

SURVEY ARTICLE

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1991–95*

By RICHARD GORDON, JOYCE REYNOLDS, MARY BEARD and CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

This survey is intended primarily to assess the impact on Roman studies in general of recent work in Roman epigraphy — whether newly published inscriptions, revised editions, or texts that have been reconsidered or newly analysed in the light of specific themes. We mean to draw attention to those epigraphic studies that make a significant contribution, in particular, to Roman history. Hence the considerable space we devote below to the newly published *Senatus Consultum* on Cnaeus Piso, of which any future study of the reign of Tiberius (or of the relations between senate and emperor in the early Principate) will have to take account. Other highlights include a centurion's own reflections (in verse) on his unit's building works at Bu-Njem in Tripolitania; a major revision of the inscribed texts of Roman laws; the first known letter of Lucullus; and a new text from Messene orchestrating the city's responses to the death of Augustus. At the same time, in this introduction, we note one or two developments in recent epigraphic practice. Though these aspects are necessarily more technical, we include them in order to help readers to find the epigraphic data they might need (publication is increasingly diverse, and in an ever wider range of media); and then to assess the texts, the dates, and the conclusions the epigraphists are offering. 'What you get' in epigraphy is not necessarily 'what you see'.

Which brings us to our first topic: new technology. The revolution in the application of computers to epigraphy has become still more evident since our last survey. The compilation of indices naturally continues: those to *CIL* I².4.2 (in press) have been able to include text-variants.¹ Epigraphic data-banks of varying scope multiply,² but, unless they can be produced on CD-ROM, they are inaccessible to most of us. Moreover they register in general only transcriptions, not the texts as they appear on the stone. As we suggested in our last survey, it is the digitization of texts, their display, and enhancement through electronic means, and open access to such images through the World Wide Web, which will (in the long run) bring about changes in epigraphic research. Here the project for digitization of the squeeze collection of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents is especially to be welcomed.³ Lovely new bottles do not, however, always contain good wine: an alleged reproduction on CD-Rom of *IG* IX.2 (Thessaly) has suppressed virtually all of the lemmata and notes of the original as well as the distinction between majuscule and minuscule texts.⁴

Traditional publication has included a good number of epigraphic corpora. Two of the projected fifteen volumes of *CIL* II² (Spain) have appeared, a massive improvement over

* This survey is once again the product of a team, organized and spurred on by Reynolds: Gordon is primarily responsible for Sections I–VIII and X, Roueché for IX; Beard and Reynolds have revised the whole and produced the final version. Some documents prompted considerable discussion among the team; no single one of us is in agreement with every detail of the final 'consensus' represented here. Production has been made possible by a generous grant from the Humanities Research Board of the British Academy. Abbreviations are adapted from those in *L'Année philologique*. With some notable exceptions, material dated after 1995 has been excluded. The authors wish to thank W. Eck, J. Nollé, H. W. Pleket, G. Sfameni Gasparro, A. U. Stylow, and H. S. Versnel for help; as well as all those who have sent them off-prints.

¹ H. Krummrey in M. Weinmann-Walser (ed.), *Historische Interpretationen: Studien für G. Walser*, *Historia* Supp. 100 (1995), 97–122. See also H. Krummrey, *Mélanges T. Kotula*, *Antiquitas* 18 (1993), 105–9. A. Varone is preparing a complete index to the wall- and pottery-inscriptions and graffiti of Pompeii for the supplement to *CIL* IV; M. Hainzmann at Graz, after helping with the *RIB* indices, is continuing work on the inscriptions of Noricum and Moesia Superior, and of the *instrumentum domesticum* of Noricum and Austria.

² See *Epigraphica* 53 (1991), 276–8. The first Greek corpus created by PETRAE is A. Bresson, *Recueil des inscriptions de la Pénée rhodienne*, CRHA 105 (1991). The lapsed Princeton project listing texts and bibliographies for cities of Asia Minor is being continued at Hamburg under H. Halfmann and P. Herrmann; a supplement to *IEphesus* is complete; next comes a data-bank of Lydian inscriptions: H. Halfmann and M. Alpers in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Lydien*, *Asia Minor Studien* 17 (1995), 1–8. Also M. Fell, Chr. Schäfer and L. Wierschowski (eds), *Datenbanken in der Alten Geschichte*, Computer u. Antike 2 (1994).

³ See the CSAD Newsletter 4, Summer 1997, available on <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk> or from 67 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LU, e-mail: csadinfo@sable.ox.ac.uk. The web site offers links to other relevant material, including Malitz's IG Eystettenses, the Cornell Greek Epigraphy Project, and the searchable concordance of publications of Delphic inscriptions. IG Eystettenses is also available on CD-Rom.

⁴ Packard Humanities Institute, PH6, 'Central Greece'; cf. the remarks of G. Lucas, *Bull.ép.* 1995, no. 295.

Hübner.⁵ For Italy, two series *Tituli* and *Supplementa Italica* continue to provide (amongst other Italian texts) interim publication towards the new supplement of *CIL* VI (which will contain 15,000 new documents accumulated since the last supplement, as well as numerous addenda and corrigenda);⁶ the first fascicle of the supplement itself (*CIL* VI.8.2), containing mainly imperial inscriptions, is about to appear as we write;⁷ and we now have an edition of the Greek inscriptions from Naples.⁸ In France, two new undertakings, *Les inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine* and *Les inscriptions latines de Gaule lyonnaise*, will, with the *Inscriptions latines de la Gaule Narbonnaise* already underway, amount to a complete revision of the inscriptions of Roman France except for Gallia Belgica.⁹ In Hungary, a fifth volume (inscriptions from Intercisa) and the index to *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* 1–4 have finally appeared;¹⁰ for Africa, one volume of a corpus of the inscriptions of Alexandria,¹¹ in the Balkans several new editions.¹² Among many publications of museum holdings particular attention must be drawn to the group, mainly from the Hermas Valley in Lydia, in the Manisa Museum, giving interesting glimpses of village life in Asia Minor.¹³

If it remains the case that 'far too few corpus publications take into account new directions in research',¹⁴ there are clear exceptions in the study of the inscriptions of the provinces of Avila, Madrid, and Segovia by Knapp¹⁵ and in the completion by Frere and Tomlin of volume 2 of the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*: no other country can boast a comparable edition of its *instrumentum*

⁵ Part 7, *Conventus Cordubensis*, ed. A. U. Stylov (1995); part 14, *Conventus Tarraconensis*, 1 (southern section), ed. G. Alföldy, M. Claus and M. Mayer Olivé (1994 on DBE slip, 1995 on cover). Both volumes often differ from Hübner in their view of the boundaries of the conventus. Photographs are mainly in a micro-fiche pocket. The ms. of part 5, *Conv. Astigitanus*, was submitted in 1995. Other Iberian corpora of the quinquennium to be noted are: J. González Fernández *et al.*, *Corpus de Inscripciones latinas de Andalucía [CILA]*, 3 vols in 5 (1989–91) (important); G. Pereira Menant *et al.* (eds), *Corpus de Inscripciones romanas de Galicia [CIRG]* (1991–), which replaces *IRG*; M. Navarro Caballero, *La epigrafía romana de Teruel* 1 (1994). Also G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne* 3, *Gérone* (1991).

⁶ S. Panciera (ed.), *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino: inventario generale, inediti, revisioni*, *Tituli* 7 (1996); *Suppl. It.* 7 (1991) is the computerized Index to vols 1–6, with full concordances; cf. S. Panciera, *Suppl. It.* 8 (1991), 8–10, for recent changes in presentation. Add the useful A. Zumbo, *Lessico epigrafico della Regio III (Lucania, Bruttii)*, 1: *Bruttii* (1992).

⁷ Ed. G. Alföldy, partly anticipated by his work on the inscriptions of the early Principate, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma*, *Vetera* 8 (1992) = *AE* 1992, nos 158–75; 182–4.

⁸ E. Miranda (ed.), *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia 1: Napoli* 1 (1990); 2 (1995).

⁹ cf. A. Chastagnol, *ILN: Antibes, Riez, Digne*, *Suppl. Gallia* 44 (1992); also *Les inscriptions latines de la Gaule Narbonnaise: Actes du Table Ronde d'Alba, juin 1987* (1992). The first three vols of *ILA*, which has been created with the aid of *PETRAE*, are B. Fages and L. Maurin, *Nitiobroges*, *Revue de l'Agenais suppl.* 118.1 (1991); L. Maurin, *Santones* (1994) and B. Rémy, *Vellaves* (1995). For the ILGL project see F. Bérard and Y. Le Bohec (eds), *Les inscriptions latines de Gaule lyonnaise: Actes du Table Ronde, nov. 1992*, Coll. du CERGR 10 (1992).

¹⁰ J. Fitz, *RIU* 5: *Intercisa* (1991); *Registerband* by B. Lörincz *et al.* (1991); Lörincz has published an index to the *Intercisa* volume, *ZPE* 95 (1993), 269–95.

¹¹ F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (Ier au IIIe s. après J.C.)* (1994). On the need for a new *CIL* supplementary volume for Africa, X. Dupuis, *AntAfr.* 30 (1994), 229–34. Note also S. M. Marengo's useful *Lessico delle iscrizioni greche della Cirenaica* (1991).

¹² P. Cabanes and F. Crini (eds), *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire, 1: inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhacchion* (1995); *IMésSup* 3.2, ed. P. Petrović (1995); *IGBulg.* 5, ed. Kr. Banev (in press); also V. Božilova *et al.*, *Inscriptions latines de Novae* (1992). A corpus of northern Macedonian inscriptions in four parts, directed by F. Papazoglu, is to appear as *IG* x.2.1; another, of the Latin stones of Slovenia, likewise in four parts (Emona, Celeia, Poetovio, Nevioudunum), is also in progress. B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae (Oescus to Iatrus)* (1989) has been reprinted (1995) (n.b. no concordances). Revision of the texts of Thessaly: J.-C. Decourt, *Inscriptions de Thessalie, 1: les cités de la vallée de l'Enipeus* (1995). Note also J. M. Fossey, *Concordances and Indices to IG VII (Megara, Oropus, Boeotia)* (1992).

¹³ H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (1994); well-known texts such as *IGR* IV 1156a = *Sherk, RDGE* no. 65 = *Smallwood, Nerva* 453 are excluded. Others that contribute to the understanding of the texts they (re-)edit: I. di Stefano Manzella, *BMMP* 11 (1991), 51–71 (*Lapidario Profano ex Laterense*); S. Panciera *et al.*, *MiscGrRom* 17 (1992), 201–82 (revision of *Capitoline Museum inscr.* cont'd.: see summary in *AE* 1992, 92); É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre* (1992); M. Kajava and H. Solin, *Epigraphica* 54 (1992), 89–115 (*Castello Fumone*); L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese*, *Kokalos Suppl.* 9 (1994); D. Modonesi, *Museo Maffeiano (Verona): iscrizioni e rilievi sacri latini* (1995). The epigraphic rooms, CL–CLIII, of the old Palazzo Borbonico, the Museo archeologico in Naples, have now been restored, and offer the visitor the pleasure of almost 2,000 stones, mostly from the Orsini collection.

¹⁴ G. Petzl review of B. Levick *et al.*, *MAMA* x (1993) in *JRS* 85 (1995), 302.

¹⁵ R. C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, *UCCS* 34 (1992), reviewed by J. Gómez Pantoja, *JRA* 8 (1995), 452–60; note especially the account of local dating criteria, pp. 339–84 (in the tradition of G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (1975), 470–84), and the profusion of maps and tables. Note also, on a narrower front, J. Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconensis* (1992), with its excellent maps, comparative lay-outs, drawings, and photographs.

domesticum, a source of information increasingly and variously exploitable — and not only by economic historians.¹⁶ In general, however, much greater concern with the archaeological contexts of inscriptions is still needed¹⁷ — not a new demand, but one persistently forgotten; it has been made recently in connection with funerary stelae.¹⁸ And in traditional publishing too, new bottles may contain old wine: there have been two cases in which devotion to the memory of a good scholar has led to the publication of deficient corpora.¹⁹

For new publications most of us rely heavily on the running records of epigraphic production in *AE* and *SEG*, neither of which (as we write) has chronicled beyond 1992 (the less comprehensive *Bull.ép.* has reached 1995). It is some compensation that their coverage is now good; the new vigour of *AE*, edited by a team under Mireille Corbier, is particularly welcome.²⁰ No doubt in reaction to the delays of *AE* and *SEG*, others have begun to imitate the annual report on new Romano-British inscriptions in *Britannia*.²¹ That is helpful. No less encouraging is the news that De Ruggiero's *Dizionario epigrafico* is reviving,²² and that a third edition of the *Guide de l'Épigraphiste* is in imminent prospect. We note also some new or re-printed epigraphic handbooks²³ and a number of new journals with a (more or less) epigraphic focus.²⁴

Technical matters are more controversial. After a decade of debate, resistance continues to Panciera's proposed standard diacritical system for published texts (brackets etc.). Current practice is obviously diverse: the two main on-going publications, *SEG* and *AE*, differ between themselves and with Panciera (though *AE* is moving closer to Panciera). But the main problem is, in agreeing a universal set of conventions, that complexity increases with exhaustiveness.²⁵ General agreement to the use of a set of new abbreviations for all epigraphic publications is a barely less utopian ideal.²⁶ There are also debates about how closely a printed text should reproduce the original, most recently whether it should note interpuncts when they appear on the stone or bronze — and, underlying this, whether the marking of word divisions can be a useful dating criterion. This issue has become topical because Knapp has dismissed them for this

¹⁶ R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, 2: Instrumentum domesticum*, ed. S. S. Frere and R. S. O. Tomlin (1990-94), with important comments by G. C. Boon, *Britannia* 22 (1991), 317-22, and M. Fulford, *Britannia* 25 (1994), 315-18, who rightly observes that most of the material is 'British' only in the sense of having been found there. Tomlin also provides many addenda and corrigenda for the reprint of *RIB* 1.

¹⁷ H. Devijver and F. van Wouterghem, *AncSoc* 21 (1990), 29-98; H. Devijver, *AncSoc* 23 (1992), 61-70, at 66; J.-M. Lassère et al., *Les Flavii de Cillium*, *CEFR* 169 (1993), on *CIL* VIII. 211-16, with R. B. Hitchner, *JRA* 8 (1995), 493-8; T. Rajak in J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst (eds), *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (1995), 226-41; G. Woolf, *JRS* 86 (1996), 22-39, at 24-9.

¹⁸ C. Wolters, *Actes du Colloque La Thessalie, Lyon 1990* (1994), 277-98; also M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine* (1986), with *MAMA* IX (1988) nos 191-532 (Aezanitis), and X (1992), xxviii-xxxii and *passim* (Tembris Valley), though cf. T. Drew-Bear, *Gnomon* 63 (1991), 424-8.

¹⁹ M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, 2 vols (1993); cf. *Bull.ép.* 1995, no. 448; 1994, no. 450; J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* (1991-93); cf. the comment in *AE* 1992, no. 704. See also A. Bernard, *La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, 2 vols (1992), with *Bull.ép.* 1993, nos 653, 655. M. C. J. Miller, *Inscriptiones Atticae, Suppl. inscr. Atticarum* 6 (1992) is worthless. For a lengthy list of corrections to *IAMaroc. 2. Inscriptiones latines* (1982) see R. Rebuffat, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1991)[1992], 439-501.

²⁰ Among the improvements we note especially an explicit set of criteria for the inclusion of Greek inscriptions and a list of the authors of each notice. The number of entries has risen from 1,044 in 1990 to 1,945 in 1992; much of this increase is due to funeraries. Note also J.-M. Lassère, *Tables générales de l'Année Epigraphique VIIe série (1961-80)* (1992).

²¹ E. Weber and R. Selinger, *Römisches Österreich* 19-20 (1991-92), 177-251, reported in *AE* 1992, nos 1399-70, 1393-1416, 1418-52. *Hispania Epigraphica* 1 (1989); 2 (1990), 3 (1993), 4 (1994) (specifically

conceived as a prolegomenon to *CIL* II², but after four issues apparently in financial difficulty). Also, for Romania, C. C. Petolescu in *Studii si Cercetari de Istorie veche* (Bucharest), from 38 (1987). There are also some thematic compilations, especially *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. R. Horsley, and *The Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies* (neither confined to inscriptions).

²² Seven fascicles, v.6-12, Macomades-Magnentius have appeared between 1991 and 1996.

²³ Some recent introductions for students: L. Kerppe, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (1991); I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (4th edn, 1991) with updated bibliography; P. López Barja, *Epigrafía latina* (1994); also A. Sartori, *Guida alla sezione epigrafica delle raccolte Archeologiche di Milano* (1994), combining the functions of an introduction with that of an exhibition catalogue. Note also I. Calabi Limentani on the early history of such manuals, *Epigraphica* 58 (1996), 9-34; and the revised edition of H. Freis's useful *Historische Inschriften zur römischen Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis Konstantin* (1994). At another level altogether, M. Guarducci, *L'epigrafia greca*, 4 vols, has been reprinted (1995).

²⁴ Thus: *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 1 (1990); *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 1 (1990); *Topoi* 1 (1991); *Ostraka* 1 (1992). New series: *Hesperia*, Università di Venezia 1 (1990); *Epigraphica Bruxellensia* 1 (1991); *Pontica* 1 (1991); *Pharos* 1 (1993).

²⁵ *Suppl.It.* 8 (1991), 9-21, at 10-21, which contains useful charts of all proposals since the first Leyden system; his original piece with H. Krummrey, *Tituli* 2 (1980), 205-15; cf. *Suppl.It.* 1 (1981), 13-19. For an opposed view (the radical abolition of conventional sigla), J. Napoli and R. Rebuffat, *Gallia* 49 (1992), 68; Rebuffat has himself long practised this renunciation to the irritation of his readers.

²⁶ See the proposals in G. H. R. Horsley and J. A. L. Lee, *Epigraphica* 56 (1994), 129-69; some of which are ugly and confusing, and seem unnecessary departures from the familiar: *BE* is, for example, proposed for *Bull.ép.* (*Bulletin épigraphique*), *Docsaug* for *E.ΣΥ.* (V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents* . . .).

purpose (at least in Central Spain) just when other scholars, particularly Stylow (working on Baetica), are coming to see them as important. The argument is still open; but the wider point is simply the obvious one that most conventional epigraphic texts omit such marks entirely, so that outsiders have no hope of arriving at a reasonable judgement on the case.²⁷

Epigraphists have, since the last century, used the available technologies to enhance what is visible to the naked eye. New techniques continue to be developed, often first by classical Greek epigraphists for dating and reading difficult texts. One method focuses on the minutest traces of chisel marks and other inscribing techniques to identify individual epigraphic 'hands' — on the analogy of Beazley's approach to Attic vase painters.²⁸ Another involves the introduction of what is essentially 'fancy lighting' to reveal readings which are generally invisible to the naked eye or on photographs. The claims of Vatin about Archaic inscriptions at Delphi are a case in point: a battery of technical aids to enhance visibility has produced quantities of dream-readings — 'lectures-fantômes' — analogous to the unreplicable results of certain natural scientists.²⁹ The process of interpretation, which is ultimately a collective one, has been distorted into an individual's uncontrollable act of faith, while there is a real danger of a fantastic reading being foisted on us.

In Latin epigraphy, the texts proposed by the suddenly-fashionable re-reading of rock-cut texts are, despite some notable advances, sometimes hardly less adventurous, if individually of less moment.³⁰ Some way further down this continuum falls the publication of the dedicatory inscription of the aqueduct at Segovia in Hispania Citerior, dated to between 28 January and 7 December A.D. 98, wholly on the basis of the emplacement-holes for the 204 lost bronze letters: a dated epigraphic text entirely within square brackets.³¹ On the other hand there may indeed sometimes be a prophet crying in the wilderness; and, before we reject such restorations as entirely fictional, we should perhaps reflect on the various epigraphic theories, long derided as untenable, that have eventually proved to be justified.³²

I. REPUBLIC

Very near the heart of the Roman image of Republican Rome are the processes of drafting, debating, and proposing laws to the vote of popular assemblies. We give first place, therefore, to the new publication of inscribed texts of Roman laws, most of them Republican, by a Group for the Revision of the Roman Laws.³³ It is an up-to-date collection, whose texts have been re-read where possible, their traditional supplements critically reviewed, and a wide range of their problems thoroughly re-considered. It is not light reading, but translations of the documents

²⁷ Knapp, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 379; A. U. Stylow in F. Beltrán Lloris (ed.), *Roma y el Nacimiento de la Cultura epigráfica en Occidente* (1995), 219–38, at 222 (early Principate); in later periods, cf. *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 6 (1995), 217–37, at 225–9. Of course, inter-puncts may offer a useful criterion for dating in one region, but not in another.

²⁸ S. Tracy in *Studies presented to Sterling Dow* (1984), 277–88. D. M. Lewis, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 103 n. 3. More systematically, discerning four late fifth-century hands, H. Mattingly, *ZPE* 83 (1990), 110–22. For inscriptions on the base of archaic sculptures, D. Viviers, *Recherches sur les ateliers de sculpteurs et la cité d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque. Endoios, Philergos, Aristoclès* (1992).

²⁹ Vatin's most perplexing claims are to be found in his *Monuments votifs de Delphes* (1991), followed up by *Boreas* 14–15 (1991–92)[1993], 33–43 and *Ostraka* 2 (1993), 145–67; cf. *Bull.ép.* 1992, no. 78; 1994, no. 349.

³⁰ See L. Gasperini, *Inscrizioni latine rupestri nel Lazio* 1 (1989); idem (ed.), *Rupes loquentes. Atti del convegno di studi sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia* (1992).

³¹ G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 94 (1992), 231–48, with *AE* 1992, no. 1034 for some detailed criticism. Analogous cases are Alföldy's proposed restorations of the dedic-

atory inscription of the temple of Mars Ultor (*Studi sull'epigrafia* (above, n. 7), 30 = *AE* 1992, no. 161) and of the Flavian amphitheatre (*ZPE* 109 (1995), 195–226) at Rome; and similarly that for the amphitheatre at Tarragona by A. Beltrán Martínez and F. Beltrán Lloris, *El anfiteatro del Tàrraco* (1991), 61–5 no. 5 = *HAE* 880; see *Hispania Epigraphica* 4 (1994), no. 842. For another startling and speculative reconstruction (of *AE* 1985, no. 50), Alföldy, *ibid.*, 127 = *AE* 1992, no. 182; formerly taken to refer to Vipsania's property in the *ager Vaticanus*, he turns it into Drusus' epitaph for his mother, A.D. 20.

³² A case in point — but outside our period — is the new Hamaxitos copy of the Athenian Standards Decree, which seems decisively to support Mattingly's arguments about the dating of fifth-century Athenian imperial texts (*SEG* 1988, 1251 with H. Mattingly, *Klio* 75 (1993), 99–102).

³³ M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes* (1996). The criteria of selection are given at 1, 2–4. The epigraphically-attested texts are in vol. 1; nos 1–36, of which twenty-five are mere fragments, are Republican. Vol. 2 contains *leges* known from literary sources (the XII Tables are pp. 555–721, no. 40); cf. D. Flach (ed.), with S. von der Laehr, *Die Gesetze der frühen Römischen Republik* (1994), with another version.

temper the wind. Many of the documents are in themselves of prime interest, like the Lex Repetundarum, for which a Gracchan date is accepted, and the Lex Agraria of 111 B.C., for which the recent proposals (centering on the line-length of the original document) are rejected; a re-examination of the Tabula Bembina on which both documents are cut is fundamental to these discussions.³⁴ At the same time, the collection taken as a whole (including fragments as well as longer texts) raises various points of general interest. So, for example, the attitudes of the briefly democratizing Gracchan period may be glimpsed: at least, this seems to be the moment when laws were first inscribed on bronze for public display, when a new and expansive style in the language of laws passed by the people is first attested (the use of pairs of synonymous words and other formulae designed, no doubt, to frustrate evasion of the provisions is seen first in the Lex Repetundarum), and, perhaps, when chapter headings were introduced to make it easier to follow the published texts (seen first in the Lex Repetundarum again, but then not repeated until the municipal laws of the Flavian period). Over the whole collection a development towards greater coherence in the organization of subject matter can be traced; conversely the later Republic shows an increasing carelessness over the need to adapt the text of the legislation in the form put to the People (the *rogatio*: 'do you wish to order that whoever . . . should . . .') to the form of an instruction (the *lex* or *plebiscitum*: 'whoever . . . let him . . .').

New discoveries of Republican date from Rome and Italy (and indeed the Western provinces) are numerous; but, while many throw interesting light on particular details of the Republican world, there has been very little of major importance.³⁵ There is evidence of the activities and representation of the élite in a fragmentary text, found in the S. Omobono area of Rome, which seems to be from a monument, apparently erected in the area Capitolina, carrying statues of three generations of Cn. Domitii (i.e. the *cos.* 162, 122, 96);³⁶ on a milestone near Bari on the road from Canusium, set up *d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia)* by L. Gellius L.f. (Poplicola), *pr(aetor)* in 94;³⁷ and in two sling-bullets from Spain inscribed *Q. Sertor. procos. pietas* (serious interpretation of which depends on the date).³⁸ The activities of more ordinary citizens are seen in the tombstone of one P. Pompeius P. l(ib.) Pylades who was a *scriba librarius tribunicus*, i.e. on the roll of the clerk to the tribunes, and *mag(ister) quinqennalis* (president) of the college of *scribae librarii*; the text is the earliest known reference to this grade of clerk.³⁹ And one could add many more.⁴⁰

There is a little more coherence in a number of texts which each have a bearing on the 'Romanization' of Italy after the Social War. Two Latin alphabets written out in the Veneto (Val Camonica), an area which already possessed its own literate tradition, may testify to Roman cultural domination.⁴¹ The modification of the governing body of a *vicus* or *pagus* in the territory of ancient Peltuinum (four *aediles*, instead of three as hitherto) may also reflect the influence of Rome.⁴² No doubt the depth as well as the pace of change varied from place to place; recent studies of Picenum and the Transpadana have stressed the slowness of adaptation to new political realities.⁴³

On the other hand in the Greek-speaking provinces there are many informative texts, revealing interesting aspects of the world into which the Romans were moving in the late third

³⁴ A. W. Lintott, *Judicial Reform and Land Reform in the Late Republic* (1992); the laws on the *Tabula* are *Roman Statutes* nos 1 and 2, pp. 39-180, mainly ed. Crawford.

³⁵ 'Die Zahl republikanischer Inschriften wächst jeden Tag', so H. Solin, *Arctos* 25 (1991), 146-7, prefacing his critical remarks on commonly-employed dating criteria. Texts from the very early period remain of course extremely rare and — beware the Lapis Satricanus — extremely difficult to interpret. A fascicle of *Lampas* 29,1 (Jan.-Feb., 1996) is devoted to the Lapis Satricanus, with conflicting interpretations by J. de Waele, D. J. Waarsenburg and H. S. Versnel (English summaries); note also M. A. Levi, *RIDA* 22 (1995), 195-219.

³⁶ F. Coarelli in *Epigrafia: Actes du colloque en mémoire de A. Degrassi* (1991), 209-23 = *AE* 1991, no. 279.

³⁷ = *cos.* 72 B.C.: M. Chelotti, *Suppl.It.* 8 (1991), 34, no. 2 = *CIL* 1² 2378.

³⁸ F. Beltrán Lloris, *Gerión* 8 (1990), 213 = *AE* 1991, no. 1062; the name may be either nominative or genitive.

³⁹ S. Panciera in *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 273-8, no. 37 = *AE* 1991, no. 114; also p. 278, no. 38,

a *scr(iba) q(uaestorius) ab [a]erario [II] dec(uriarum)* = *AE* 1991, no. 115; p. 282, no. 41, a *via[tor] tribu[n]icius* = *AE* 1991, no. 118 (only two others known). The colleges included clerks from all the different types of *apparitores*, and evidently co-existed with the more familiar decurial system; they are not heard of after the Augustan period.

⁴⁰ A fine haul of late Republican funerary texts in S. Panciera, *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 241-489.

