Lille* 10 (1988), 97-103.

senator, Iulius Proculus (perhaps the governor), whose finding was confirmed by Hadrian.¹⁹⁹ An aedile at Thuburnice, C. Sallustius Felix, *patriae suae voluptates ampliaverit* by building an amphitheatre at the probable cost of 300–400,000 sesterces.²⁰⁰ The melancholy fate of a young man of eighteen who died on the very day of his betrothal and entry into the *iuventus* is related on a sarcophagus of the third century A.D. from St-Cézaire-sur-Siagre (Alpes Maritimes).²⁰¹

Though mostly concerned with the Hellenistic period, N. F. Jones offers useful material on public organization (tribes and other subdivisions) in Greek cities of the Roman era in his *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (1987). The same is true of R. K. Sherk's survey of eponymous magistrates.²⁰² A theme that has cropped up more than once is the persistence of local dynastic families and their associates within city élites:²⁰³ an inscription from Apollonia Salbake records that L. Antonius Zenon, *trib. mil. of XII Fulminata*, was granted the honour of wearing the royal purple: he was a descendant of Zeno of Laodiceia, who had been made a king by Antony.²⁰⁴ From Commagene comes a γενεαλογία of the later first century A.D. covering seven generations of a family in the circle of Antiochus I and Mithridates II.²⁰⁵ Similar dynastic families seem to have persisted at Apamea in Syria.²⁰⁶

Three inscriptions illustrate the process of acculturation in the Greek East. The earliest is a first-century B.C. tombstone, set up by a man from Samnium in an area of Phrygia known to have attracted a number of Italian émigrés; the text is bilingual, the Latin first, and proudly gives filiation and tribe.²⁰⁷ A little later, in the triumphal period, the *conventus C.R. qui Ephesi negotiantur* honours M. Cocceius Nerva (cos. ord. 36 B.C.).²⁰⁸ In 5/4 B.C. a votive was offered to Rome and Augustus by the Greek inhabitants of the Milyas (Strabo XIII. 631) together with the local Ῥωμαῖ[ε]οι and another immigrant group of Thracians (settled no doubt by the Seleucids).²⁰⁹ At Ephesus itself an important turning-point was the mission of Vedius Pollio in 27–5 B.C.²¹⁰ By the end of Augustus' reign C. Sextilius Pollio could dedicate a basilica with the Latin text bolder than the Greek in its bilingual building-inscription²¹¹ (but Ephesus is not the only city in which this kind of thing happened; and more study of Latin texts on public buildings in Greek cities is needed). Ephesus was, of course, a grand city but the evidence for a population of 40,000 there now turns out to be a figure of 1,040 misunderstood.²¹²

Excavation at Sardis has yielded an inscription commemorating Tiberius' restoration of the town after the earthquake of A.D. 17.²¹³ The emperor is hailed as the founder of the city, just as Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29 B.C., procos. Asiae 23–15) is hailed as the founder of Klaros.²¹⁴ In the second century A.D. and thereafter there was widespread research to discover ancient founders — historical or merely interesting;²¹⁵ some of it was surely stimulated by civic desires for membership of Hadrian's Panhellenion. In its turn, it stimulated the diplomatic negotiations of one city with another, ending in agreements of *homonoia* by which the Greek communities in the imperial period demonstrated their autonomy.²¹⁶ Pride of place among euergetic texts goes to the splendid inscription from Oenoanda in Lycia detailing the foundation of a competitive artistic festival by C. Iulius Demosthenes, A.D. 124–5, which will be familiar to readers of this Journal from the admirable account, and English translation, of S. Mitchell, and the subsequent analysis by Guy Rogers of the evidence for negotiation between *boule*, *demos* and benefactor which raises points very important to our conception of euergetism.²¹⁷ The political and

¹⁹⁹ A. U. Stylow, *MDAI(M)* 27 (1986), 267 #30, re-reading *CIL* II.2349.

²⁰⁰ P. I. Wilkins, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 215–21.

²⁰¹ A. Chastagnol, *BASF* (1988), 280–88, re-reading *CIL* XII.221.

²⁰² *ZPE* 83 (1990), 249–88; 84 (1991), 231–95 (mainland and islands); 88 (1991), 225–60 (Thrace, Euxine, Asia Minor).

²⁰³ For the visit of Queen Glyphera, wife of King Juba, to Athens, possibly for the opening of the 195th Olympiad in A.D. 1, see N. Kokkinos, *ZPE* 68 (1987), 288–90.

²⁰⁴ A. Ceylan and T. Ritti, *Epigraphica* 49 (1987), 77–98, publishing the same inscription as H. Malay, *EA* 9 (1987), 73–5.

²⁰⁵ G. Schmitz, S. Şahin and J. Wagner, *EA* 11 (1988), 81–95.

²⁰⁶ J. Ch. Balty, *JRS* 78 (1988), 93f.

²⁰⁷ M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Tyche* 1 (1986), 41 #1.

²⁰⁸ D. Knibbe and B. Iplikcioglu, *JOAI* 59 (1989), Bb. 235 #2 on *IEphesus* #658; cf. Dio LI.20.7.

²⁰⁹ A. S. Hall, *AS* 36 (1986), 137–40, from SW of Burdur.

²¹⁰ P. Scherrer, *JOAI* 60 (1990), 87–101.

²¹¹ D. Knibbe and M. Büyükkolancı, *JOAI* 59 (1989), 43–5. The political role of the gymnasium at Ephesus has been underlined by an Augustan text set up by ot

πολεῖται οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἀλειπτῆριῳ: M. Büyükkolancı and H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 137–44 on *IEphesus* #8.

²¹² P. D. Warden and R. S. Bagnall, *CP* 83 (1988), 220–3. Useful recent surveys, of published corpora for Asia Minor: S. Mitchell, *CR* 37 (1987), 78–82; of Aphrodisian epigraphy: J. Reynolds in *Aphrodisias de Carie* (1987), 81–5.

²¹³ Foss, op. cit. (n. 74), 169 #1.

²¹⁴ Şahin, op. cit. (n. 56), #2. On the acclamations to a magistrate in P. Oxy. 1.41, see M. Blume in Criscuolo and Geraci, op. cit. (n. 125), 271–90.

²¹⁵ J. H. M. Strubbe, *AncSoc* 15–17 (1984–6), 253–395; cf. P. Weiss, *WJA* 10 (1984), 179–208; F. Kolb and M. Zimmerman, *EA* 16 (1990), 115–22. Lepcis discovering her metropolis Tyre: J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Africa Romana* (Sassari) 5 (1988), 597–602.

²¹⁶ cf. the use of (pseudo-) kin-relations as a diplomatic tool among the Dorian cities of the Panhellenion: A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, *JRS* 76 (1986), 88–105; 'diplomacy': Millar, op. cit. (n. 149), 235ff.

²¹⁷ Wörrle, op. cit. (n. 139); S. Mitchell, *JRS* 80 (1990), 183–91; cf. also C. P. Jones, *JRA* 3 (1990), 484–8. Some other euergetes: P. Herrmann, *TAM* v, 2 (1989) #954, 969, 976 (Thyateira); J. J. Coulton, *JHS* 107 (1987), 171–8 (*SEG* xxx.1535, at Oenoanda, not by Opramoas); G. M. Rogers, *JRS* 81 (1991), 91–100.

cultural role of such festivals has been stressed in the case of Roman Sparta as well as of eastern Cilicia.²¹⁸ Theatres too were a means of registering the continuity of the present with the high culture of the past as well as contributing to the city's status through the splendour of their decoration.²¹⁹ The value of the grant of eiselastic status to city games has been illustrated once again by the discovery of an additional fragment of Marcus Aurelius' speech to the Senate granting this status to the Didymeia at Miletus.²²⁰

Relations between city and village have continued to attract attention, but materials are scarce. Sometimes one can do no more than gather names.²²¹ Sometimes the town's relationship to the *chora* can be traced.²²² But occasionally something more comes to light, such as the details of a village festival in the first century B.C. (with masking, wine and musical competitions), that have turned up from near Cyzicus;²²³ or the details of crops in a Bithynian text.²²⁴

VI. MILITARY

Publication on the Roman army for which epigraphic evidence is fundamental has continued unabated,²²⁵ but one book stands out, Isaac's *The Limits of Empire* (1990). Not merely has he driven a coach and horses through the 'grand strategy' of E. N. Luttwak, but the complex relations between military organization and civil society are explored into the fourth century A.D.²²⁶ The nature of Roman strategic thinking, the sense in which it can be considered rational, must be deduced from a mass of disparate detail: it cannot be imposed as an a priori.²²⁷ Theoretically, the Roman army was merely a servant of the central power; but it was also an organization with its own interests and perspectives. The task of explaining its role in the third-century crisis must begin here.²²⁸ Another of Isaac's central themes is the army's role in internal repression, which served both to insulate it still further and to justify its insatiable demand for scarce fiscal resources.²²⁹ That there is no Latin term that corresponds to our notion *limes*, i.e. a defended frontier, is yet another of Isaac's arguments.²³⁰ But here there is likely to be resistance from those who can go to northern Britain to see a defended frontier-zone; even if there was no term, the concept certainly existed.²³¹ And it is widely acknowledged that different frontier regions of the Empire need to be thought about in different ways.²³² The same point is perhaps implicit in the fact that the Limeskongresse have become conferences on the history of the army as a whole.²³³ The most intractable and least homogeneous area is that of the eastern marches.²³⁴ 'Since the lands were marginal, the decision what to do with them was always equivocal.'²³⁵ Africa presented similar problems.

²¹⁸ P. Cartledge and A. J. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta* (1989), ch. 13; Ziegler, op. cit. (n. 87), mostly using numismatic evidence. Note also the case of Meleager at Balbura, perpetual agonothete of the Antoninia Meleagria: J. J. Coulton et al., *AS* 39 (1989), 41-62. There is a useful primer of relevant papyri: P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* (1986).

²¹⁹ Aphrodisias: J. Reynolds in R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 15-28 (cf. the staturary, 67-97); Lepcis: G. Caputo, *Il Teatro augusteo di Leptis Magna* (1987).

²²⁰ P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 38 (1988), 309-13, adding to *AE* 1977, 801.

²²¹ Papazoglu, *Macedoine*, op. cit. (n. 186), s.v. *komai*; H. Malay, *EA* 12 (1988), 147-52 (Katakekaumene); H. I. MacAdam, *Berytus* 34 (1986), 186-9 (Arabia).

²²² Wörrle, op. cit. (n. 139), 145f.; cf. E. Frézouls on Syria in *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie* (1987), 209-24. The names of surrounding villages have been found on the theatre seats at Saittai, Lydia: F. Kolb, *EA* 15 (1990), 107-18.

²²³ E. Schwertheim in idem (ed.), *Asia Minor Studien*, 1: *Mysische Studien* (1990), 83-100.

²²⁴ C. Brixhe and R. Hodot, *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud* (1988) #2 (second-third century A.D.).

²²⁵ Additions to the *MAVORS* series, edited by M. P. Speidel, reprinting the more important articles by J. F. Gilliam (2, 1986), G. Alföldy (3, 1987), E. R. Birley (4, 1988), G. Forni (5, 1987), H. Devijver (6, 1989). Note also R. W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (V. A. Maxfield and D. Breeze (eds), 1989). A general account: Y. Le Bohec, *L'Armée romaine sous le Haute-Empire* (1989), with L. Keppie, *JRS* 80 (1990), 224f.

²²⁶ On the army as a factor in the development of the eastern part of the Empire, F. Millar, *JewishSt* 38 (1987), 143-69.

²²⁷ So too Brunt, op. cit. (n. 155), 468ff.

²²⁸ M. Christol, *CCC* 9 (1988), 169-204. Isaacs' Syrian army is thus quite different from P. Le Roux's Spanish army, on which see the exchange between G. Alföldy, *Gerión* 3 (1985), 379-410 and Le Roux, *ibid.*, 411-22.