⁴¹ A. Garzetti, *Suppl.It.* 8 (1991), (Brixia) 231, no. 37, probably late Republican.

⁴² E. Mattioco and R. Tuteri, *BA* 9 (1991), 83-8 = *AE* 1992, no. 350. On the spread of *tria nomina* among local élites in Latium and Campania in the late Republic, M. Cèbeillac-Gervasoni, *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 189-207. List of governors of Gallia Cisalpina down to 59 B.C.: F. Cassola in W. Eck and H. Galsterer (eds), *Die Stadt in Oberitalien und in den nordwestl. Provinzen des römischen Reiches* (1991), 17-44, at 43-4.

⁴³ C. Delplace, *La Romanisation du Picenum: l'exemple d'Urbs Salvia*, *CEF* 177 (1993), stressing the role of the imperial cult; G. Bandelli in *La città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana* (1990), 251-77.

and second centuries B.C., Roman policies and activities and something of the local reactions to these.

For the Balkans, there is an important revision of material from the third century B.C. After an autopsy of the Pharos inscription (*SEG* 23:489) accompanied by a fresh look at the literary evidence for Rome's relations with Demetrius of Pharos, Derow argues that Rome made a formal alliance with the city in 229, destroyed the city in 219 after Demetrius had sided against Rome, but (blaming him, rather than the city) renewed the alliance thereafter; the inscription also illustrates the devices by which a shattered community might seek to re-establish itself.⁴⁴

In the second century the speed of adaptation to the new conditions after 168 B.C. is underscored by a decree of the Council and the Thousand (the Assembly) of the Acarnanian league, to be dated 167, declaring the Roman legate Cn. Baebius Tamphilus (*praetor urbanus* 168) *proxenos* and *euergetes*, evidently for his intervention on their behalf.⁴⁵ Given the rarity of Acarnanian public decrees, the find is all the more significant: the pro-Roman faction, largely centred on the city of Thyrreion, demonstrates in stone the value of being on the victorious side; and this may have been the occasion when the city became the League capital.⁴⁶ The well-known text from Dyme, the letter from Q. Fabius Maximus (who must be Servilianus), which Ferrary recently proposed to re-date from c. 115 to 144 B.C., has been reconsidered by R. M. Kallet-Marx after re-examination of the stone and of the traditional supplements to its text; he maintains that its meaning is less clear than has been thought, and that, on the evidence we have, a revolt of the masses is merely a marxist fancy.⁴⁷ However that may be, it is at least probable that the text can no longer be taken as testimony to the close supervision of Greek affairs by the proconsul of Macedonia, but should be seen rather as part of the regulation of the affairs of Greece immediately after 146.⁴⁸

For Asia, a dedication of a statue of the 'Demos Rhomaion' by the demos of Samos, for its excellence and beneficial action, probably to be dated c. 188 B.C. and interpreted as a response to a favourable decision over disputed territory, seems to be the earliest known example of this personification (and emphatically a personification rather than an abstraction).⁴⁹ In the period of provincialization a bi-lingual milestone found in Pamphylian Side, whose Latin text reads 'M. Aquillius M' f. cos. CCCXXXI', i.e. 331 Roman miles from Pergamum, testifies to the road-building activities of M. Aquillius (who was governor of Asia 129–126 B.C.) in the context of the war against Aristonicus, and also shows that Pamphylia was included in the province of Asia from the beginning.⁵⁰ The supposed reference to that war in the Polemaios decree from Claros, which mentions attacks on the Δούλων πόλις, has been denied on the grounds that the name continued to be used for a considerable time afterwards.⁵¹

A new fragment of *IDélos* 1562 of 102/1 B.C., recording the dedication of a temple and *imagines clipeatae* to Poseidon, the Great Gods of Samothrace, and Mithradates VI of Pontus Eupator Dionysus, 'for the good of (ὕπερ) the demos of the Athenians and the Romans', makes it clear that the dedicator, whose family is known to have had links to the Pontic court, paid for the whole himself.⁵² At least on the face of it, all involved show a loyalty to Rome which was, of course, to be abandoned all too soon. There is some doubt about the significance of a decree from Phanagoreia in the Thracian Chersonnese, dated by the Pontic era to 87 B.C., awarding privileges,

⁴⁴ P. S. Derow, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 261–70.

⁴⁵ P. Funke, H.-J. Gerke and L. Kolonas, *Klio* 75 (1993), 131–44. On Tamphilus, see Livy 45.17.4; 26.11–15 (Broughton, *MRR* 2, 435).

⁴⁶ The text also reveals that the usual assumptions about the representation of cities and *ethne* in the Council must be revised. On Roman arbitration of disputes after 168, R. Scuderi, *Athenaeum* 79 (1991), 371–415.

⁴⁷ *Syll.*³ 684 = Sherk, *RDGE*, no. 43; see R. M. Kallet-Marx, *CQ* 45 (1995), 129–53, with the republished text on p. 131; for the re-dating, J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellenisme et impérialisme* (1988), 189–90 and n. 228. A major value of the article is to remind us of the role that supplements have played in the interpretation of the text.

⁴⁸ cf. also R. M. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire* (1995), esp. chs 1–3, stressing the low level of Roman intervention in Greece 144–88 B.C. D. Knoepfler, *MH* 48 (1991), 252–80, argues on the basis of *SEG* 26:1034–5 that Eretria may have been pro-Roman during the Achaean revolt; also remarks on L. Mummius and the Greeks.

⁴⁹ C. Habicht, *MDAI(A)* 105 (1990), 259–68 = *SEG* 40:736, to be referred to Manlius Vulso's verdict in favour of Samos in 188 B.C. (*I.Priene* 41.4–7 etc.). P. Bruneau has defended his plausible view that *I.Délos* 1778, on a statue-base to Roma, is to be dated c. 150–125 B.C., *BCH* 115 (1991), 379–86. Note the first volume of the Index to the inscriptions of Delos: J. Tréheux, *Inscr. de Délos, Index 1: Les étrangers à l'exclusion des Athéniens de la clérouchie et des Romains* (1992).

⁵⁰ D. H. French, *EA* 17 (1991), 53 no. 3. It has been suggested that Aquillius, or rather one of his legates, was prosecuted by Cn. Domitius on behalf of the Samians: C. F. Eilers, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 167–78, republ. *IGR* iv.968.

⁵¹ See our last survey, *JRS* 83 (1993), 134; J.-L. Ferrary, *CRAI* (1991), 557–77, on *SEG* 39:1243, with an important discussion of the rights of *civitates liberae* in the period 130–110 B.C. in the context of the decree for Menippus (1244).

⁵² G. D. R. Sanders and R. W. V. Catling, *ABSA* 85 (1990), 327–32 = *SEG* 40:657.

including citizenship, to a group of mercenaries who have evidently been in the city for some time, but it may well bear on the first Mithridatic war.⁵³ The soldiers are to be exempted from payment of a *politikon*, perhaps a city tax levied on residents, an *episkenosis*, and an *epithesis*, neither term readily intelligible in the context. It has been suggested that the final privilege accorded, the right to use the port of Phanagoreia, implies that the troops were about to leave to join Mithradates' army in northern Greece. In that connection, the names of the two Chaeroneians, Homoloichos and (W)anaxidamos, who routed that king's Pontic troops at Chaeroneia, have been read on one of the battlefield trophies.⁵⁴ The first known letter by Lucullus, probably as *quaestor propraetore* in 86 B.C. (ταμίαις καὶ ἀντιστρατήγοις) l. 9), has come to light, part of a small dossier confirming the privilege of asylum for a hitherto totally unknown temple of Isis and Sarapis, σεμνότατον καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐν πάσῃ τῆι πόλει καὶ χάριαι δοξαζόμενον ('revered and esteemed throughout the city and its territory') (ll. 11-13), in Mopsuestia in Cilicia.⁵⁵ Lucullus' letter simply mentions that earlier Roman commanders in the area, οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀποκράτορες (ll. 15-16) — apparently the first instance of this formula, so common in Imperial letters — had granted the temple the right to give asylum (possibly in consideration of help against the pirates).⁵⁶ But the first surviving letter in the dossier, presumably by Sulla himself, refers to Seleucid grants, and clearly implies a direct succession from them.⁵⁷

This text is not the only one to refer to the piracy of the period: note the fort at Rhamnous in Attica badly damaged by pirates in ?90-80;⁵⁸ a couple of dedications made at Samothrake between 85 and the mid-60s by Chians [οἱ στρατευσάμενοι ἐν τοῖς λη]στοφυλακικοῖς πλοίοις ('who served in the anti-piratical fleet');⁵⁹ and the heartfelt expression of gratitude to Pompey by the *demoi* and *neoi* of Ilium ἀπολύσαντα [τοὺς ἀ]νθρώπους ἀπὸ τε τῶν βαρβαρικῶν πολέμων [καὶ τῶν π]ιρατικῶν κινδύνων ('freeing mankind both from wars with barbarians and from the dangers of piracy').⁶⁰ In addition, there has now been a re-assertion of the importance of references to pirates, down-played in recent discussion, in the so-called 'pirate law', that is, the *Lex de provinciis praetoriis*, to be dated to early February 100 B.C.⁶¹

Finally, one or two new inscriptions relate to a variety of political and military incidents during the last twenty years of the Republic. From Cnidus comes a dossier of honorific inscriptions for the family of C. Iulius Theopompus. This man, together with one of his sons, Artemidorus, obtained freedom 'and democracy' for his city from Julius Caesar,⁶² who is himself honoured in another new Cnidian text as patron and benefactor.⁶³ Theopompus is an example of

⁵³ J. G. Vinogradov and M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 159-70, with important remarks by Ph. Gauthier, *Bull. ép.* 1993, no. 377.

⁵⁴ cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* 19.9-10; J. Camp *et al.*, *AJA* 96 (1992), 443-55 = *SEG* 41.448 = M. Sève, *Bull. ép.* 1993, no. 96. For an honorific inscription to Euphranor, son of the Rhodian Damagoras who distinguished himself in the same war (Appian, *Mithr.* 25; Plut. *Lucull.* 3.8-9), see V. Kontorini, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 83-99. The son may well be the Rhodian navarch who defeated the Egyptian fleet before Alexandria in 48 B.C. (*Bell. Alex.* 15.1-5; for his fate, 25.3-6).

⁵⁵ M. H. Sayar, P. Siewert and H. Taeuber, *Tyche* 9 (1994), 113-30. The round letters seem to have been formed with dividers, a technique rare in late Hellenistic epigraphy (e.g. *IOlymp.* 530, 64 B.C.) but increasingly affected by late Republican cutters in Italy.

⁵⁶ Earlier Roman commanders' would include Sulla, between 97/6-93/2. Much of Lucullus' letter is devoted to the valuable services performed by Diodotus, the priest of Sarapis and Isis, which may have included a subsidy to him from the temple treasures.

⁵⁷ The letter of ?Sulla, which includes the very unusual formula κατὰ τὴν παρ[ρ]άκλησιν τὴν Λευκόλλου ('according to the recommendation of Lucullus', ll. 5-6), would date from 85 B.C. If Mopsuestia had not yet been sacked then, Justin's dating (40.1.4, 2.3) of the Parthian invasion to 86 can hardly be right (p. 128), and Appian, *Syr.* 48 and 70 (83 B.C.) must be preferred. The *asylia* of Mopsuestia was previously known from the coins; on Hellenistic asylum in general, see now K. J. Rigsby, *Asylia* (1996).

⁵⁸ B. C. Petrakos, *EAH* (1992), 3-4 = *SEG* 41:63.

⁵⁹ E. K. Skarlatidou, *Horos* 8/9 (1990/1), 153-72 = *SEG* 41:717b and c. The troops had themselves initiated, a wise move if they were to be at sea a good deal. The oracle of Clarian Apollo to Syedra (Bean and Mitford, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.* 85 (1965), 21 no. 26), which refers to pirate attacks in l. 12, has been reprinted as *SEG* 41:1411.

⁶⁰ E. Schwertheim, *7 Arastirma Sonuqlari Toplantisi* (1989), 229-37 = *AE* 1990, no. 940 ll. 4-6; cf. the earlier find, *I.Ilion* no. 74. Some late Hellenistic epigraphic examples of ransoms paid to pirates in A. Bielmann, *Retour à la liberté* (1994).

⁶¹ H. Pohl, *Die römische Politik und die Piraterie im östlichen Mittelmeer vom 3. bis 1. Jhd.* (1993), esp. 215-56 (dating to late in the same year); a new edition of the Cnidus text (*JRS* 64 (1974), 195-200) without commentary in W. Blümel, *I.Knidos* no. 31; a text of both versions (Cnidus further revised and re-read) with commentary, by various hands, in Crawford, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 1, 231-70, no. 12.

⁶² See Strabo 14.2.15 (656C); App. *BC* 2.116, *IG* XII.1, 90 etc.; the dossier: W. Blümel, *I.Knidos* nos 43-51; the texts relating to Theopompus and Artemidorus appeared already as *AE* 1990, no. 942a,b. For a new document, probably from Sardis, dated by the priest of Rome (129-27 B.C.), see Malay, *op. cit.* (n. 13) no. 449.

⁶³ *I.Knidos* no. 41 = *AE* 1992, no. 1595; the treaty between Rome and Cnidus, *IG* XII.3, 1264, appears as *I.Knidos* no. 33. P.-S. G. Freber, *Der hellenistische Osten und das Illyricum unter Caesar* (1993), 189-94, offers a list of twenty-five honorific texts and statue-bases for Caesar in Greek cities (for some wider comments, A. Erskine, *CR* 44 (1994), 350-1).

many local notables whose personal relations with specific Romans deeply affected the histories of their cities at this time. A fragmentary text from Anthemous in Chalcidike records the award of a gilded *imago clipeata* in honour of an unknown politarch, who, sometime between 46 and 37 B.C., took charge of the city's affairs and protected the resident foreigners, τῶν παροικούντων ξένων (l. 8) i.e. Romans, πάντας ἀφελὼν τῆι κακοπαθίῃαι καὶ δαπάνην πῆσαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰσενε[γ]κόμενος ('preserving all from misfortune and meeting all expenses from his own purse') (ll. 9–11).⁶⁴ The reference may be to the disturbances which led Antony to appoint L. Marcius Censorinus proconsul of Macedonia in 42 B.C., but perhaps the problem was rather one of internal politics, which involved either feelings against Romans as such or exploited the partisanship of the Roman civil wars as an expression of local partisanship.⁶⁵ A statue base for M. Insteius L.f. *autokrator* has been found in Europus, in the Axios Valley, evidently referring to the operations he conducted for Antony in 39 or 38 B.C. against the Illyrian Dardani.⁶⁶ A fascinating text from Bayat near Termessos in Pisidia reminds us of the not inconsiderable role played by 'client' kings in the pacification of mountain peoples — 'bandits' — in Anatolia. It honours Trokondas, son of Obrimotes, who was sent by the Termessians with a detachment of troops to help Amyntas, the tetrarch of Galatia appointed by Antony in 39 B.C., against the native stronghold of Sandalion.⁶⁷ He was evidently killed during the operation, and was honoured both by his own city and by the tetrarch ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀριστείοις καὶ ἄνδριάντι ἐπιχρῶσθω ('for his excellence, with the greatest honours for excellence and a gilt (bronze) statue') (ll. 9–10).⁶⁸

Concerns of a different sort may have exercised Mithradates II of Commagene (c. 36–20 B.C.), when he took over his kingdom from his father. In a new inscription from a rock-cut room near the bridge over the Euphrates between Adiyaman and Urfa his name appears to date the dedication, and the dedicator (?the royal architect) omits both for him and for his father titles regularly used by his father — *theos*, *dikaïos*, and *philhellen*; only *philoromaïos* is retained, while Zeus Soter seems to replace Zeus Horomasdes as the dynastic god. This presumably reflects the king's desire to adjust to the new realities of power.⁶⁹

II. EMPERORS AND THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

'Not only the Father of his Country, but of Roman Epigraphy too . . .?' So Alföldy (playfully, but pointedly) concludes an important review of the role of inscriptions in the Augustan Principate. Although the recent accumulation of Latin inscriptions from the late Republic shows that there was plenty to build on, Alföldy's argument that Augustus' reign played a decisive role in the creation of an epigraphic culture is telling. "'Epigraphic culture" became a culture of the imperial monarchy, and at the same time of the entire Roman Empire.'⁷⁰ That said, most of Augustus' own imperial inscriptions at Rome are lost or survive only in fragments, as Panciera's publication of the texts from his Mausoleum reminds us.⁷¹ This includes a complete reappraisal of each of the known inscriptions (some surviving only in manuscript copies), and results in the following roll-call of imperial occupants of (what we tend to think of,

⁶⁴ M. Hatzopoulos and L. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides* (1992), 44–8 = *AE* 1992, no. 1524; cf. P. M. Nigdelis, *BCH* 118 (1994), 223–4, no. 39.

⁶⁵ So M. Hatzopoulos, *Bull. ép.* 1995, no. 426.

⁶⁶ Appian, *BC* 5.75 (320); he fought for Antony at Actium. See P. M. Nigdelis, *BCH* 118 (1994), 215–28, republishing a text that appeared as *AE* 1992, no. 1520. The name of a forgotten senator, L. Livius L.f. Ocella, quaest. Hisp. sometime between 41–27 B.C. (*CIL* x.6319), has been resurrected by W. Eck, *Listy Fil.* 114 (1991), 93–9 = *AE* 1991, no. 423; H. Solin has urged strongly against the attempt by C. Ferone, *MiscGrRom* 16 (1991), 173–8 to turn C. Rubrius C.f. Aim. aid(*ilis*) praef. soc. in navibus longis (*AE* 1980, no. 197) into a Roman senator (*Arctos* 27 (1993), 123–4).

⁶⁷ S. Mitchell in D. French (ed.), *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia. In Memoriam A.S. Hall*, BIAAnkara 19 (1994), 95–112. The text reveals for the first time the correct spelling of Dyitalos, the name of Amyntas' father, necessitating a change in the received text of *OGIS* 544. Sandalion can now be located 20 km SE of Sagalassos.

⁶⁸ cf. S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (1993), 1, 72–3. A reference may have been found to the city in E. Pisidia whose territory Cicero refers to as *ager Agerensis* (*Leg. agr.* 2.19.50); J. Bousquet and P. Gauthier, *REG* 106 (1993), 12–23. It occurs in the form Ἀγγειρεῖς, so that the city itself was probably *Angeir/a* (termination uncertain).

⁶⁹ S. Şahin, *EA* 18 (1991), 101–5 = *SEG* 41:1501; also *ibid.*, 114–32. On all aspects of his father's cult, see now H. Waldmann, *Der kommagenische Mazdaismus*, MDAI(I) Beiheft 37 (1991), which includes a complete word-index of the texts, pp. 209–28.

⁷⁰ *Gymnasium* 98 (1991), 289–324, at 322 (developing ideas that have been 'in the air' for some time: see, for example, W. Eck in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (1984), 129–67; A. Wallace-Hadrill in M. Whitby *et al.* (eds), *Homo Viator* (1987), 221–30).

⁷¹ H. von Hesberg and S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus: der Bau und seine Inschriften* (1994), 66–175 (with an interesting section (80–4) on the 'esclusi' — members of early imperial dynasties directly excluded from burial here).

and call) *Augustus'* tomb: Marcellus (23 B.C.), Agrippa (12), Octavia Minor (11/0), Drusus (9), Augustus (A.D. 14), Germanicus (19), Livia (29), Agrippina the Elder with Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar (37), Poppaea (65), Vespasian (79, temporarily before his ashes were transferred to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*), Nerva (98); plus, with varying degrees of certainty, Lucius Caesar (2 B.C.), Caius Caesar (A.D. 4), the younger Drusus (23), Tiberius (37), Claudius (54). Panciera concludes that the Mausoleum gradually 'became not just the location of a new line of heroes, but a shrine and an archive of documents relating to imperial history' — an image to which the *Res Gestae* displayed at its entrance must have contributed.⁷²

The success of Augustus' assiduous representation of himself as devoted family man (one of several strategies to offset the insistent tug of superhumanity) is illustrated by an insignificant text from Aufidena set up to Augustus as *po[nt(ifex) max(imus)* along with his wife and children (*coniugi, le[iberisq(ue)]*) by a local man.⁷³ But stress on the family was by the same token also a dynastic move, of which all were aware — and which many epigraphic texts confirm. The elder Drusus, for example, the younger brother of Tiberius, who died in 9 B.C., was honoured at Cnidus as patron and εὐεργέταν διὰ προγόνων (that is, inheriting the tradition of benefaction from his ancestors).⁷⁴ Some fragmentary texts from the Largo Argentina in Rome have been brought together for the first time to suggest a large imperial monument set up in A.D. 5/6 by the Seleucians of Pieria to Augustus and Caius and Lucius Caesares, and possibly to Livia, Germanicus, and Tiberius as well.⁷⁵ The theatre at Carthago Nova in Hispania Citerior was dedicated to C. Caesar in 5 B.C.;⁷⁶ again it has been urged (perhaps over-ingeniously) that Tiberius and Drusus were represented as the new Dioscuri at the re-dedication of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in A.D. 6 — which (if correct) would be a new variant in the characteristically mythic terms in which Augustan dynastic power was displayed.⁷⁷

An important new text from the Sebasteion at Messene has appeared in a number of fragments over the last quinquennium.⁷⁸ Though serious lacunae still remain, the stone has now been sufficiently reassembled to show that it was a Messenian decree of A.D. 14, setting out the city's response to the death of Augustus and honours for the new emperor. These include (ll. 23-36) a public procession, an ἐκεχειρία (suspension of judicial business) for three days, and a sports contest on Tiberius' (or Augustus') birthday. In addition the Messenians decided to send an embassy to Rome (ll. 36-40), 'to lament that the god is no longer manifest amongst us' (τὸν λυπηθησομέναν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μηκέτι ἄμειν ἦμεν ἐ[μ]φονῆ τὸν θεόν), to congratulate the new 'world ruler', and to seize the opportunity, while in Rome, to tackle him about some local difficulties affecting their city (probably a dispute with Sparta) 'and to implore him that we may receive some consolation'.⁷⁹ A perfect example of the imbrication of public grief and political complaint — or of not wasting money on two embassies when one would do.

The problems of the honours decreed for Germanicus after his death (in what is now called the Lex Valeria Aurelia and the preceding senatus consultum: essentially, that is, the Tabulae Hebana and Siarensis combined) are fully discussed in *Roman Statutes* — where new texts,

⁷² *ibid.*, 174-5. The ideological significance of the *Res Gestae* (in its various epigraphic locations) is discussed by J. Elsner in *idem* (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (1996), 32-53.

⁷³ M. Buonocore, *Suppl.It.* 8 (1991), 57 no. 2 (Aufidena) = *AE* 1991, no. 540; an improved reading of the text first published, *NSc* 1918, 142 no. 1.

⁷⁴ W. Blümel, *I.Knidus* no. 43 = *AE* 1992, no. 1597. The formulation εὐεργέταν διὰ προγόνων is well attested in the context of local benefactors, showing also how the new style imperial benefaction could be represented in a traditional guise; at the same time, the idea of Drusus' *ancestors* evokes an 'imperial' dynasty that was itself the direct descendant of the Republican aristocracy.

⁷⁵ Originally published in G. Alföldy, *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 675-86 (in German, reprinted in Italian, in Alföldy, op. cit. (n. 7), 82-93) = *SEG* 41:869-70. The suggestion is that it originally stood at the Porticus ad Nationes.

⁷⁶ S. F. Ramallo Asensio, *AEA* 65 (1992), 54 no. 2 = *AE* 1992, no. 1076. *CIL* XIII.1590a, b has been restored to refer to the two princes by Rémy, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 2.

⁷⁷ Alföldy, op. cit. (n. 7), 39-58; 181-2, republ. *CIL*

VI.30303, 30304, 30306, 39188, 2-3 and *NSc* (1927), 290 no. 3 (= *AE* 1992, no. 159). The reconstruction is based on the surviving emplacement-holes for just thirteen scattered letters.

⁷⁸ P. Themelis, *PAAH* 1990 [1993], 87-91 adding to *PAAH* 1988 [1991], 57-8 = *SEG* 39:378; 41:328; cf. *Bull.ép.* 1993, no. 263; earlier fragments now seem to be part of the same text, *IG* V.1.1448; L. Moretti, *RPAA* 60 (1987-88), 250-1 = *SEG* 38:340. Cf. *IGRR* IV.251 (Assos).

⁷⁹ For examples of imperial intervention (which may often have followed a successful petition), see T. Ritti, *Anathema: regime delle offerte e vita dei santuari nel mediterraneo antico*, Atti del Convegno Roma, giugno 1989 = *ScienzAnt* 3/4 (1989/90), 871, no. 3 = *SEG* 41:1198 (a brief text from Hierapolis — newly put together — in honour of Tiberius and the *demos*, which may have been occasioned by financial assistance after the earthquake of A.D. 17); G. Paci, *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 691-704 (= *AE* 1991, no. 430) re-reading *AE* 1951, no. 200/1966, no. 72 as a record of Titus' assistance to Salerno after earthquake damage (which, if correct, would be the first indication that the natural disasters of A.D. 79 affected places so far afield).

translations, and detailed commentary are offered.⁸⁰ But other aspects of Germanicus' life, death, and subsequent renown have also been the subject of recent work. Panciera's study of the inscriptions from the Mausoleum has made a convincing case for attributing one of the fragmentary (and much disputed) epitaphs to Germanicus.⁸¹ A major new text from Pamphylian Perge (though unfortunately badly damaged in the crucial section) celebrates a local benefactor who seems to have rendered important service in the city's relations with Germanicus, both at home and abroad (which is presumably to be connected with Germanicus' fateful eastern journey early in A.D. 18).⁸² Meanwhile, attempts to find public monuments to Germanicus in the city of Rome itself have resulted not only in a (perhaps over-)confident reconstruction of a monument near the Via Scrofa,⁸³ but also in the locating of the memorial arch *in Circo Flamini*, mentioned in the Lex Valeria Aurelia, just by the Porticus Octaviae.⁸⁴

Augustus' (repeated) dynastic plans may have been obvious to all, but the construction of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in its canonical form was very much the creation of the reign of Claudius. That at least is the implication of the series of dynastic cycles, combining sculptures and commemorative inscriptions, found widely in Italy,⁸⁵ many of these were erected during Claudius' reign, or have a specifically Claudian focus — characteristically stressing the role of Germanicus (alongside the founder Augustus) as the 'dynastic lynch-pin' between the Julian and Claudian branches of the family, as well as Claudius' brother.⁸⁶ This general point has been underlined by the discovery of a plaque, dated A.D. 44, from the monumental façade of the city gate at Verona.⁸⁷ Of the three dedications, that to Messallina (whose name is erased) was inscribed a little lower than those of Claudius and Germanicus; there must have been a second plaque with three other names (perhaps Augustus, and Claudius' parents, Drusus maior and Antonia minor). This is not a phenomenon restricted to Italy. The Claudian cycle at Sardis, which includes a dedication to Tiberius as Claudius' uncle, has been restudied in the light of new finds.⁸⁸

By and large, however, most of the new inscriptions referring to emperors between the mid-first and mid-third century have contributed little fresh to our general understanding of the history of the Principate, even if they may throw some light on the decisions, aspirations, or perceptions of particular individuals or local communities in relation to a particular ruler on a particular occasion.⁸⁹ It is far too easy to generalize and to over-interpret — to slide into assuming, for example, that an inscription for Nero from Messene or Sparta must indicate his

⁸⁰ Crawford, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 507-43 no. 37; recent bibliography on the Tab. Hebana, p. 508; Siarensis on p. 509. This will be the starting-point for all future discussion; though note the useful survey of the literature 1985-91, mainly of Lebek's articles, in *AE* 1991, nos 20-2.

⁸¹ Hesberg and Panciera, *op. cit.* (n. 71), 124-8 (discussing *CIL* VI.894b = 31194b).