²²⁹ cf. T. Pekáry, *AncSoc* 18 (1987), 133-50. On the need for a study of local militias in Italy, Millar, op. cit. (n. 120), 312f.; on *diogmitai*, C. P. Jones, *ICS* 12 (1987), 179f.

²³⁰ See also *JRS* 78 (1988), 125-47; for another view, G. Forni, *CISA* 13 (1987), 272-94.

²³¹ V. A. Maxfield, 'The frontiers: mainland Europe', in J. Wacker (ed.), *The Roman World* (1987) 1, 139-93; on Hadrian's Wall, eadem, *ArchAel* 18 (1990), 1-27; B. Dobson, *ArchAel* 14 (1986), 1-30; the Antonine Wall: M. P. Speidel, *Britannia* 18 (1987), 233-7; J. C. Mann, *PSAS* 118 (1988), 131-7.

²³² An account of the African frontier: C. Daniels in J. Wacker (ed.), *The Roman World* (1987) 1, 223-65; cf. R. Rebuffat in D. J. Buck and D. J. Mattingly (eds), *Studies O. Hackett* (1985), 127-40; A. Gutsfeld, *Römische Herrschaft und einheimische Widerstand in Nordafrika* (1989).

²³³ The proceedings of three such conferences have appeared: 13 *Limeskongress Aalen* (1986); 14 *Limeskongress Carnuntum* (1990); 15 *Limeskongress (Roman Frontier Studies)* (1991).

²³⁴ Apart from Isaac, note P. Freeman and D. Kenned (eds), *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*; D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot (eds), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (1989); mainly literary sources for the period after 226 collected in S. N. C. Lieu and M. Dodgeon, *The Roman Eastern Frontier* (1990).

²³⁵ C. R. Whittaker in J. C. Barrett et al. (eds), *Barbarians and Romans in NW Europe* (1989), 64-80.

Though the Romans never approached a Mahanian view of the uses of sea-power, the value of the fleets for communications and logistics has been highlighted by the canalization of the Orontes up to Seleucia in Pieria under Vespasian, probably in connection with the invasion of the Alans.²³⁶ The logistic function of the *classis Flavia Moesica* meant that it could easily undertake the transport back to Rome of the numerous bears and wisent captured by the mounted archers of *coh. I Cilicum* for yet another display of human mastery over the brute kingdom to celebrate 900 years of Rome.²³⁷ But the protection of shipping and coasts from raiders was a permanent necessity.²³⁸ While the army did to a limited extent levy its supplies locally,²³⁹ it was in a position to import, directly or indirectly, the bulk of its foodstuff and other needs from a distance, often a considerable distance, as the trade in olive oil from Baetica to Germany suggests.²⁴⁰ Meat could be driven great distances on the hoof.²⁴¹ Some oddities about the troops at Aulutrene, a small fort in Phrygia, have suggested that their presence may be connected with the early history of the *pastus primipili*, the system of logistics which supplied the Danube legions from Asia in the third century A.D.²⁴²

With regard to army groups, it has been concluded that *legati legionum* exercised command solely over troops, not over specific areas, though individuals might temporarily exercise command over other units.²⁴³ There have been generous accounts of *leg. III Augusta*²⁴⁴ and *leg. V Macedonica*,²⁴⁵ and possible solutions to the mysteries of *IX Hispana* and *XXII Deiotariana*.²⁴⁶ If entire legions can disappear from the epigraphic record, so *a fortiori* can auxiliary units, which makes a history of their movements hazardous²⁴⁷ especially if subdivisions of units were regularly quartered with other units, as seems often to have occurred in Africa.²⁴⁸ In Egypt, however, continuity seems to have been the rule.²⁴⁹ The high number of equestrian officers from Egypt in the first half of the second century A.D. has been linked to Hadrian's presence and the earlier grants of citizenship to Alexandrian families.²⁵⁰ P. Le Roux has returned to the question of the significance of provincial recruitment in Spain.²⁵¹ The absence of a study of regional sources of recruitment in the first decades of the fourth century A.D. has been noted.²⁵²

An important inscription from Satala has for the first time provided a list of the precise grades through which an individual centurion was promoted: 'the only rule that seems to impose itself is that every post in a higher cohort ranked over the post in a lower cohort'.²⁵³ E. R. Birley has again surveyed the different methods of entry into the centurionate.²⁵⁴ The use of legionary centurions as *praepositi* of auxiliary units in Germany has been studied.²⁵⁵ The Belgian excavations at Apamea have produced a stunning collection of seventy-six texts illustrating the development of ranks and roles in *II Parthica* in the third century A.D., showing in particular that *lanchiarri* cannot have been a Diocletianic innovation and probably go back to the Severan reforms.²⁵⁶ Other ranks and roles that have been discussed include

²³⁶ M. Reddé, *Mare Nostrum* (1986), esp. on rivers (288ff.) and logistics (370ff.); cf. D. B. Saddington in *15 Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 397-9. Further on Seleucia, D. van Berchem, *Bj* 185 (1985), 47-88; for the Alani, H. Halfmann, *EA* 8 (1986), 39-50; M. Heil, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 172ff.

²³⁷ V. Velkov and G. Alexandrov, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 271-6 (A.D. 147); H. Devijver, *Klio* 20 (1990), 87-97. For the *stationes* on the lower Danube, D. Mitova-Dzonova in *13 Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 504-9.

²³⁸ cf. W. Eck and F. Fernández, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 214f., on fleet units at Gades to protect Baetica against marauders from Tingitana. For the possibility that some Saxon Shore forts were built already in the late second century A.D., see J. C. Mann in V. A. Maxfield (ed.), *The Historical Development of the Saxon Shore* (1989), 1-11.

²³⁹ cf. D. J. P. Mason, *Britannia* 19 (1988), 163f.; local trade is implied by the reading *centurio negotiator* in *AE* 1978, 635, again defended by the editors of *AE* 1988, 938.

²⁴⁰ J. Remesal, *La annona militaris y la exportacion de aceite betico a Germania* (1986); on the system of procurators who oversaw the trade, idem in *13 Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 760-67. On Walheim-am-Neckar as a possible rail-head, D. Planck, *Arch. Ausgr. Baden-Württemberg*, 1987 (1988), 124ff.

²⁴¹ K. Dietz, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 383-93, for a *colle(gium) bubu(ltiorum)*, an ingenious re-reading of *AE* 1984, 708.

²⁴² M. P. Speidel, *EA* 10 (1987), 97-9 on M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Un Castellum romain près d'Apamée de Phrygie* (1987).

²⁴³ D. Baatz, *Germania* 67 (1987), 169-78.

²⁴⁴ Y. Le Bohec, *La Troisième Légion Auguste* (1989); but cf. D. Kennedy, *JRS* 81 (1991), 218-20.

²⁴⁵ M. Barbulescu, *Din istoria militara a Daciei romane: Legiunea V Macedonica* (1987).

²⁴⁶ L. Keppie in French and Lightfoot, op. cit. (n. 234), 247-55; A. Kasher et al. (eds), *Greece and Rome in Eretz-Israel* (1990), 54-61; cf. M. Mor, *ZPE* 62 (1986), 267-78; J. Schwartz, *ZPE* 76 (1989), 101f.

²⁴⁷ D. J. Knight, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 189-208 is very well aware of the difficulty; the same point for legionary history, Keppie in Freeman and Kennedy, op. cit. (n. 234), 411-29; D. B. Saddington in *13 Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 779-81.

²⁴⁸ Y. Le Bohec, *Les Unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie* (1989).

²⁴⁹ M. el-Saghir et al., *Le Camp romain Lougсор* (1986).

²⁵⁰ H. Devijver in Freeman and Kennedy, op. cit. (n. 234), 109-225; cf. Criscuolo and Geraci, op. cit. (n. 125), 37-54.

²⁵¹ *Gerión* 3 (1985), 283-308. Comparison of Numidia and Germany: D. Cherry, *AHBull* 3 (1989), 128-30.

²⁵² Millar, op. cit. (n. 120), 309.

²⁵³ D. H. French and J. R. Summerly, *AS* 37 (1987), 18 #3 = T. Mitford, *ZPE* 71 (1988), 171 #2; cf. K. Strobel, *EA* 12 (1988), 43-5; *Tyche* 2 (1987), 203-9 with essentially the same answer as C. Bruun, *Arctos* 22 (1988), 36-8 (from whom the quotation). On the symbols used in *CIL* XIII.6681 to distinguish the different centuries in the legion, see M. P. Speidel, *JRGZ* 33 (1986), 321-9.

²⁵⁴ *ZPE* 79 (1989), 114-28, as an epilogue to three of his earlier papers collected in *MAVORS IV*, op. cit. (n. 225).

²⁵⁵ Baatz, op. cit. (n. 243), 175-8.

²⁵⁶ J. Ch. Balty, *CRAI* (1987), 213-41; *JRS* 78 (1988), 91-104.

the *beneficiarii* (the Osterburken series has now been fully published),²⁵⁷ *frumentarii*,²⁵⁸ *exploratores*,²⁵⁹ *missicius*,²⁶⁰ *magister*,²⁶¹ and military doctors,²⁶² clerks,²⁶³ and map-makers.²⁶⁴ It now seems clear that in some cases at least appointment to roles or functions was probationary: this is evidently the force of the expression *discens/tes* preceding a title, *signiferi* at Carthage, *lanchiarri*, *phalangarii* and several others at Apamea.²⁶⁵ Insights into the role of patronage in the army are provided by a discussion of the *singulares*; ²⁶⁶ a dedication to Silvanus *pro salute* . . . (*centurionis*) set up by two of his men, a *tesserarius* and a *miles*, in a tiny fort; ²⁶⁷ and perhaps the word *ordinatus* applied to ranks below the centurionate.²⁶⁸

One of the means by which the army effectively separated itself from the civilian world was its use of a specialist language, a jargon, peculiar to itself, composed partly of terms denoting realities which did not exist outside the army, partly of cant uses of common language. Examples of the first that have been recognized recently are *ballistarium* meaning a workshop for *tormenta*,²⁶⁹ and *stratura* meaning cavalry-barracks;²⁷⁰ of the second, *succedere*, *successione promoveri*, *promoveri* for different types of promotion,²⁷¹ *explicare* for splitting sinews for catapult springs.²⁷² Another means of distinguishing the army was its calendar of religious performance: it has been shown that the festivals listed in the Feriale Duranum were in all probability observed all over the Empire on the same days.²⁷³ The Vindolanda tablets have continued to provide fascinating material, including the accounts of the fort's income.²⁷⁴ It has been suggested that auxiliary soldiers' wives were all deemed to be *dediticiae* and married *per ignorantiam* (Gaius, *Inst.* 1. 67).²⁷⁵ Lower than wives, and just as useful, were soldier's slaves.²⁷⁶ A poignant tale comes from Egypt: an epitaph mourns a woman who had been forcibly held in slavery for thirty-eight years until freed by a soldier.²⁷⁷

A few cases have been noted of what is often thought impossible: regular soldiers holding municipal offices.²⁷⁸ The presence of veterans in the decurionate in Dacia seems, oddly, not to be correlated with troop-concentrations but with the importance of the town.²⁷⁹ We count no less than eighteen diplomata published this quinquennium.²⁸⁰ S. Dusanić's view that only certain men qualified for the grants of citizenship has now been convincingly refuted.²⁸¹ The legal status of veterans was the main theme of a conference on *diplomata*.²⁸²

²⁵⁷ Indeed exhaustively, in a monument of scholarship: Egon Schallmeyer *et al.*, *Der römische Weihbezirk von Osterburken*, 1: *Corpus der gr. und lat. beneficiarinschriften des römischen Reiches* (1990); more briefly, *idem*, 15 *Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 400-6; M. Popovic, *CRAI* (1989), 111-22 (Sirmium).