⁸² S. Şahin, *EA* 24 (1995), 23-35. On Germanicus' route, pp. 26-30; also noteworthy is the Σεβαστή ἄγορά (Augustan market/Forum Augusti) mentioned in Perge (l. 7). Germanicus' connections in this area are also discussed by Mitchell, *op. cit.* (n. 68), 1, 159. Perge itself is now known to have been given the first rank among the conventus-cities of Asia (*EA* 11 (1988), 115 no. 22 l. 14ff.); Şahin had earlier suggested that *SEG* 38:1333 (a fragmentary dedication from Apendus, known only from a manuscript copy) is in fact dedicated not to Drusus but to Germanicus (*EA* 17 (1991), 133-4).

⁸³ G. L. Gregori, *ArchClass* 45 (1993), 351-65.

⁸⁴ E. Rodriguez-Almeida, *BollArch* 9 (1991), 1-4 re-examining *AE* 1952, no. 27. The bulk of the evidence (including a bas-relief showing a legionary standard uncovered nearby) makes this a very plausible location — although the restoration of the very fragmentary inscription into the story of Germanicus' recovery of the Varian standards is dangerously optimistic (see also the criticism in *AE* 1992, no. 176). Rodriguez-Almeida's arguments are conveniently summarized in his entry in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I (1993), 94-5.

⁸⁵ We should note here that the dynastic cycle on the Arch at Pavia (*ILS* 107), whose very existence had been questioned (as we mentioned in our last survey, *JRS* 83 (1993), 136), has been convincingly reinstated: E. Gabba, *Athenaeum* 78 (1990), 515-17; M. P. Billanovich, *RISLomb.* 126 (1992), 224-5.

⁸⁶ I. Cogitore, *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 817-70; the description of Germanicus as 'la charnière dynastique' (851) is attributed to E. La Rocca.

⁸⁷ G. Cavalieri Manasse, *Epigraphica* 54 (1992), 9-41 = *AE* 1992, no. 739a-c. *CIL* v.3326 = *ILS* 204 (with statues and dedications to Augustus and Claudius, and at least one — maybe several more — members of the imperial family), also from Verona, may possibly come from the other side of the same gate.

⁸⁸ P. Herrmann in Schwertheim, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 32-49.

⁸⁹ For example, two inscriptions of 98 and 105/6 from Sebastopolis in Pontus honouring Trajan as saviour and benefactor of the world: T. B. Mitford, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 181-243, at 190 no. 5, 191 no. 6 = *SEG* 41:1109-10; cf. p. 233 no. 43 = 1111 (restored) (see also *AE* 1991, nos 1478-9); or an altar at Epidaurus, dated to 'five years after the victory of the Emperor (Trajan) in Moesia', i.e. A.D. 111-2, illustrating something of the impression his Dacian victory in 106 must have made on someone: *SEG* 39:358 = *AE* 1991, no. 1450; also S. Follet in *Bull.ép.* 1990, no. 226 (?6 years) (cf. *SEG* 26:826 a celebration of Trajan's victories in Cyrene, A.D. 106).

'popularity' in that particular area, when it does not necessarily mean anything of the sort.⁹⁰ On the other hand (whether by chance or because of our increasing awareness of the female members of the imperial court⁹¹) chance finds have raised some general points of interest on the role of imperial wives, daughters, and sisters. Antonia Maior and Minor, the two nieces of Augustus, may have been recorded as contributing in some way to the embellishment of the temple of Mars Ultor;⁹² and even more strikingly a unique example of a milestone bearing the name of a female member of the imperial family (in this case Matidia minor, the maternal aunt of Antoninus Pius) has been found at Suessa Aurunca.⁹³ Of course, we do not know how far the women were practically involved in the projects concerned; but it is nevertheless important that even those women whom we tend to treat as little more than ciphers could be paraded as active public benefactors — and that someone thought it *worth* parading them as such.

Inscriptions only rarely contribute information on the detailed narrative of imperial succession — and it is almost as rare for a new document instantly to throw light on the confusing power politics of the third century. But an important find at Augsburg in 1992, dated 11 September 260, provides new evidence on the events leading up to the rebellion of Marcus Cassianus Latinus Postumus against the co-rulers Valerian and Gallienus, and his elevation to the position of Augustus.⁹⁴ The text, inscribed on an altar, is a dedication to the Goddess Victory, in thanks for the destruction of the barbarian tribes, *Semnones sive Iouthungi* on 24–25 April — the Iuthungi here receiving their earliest epigraphic mention; it was erected by (the otherwise unknown) Marcus Simplicinius Genialis, along with his victorious army,⁹⁵ very shortly after Postumus became Augustus (it is dated by the consulship of 'Postumus Aug.'). The narrative of the events implied by this text clearly suggests that the rise of Postumus had little directly to do (as has often been supposed) with the capture of Valerian by Shapur I in the spring of 260, but was more connected with the invasion of Italy by the Alamans (and evidently the Iuthungi) after their seizure of Regina Castra in 259.⁹⁶ The victory of Genialis and Postumus over the Iuthungi recorded here may be the very battle that, according to various literary accounts, provided the excuse for Postumus' break with Saloninus, Gallienus' son and representative during his absence in Italy: Postumus distributed the booty, so the story goes, but Saloninus claimed it for himself — which became the start of the soldiers' revolt.⁹⁷ But whatever the details, Postumus was evidently able to use his victory to move swiftly against Saloninus in Cologne; and, as this inscription shows, to have established himself as Augustus by early September.

⁹⁰ Messene: P. Themelis, *PAAH* (1990), 73, no. 2 = *SEG* 41:353; Sparta: E. Kourinou-Pikoula, *Horos* 8/9 (1990–1), 93, no. 1 = *SEG* 41:315 (erased). We want to stress that inscriptions are not a reliable index of 'popularity' — whatever that means in imperial politics. An inscribed dedication need prove no more than that someone thought it *worthwhile* honouring the emperor — for whatever reason.

⁹¹ With a specifically epigraphic focus, note (on Livia) C.-M. Perhounig, *Livia Drusilla Iulia Augusta* (1995); (on Agrippina) W. Eck, *Agrippina* (1993); (on the cult of imperial women) U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im gr. Osten* (1994). As part of the imperial 'family', note also new work on Antinoos: M. Meyer, *Antinoos* (1991), with one *ineditum*, p. 125, possibly by Antinoos' natural parents (cf. M. Sève in *Bull.ép.* 1992, no. 112); on his obelisk, whose text was written by a *hierogrammateus* in Alexandria, A. Grimm *et al.*, *Der Obelisk des Antinoos* (1994).

⁹² Alföldy, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 35–6 = *AE* 1992, no. 163 — again a rather ingenious reconstruction; for a discussion of the estates of Antonia Minor, esp. in Egypt, see S. Segenni, *SCO* 44 (1994) [1996], 297–331.

⁹³ M. Pagano and A. M. Villucci, *MiscGrRom* 16 (1991), 287–91 = *AE* 1991, no. 492: she had seven miles of road built.

⁹⁴ L. Bakker, *Germania* 71 (1993) (2), 270–386, and H. Lavagne, *CRAI* 1994, 431–45, differ on several basic matters and a good deal of further reflection is required. We have generally followed Lavagne.

⁹⁵ The components of that army are spelled out in detail: (a) the soldiers of the province of Raetia; (b) the *Germaniciani* (presumably those controlled by Postumus as ?governor of Germania Superior; (c) *populares* (perhaps the local populations).

⁹⁶ So bearing out the view of J. F. Drinkwater (*The Gallic Empire: Separatism and Community in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire A.D. 260–274*, *Historia Supp.* 52 (1987), 26) that 'although Postumus revolted after the capture of Valerian I, he did not rebel because of this humiliation to Roman arms'; this view is supported also by a reconsideration of *CIL* VIII.12294 = 23877 = *ILTun* 665 (a 'pro salute' of Valerian, from Bisica, Afr. Procos.), confirming that Valerian is there ascribed nine regnal years — which, if not merely an error, suggests that he was still considered, at least in some places, Augustus after 10 December 260: X. Dupuis, *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 269 no. 12 = *AE* 1992, no. 1814. For the Iuthungi, see also below p. 237.

⁹⁷ Lavagne *CRAI* 1994, 440–1; Drinkwater, *op. cit.* (n. 96), 89, citing the literary references. There remains considerable dispute on the exact chronology: Lavagne believes that the Iuthungi and Alamans invaded together and that the battle of Milan, in early spring 260, was what caused the Iuthungi to move back north to be caught at Augsburg by Genialis and Postumus in April; Bakker thinks that Gallienus defeated the Iuthungi on 24–5 March in Raetia, and defeated the Alamans at Milan in the latter part of 260.

III. THE ROMAN ÉLITE: SENATORS AND EQUITES

It has been remarked that 'the more explicit and informative an item of evidence apparently is, the more likely it is to embody its own preconceptions'.⁹⁸ This is assuredly true of the longest, and much the most important, text to have been published recently, the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre*, already known to many through Eck's numerous seminar presentations.⁹⁹ There are two main versions of the text, one from 'Las Herrizas' (prov. Málaga), where the Lex Irnitana was found, the other from Monte Hachillo (ancient Olaurum, prov. Sevilla).¹⁰⁰ Although both must be based on the copy promulgated by the proconsul of Baetica, they differ in many details of diction and grammar, presumably by copyists' errors in taking down dictation. In establishing a text, the one version cannot systematically be preferred over the other.¹⁰¹ The first part of the document (ll. 12–123) takes the form of the Senate's response to four questions put by Tiberius concerning the accused, in effect its judgement; the second part, ll. 123–65, exquisitely economical with the truth, praises the solidarity of the *domus Augusta* and the behaviour of the *equester ordo* (presumably *equo publico*, but unspecified), the plebs, and the army.¹⁰² Its overall force is to confirm, in relation to the death of Germanicus and the trial of Piso in A.D. 19–20, what Syme always knew, the brilliance and independence of Tacitus.¹⁰³ For, so far from the 'objective bronze' telling us *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, the SC turns out to be fascinatingly tendentious, a political document intended on the one hand to throw the entire blame for what happened onto the *nefaria consilia* (l. 13f.) of Piso, and on the other to protect Tiberius and his mother Livia from the widespread rumours that he had had a hand in Germanicus' death.

The Senate was clearly caught uneasily between the wishes of the Princeps, whose desire for clemency for Piso's two sons and for Munatia Plancina is repeatedly referred to (e.g. 100f., 110–12), and the unassuaged suspicions of many of its own members, to say nothing of the convictions of the people. But *raison d'état* prompted that the version of events given to the Empire at large presented a consensus, an idealized fiction which 'durch die Realität nur leicht konturiert wurde'.¹⁰⁴ This accounts for an oddly stilted tone and often peculiar emphases. The opening words of the Senate's response, for example, express gratitude to the gods for not allowing Piso to destroy 'the present tranquil condition of the commonwealth, than which no better could be desired and which the *beneficium* of our Princeps has made it possible to enjoy' ('tranquillitatem praesentis status r(ei)p(ublicae), quo melior optari non pote (sic) <e>t quo beneficio principis nostri frui contingit' (12–14)), a tranquillity which it was actually the purpose of the document to bring about, and which many believed had been destroyed by the machinations of Livia and Munatia Plancina, condoned at the very least by Tiberius. And it carries on to thank the Princeps for providing all the documentation they required 'ad explorandam veritatem' (ll. 15–16), when Tacitus suggests that on the contrary not all relevant materials were given them.¹⁰⁵

The suicide of Cn. Piso pater meant that Tiberius had a sop to throw to the Senate, in return for which he could save the family. The unremittingly hostile representation of the proconsul in the SC, which goes back to the *sententia* of M. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 20), was the price he had to

⁹⁸ F. G. B. Millar, *The Roman Near East* (1993), 1.

⁹⁹ It has appeared in two versions more or less simultaneously, one in Spanish, which contains more material on the physical remains and the palaeography (A. Caballos, W. Eck and F. Fernández (eds), *El senadoconsulto de Gneo Pison padre* (1996), *non vidimus*), the other in German, from which we cite (W. Eck, A. Caballos and F. Fernández (eds), *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, *Vestigia* 48 (1996)). Earlier, W. Eck, *Cahiers Centre G. Glotz* 4 (1993), 189–208. For further discussion by M. Griffin and a translation, see below pp. 249–63.

¹⁰⁰ Both bronzes were found through illegal exploration in the late 1980s; the findspot of frg. B is unconfirmed, and it may come from near El Tejar, prov. Córdoba. Four tiny fragments under four other sites are also known; a seventh, from Martos, is suspected by A. U. Stylow (at pp. 35–7).

¹⁰¹ Diplomatic copies of A, B on pp. 10–30; list of variants, 67–70. A is arranged in four cols with a heading in larger letters presumably added at Irni (cf. p. 126); the letters were painted before being

incised. B, in two columns, is much less completely preserved; instead of a heading, the first three lines of the text are written in larger letters.

¹⁰² The remainder, ll. 165–73, concerns the arrangements for publication — unlike the *Tab. Siarensis*, not in Italy nor in the *coloniae*, but in the *celeberrima urbs* of each province, and *ad signa* in the legionary winter-quarters — a sure sign of the need to placate the soldiery. It ends, ll. 174–6, with a *scriptio* by Tiberius authorizing the placing of the SC in the state archives. The document thus synthesizes at least seven or eight different *senatus consulta* passed on the same day.

¹⁰³ The commentary on Tac., *Ann.* 3 by A. J. Woodman and R. H. Martin (1996), takes full account of the find.

¹⁰⁴ P. 302, on the SC's version of the behaviour of the plebs. Germanicus himself is hardly characterized.

¹⁰⁵ *Ann.* 3.14.4; cf. 16.1. But the Senate, of course, did know the arguments for the defence, and the letters between Germanicus and Piso.

pay.¹⁰⁶ Throughout, Piso is the active trouble-maker, whose *feritas morum* (ll. 26f.) led to Germanicus breaking off their *amicitia* justifiably.¹⁰⁷ Piso was only Germanicus' *adiutor*, so that his refusal to acknowledge Germanicus' *maius imperium* was *maiestas* against Tiberius and an offence against public law (29-37); he tried to foment a war against Armenia and Parthia by protecting Vonones contrary to his *mandata* (37-45); on his return to Syria he tried to start a civil war — 'when all the evils of civil war had long since been buried through the *numen* of the divine Augustus and the virtues of Ti. Caesar Aug.' ('iam pridem numine divi Aug(usti) virtutibusque) Ti. Caesaris Aug. omnibus civilis belli sepultis malis') — by suborning troops with money from the *fiscus*, and even crucifying a Roman centurion who refused to obey, with the result that the soldiers split up into Caesarians and Pisonians (45-57); he showed every sign of rejoicing at Germanicus' death (57-68); and finally — a charge that had nothing to do with the immediate issue — he had dishonoured Augustus' *imagines* (68-70). In the face of such black energy, the clemency of the judgements on Piso's family (ll. 90-120) appears quite startling.¹⁰⁸ In this unevenness of tone, we can again glimpse the divergent interests which gave the SC the shape it has.

This document inevitably overshadows any other recent discovery that bears on the Roman élite. In the rest of this section we consider mainly more routine texts that throw light, in particular, on the prosopography of Roman senators and equites, while bearing in mind that most sections of this survey — like most branches of Roman epigraphy — are very largely concerned with the activities and (self-)representation of the élite.¹⁰⁹

The *senatus consultum* itself has, in fact, produced a quantity of new prosopographical information.¹¹⁰ Piso himself is now known to have been made a *sodalis Augustalis* after Augustus' death: his name is to be erased from the statue-base for Germanicus erected by the *sodales* near the *ara Providentiae in campo* (ll. 82-4). It was previously not certain that his son Cn. Piso, who adopted the praenomen L., was the elder of the two;¹¹¹ he did not accompany his father to Syria because he was *quaestor principis*, probably in the year beginning 5 December 17 (l. 94). The younger son, M. Piso, is now known not to have been leg.leg. on his father's staff, as had been supposed, since he was too young to be a senator; for the same reason, he had to be given special permission to plead his father's case before the house (ll. 20-1).¹¹² Eck argues on technical grounds that the Calpurnia who in the Senate's judgement is to be awarded one million HS as a *dos*, plus four million as her *peculium* from her father's estate (ll. 104-5) — which gives some idea of the enormous wealth of the Calpurnii Pisones — must be the daughter of Cn. Piso iun., but this is in the context quite implausible: she must be the daughter of Cn. Piso pater, being treated as though her father were still alive, and she were still *in patria potestate*.¹¹³ Of the seven witnesses to the SC, two are unknown but not therefore without interest (one of them may be one of the very earliest Gallic senators, from Arelate).¹¹⁴ Equestrians enter the picture too. One of the more surprising novelties of the *SC de Cn. Pisonis patre* is that with him were condemned two of his *comites*, Visellius Karus and Sempronius Bassus, of whom no mention is made by Tacitus.¹¹⁵ We must assume that they were either the commanders of the forces which Piso won over to his side, or that they tried to incite troops to mutiny; at any rate, they were laid under *aqua et igni*

¹⁰⁶ The Senate was also the prisoner of its earlier decisions concerning Germanicus, in particular the SC that preceded the Lex Valeria Aurelia.

¹⁰⁷ Here the text makes its sole reference to the story that Piso had murdered Germanicus, putting the charge into the dead man's mouth (27-8); cf. Tac., *Ann.* 3.14.1.

¹⁰⁸ Cn. Calpurnius Piso iun. is advised to change his *praenomen* (on similar cases, H. Solin, *Tyche* 10 (1995), 185-210), but essentially neither son is held responsible, or hindered in his career, and each is to receive half of Piso's sequestered property, with the chief exception of an estate *in Hillyrico*, which is to become Imperial because of the intolerable behaviour towards the neighbours on the part of Piso's freedman and slaves (ll. 85-90). Munatia Plancina is condemned but forgiven because Livia has intervened for her (ll. 109-20).

¹⁰⁹ On general issues: see W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Kolloquium Köln 1991 (1993), 365-95 (the problem of the fit between what happens to survive and historical reality); and the essays collected in idem, *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996), 271-98; 299-318; 319-40 (on the

functions of senators' inscriptions, for themselves and others).

¹¹⁰ Eck, *op. cit.* (n. 99), 71-107.

¹¹¹ This necessitates a change to the text of Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.16.5 (M. Piso to Cn.).

¹¹² He probably died before reaching the consulate.

¹¹³ Eck, *op. cit.* (n. 99), 83-7.

¹¹⁴ viz. M. Pompeius M.f. Teret. Priscus (Eck, *op. cit.* (n. 99), 92); and C. Arrenus C.f. Gal. Gallus. Another witness, L. Nonius Asprenas, son of cos. suff. A.D. 6, already gives his tribe as Pomptina — the earliest previously-known evidence for the change of tribe of this family was *IRT* no. 346. 'Aulus', the *quaestor principis* mentioned in Tiberius' *subscriptio*, is probably the Aulus Plautius cos. suff. 29, who conquered Britain (important remarks on his family and career, 103-6). Copy A of the SC also gives the praenomen of Vibius Serenus, *procos. Baet.*, as N., which means a change to the text at Tac., *Ann.* 2.30.1.

¹¹⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.77.1, mentions only Domitius Celer among Piso's advisers. The SC describes them as 'omnium maleficiorum socii ac ministri' (ll. 120-1). Although senatorial Visellii and Sempronii are known, they may be taken to have been equestrians.

interdictio, a sentence to be carried out 'ab eo pr(aetore), qui lege{m} maiestatis quaereret' (ll. 121–2).¹¹⁶

Prosopography is becoming increasingly concerned with whole families over generations, and with 'family strategies', in addition to the careers of individual members of the élite — as in the innovative analysis of an entire family, the Acilii Glabrones, from the Republic to the fifth century A.D., stressing strategies of survival.¹¹⁷ And we note interest in the subsequent history of major Republican dynasties: a stone from the Vatican, dated A.D. 15–20, provides some new information about the Corneli Scipiones under Tiberius: a P. Cornelius Scipio, probably the son of cos. 16 B.C., is honoured by five *ala*-prefects, evidently as (ex-)commander of an entire army group in Germany under Germanicus;¹¹⁸ a fragment of the consular and praetorian *fasti* for A.D. 25–8, which gives the *praetor peregrinus* for 25 as [.] Marcius Hortalus has given rise to an extensive debate about the family of the orator Hortensius, and this man's relation to the Marcius Hortalus mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37–8.¹¹⁹ On a broader canvas, it has been shown (though it will hardly surprise) that there is a marked contrast between the net of marriage alliances that the older senatorial families in Asia Minor could cast, essentially westwards, and those of new families.¹²⁰ Some evidence has also been offered to suggest that the incidence of senatorial endogamy decreases from the second half of the second century, though the reasons are unclear.¹²¹

In the case of equestrian careers a desire to ease the order out from beneath the shadow of Pflaum's *Carrières équestres* and Devijver's *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium*,¹²² has led to a similar widening of focus — away from a concern solely with careers in the service of the Empire towards a broadly social account of a junior aristocracy. Certainly it is an interest in the function of the equites as an 'aristocracy' that seems to have inspired many of the participants in a major recent colloquium,¹²³ as well as the choice by Demougin to organize her prosopography of equites in the Julio-Claudian period over time and not alphabetically.¹²⁴ 'Family strategy' is a topic of interest for the equestrian order too. A series of texts from the library at Sagalassos in Pisidia built c. 120–60 by T. Flavius Severianus Neon has revealed a new family of some importance in that city. The first member to enter the Imperial service completed only two of the *tres militiae*, and perhaps then died; but his brother-in-law, M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, became *irudicus Alexandriae*, evidently under Trajan.¹²⁵ His son, Iulius Maximianus, is probably to be identified with a known *irudicus* of 137–9.¹²⁶

Inevitably, though, individual careers dominate the epigraphic record. We select here some of the more significant items.¹²⁷ M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, cos. 31 B.C., is now attested as patron and benefactor of the temple of Artemis and of the city of Ephesus, not, we may assume,

¹¹⁶ Eck, op. cit. (n. 99), 231, warns, however, against the assumption that this praetor was responsible for carrying out the judgement after all trials for *maiestas*. It is not clear whether *interdictio* means simply banishment or, as most recent commentators have supposed, is a periphrasis for execution. Eck inclines to the former.

¹¹⁷ M. Dondin-Payre, *Exercice du pouvoir et continuité gentilice*, CEF 180 (1993); she argues that we must assume a higher mortality rate than usually allowed for. Also: I. Hoffmann-Löbl, *Die Calpurnii: Politisches Wirken und familiäre Kontinuität* (1996). Alliances through marriage: M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier in E. Frézouls (ed.), *Mobilité sociale dans le monde romain*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 1988 (1992), 33–53.

¹¹⁸ But the *cursus* is difficult to follow; it may use the unusual formula *praetor pro consule*. M. Castelli, *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 195 (stemma on p. 193), with D. B. Saddington, *ZPE* 104 (1994), 73–7.

¹¹⁹ *AE* 1987, no. 163; J. Scheid in *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 80–6; M. Corbier, *MEFRA* 103 (1991), 655–701; J. Briscoe, *ZPE* 95 (1993), 249–50. We accept the view of Eck, *ibid.*, 251–60: he must be the homonymous son or brother of the senator mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.27–8, while the procos. of Cyprus (*SEG* 41:1480) would be another son.

¹²⁰ B. Rémy, *Anatolia Antiqua* 2 (1993), 171–91. On the mixed value of the epigraphic sources for Eastern senators, H. Halfmann in Eck, op. cit. (n. 109), 71–80;

and for *homines novi*, P. M. M. Leunissen in *ibid.*, 81–102. Senatorial women, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier in *ibid.*, 147–63; eadem, *Klio* 75 (1993), 257–71.

¹²¹ M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 5 (1994), 165–97. On senatorial onomastics and local origins: H. Solin in Eck, op. cit. (n. 109), 1–36; A. R. Birley in *ibid.*, 35–50.

¹²² See now H. J. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium* 5: Supp. 2 (1993). On the *parma equestris*, the mark of an equestrian officer in the Augustan period, idem, *AncSoc* 22 (1991), 251–3; 23 (1992), 61–70, at 66–7.

¹²³ 'L'Ordre équestre: histoire d'une aristocratie, IIe s. av. J.-C. - IIIe s. ap. J.-C.', Brussels and Leuven, October 1995.

¹²⁴ *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens, 43 av. J.-C.-70 ap. J.-C.*, CEF 153 (1992), the pendant to her synthetic study of 1988; eadem in Eck, op. cit. (n. 109), 233–50, on the order in the second century.

¹²⁵ H. J. Devijver in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome (eds), *Sagalassos 2*, Acta Arch. Lovaniensia 6 (1993), 107–23. The persons mentioned are his nos 2.2 and 2.7.

¹²⁶ cf. *PIR*² I 417; Devijver, op. cit. (n. 125), 110 on no. 3.6.

¹²⁷ There is a wealth of prosopographic detail on senators in O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*, Comm. Human. Litt. 97 (1992).

solely on account of his excellent Greek.¹²⁸ An undated statue-base from Cos honours T. Statilius Taurus, the son of cos. 37 and 26 B.C., and otherwise only known as *IIIvir monet.* for 8 B.C., and his wife Cornelia.¹²⁹ Galerius Trachalus, the Othonian spared by Vitellius in 69, was probably first cousin once removed of Galeria Fundana, second wife of Vitellius (an indication, perhaps, of women's influence in such power play).¹³⁰ The date of the proconsulship of Asia of Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus, the partisan of Septimius Severus in 193, (previously uncertain) is now probably 200-1.¹³¹ Arabian milestones have produced two new third-century senators who were governors of the province.¹³² A new *ignotus*, presumably a legionary legate, is honoured at Novae by *optiones* of *legio I Italica Gordiana*.¹³³

For the consular fasti, several improvements have been made to the *F. Tauromenitani*, found in 1984, and an explanation offered for its treatment of the *cons. suff.*¹³⁴ And three new suffect consuls have been identified in military diplomas.¹³⁵

From new information on individual equestrian careers, we select the following. One Iu]lius Menodorus, son of Alexis, who had served as military tribune in an unspecified legion and as *praef. fabrum*, boasts at Ephesus of having been one of the small number 'ex is qui in Asia habitant[et e(quo) p(ublico) don]ati sunt', evidently at the very beginning of the Principate.¹³⁶ A fragmentary plaque of Augustan, or early Julio-Claudian, date seems to reveal yet another of the small group of men who served as *praefecti equitum et classis*; he was then put in charge of a unit of veterans, who honoured him at his home-town of Luna.¹³⁷ The belief that P. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis, who poisoned himself after a spot of bother in 56, held the post of *procurator Aug. praefectus classis* has been exploded: no other *praef. classis* uses the term, and in the Julio-Claudian period procuratorships are often not further specified.¹³⁸ A text from Side which gives the true nomen of Aelius Apollonides, *ab epistulis graecis*, enables us to correct the codex of Fronto, *ep.* 1.2, where he is mentioned.¹³⁹

Part of the career of one of the very last equestrian governors of Noricum, unfortunately *ignotus*, has come to light; he probably went on to become procurator of Asia.¹⁴⁰ Attilius Clarus, who may already appear in *I.Ephes.* 621a, was procurator of the same province in 200-1.¹⁴¹ Further information has come to hand about the activities of P. Aelius Peregrinus, ducenarial

¹²⁸ D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann and B. Iplikçioğlu, *ἸΩΑΙ* 62 (1993), 126-7, no. 18 = *AE* 1993, no. 1476. Presumably the arrangement dates from the time of his governorship of Syria, 28 B.C.

¹²⁹ K. Höghammer, *Sculpture and Society...Kos*, *Boreas* 23 (1993), no. 55, identifying him wrongly with his father, the name of whose wife is unknown.

¹³⁰ W. Eck, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 229-30; cf. Tac., *Hist.* 1.90.2. Galeria Fundana is *PIR² G 33* = Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie*, op. cit. (n. 124), no. 399.

¹³¹ E. Varinlioglu and D. H. French, *REA* 94 (1992), 403-12 = *SEG* 41:938A, l. 20 (Keramos, Caria), proposing 202; for 200-1, followed by Q. Hediufus, see S. Demougin, *Bull.Soc.Nat.Ant.de France* (1994), 325-31.

¹³² T. Bauzou, *Syria* 68 (1991), 450 no. 3a = *AE* 1991, no. 1589; Trebonius Fortunatus, *leg.propr.* in 222; 452, no. 4a = *AE* 1991, no. 1591, rev. *CIL* III.14149/45, reading Caelius for Caecilius Felix, *leg. Augg.* 247-, certainly in the reign of Philip the Arab. A third new governor before 263, -] Iulianus, is also possible, *ibid.*, 456, no. 5 = *AE* 1991, no. 1593.

¹³³ M. Čičikova and V. Božilova, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 611-19 = *AE* 1990, no. 863 = *I.Novae*, op. cit. (n. 12), no. 46.

¹³⁴ = *AE* 1988, no. 626; see O. Salomies, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 187-92; J. Bodel, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 259-66; *idem*, *ZPE* 105 (1995), 279 n. 1. This last article convincingly addresses the *F. Magistrorum vici* in the same sense. A. Massi Secondari and L. Sensi, *Epigraphica* 54 (1992), 68-75 = *AE* 1992, no. 560, publish a text dated *M. Vinicio, P. Silio cons.*, men who are not known to have been *cons.* in the same year (but 19 and 20 B.C. respectively). This is either a mistake, or they were suffect *cons.* between A.D. 4-14. O. Salomies, *Ktama* 18 (1993), 104-12, points out that the errors in the ms. *Fasti* may well be due to their having been compiled from consular lists drawn up at different places for the purpose of dating local documents. For a review of public and private docu-

ments dated in this way, see W. Eck in *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 15-44.

¹³⁵ M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas, 3: 1985-93* (1994): L. Lamia Silvanus, *cons. suff.* 145, possibly the son-in-law of Pius, no. 165; P. Tullius Marsus and M. Caelius Faustinus, *cons. suff.* 206, no. 188.

¹³⁶ Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 137, no. 40 = *AE* 1993, no. 1479, a block from a very large tomb. His wife, Cornelia Namnis (a Celtic name), is to be the sole other occupant ('quoi inferri licebit').

¹³⁷ M. G. Angeli Bertinelli in M. Marini Calvani (ed.), *Il Lapidario Lunense nel Casale Fontanini* (1994), 11-26, at 16. For *praef. eq. et class.*, cf. D. B. Saddington, *JRGZ* 35 (1988) [1991], 299-313, table on 305-13. There is at this date no need to suppose that he had held other auxiliary commands. In l. 5, the supplement should perhaps be 'veterani (sub) v[exillo]', assuming the text dates from after A.D. 5.

¹³⁸ Eck, op. cit. (n. 130), 227-8 on *CIL* v.533 = *ILS* 2702; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 13.30.2.

¹³⁹ W. Eck, *ZPE* 91 (1992), 236-42 on *I.Side* no. 62, suggesting that L. Verus visited the city in the early 160s; cf. E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980), 30. A welcome addition to the meagre number of equestrian *a libellis* has been reported from Ephesus: Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 127, no. 19 = *AE* 1993, no. 1477: T. Petronius T.f. Pal. Priscus, *a libellis Imp. Hadriani Caesaris Aug.*; thereafter procurator of Asia and Syria.

¹⁴⁰ Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 127-8, no. 20, with notes by W. Eck (= *AE* 1993, no. 1478). Noricum became a public province in the second half of the reign of M. Aurelius. His first procuratorial post was in Epirus, then Cappadocia-Pontus-Lycaonia; the *proc. Asiae* is inferred from the findspot in Ephesus.

¹⁴¹ Varinlioglu and French, op. cit. (n. 131) (Demougin discusses all the procurators of Asia from 201-11 in the article cited there) = *SEG* 41:938A, l. 21.

procurator from 201 until (now) 203 or 204, in Mauretania Caesariensis: he re-populated *oppid[u]m Usinazense{m}*, an important strongpoint on the *praetentura* between Boghar and Grimidi, with folk from Proconsularis, 'populis novis ex Africa inlatis'.¹⁴² A new inscription from Bu Njem provides the name of a new *vice-praesidis Numidiae*, Flavius Sossianus, in winter 221/2, that is, probably, between Ti. Iulius Pollienius Auspex and M. Ulpius Maximus.¹⁴³ The well-known text in honour of M. Aurelius Domitius Honoratus (*PIR*² A 1530) at Gerasa has now been joined to another fragment to cast doubt on the apparently settled knowledge that Gerasa became a *colonia* in the early third century.¹⁴⁴ A re-reading of *RIB* 1884 (Birdoswald) perhaps attests an earlier stage in the career of a different Domitius Honoratus, prefect of Egypt under Severus Alexander.¹⁴⁵ For later third-century items see below Section IX.

IV. ADMINISTRATION

New inscriptions continually require revisions, themselves provisional, of the history of provinces. It has been argued that Africa Proconsularis was formed under Lepidus in the period 36–5 B.C.,¹⁴⁶ and Galatia in 25 (the *Res Gestae* will have been inscribed at Ancyra in A.D. 19/20, the year of the inauguration of the Sebasteion).¹⁴⁷ Against the recent view that the latter province included Pisidia throughout the Flavian and Trajanic periods, being transferred to Lycia-Pamphylia only late in Hadrian's reign,¹⁴⁸ it has been argued that the transfer may have taken place as early as A.D. 43.¹⁴⁹ Part of eastern Cilicia was evidently detached to Syria in 72.¹⁵⁰ The break-up of the vast Flavian province of Cappadocia has now been dated *c.* 110–1.¹⁵¹ The Dacian inner frontier followed not the course of the river Alt but rather the watershed between its valley and that of the Mieresch.¹⁵² Re-evaluation of *CIL* x.3870, where one of L. Vitrasius Flamininus' posts is *leg. pr.pr. Italiae Transpadanae* (long considered to imply an extended command at the time of the siege of Aquileia in 171), has suggested that it should rather be interpreted as an abortive move by Hadrian to impose the model of the imperial provinces upon Italy before 137/8.¹⁵³ M. Aurelius picked up the idea later, in creating the *iuridici*, whose functions, however, were limited to jurisdiction and so did not pose the same threat to the privileged status of Italy.

It has been shown that Bithynia-Pontus was already an imperial province by 159;¹⁵⁴ Lycia-Pamphylia became a public province thereafter, some time between 160–5.¹⁵⁵ Baetica may

¹⁴² N. Benseddik, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1991) [1992], 425–37 = *AE* 1992, no. 1925, completing the well-known text *CIL* VIII. 9228. *Oppidum* in these contexts means 'fortified place'. On the line of the Severan *praetentura* at the limits of profitably cultivable land, C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (1994), 92. A new *praefectus gentis*, Alezeiveus Rogatus, evidently a local man, at Naciria in the same province: J. Desanges, *BCTH* n.s. 22 (1987–9) [1992], 269–70 = *AE* 1992, no. 1909.

¹⁴³ R. Rebuffat, *Libya Antiqua* n.s. 1 (1995), 79–123, at 82 l. 4, cf. p. 85.

¹⁴⁴ R. Haensch, *ZPE* 95 (1993), 163–78, joining *CIL* III. 6034 = 141571 to *AE* 1930, no. 97 = *AE* 1993 no. 1641. The new version of the text implies only that Gerasa was the residence of the procurator; Millar, *op. cit.* (n. 98), 425, makes no mention of the supposed colonial status. This Domitius Honoratus is probably to be identified with the homonym on the Canusium album, *ILS* 6121, cf. P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsularen* (1989), 100 n. 111.

¹⁴⁵ R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 22 (1991), 309 (e) with fig. 12 = *AE* 1991, no. 1158. This would be the earliest evidence for *coh. I Aelia Dacorum* at the fort.

¹⁴⁶ D. Fishwick, *AntAfr* 29 (1993), 53–62; 30 (1994), 57–80, revising *CIL* x.6104 = *ILS* 1945, reading M. *Caelius* Phileros.

¹⁴⁷ W. Leschhorn, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 315–36.

¹⁴⁸ M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *GRBS* 32 (1991), 397–413, at 402; cf. eidem, *AnatAnt* 2 (1993), 164–7.

¹⁴⁹ Mitchell, *op. cit.* (n. 68), 2, 151–7 (on the boundaries between 25 B.C. and A.D. 235) at 154.

¹⁵⁰ H. Taeuber, *Tyche* 6 (1991), 201–10: after Vespasian, Alexandria on the Issus and Rhosos were in Syria.

¹⁵¹ B. Rémy in B. Le Guen-Pollet and O. Pelon (eds), *La Cappadocie méridionale* (1991), 61–74; cf. D. H. French, *ibid.*, 49–59, on the shifting frontiers of the province.

¹⁵² D. Kopp, *Die römischen Inschriften Dakiens im Siebenburgischen Unteralt-Zibinbecken und ihr geschichtlicher Hintergrund* (1993).

¹⁵³ W. Eck in G. Bonamente and N. Duval (eds), *HistAugColl* 1990 (1991), 183–95 = idem, *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit: Ausgewählte Beiträge* 1 (1995), 315–26. He suggests that both the Senate and the Italian *municipia* were hostile to the idea, and that Pius' coins with *restitutor Italiae* might be connected with his discontinuance of the scheme. An inscription from Novae shows that the circumscription of Apulia-Calabria was separate from that of Bruttium by 238/49: *I.Novae*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), no. 46.

¹⁵⁴ C. Marek, *EA* 23 (1994), 83–6, confirming that Lucian visited Abonoteichos *c.* 159 not 165 (*Alex.* 55–7).

¹⁵⁵ S. Şahin, *EA* 20 (1992), 77–89, citing a new text from Perge for P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus (etc.) as propraetorian legate; his link with Bithynia cannot stand.

already have been an imperial province, governed by a legate, in the mid-third century.¹⁵⁶ For the extensive changes in Asia Minor at the same period see below Section IX.

The character of imperial decisions in relation to senatorial and equestrian appointments has again been topical. A primarily intentionalist view of senior appointments has been defended once more by Birley, arguing that the crucial figure was the *ab epistulis*, who was often in fact a military man: it was his responsibility to find an appropriate name for appointment.¹⁵⁷ Patronage has been incorporated more substantially into the arguments of Leunissen, who observes that a successful recommendation added to a senator's *dignitas*, so that there was systematic pressure to put forward only those whom one considered appropriate; we may speak of 'targeted' patronage, since among the informal criteria used by patrons were conceptions of appropriateness based on extensive awareness of individual rank and the hierarchy of posts.¹⁵⁸ In other words advancement within the career structure was neither according to rational-legal criteria nor merely a matter of 'random' forces: the answer lies between these poles, in the informal knowledge of their world by the actors involved.¹⁵⁹

A good deal of work has as usual been devoted to the provincial *fasti*.¹⁶⁰ A study of the detailed involvement of governors in city-life in Lycia-Pamphylia, which might profitably be extended to other areas, works against a recent tendency to emphasize solely their *conventus*-work.¹⁶¹ It has been suggested that procurators in the public provinces acquired a routine role in matters of taxation by analogy with their competences in imperial provinces, and gradually found themselves increasingly taking over juridical authority as a result.¹⁶² The post of *ab epistulis* seems to have been definitively divided between Greek and Latin offices by 161-69 at latest.¹⁶³

The *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* has prompted further consideration of the way in which government instruments were communicated to the provinces, and the possible role of the assizes in this process.¹⁶⁴ It has also shown that one of the functions of the *quaestor principis* was to act as the emperor's personal secretary: Aulus writes out the entire SC on fourteen tablets in his own hand for Tiberius' approval (although he had only become *quaestor* five days earlier), and arranges for it to be entered into the State archives.¹⁶⁵ Such intimate, daily, contact created the trust and familiarity which enabled virtually all such men, if they survived, to become consul.¹⁶⁶ Archives have attracted a certain amount of attention,¹⁶⁷ but the sole relevant document relates

¹⁵⁶ G. Alföldy in H. Frei-Stolba and M. A. Speidel (eds), *Römische Inschriften, Festschrift H. Lieb* (1995), 29-42, on *AE* 1929, no. 158, perhaps in connection with the contemporary abandonment of coastal settlements.

¹⁵⁷ 'Locus virtutibus patefactus', *RhWestf. Akad. der Wiss., Vorträge* G18 (1992). About 37 per cent of relevant men can now be shown to have enjoyed accelerated military careers, against B. Campbell's figure of 12 per cent (*JRS* 65 (1975), 11-31).

¹⁵⁸ *Chiron* 23 (1993), 101-20.

¹⁵⁹ cf. also Eck, op. cit. (n. 109, 1996), 27-83; P. M. M. Leunissen, *SIFC*³ 10 (1992), 893-914. Relevant here is the practice of governors in taking relatives with them as *legati*: B. E. Thomasson in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion; Mélanges M. LeGlay* (1994), 132-41, on African legates; cf. W. Eck, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 107-14.

¹⁶⁰ The most important studies are: K. Wachtel, *Klio* 72 (1990), 473-7 and C. Petolescu, *ActaMusNapoc* 26/30 (1989-93), 45-48 (early governors of Dacia: Iulius Sabinus the earliest, A.D. 106-9); B. Rémy in Guen-Pollet and Pelan, op. cit. (n. 151), 61-74; Cappadocia, 111-253; W. Eck, *ZPE* 90 (1992), 199-206 (Bithynia, mid-third century); J. E. H. Spaul, *Epigraphica* 54 (1992), 235-60 (Tingitana), with N. Benseddik, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1991), 433, on Haius Diadumenianus, in 202; D. B. Saddington in *Sardinia antiqua: Studi P. Meloni* (1992), 265-70 (Sardinia); I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae, 1: die senatorischen Amtsträger* (1993), with W. Eck et al., *ZPE* 100 (1994), 577-91, at 586. Cornelius Dexter is now known to have been propraetorian legate not of Galatia but of Cilicia, 156-8 or 157-9: M. H. Sayar, *EA* 24 (1995), 127-8; a new governor of Noricum, ?L.

Ovinus Vopiscus, some time between 54-68: J. Ott, *RivStorAnt* 25 (1995), 91-111 (rev. *CIL* XVI.6).

¹⁶¹ B. Rémy, *AnatAnt* 1 (1991), 151-82. Legates of Numidia as city patrons: P. I. Wilkins, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 189-206.

¹⁶² G. P. Burton, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 13-28.

¹⁶³ W. Eck, *ZPE* 91 (1992), 236-42; Birley, op. cit. (n. 157), 20-1; Appendix 2, 41-54, offers a complete list of the known holders of the post.

¹⁶⁴ W. Eck, *SIFC*³ 10 (1992), 915-39 = *Verwaltung*, op. cit. (n. 153), 55-81.

¹⁶⁵ Ll. 174-5: 'Ti. Caesar Aug. trib. potestate XXII manu mea scripsi: velle me h(oc) s.c., quod e<s>t factum IIII idus Decem(bres) Cotta et Messalla cos. referente me scriptum manu Auli q(uaestoris) mei in tabellis XIII, referri in tabulas pub<l>icas'; and cf. Eck, op. cit. (n. 99), 103-4; 272-5; also p. 152, for the distinction in l. 24 between *epistulae* and *codicilli*. On the senatorial archives from the late Republic to the Severans, M. Coudry in *La mémoire perdue. À la recherche des archives oubliées, publiques et privées* (1994), 65-102. A list of known senators *ad acta*: A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain à l'époque impériale* (collected articles) (1992), 96-101.

¹⁶⁶ Another detail relating to administrative practice is that in the early Principate the *praetores aerarii* seem to have taken over the duty of selling up the confiscated estates of condemned persons (ll. 122-3), which is attested in the late Republic for quaestors.

¹⁶⁷ Provincial governors' archives, distinguishing between a long-term archive of precedents and, from c. 100, an archive of imperial instruments: R. Haensch, *ZRG* 109 (1992), 209-317. Falsification and deliberate destruction of documents: Ph. Moreau in *Mémoire perdu*, op. cit. (n. 165), 121-47.

to a chief clerk, ἐπι τὰ ἄκτ[α], noted from Caesarea Philippi in Syria; it is uncertain whether he worked for a city council or for an army unit.¹⁶⁸

There have been a few reports of imperial letters.¹⁶⁹ A small dossier of letters from Julius Caesar (?), Octavian, Tiberius, Germanicus(?), and G. or L. Caesar(?), confirms certain financial and tax privileges of the *gerousia* of Ephesus.¹⁷⁰ A new study of Domitian's intervention in the conflict between Falerio and Firmum stresses the political background to the case.¹⁷¹ Some rather wretched fragments of letters from Trajan to Miletus (c. 100) probably relate to his extension of the Via Sacra out to Didyma: a Milesian embassy to Rome had evidently complained that other cities were receiving untoward privileges.¹⁷² Not much profit can be recorded from a new examination of the copies of the Skaptopara petition,¹⁷³ but the signet-ring of Aurelius Pyrrhus, the Praetorian guardsman through whose intervention the villagers obtained consideration from Gordian,¹⁷⁴ seems to have been found in the hamlet of Cepaslako in Bulgaria, a circumstance which throws light on the precise location of the site.¹⁷⁵ A fragmentary governor's letter from Isthmia, of uncertain date, concerns rebuilding after an earthquake; the subscript is in Latin and refers to its promulgation: 'data] IIII kal. Decembr. et pro rostris lecta pr.* Decembr'.¹⁷⁶ The dossier from Ephesus mentioned earlier contains three letters from P. Petronius, cos. suff. 19, over the period 29/30–30/1, illuminating one aspect of provincial experience of Roman government, the routine presentation to the governor of bundles of documents relating to privileges, which have to be re-confirmed every year¹⁷⁷ — a striking exemplification of the point that 'die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen hatten nicht zu verwalten, sondern zu regieren': these annual pilgrimages served only to make the point that all good things come from Rome.¹⁷⁸ Another dossier, from the territory of Sardis, includes a letter from the governor — the future Emperor Antoninus Pius — granting market-privileges to the people of Arhillon.¹⁷⁹ This took place in 136; after the proconsul had become emperor, they discovered that the city of Sardis intended to infringe their privilege, so they called upon the help of the hereditary owner of the village, Asinius Rufus (probably one of the Sardinian Asinii), who was at the time in all likelihood in Rome. His letter, appended to the dossier, shows that he was both in a position to ask the emperor for favours and to write peremptorily to Sardis.¹⁸⁰

Of the two branches of the Imperial *familia*, we may just note a couple of texts relating to the household: a freedman of Livia, with the titles *rogator* and *ab officiis et admissione*, that is, the major-domo at the door of the audience-chamber, who also kept the guest-list;¹⁸¹ likewise a freedman *invitator* of Hadrian, who had the same function;¹⁸² and another example of a slave *paedagogus puerorum*, who trained other slaves in their duties.¹⁸³ It has been shown that a small

¹⁶⁸ S. Dar and N. Kokkinos, *PExpQuart* (1992), 13, no. 2 = *AE* 1992, no. 1691 (second half second century). For the title relating to a council's archives, *P.Yadin* 12.1.

¹⁶⁹ Important reviews of J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors* (1989): G. Petzl, *Gnomon* 64 (1992), 613–18; C. P. Jones, *AJPh* 113 (1992), 144–7. On no. 184, letter of M. Aurelius to the Athenians, see notes by S. Follet, *Bull.ép.* 1991, no. 265. Augustus and Greece: Chr. Böhme, *Principes und Polis* (1995). *Rescripti recognovi* formula: J.-L. Mourgues, *MEFRA* 107 (1995), 255–300.

¹⁷⁰ Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 113–15, nos 1–6 = *AE* 1993, nos 1460–1465. The final document is a very brief extract from another letter, by M. Agrippa. One of the two stelai, which were erected in front of the Council's office at the temple of Soteira, was evidently so badly damaged in a fire in the second century A.D. that it had to be reinscribed. The detail allows the assumption that such dossiers on stone served in part as a practical insurance against damage to the city's archive, even if in this case the relation was evidently the inverse.

¹⁷¹ J. Ott, *AncSoc.* 25 (1994), 211–31 on *FIRA* 1² 75 = McCrum-Woodhead no. 464.

¹⁷² N. Ehrhardt and P. Weiß, *Chiron* 25 (1995), 315–55.

¹⁷³ K. Halloff, *Chiron* 24 (1994), 405–41 on *Syll.*³ 888 = *IGBulg.* 4:2236.

¹⁷⁴ cf. Didymus, the *centurio frumentarius* who presented the Araguans' petition to Philip: *OGIS* 519, now republished in *MAMA* x, no. 114.

¹⁷⁵ E. I. Paunov and D. J. Dimitrov, *Chiron* 26

(1996), 183–93. This site was probably the market of Skaptopara, which is to be identified with Talki Andak = Asarlak (p. 192); for the old theories, cf. G. Kazarow, *RE Suppl.* 6 (1935), 892. Part of the ring had been deliberately nipped off: it was a votive.

¹⁷⁶ *SEG* 39:340 (*Hesperia* 58 (1989), 349–60).

¹⁷⁷ Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 116–20, nos 8–10 = *AE* 1993, nos 1468–1470.

¹⁷⁸ The citation from Birley, op. cit. (n. 157), 12.

¹⁷⁹ Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), 152–6, no. 523, dating 134/5; for the text see also L. de Ligt, *EA* 24 (1995), 37–54, at 37–9.

¹⁸⁰ See the better text and reconstruction by J. Nollé and W. Eck, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 267–73. They correctly date the proconsular letter to early 136.

¹⁸¹ Panciera, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 29 = *CIL* vi.4026, revised = *AE* 1992, no. 92.29. The text is a palimpsest; the other person mentioned, a slave Tiberius inherited from Livia, may conceivably have been responsible solely for women visitors.

¹⁸² H. Solin in H.-W. Wagner, *Hermann Post: Tagebuch seiner Reise in den Jahren 1716 bis 1718* (1993), 271 no. 16. He later became *supproc(urator) ad XX hereditatium*.

¹⁸³ L. Chioffi, *BCAR* 93 (1989–90), 398 no. 4 = *AE* 1991, no. 248. An imperial freedman (or his son?) married to an imperial slave: A. Sadurska et al., *CSIR Pologne* 2 (1990–2) 38 no. 33 = *AE* 1992, no. 122. An imperial slave Augg. nn. with a son named M. Aufidius Montanus (his mother must have been freed with her child, who was thus a Junian Latin): P. Corbier and J. Gascoü, *AntAfr* 31 (1995), 281 no. 3 (Theveste).

number of imperial *liberti*, like many others from private households, were active in the wine trade in Pompeii.¹⁸⁴ Powerful freedmen had, of course, their own households: Claudius Doryphorus, a *libellis* of Nero, evidently owned a sizeable estate at Tebtunis.¹⁸⁵ Turning to the administrative branch, a new post, a *comment(ariis) tractus Carthag(iniensis)* has been reported under Antoninus Pius.¹⁸⁶ An inscription from Macedonia mentioning an ἀπελεύθερος ἀπὸ ταβουλαρίων καλενδάρου Καισιανοῦ (freedman, formerly book-keeper of the Caesian account) has prompted new thinking about the meaning of *kalendarium* in the context of imperial rents: it may refer to a system whereby numerous small tenants on fragmented holdings paid dues directly and not through a *conductor*.¹⁸⁷ Progress has been made in understanding the exploitation of, and organization of work in, the imperial quarries, especially at Dokimeion and Mons Claudianus,¹⁸⁸ and the jewel mine at Wadi Hammamat.¹⁸⁹

The Monumentum Ephesianum of course overshadows all other recent information about the *portorium*.¹⁹⁰ The only substantial contribution of the quinquennium has been the largely convincing demonstration by Nicolet that there never was a grand cartel which farmed the greater part of the *portoria* in Asia Minor, and that the law clearly distinguishes between the area of the Asian *portorium* and adjacent districts.¹⁹¹ At most we can say that this area embraced in addition to the province of Asia later familiar the cities of the Bosphorus and part of Propontis, and those of the Pamphylian coast — and, as noted above (n. 50), it is now probable that Pamphylia was actually part of Asia in 129-6. This makes even more attractive Nicolet's further suggestion that ll. 1-84 are taken over from the Gracchan *Lex censoria* of 123 B.C. The other valuable point to note here, against a common view, is that the *portorium* was levied only at ports and on the land frontier of the province, not at intermediate points.¹⁹² A Julio-Claudian text from Cyrene is dedicated by a *pro mag(istro) publici Cyrenensis*, that is, a representative of a *societas* presumably raising the *vectigal* from public land (the former estates of Ptolemy Apion).¹⁹³ It has been shown that a procuratorship of the *IV publica Africae* was instituted at least as early as the Flavian period, if not in Nero's reign, rather than in Hadrian's.¹⁹⁴ Several minor new texts relating to the *XL Galliarum* have been republished, including a tablet from Marseilles bearing the encaustic inscription 'XL Gall(iarum) [s]tatio Mass(iliae)', proving (if it needed to be proved)

¹⁸⁴ A. Łos in *Mélanges Kotula*, op. cit. (n. 1), 149-56.

¹⁸⁵ G. Bastianini and C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 44-6. A slave *actor* of a freedman procurator (Afyon, Antonine): D. H. French in Guen-Pollet and Pelon, op. cit. (n. 151), 53-4 = *SEG* 41:1414.

¹⁸⁶ *AE* 1992, no. 1811. An *adiut(or) a{c} commentarii[s]* at Theveste who fails to note that he was in the imperial *familia*: P. Corbier and J. Gascou, *Ant. Afr.* 31 (1995), 279-81. It has been attractively suggested that *p.p. pedisequis f.f.* (Rome): *CSIR Pologne* 1 (1972), no. 21, should be expanded *praepositus pedisequis fisci frumentario*: H. Solin, *Arctos* 26 (1992), 118. It is most welcome that a Repertorium *Familiae Caesaris* is being prepared by P. R. C. Weaver and P. A. Gallivan at Hobart.

¹⁸⁷ P. M. Nigdelis, *ZPE* 104 (1994), 118-27, an Augg. lib., date uncertain; the land may previously have belonged to Caesius Victor of Philippi, or a descendant.

¹⁸⁸ M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Epigraphica* 53 (1991), 113-74: organization improved from the later second century. *Dominus noster* is used for Commodus from 177. In one case, even in the quarry, the name of Severus Alexander has been erased: p. 159, no. 28 = *AE* 1992, no. 1637. J. Bingen, *Mons Claudianus: Ostraca Graeca et Latina*, *BIAO* 92 (1992); below n. 360. At Luni too, private contractors did the actual extraction after the quarries were taken over by the *fiscus*: G. Menella, *Misc.StArchAnt* 3 (1990), 133-40 = *AE* 1991, no. 653. A *verna dispensator marmorum Numidicorum* at Simithus: M. Khanoussi, *Africa* 10 (1988), 208-11 = *AE* 1991, no. 1681. On imperial *vernae* as a group: E. Herrmann-Otto, *Ex ancilla natus* (1994), 99-225, 340-98.

¹⁸⁹ F. Kayser, *ZPE* 98 (1993), 111-56.

¹⁹⁰ A judicious summary by J.-L. Ferrary of the discussion up to the end of 1991 in *AE* 1991, no. 1501. The best text now available is H. W. Pleket's in *SEG* 39:1180; the first editors' text: *AE* 1989, no. 681. Nicolet is planning to produce a new text and commentary. On the evidence for a Latin original, N. Lewis, *SCI* 15 (1996), 209-11; cf. *ZPE* 107 (1995), 248.

¹⁹¹ C. Nicolet, *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 929-59; cf. T. Spagnuolo Vigorita in *I rapporti contrattuali con la pubblica amministrazione nell'esperienza storico-giuridica*, Atti del colloquio Torino 1994 (1996), 3-74, at 22-4 (a useful legal commentary on the whole law).