²⁵⁸ J. C. Mann, *ZPE* 74 (1988), 149ff.: *contra*: N. B. Rankov, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 176-82.

²⁵⁹ M. Gichon in Herzog, op. cit. (n. 97), 154-70.

²⁶⁰ A. U. Stylow, *Chiron* 20 (1990), 336ff.; C. L. Bălău, *Apulum* 24 (1987), 169-72.

²⁶¹ M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Un Castellum romain près d'Apamée de Phrygie* (1987), 48 #8; also Speidel, op. cit. (n. 242).

²⁶² J. C. Wilmanns, *ZPE* 69 (1987), 177-89; another in el-Saghir *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 249), 115 #37. A military hospital constructed near Aleppo: J. Jarry, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 114 #17.

²⁶³ M. P. Speidel on *orthographus leg.*, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986), 163f.; *exceptor leg. Aug.*: R. Ardevan and I. Hica-Cimpeanu, *AMusNapoc* 22-3 (1985-6), 544 #4. On military record-keepers, cf. also Le Bohec, op. cit. (n. 244), 234f.

²⁶⁴ C. Nicolet, *MEFR* 100 (1988), 127-88, with detailed discussion of the word *chorographia*. *Chorographia* is not listed by O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (1985).

²⁶⁵ Y. Le Bohec, *Africa Romana* (Sassari) 4 (1987), 237 #2; Balty, op. cit. (n. 256), 99 and 101.

²⁶⁶ N. B. Rankov, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 165-75.

²⁶⁷ Christol and Drew-Bear, op. cit. (n. 261), 46 #7.

²⁶⁸ C. Bruun, *Arctos* 22 (1988), 23-40 on *ZPE* 71 (1988), 171 #2; 176 #2.

²⁶⁹ G. H. Donaldson, *ArchAel* 17 (1989), 217-19, with some other examples.

²⁷⁰ D. Knibbe and B. Iplikçioglu, *JÖAI* 55 (1984), 123f. Other technical terms, for weapons and accoutrements, may be met in the (largely archaeological) proceedings of the Roman Military Equipment conferences, esp. vol. 5, C. van Driel-Murray (ed.) (1989).

²⁷¹ K. Strobel, *EA* 12 (1988), 45.

²⁷² An ingenious thought by A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 92 on one of the Vindolanda texts.

²⁷³ D. Fishwick, *Syria* 65 (1988), 349-61 = *Imperial Cult in the Roman World* (1991), II. 1, 593-603. Note also the dedication in the *principia* at Novae to *Marti Victori leg(ionis) I Ital.*: J. Kolendo, *Africa Romana* (Sassari) 5 (1988), 375-81. An elective distinctiveness of religious culture may be at work in the case of the cult of Fortuna: I. Kajanto, *Latomus* 47 (1988), 554-83.

²⁷⁴ A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *JRS* 76 (1986), 120-3; *Britannia* 18 (1987), 125-42; with J. N. Adams, *Britannia* 21 (1990), 33-52; cf. A. R. Birley in 14 *Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 333-40; 15 *Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 16-20. A second-century A.D. list of duties: W. Clarysse and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Ancient Society* 19 (1988), 71-96.

²⁷⁵ J. C. Mann in W. Eck and J. Wolff (eds), *Heer und Integrationspolitik* (1986), 187-9, though this seems rather complicated.

²⁷⁶ M. P. Speidel, *Ancient Society* 20 (1989), 239-48; on *lixa leg.*, 'camp-follower', see R. Ivanov, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 131-6.

²⁷⁷ A. Lukaszewicz, *ZPE* 77 (1989), 191-4.

²⁷⁸ J. Nelis-Clément in Giovannini, op. cit. (n. 57), 133-51.

²⁷⁹ A. Radu, *Eos* 77 (1989), 81-90; cf. M. Lesek on the Rhine-Danube area, *ibid.*, 65-80.

²⁸⁰ Particularly interesting are P. Weib, *ZPE* 74 (1988), 153-8; C. Römer, *ZPE* 82 (1990), 137-53; K. Wachtel, *Germania* 69 (1991), 187-96 (the latest yet known: A.D. 218); J. G. Garbsch in 15 *Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 281-4.

²⁸¹ M. M. Roxan in 13 *Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 768-78; J. C. Mann and M. Roxan, *Britannia* 19 (1988), 341-7; M. Roxan, *BICS* 26 (1989), 127-81.

²⁸² W. Eck and J. Wolff (eds), *Heer und Integrationspolitik* (1986); cf. M. Clauss, *JRA* 1 (1988), 181-9. Something similar can be said of S. Link, *Konzepte der privilegierung römischer Veteranen* (1989), which restates at length what it has taken H. Wolff seventy one pages to say in *Heer und Integr.*, 44-115.

VII. RELIGION

One function of religion, we might say, is to socialize the natural order just as it naturalizes the social order. Recent reassessments of various epigraphic documents have thrown light on the interrelationship between religion and the natural world: on the signs delivered by the sacrificial liver;²⁸³ on Jupiter 'atratus' connoted by the storm clouds over Monte Pedicino;²⁸⁴ on the augural *templum*, with its strategic fusion of the *templum* in the heavens and the *templum* on earth;²⁸⁵ on running water under the protection of the Nymphs and *vires Augusti*.²⁸⁶ Conversely the religious procession reproduces secular hierarchy.²⁸⁷ The two processes meet in the shrine or temple: a tangible sign of commitment to the other world, but also one (as a newly published sacral law well illustrates) that might look suspiciously like a rubbish-dump.²⁸⁸ At the level of individual divinities, the cult of the Bona Dea and of the Penates offer materials (newly collected) to develop ideas of the connections between the natural and social worlds.²⁸⁹ So also do the altars now to be attributed to *IOMK(arnuntinus)* on the Pfaffenberg at Carnuntum, alluding to the lightning miracle of A.D. 172 and thus the divine protection extended to the *Imperium Romanum*.²⁹⁰

One of the characteristic features of the religious mentality is to look for intention where others might merely see chance: the dice oracle perfectly expresses the principle.²⁹¹ The introduction of writing into oracular practice served to objectify the divine answer, but also to confirm the hierarchy of consultative means: only important shrines could afford written *sortes*.²⁹² The potential value of oracular utterances in local politics has been illustrated by a find from Herakleia by Latmos (early first century B.C.),²⁹³ where the oracle seems to have been consulted on the method of selection of the priest of Athena Latmia and to have validated a change in procedure. But that is only an aspect of a wider issue, the role of oracles as regional cults, serving to create imaginary communities of those who came to consult or sing hymns.²⁹⁴ If the oracles of Apollo functioned as the apex of the oracular system, there were plenty of intermediate niches for entrepreneurs; so, for example, a hitherto unknown 'antecedent' of Alexander of Abonouteichos has turned up at Hadrianoi: a man (appropriately called Gauros 'Boastful') claims to have predicted the victory of Octavian and become rich.²⁹⁵

Divine foreknowledge in that case unerringly picked a winner, and so helped in due course to unsettle the boundaries between god and man. But as far as the Greeks were concerned, the institutions of the holy Senate and divine Rome could well fill the niche occupied by divine Hellenistic monarchs; and even in one unusual case from Delos (107/6 B.C.) a dedication seems to have been performed for the *demos* of the Athenians as well as of the Romans.²⁹⁶ Individual governors too, if they were sufficiently generous and well-connected, could be associated in divine honours: Sex. Appuleius, cos. 29 B.C. and son of Octavia I, has recently been discovered as a member of the *domus divina* in a Tiberian cycle at Alexandria Troas.²⁹⁷ In general S. R. F. Price's analysis of the way that honours to the emperor were directly modelled on those to the gods has been confirmed in recent studies of the establishment of the imperial cult in Mytilene,²⁹⁸ Miletus,²⁹⁹ and Rhodes.³⁰⁰ And although the epigraphic texts are less prolific

²⁸³ L. B. van der Meer, *The Bronze Liver of Piacenza* (1987), with J. Linderski, *CP* 85 (1990), 67-71; cf. J. North in M. Beard and J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests* (1990), 51-71.

²⁸⁴ M. Kajava, J. Aronen and H. Solin, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 103-18 (also *di indigites*: 111ff.); on *CIL* x.5779.

²⁸⁵ For a convincing re-interpretation of the *templum* at Bantia, J. Linderski, 'The Augural Law', *ANRW* II. 16. 3 (1986), 2146-2312, at 2271ff., 2284ff.

²⁸⁶ F. Cenerini, *Tyche* 4 (1989), 17-23, on *CIL* XI.1162 = *ILS* 3870.

²⁸⁷ A fine example in the inscription of C. Iulius Demosthenes at Oenoanda, II. 69, 72: Wörrle, op. cit. (n. 139), ch. 5. Another, though not a procession, is the Torrenova Bacchic inscription (*IGUR* I.160): J. Scheid, in O. de Cazenove et al., *L'Association dionysiaque* (1986), 275-90. The Corcelle altar (fifth century B.C.) has been interpreted as a *lex arae* limiting access by certain categories of women: P. Moreau in *Hommages Le Bonniec* (1988), 316-23.

²⁸⁸ G. Paci, *MGR* 12 (1987), 115-36, from Cingoli in Macerata, similar to *ILLRP* 485.

²⁸⁹ H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea* (1989), emphasizing the sharp contrast between public and popular cult; A. Dubourdieu, *Les origines et développement du culte des Pénates à Rome* (1989).

²⁹⁰ So rightly M. M. Sage, *AncSoc* 18 (1987), 151-72, dismissing the notion that this is *IOMKasios*.

²⁹¹ Note the example with 120 combinations dating A.D. 2/3 from Selge: *ISelge* #4, and J. Nollé's projected

corpus of such oracles. The 'alphabetic' oracle is merely a refinement: Brixhe and Hodot, op. cit. (n. 224), 132-64; T. Ritti, *Oraculi alfabetici a Hierapolis di Frigia*, *MGR* 14 (1989). On the revival of oracles, see R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (1986), ch. 5.

²⁹² J. Champeaux, on Italian cleromantic oracles, *MEFR* 102 (1990), 271-302.

²⁹³ M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 20 (1990), 19-58.

²⁹⁴ One such imaginary community exists in stone, as it were, in the commemorative stelai at Klaros published by Şahin, op. cit. (n. 56), 61-71. Note also H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (1985).

²⁹⁵ *IHadrianoi* #24; see also #34f. At Ephesus, there were profits on a grander scale to be had, as we know from *Acts* 20. 24-7, and might deduce from the existence of a guild 'of the holy wine (producers)': cf. D. Knibbe, *JOAI* 56 (1985), 71-7.

²⁹⁶ cf. Errington, op. cit. (n. 28), 97ff. On Hellenistic ruler-cult, see F. Walbank, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 365-82. For the *demos* of the Athenians (joining *IDelos* 2249): A. P. Matthaïou, *Horos* 4 (1986), 79-83.

²⁹⁷ H. Halfmann, *EA* 10 (1987), 83-9, with a useful list of other cults of governors of Asia, which disappear in the second century A.D.

²⁹⁸ R. W. Parker, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 115-29.

²⁹⁹ W. Günther, *MDAI(I)* 39 (1989), 173-8.

³⁰⁰ A. Erskine, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 271-5. Another of Price's claims, that votive offerings were on occasion made to the living emperor, has been challenged: D. Fishwick, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 121-30.

and less informative, a similar insight has been extended to the liturgy and ceremonial of the imperial cult in the West.³⁰¹ Even in Rome itself, it has been stressed, the special status of the emperor could be modelled upon traditional instances of symbolic ambivalence.³⁰² Particular local aspects of the imperial cult have also received attention: the building of the temple of Augustus and Rome at Ancyra has been dated to A.D. 19/20;³⁰³ Gaius may indeed have attempted to usurp for himself the temple of Apollo at Didyma;³⁰⁴ a study of the asiarchy has suggested that it is to be distinguished from the high priesthood of Asia.³⁰⁵ From the city of Rome, closely connected with the religious image-making of the emperor, even if not strictly part of the 'imperial cult', two new fragments of the record of the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B.C. have been published.³⁰⁶

If the early organization of the imperial cult modelled itself upon the institutions of civic cult, in time the forms of the imperial cult became themselves constitutive, and influenced private honours, as in the case of the phratry of the Artemisii at Naples in A.D. 194.³⁰⁷ But the link between religion and social order is generally a good deal more indirect than this. It is often a matter of the maintenance of prosperity, as when (in a newly published text) a statue of Mercury at the Cilician Gates is said to have been established *ad proventum frugum et ad salutar[e] remedium* — including keeping away a plague of locusts,³⁰⁸ or when, in another new text, the Bithynian god Priet(t)os is engaged by (probably) a tenant farmer ὑπὲρ εὐκαρπίας καὶ σωτηρίας Κουβατηνῶν καὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος ἑαυτοῦ.³⁰⁹ But as social change corrodes the underpinnings of belief, cult may have more to do with the maintenance of ideal communities, whether pickled in the rituals of the *Fratres Arvales* (the subject of a comprehensive new study by J. Scheid³¹⁰) or expressed through the worship of purely local or professional divinities, of whom the usual crop of *ignotilae* has again been harvested, especially in Asia Minor.³¹¹ The significance of local relationships and meanings has been stressed in an account of Lycian cults in the Principate.³¹² And they are evident in the (mainly Phrygian) 'confession texts', of which several fine examples have been published. One particularly colourful example tells the story of the theft of a precious stone and the gods' punishment vented not only on the young girl thief, but also on those who had kept quiet about her guilt.³¹³ The restoration of an ideal community is also at issue in the variety of so-called *defixiones* that H. S. Versnel has suggested we call 'juridical prayers', though one might prefer 'vindictive texts';³¹⁴ R. Tomlin has completed the publication of the tablets so far recovered from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath.³¹⁵ At the other end of the spectrum, restoration of the entire social-moral order of the Empire is the grand intent of Maximinus' rescript of A.D. 312, a fragmentary copy of which has come to light from Colbasa in Pisidia³¹⁶ (see also Section x).

The mere continuity of a religious institution may tell us very little: what might be the significance of the persistence of the office of *satabara* at the temple of Zeus Olbios in Cilicia from the Iranian Empire to second century A.D.?³¹⁷ In the case of the relation between Phoenician priests and those of North

³⁰¹ D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Roman World* (1991), II, ch. 8; idem, *AntAfr.* 25 (1989), 111-14.

³⁰² J. Scheid, *Le Temps de réflexion* 7 (1986), 213-30. Cf. C. H. Williamson, *Athenaeum* 65 (1987), 173-89 on 1.8f. of the Narbonne *lex de flamonio prov.* (CIL XII.6038) in relation to Aulus Gellius, *NA* x. 15. 24f. (though her substantive point that the law is a constitution seems untenable).

³⁰³ Mitchell, op. cit. (n. 136), 29f. defending the traditional view of *IGR* III.158 = Ehrenberg and Jones, 109; cf. Halfmann, op. cit. (n. 136), 35-42. Note also the roughly contemporary temple at Pessinus: M. Waelkens, *EA* 7 (1986), 37-72.

³⁰⁴ P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 39 (1989), 191-6 on Dio LIX. 28 and Zonaras XI. 7.

³⁰⁵ R. A. Kearsley, *Antichthon* 21 (1987), 51f.; *EA* 16 (1990), 69-80; cf. *StudClas* 26 (1988), 57-65. The thesis has met with some scepticism, but so far no serious counterargument has appeared.

³⁰⁶ L. Moretti, *RPAA* 55-6 (1982-4) [1986], 361-79.

³⁰⁷ D. Fishwick on *AE* 1913, 134: *ZPE* 76 (1989), 175-83.

³⁰⁸ G. Varinlioglu, *EA* 11 (1988), 59-64.

³⁰⁹ R. Merkelbach, *EA* 7 (1986), 5f., from near Nicomedia.

³¹⁰ J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères* (1990) — more stimulating and reliable than I. Paladino, *Fratres Arvales* (1988). For some new fragments of the Acta from La Magliana, see P. Arnaud, *MEFR* 98 (1986), 401-6.

³¹¹ In Rome, note *Hercules militaris* whose *aediculum* seems to have been part of a tomb: Panciera, op. cit. (n. 8), 230 #149. There is a fine collection of rare gods in Robert, op. cit. (n. 86), 355-440. Note too: *IHadrianoi* #1-10; 19f.; 126-9; 131; Brixhe and Hodot, op. cit.

(n. 224), 124 #42f.; M.-L. Kremer and J. Nollé, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 199-203; A. Chaniotis, *EA* 13 (1990), 133 #3. There is an instructive list of Phrygian local Zeuses in T. Drew-Bear and C. Naour, *ANRW* II. 18. 3 (1990), 1907-2044; 2777-81.

³¹² P. Frei, *ANRW* II. 18. 1 (1990), 1729-1864. H. Brandt, *MDAI(I)* 38 (1988), 237-50 has urged those working on Anatolian civic cults to rely more heavily on epigraphy: the coin evidence is often suspect.

³¹³ H. Malay and G. Petzl, *GRBS* 28 (1987), 459-72; A. Chaniotis, *EA* 15 (1990), 127 #1. Other examples: P. Herrmann, *AAWW* 122 (1985) [1986], 248-61 #1f.; H. Malay, *EA* 12 (1988), 147-52, esp. #5; G. Petzl, *ibid.*, 155-66; E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 13 (1989), 37-50. For the genre, see J. C. Nieuwland and H. S. Versnel, *Lampas* 23 (1990), 165-86. Given that the standard phrase used in them is 'write down the power (of the god)' it is surprising that these texts have not figured more prominently in discussions of literate mentality.

³¹⁴ *RHD* 65 (1987), 5-22.

³¹⁵ In B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* II (1988), ch. 4; cf. J. Reynolds and T. Volk, *Britannia* 21 (1990), 379ff. See now J. N. Adams, *Britannia* 23 (1992), 1-20.

³¹⁶ S. Mitchell, *JRS* 78 (1988), 105-24; cf. on Diocletian, F. Kolb in G. Bonamente and A. Nestori (eds), *I Cristiani e l'impero nel IV secolo* (1988), 17-44. On an analogous small-scale attempt by the Senate half a millennium earlier, J.-M. Paillet, *Bacchanalia* (1988), is, despite its length, disappointing; cf. also E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (1990), part 2. Some relevant papers in I. Weiler (ed.), *Soziale Randgruppen und Außenseiter im Altertum* (1988).

³¹⁷ Dagron and Feissel, op. cit. (n. 87), #11 CI, 1. 4.

African Saturn, it seems likely that the continuities were largely formal.³¹⁸ Yet the invocation of 'Silvanus Mercury' to ensure safe passage through the treacherous Chott-el-Jerid marshes in Tunisia seems an authentic echo of Hermes, god of passages.³¹⁹ A similar problem besets the study of the relation between religion and Romanization. Some believe that this was a form of cultural imperialism: others, that it was mainly a matter of co-existence.³²⁰ It is clear that epigraphy may well not be a very adequate means of resolving such questions: the best recent treatment invokes aerial photography and the notion of 'divine geography' in aid.³²¹ And in the case of traditions, such as the Celtic and Germanic, that were largely aniconic, not to say illiterate, before contact with Greeks and Romans, even the iconography of 'authentically' indigenous divinities is in fact the result of cultural borrowing.³²²

Given the plasticity of civic religion, its constant invention of tradition, the very notion of 'Greek' or 'Roman' divinity can become very fuzzy.³²³ In accounting for religious innovation, it may often be useful to think in terms of specialization of religious functions, which may themselves shift over time; both healing³²⁴ and funerary³²⁵ functions are often well illustrated by epigraphic texts. But there is also an element of democratization at work, of extending access in different degrees to sacrificial and other participatory roles, as becomes clear, for example, in the recent collection of documents relating to Jupiter Dolichenus;³²⁶ and, in the case of the cult of Isis, of extending access to selected elements of a highly prestigious but esoteric culture.³²⁷ The character of such participation is well illustrated by the important Jewish texts from Aphrodisias, which clarify the status of θεοσεβεις ('God-fearers').³²⁸ Quite new forms of ideal community could thus acquire substance. But there might also be situations, such as a lawsuit, in which what was wanted was not community of any kind, but naked advantage: and then, in the absence of a word in the right ear, magic might just be worth a try.³²⁹ In particular circumstances, such as an epidemic, fear of magical attack might become general: an oracle by Apollo to an unknown city in the Hermos valley (?Koloë) advises the citizens that the statue of Artemis of Ephesus, which they have recently set up, λοίμοιο βροτοφθόρα φάρμα[κ]α λύσει, will free them from sickness, when the wax puppets, μάγματα κηροῦ, which have evidently been found and which prove a magician is at work, are burned.³³⁰

VIII. SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

In view of the shaky results to be expected from demographic study of antiquity, attention has continued to turn to family history,³³¹ although epigraphic evidence has again been brought into play in calculating a figure for the life-expectancy of the élite.³³² The only province of the Empire in which real progress in demography might be made is Egypt, and interesting work has been done, from papyri, both in scaling down previous population estimates (with implications for total population figures of the Empire) and speculating about variations in density and distribution.³³³ One pivot between demography and family history is age of first marriage: K. Hopkins' range for girls' marriages has been significantly

³¹⁸ J. P. Rey-Coquais in *Africa Romana* (Sassari) 5 (1988), 397-402.

³¹⁹ P. Troussset, *AntAfr.* 24 (1988), 175-204; 13 *Limeskongress*, op. cit. (n. 233), 665-8.

³²⁰ D. Plácido, *Mélanges P. Lévêque* (1988), 1, 229-44; J. Nichols, *AJP* 108 (1987), 129-51.

³²¹ E. M. Wightman, *ANRW* II. 18. 1 (1986), 542-89, a version of her discussion in *Gallia Belgica*, op. cit. (n. 186), 177ff.

³²² cf. W. Binsfeld et al., *Katalog der römischen Steinendenkmäler des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* 1 (1988); on the adoption of a Latin *Schriftsprache*, P. Herz in Herzog, op. cit. (n. 97), 206-18. Further on *Matres*: C. B. Rüger, *Bj Beiheft* 44 (1987), 1-30; idem, *Index epigraphischer Zeugnisse mehrzähliger weiblicher Gottheiten*, *Epigr.* Studien 15 (1990); H. Merten, *TZ* 52 (1989), 150ff. (inscriptions, 133-69).

³²³ cf. D. Degrassi, *Athenaeum* 65 (1987), 521-7 on the mid-first-century B.C. restoration of the temple of Aesculapius on the Isola Tiberina. On the recruitment of Apollonius of Tyana into such an invented tradition of sages, see Dagron's commentary on the epigram from near Mopsuestia in Dagron and Feissel, op. cit. (n. 87) #88: it is now a sad shadow of former versions.

³²⁴ A good study is H. Müller, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 193-233; cf. S. Marketos et al., *Documenta ophthalmologica* 71 (1989), 155-65. S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asclepion* (1989) is a useful but restricted study of the inventories.

³²⁵ R. Turcan in de Cazenove, op. cit. (n. 287), 227-46 on *NSA* 1905, 337; cf. R. Merkelbach, *Die Hirten des Dionysos* (1988), ch. 2.

³²⁶ M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultis Iovis Dolicheni* (1987).

³²⁷ L. Vidman, *ANRW* II. 18. 1 (1986), 456-518; cf. F. Mora, *Prosopografia Isiaca* (1990), 1-11.

³²⁸ J. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and God-fearers at Aphrodisias* (1987). For Jewish adoption, and adaptation, of Hellenistic institutions, cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents* 4 (1987), 213f. #113.