¹⁹² Nicolet has also attempted to specify the meaning of ἀρχὴν σείτου δήμου Ῥωμαίων (*frumentum mancipale*) in C. Vibius Salutaris' inscription (*CIL* III.14195 = *ILS* 7193 ll. 4 and 12-13), as all provincial revenues in kind, including those from the Sicilian *portorium*, not merely from the *ager publicus*, in A. Giovannini (ed.), *Nourrir la plèbe*, Actes du colloque Genève 1989 (1991), 119-40. About this one may have one's doubts.

¹⁹³ F. Ali Mohamed and J. M. Reynolds, *Libyan Studies* 25 (1994), 211-17, at 214. The authors speculate that all indirect taxes were farmed by the same company.

¹⁹⁴ W. Eck, *Studia B. Gerov* (1990), 58-62 on L. Caninius Valens, *CIL* v.7547 = *ILS* 1407. This has now been claimed to have been a CC post: P. Ørsted, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1991) [1992], 813-29, discussing *inter alia* IRT 315a, 432.

that there was a *portorium*-post at the harbour.¹⁹⁵ The invidiousness of having to bear the burden of raising taxes for the Roman government, as well as supervise the city's finances, is perceptible in an honorific text from Balbura in Lycia to a member of the Board of Twenty who served ἔτεσιν ἰκανοῖς ὡς μὴ μεμφοῦσθαι ὑπό τινος 'his stint without incurring blame from anyone'.¹⁹⁶ An *optio* helping a *centurio censoris* at Clunia in Hispania Citerior reminds us of the other side, of the resentments which the repeated censuses aroused, particularly in the third century.¹⁹⁷

From *portoria* to roads.¹⁹⁸ The building of roads was one of the most striking assertions of Roman governmental power.¹⁹⁹ The point is illustrated by a Tiberian milestone (A.D. 21–30) on the road from Emerita to Bracara Augusta, joining two of the Augustan colonies;²⁰⁰ and, much more impressively, by the vast network rapidly laid down in eastern Anatolia between Vespasian and Hadrian, much of it by a single governor, Caesennius Gallus.²⁰¹ The repair of such roads was likewise undertaken so regularly²⁰² that one may often doubt the connection commonly assumed between dated milestones and preparations for war.²⁰³ Uncommon milestones make the same point differently.²⁰⁴ Non-existent ones are also interesting: what about places, as in parts of eastern Anatolia, Sicily, Corsica, Mauretania Tingitana, where there are none at all? Or milestones which are anepigraphic, or lack distances? Their texts must have been painted; and wooden posts may have been used sometimes.²⁰⁵ As for the creation of runs of milestones: at least around Alba Helvorum (Narb.) under Antoninus Pius, there were two teams of cutters; each team had a leader who wrote out the text for himself, a text his team followed implicitly, to its very mistakes — a lapicidial scriptorium.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁵ G. Menella, *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 211–17 = *AE* 1992, nos 1154–5; Massilia: J. France and A. Hesnard, *JRA* 8 (1995), 79–93, text on p. 83 (second half of third century). Re-reading *AE* 1938, no. 91 to produce another *circitor p(ubl.) p(ort.)* of XL Gall.: G. Walser in *Studien zur Alpengeschichte*, Historia Supp. 86 (1994), 81–5. On the date of the creation of this *portorium*, J. France, *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 895–927. An office of XX *lib.* at Forum Segusavium, Lugd.: P. L. Gatier *et al.*, *RACentre* 30 (1991), 176 = *AE* 1991, no. 1224. A *proc. XX hered. regionis Kariaes et insularum Cycladium*: D. Berges, *Rundaltäre aus Kos u. Rhodos* (1996), no. 6 (repub. from Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, no. 562). A hundred years after Domaszewski, we seem to be back to identifying *statio ESC* in the *p.p. Illyricum* with Bad Ischl: E. Weber in *Festschrift H. Lieb*, op. cit. (n. 156), 171–8.

¹⁹⁶ N. P. Milner, *AS* 41 (1991), 54–7 = *SEG* 41:1360 (third century); a similar expression is known elsewhere from the site. A local tax official, ἐπιμελητῆς πόρων τὸ β' apparently 'manager of revenues for the second time', in Lycia: B. Iplikçiöğlu *et al.*, *Neue Inschriften aus Nord-Lyken* I (1992), 19, no. 7 = *SEG* 41:1376. Acclamations to the imperial *fiscus* at Perge: P. Weiß, *Chiron* 21 (1991), 353–92.

¹⁹⁷ P. de Palol and J. Vilella, *Clunia 2: La Burgos* (1987), no. 8 = *Hispania Epigraphica* 4 (1994), no. 194 (not in *AE*).

¹⁹⁸ On the administration of Italian roads: W. Eck in *Archeologia Laziale* x, *Quad.* 18 (1990), 29–39 = *Verwaltung*, op. cit. (n. 153), 295–314. On the Italian network itself: M. Calzolari, *MALincei*⁹ 7.4 (1996), 375–520, at 425–76.

¹⁹⁹ For an illustration of a post-vehicle of the *cursus publicus*, with its three mules, on the via Egnatia at Edessa, see A. K. Vavritsas, Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία 5 (1993), 147–60, cf. *Bull.ép.* 1994, no. 402.

²⁰⁰ 'Ficheiro epigráfico', *Conimbriga* (Supp.) 42 (1992), no. 189; cf. P. Sillières, *Les voies de communication de l'Hispanie méridionale* (1990), 586–8. The ascription to Tiberius is not quite secure. Local roads in Baetica under Nero (A.D. 58): J. A. Abásolo, *Zephyrus* 44–5 (1991–2), 392 = *AE* 1992, no. 1035.

²⁰¹ cf. Mitchell, op. cit. (n. 68), 1, 124–33, stressing the immense human and material costs, including use of corvée labour; for road-building under Titus in Cilicia after its reduction, M. H. Sayar, *EA* 20 (1992), 57–61.

²⁰² Revision of *AE* 1914, no. 62 (Traianopolis, Thrace), villages repairing each a mile of road: F. Mottas in *Festschrift G. Walser* (1989), 101–4 = *AE* 1991, no. 1408; in Spain: E. Melchor Gil, *Habis* 23 (1992), 121–37. Repair of a *praetorium* in Sardinia, with some kind of shelter for travellers *propter compendium itiner[is --] commeantiu[m]*: R. Zucca, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1992), 595–626 = *AE* 1992, no. 892.

²⁰³ Two recent cases: M. Fisher *et al.*, *Roman Roads in Judaea, 2: The Jaffa-Jerusalem Road*, BAR int. ser. 628 (1996), 294–5, no. 2, a new stone dated 162 which they link to the Parthian War; V. Gerasimova-Tomova and L. Hollenstein in *Festschrift Walser*, op. cit. (n. 202), 46–50, no. 1 = *SEG* 39:667 = *AE* 1992, no. 1508, linking repairs to the Via Egnatia to Gordian's eastern campaign.

²⁰⁴ e.g. one from Odiavum erected by *legio I Adiutrix* with the extremely rare title Pupiena Balbina Gordiana (i.e. first half of 238), showing that this unit at least recognized them after the murder of Maximinus Thrax: B. Lörincz and E. Számádo, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 205–7; the only milestone from Narbonensis in the reign of Philip: D. Brentchaloff and J. Gascou, *ZPE* 109 (1995), 249, no. 3a,b; another, from near Prusa ad Olympium, erected under Trebonianus Gallus and his son after mid-251: Y. Ötügen, *Forschungen in NW Kleinasien* (1996), 256–7, G29.

²⁰⁵ R. Rebuffat, *RAPicardie* 10 (1995), 23–31; cf. G. Susini in *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 37. But sometimes stones are eventually found on roads that lacked them (two striking examples are pending from Cyrenaica). Oddly enough, milestones seem to have been invented by Alexander's *bematistai*: P. Bernard, *CRAI* (1995), 73–95.

²⁰⁶ J. Napoli and R. Rebuffat, *Gallia* 49 (1992), 51–79.

V. CITIES

We begin with administrative and topographical features of the city of Rome which have been confirmed, or revealed, by epigraphy. One of the judgements of the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* is that a building of his in Rome should be demolished by the *curatores locorum publicorum iudicandorum* (ll. 105-8). This college is familiar from several Augustan and Tiberian inscriptions, which use the term *ex s.c.* The SC now makes it clear that this means that the Senate sometimes, as here, gave the college a specific task in addition to its normal duties.²⁰⁷ Completion of the one epigraphic testimony to the vicus Canarius (the Forum Boarium), dates it in the late second to early third centuries; it must, therefore, be virtually the last record of the existence of the *magistri vici*.²⁰⁸ A gravemarker from near Interpromium (Reg. IV) notes the dead man's membership of one of the sub-divisions of the tribes relevant to the *frumentatio*: such information, never previously found in a text outside Rome, illustrates the value of the privilege.²⁰⁹

In Italy and the West interest has concentrated mainly on euergetism and monumentalization, and on the value of epigraphic evidence in the reconstruction of local social structures.²¹⁰ A text from Nîmes in honour of a Q. Avilius Sennius Cominicus, evidently the adopted son of a freedman, reveals one important strategy of libertine penetration into local élites.²¹¹ If new families could rise, old ones could persist: a *tabula patronatus* from Fidentia (Reg.VIII) honours a man whose *gens* appears, a century earlier, on the alimentary inscription of nearby Veleia.²¹² A new patronage agreement, between the civitas Aratispitana and Q. Lucius Fenestella, perhaps an Italian, in Baetica is dated A.D. 38, and is, therefore, not much later than the well-known Tabula Lougeiorum of A.D. 1.²¹³ The Flavian municipal law has been seen as significant primarily in embodying an ideal of civic life.²¹⁴ A carefully revised text of the Lex Irnitana (*AE* 1986, no. 333) incorporates all recent improvements, together with a most valuable complete index of words;²¹⁵ in addition, progress has been made towards understanding the limited significance of the *iudicium pecuniae communis* in §§67-9, the regulations for choosing the judge in §§86-7, and the institution of *in tertium* in §90.²¹⁶ Scattered information throws light on the foundation of the colonies of Ateste²¹⁷ and of col. Astigi,²¹⁸ unexpectedly, Glanum turns out to have been a

²⁰⁷ Eck, op. cit. (n. 99), 207-11; Suetonius (*Aug.* 37) describes it in terms which became current only after Claudius' reform. On the administration of buildings in Rome: A. Kolb, *Die kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom* (1993).

²⁰⁸ L. Moretti, *RendPontAcc* 61 (1988-9), 353-6 on *IGUR* 1659 = *AE* 1992, no. 201: it is no longer dedicated to the Lares Augusti but to the emperor.

²⁰⁹ M. Venelius Proculus, *tribu Palatina corpore iu[n]iorum*: M. Buonocore, *SCO* 41 (1991), 337-41 = *AE* 1992, no. 323, with a list of the epigraphic texts for these divisions.

²¹⁰ e.g. *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Actes du colloque Rome 1992, CEF 198 (1994); M. Cèbeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron*, Table Ronde de Clermont-Ferrand 1991, CEF 215 (1996); *La città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana*, CEF 130 (1990), esp. C. Zaccaria, 129-62, E. Frézouls, 179-209; W. Eck and H. Galsterer (eds), *Die Stadt in Oberitalien u. in den NW Provinzen des römischen Reiches* (1991); G. Alföldy, *Tarraco: Forum* (1991); H. J. Schalles et al., *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert*, Kolloquium Xanten 1990 (1992); *Civitas: L'organizzazione dello spazio urbano nelle provincie romane del Nord Africa e nella Sardegna = L'Africa Romana* 11 (1994). For social structure: G. L. Gregori, *Brescia Romana: ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale* 1 (1992); G. D'Isanto, *Capua Romana: ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale* (1993); *Milano in età imperiale, I-III sec.*, Atti del convegno 1992 (1994); M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana: A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples* (1994) [1995]; a new study of the Canosa album of A.D. 223: F. Grella, *Canosa romana* (1993).

²¹¹ M. Christol in *Inscriptions latines*, op. cit. (n. 9), 49-63: more routinely, he made himself both beloved,

by providing the theatre with new awnings (ll. 9-11), and indispensable, by making the city interest-free loans 'quae a magistratibus petebantur' (11-14). Note the formula *ordo sanctissim(us)*, commoner in Greek than Latin.

²¹² But, of course, the *nomen* is no guarantee of blood relationship; A. Donati in H. J. Devijver (ed.), *Mélanges G. Sanders* (1991), 127-32 (first publ. in 1984) = *AE* 1991 no. 713. The text is to be put up in his house, 'cuius titulus scripturae perpetuitate gloriam n(ostri) consensus declarat' (l. 14).

²¹³ J. Corell, *Epigraphica* 56 (1994), 59-67.

²¹⁴ A. T. Fear, *Rome and Baetica* (1996), ch. 6.

²¹⁵ F. Lamberti, 'Tabulae Irnitanae': *municipalità e 'ius romanorum'* (1993), text and translation: 265-373; lexicon: 395-565; cf. W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 93 (1992), 297-306 (the first of several textual interventions). A tiny additional frg. of §79: A. Caballos Rufino, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 157-69. The relation between the two new editions of the Lex Flavia Villonensis, *AE* 1984, no. 510, is usefully set out by *Hispania Epigraphica* 4 (1994) no. 834: that of J. González, *Habis* 23 (1992), 97-119 is generally to be preferred to J. Fernández, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 121-7.

²¹⁶ Resp.: D. Johnston, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 199-207; R. Cardilli, *RAccadLinc* 3 (1992), 37-86; A. Rodger, *JRS* 81 (1991), 74-90. A new edition of Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae: *Roman Statutes*, op. cit. (n. 33), 1, 393-454.

²¹⁷ E. Zerbinati, *QArchVeneto* 7 (1991), 178-81 = *AE* 1991, no. 803, a veteran of the *V Urbana* settled after Actium.

²¹⁸ J. González, *Habis* 26 (1995), 281-93, settled by veterans of *IV Macedonica* and *VI Victrix* in 25 B.C. (and not 16). Like Emerita, it was enrolled in the tribe Papiria.

municipium, while the name of Avignon before Hadrian was just what had been guessed: *colonia Iulia Augusta Avennio*.²¹⁹ Two of the most interesting new texts concern 'villages', at any rate more or less dependent settlements.²²⁰ An evidently privileged settlement in the territory of Amiternum sought to give voice to that privilege by means of a monumental dedication *ex re pub(lica) sua* to M. Aurelius as Caesar;²²¹ new texts from the Miliana valley in Proconsularis clarify the status of two *pagi*, communities of veterans settled by Octavian, which seem to have enjoyed virtually complete autonomy;²²² the main item reveals for the first time the existence of *decuriae* in a *pagus*, evidently analogous to the *curiae* of North African cities.

In the Greek-speaking world, new examples of imperial expressions of concern and civic responses continue to appear. In particular, a text from Sardis seems to list the cities that participated in the erection of a colossal statue of Tiberius in gratitude for his help after the earthquake of A.D. 17.²²³ The flow of texts from Ephesus is still strong; we note especially Hadrian's hydraulic engineering project for the city.²²⁴ It has been argued that a two-fold impetus for the foundation of the Panhellenion was given by Hadrian's completion of the temple of Olympian Zeus, and the Athenians' desire for an appropriate response: its functions were essentially cultural and religious, evoking, like the temple itself, a grand, if usefully vague, notion of the Greek past united with the imperial present.²²⁵ The grandeur of the past crops up again in a snippet from the minutes of a meeting of the Areopagus held c. 150, at which Polybius of Sardis, probably the grammarian, gave a little speech of thanks for the honour of appearing before it, citing mythical precedent,²²⁶ and also at Sparta, where an inscription describes a woman as *ἐκγονὸν τῶν ἀρχαγετῶν τῆς πόλεως θεῶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Λυκούργου*, descendant of the gods who founded the city, Heracles and Lycurgus.²²⁷ History combines neatly with literary display in one of the foundation inscriptions for the Euarestia at Oenoanda — Euarestes, needless to say, was a *grammaticus* — which in citing Theognis alludes back to Homeric games.²²⁸

History and literature were by no means the only modes of legitimizing the privileges of the élite: there was beauty too. On one of a pair of statue bases with funerary epigrams from near Nemea, probably relating to a branch of the family of the Corinthian Gellii, the husband, Flavianus, boasts that only Herodes Atticus of all the Greeks was as famous as he, ὄσσον καὶ μορφῆς εἶδει συμφέρεται (l. 10).²²⁹ The same text observes that 'there is a saying that strong lions are born of lions that are strong' (ll. 7–8). The private passion for genealogy received a justification in Nature; and that passion in turn fired the keen genealogical and historical research which united the distant cities of Greece and Asia while feeding rivalries with close neighbours.²³⁰

²¹⁹ Resp.: A. Roth-Congès, *RANarb* 25 (1992), 44 n. 67 = *AE* 1992, no. 1189; M. Christol and M. Heijmans, *Gallia* 49 (1992), 38 = *AE* 1992, no. 1181 — a tribute to the intuition of A. L. F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis* (1988), 265.

²²⁰ Village is often an inappropriate term: A. Calbi et al. (eds), *L'epigrafia del villaggio*, Atti del coll. Forli 1990 (1993), esp. M. Sartre, 117–35 and J. P. Rey-Coquais, 138–49, on Syria.

²²¹ *Suppl.It.* 9 (1992), 78–9 no. 26 (republ.) = *AE* 1992, no. 378 (A.D. 146–7).

²²² L. Maurin, *MEFRA* 107 (1995), 97–135, dated early 193. In this region, the word *vicus* may mean an area where indigenous peoples lived: J. Gascou, *AntAfr* 28 (1992), 161–72.

²²³ P. Herrmann in Schwertheim, op. cit. (n. 2), 21–36, at 26–7; another tells us that each tribe at Sardis erected its own monument (ibid., 27–8); a bilingual text suggests that the rebuilding of the city was still continuing in A.D. 34 (pp. 28–9).

²²⁴ Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 122, no. 12 = *AE* 1993, no. 1472: the dyke has been widened to 60 ft. On the local élites: C. Schulte, *Die Grammateis von Ephesos: Schreiberamt u. Sozialstruktur in einer Provinzhauptstadt* (1994); criticism of G. M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesus* (1991), in the context of *I. Ephesus* 27 (the foundation of C. Vibius Salutaris): H. C. van Bremen, *JRS* 83 (1993), 245–6.

²²⁵ C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 29–56. A text from Aezani shows that the first Panhellenia were celebrated in 137: M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 338–49 no. 1 = *AE* 1992, no. 1602. Jones has also made better sense of Hadrian's rescript of 134/5 to Cyrene on Panhellenion membership (p. 47–53).

²²⁶ P. Herrmann in G. Dobesch and R. Rehrenböck, *Die epigraphische u. altertumsk. Erforschung Kleinasien: 100 Jahre Kleinasatische Kommission der Österr. Akad. Wiss.* (1993), 213–19 (text b). The extract has the typical form of minutes, with direct questions and third person narrative.

²²⁷ The two are paired elsewhere (cf. Pausan. 3.14.8); but Lycurgus is never elsewhere evoked as an ancestor — indeed Plutarch says his family died out with his son (*Lyc.* 31.4) — or as a god: A. J. S. Spawforth, *ABSA* 89 (1994), 437–8 no. 10 (c. 110–30).

²²⁸ A. S. Hall and N. P. Milner in *Studies A. S. Hall*, op. cit. (n. 67), 7–47, at 19, no. 10 (Severus Alex./Gordian), citing *Theognis* 245–6, an allusion to *Odyssey* 24.93.

²²⁹ C. B. Kritsas, *Διεθνές Συνέδριο για την Αρχαία Θεσσαλία: στη μνήμη Δ.Ρ. Θεοχάρη: Πρακτικά* (1992), 398–413 = *SEG* 41:273 = *AE* 1992, nos 1548–9, late second century or early third. The Gellii were well-known in Second Sophistic circles.

²³⁰ T. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* (1993); O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (1995). Sparta and Selge: *I. Selge* no. 6 = *SEG* 41:1251 (republ.). A new study of Antoninus' letter to Ephesus on the quarrel with Pergamum and Smyrna (*I. Ephesus* no. 1489) has emphasized the tension between city rivalry over the neocoria and the ideal of *homonoia*: E. Collas-Heddeland, *REG* 108 (1995), 410–29. Sardis as 'metropolis of Hellas' through its foundation by Pelops: P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 233–65 no. 1, on *SEG* 36:1094, l. 13.

The naturalization of hierarchy, in relation to the ideal of collective life, through the *demothoinia* is one of the themes of a book on the public feast in the Greek-speaking world.²³¹ Again, new texts for victors in the Antoninia Meleagria festival at Balbura in Lycia, founded in 158-61, reveal how prizes for artistic achievement went to those best fitted to receive them, the members of the best families.²³² But there are other, more integrative notes: a text from Arykanda in Lycia, thanking a woman for giving oil from her private stores, οἰκο[θ]εῖν, suggests how the gymnasium could express an ideal of city life as the collectivity of households.²³³ We might read offers by local worthies to underwrite, even finance, an emission of bronze coinage as analogous gestures.²³⁴ All this textual reassurance, however, could hardly conceal the creeping loss of civic autonomy, neatly symbolized by another Balbura text, of around 211, commemorating the building of a *tripylon*, a triple gate, from testamentary monies, which is dated by the current *logistes*;²³⁵ meanwhile, the issue of building city walls crops up ever more frequently in the course of the century both in Asia Minor and in the Near East.²³⁶

VI. MILITARY

Recent work in Roman frontier studies has been particularly concerned with ideas of boundary and territorial division, and with frontiers as *zones* extending from directly administered Roman provincial territory to the land of peoples who were not directly administered by, but were certainly subject to, Rome. In this survey we are concerned with the contribution of epigraphy to these ideas and debates; and also, in particular, with the armed forces (legionary and auxiliary) as an institution.²³⁷

The role of the Augustan army in the symbolic domination of the provinces is illustrated by the earliest clear evidence of the presence of Legion III Aug. in Africa, at Mactar: it was engaged

²³¹ P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, CEF 157 (1992), 255-420. An extra piece of IGR IV.1631, c. A.D. 176, has been read, giving us a new use of διαπέπω = πέσσω, distribute cooked food: Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 47.

²³² N. P. Milner, *AS* 41 (1991), 23-62 = *SEG* 41:1343-54. With these is an interesting inscription for Aurelius Thoantianos, priest of the Muses at Attaleia, referring also to honours paid him by the synod of artists at Side, 57-60 no. 20 = *SEG* 41:1359, the last five lines of which were published as *SEG* 38:1451. A study of the local origins of Diogenes of Oenoanda (IGR III.487): N. P. Milner and S. Mitchell, *AS* 45 (1995), 91-104; a niece of his: S. Şahin, *I. Arykanda*, no. 41; some minor queries on the text of his foundation inscr.: M. F. Smith, *AS* 44 (1994), 59-64.

²³³ *I. Arykanda*, no. 42 ll. 9-10. A gymnasium *ek tou presbytikou*, presumably a local variant on *gerontikon*: Malay, op. cit. (n. 13) no. 532 (Hierocaesarea, for M. Gavius Brocchos, Julio-Claudian).

²³⁴ P. Weiß in E. Varinlioglu (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien* 2, Asia Minor Studien 8 (1992), 167-80, on the expression αἰτησαμένου + name, on coins. For a useful catalogue of the services of these élites to their cities, F. Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten der gr. Ostens* (1993), more briefly in *Gymnasium* 99 (1992), 422-34.

²³⁵ Milner, op. cit. (n. 232), 46-9 no. 15, rev. of IGR III.468 = *SEG* 41:1355 (also nos 16 = 1356; 18 = 1360). A possible *logistes* at Arykanda: *I. Arykanda* no. 28; and at Selge: *I. Selge* no. 26. The city eras of NW Asia Minor, a headache for the uninitiated, have

received double treatment in the same year: C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia u. Nord Galatia* (1993); W. Leschhorn, *Antike Ären: Zeitrechnung, Politik u. Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum u. in Kleinasien nördl. des Tauros* (1993) — both extremely good.

²³⁶ At Termessus, a fine for molestation of a grave is to be paid τῷ δήμῳ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν τεύχων : B. İplikcioglu (with G. Çelgin and A. Vedat Çelgin), *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium* 2 (1991), 19-20 no. 9 = *SEG* 41:1288: in the Near East, cf. E. Kettenhofen, *ZPalV* 107 (1991) [1992], 77-91 (Der'a); possibly Medaba: M. Piccirillo, *Liber Annuus* 39 (1989), 105-8 = *SEG* 39:1663.

²³⁷ Recent work on frontiers: C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (1994); P. Brun *et al.* (eds), *Frontières de l'empire*, Mém. du Musée de Préhistoire de l'Île de France 5 (1993). A stimulating collection of essays on the army in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La Hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Actes Congrès Lyon 1994 (1995); cf. also E. Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East*, Proc. Colloquium Krakow 1992 (1994); D. L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*, JRA Supp. 18 (1996). The following vols of MAVORS have been published: no. 5, G. Forni, *Esercito e marina di Roma antica* (1992), incl. 11-212 on the origins of legionaries; no. 7, A. Mócsy, *Pannonien u. das römische Heer* (1992); no. 8, M. P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* 2 (1992); no. 9, H. J. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army* 2 (1992).

in building a strategic road from Carthage to Ammaedara.²³⁸ Its activity in another form of symbolic domination, building in regular bricks, is illustrated by an *immunis* at Mainz who describes himself as *custos castelli figlinarum*, that is, a kiln-master.²³⁹ We are familiar enough now with the symbolic function of Hadrian's Wall as part of a zonal frontier: a new diploma throws a glancing sidelight on the occasion when hostile tribesmen crossed it in the early 180s; it shows that Ulpius Marcellus, who was sent to deal with the situation, was almost certainly governor of Britain already in 177 and in the normal course would have left the province before the attack; there is a real probability then that he was sent back specifically to handle the crisis, a most exceptional step.²⁴⁰ Hardly less symbolic was the Severan presence in the fort of Tilli on the middle Tigris, where a veteran set up a Greek-Aramaic bilingual dedication to Zeus Olympios Μάρη[.]λλη (the second title means in Aramaic 'Lord of the Gods').²⁴¹ Such a fort was indeed part of a much wider attempt decisively to extend Roman power in the Near East at the expense of Parthia.²⁴² But the distinction between administered province and subject peoples beyond remains valuable in this case too: the fort was a symbolic statement of Rome's intention to have the last word even here.

The incident on Hadrian's Wall reminds us that the threat of incursion was on occasion real enough. The Moorish invasions of Spain in 171 and 178 had to be met in part, it is now argued, by the unusual step of raising auxiliary troops in the senatorial province of Baetica.²⁴³ And the terror induced by the Gothic invasion of Phrygia is suggested by a gravestone dated 245/55 commemorating a family τοῖς ἐν βαρβάροις τεθνή-, who died among the barbarians (perhaps having been deported).²⁴⁴ The threat of internal violence is illustrated by an inscription probably of Severan date at Rhodes which praises a man who protected shipping against pirate attacks during his period of office as *strategos*.²⁴⁵

Although, as a new diploma reminds us, loyalty might on occasion have to be bought,²⁴⁶ generally speaking the Roman army depended upon the internalization of a sense of proper hierarchy. The commander of a fort in Mauretania relates how he performed a sacrifice to Iuppiter in honour of Septimius Severus' sixty-fifth birthday in A.D. 210, after which it seems that his men shouted 'et deinceps ob[ser]vabimus'.²⁴⁷ A new letter to Flavius Cerialis at Vindolanda from one of his decurions greets him as *rex* (patron) and addresses him as *domine*.²⁴⁸ A list of centurions of Legion I Italica at Novae who contributed to a statue of Septimius

²³⁸ A. M. Charek, *BCTH* 22 (1987-9) [1992], 153-67 = *AE* 1992, no. 1775. A Julio-Claudian gravemarker for a soldier of the same legion at Thuburnica: M. Khanoussi, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1990) [1991], 323-4 = *AE* 1992, no. 1826; another at Ammaedara: Z. ben Abdullah, *CRAI* (1992), 13-16 = *AE* 1992, no. 1768. Note the exhaustive account of the Augustan conquest of Pannonia in T. Nagy, *AAASchHung* 43 (1991), 57-85; a return to the traditional view of C. Iulius Macer, *CIL* XIII.1041 = *ILS* 2531: *ILA Santones*, op. cit. (n. 9), 110-18, no. 14. For another aspect of Augustan military history, see A. Łajtar, *ZPE* 94 (1992), 213-16 = *SEG* 41:1669, reinterpreting E. Bernand, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 53-5 (a text from Egypt suggesting that troops belonging to an annexed kingdom may sometimes have been permitted to continue to occupy their land, even retaining their old organization in the form of a private association under their old commander).

²³⁹ J. Dolata, *MainzArchZ* 1 (1994), 67-72, reconsidering *AE* 1941, no. 107. On the uses for historians of military brickstamps: Y. Le Bohec, *Epigraphica* 54 (1992), 43-62. On *prata legionis*: F. Bérard, *Cahiers Centre G. Glotz* 3 (1992), 75-105, who concludes that the problem is not to elucidate what the *territorium* was but how the lands of the *vici* and *canabae* were administered by the provincial authorities. The well-known texts, *AE* 1982, nos 777-81, 784, relating to the *canabae* round the camp at Carnuntum (*intra leugam pr[imam]*) have been republ. by I. Piso, *Tyche* 6 (1991), 131-69 = *AE* 1991, nos 1309-14.

²⁴⁰ Roxan, op. cit. (n. 135), no. 184 with n. 15; cf. Dio 73.8.2.

²⁴¹ C. S. Lightfoot and J. F. Healey, *EA* 17 (1991), 1-7 = *SEG* 41:1420 (with H. W. Pleket's comments) = *AE* 1991, no. 1581 (first half of third century); cf. Millar, op. cit. (n. 98), 128-9, 495.

²⁴² cf. Kennedy, op. cit. (n. 237), 67-90.

²⁴³ J. González, *Habis* 25 (1994), 179-88 (Los Corrales, prov. Seville = Ilipula Minor); the recruits will have had Latin citizenship only.

²⁴⁴ R. A. Tybout, *EA* 20 (1992), 35-41: the invasion must, therefore, have receded from NW Phrygia by 255.

²⁴⁵ G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 64/5 (1986/7) [1991], 282-4, no. 18 = *SEG* 41:661 (= *Bull.ép.* 1946/7, no. 156). On the regular fleet, note the list of *praefecti classis* in *ZPE* 96 (1993), 85-8; the date at which service was extended from twenty-six to twenty-eight years is now thought to be between Nov. 206 and July 208: Roxan, op. cit. (n. 135), on no. 73.

²⁴⁶ M. M. Roxan, *JRA* 9 (1996), 247-56 on the earliest diploma of Vespasian's reign (26 Feb. 70), issued to the 'beneficiarii qui militant in classe Ravennate sub Sex. Lucilio Basso' (= *PIR*² L 379). The fact that they received their privileges without having to wait for the end of their service shows how important these men had been to the Flavian cause in 69.

²⁴⁷ A. Mastino, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 247-70 = *AE* 1991, no. 1743; cf. D. Fishwick, *AncHistB* 6 (1992), 63-72, on the role of such rituals in the army in the context of the imperial cult.

²⁴⁸ A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *Britannia* 27 (1996), 324, ll. 13-15 (A.D. 104). *Rex* is not as unusual as one might imagine. The letter ends by saying that the soldiers have no more beer, 'rogo iubeas mitti'. A large drinking-bowl with the legend 'olam fortunae Supestinus Filica Clementinio Advento praefecto leg. XXX' has been found near Krefeld, c. 250-75: R. Pirling, *Germania* 71 (1993), 387-404.

Severus, set up when he was in Moesia Superior in 195-6, is set out in a way which reproduces the schematic organization of the legion, with gaps to indicate the places of those away on secondment, probably with Marius Maximus at Byzantium.²⁴⁹ Concern with rank, however, is perfectly compatible with patronage. If a man might indeed rise directly from the lowest to the highest rank of *principalis*, it was presumably through the intervention of a patron,²⁵⁰ and *beneficarii* advertised their source of advancement in their very titles.²⁵¹ The most rational patronage promotes the most fitting: the value of literacy in procuring advancement into privileged ranks in the army has been underlined by one of the tombstones of men of II Parthica at Apamea.²⁵²

Although we tend to think of the legion as a unit of infantry, it always contained a cavalry wing: the status of its members can be inferred from a grave-marker at Carnuntum for a *beneficiarius* erected by his heir, an *equus legionis*.²⁵³ There are reasons for thinking that cavalry increased in military significance well before the mid-third century,²⁵⁴ when it is usually supposed that the legionary cavalry strength was raised to 726.²⁵⁵ In the true desert, of course, a camel-force might be more practical.²⁵⁶

It has recently been observed that the Roman army constituted the largest group of wage-earners in the pre-industrial world; study of its bureaucracy might, therefore, shed light on the degree to which the army was perceived by the actors as a unitary organization. It has for example become clear from a new strength-report from Vindolanda that the composition of such documents (insofar as they survive) was more variable over the Empire than had been supposed; it may be that we are expecting uniformity in documents that were, in fact, compiled for quite different purposes.²⁵⁷ In terms of pay, on the other hand, it certainly was unified: a docket from Vindonissa dated A.D. 38, recording a cavalryman's drawing an advance on his pay, has prompted a thorough re-examination of military scales.²⁵⁸ But the limitations of our knowledge of quite basic aspects of the army bears stressing: we do not even know the theoretical strength of the legions (the elementary basis for calculations of the costs of the army for example),²⁵⁹ and are reduced to informed guesswork: the latest reckoning of their actual strength offers the range between 4,600 and 5,000.²⁶⁰ As for the issue of soldiers' average age of enlistment, it has been argued that estimates based straight-forwardly on bare epigraphic information are distorted because attested soldiers' ages at death are commonly rounded to the nearest five.²⁶¹ The haphazard nature of our direct evidence is also well illustrated by the discovery of a legionary discharge certificate, dated A.D. 91, at Vindonissa. Such documents should have been common enough, since we should expect that many, if not all, legionary soldiers must on occasion after

²⁴⁹ T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 95 (1993), 205-19. It also seems to prove that the term *primi ordines* applied to all the centuries of the first cohort. On the sigla for the different centuries, cf. Kayser, op. cit. (n. 11), 356 no. 114, with p. 414.

²⁵⁰ S. Panciera, *AAASchHung* 41 (1989), 372, no. 4 = *AE* 1991, no. 268, dedicating as *speculator* what he vowed as *frumentarius*; though there is nothing actually in the text to exclude the possibility that he passed through the intermediate grades. A letter of commendation: A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *Tab. Vindol.* II (1994), no. 250. A rare early text relating to a Praetorian promoted *speculator* in the Emperor's bodyguard (cf. *RE* 3A, 1585 §b): *Suppl.It.* 12 (1994) Iulium Carnicum, 121, no. 11.

²⁵¹ J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarii* (1995). For the seventy-nine new altars of *beneficarii* from Sirmium, with interesting information about lengths of occupation of the post at different periods: M. Mirković, *Chiron* 24 (1994), 345-404; the eighteen from the *mansio* at Praetorium Latobicarum are republ. by M. Šašel Kos in *Festschrift H. Lieb*, op. cit. (n. 156), 149-70; note also F. Schallmayer et al. (eds), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken 2* (1994), (essays, new texts); 1 (1990) was the corpus of the then known texts.

²⁵² J. C. Balty and W. Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria: The Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica* (1993), 40-1, no. 17, a *librarius* who died after only six months in the army. (Note that this publication is a popular illustrated pamphlet, not the definitive publication.) Cf. also B. Isaac, *IEJ* 42 (1992), 62-75, at 73-4. Officers of *legio X Fretensis*: E. Dabrowa, *Legio X Fretensis*, *Historia Supp.* 66 (1993), with review by B. Isaac, *SCI* 14 (1995), 169-70; *leg.leg.* of the other

Syrian legions, idem in Kennedy, op. cit. (n. 237), 277-96.

²⁵³ W. Jobst, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* (1986), 231-2 = *AE* 1992, no. 1402; cf. also M. P. Speidel in *Festschrift H. Lieb*, op. cit. (n. 156), 123-32, at 130-1.

²⁵⁴ M. P. Speidel, *Tyche* 7 (1992), 217-20, arguing that the *ala Celerum* was founded in 238.

²⁵⁵ A new theory that the reorganization took place in the first third of the century (T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 95 (1993), 197-203) has now been withdrawn; see M. P. Speidel, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 469-70; T. Sarnowski, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 289-90.

²⁵⁶ A military *dromed[ar]iu[s]* at Qasr el-Abyad: M. Sartre, *IGLS* 21 (1993), Jordanie: Petra, no. 94. A *proskynema* to Pan by a cavalryman at Wadi Hammamat and his horse: F. Kayser, *ZPE* 98 (1993), 120-1, no. 9.

²⁵⁷ A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *JRS* 81 (1991), 62-73 = eidem, *Tab. Vindol.* II (1994), no. 154.

²⁵⁸ M. A. Speidel, *JRS* 82 (1992), 87-106, which includes a discussion of the new Masada pay-slip, *P. Yadin* no. 722; the docket is repr. as *AE* 1992, no. 1272. A letter from Carlisle dated 7 Nov. 83 shows another soldier taking 100 denarii advance on his pay, i.e. one third of the scale increased that year by Domitian: R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 23 (1992), 147, 153-4.

²⁵⁹ J. Roth, *Historia* 43 (1994), 346-62.

²⁶⁰ W. Scheidel, *Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire*, *JRA Supp.* 21 (1996), 117-21.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, 97-116, revised from *Chiron* 22 (1992), 281-97; also *Klio* 77 (1995), 232-54. On his estimate, the average age was in fact around twenty.

discharge have had to prove that they were entitled to specific rights. But, since it was evidently not considered necessary to engrave them on bronze, they have simply not come to light until the advent of new techniques of excavation and text-enhancement.²⁶²

Finally, there is some new testimony to the self-confidence of the centurionate of the late High Empire, buttressed by the military successes of the Severans — a spirit exhaled by their confident narratives. Iuppiter himself intervened to save a centurion of II Parthica who got into a tight spot, *in periculis constitutus*, on a special mission: he was probably involved in the fracas between Caracalla and the people of Alexandria in 215–16.²⁶³ A *centurio ordinarius* at the fort at Bu Njem in Proconsularis boasts that he 'ex fortia et suff(ragio) vex(illationi) profec(it)', made his unit excel by his bravery and personal engagement.²⁶⁴ Most remarkable of all is the partly acrostic poem from the same fort by M. Porcius Iasuchthan.²⁶⁵ Grandiloquently he describes his vexillation's building work on a gate-way during the winter of A.D. 221–2, evoking the speed with which the four-storeyed towers grew higher to the rhythm of the soldiers' chanting: 'celerius excelsae turres quater divisae cum voce militum a terra venerunt [all one line!] torrens virtus leg. III aug. p.v.' (ll. 17–18). Then he reflects on the finished work, the new gate beautiful as a jewel in a golden bezel: 'effecta opera gaudet aeterna militum virtus gemma ut auro cluditur sic castram porta decorat' (ll. 27–8).²⁶⁶ Iasuchthan understood perfectly the symbolic significance of the task that his men were engaged in.

VII. RELIGION

The religious document most familiar to us from the Principate, the inscribed votive, is the product of the spread of literacy combined with religious practice. In the Principate its forms are so largely stereotyped that it is as well to be reminded that votive inscriptions too had a long evolution in the Republic.²⁶⁷ Votives were, of course, a matter of private worship; other — more public — aspects of the practical day-to-day religious traditions of Rome were under the guardianship of the *accensi velatores*, who supervised all rituals of the *sacra publica*, under the at least nominal authority of the pontifices.²⁶⁸ Some of them, and a *haruspex*, accompanied Roman governors to their posts abroad to fulfil there also the proper religious rites.²⁶⁹ Each governor was thus, at the religious level too, an itinerant Rome in miniature.²⁷⁰

It seems clear that, however we are best to think of religious evolution under the Principate, the imperial cult was central to the maintenance of enthusiasm for civic cult. For local élites, including Romans resident outside Italy, the two enterprises overlapped most conveniently. That real interests often contributed to the development of the imperial cult is well illustrated by a new text from Miletus, on the career of C. Iulius Epikrates.²⁷¹ This man, who held the high priesthood of Asia and the Ionians for life, obtained three important concessions for his city from

²⁶² M. A. Speidel, *Pro Vindonissa* (1990), 59–65 = *AE* 1991, no. 1261; republ. in Roxan, op. cit. (n. 135), 337–8, Appdx. 1, with new comments. Speidel argues that there was a central *constitutio* in Rome for all such documents, of which this one is a copy for an individual. Roxan here publishes sixty-six new diplomata, noting that she has already accumulated thirty-eight more for the next volume. As usual, these documents offer new prosopographical information: see p. 217 n. 135 above; also Lucillianus Maximus (written Maximus Lucilianus), a new governor of Syria Palaestina in 160, no. 173.

²⁶³ C. Bruun, *Arctos* 29 (1995), 9–27 republ. a document by C. Cassius Sever[us] from Albano Laziale; cf. Dio 77.22.1–24; Herod. 4.8.6–9.8. The original editors dated the text to the reign of Philip.

²⁶⁴ R. Rebuffat, *L'Africa Romana* 7 (1988) [1990], 154–7 = *AE* 1991, no. 1620, early third century. The use of *suffragium* in this sense is interesting. The same rank in *Suppl. It.* 9 (1992), Ticinum 268, no. 17 = *AE* 1992, no. 786.

²⁶⁵ R. Rebuffat, *Libya Ant.* n.s.1 (1995), 79–123. He was later posted to *XX Valeria Victrix* in Britain. Further consideration of the Latinity of these texts is forthcoming from J. N. Adams.

²⁶⁶ Possibly an allusion to *Aen.* 10.134; elsewhere he

apparently cites 11.172. Note l. 31, the use of *dictatores* to mean the centurion himself and his *magister*. An acclamation to a legion: *Leg. XI Cl. fel.: I. Novae*, op. cit. (n. 12), no. 67. For images of the genius of legion and centuries, note H. G. Frenz, *CSIR Deutschland* 2.4 (1992) nos 34–47; for an image of the legionary standard as a live eagle in a cage, Balty and Van Rengen, op. cit. (n. 252), 42–3 no. 18, to Velsonius Verus, *aquilifer*.

²⁶⁷ S. Panciera in Ritti, op. cit. (n. 79), 904–14. An over-rigid attempt to use invocation formulae as a dating criterion: M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Diis deabusque sacrum: formulaire votif et datation dans les Trois Gaules et les deux Germanies*, Gallia Romana 1 (1993). For writing and votive religion, see M. Beard in M. Beard et al., *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991), 35–58.

²⁶⁸ I. di Stefano Manzella, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 261–79.

²⁶⁹ W. Eck in M. Mayer (ed.), *Religio deorum*, Actas del Coloq. Tarragon 1988 (1992), 151–60.

²⁷⁰ On the perception over time by a local élite of the mediated Roman pantheon: T. Derks in N. Roymans and F. Theuvs (eds), *Images of the Past* (1991), 235–65 = *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 7–23.

²⁷¹ P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 44 (1994), 203–34, cf. *SEG* 39:1255.

his friend Augustus.²⁷² Of many ways to bring man and god together, sheer proximity was highly suggestive: at Ephesus, for example, the imperial cult was at first housed in the Artemision until a temple was erected (at any rate, under Augustus, there seem to have been two locations simultaneously).²⁷³ Another feature that the imperial cult shared with civic cult was its responsiveness to innovation, which became effortlessly traditional: this process is illustrated in Asia by the introduction both of the asiarchate, an office probably indeed to be distinguished from the high-priesthood, and of a high-priestess, though the scope of these changes remains, and is likely to remain, debatable.²⁷⁴ We are reminded appropriately of the 'indeterminacy of such systems'.²⁷⁵

The language of the imperial cult abounds in anomalies and obscurities, so that it is unwise to suppose that a given expression, such as *numinibus Aug.*, must have a single clear meaning.²⁷⁶ If that notion denotes vaguely all emperors honoured in the imperial fasti, how does it differ from a single *numen* attributed to several emperors?²⁷⁷ The dedication θεῶν Καισάρων, 'of the gods Caesars', found in Thessaly suggests an analogous development there.²⁷⁸ Such imprecision, identical to that to be found in private votives to 'real' gods, makes it unwise to press details too hard.²⁷⁹ Similarly, the 'piety' of Titus, to which there was a temple in Reina (Badajoz), can hardly be specified further.²⁸⁰ But the prestige of imperial priesthoods was real enough: at Larinum the grandmother of a girl who was selected to become priestess of the deified Livia notes proudly that the girl was the very first to be honoured in this way, at the age of seven.²⁸¹

If the imperial cult aimed to set the city in a wider political frame, much religious activity was directed towards the maintenance of purely local identity.²⁸² On occasion, this might amount to no more than the dedication of the spot where lightning has struck.²⁸³ More interestingly, as in those parts of Italy where the speaking of Greek declined over the late Republic and Principate, it might take the form of looking back for roots: at Paestum at the turn of the common era we seem to find the revival of a priesthood, the *mnamon*, centuries after the disappearance of the Greek city;²⁸⁴ at Naples, the first evidence for the cults of Leucothea and, rather later, Sicilian Athena.²⁸⁵ But more often it took the form of the determined reproduction of unmistakably local

²⁷² A prosopographical list of the *archiereis* of Asia in M. D. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del Koinon d'Asia (I sec. - III sec. d.C.)* (1994), 29-157; cf. eadem, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 422-6.

²⁷³ H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 97 (1993), 279-89; cf. D. Fishwick, *CRAI* (1992), 381-401; *ZPE* 98 (1993), 238-40, on statues in Gaul. For the early date of the cult in the coastal cities of Tripolitania: V. Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes de Tripolitaine* (1992). For a variety of treatments (not all epigraphically based) A. Small (ed.) *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity, Papers Presented to . . . Duncan Fishwick*, *JRA Supp.* 17 (1996).

²⁷⁴ S. J. Friesen, *Twice Neocoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (1993), 92-112 and 85-8. P. Herz, *Tyche* 7 (1992), 93-115, has urged that the asiarchate and the high-priesthood were simply two aspects of the same role. Both reject R. A. Kearsley's view (*AS* 38 (1988), 43-51) that the asiarchate was a municipal office. For some new cases of high-priestesses sharing duties as well as honours with the high-priest: *I. Arykanda* (n. 232) nos 42, 47, 50, cf. 51.

²⁷⁵ T. Rajak and D. Noy, *JRS* 83 (1993), 75-93, at 85.

²⁷⁶ See J. C. Mann, *Britannia* 22 (1991), 173-7 and the reply by D. Fishwick, *Britannia* 25 (1994), 127-41.

²⁷⁷ idem in Le Bohec, op. cit. (n. 159), 83-94.

²⁷⁸ D. Rousset, *BCH* 118 (1994), 364, no. 3 (Ano Kastelli, Pindos), only paralleled by *IGR* III.1046.

²⁷⁹ It is not likely, for example, that the phrase πολλακτικῶν [νεοκόρου τῶν] Σεβαστῶν ('several times temple-warden of the Augusti'), in a new text from Sardis, implies a criticism of the removal of the third neocorate by Severus Alexander: the thought of the

third was almost as good as its real existence; *pace* P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 233-66, no. 2 = *AE* 1993, no. 1506, a base for C. Asinius Nicomachus Frugianus, who was *agoranomos* at a time of famine.

²⁸⁰ J. M. Alvarez Martínez and J. L. Mosquera Müller, *ExtremArq* 2 (1991), 370-1 = *Hispania Epigraphica* 4 (1994), no. 182.

²⁸¹ S. de Caro in S. Capini and A. di Niro (eds), *Sammium* (1991), 267-8 = *AE* 1991, no. 514a.

²⁸² Spreading the fame of a god beyond the city might also be a duty: note the spread of the mysteries of Artemis of Ephesus to an unknown city by Trokondas and his family: G. H. R. Horsley, *AS* 42 (1992), 119-50 = *SEG* 42:1223 (Julio-Claudian); and the 'office' of the same goddess at Aezani founded by Asklepiades: M. Wörle, *AA* (1995), 720-1, no. 2. Isis-Tyche fusion at Petra: F. Zayadine, *MEFRA* 103 (1991), 283-306; Bona Dea and Isis: L. Gasperini, *Picus* 9 (1989) [1991], 226 = *AE* 1992, no. 537 (republ.). We may note here too what is by far the earliest votive to Sol Elagabalus recorded in the West, under Antoninus Pius, by a man probably from Emesa: J. E. Bogaers, *OMRL* 74 (1994), 153-61.

²⁸³ Rémy, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 23 = *AE* 1992, no. 1200; B. Rémy and A. Buisson, *RAN* 25 (1992), 83-104, collect all such cases in Narbonensis. On sacred groves: *Les bois sacrés*, Actes Coll. Naples 1989 (1993).

²⁸⁴ J. G. Pedley and M. Torelli, *The Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum*, *Archeologia Perusina* 11 (1993), 200, no. 4, l. 3. The same text mentions the building of a kitchen for ritual meals.

²⁸⁵ Miranda, op. cit. (n. 8), no. 94; 112. An interesting case of re-use of a Hittite image at Germanicia in Commagene: B. Jacobs and W. Messerschmidt, *EA* 19 (1992), 105-14 = *SEG* 41:1503.

cults, of the god of Lake Garda, Neptunus Benacus, for example,²⁸⁶ or Adidon in Aquitania.²⁸⁷ In the pursuit of authenticity, however, ironies are never far to seek: another text records the cult of the hitherto totally unknown divinity Arbugio at Biot in Narbonensis, but it is a cult with a statue, quite unthinkable in pre-Roman times.²⁸⁸ Again, we find a self-conscious use of a native word meaning sacred enclosure in an African text recording the restoration of a shrine to Liber Pater — and dated by the current *duumviri*.²⁸⁹ Underlying such local piety, however, might often be issues of power and ownership it is difficult now to grasp.²⁹⁰

The routine of religious thanksgiving for agrarian prosperity may also repay thought: not only does the desirable thereby become an implied norm, but the fact of a good harvest becomes a reassurance of the meaningfulness of belief.²⁹¹ The sun, visible divinity, most perfectly symbolizes this divine function: and so his priest is properly praised as one 'in whose priesthood there was abundance and fertility of all fruits'.²⁹² The sun may also stand for the restoration of a status-quo, and is duly invoked to take vengeance for the death of a slave, by a man who found piquancy in the fact that his name too was Helios;²⁹³ but other gods might be no less effective as avengers.²⁹⁴

The power of particular places to heal also constructs a specific topography of divine beneficence. It has been claimed that the cult of healing waters did not exist in Gaul until the conquest: if so, is that to be understood as another aspect of the transformation of Celtic religion, or as a form of resistance to Roman intervention, a form of nativism?²⁹⁵ But we should also recall that in Asia Minor too the upsurge in the cult of the waters itself only arrives with the Principate; and the waters of Hercules at Caere only became famous at the end of the Republic.²⁹⁶ The cult of waters may, therefore, perhaps best be considered an epiphenomenon of the earlier spread of the cult of Asclepius, which itself rested upon earlier cults, such as that of Darron at Pella in Macedonia.²⁹⁷ Healing cults can be pursued in two directions. On the one hand, they encouraged the development of specialized religious establishments which attracted patients from a wide area, and created their own rules of organization to a degree independently of civic cult.²⁹⁸ These temples had a clear interest in the advertisement of their successes through the offering of votives, an iconography of individual suffering and release.²⁹⁹ On the other, they offered to take seriously personal feelings of anxiety and guilt. Instead of the sick body moving remorselessly into the

²⁸⁶ A. Garzetti, *Suppl.It.* 8 (1991), Brixia, 221, no. 23 = *AE* 1991, no. 837. But even in this case the god is termed *augustus*. A helpful god of a local mountain in Lycia: *I.Arykanda* (n. 232) no. 82.

²⁸⁷ Rémy, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 22; Vitiocelus in Narbonensis: J. Gascou, *ZPE* 93 (1992), 133–6 = *AE* 1992, no. 1180; also Zeus Bozios at Hierapolis in Phrygia: T. Ritti in *Anathema*, op. cit. (n. 79), 861 = *SEG* 41:1203 = *AE* 1992, no. 1605.

²⁸⁸ *ILNarb.* 2, no. 121: a village associates itself with a dedication by a leading local family. Note also the unknown [D]exiva at Aquae Sextiae: J. Gascou in Mayer, op. cit. (n. 269), 210 = *AE* 1992, no. 1170.

²⁸⁹ A. Beschaouch, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 639–46 = *AE* 1992, no. 1815.

²⁹⁰ B. Böttger and K. Halloff, *Klio* 73 (1991), 481–8, no. 6 = *SEG* 41:590 = *AE* 1992, no. 1505, from Karasura. The text describes the dedicators as *despotai*, but the land was probably owned by the temple of Apollo Dauterenos.

²⁹¹ Liber Pater as *conservator vindemiarum*: A. Sartori, *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 84 = *AE* 1992, no. 758 (near Comum); Zeus *ampeleites*: M. Riel, *EA* 17 (1991), 73–6 = *SEG* 41:1177–81 (Phrygia); Sabazius and viticulture: Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), nos 62–5, 66 (Lydia, late first to early second century).

²⁹² *SEG* 39:749 = *AE* 1991, no. 1514 (Rhodes). *Euphoria* too, from Zeus Olympios, in Lycia: *Nord-Lykien*, op. cit. (n. 196), 19, no. 7, ll. 5–8 = *SEG* 41:1376.

²⁹³ M. Riel, *ŽA* 44 (1994), 170–1, no. 26 (Eskisehir). The texts from the temple of Demeter and Kore at Knidos (A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (1904), nos 1–13) are republ. by W. Blümel, *I.Knidos* nos 147–59.

²⁹⁴ e.g. (from Britain) a regular complaint to Mercury from Uley: *Britannia* 23 (1992), 310, no. 5 = *AE*

1992, no. 1127; two from Hockwold, *Britannia* 24 (1994), 293, no. 1; 296, no. 2; Mercury to seek out a thief in the Cotswolds: *CSAD Newsletter* 2, op. cit. (n. 3) (1996), 5–6. On such vindictive texts, see H. S. Versnel in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (1991), 60–106.

²⁹⁵ A. Roth Congrès, *JRA* 8 (1994), 397–407. J. Scheid rightly warns against taking all rural shrines in Gaul as healing cults: *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 25–40. A very large shrine at Deneuvre, near Baccarat: G. Moitrioux, *Hercules salutaris* (1992).

²⁹⁶ cf. Strabo 5.2.3, 220C; an early dedication (Julio-Claudian): P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *BollArch* 7 (1991), 80–2 = *AE* 1992, no. 599. The hero Piyris as healer at a pilgrimage shrine at Ain Labakha in Egypt: G. Wagner, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 98, no. 1 (second to third century); 103, no. 1 and 105, no. 5 are graffiti evidently recording visions of the hero.

²⁹⁷ L. Lilimbaki-Akamati, τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη 5 (1991) [1994], 83–95 (second century B.C.).

²⁹⁸ On the rules at Amphipolis: C. Veligianni, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 391–405; at Thuburbo Maius: M. Kleijwegt, *AntAfr* 30 (1994), 209–20.