³²⁹ A *niketikon* for Proclus in a case to come before the *dux* of Arabia (fourth century A.D.): R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 41-60 (see also Section X). A survey of Greek *defixiones* found since Audolent, including some of Roman date: D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 26 (1985), 151-97.

³³⁰ D. Knibbe, *Berichte und Materialien des OAI* 1 (1991), 14f., but his account of the text seems open to criticism; on the identity of the city, R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 70-2.

³³¹ Whether the demographic bibliography by W. Suder, *Census populi* (1988), will stimulate more research remains to be seen.

³³² R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (1990), 93-6.

³³³ D. W. Rathbone, *PCPS* 36 (1990), 103-42.

raised, though one may have doubts about the reliability of the evidence used; and some of the implications of men's first marriages in the late 20s drawn out.³³⁴ But it is agreed that élite practice, from parental pressure, was commonly different.³³⁵ Questions of inheritance and sentiment predominate in studies of the family,³³⁶ but epigraphy is of importance mainly at the point where biological relations cede to social ones, in the study of quasi-adoption and fosterage. It is still far from clear, however, how these are to be understood — to what extent such terms were figuratively used or what relation they might bear to Mediterranean institutions such as *compadrazgo*.³³⁷ Certainly the terms *mama* and *tata* seem to have a range of meanings which makes it practically certain that they could be used figuratively.³³⁸ On an entirely trivial level, we note what is thought to be the sole epigraphic occurrence of a triplet.³³⁹

For much the same reason, the demography of death has given way to the study of the social meaning of death.³⁴⁰ One interesting approach is provided in recent studies of *Gräberstraßen*, of which the finest example since the Isola Sacra is that beneath St Peter's in Rome.³⁴¹ Important inferences about family structure, and especially the rate of commemoration of slaves, are possible provided that the mausolea are archaeologically intact. It is the greatest pity that most such assemblages were irretrievably ruined in nineteenth-century excavations.³⁴² Individual mausolea might over time accumulate large numbers of burials, especially if urns were used as well as sarcophagi;³⁴³ but it is clear that slaves were often buried in the tomb without any form of marker (unless written in ink or paint which has now faded), in sharp contrast to the case of columbaria — perhaps even as few as 1 per cent of them received some sort of commemoration. Another less valuable form of evidence is provided by inscribed urns and individual stones found alone or now without recoverable archaeological context.³⁴⁴ Although on occasion they provide useful information about costs, family relationships and the language of mourning, the narrow social group they derive from has already been amply studied.³⁴⁵ For the most part they are a straightforward example of conspicuous consumption in death.³⁴⁶ This the poor attempted, in relative terms, to imitate through membership of a *collegium funeraticium*: but these could find themselves in financial difficulties as desire outran purse.³⁴⁷ But the treatment of the dead by the poorer inhabitants of the city is an interesting test of their cultural dependence upon the élite — or perhaps an indication merely that in this area, as in many others, the cultural divide between rich and poor can easily be exaggerated.

The use of statistics based on inscriptions for studying the lives of women is fraught with technical problems.³⁴⁸ It is also difficult to be sure that inferences from the use of particular terms of relationship, *uxor*, *coniunx*, *concubina*, are valid. And the funerary commemorations, the only kind of inscriptions that exist in great numbers, are exactly those in which the greatest formality and least relationship to ordinary life is to be expected. An account of women's honour or *de facto* power in the household, for example, could never be based on them. But new evidence may always surprise: a series of lists, apparently from the first century A.D., consisting mainly and sometimes entirely of women's names has turned up from Luna, 'fasti per cosi dire femminile', and baffled interpretation.³⁴⁹ That privileges granted to certain slaves were key means of maintaining the slave system is now commonplace: these can

³³⁴ B. D. Shaw, *JRS* 77 (1987), 30-46, but see R. Günther, *Frauenarbeit-Frauenbindung* (1987), 289ff.; R. P. Saller, *CP* 82 (1987), 21-34. For Jewish girls, Horsley, op. cit. (n. 328), 221 #114.

³³⁵ cf. R. Syme, *Historia* 37 (1987), 318-32.

³³⁶ J. Andreau and H. Bruhns (eds), *Parenté et stratégies familiales dans l'antiquité romaine* (1990), the proceedings of the 1986 Paris conference; A. Burguière et al., *Histoire de la famille* (1986), 1; R. P. Saller, *Continuity and Change* 1 (1986), 7-22; S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (1988). On the forename *Pupillus* given to young children, Salomies, op. cit. (n. 100), Index, s.v.

³³⁷ *Alumni*: H. S. Nielsen, *C&M* 38 (1987), 141-88 (on the 369 cases from Rome; cf. B. M. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome* (1986), ch. 7); J. Bellemore and B. M. Rawson, *ZPE* 83 (1990), 1-19 (Italy); M. Corbier, *Africa Romana* (Sassari) 7 (1990), 815-54; Θερποί, M.-L. Cremer and J. Nollé, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 202f.; B. Levick and S. Mitchell, *MAMA* IX (1988), lxiv-vi; C. P. Jones, *JHS* 109 (1989), 190.

³³⁸ H. S. Nielsen, *C&M* 40 (1989), 192-6; cf. Dixon, op. cit. (n. 336), 146ff.

³³⁹ H. Solin, *Arctos* 19 (1985), 213f. on G. Barbieri et al., *BCR* 88 (1982-3) [1984] #34.

³⁴⁰ See, for example, the very unsettled discussion of mortality rates in F. Hinard (ed.), *La Mort, les morts et l'au-delà* (1987), Part I.

³⁴¹ See the fine collection of essays (esp. W. Eck, N. Purcell) in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds), *Römische Gräberstraßen* (1987), cf. A. R. Congès, *JRA* 3 (1990), 337-50; also H. von Hesberg, *JRA* 2 (1989), 207-13. On

the St Peter's inscriptions, not all of which have been fully published, W. Eck, *ZPE* 65 (1986), 245-93 (texts); idem in *Gedenk- und Jubiläumsvorträge am Heidelberger Seminar für Alte Geschichte* (1989), 55-90, more or less reproduced in *Dialog* 25 (1991), 26-58.

³⁴² W. Eck, *Festschrift K. Christ* (1988), 130ff.

³⁴³ Mausoleum H contains over 250 burials.

³⁴⁴ F. Sinn, *Stadtromische Marmorurnen* (1987), cf. H. Solin, *Tyche* 4 (1989), 147-70; idem, *Grabdenkmäler des Museums Greg. Profanum im Vatikan* (1989); D. Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms* (1987); D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits* (1987), with M. Kajava, *Arctos* 22 (1988), 248-56; M. Eckert, *Capuanische Grabsteine* (1988); M. Waelkens, *Die Kleinasiatische Türsteine* (1986) with *MAMA* IX (1988), xlv-lxiii and #191-547.

³⁴⁵ S. Panciera and P. Zanker, *RPAA* 61 (1988-9) [1990], 357-84, on *CIL* VI.9659.

³⁴⁶ H. W. Pleket on the grave monuments of the purple-dyers at Tyre, *EA* 12 (1988), 36.

³⁴⁷ J.-M. Flambard in Hinard, op. cit. (n. 340), 209-44; cf. A. Beschouch, *CRAI* (1985), 453-75. The new list of friends from Lycian Sidyma commemorating a death must betoken something similar: E. Frézouls and M. J. Morant, *Ktema* 10 (1985), 241f. #7.

³⁴⁸ The least satisfactory parts of R. Günther's *Frauenarbeit-Frauenbindung* (1987), Part II, are those which involve the legal status of the Roman women studied.

³⁴⁹ M. Angeli Bertinelli, *Serta Hist. Ant.* (Rome) 2 (1989), 143-73.

be deduced epigraphically from the vicariate and from the display of intimacy with their masters that some slaves affect, for example the use of *noster* (perhaps in imitation of imperial slaves), or writing out the master's full names, rank and titles.³⁵⁰ But privileges were flanked on the one side by exemplary punishment,³⁵¹ on the other by manumission. The epigraphic evidence suggests that over 65 per cent of manumitted urban slaves were beneath the age of thirty, the legal minimum under the Lex Aelia Sentia, which must mean that many, perhaps most, were never granted full citizenship.³⁵² If so, the rate of recruitment of freedmen into municipal élites must have been much lower than often supposed.³⁵³ A technical issue of some importance is that the *tria nomina* without tribal affiliation cannot be taken *prima facie* to indicate citizenship.³⁵⁴

High-level theorization about the ancient economy is connected only remotely with epigraphic evidence.³⁵⁵ But documents may be pressed for their implications on particular issues. In relation to imperial estates, it has been argued that the *coloni* of the Bagradas Valley inscriptions were not subsistence peasants but a relatively well-off interest group.³⁵⁶ The frequency with which complaints against errant soldiery derive from imperial villages suggest rather that it was their access to the political system that distinguished such tenants: but then they had no access to other, perhaps more effective, local forms of protection.³⁵⁷ Mining too was an economic activity inextricably bound up with imperial and local administration and even with the army and has been the subject of several recent studies, drawing on epigraphic evidence.³⁵⁸

It has been argued that epigraphy supports the literary sources in showing that rural slavery was by no means widespread in the later Principate; but, though the claim may be true, the argument is *e silentio*, since if anyone was anepigraphic in the Roman world it must have been rural slaves.³⁵⁹ A more searching analysis, of an area of the Meseta believed virtually city-less, found only eighty inscriptions relating to slaves or freedmen of a local total of 900; what was surprising was the variety of contexts within which such individuals were mentioned.³⁶⁰ Whether any conclusions can be drawn about density seems very doubtful, even if on general grounds it must be likely that in such an area there was very little capital with which to buy field slaves.

Several further instances of pastoral communities have been found or suspected,³⁶¹ together with evidence of the wool-industry dependent upon them.³⁶² In contrast to Jongman's model of an economically conservative agrarian élite in Pompeii, H. W. Pleket has drawn on the evidence of inscriptions to suggest that textile production in centres like Aphrodisias, Hypaepa, and Saittai was an example of specialized market production.³⁶³ Such production was neither of coarse stuffs, which were purely for local consumption, nor of luxury items: 'these cities were true Weberian export cities, generating wealth through the concerted action of a specialized agriculture and an equally specialized craftsmanship'. This may be stretching the evidence (it certainly is at Aphrodisias); and in any case it is one thing to posit the existence of such cities, quite another to estimate their significance in the total economy over time. Women's labour has been inventorized with the same results as before; this seems stony ground.³⁶⁴ That profits on a handsome scale could be made from trade is illustrated by the history

³⁵⁰ H. Erman, *Servus vicarius* (1986); N. Baba, *Kodai I* (1990), 14ff.; *noster*: A. Chastagnol, *B SAF* (1985), 66–76 (on *AE* 1976, 382); titles: P. Rodriguez Oliva and A. U. Stylow, *Chiron* 19 (1980), 457–66; *vilici*: W. Scheidel, *CQ* 40 (1990), 591–3. The Κλήμης Ἀλφίου Πεμπύωνος δοῦλος on the curious clay tile from Pellara (Reggio C., III/IIa) must surely be a *vilicus*: M. Lazarini, *PP* 247 (1989), 297–309.

³⁵¹ J. C. Dumont, *Servus* (1987), 126–8 on the *tabula Puteolensis* (*AE* 1971, 88), but otherwise neither he nor J. G. Wolf, *Das SC Silanianum* (1988), uses inscriptions.

³⁵² P. R. C. Weaver, *Chiron* 20 (1990), 275–305; cf. P. López in González Román, op. cit. (n. 45), 85–90.

³⁵³ The same conclusion on different grounds in the case of Pompeii: A. Los, *MEFR* 99 (1987), 847–73, and Jongman, op. cit. (n. 177), ch. 6; cf. H. Schulze, *Freigelassene in den Städten des römischen Hispanien* (1990). For a success story from Ostia, on the other hand, P. Herz, *ZPE* 76 (1989), 167–74.