²⁹⁹ A plaque from the Asclepieion at Zea showing a male lower abdomen and genitals: B. Forsén, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 173–5; a stele with hand, ears, and eyes: Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), 79 with fig. 43. A man at Germisara in Dacia healed three times: I. Piso and U. Rusu, *RevMonIst* 59 (1990), 14, no. 8 = *AE* 1992, no. 1484 (A.D. 190; note the personal address to Diana: '... et tibi sancta Deana'). The statue of Somnium dedicated to Aesculapius at Riez, *ILS* 3855, is republ. in *ILNarb.* 2, op. cit. (n. 9), 197–200 Riez, no. 2.

foreground, they suggested that the soul was in fact more important: either because the god could only intervene under certain circumstances, or because illness was explicitly, at least under given conditions, a divine punishment.³⁰⁰ Amuletic protection against daemonic attack worked upon similar representations of the cause of illness.³⁰¹

The contrast between body and soul is a folk-category fertile of religious meanings. Most dramatically, it sustains the feat of the priestess of the goddess Perasia at Mopsuestia who routinely walked on living coals.³⁰² But it may also ground the notion of insight essential to the diviner, whether intuitive or inductive.³⁰³ And it surely lies behind the opposition between poor object and sincere thoughts in a lead-slip votive from the shrine of Iuppiter Poeninus in the Val d'Aosta.³⁰⁴ Although cults calling themselves 'mysteries', in inviting to a private religious experience, based their claim to be interesting on the same contrast, what they generally offered was privileged access to a particular divinity.³⁰⁵ The *archenbatai* and, presumably, the subordinate *enbatai* of Zeus at Sardis, for example, evidently enjoyed the privilege of entry to a normally restricted or forbidden cult-room.³⁰⁶ The marked development of named positions in such associations suggests that over time they often became equal, if not more, interested in their own success as organizations.³⁰⁷ A fine Mithraic text from Virunum dated A.D. 184, which began as a list of contributors to the repair of the mithraeum, turns into a list of annual accessions to the group over the next nineteen years.³⁰⁸

Personal choice was obviously also crucial in the spread of Christianity, the early date of whose widespread penetration into Asia Minor has been several times re-emphasized, even if there remains some doubt about the dating of several texts from Lycaonia.³⁰⁹ On the other hand, a series of *proskynemata* from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, recording the sacrifice of a donkey on each occasion, testifies to the routine maintenance of pagan cult in Egypt extending to the mid-fourth century.³¹⁰ The new Coptic, Syriac, and Greek literary texts from Kellis suggest that Manichaeism arrived there already around A.D. 300.³¹¹

³⁰⁰ e.g. Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 152 = *SEG* 35:1231, a woman 'punished and healed through the kindly agency' (διὰ τῆς εὐνοῦς χιρῶς). For all known confession-texts, see now G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* = *EA* 22 (1994), whole vol. Two *lamellae* from Ticinum evidently used in the context of divine healing: *Suppl.It.* 9 (1992), 255-6, nos 1-2 = *CIL* v.6414-5 (rev.) = *AE* 1992, nos 772-3.

³⁰¹ R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets* 1, Pap. Coloniensia 22.1 (1994); idem in Faraone and Obbink, op. cit. (n. 294), 107-37. On malign magic, note F. Graf, *Gottesnähe u. Schadenzauber* (1996); R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds), *Supplementum magicum* 2, Pap. Colon. 16.2 (1992); a curse against runners at the Isthmia, with a magical figure very close to one from Hadrumetum: D. Jordan, *Hesperia* 63 (1994), 111-26, no. 5; a piece of papyrus wrapped inside a lead sheet at Carthage: idem, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 115-23, no. 5, with addendum.

³⁰² H. Taeuber, *Tyche* 19 (1992), 19-24 = *SEG* 42:1290; cf. Strabo 12.2.7, 357C. She is called a *diabetria*.

³⁰³ Prophetess of Ammon: G. Wagner, *ZPE* 106 (1995), 123-5. The inscription of Gauros of Hadrianoi (see the previous survey, *JRS* 83 (1993), 148) = *I.Hadrianoi* no. 24, has been the subject of divergent interpretations, neither particularly convincing: A. Chaniotis, *Kernos* 4 (1991), 307, no. 104; H. Schwabl in Döbesh and Rehrenböck, op. cit. (n. 226), 336-8.

³⁰⁴ L. Gasperini in *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 721 = *Insc.It.* 11.1, 74 = *AE* 1991, no. 878.

³⁰⁵ Tombstone of a man and a woman each *tetelesmenos*: Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 235 (second half of first century).

³⁰⁶ P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 315-48, at 335-9; cf. the Aphrodisiastai at Ephesus: Knibbe, op. cit. (n. 128), 125-6, no. 17.

³⁰⁷ *I.Prusa* no. 52 is a fragmentary list of initiates led by a *mystarches*, followed by a *basileus*; also three opaque texts from Karain, Pamphylia: S. Şahin, *EA* 17 (1991), 129-32, nos 7-8 = *SEG* 41:1329A-B, 1330, using the odd word *anauliterion*,? 'animal-stall', for the cult-room.

³⁰⁸ G. Piccottini, *Mithrastempel in Virunum* (1994), cf. *JRA* 9 (1996), 424-6. The supplementary dedication contains a reference to an outbreak of plague in the same year. On the evidence for Iranian religion in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor and Near East: M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 3: *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (1991), 197-360.

³⁰⁹ Mitchell, op. cit. (n. 68), 2, 3-51; G. Laminger-Pascher, *Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens* 1, Ergänzb. TAM 15 (1992), with comments by D. Feissel, *Bull.ép.* 1993, no. 771. The name Theosebeia on a second-century sarcophagus at Cyzicus: A. Yaylali et al., *XIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1 (1991), 208-10 = *SEG* 41:1082. The earliest Christian text in Bithynia has crosses beneath two letters: *I.Prusa* no. 115 (not mentioned in *SEG* 29:1697). Useful commentaries on forty-five texts mostly relevant to the NT: L. Boffò, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (1994) — a completely new version of her 1958 book.

³¹⁰ A. Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991), 53-70 = *SEG* 41:1612-5. The petition of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia to Maximinus in 312 (*OGIS* 569 = *TAM* 2.3, no. 785) is revised in *I.Arykanda* (n. 232), no. 12.

³¹¹ I. Gardiner (ed.), *Kellis Literary Texts* 1, Dakle Oasis Project, Mon. 4 (1996); I. Gardiner and S. N. C. Lieu, *JRS* 86 (1996), 146-69, for an interesting overview.

After years of relative neglect, there has been an efflorescence of work on the Jewish diaspora, partly at any rate stimulated by the debate over the *theosebeis*-text from Aphrodisias.³¹² A basic difficulty, raised by that text too, remains the character of the data: what counts as a Jewish inscription?³¹³ The most relevant issue here is that of the degree to which Jewish communities were integrated into civic life, or more generally, into their host society. The answer has important implications for the extent to which Judaism could become known to pagans.³¹⁴ But an unequivocal one is hardly to be expected: a study of the title *archisynagogos* suggests that, while these functionaries represented the ideal differences between Jews and hosts, conceptions of their responsibilities, above all euergetic gestures, were based on expectations drawn from Graeco-Roman civic life.³¹⁵ In practice, neither side was in a position to draw firmer distinctions.

VIII. SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

In the flood of recent work on demography there seems a new confidence that the biases of the epigraphic evidence, once clearly recognized, are not incompatible with reasonably satisfactory results.³¹⁶ For the grand questions we will, no doubt, always depend on the modern Life Tables, but for particulars, such as reckoning the population of individual cities, or demonstrating a peak in mortality in late antique Rome in the months July–October, the evidence may even be thought good.³¹⁷ But such results cannot be generalized: mortality peaks elsewhere in the Empire seem to have been quite different from the Roman one.

Turning to the family, doubts have been raised about Saller and Shaw's nuclear Roman family, on the basis of a sample of inscriptions from Asia Minor offering a relatively large number of cases in which a tomb was built for members of an extended family.³¹⁸ To some extent, the same material is here simply being chopped up differently, and one may have doubts about how far we should expect 'tomb-family' to be congruent with household-family;³¹⁹ all the same, we may have to think again whether the dichotomy between nuclear and extended families is appropriate to the ancient evidence.³²⁰ A more limited issue is that of irregular unions: a recent study concludes that concubinage was a direct product of the legal inequalities of the Empire, its rate increasing proportionately to distance from Rome.³²¹

³¹² *SEG* 36:970 with 41: 918. In our view, the arguments of H. Botermann, *ZPE* 98 (1993), 184–94, for a fourth-century date are no better than the considerations which led the original editors to date the text c. 200. The question remains open, however (as does that of the date of the Sardis synagogue). The (re-)publication of the Jewish inscriptions of the diaspora is both a sign of and stimulus to the trend: W. Horbury and D. Noy (eds), *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1992); D. Noy (ed.), *Jewish Inscriptions of W. Europe, 1: Italy (excluding Rome), Spain and Gaul* (1993); 2: *The City of Rome* (1995). In Jerusalem itself, note the discovery of the tomb of the Caiaphas family, two of whom, Joseph (A.D. 18–36) and Elionaeus, were high-priests: Z. Greenhut, *Atiqot* 20 (1991), 63–71; D. Flusser, *ibid.*, 81–7.

³¹³ R. S. Kramer, *HThR* 84 (1991), 141–62. Much valuable material in the commentaries of P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (1991), discussing sixteen texts.

³¹⁴ P. R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (1991) and J. Lieu *et al.* (eds), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (1992) argue for considerable openness; L. H. Feldman, *Jews and Gentiles in the Ancient World* (1993), against. On *CIJ* 2 no. 777 (Hierapolis), see T. Ritti, *ScAnt* 6–7 (1992–3), 41–68, at 47–68. Add I. Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in its Diaspora Setting* (1996) which uses inscriptions extensively and includes a valuable republication of the relevant texts from the Bosporan kingdom (with S. R. Tokhtasév).

³¹⁵ T. Rajak and D. Noy, *JRS* 83 (1993), 75–93. The funerary arrangements of Jews at Rome likewise

reveal the adoption of norms from the host community, though that does not necessarily mean that conceptions of the after-life became similar: M. H. Williams, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 165–82.

³¹⁶ T. G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (1992), 5–18; R. P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (1994), 12–42; R. S. Bagnall and B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (1994); R. P. Duncan-Jones, 'The impact of the Antonine plague', *JRA* 9 (1996), 108–36; Scheidel, *op. cit.* (n. 260), 7–8.

³¹⁷ G. di Vita-Evrard on Lepcis Magna in Eck, *op. cit.* (n. 109), 293–314; mortality: Scheidel, *op. cit.* (n. 260), 139–53; B. D. Shaw, *JRS* 86 (1996), 100–38.

³¹⁸ D. B. Martin, *JRS* 86 (1996), 40–60.

³¹⁹ There seems, for example, to be a relatively sharp break at Rome in the first century A.D. in this regard: it is only then that mausolea begin to admit persons other than immediate blood relatives: H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (1992), 231–2. *Gens* in the sense of a funerary college: M. S. Bassignano, *AAPat* 102 (1989–90), 21 no. 1 = *AE* 1991, no. 808.

³²⁰ cf. Saller, *op. cit.* (n. 316), 71–2. Another critique of Saller and Shaw's methods, sceptical of the use of epigraphy: J.-U. Krause, *Klio* 73 (1991), 537–62.

³²¹ R. Friedl, *Der Konkubinat im kaiserzeitl. Rom von Augustus bis Septimius Severus* (1996); in Roman Macedonia persons using their metronym are typically the children of Roman citizens and (high-status) provincial women: A. B. Tataki, *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία* 5 (1993), 1453–71. On age of first marriage for girls, note *I.Prusa* 1, no. 63, cf. 54, girls of twelve, married.

Against the repeated view that women in Asia Minor became more capable of holding independent civic office,³²² it has rightly been maintained that they might hold a circumscribed set of them, but only within the context of a particular family situation, most notably after the death of a father and in the absence of brothers, but also as junior adjuncts to their husbands.³²³ Generally speaking, such women were not free to act as they pleased: they were counters in primarily male conceptions of the family interest.³²⁴ There is every reason to assume that much the same, mutatis mutandis, held true lower down the social scale. Thus women are regularly mentioned on account of acts undertaken on the instructions of male relatives,³²⁵ or through a sense of family obligation.³²⁶ The view that women, even — or particularly — those of good birth, need to be constrained by something stronger than a sense of decorum could hardly be better exemplified than by the tone of the SC passed in the case of Vistilia, which, it has been argued, was influenced by the slightly earlier SC from Larinum.³²⁷ It has likewise been urged that the purpose of civic associations of young men was neither socially exclusive nor mainly military, but to control, or at least influence, a potentially dangerous group.³²⁸

Epigraphy can notoriously supply only impressionistic evidence concerning slavery, although that may be enough, for example, to indicate the importance of freedmen and slaves, as agents for their owners, in the late Republican slave trade on Delos,³²⁹ or to suggest that the slaves of the temple of Venus at Paestum may have run into the hundreds.³³⁰ The kind of evidence that occurs most commonly (that is, funerary texts), in giving an impression of humanity meeting dutifulness, is representative mainly of an ideology.³³¹ One master at Tibur, for example, writes of his house-born slave Profutura: 'quod proba, quod reverens, simplexque evit' (sic);³³² another exclaims how he has loved his lalysos, εὐσεβῆ ἄνδρα.³³³ Inversely, a grave relief at Prusa depicts a sorrowing slave diminutively lamenting her mistress's death.³³⁴ By such means, the institution is implicitly defended in terms of an ideal of willing acceptance of inborn inferiority. It is no accident that the slaves in such cases are predominantly *vernae*, and often young; no fear of them killing one.³³⁵ Moreover, the cases of striking social mobility, particularly into the ranks of *augustales*, provided another implicit defence of the institution if not of slavery as such, then of its Roman amelioration through the possibility of manumission.³³⁶ From the inverse perspective, attention has been drawn to the value of work, in a nameable occupation, both for freedmen and for slaves in drawing attention away from the fact of their legal dependence.³³⁷

³²² e.g. R. A. Kearsley, *GRBS* 27 (1986), 183-92; *EA* 16 (1990), 69-80; Trebilco, op. cit. (n. 314), 117-18; M. T. Boatwright in S. B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History* (1991), 249-72; G. M. Rogers, *ZPE* 90 (1992), 215-23.

³²³ R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation* (1996); cf. eadem, *ZPE* 104 (1994), 145-54, on Menodora at Silyon.

³²⁴ cf. J. Nollé in M. H. Dettenhofer (ed.), *Reiner Männersache* (1994), 236-44; H. Taeuber in E. Specht (ed.), *Frauenreichtum: die Frau als Wirtschaftsfaktor im Altertum* (1994), 199-219.

³²⁵ e.g. Iplikçioğlu, op. cit. (n. 236) 1, no. 5 = *SEG* 41:1258, a woman erecting a monument for her grandfather according to her father's will.

³²⁶ e.g. a woman who lived as a widow for thirty years 'for the sake of the children': *I.Prusa* 1, no. 138; a woman paying for a tomb for herself and her mother from her *peculium*: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 285 no. 6; a woman taking part in the negotiations for her son's marriage: J. Devreker, *AnatAnt* 1 (1991), 185-6 no. 2 = *SEG* 41:1150 ll. 4-5.

³²⁷ T. A. J. McGinn, *ZPE* 93 (1992), 273-95, cf. Tac., *Ann.* 2.85.1-3; slight improvements to the Tabula Larinas: W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 41-70 = *AE* 1991, no. 515. A Roman husband praises his wife 'quae mecum sine macula a die nuptiarum suarum . . . vixit': S. Priuli, *NSA* (1986-7) [1991], 127-30 = *AE* 1991, no. 298 (later third century).

³²⁸ M. Kleijwegt, *ActaClass* 37 (1994), 79-102; cf. P. Ginestet, *Les organisations de la jeunesse dans l'occident romain*, Coll. Latomus 213 (1991), with a full catalogue. A *collegium incrementorum*: C. Zaccaria in *Festschrift H. Lieb*, op. cit. (n. 156), 291-307.

³²⁹ N. K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce* (1993).

³³⁰ Pedley and Torelli, op. cit. (n. 284), 210-11

no. 17, deduced from a freedman *centurio*. Temple estates are by no means unknown in Magna Graecia.

³³¹ 'Good slaves were those who had emerged from the ruck; they were the exceptions who confirmed the stereotype of the bad and the contemptible': P. D. A. Garnsey, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine* (1996), 74.

³³² L. Quilici, *RivIstArch* n.s. 16 (1969), 23 = *AE* 1991, no. 590; also the following text, p. 24, no. 591: 'ut pueri duret nomen Diomedis in aev<u>m, hoc scripsit dominus . . .'

³³³ G. Sacco, *MiscGrRom* 16 (1991), 217-19 no. 1 = *SEG* 41:872 (Rome). In another case, a husband and wife mourn their *verna*, who has died aged seven, already freed: I di Stefano Manzella, *BMMP* 10 (1990), 39 no. 16 = *AE* 1991, no. 185.

³³⁴ *I.Prusa* 1, no. 178a.

³³⁵ J. A. Abásolo, *BSEAA* 58 (1992), 218 no. 2 = *AE* 1992, no. 1037b, 'Atiae Turelliae . . . occissa a s[er]vo' (Clunia, Tarraconensis). On the SC Claudianum, note Herrmann-Otto, op. cit. (n. 188), 28-33.

³³⁶ Y. Burnand in Frézouls, op. cit. (n. 117), 203-13. Discussion of Greek manumission texts: L. P. Marinovič, *Die Sklaverei in der östlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches* (1992), 7-76. A girl of three dying manumitted: E. M. Rupprechtsberger, *HistJbStLinz* (1985), 390 = *AE* 1992, no. 1319 (Lentia). A monument to a regular slave family in three generations at Gordos, Lydia: G. Petzl, *EA* 15 (1990), 57-8 no. 13 = *SEG* 1990:1044 (A.D.69/70).

³³⁷ S. R. Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome* (1992). The first linen-worker from Prusa: *I.Prusa* no. 104; a carpenter and his tools: *ibid.*, 2 no. 1086. A female *vicaria* of a woman's *dispensator*: G. Messineo, *BCAR* 94 (1992-3), 194 with H. Solin, *Arctos* 27 (1993), 127 = *AE* 1992, no. 196 (Rome).

Death provides almost as many opportunities for distinction as life.³³⁸ A striking illustration is the explosion of funerary monuments at Rome from the mid-first century B.C. for quite ordinary citizens, distinguished by careful attention to physiognomy.³³⁹ The most desirable plot for a tomb lay on public ground, whether in the Campus Martius, or in any provincial city.³⁴⁰ Failing that, one might build high: the tomb of the Flavii at Cillium in North Africa was one of the tallest known ancient tombs (c. 12.7 m high today), surmounted by a cockerel striving, like the emperor's eagle, heavenwards.³⁴¹ In Lydia, some family tombs inscribe honorific texts alongside epitaphs.³⁴² The right to be associated with impressive tombs was thus highly valued. A woman's body was taken by her husband from Trier to Ticinum 'ob merita eius . . . at maiorum sepulcra usque'.³⁴³ A study of Ostian Portus has shown that the *ius sepulchri familiaris* did bestow the right to be buried in a family tomb, restricted only by the terms of the founder's dispositions: but even then, it was the regular custom to divide up the interior with walls to mark distinctions between different family groups.³⁴⁴ Isolation in death was evidently a mark of status: a man at Termessus arranged for a family sarcophagus for himself and his parents; but later bought another all for himself.³⁴⁵ Later, we find specific groups, such as bakers and wheat-sellers, establishing their own graveyards.³⁴⁶ Among the regular run of allusions to fines for disturbing a tomb, payable usually to the city, a temple, or the fiscus, one man in Lycia evidently thought it more effective to offer the informant money from his own estate.³⁴⁷ Grave curses sought, perhaps forlornly, to touch a nerve in the unscrupulous.³⁴⁸ Tendence of the grave was no less important than its physical integrity: a woman at Arycanda in Lycia, having no living relatives, actually freed two female slaves that were part of her dowry on condition that they made libations after her death on the grave of her daughter.³⁴⁹ As for epitaphs, apart from an obvious concern with legal status,³⁵⁰ there is some reason to think that the desire to express more personal feelings towards the dead increased from the later second century.³⁵¹ A freedman at Luna complains to his dead partner 'nec mihi se(r)vi{s}tis requiem pectoris ul(l)a(m)'.³⁵² The very perception of the purpose of the grave monument might alter: a stele at Milan devoted to the expression of utter despair has been described as 'una pagina di pietra, . . . più che un monumento'.³⁵³

If death is a permanent human preoccupation, so is food. There has been a plethora of studies refining our understanding of the modalities and intentions of food distributions, both in

³³⁸ In the Hellenistic world: C. Breuer, *Reliefs u. Epigramme griechischer Privatgrabmäler vom 4.-2. Jhdt. als Zeugnisse bürgerlichen Selbstverständnisses* (1995).

³³⁹ P. Zanker in Schalles, op. cit. (n. 210), 339-58; cf. F. Sinn, *Die Grabdenkmäler, 1: Reliefs, Altäre, Urnen (Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Laterense)* (1991).

³⁴⁰ G. Wesch-Klein, *Fumus Publicum* (1993).

³⁴¹ J. Peyras in Lasserre *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 17), 235-50.

³⁴² F. Kolb, *MDAI(I)* 41 (1991), 243-7 = *SEG* 41:1378. Distinction through the layout of the text: G. H. R. Horsley, *Chiron* 24 (1994), 209-19 (Dion, second century).

³⁴³ *Suppl.It.* 9 (1992), 293-4 no. 51 (republ.) = *AE* 1992, no. 813 (third century). A woman's tomb used for the 'friends' of the son: A. Massi Secondari and L. Sensi, *Epigraphica* 54 (1992), 68-78 = *AE* 1992, nos 560-1 (Hispellum), cf. n. 134 above.

³⁴⁴ S. Lazzarini, *Sepulcra familiaria* (1991), commenting on Gaius ap. *Dig.* 11.7.5. Specific exclusion of the family's daughters: L. Lazzaro, *Suppl.It.* 4 (1988), 336 no. 18 = *AE* 1990, no. 409. Social distinction and size of tomb-plot: J. F. Rodríguez Neila, *Comimbriga* 30 (1991), 59-94.

³⁴⁵ Iplikçioğlu, op. cit. (n. 236), 3, 28-9 no. 26 = *SEG* 41:1301; *TAM* 3.1, 734.

³⁴⁶ Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 431 (Sardis, fourth century).

³⁴⁷ *SEG* 41:1387 = *Bull.ép.* 1993 no. 535 (Olympus); more usual promises of part of the fine: Iplikçioğlu, op. cit. (n. 236), 1, 21-3 no. 9; 37 no. 20 = *SEG* 41:1270, 1281. The first case in Spain (Aiungi, Baetica): A. U. Stylow and R. López Melero, *Chiron* 25 (1995), 357-86.

³⁴⁸ J. H. M. Strubbe in Faraone and Obbink, op. cit. (n. 294), 33-59; idem in van Henten and Van der Horst, op. cit. (n. 17), 70-128. Note also 'may his land not bear, nor his trees give fruit, let there be no delight of children . . .': *I.Arycanda* no. 107; and 'he shall render account to God': Strubbe, *EA* 19 (1992), 34-6 no. 3 = *AE* 1992, no. 1658; allusion to *Iliad* 13.831-2: D. French, *EA* 19 (1992), 58 no. 19 = *SEG* 42:1156.

³⁴⁹ *I.Arycanda* no. 136, probably second century.

³⁵⁰ Knapp, op. cit. (n. 15), Avila no. 4, a man attempting to conceal the father's status as peregrine; but the opposite strategy, perhaps to mark the passage of the Constitutio Antoniniana: *I.Selge* no. 56; combination of Roman and peregrine naming systems to stress the shift through military service: L. D. Loukopoulou, *Poikila* (1990), 185-7 = *AE* 1991, no. 1427 (Oinoussa, Macedonia).

³⁵¹ At least in Gaul; see H. Deshayé in *La langue des inscriptions latines* (1989), 59-71; also J.-F. Berthet and B. Pagnon in *ibid.*, 43-57. A garrulous, though fragmentary, epitaph for Rufina from Egypt: L. Criscuolo in *Simblos: Scritti di Storia Antica* (1992) [1995], 11-17 no. 2 = *SEG* 42:1612 (second-third century).

³⁵² Angeli Bertinelli, op. cit. (n. 137), 25. A dead child ?seen in a dream: J. Corell, *Faventia* 12-3 (1990-1), 169-74 = *AE* 1991, no. 1113 (rev.) (Saguntum, late third century); the restorations are speculative.

³⁵³ Sartori, op. cit. (n. 23), 115-16 F4, third century (republ.). The tomb as *exitus*: P. Corbier and J. Gascou, *AntAfr* 31 (1995), 305-6 no. 30.

Rome and elsewhere.³⁵⁴ A new text alludes to the regular supply of beef cattle into Rome from South Etruria.³⁵⁵ The administration of Rome's water-supply has also been studied in great detail.³⁵⁶ A servitude in water near Tolentinum (Picenum) is probably to be linked to the establishment of a veteran colony there at the end of the civil wars.³⁵⁷ The special importance of water in a desert area is marked by a private dedication *Saluti et fontibus*.³⁵⁸ Its provision, like that of food, was an aspect of the rulers' *providentia*: one of Cornelius Palma's duties was to arrange for the repair of the water-supply to Canatha, formerly in the tetrarchy of Herod, now in the new province of Arabia.³⁵⁹

The productive poor are visible to the epigrapher mainly through their associations — but not entirely, as a new ostrakon showing a quarry-worker's pay at Mons Claudianus shows.³⁶⁰ One of the ways in which such a group could improve its relative standing was through its choice of patrons: a college of bronze-workers in Brixia resolves to offer annual sacrifice in memory of a local *Vivir* to whom it was linked through his *actor*.³⁶¹ Another might be through direct approach to the city council: the guild of fullers and dyers at Hierapolis erected a statue of the city council, evidently in consideration of some advantage.³⁶² Determined attempts have been made to close the gap between the archaeology and epigraphy of trade-artefacts on the one hand and social-economic history on the other, but it must be admitted that there is some way yet to go.³⁶³ However progress has been made in understanding the exploitation of the Spanish metal mines, the routing of Spanish amphorae through the fiscal-annonal system, and the function of quarry-marks.³⁶⁴ There have in fact been several new discoveries which contribute their mite to our knowledge of mine contractors and trade routes.³⁶⁵ Changes in the frequency and distribution of

³⁵⁴ C. Virilouvet, *Tessera frumentaria: les procédures de distribution du blé publique à Rome*, BEFAR 286 (1995); B. Sirks, *Food for Rome* (1991) (mainly late, legal texts); cf. also *Le ravitaillement en blé de Rome et des centres urbains des débuts de la République jusqu'au Haute Empire*, Coll. Centre J. Bérard, Naples 1991 (1994); A. Giovannini (ed.), *Nourrir la plèbe*, Actes Coll. Geneva Sept. 1989 (1991).

³⁵⁵ G. M. Gilliver, *PBSR* 58 (1990), 193-6 = *AE* 1991, no. 682c (late Augustan). The *negotiantes boari* are, of course, familiar from the inscription of the Arch of the Argentarii, *CIL* vi.1035.

³⁵⁶ C. Bruun, *The Water-supply of Ancient Rome: A Study of Imperial Administration* (1991); cf. Eck, op. cit. (n. 153), 161-78. More cippi of the *Anio vetus* and *aqua Marcia*, from the repair of 11-4 B.C.: Z. Mari, *PBSR* 59 (1991), 151-71 = *AE* 1991, nos 598-604.

³⁵⁷ G. Paci, *Picus* 8 (1988), 222 no. 2 = *AE* 1992, no. 521.

³⁵⁸ X. Dupuis and P. Morizot, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1990), 376-7 no. 13 = *AE* 1992, no. 1841; cf. A. Beschouch, *B.SAF* (1991) [1993], 141-2 = *AE* 1992, no. 1800 (Abbir Maius, Proconsularis).

³⁵⁹ *SEG* 41:1594 with 42 p. 554, i.e. A.D. 104/5-107/8; also J. P. Rey-Coquais in *L'eau et les hommes en Méditerranée et en mer Noire dans l'Antiquité*, Congr. Athens 1988 (1992), 383-95. A fountain called 'Traianus Dacicus' at Mons Claudianus: J. Bingen, *BIAO* 92 (1992), 15-16 = *SEG* 42:1574. Presentation of a slate cistern with a bronze statue to a city in conv. Cordoba by a *Vir*: *CIL* II.7219 = *Hispania Epigraphica* 4 (1994), nos 287-8 (Julio-Claudian).