³⁵⁴ A. Močsy in Eck and Wolff, op. cit. (n. 275), 437–66. This is nicely illustrated by an inscription from *Conventus Pacensis, Lusitania*, in which a P. Cornelius Macro records that he was granted citizenship *viritim* by Claudius: J. d'Encarnaçao, *Trabalhos de Arqueologia do Sul I* (1986), 107 #618.

³⁵⁵ cf. P. Halstead, *JHS* 107 (1987), 77–87.

³⁵⁶ D. Kehoe, *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa* (1988); cf. P. Garnsey and G. Woolf in Wallace-Hadrill, op. cit. (n. 119), 153–70.

³⁵⁷ D. Feissel and J. Gascou, *CRAI* (1989), 545–57 (on

the new papyri from Beth Phourai near Appadana on the Euphrates).

³⁵⁸ On the *metalla Illyr.*, S. Dusanić in C. Domergue (ed.), *Mineria y metallurgia* (1989), II. 148–55; Spain: C. Domergue, *Les Mines de la péninsule ibérique* (1990); J. C. Edmondson, *Two Industries in Roman Lusitania* (1987); Gaul: L. Long, *Caesarodunum* 22 (1987), 149–63. A wreck near Bagaud of c. 100 B.C. has produced tin ingots inscribed ὑπὸ Κελτών: F. Laubenheimer, *DHA* 12 (1986), 521.

³⁵⁹ R. MacMullen, *Historia* 36 (1987), 359–82; the point is made by R. Samson, *Historia* 38 (1989), 99–110.

³⁶⁰ L. A. Churchin, *AncSoc* 18 (1987), 75–89.

³⁶¹ R. Frei-Stolba in C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (1988), 143–59, cf. also P. Leveau, 177ff.; H. Devijver and F. van Wousterghem, *AncSoc* 19 (1988), 97–102; U. Espinosa and L. M. Usoro, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 477–96; cf. G. Barker, *PCPS* 35 (1989), 1–19.

³⁶² A college (first century A.D.) of *lanarii purgatores*, who did the dirty work of preparing the fleeces, from Altinum: E. Buchi, *Il Veneto nell'età romana I* (1987), 137ff.

³⁶³ Jongman, op. cit. (n. 177), chs 1–5; Pleket, op. cit. (n. 346), 29–37; at Saittai, the college of linen-workers had a special place in the theatre: Kolb, op. cit. (n. 222), 116. An association of dyers from Verona: J. Kolendo, *Archeologia* 37 (1986), 31–40.

³⁶⁴ R. Günther, op. cit. (n. 334), part 1; M. Eichenauer, *Untersuchungen zur Arbeitswelt der Frauen* (1988).

of Palmyra, a classic instance of a toll-town.³⁶⁵ The circulation of goods was ensured not merely by the *nundinae* studied by J. Nollé³⁶⁶ but also by the long-cycle market linked to religious festivals, *πανηγύρεις*, that was characteristic of the Eastern Empire.³⁶⁷ It is evident from one of the Augustan amendments to the Lex Portorii Asiae (57, ll. 115-26), the confirmation of the toll-free status of the Romaia Sebasta at Pergamum, that goods might enter such markets from far afield — the Pergamum fair was supplied through the port of Elaia. Moreover such periodic markets made an admirable occasion for euergetic gestures, such as distribution of food and money. But again the larger question concerns the significance of such intermittent, if large-scale, exchanges in the economy as a whole. The limitation of the market in one important fraction of the ancient economy, that involving the aristocracy, has been underlined, partly by appeal to the fine study of the wine trade by A. Tchernia.³⁶⁸ And it is only very recently that work on amphorae-production and the organization of specific commodity handling has reached the point at which we can begin to expect answers to the more elusive issues of ownership, circulation of resources and economic growth.³⁶⁹ The light cast is nevertheless always fitful. And even when we do have economic documents, such as the Price Edict, they raise their own intractable problems.³⁷⁰

Various aspects of civic amenities have been studied through inscriptions: notably the delivery of water,³⁷¹ and of basic foodstuffs, not merely in Rome but in numerous cities over the Empire.³⁷² The difficulty of protecting communal water supplies is illustrated by a broken inscription from a village near Saïttai in Lydia, setting out the conditions for the supply of water through a *θήμα*, presumably a masonry fountain-head.³⁷³ Diverting the water, which is to flow 'for ever', is declared both impious and criminal; and copies of the deed are to be sent to all the city archives in Saïttai and the surrounding area.³⁷⁴ The fundamental link between the distribution of food to cities, even the relatively highly organized system for Rome, and the maintenance of the domination of the élite has been brought out by P. Garnsey.³⁷⁵ It seems also to be established that local magistracies concerned with the supply of food were more common in the Eastern Empire, especially W and S Asia Minor, than in the West.³⁷⁶ But if it is true, the reason is far from clear: it seems unlikely that there was smaller likelihood of food shortage in the West.³⁷⁷ Equally uneven is the regional spread of inscriptions recording distributions of food and money in Italy.³⁷⁸ It may be that in both cases the explanation is to be found at the level of the internal conflicts of the élite itself. The rhetoric of integrity is valuable especially when there are structural fissures.³⁷⁹

A major purpose of conducting water to the city was to provide more adequate amenities for bathing. For the connection between the pleasures of the baths and civilization *tout court* was evident to all, even if, on closer examination, they might turn out to house Envy and dangerous demons, as well as delights.³⁸⁰ Euergetism helped define the superiority of civic over rural life just as it confirmed the superiority of the givers over the receivers. Indeed, by introducing wild animals to be slaughtered in the amphitheatre, it demonstrated the superiority of the civilized in the most graphic way.³⁸¹ Gladiatorial

³⁶⁵ R. Drexhage, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Osthandel* (1988); on a smaller scale, the carriers through Ostia of Rome's imports from the Adriatic: A. Pellegrino, *MGR* 11 (1987), 229-36.

³⁶⁶ See our last survey, *JRS* 76 (1986), 140f. (n. 180).

³⁶⁷ L. de Ligt and P. W. de Neeve, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988), 391-416, who cast doubt both on Shaw's 'permanent market' and on Robert's notion that *panegyris* refers solely to the economic aspect of the festival.

³⁶⁸ C. R. Whittaker, *Opus* 4 (1985), 49-75; A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine* (1986); cf. *Actas del colloquio d'arqueologia romana, Badelona* (1985) (1987).

³⁶⁹ F. Laubenheimer, *La production des amphores en Gaule Narbonnaise* (1985); D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy* (1986); *Amphores romaines et histoire économique* (1989). Oil: G. Chic García, *Habis* 17 (1986), 243-64; P. Le Roux, *REA* 88 (1986), 247-71. Garum: R. I. Curtis in Bernstein, op. cit. (n. 179), 14-49; Edmondson, op. cit. (n. 358); E. W. Haley, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 72-8. Note also F. Meijer and O. van Nijf, *Trade, Transport and Society* (1988); J. Garbsch, *Mann und Roß und Wagen* (1986).

³⁷⁰ New fragments from Crete, or possibly from the Chersonnese: A. Chaniotis, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 189-202; cf. R. S. Bagnall, *ZPE* 76 (1989), 69-76 (see also Section x).

³⁷¹ W. Eck in *Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte* (1987), 51-101. But epigraphy may be supplemented by archaeology: G. Fabre et al., *JRA* 4 (1991), 63-88 (Pont du Gard).

³⁷² P. Herz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung* (1988), 55-87 (Augustus and *annona*); C. Bruun, *OpRomFin* 4 (1989), 107-21 (Severan policy).

³⁷³ G. Petzl, *EA* 15 (1990), 61 #20.

³⁷⁴ Some other interesting cases: M. Christol, *Chiron* 16 (1986), 1 #1 (Soli); *IHadrianoi* #44; Z. ben Abdullah,

CRAI (1988), 236-51 (Ammaedara).

³⁷⁵ P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food-supply* (1988), cf. C. Virlovet, *JRA* 2 (1989), 223-34; cf. W. Jongman and R. Dekker in P. Halstead and J. O'Shea (eds), *Bad Year Economics* (1989), 114-22. For the *alimenta* as an instance of imperial euergetism: C. Bossu, *Latomus* 48 (1989), 372-82; of a senator's in the East: C. P. Jones, *JHS* 109 (1989), 189-91.

³⁷⁶ J. H. M. Strubbe, *EA* 10 (1987), 45-81; 13 (1989), 99-121; 16 (1990), 109-14 (Asia Minor); S. Dardaigne and H. Pavis d'Escurac, *Ktéma* 11 (1986), 291-302 (western provinces).

³⁷⁷ The prestige of such generosity can be judged from an inscription from Balbura in which a public slave gives 352 modii of grain annually to the *sitometrion*: J. J. Coulton et al., *AS* 38 (1988), 130f.

³⁷⁸ S. Mrozek, *Les Distributions d'argent et de nourriture dans les villes italiennes* (1987).

³⁷⁹ cf. J. R. Patterson, *PBSR* 55 (1987), 124-46 for pressures tending to move the rural population into towns.

³⁸⁰ K. M. D. Dunbabin, '*Baiarum grata voluptas*', *PBSR* 57 (1989), 8-46. One (male) anxiety is neatly illustrated by an Ostian epitaph that singles out, among a wife's virtues, that she would not go unaccompanied by her husband to the baths: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 68 (1987), 151f.

³⁸¹ cf. the euergetic activity of M. Aurelius Euprepes at Praeneste, which sets theatrical performance for the goddess, *sportulae* for the *collegia* and the despatch of animals by gladiators on the same footing: M. G. Granino Cecere, *MGR* 11 (1987), 189-210. On the imperial service which transported wild animals from Africa to Rome, see F. Bertrandy, *MEFR* 99 (1987), 211-41; M. LeGlay, *BCTH* 18 (1988), 104-7.

games and combat sports permitted still more refined technical, moral and psychological judgements between competing claims.³⁸² At Claudiopolis in Bithynia the humanity of the euergete, in this case an *archiereus*, who gives the games is neatly illustrated by his paying for the erection of two monuments which are the grave markers of slain gladiators, capped by their helmets.³⁸³ The ostensible reverse of the civilized violence of the city is the 'wild' violence of bandits and cattle-thieves in the countryside.³⁸⁴ But the contrasts mislead: banditry was, as many have noted, in fact symbiotic with the power of the urban élites.³⁸⁵

IX. WRITING AND LITERACY

W. V. Harris' major study, *Ancient Literacy* (1989), has vigorously tackled one aspect of the topic: the extent of literacy. His minimalist view has been nuanced in several ways: by the suggestion that the formulation should run 'alphabétisation pauvre, largement répandue';³⁸⁶ by recall of the inscriptional evidence that our own 'epigraphic culture' largely ignores because it seems so uninformative, the scribbles, announcements, receipts and inventories on walls and theatre steps, to say nothing of *defixiones*;³⁸⁷ and by the thought that our notion of 'poor handwriting' in documents, which is used to support a judgement of restricted literacy, may be entirely subjective.³⁸⁸ There are also problems with generalizations that are supposed to apply to the entire span of antiquity: the trivial amount of surviving evidence for the Archaic (and indeed Classical) Greek and Roman periods can hardly be an accurate reflection of the role of written documents or of literacy; it must be simply a result of the absence of epigraphic texts on durable materials.³⁸⁹

But the interesting arguments are not so much about numbers of readers³⁹⁰ at what levels of ability, as about the roles of texts, in our case epigraphic texts.³⁹¹ Two main directions of research have emerged. One, stimulated by G. C. Susini and G. Alföldy, is to tackle the formal features of epigraphic texts, the monuments that bear them. The text is conceived as just one element of an archaeological context, ranging from the character of the script,³⁹² through to 'text-carrier'³⁹³ to the unintended meanings generated by massed epigraphic monuments.³⁹⁴ Though these factors are real enough to 'dirt' epigraphers and archaeologists, our dominant relation to epigraphic texts is as individual printed documents, a relation which feeds directly back into the way epigraphy is often taught, through photographs of nicely flattened surfaces of monumental inscriptions that make them look as much like printed pages as possible.³⁹⁵ It is in this wider context that arguments for the 'symbolic' significance of the erection of bronze tablets of the law are to be understood.³⁹⁶ But granted that the monument may well connote more than the document, the additional connotations are often difficult to tease out.³⁹⁷

The second direction is that of nicer discrimination between genres: piling up gross statistics of dated inscriptions is of limited value.³⁹⁸ Here Mommsen's old quip about Roman epigraphy being *Kirchhofwissenschaft* has acquired new topicality. E. Meyer has shown how statistical studies of

³⁸² G. Ville, *Les Gladiators en Occident* (1987); J. C. Golvin and C. Landes, *Amphithéâtre et gladiateurs* (1990); P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale, I: Roma* (1988); *II: Regiones Italiae VI-XI* (1989); cf. Sabbatini in *Anfiteatro Flavio* (1988), 91-9; M. B. Poliakov, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World* (1987).