³⁶⁰ H. Cuvigny, *JRS* 86 (1996), 139-45, comparing the rates with those of the Dacian miners in *CIL* III.11; she concludes that they were the same, with interesting implications for the degree of economic integration of the Empire.

³⁶¹ *Suppl.It.* 8 (1991), Brixia, 206 no. 4 = *AE* 1991, no. 823; cf. J.-M. Salamito in *La città nell'Italia*, op. cit. (n. 210), 163-77 on the *collegia fabrum* etc.

³⁶² T. Ritti in *Anathema*, op. cit. (n. 79), 871-2 no. 7 = *SEG* 41:1201. A membership-list of the *collegium subaedianorum* (craftsmen who worked on the interior of houses) at Virunum contains the names of thirty-five men, listed first, and twenty-two women, mainly wives and sisters: G. Piccottini, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 111-23. A new discussion of the now numerous texts from the eastern provinces in O. M. Van

Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Greek East* (1997).

³⁶³ *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione*, Actes VIIe Rencontre franco-italienne, CEFR 193 (1994); W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire*, JRA Supp. 6 (1993). Independent of these volumes are the catalogues of the exhibitions of *Instrumenta domestica* held at Aquileia and Pécs: *Instrumenta Inscripta latina: sez. Aquileiense: Catalogo della Mostra 1992* (1992); *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina: Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften* (1991).

³⁶⁴ C. Domergue in *Epigrafia*, op. cit. (n. 363), 61-91; E. Rodríguez-Almeida in *Epigrafia*, 111-31; idem in Harris, op. cit. (n. 363), 95-106; idem, *Los tituli picti de las anforas olearias de la Bética* 1 (1989); J. C. Fant in Harris, op. cit. (n. 363), 145-70. Note also M. Steinby, on the production of bricks and tiles, in Harris, op. cit. (n. 363), 139-44; C. Zaccaria, *I laterizi di età romana nell'area nord-adriatica* (1993); V. Maier-Maidl, *Stempel u. Inschriften auf Amphoren von Magdalensburg: Wirtschaftliche Aspekte* (1992); E. Römer-Martijnse, *Römerzeitliche Bleietiketten aus Kalsdorf, Steiermark* (1990) (mainly fullers' marks). An important wreck carrying Spanish wine-amphorae: B. Liou and J.-M. Gassend, *Archeonautica* 10 (1990), 163-216 = *AE* 1991, nos 1187-92. Shippers: L. de Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero romano: i corpora naviculariorum* (1992). River transport on the Save: M. Šašel Kos, *Arheološki Vestnik* 45 (1994), 99-122 on *AIJ* no. 26 = *AE* 1938, no. 151.

³⁶⁵ A new family of Minucii in Baetica: B. Liou and C. Domergue, *Archeonautica* 10 (1990)[1991], 56-94 = *AE* 1991, no. 922a,b = 989a (1-2) (the shipper is probably a freedman of C. Appius Iunius Silanus, cos. A.D. 22); 854 ingots from Carthago Nova: D. Salvi, *L'Africa Romana* 9 (1990)[1992], 661-72 = *AE* 1992, no. 862a-i; W. Eck, *Das Wrack: der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (1993), 94, doubts that the Planii of these ingots have any connection with M. Planius Heres of Cic., *ad fam.* 9.13.2-4. Workers brought across from Bithynia to work in the mines of Moesia Sup.: M. Parovic-Pesikan, *Arheološki Vestnik* 41 (1990), 607-15. On S. Donnius Priscianus, *ad(lector) ferrar[ia]rum* in Aquitania, Rémy, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 24 (*CIL* XIII.1576); also no. 25.

Hellenistic Cnidian amphorae-stamps have been related to the city's vicissitudes in the late Republic.³⁶⁶ The movement of Roman trade goods has been underlined by the find of an amphora-stamp, probably from Asia Minor, in Uttar Pradesh,³⁶⁷ and the fiasco of the supposed tomb of Alexander at Siwa has at least reminded us of Roman interest in trans-Saharan routes through al-Maraki.³⁶⁸ The importance of gaining tax concessions for periodic markets is illustrated again by honorific inscriptions specifically mentioning individuals responsible for obtaining them.³⁶⁹ Two *agoranomos* inscriptions found in the Piraeus set out lists of prices for various cuts of meat.³⁷⁰ As in the Price Edict, there is a clear hierarchy, from pork, through goat and mutton, to beef, and a wide variety of (mostly poorer) cuts; prices are in obols per mina (c. 400 gr).³⁷¹ An important document from Vindolanda, whose purpose is not entirely clear, sets out a list of prices for various textiles, clothing, utensils, and military equipment — even for (horse?) hair.³⁷² Its main interest for the economic historian is that it provides unit prices as well as totals.³⁷³ A jug at Saintes gives the sole known prices per sextarius for two different wines.³⁷⁴

A stimulating reassessment of the relation between taxes in money and taxes in kind in the Roman economy has urged that large parts of Anatolia were not integrated into the monetarized economy, and paid taxes wholly in kind. This grain was shipped by the state to the army of the Balkans and the Euphrates frontier. One implication is that the main innovation of the third century was not the demonetization of taxes, but the transfer of the obligation to collect them from the cities and the *conductores* to the army. Another is that Hopkins' model of the virtuous circulation of tax money may be in need of further overhaul.³⁷⁵ Another study has explored the relation between the estates of the local élites and urbanization in Pamphylia and Pisidia.³⁷⁶ The rationality of Roman land-management, and the various mixes of régime practised, have again come under scrutiny;³⁷⁷ in such matters, the rural *vilici* were of crucial importance.³⁷⁸ A document from the Walbrook, London, dated 8 March A.D. 118 and recording an enquiry into a Cantiacan wood named Verluconium, provides us with the first explicit land-price (40 denarii) known outside Egypt.³⁷⁹

³⁶⁶ N. Jefremov, *Die Amphoraestempel des hellenistischen Knidos* (1995).

³⁶⁷ A. Tchernia, *MEFRA* 104 (1992), 295–301, at 293 = *AE* 1992, no. 1708 (the article is on the activities of the wine-trading family, the Peticii); also an amphora that contained Egyptian dates in Carlisle: R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 22 (1991), 301 no. 28 = *AE* 1991 no. 1156. Traders from Egyptian Alexandria in Tomis: A. Łajtar, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 158–9. A useful collection of texts in transl.: F. Meijer and O. M. Van Nijf, *Trade, Transport and Society in the Ancient World* (1992).

³⁶⁸ On Liana Souvalatzi's claim, see now A. J. S. Spawforth, *Ad Familiares* 11 (1996), 11–12, who shows that the building inscription is Trajanic. We note a Latin inscription, the furthest south ever reported, at Ti-m Missaou, in the Hoggar Mountains in the Sahara in southern Algeria: *Sahara* 3 (1990), 112; V. Beltrami, *L'Africa romana* 11 (1994) [1996], 955–6. A graffito of a Roman ship from India (Alagan-kulam) has been noted by Lionel Casson in *IndiaExpr* (10.2.97); it is probably to be dated between the first and third centuries A.D.

³⁶⁹ Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 48 (Philadelphia); *I.Arykanda* no. 52 (four-yearly to coincide with the pentaeteric games).

³⁷⁰ G. Steinhauer, *BCH* 118 (1994), 51–68. B is dated to the archonship of Pammenes, and a man of that name was archon in 82/1 B.C. Steinhauer speculates that the texts may relate to the period around the siege of Athens by Sulla, which might explain why the prices in the first document are 10–20 per cent lower than those in the second. But there can be no certainty about this: they may just as well date from the Principate, even as late as the second century.

³⁷¹ Two new words, ἰσοκρέως and ἰσοκρίθος, evidently denote weight equivalents.

³⁷² A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *Britannia* 27 (1996), 300–7, no. 1.

³⁷³ The authors provide a convenient list of all prices so far known from Vindolanda, pp. 306–7. Another document, 307–23 no. 2, seems to consist of rough retrospective notes of outgoings by a kitchen manager; but no prices are preserved. Apart from one or two minor fragments of the Price Edict, the most important new discussion relates to the unit calculation for marble (vener): S. Corcoran and J. Delaine, *JRA* 7 (1994), 263–73.

³⁷⁴ *ILA Santones*, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 1004 .5 (late second to early third century).

³⁷⁵ Mitchell, op. cit. (n. 68), 1, 241–59.

³⁷⁶ H. Brandt, *Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft Pamphylens und Pisidiens im Altertum*, Asia Minor Studien 7 (1992), 94–199; cf. P. Simelon, *Propriété en Lucanie depuis les Gracques jusqu'à l'avènement des Sévères*, Coll. Latomus 220 (1993).

³⁷⁷ J. Carlsen et al., *Land-use in the Roman Empire*, Anal. Rom. Inst. Dan., Supp. 22 (1994); W. Scheidel, *Grundpacht u. Lohnarbeit in der Landwirtschaft des römischen Italiens* (1994); also on tenancy: L. Capogrossi, *ScAnt* 6–7 (1992–3), 163–254.

³⁷⁸ J. Carlsen, *Vilici and Roman Estate Managers until AD 284* (1995). On rural slavery in Italy: D. Vera, *ScAnt* 6–7 (1992–3), 291–339.

³⁷⁹ M. W. C. Hassall and R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 25 (1994), 302 no. 34. Miranda, op. cit. (n. 8), 2, 17–19 no. 88, apparently recording the price or annual rent of a piece of land in Neapolis, is too obscure to count.

IX. LATE ANTIQUITY

Late antique inscriptions and late antique history are becoming more accessible. Several recent reviews of inscriptions available have appeared;³⁸⁰ and the second and third volumes of *Antiquité Tardive* were devoted entirely to the Tetrarchy, whose epigraphy has been discussed elsewhere too. All inscribed imperial edicts of tetrarchic date have been reconsidered.³⁸¹ Diocletian's reforms are increasingly being seen in the context of earlier, third-century, creations of new posts, epigraphically attested.³⁸² Some of the implications of the tetrarchic reorganization of taxation are reflected in the abundance of cadastral boundary stones of the period.³⁸³ A group of inscriptions found at Azraq has raised questions relating to tetrarchic — and Constantinian — policy on the Arab border.³⁸⁴ A late antique palace at Corduba in Spain is considered, on the basis of inscriptions, to have been built for Maximian (a conclusion reached simultaneously and independently by different scholars),³⁸⁵ while an inscribed acclamation — Felix Romuliana — has definitively identified a site in Serbia as the palace of Galerius.³⁸⁶

The events which led to the re-establishment of monarchy by Constantine are evoked in a tombstone of a man who fell at the battle of Chalcedon (324). He describes himself as having fought for the Romans — a reminder of how each side in the civil wars of this period tried to appropriate true Romaness.³⁸⁷ The debate on the development of the Praetorian Prefecture under Constantine and his sons continues.³⁸⁸

New evidence for military history comes from a funerary inscription recently discovered at Augsburg, now shown to belong to a soldier who served not in the campaigns of 260, but in a formation under Aetius in 430-1. The tombstone of Odoacer's *comes domesticorum* Pierius, killed in the battle of Adda in 490, is republished. A soldier's tombstone of 531 provides the first example of the term *bandon*, infantry company, while showing the survival of a Constantinian formation.³⁸⁹

On the survival of paganism and the rise of Christianity there is much epigraphically based information in Stephen Mitchell's *Anatolia*.³⁹⁰ The re-edition of an inscription found on the Danube shows it to be a pagan dedication to imperial victory of c. 368 — one of the last such monuments.³⁹¹ The victory of Christianity is perhaps illustrated in an inscription from Egypt for a δειροτόμος; the first editor saw this as a woodcutter, but the language is clearly poetic, and Merkelbach suggests that we have an epigram, referring to a Christian who had destroyed a sacred tree.³⁹² Inscriptions on mosaics are producing potentially interesting insights into

³⁸⁰ D. Feissel annually in *Bull.ép.* on the whole field; on specific aspects; N. Gauthier, *REA* (1992), 461-72; N. Duval, *REA* 92 (1990), 349-87 and 95 (1993), 583-640, a survey of late antique archaeology in North Africa; Y. Duval, *Antiquité Tardive* 1 (1993), 173-206; see also D. J. Mattingly and R. B. Hitchner, *JRS* 85 (1995), 209-13; E. Sironen in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post-Herulian Athens* (1994), 15-62; H. Torp in L. Ryden and J. O. Rosenquist (eds), *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (1993), 113-32.

³⁸¹ D. Feissel, *Antiquité Tardive* 3 (1995), 33-53. He has also re-published 'L'ordonnance du préfet Dionysios inscrite à Mylasa en Carie (1 août 480)', *T & M* 12 (1994), 263-97, and on the constitution of Anastasius at Qasr el-Hallabat in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1992), 213-15. On tetrarchic documents add S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs* (1996).

³⁸² M. Zimmerman, *ZPE* 110 (1996), 265-77, looking at the inscriptions published from a preliminary report and then more fully by Iplikçioğlu, op. cit. (n. 196), nos 2 and 3 (*SEG* 41:1390), and combining them with references to a longer inscription referred to by the late Martin Harrison, *CRAI* (1979), 237, whence *SEG* 29:1514 (his text is now being prepared for full publication); B. Burrell, *ZPE* 99 (1993), 287-95, for the earliest dated example of a *praeses* of Syria Palaestina; S. Şahin, *EA* 17 (1991), 139-166, at 149-155 = *SEG* 41:1406, bringing to five the number of dedications to the tetrarchs in the capital of the

newly-created province of Isauria; to milestones attesting the existence of a province of Phrygia/Caria by 250 add those in Varinlioğlu and French, op. cit. (n. 131) (including Valerius Rinakios); and J. Reynolds in Le Bohec, op. cit. (n. 159), 675-80, discussing new evidence on L. Egnatius Lollianus (*PIR*² E3), and suggesting that his extended proconsulate of Asia might be connected with the creation of the new province, whose date of origin may have been earlier than at present attested.

³⁸³ M. Sartre, *Ktéma* 17 (1992) [1996], 111-31.

³⁸⁴ C. Zuckermann, *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994), 83-8.

³⁸⁵ E. W. Haley, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 208-14; R. Hidalgo Prieto and A. Ventura Villaneuva, *Chiron* 24 (1994) 221-37.

³⁸⁶ D. Srejičević and C. Vasič, *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994), 123-41.

³⁸⁷ M. P. Speidel, *Chiron* 25 (1995), 84-7, republishing *AE* 1976, no. 631.

³⁸⁸ T. D. Barnes, *ZPE* 94 (1992), 249-60.

³⁸⁹ R. Scharf, *Tyche* 9 (1994), 131-45 (for an earlier reference to the Iuthungi, above, p. 213); M. Sannazaro, *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 189-219; C. Zuckerman, *Tyche* 10 (1995), 233-5.

³⁹⁰ Above, n. 68.

³⁹¹ A. Bresson, T. Drew-Bear and C. Zuckerman, *Antiquité Tardive* 3 (1995), 139-46.

³⁹² R. Wagner, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 53-7; Merkelbach's note, p. 58.

Christian euergetism.³⁹³ From the end of the period comes the sarcophagus of a rich benefactress of the early seventh century, who was related to the Carolingians, and round whom a saint's cult developed.³⁹⁴ How not to read an inscription for evidence of Christianity is also set out in an elegant account of the scholarly history of a lead tablet once considered to be 'the only considerable relic of pre-Augustinian Christianity in Britain', but now decipherable as yet another curse tablet.³⁹⁵

Linked with these issues is the question of the continuity or discontinuity in entertainments and festivals. The evidence for Roman and late Roman contests and spectators has been assembled to add to this discussion.³⁹⁶ An important new discovery reported from Olympia is a bronze plaque inscribed, apparently in the 380s, with the names of Olympic victors from the first to the fourth centuries A.D. This text, to be published by Ebert, further confirms the view that the athletic contests of antiquity lasted more vigorously into the Christian era than had been supposed. A very useful study looks at the meanings of the obscure term *Maiouma*, whether used of a festival or in other ways.³⁹⁷

There has been useful discussion of late antique nomenclature,³⁹⁸ and in particular on chronology, using the abundant and frequently dated inscriptions of late antique Palestine.³⁹⁹

X. MISCELLANEOUS

We end with brief consideration of the epigraphic habit, and the liberal professions. The ancient habit of monumental writing is one for which epigraphers and historians of the Graeco-Roman world are grateful; we have learned now not to take it for granted. A detailed survey of the emergence of an epigraphic culture in Roman Spain has suggested that the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods were even more crucial to the practice of monumental inscription there than in Italy.⁴⁰⁰ At Saguntum, for example, there is hardly a single text of any description which can be dated to the period of the Republic: epigraphic culture was essentially a culture of the élite and of the groups, clients, freedmen, and slaves, which depended most directly upon it.⁴⁰¹ This argument has recently been carried further to suggest that the spread of that culture is to be seen as an expression of the expansion of Roman society, not in the usual sense of 'Romanization', but in the sense of the many social roles an individual was required to occupy.⁴⁰² In such a culture he needed a means to fix his place within history, society, and the cosmos: the psycho-social impetus that grounds epigraphic culture is the pre-occupation with one's personal future. The challenge of that thought is to push us beyond obvious considerations such as the differential distribution of wealth and power between city and country, or the role of deference and its symbols in Roman society. The chief problem with this form of the argument is its lack of discrimination between epigraphic genres. Epigraphic culture is not solely (though it is markedly) a matter of honorific and funerary texts; nor is it self-evident that we should think of even these two types of inscription as a single category.⁴⁰³

A third-century funerary stele from Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia shows a sibling married couple in affectionate stance: the husband, heroically naked, holds a pen-case up high in his right

³⁹³ J.-P. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IVe-VIIe s.)* (1993); cf. D. Feissel, *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994), 285–91 (a review article stimulated by P. Donceel-Voùte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie* (1988)).

³⁹⁴ N. Gauthier, *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994), 251–61.

³⁹⁵ R. S. O. Tomlin, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 93–108.

³⁹⁶ C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias*, *JRS Supp.* 6 (1993).

³⁹⁷ *ArchRep* 41 (1995), 22; K. Mentzu-Meinari, *BZ* 89 (1996), 59–73.

³⁹⁸ Alan Cameron, *ZPE* 108 (1995), 252–62; B. Salway, *JRS* 84 (1994), 124–45, at 136–43. Chronology: Y. E. Meimaris et al., *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions*, *Meletemata* 17 (1992), with D. Feissel, *Bull.ép.* 1993, 637; L. Di Segni, *IEJ* 43 (1993), 157–68, with D. Feissel, *Bull.ép.* 1994, 650, and eadem, *Liber Annuus* 42 (1992), 251–7, *Bull.ép.* 1994, 665.

³⁹⁹ D. Feissel, *BCH* 116 (1992), 396–404; idem, *BCH* 118 (1994), 284–8.

⁴⁰⁰ Beltrán Lloris (ed.), op. cit. (n. 27); cf. idem in J. Untermann and F. Villar (eds), *Lengua y cultura en la Hispania Preromana*, *Actas V Col.* 1989 (1993), 235–72, on the Ebro valley. Rebuffat, op. cit. (n. 205), reminds us of the existence of other possible types of monumental texts, for example those which were painted or cut on wood or other perishable materials. This might suggest that Augustan epigraphic monumentalism (above, p. 211) may to a degree be an artefact of survival.

⁴⁰¹ G. Alföldy in Beltrán Lloris, op. cit. (n. 27), 121–31.

⁴⁰² G. Woolf, *JRS* 86 (1996), 22–39.

⁴⁰³ For an argument that slogans and graffiti scrawled on statues allow the demonstrator to reappropriate their symbolic power, A. Gregory, *JRA* 7 (1994), 80–99, at 93.

hand.⁴⁰⁴ The wider context of inscribed monuments must not be lost sight of: as this funerary image asserts only too unmistakably, the ability to write was also a power — and it was one very unequally distributed in antiquity, both by sex and by status. Epigraphic culture draws for some of its cultural force upon the acknowledgement of that relative scarcity.⁴⁰⁵ It has recently been calculated that only 2 per cent of all Latin inscriptions is in verse: more distinction still.⁴⁰⁶ Formal manipulation of text, such as the use of acrostics, went yet a step further.⁴⁰⁷ As for the end of epigraphic culture, it has been argued that, at least in Britain, the use of purely functional writing, on *instrumenta domestica*, declines into illiteracy in the early third century and ceases entirely between A.D. 225–50. There at least, the decline in monumental texts seems to be part of a wider phenomenon, however we try to explain it.⁴⁰⁸

The most striking exemplification of the relation between epigraphy and high culture is, of course, the longest Greek inscription yet known, that of Diogenes of Oenoanda.⁴⁰⁹ The main recent issue has been the date. Against the startling claim by Canfora that the addressee of the letter must be the poet Lucretius, it has been reasonably objected that a text of this length is highly implausible for a *privatus* before the High Empire.⁴¹⁰ A number of texts illustrates the rise of philosophers to local prominence: the most curious comes from Caesarea Maritima, where Origen later settled.⁴¹¹ Others, like Thrasyllus, might become famous through astrology.⁴¹² The most interesting texts relating to the medical profession concern quotidian practitioners: an unprecedented association of *iatriae* (?early first century B.C.), and an *opstetrix* in the imperial household, with two male *vicarii*.⁴¹³ Recognition of the mostly modest rank of *architecti* has suggested that they should be thought of as clerks of works; a recent identification of the designer of the Temple of Venus and Rome has been rightly rejected.⁴¹⁴ Actors and, of course, athletes count higher because of the central importance of the *agones* for city-life.⁴¹⁵

We end the survey, quite fittingly, with three funerary texts, the jetsam of the past, that may cause us to reflect for a moment on the deceptive proximity of the Graeco-Roman world: one for

⁴⁰⁴ S. Durugönül, *EA* 21 (1993), 61–9; cf. idem and S. Şahin, *EA* 21 (1993), 55–60 for three funerary altars from Nicaea, two showing *scrinaria*, one a wool-basket.

⁴⁰⁵ Note the discovery of considerable quantities of waxed tablets in the harbour at Marseilles: J. France and A. Hesnard *MEFRA* 105 (1993), 80–4; and those from wells at Saintes: E. Lalou, *Bibliologia* 12 (1992), 211–16; cf. idem, *Les tablettes à écrire de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne* (1992). Also, of course, P. Cugusi, *Corpus epistularum latinarum papyris, tabulis, ostracis servatarum* (1992).

⁴⁰⁶ D. Pikhais, *Répertoire des inscriptions latines versifiées de l'Afrique romaine* (1994); cf. M. Massaro, *Epigrafia metrica latina di età repubblicana* (1992) (on the Republican texts in *CLE*); M. R. Mastidoro, *Concordans dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica nella silloge di J. W. Zarker* (1991); new edition of *CLE* no. 417 = *CIL* v.5049 in *Suppl.It.* 12 (1994), 162–5 no. 2. The Dalmatian texts: D. Rendić-Miočević, *Carmina Epigraphica* (1987).

⁴⁰⁷ E. Courtney, *Philologus* 134 (1990), 3–13: the oldest example dates to the second century B.C. The occasional use of reversed writing on funerary texts at Prusa may be an analogous gesture: *I.Prusa* nos 107 (three lines), 192 (one word surviving), 207 l.1 (part of a word). Some difficult kinds of writing however, viz. shorthand, seem to have carried no particular status, being used in an exclusively menial capacity; note a teacher of it, Tib. Claudius Onesimus: *I.Prusa* 2 no. 1043.

⁴⁰⁸ Fulford, op. cit. (n. 16), 317. Rebuffat, op. cit. (n. 205) suggests a return to the painted tradition in Late Antiquity.

⁴⁰⁹ M. F. Smith, *Diogenes of Oenoanda: The Epicurean Inscription* (1993); idem, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda* (1996) giving much more technical detail; P. Gordon, *Epicurus in Lycia* (1996).

⁴¹⁰ L. Canfora, *RFIC* 120 (1993), 39–66; 121 (1993), 493–9; M. F. Smith, *RFIC* 121 (1993), 478–92; idem in *Epicurismo greco e romano*, Atti Congr. Napoli 1993 (1996), 951–68, at 959–60; idem in *The Philosophical Inscription*, op. cit. (n. 409), 17.

⁴¹¹ Burrell, op. cit. (n. 382), 291–2 no. 1: T. Flavius Maximus, possibly = *PIR*² F 318, as philosopher (Greek text). Others: W. Blümel and H. Malay, *EA* 21 (1993), 131 no. 3 (Tralleis); J.-Y. Empereur, *BCH* 118 (1994), 408 no. 1 (Thasos). Cf. R. Goulet, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, 2 (B–D) (1994). An Epicurean priest at Apamea: M. F. Smith, *ZPE* 112 (1996), 120–30. Reconsideration of *I.Smyrna* 2 no. 901 (Aelius Aristides): M.-H. Quet, *REA* 94 (1992), 379–401.

⁴¹² M. Kaplan, *Greeks and the Imperial Court from Tiberius to Nero* (1990), 43–62. Note too: J. Abry (ed.), *Les tablettes astrologiques de Grand (Vosges)* (1993). Texts with precise indications of weekdays, A.D. 200–700: K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 6 (1991), 221–30. Time-keeping with sundials as an aspect of colonial power: R. Etienne, *REA* 94 (1992), 355–62.

⁴¹³ S. Panciera in *Epigrafia (Degrassi)*, op. cit. (n. 36), 312–13 no. 54 = *AE* 1991, no. 130; 305 no. 192 rev. from *AE* 1926, no. 52 = 1991, no. 127. Another slave midwife: *ibid.* 303–6 no. 49 = *AE* 1991, no. 126. A doctor called L. Iulius Salutaris: R. Jackson, *Britannia* 21 (1990), 275–8 = *AE* 1991, no. 1133; cf. the name Asclepiades, *CIL* x.6471 = *AE* 1992, no. 261. A doctor who hated money: M. Guarducci, *QUCC* 39 (1991), 125 = *AE* 1991, no. 297 (cf. 296); dedicating to Tyche *epekoos*: Malay, op. cit. (n. 13), no. 83.

⁴¹⁴ Status: A. Jacquemin, *Ktéma* 15 (1990)[1994], 81–8; M.-Chr. Hellmann, *ZPE* 104 (1994), 151–78, with the text of Ariaramnes, architect of Mithradates II of Commagene, above, n. 69; M. Aurelius Perikles: J. Nollé, *Chiron* 25 (1995), 299–303 on *I.Mylasa* 1 no. 468. Supplement to Orlandos-Travlos: M.-Chr. Hellmann, *REG* 102 (1989), 549–60.

⁴¹⁵ Roueché, op. cit. (n. 396); civil disturbances: W. J. Slater, *CLAnt* 13 (1994), 120–44; dictionaries of performers: I. E. Stephanos, *Dionysiakoi Technitai* (1993); H. Leppin, *Histrionen* (1992). A statue to be placed in the honorand's 'ancestral theatre': *I.Herakleia Pontica* no. 72. A dead-heat in a local contest at Selge was resolved by erecting two statues on the same base: *I.Selge* no. 146. A man killed bull-fighting: *I.Prusa* 2 no. 1031.

a dog at Termessus, buried ὡς ἄνθρωπον by his mistress Rhodope; another for a muleteer in the Troad who drank no wine but loved his mules; a third for a Mauretanian named Sessor 'in colour Corinthian' (i.e. Corinthian bronze) who died at Patrae: καὶ εὐψύχει Σέσσωρ, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος, 'be of good courage, Sessor, no one is immortal'.⁴¹⁶

Newnham College, Cambridge (M.B., J.R.)

King's College London (C.R.)

Munich (R.G.)

⁴¹⁶ Iplikçioğlu, op. cit. (n. 236), 1, 39-42 no. 22 = *SEG* 41:1283; C. Tanriver, *EA* 18 (1991), 79 no. 1 =

SEG 41:1057; A. Rizakis, *Karthago* 22 (1990), 55-62 = *SEG* 40:397 = *AE* 1991, no. 1447.