³⁸³ M. Udemis and D. F. French, *EA* 13 (1989), 91-7. Another aspect of this humanity is the spectators' safety: A. Scobie, *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 191-243.

³⁸⁴ P. Herz in Weiler, op. cit. (n. 316), 221-41.

³⁸⁵ A. J. L. van Hooft, *AncSoc* 19 (1988), 105-24; K. Hopwood in Wallace-Hadrill, op. cit. (n. 119), 171-87.

³⁸⁶ M. Corbier in Quilici, op. cit. (n. 118), 27-60, an essay that covers a lot of ground; cf. J. M. Fröschl on the treatment of illiteracy by the lawyers, *ZPE* 10 (1987), 85-155.

³⁸⁷ cf. J. L. Franklin on Pompeii, N. Horsfall on popular culture, K. Hopkins on accounting, in the excellent 'compound review' of Harris' book organized by J. H. Humphrey, *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991), 77-98; 59-76; 133-58; D. R. Jordan, *JRA* 3 (1990), 437ff.

³⁸⁸ A. K. Bowman in Humphrey, op. cit. (n. 387), 119-31.

³⁸⁹ T. J. Cornell in Humphrey, op. cit. (n. 387), 7-33; cf. J. Poucet, *Latomus* 48 (1989), 285-311; M. Pandolfini and A. L. Prosdocimi, *Alfabetari e insegnamento della scrittura in Etruria* (1990).

³⁹⁰ On the simple question of documents, the Vindolanda tablets have made it probable that plenty of similar examples have been destroyed because they went unrecognized: A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *Vindolanda* (1983), 32-44.

³⁹¹ The development of plans, maps and a 'cartographic

mentality' is an important specialization of literacy, as Nicolet has pointed out; for a recent Spanish *forma* of centuriated land, see P. Sáez Fernández, *Habis* 20 (1989), 205-27.

³⁹² M. Muess, *Das römische Alphabet* (1989).

³⁹³ See I. di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista Vetera* 1 (1987); G. Susini, *Alma Mater Studiorum* 1 (1988), 105-24. This was the subject of a conference in Helsinki in September 1991 organized by H. Solin.

³⁹⁴ G. Zimmer with G. Wesch-Klein, *Locus datus decreto decurionum* (1989) (Cuicul and Djemila); S. de Maria, *MEFR* 100 (1988), 27-62 (Brixia, Aquileia, Veleia, Iulium Carnicum); cf. S. Dusančić, *Epigraphica* 46 (1984), 91-115 on *diplomata*.

³⁹⁵ As the recent handbooks demonstrate: K. P. Almar, *Inscriptiones Latinae* (1990), L. Schumacher, *Römische Inschriften* (1988) [no photographs at all!], G. Walsler, *Römische Inschriftenkunst* (1988); L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (1991). Di Stefano Manzella's book (n. 393), which is not elementary, stands out here.

³⁹⁶ C. Williamson, *CLAnt* n.s. 6 (1987), 160-83; cf. the Madrid exhibition catalogue, *Los bronzes romanos en España* (1990); but note M. Crawford in González and Arce, op. cit. (n. 71), 121-40. And perhaps the situation with regard to legal texts is better understood against the institutional background of the *recitatio*: Mourgues, op. cit. (n. 144), 80 n. 17; Millar, op. cit. (n. 149), 358.

³⁹⁷ M. Beard in Humphrey, op. cit. (n. 387), 35-58, on writing in the context of religion. But often enough a simple reference to the 'rhetoric of power' is all that is required: cf. N. Purcell, *JRS* 80 (1990), 178-82.

³⁹⁸ But still, S. Mrozek, *Epigraphica* 50 (1988), 61ff.

distributions of funerary texts can produce new and interesting problems for explanation: at least in the provinces, epitaphs should be seen as records of claims to privileged status within the Roman order, and thus linked to other dominant epigraphic genres, honorific and civic texts. On this reading, such documents are the objective correlates of hard-earned symbolic capital.³⁹⁹ In a sense, every funerary epitaph makes reference, among other things, to the fact that other men could not afford one.⁴⁰⁰

The extremely restricted distribution of high literacy meant that there was no consistent pressure to make epigraphic texts more accessible by introducing breaks between words: *scriptura continua* may have virtually compelled the practice of reading aloud.⁴⁰¹ But there was no doubt pressure to make texts that were expected to be more widely read — epigraphic texts whose sub-text was achieved status, for example — easier to read. Hence punctuation marks, especially *hederae*. To test this hypothesis more widely, computer analysis of a large number of texts is probably the way forward. Indeed, the award of the Leibnitz prize in 1986 has already prompted Geza Alföldy to discard his earlier idea of how to write the Müller's *Handbuch der römischen Epigraphik* in favour of an account of the development of the epigraphic culture of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period as a whole, a project unthinkable, without the resources to create an appropriate data-base.⁴⁰² But it looks as though the sensitivity with which the issue of genre is handled will be crucial.⁴⁰³

X. LATE ANTIQUITY

The study of late Roman and Byzantine inscriptions has taken a step forward, since the reorganized *Bulletin épigraphique* now contains a section specifically devoted to them (edited by Denis Feissel). It is to be hoped that the editors of the Bulletin will continue to find space for it in the fullest possible form,⁴⁰⁴ since what has been hampering understanding hitherto has been the infrequency with which late texts have been brought together for study in sufficiently large groups. Another promising sign is the awareness shown at the Nîmes Congress (above, Introduction) that late inscriptions may contain elements relevant to the interpretation of earlier ones and earlier ones to that of late ones: these two branches of epigraphy throw light on each other and belong together. Other encouragements are to be found in the recently appeared *PLRE III* (A.D. 527-641)⁴⁰⁵ and in the Acta of the International Congress of Christian Archaeology held in 1986.⁴⁰⁶ Regional corpora of late inscriptions appear, of course, from time to time: one such has just been published almost fifty years after the death of its editor in 1942,⁴⁰⁷ and others are in hand.⁴⁰⁸ Moreover at the eastern end of the Roman Empire, from Cilicia through Syria and Palestine, the later inscriptions tend to outnumber the earlier ones so that general corpora are of particular value to the historian of the later Empire.⁴⁰⁹ It is very rare, however, that any one city anywhere produces enough late inscriptions to justify a book reserved for them, as Athens⁴¹⁰ and Aphrodisias in Caria have now done.⁴¹¹ Collections by reference to the medium used are also quite rare; but two useful volumes containing late texts on mosaics have just appeared⁴¹² and one on the often neglected category of texts on metal objects.⁴¹³

³⁹⁹ *JRS* 80 (1990), 74-96.

⁴⁰⁰ This in fact is very close to Eck's position: see n. 341 above.

⁴⁰¹ P. Saenger, *Annales ESC* 44 (1989), 939-52. Further work would almost certainly show that the picture was more complicated than it might seem. For example, regular word division appears commoner in earlier inscriptions.

⁴⁰² 'Epigraphic culture' is a term which some may well prefer to MacMullen's 'epigraphic habit'.

⁴⁰³ cf. M. Corbier in Humphrey, *op. cit.* (n. 387), 99-118.

⁴⁰⁴ Some of Feissel's comments, omitted from the 1989 Bulletin, are to be found in the relevant lemmata of *SEG* xxxvii.

⁴⁰⁵ Two parts, ed. J. R. Martindale (1992).

⁴⁰⁶ *Actes du XI^e Congrès Internationale de l'Archéologie Chrétienne* (3 vols, 1989); there is a convenient list of epigraphic papers in *AE* 1989, 3.

⁴⁰⁷ *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis*, published as *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae Subsidia* 1 (1989) including also 2 chapters written in 1936; see also K. Worp, 'Konkordanzen zu C. Wessel, *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis*', *ZPE* 87 (1991), 275-90.

⁴⁰⁸ D. Feissel and A. Avramea, *T&M Byz.* 10 (1987), 357-98 is the fourth part of an ongoing project,

'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance'. See also C. Asdracha and C. Bakirtzis, *Inscriptiones byzantines de Thrace (VIII^e-XV^e siècles)*. For Russia, see V. P. Yajlenko, *VV* 48 (1987), 160-71.

⁴⁰⁹ Thus G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptiones de Cilicie* (1987); IGLS 22, *Inscriptiones de la Jordanie 2, Région centrale* (1986); and, for a study based on this area, Y. E. Meimaris, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine* (1986).

⁴¹⁰ A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora XXIV: Late Antiquity* (1988), 267-700.

⁴¹¹ C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, *JRS Monograph* 5 (1989).

⁴¹² In P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Collection of Early Christian Mosaics of Greece II* (1987), the inscriptions are incidental; a group of such inscriptions is specifically edited by J. Russell, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (1987), with some useful observations by C. Mango, *BZ* 83 (1990), 141. Cf. also R. and A. Ovadia, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel* (1987). Volumes of collected mosaics (of all periods) are not so uncommon, but their editors are rarely interested in inscriptions and sometimes omit them.

⁴¹³ See M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (1986).

Some interesting details can be extracted from recent publications. New light has been cast on south-western Asia Minor in the 270s. A text from Perge presents a unique series of acclamations for the city, which help us to see on what honours she particularly prided herself.⁴¹⁴ An inscription from Cremna shows that the earliest known equestrian governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, Terentius Marcianus, already known from several other texts,⁴¹⁵ was in office in 278 under the emperor Probus, and was responsible for the defeat of a serious Isaurian insurrection. It is not certain that he was the first equestrian governor of the province, but it is very tempting to see him as such, and to take this as a characteristic example of the transference of a province from praetorian proconsuls appointed by the Senate to equestrian governors appointed by the emperor, precisely in response to a security problem.

Evidence for Diocletian's Price Edict continues to accumulate; a major addition is the full publication of the text from Aphrodisias; there are also new fragments from Crete.⁴¹⁶ Another important imperial edict of the period is the rescript of Maximinus, issued in 312 in response to provincial protests about Christian activities. The text is reported (in Greek) by Eusebius, *HE* ix. 7, and known from a more fragmentary example at Arycanda; a further copy from Colbasa in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia has now been published, with a full and helpful commentary, by Stephen Mitchell, who draws attention to the similarity of the rhetoric and presentation to that of Diocletian's Edict.⁴¹⁷ The propaganda of Licinius is also illuminated by inscriptions;⁴¹⁸ and a new milestone records Licinius the younger, son of Licinius and nephew of Constantine.⁴¹⁹

The harvest of official documents from the later period continues, with a long text addressed to the landowners of Hadrianopolis in the sixth century;⁴²⁰ in unravelling such material, it is very useful to have a new edition of inscribed texts attributable to Justinian.⁴²¹ D. Feissel continues his careful analysis of such documents.⁴²² A quite remarkable discovery from the end of the late Roman period is a pair of texts from Soloi in Cyprus, describing the Arab invasions of the mid-seventh century and their aftermath.⁴²³

Among briefer texts a gold lamella of the second half of the fourth century invokes magical help on behalf of a litigant in the court of the governor of Arabia.⁴²⁴ A new aspect of the responsibilities of a bishop is illustrated in an inscription that records the building of a remand-prison by Bishop Paul of Gerasa in 539.⁴²⁵ An officer of the late Roman army at Prusias has the new title *magister draconum*.⁴²⁶ Reconsidering the dedication of a Cilician church by a *comes*, Matronianus, R. Scharf unravels several generations of his family and offers a late fifth-century date for the church.⁴²⁷

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

Although we conventionally divide it into Latin- and Greek-speaking halves, the Empire was in fact a Tower of Babel, not merely between linguistic communities,⁴²⁸ but also between dialects of the same language, themselves evolving through time.⁴²⁹ Considerable progress has been made in the linguistic description of 'vulgar Latin', thanks to such texts as the Murecine and Vindolanda documents and the

⁴¹⁴ Published by I. Kaygusuz, *EA* 4 (1984), whence *SEG* xxxiv.1306, and C. Roueché in M. M. Mackenzie and C. Roueché (eds), *Images of Authority: Papers Presented to Joyce Reynolds* (1989), 206–28; republished, with important variants, from his own reading of the stone, by P. Weiss, *Chiron* (1991), 353–92.

⁴¹⁵ *PLRE* I, Marcianus 22.
⁴¹⁶ J. Reynolds in C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989); A. Chaniotis–G. Preuss, 'Neue Fragmente des Preisedikts von Diokletian und lateinische Inschriften aus Kreta', *ZPE* 80 (1990), 189–202.

⁴¹⁷ Eusebius, *HE* ix.7; *CIL* iii.12132, *TAM* II 3, 785, with *Bull.Ep.* 1990 #878; *JRS* 78 (1988), 105–24.

⁴¹⁸ M. Mirkovic, *Zbornik Filozof. fakulteta* 16 (1989), 37–44.

⁴¹⁹ M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Tyche* 1 (1986), 41–87, esp. 43–51.

⁴²⁰ D. Feissel and I. Kaygusuz, *T&M Byz.* 9 (1985), 397–419 (*SEG* xxxv.1360).

⁴²¹ M. Amelotti and L. Migliardi Zingale, *Le costituzioni giustiniane nei papiri e nelle epigrafi* (1985); this is the re-edition of a work first published in 1972; see *Bull.Ep.* 1987 #398.

⁴²² Most recently, *T&M Byz.* 11 (1991), 437–64, on the introductory formulae of the acts of the Praetorian Prefecture.

⁴²³ J. des Gagniers and Tram Tan Tinh, *Soloi, Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964–1974)* 1 (1985), 115–25, with

J. Noret, *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 445–52, and D. Feissel, *Bull.Ep.* 1987 #532.

⁴²⁴ R. Kotansky, *Magic in the Court of the Governor of Arabia* in *ZPE* 88 (1991), 41–60.

⁴²⁵ P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 62 (1985), 297–307 (*SEG* xxxv.1571); on the euergetism of bishops see A. Avramea, *Actes XI^e Congr. Arch. Chrét.* (1989) 1, 829–35.

⁴²⁶ W. Ameling, *Die Inschriften von Prusias and Hypium*, *IK* 27 (1985), #120, elucidated by M. P. Speidel, *TAPhA* 115 (1985), 283–7 (= *SEG* 1985, 1307); perhaps another example, F. Becker-Bertau, *Die Inschriften von Klaudiopolis* #173, with D. Feissel, *Bull.Ep.* 1989 #943.

⁴²⁷ *AS* 35 (1985), 93–8 (= *SEG* xxxv.1451), with D. Feissel, *Bull.Ep.* 1987 #493; cf. also H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (1986), 82–4; R. Scharf, 'Die Matroniani — Comites Isauriae', *EA* 16 (1990), 147–52.

⁴²⁸ On Greek and Latin in Roman inscriptions relating to the Greek world, see Ferrary, op. cit. (n. 31), 558–60; cf. F. Biville, *Graphie et prononciation des mots grecs en Latin* (1987).

⁴²⁹ On Republican dialects, R. G. Coleman, *PCPS* 36 (1990), 1–25; R. Wachter, *Allateinische Inschriften bis 150 v. Chr.* (1987). The standard work on Italic scripts and languages is of course A. Morandi, *Epigrafia italiana* (1982).

Bath curse tablets.⁴³⁰ The question of whether there are identifiable regional norms in inscriptions has been raised for Egypt by J. Bingen.⁴³¹ The survival of Gaulish, as well as the absorption of a characteristically Graeco-Roman literary form, has been vividly illustrated by a curse-tablet from the necropolis at Larzac, which, at fifty-seven lines, is by far the longest text in that language. It opens up the possibility that there was a Gaulish literacy far more extensive than has been supposed.⁴³² Iberian too remained sufficiently important to be reduced to script.⁴³³ Onomastics have continued to supply the deficiency of better information on provincial acculturation.⁴³⁴ Another aspect of the selective assimilation of dominant cultures, in this case the pretension to high literature, is the production of *carmina epigraphica*; and we should note also the pride of Aquileia celebrating in an honorific text its connection with Virgil's stepfather (actually called his father on the stone).⁴³⁵

Epigraphers of course have a professional concern with stones, though few can have been prepared for the flurry of work on quarries and the marble trade in the past few years, with significant additions to our knowledge of their organization and some of their workmen; but accounting records were not cut on stones in all quarries (in some they were no doubt painted). So that there are major gaps in our overall picture.⁴³⁶ Among other craftsmen, mosaicists can now be considered more seriously, with the help of a volume containing inscriptions and other evidence about them (they signed their work more often than we incline to suppose);⁴³⁷ on sculptors a collection of texts from Aphrodisias seems to suggest that some were of relatively high social status, and although the working conditions in the excavated sculptor's workshop there are not so gentlemanly, it ought not now to be doubted (as it was in the article cited) that they participated (from time to time at least) in festival *agones*.⁴³⁸ There were *agones* also for doctors (or were at least at Ephesus in A.D. 153/4); they are, of course, another group whose status was variable.⁴³⁹ Other evidence for ancient medicine includes a vivid illustration of its dangers in the epitaph for a boy who died *τηθεῖς ὅπρ ἰατροῦ*;⁴⁴⁰ and the first discovery of some Greek *collyrium* stamps in Gaul (among the most important documents for the actual practice of a medical specialism) seems to throw doubt on the theory that they were connected with fiscal requirements.⁴⁴¹ Among many inscriptions for actors and athletes, a tombstone at Rome reveals a *magister chori orchestopalae et pantomimorum* who practised his musical art *summa cum laude*, although his exact function is unclear.⁴⁴² More elevated is the *comoedus* Sophron, honoured at Hierapolis in Phrygia by the Universal Synod of Victors Crowned at Sacred Games (that is, by those members of it present there on a particular occasion, it is suggested); C. P. Jones proposes, very attractively, that he should be identified with a Sophron, *comoedus*, who was the subject of an exchange between Epictetus and a procurator of Epirus at Nicopolis (Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* 34).⁴⁴³

⁴³⁰ J. N. Adams, *ZPE* 82 (1990), 227-47 in connection with the revision of the letters of C. Novius Eunus by J. G. Wolff and J. Crook, *Rechtsurkunden in Vulgärlatein* (1989), which contain a *chirographum* in the writer's own hand as well as a version in standard Latin outside; on Pompeii, J. F. Eska, *Glotta* 65 (1987), 146-61; on Vindolanda and Bath, see nn. 315 and 390.

⁴³¹ In Criscuolo and Geraci, op. cit. (n. 125), 15-35.

⁴³² M. Lejeune et al., *EC* 22 (1985), 88-177; Lejeune and others have now, with commendable industry, completed three volumes of the *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises* (1985-88).

⁴³³ J. Untermann, *Die iberischen Inschriften aus Spanien* (1990).

⁴³⁴ F. Papazoglu, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 233-70; D. Feissel in Dagron and Feissel, op. cit. (n. 87), #11; G. Mihailov, *EBalk* 4 (1987), 89-111; H. Joubaux, *Gallia* 46 (1989), 213-44.

⁴³⁵ G. Saunders, *Africa Romana* 5 (1988), 69-85; J. Gómez, *Habis* 20 (1989), 172-203; cf. too the Virgilian tags/echoes collected by H. Solin, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (1986) II, 337-40. On Virgil's step-father: L. Bertacchi, *AN* 57 (1986), 401-12; G. Paci, *Quaderni Catanesi* 1 (1989), 167-86 arguing that the date is fourth century A.D., reflecting interest in Virgil also seen in the more or less contemporary *Life* of Donatus.

⁴³⁶ Usefully summarized by H. Dodge, *JRA* 4 (1991), 28-50. The most important work is J. C. Fant, *Cavum antrum Phrygiae* (1989), on the Docimeion quarries; on transport operations, J. T. Peña, *JRA* 2 (1989), 126-32; cf. Herrmann, op. cit. (n. 167), 119-28.

⁴³⁷ See K. M. D. Dunabin, *JRA* 2 (1989), 313-18; J. Lancha, *Les Mosaïques de Vienne* (1990); and, for a

survey of publications on mosaics, M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (1989).

⁴³⁸ K. T. Erim and J. Reynolds in N. Başgelen and M. Lugal, *Festschrift für Yale Inan* (1989), 517-38; and for the workshop, P. Rockwell in R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 127-43. The first signature of the sculptor Praseiteles (Pliny *HN*, xxxiii.156) seems to have turned up at Verona: M. Donderer, *ZPE* 73 (1988), 63-8.

⁴³⁹ On social judgements about doctors, V. Nutton in R. Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (1985), 23-53. H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 84 (1990), 89 #1; a local association of doctors honouring a member: C. Römer, *ZPE* 84 (1990), 81-8. On the varied social status of doctors, F. Kudlien, *Die Stellung des Arztes in der römischen Gesellschaft* (1986); H. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases* (1988), ch. 3; H. F. J. Horstmannshoff, *JHM* 45 (1990), 176-97 = *Lampas* 20 (1987), 340-55.

⁴⁴⁰ *CIL* III.14188, repub. D. Feissel, *T&M Byz.* 19 (1987), 435f.

⁴⁴¹ B. Boyer et al., *Gallia* 47 (1990), 215-49; note also B. Rémy and F. Malacher, *RACF* 29 (1990), 183f.; M. Bar, *Amphora* 48 (1987), 31-41.

⁴⁴² W. Eck, *ZPE* 65 (1986), 248 #4.

⁴⁴³ C. P. Jones, *CQ* 37 (1987), 208-12 on T. Ritti, *Hierapolis* (1985), 96 #11, suggesting that the comic actor here, M. Iulius Sophron, may be the same as the man described in Arrian, *Diatr. Epikt.* III.4. Note also a biographical dictionary of all known performers, 500 B.C.-A.D. 500, I. E. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοί Τεχνίται* (1988).

To study inscriptions is to be reminded constantly of the provisional quality of our knowledge of antiquity: not merely because they keep revealing new institutions and unfamiliar events, but because we often simply cannot catch their tone. An inscription has recently turned up from the Catacomb of Commodilla, recording the death of a little girl, Licinia Clementilla.⁴⁴⁴ She lived, her parents confide, 5 years, 2 months, 1 day and 10 hours. The function of this arithmetical nicety, however, is not simply to enlarge their grief, but to note that this was only 4½ hours fewer than had been predicted by her natal horoscope. Is this a way of fitting her death into a framework of sense; of making a mark against fate; or sheer disinterested love of truth? We cannot tell.

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⁴⁴⁴ A. Ferrua, *RPAA* 59 (1986–7) [1988], 13 #6.